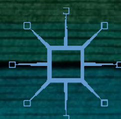
Elite Education & Internationalisation

From the Early Years to Higher Education

Edited by Claire Maxwell, Ulrike Deppe, Heinz-Hermann Krüger and Werner Helsper



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Claire Maxwell • Ulrike Deppe
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Editors

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CHAPTER 1

Elite Education and Internationalisation—From the Early Years into Higher Education. An Introduction

Ulrike Deppe, Claire Maxwell, Heinz-Hermann Krüger, and Werner Helsper

Processes of internationalisation are increasingly recognised as central to the study of education (Yemini 2015). Most of the research emphasises the importance of global education policy initiatives and forms of accountability (Lingard et al. 2016), the exponential growth of

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edu-businesses (Ball 2012a; Resnik 2015), the increasing transnational movement of capital and people, and how this has led to increased international patterns of mobility for education (Favell 2008; Brooks and Waters 2011; Cairns et al. 2017). Meanwhile, research and theorisation around elite education has experienced a resurgence in recent years, with a number of key publications (Howard and Kenway 2015; van Zanten 2015; Koh and Kenway 2016; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016a, b). Increasingly, this work takes up the importance of internationalisation in shaping what constitutes an elite education—what is sought after in terms of an education and future destinations (Ball 2016; Nogueira and Alves 2016; Yang 2016; Kenway et al. 2017). It is interesting to note, however, the uneven manner with which internationalisation affects the production of elite forms of education—as research on the French and English national contexts demonstrates (Power et al. 2013; Brooks and Waters 2015; van Zanten and Maxwell 2015; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016b). This book therefore specifically sets out to consider the question of how internationalisation processes may or may not constitute and alter elite education. Critically, we focus on the uneven patterns of influence found in different national contexts, but also across the various phases of education.

How might internationalisation processes affect the articulation of elite education? First, within educational institutions, these imperatives to "be global" in some way influence how they seek to recruit international students, emphasise the need to internationalise the curriculum, promote the desire for transnational future aspirations and the creation of cosmopolitan subjects (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016b). Second, studies of national education systems have highlighted how the orientation towards the international by a group of dominant schools and universities, and/or government policy can greatly affect the shape and approaches taken by the rest of the education system, thereby re-entrenching the stratification found within it—between "elite" and other educational institutions (Deppe et al. 2015; Deppe and Krüger 2016; Krüger and Helsper 2014; Helsper and Krüger 2015a, b; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016c). Third, recent work by Kenway and colleagues in particular (Kenway et al. 2017) has begun to identify the circulation of elite education subjects and constellations of elite education institutions on the global stage.

Although, increasingly, internationalisation of education has been a focus of study (Brooks and Waters 2011; Resnik 2012; King et al. 2013; McCarthy and Kenway 2014), there remain important gaps in this work. The first is the need to pay more careful attention to the theoretical frameworks being engaged with, how this shapes the kind of research undertaken, and the ways findings are interpreted. The second gap is the need to introduce a more comparative perspective to such investigations—trying to understand how particular histories, structures and policies shape articulations of elite forms of education and current movements within and between systems of education. The third area in which scholarship on elite education and processes of internationalisation is lacking is a dearth of empirical work in the early years and primary education sectors. This book directly engages with all three gaps in the literature.

The internationalisation of elite education "concerns two classical sociological questions: the link between education and social stratification and the link between education and the nation-state" (Resnik 2012: 305). Globalisation processes have increased the number of families who are moving around the world, as well as the demand for international education. At the same time scholars have observed that local elites desire an education for their children that is international in orientation and/or will be recognised in the global marketplace (Keßler et al. 2015; Resnik 2015). There are several consequences of the emergence of such consistent demands for an international education. It is often seen by families, higher education institutions and employers as a form of cultural, linguistic or international capital that therefore distinguishes one group of students from another (Brown and Lauder 2011). It is possible to take this argument one step further and consider that changing orientations within educational provision from the local to the global, and the increasing flow of people, capital and educational qualifications challenge the structures shaping social class formation (Sklair 1991; Ball 2016; Kenway et al. 2017). However, more work is needed to examine claims that the nation state no longer provides the backdrop for the kind of education received, the ways people develop their identities and sense of "belonging" (Bauman 1991, 1998b; Sklair 1991; Elliott and Lemert 2006), and to therefore consider how this shapes what it means to be "elite" and the extent to which being transnationally mobile is a fundamental part of such a positioning (Favell 2008; Keßler et al. 2015; Cairns et al. 2017).

The presence of internationalisation in education in general, and more specifically within (the formation of) elite education, has been a particular focus for the Halle-based research group.[1] Led by Heinz-Hermann Krüger and Werner Helsper, the team has been exploring this question, while also examining the stratificatory implications for the German education system—across the sectors—from early childhood care and education to university provision. Drawing on the contributions made to an international conference held in October 2015, this book considers the increasing trends towards internationalisation within education and considers how these are altering understandings of, and types of, elite education. In the same spirit, this book, too, is the result of increasing internationalisation within academia—where working relationships are forged across universities and countries.[2]

This book seeks to engage with and extend the ways we theorise and evidence the intersections between processes of internationalisation and the formation and re-articulation of elite forms of education, and consider the kinds of subjectivities that are created and imagined within these spaces for students, teachers and other members of the educational community. To ensure each chapter in this volume engages with the objectives of the book, authors were asked to address the following key questions through their contributions:

- How are “eliteness” and “internationalisation” constructed and practised by key actors (policy, institutions, members of the educational community) in the context being studied?
- How do processes of internationalisation and the formation of elite education tracks and institutions affect relations within a specific institution, as well as the broader local and national educational space?

Theoretical Starting Points and Clarification of Terms

In discussions about internationalisation practices within education, a range of terms are drawn on and differentially applied. Concepts such as globalisation, transnationality, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship are often invoked, but not usually carefully enough distinguished. Furthermore, in our view, too small a range of sociological theories are brought to bear on this topic—a gap the chapters in this volume engage with directly.

To understand the internationalisation of, and within, education, it is necessary to consider the concepts of globalisation and transnationalisation. Globalisation is a term that originally described the exchange of ideas, policies and goods occurring at a global level. Globalisation of education was thus understood as the tendency towards isomorphism seen in schooling provision and education policies worldwide, as well as the increasing marketisation of education across the globe (Spring 2015). Meyer and colleagues, for instance, developed the world polity approach (Meyer et al. 1992; Frank and Meyer 2007) suggesting the existence of a global set of norms influencing national and local policies and actors. Critiques levelled at the world polity theory suggested that such a neo-institutional approach was unable to explain important differences found in local spaces, and did not take into account how local actors interpreted their global norms and developed their own distinct practices (Boli 2006).

Thus, Stichweh's (2000) world society theory, which draws on world systems theory (Wallerstein 1991) and systems theory (Luhmann 1982), seeks to describe and make sense of the contradictions that emerge following the influence of globalisation. However, critics of world polity theory have highlighted that not only are ideas, goods and policies circulating worldwide, but that the workforce is also increasingly globally mobile (Bauman 1998b). While these groups may feel less connected to a nation, they do nonetheless often keep connected to family and their local communities. This has led some writers to introduce the term "transnationalisation" (Ong 1999; Pries 2001, 2008) to capture that not only do groups of people and organisations become transnational in terms of mobility and reach, this process also introduces forms of social inequality that operate at a transnational level (Weiss 2005).

Research on the globalisation of education has focused on the marketisation, corporatisation and neoliberalisation of policies and practices (Ball 2012b; Münch 2014; Marginson 2016). Such analyses require a focus on the interconnection between the global, international, national and local markets, policy contexts, and actors (Bauman 1998a; Stronach 2010). This work, in fact, often necessitates "borrow and lend" (Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow 2012) approaches to applying theory, drawing on ideas from anthropology and social geography. The appropriation of Appadurai's notion of "scapes" (1996) to develop the idea of "eduspaces" (Stronach 2010; Breidenstein et al. in this volume) is just one example of this.

Researching the globalisation of education thus has to focus on changing relations between the international and the national, but also

illuminates how global processes affect relationships within nations—the role of national organisations, links between national and/or local institutions and the international sphere and so forth (Ball 2012b; Münch 2014; Marginson 2016). In such investigations, the term "international" is arguably most applicable as the focus is on how national and local spaces become attuned to and become oriented outwards to engage with the global.

The focus on internationalisation within research on education has been found primarily within the higher education sector. Another area of enquiry where a considerable amount of research has already been published is around "international education" as provided in traditional "international schools" (Hayden and Thompson 1998, 2016; Hayden et al. 2015; Hornberg 2010; Resnik 2012). Critically, much of this research does not engage directly with relations between these international schools and the national education system and local education spaces in which they are located. A shift in perspective is, however, needed now as the number of international schools and types of international education provision have increased worldwide, and the groups attracted to such offers has extended beyond the "global middle class" (Ball and Nikita 2014) to a growing body of "residentials" (Keßler and Krüger in this volume).

Knight, whose work on been widely drawn on—both in research on higher education but also other phases of education—describes internationalisation as the process of "integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (2004: 9; 2011). Whilst acknowledging internationalisation as a process, this definition is "neutral" (Yemini 2015: 20) which, on the one hand, extends its applicability across various contexts but, on the other hand, removes it from engaging directly with the reasons for internationalisation, the value of such processes, and the specific outcomes. Knight's definition also lacks specificity—as it does not consider the relationship between the three identified dimensions of internationalisation (international, intercultural and global) (Yemini 2015). Finally, Knight's proposed definition is not always applicable to education spaces outside the higher education sector—as some of the chapters in this volume demonstrate. In response to some of these critiques, Yemini offers her own understanding of internationalisation within education—"the process of encouraging integration of multicultural, multilingual, and global dimensions within the education system, with the aim of instilling in learners a sense of global citizenship" (2015: 21). This statement clearly indicates the positive value attributed to notions of multiculturalism and global citizenship, viewing

such processes as developing a moral orientation that seeks to promote cultural tolerance (Nowicka and Rovisco 2009). Yemini's proposal also refocuses the lens of enquiry onto the experiences and outcomes for learners rather than the more abstract objects of policy and institutions of government.

Yet, given the continuing stratification processes found within education—it is useful to consider other sociological theories which might help us to understand why such an ideological positioning around internationalisation as fundamentally a good thing is so readily taken up, but also why the benefits are often unevenly distributed. What other potentially generative theoretical approaches to this topic might there be? To date, some writing engages with a Bourdieusian emphasis on capital accrual through internationalisation (Doherty et al. 2012; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016b), while other scholars focus on different types of transnational mobility and how this shapes notions of citizenship (Ong 1999; Power et al. 2013). Alongside such work, we also find research which takes up notions of belonging and considers the ways people relate to various structuring mechanisms, as well as geographical and affective spaces (Hannerz 1996; Savage et al. 2005). Much of this work draws fairly heavily on post-structuralist and socio-cultural approaches within sociology. Meanwhile, colleagues in this volume also consider internationalisation in relation to neo-institutional theories (Waldow), conflict-theoretical perspectives (Münch), de-colonial theory (Prosser), or by drawing on key sociological figures' work such as Simmel's (2009) concept of the stranger (Peter in this volume), Weber (1976) on status (Hartmann; Kotzyba et al.; Deppe et al. in this volume), Lordon's (2014) work on desire which is informed by Marx and Spinoza (Kenway in this volume), and Stronach's (2010) re-working of Appadurai's (1996) *scapes* (Breidenstein et al. in this volume). We anticipate that readers' engagement with such a range of conceptual approaches will generate further debate about how we define and research internationalisation within education and its effects on the formation of elite education.

This volume has therefore asked all contributors to position their analysis within specified theoretical frameworks, so we can assess how definitions and understandings shape research design and interpretations, and therefore claims for how internationalisation is altering forms of education. A second focus for this volume is to examine how internationalisation may be reproducing or shifting lines of stratification within and across national education systems but also education phases. Processes of marketisation

and corporatisation have been examined in some detail and have demonstrated long-term impacts worldwide (Ball 2012a; Spring 2015). While these effects have been observed across universities and secondary schooling, there are also indications that early-year education and care, as well as primary schooling, are also being caught up, albeit unevenly, in the crosshairs of these processes (Krüger et al. 2012; Forsey et al. 2008; Press and Woodrow 2005; van Zanten 2007, 2009). We are seeking, through this book, to consider how these longer-standing influences are now intersecting with processes of internationalisation to shift or further embed processes of stratification.

Taking a focus across education phases is also critical, as a long-term perspective in understanding the outcomes of elite education and the routes into elite positions is necessary. Nespor (2014), drawing on research on elite bankers in the USA, argues we need to examine trajectories of elite bankers from their starting point—within families—through the various educational institutions attended, into their final socio-economic and employment position. Nespor identifies at least four long-term strategies that successfully led people into elite positions: "institutional wormholes, biographically entrained field structures, quasi-school structures, and inter-generational folding" (Nespor 2014: 32 ff.; see also Waldow 2014; Gessaghi and Méndez 2015; Khan 2015; van Zanten 2015). These strategies and structures imply that the production of elites is not bound to just one elite education institution, but is a socialisation process that starts from birth. The concept of a series of wormholes that exist between institutions which people move through from infancy into adulthood, argues that there are links between families and education spaces which concertedly cultivate particular orientations and produce worldviews that led people to taking up certain elite positions. "Parents fight over elite pre-school placements and access to selective secondary schools that are seen as part of obligatory paths to admission at an Ivy League university" and in "some cases, the wormholes extend through the university into specific forms of work" (Nespor 2014: 32). By examining processes of internationalisation found within different education settings—from the early years to higher education—and across different countries, we anticipate this book will begin to further illustrate how internationalisation is intimately linked to the construction of elite identities of institutions and students, and how these might be cultivated through and across the trajectories of students, and across different places and spaces.

The Contributions in This Book

This book is organised into five sections—examining theoretical approaches to the study of internationalisation and elite education; early years and primary schooling; secondary schooling; higher education; and finally, a concluding set of reflections on internationalisation and elite education.

Section I—Theoretical Approaches

The first section focuses on different theoretical approaches to examining the internationalisation of elites and elite education. The five chapters in this part of the book come from key scholars in the field offering quite different theoretical perspectives through which to examine the topic. All contributions consider how the local, national and global affect the purpose and outcomes of education, and more specifically how elite forms of education are understood and produced.

The first chapter of this section by *David Baker* engages with his argument that an "education revolution" has taken place (Baker 2014). He suggests that schooling curricula now tend to be more globally oriented, take less heed of national cultural heritage, and are distinctively more cognitive in nature, based on universalist knowledge and norms (Frank and Meyer 2007). Baker argues that ascriptive processes for determining elite status have now been replaced by educational attainment and signalling, which has become the legitimisation mechanism for taking up an elite position. This could lead us to suggest that through a process of isomorphism (of curricula) at a more global level, what is considered necessary for the constitution of an elite education and the kinds of knowledges, skills and sensibilities elite members of society should possess is becoming increasingly uniform.

Meanwhile, *Richard Münch*, in the second chapter, engages with the neoliberal argument that processes of measurement and marketisation enhance competition which in turn raises expectations and delivery of education for a greater proportion of the population. Münch argues that these pressures are coming from international policy-making bodies and are impacting education systems worldwide. He demonstrates, taking a conflict-theoretical position, that the "competitive paradigm" we now find ourselves in, rather than realising the meritocratic ideal, is in fact further stratifying educational opportunities and outcomes—within nations and across nations. Münch concludes by arguing that processes of

internationalisation not only affect social relations within countries through the ways education is structured and managed, but that these processes are also leading to the formation of global networks of elite institutions (particularly within the higher education sector) and therefore the production of a global elite.

The first two chapters therefore examine issues related to internationalisation and elite education at a more global level—drawing on evidence largely from the USA—to make their arguments. *Tobias Peter*, author of the third chapter, meanwhile begins his analysis through a focus on the German context but, by developing a theoretical framing based on Georg Simmel's (2009) concept of the "stranger", manages to offer insights that could be applied more widely. Peter argues that in the context of migration, the notion of the stranger has already changed from one who comes today and leaves tomorrow to a figure who comes today and stays tomorrow. Peter further posits that processes of internationalisation have become understood as requiring inclusive responses or leading to exclusive strategies within education. Inclusivity focuses on the "problem" of mass migration and the need for such groups to become integrated, while other parts of the "host" education system draw on the "stranger" to promote the exclusivity of particular institutions through boasting the accrual of high quality staff and students from abroad. Through an analysis of policy documents and programme outlines undertaken within a systems-theory framework, Peter shows that the tendency towards exclusivity within the context of internationalisation is more often found within the higher education sector, while an inclusive strategy to managing diversity predominates within German secondary schooling.

Michael Hartmann, in his chapter, tackles head-on the assumption made by many that internationalisation is significantly changing tracks through education and into elite positions by untethering them from professional routes initially developed to serve the nation state. He uses Max Weber's (1976) conception of social class and Pierre Bourdieu's (1996) work on the function of elite education to service the needs of various fields when analysing the nationality and educational background of the CEOs of the 1000 largest companies in the world. His analysis challenges the notion of an established transnational business elite, arguing that there remain strong links between universities, the state and the business world in many countries. Hartmann therefore finds that Weber and Bourdieu's conceptual frameworks, developed within specific national contexts (Germany

and France respectively) are still relevant theoretical resources for research into the potential impact of internationalisation on elite education.

In stark contrast, *Jane Kenway*'s work starts from a position that processes of internationalisation are critical, especially within elite education, given the complex production of desire found within this sphere (Kenway et al. 2013, 2017). In the chapter she has written for this book, Kenway draws on Frederic Lordon's (2014) synthesis of Spinoza and Marx to more carefully analyse the various ways desires are produced by the actors involved in elite schooling and the sometimes contradictory positions their roles as "emotional engineers" might put them in. She argues that elite schools are now responding to the increasing transnational mobility of highly resourced families. The changing orientations of the schools and the social groups seeking an internationally available elite education are, in turn, potentially affecting the constitution of class formation at a regional and even global level (Kenway et al. 2017).

Reinhard Kreckel offers the reader a summary and some important reflections in his closing commentary for the first section. He highlights clearly how different theoretical approaches affect the interpretations offered by the contributors, as well as emphasising that education alone does not solely determine who the elites are today. Kreckel argues, therefore, that the formation, alteration and expansion of education provision within and across national systems must be framed within broader sociological understandings of the flow of power and structuring of social relations today.

The subsequent sections of the book focus on the various stages of the education trajectory—from early childhood care and education, to primary education, into secondary schooling and finally higher education. These sections have been structured to offer first an analysis of the German context, after which another academic/group of researchers offer an examination of another national context, in order to facilitate a comparison of similarities and differences within this phase of education. Each section is brought to a close by a set of reflections offered by a key scholar in the field of education, where they consider the main theoretical, empirical and methodological possibilities and challenges for such work.

Section II—Early Years and Primary Education

The second section of the book focuses on a sphere of education rarely engaged with in relation to elite forms of education and whether or not

internationalisation is further shaping provision. *Johanna Mierendorff*, *Thilo Ernst* and *Marius Mader* in their analysis of the German childcare sector suggest three key ways in which internationalisation is shaping provision and becoming "embedded": the provision of a social infrastructure for (globally) mobile parents, offering a comprehensive educational package to families, and facilitating the development of social pedagogical coping strategies. Mierendorff and colleagues do notice some differentiation in orientation between the for-profit and non-profit childcare and education providers, but conclude that the sector has not (yet) strategically engaged with processes of internationalisation in the way other phases of education have. Significantly, they argue that changes in provision have not necessarily embedded or led to new mechanisms of segregation across the sector but that internationalisation processes have, in interesting ways, become amalgamated with other mechanisms of differentiation already in place—sometimes reinforcing relations of inequality, but other times having the potential to disrupt them (as the comprehensive package and social pedagogical approaches suggest).

Frances Press and *Christine Woodrow* subsequently introduce the Australian early years and childcare sector, emphasising its highly privatised and marketised nature. First, through an analysis of the care and education provided they highlight that privatised provision is often considered to be of lower quality, despite its promotion as a desirable product to the middle classes (echoing Münch's earlier contribution about competition not necessarily promoting quality). Second, as Mierendorff et al. emphasise, the historical commitment to cultural inclusion that dominates this sector means a form of inclusive diversity is promoted rather than internationalisation of a form of exclusivity. While there are newer trends with early years education provision attached to elite schools which may result in the formation of an elite market within this sector, Press and Woodrow conclude that the ways internationalisation and processes of elite formation play out within the early years sector are complicated, at times contradictory, and require additional empirical work and theorisation.

The final chapter in this section by *Georg Breidenstein*, *Martin Forsey*, *Fenna la Gro*, *Jens Oliver Krüger* and *Anna Roch* moves to considering school choice-making practices by the globally mobile middle classes (Ball and Nikita 2014). The chapter focuses on Berlin—a global city. It draws on an analysis of a web discussion thread amongst globally mobile parents seeking an international school for their children, whilst also integrating some findings from their broader study which examines the schooling

choices of middle-class resident Berliners. Breidenstein and colleagues' data allows them to construct the eduscape of Berlin and illustrate how the international and local intersect to shape what parents are seeking from a schooling offer and the ways they value different forms of internationalisation and diversity.

Ingela Naumann concludes the section by emphasising that factors promoting internationalisation practices have emerged historically in quite different ways for the early years sector, when compared to the higher education field. She also highlights the critical point that early years education is often governed and funded by different state actors than other education phases and that the purpose of the former can be quite different. All this affects how the drive for internationalisation is interpreted and implemented by early years providers. Ingela Naumann also stresses that increasing processes of marketisation may alter the ways internationalisation practices are manifested within the early years sector and the impact this has.

Section III—Secondary Schooling

The third part of this edited collection focuses on how internationalisation is affecting the provision of secondary school education. *Katrin Kotzyba, Lena Dreier, Mareke Niemann* and *Werner Helsper* present an overview of the upper secondary schooling landscape in Germany and consider the impact of internationalisation here. The authors present a categorisation of how different approaches to internationalisation can be used to group schools together. They focus more specifically on German schools who are positioning themselves as international in some way and demonstrate how the local (education market) context affects the way schools present themselves and draw on notions of internationalisation. Adapting Weber's work on negative privileging as a form of social status, they introduce the idea that different forms of internationalisation may be negatively but also positively privileging in different circumstances.

Catharina Keßler and *Heinz-Hermann Krüger* present a case study of an international school and construct the concept "being international" present there through an analysis of the institutional codes and students' narratives of their experiences and future aspirations. Drawing inspiration from Mannheim and Bourdieu, the authors present various modes of being international and illustrate how family biographies and socio-economic location shape student orientations and practices.

Both the previous chapters focus on schools in Germany, an increasing proportion of whom are offering the International Baccalaureate (IB). In his contribution, *Howard Prosser* introduces the Ecuadorian government's recent attempt to introduce the IB across all publicly funded secondary schools in the country. This policy initiative prompts Prosser to reflect on the contradictory position taken by this Latin American government—an attempt to usurp dominant groups' attempts to distinguish themselves through such international qualifications as the IB and promote future possibilities for all young people, yet at the same time drawing on the expertise of elite institutions to achieve this potentially transformative initiative. Drawing on de-colonial theory, Prosser is able to highlight these tensions and others, suggesting ways this might challenge current power relations, but also demonstrating how such a policy move might in fact constitute a new form of colonialisation.

Florian Waldow ends this section by highlighting that the benefits of internationalisation appear to have become fully accepted and might therefore be understood as a legitimisation mechanism. In this way it appears to be increasingly drawn on as a source for distinction in policy and by organisations, social groups and individuals. The wide range of actors that see internationalisation as self-evidently a "good" thing, and the fact that its definition remains fairly vague, ensures it increases its effectiveness as a source of legitimatisation. Waldow ends by offering insights into how sociological neo-institutionalism can help us to make sense of these legitimatisation processes at work.

Section IV—Higher Education

The fourth part of the book focuses on the higher education sector. First, *Roland Bloch*, *Reinhard Kreckel*, *Alexander Mitterle* and *Manfred Stock* examine how processes of internationalisation have impacted Germany's higher education system. Second, the authors demonstrate how internationalisation has been developed into a government-led requirement and therefore a quantifiable attribute of the university, leading the institution to have to act as a unit or a coherent organisation. Bloch and colleagues highlight the tensions between increasing internationalisation, the norms of scientific universalism and universities as the training ground for national professional groups. Drawing on their research, they outline four different ways in which academics, administrators and students within higher education respond to these contradictions.

Meanwhile, *Anne Schippling* focuses in on how internationalisation imperatives are differentially affecting elite higher education institutions in France. Focusing on two *grandes écoles*, she outlines how one seeks to maintain its link to tradition in the face of pressures to internationalise—in terms of claiming international prestige via publications, research partnerships and funding, and the recruitment of international students—while the other more fully embraces the possibility internationalisation introduces for transforming its institutional habitus.

This section concludes with a commentary by *Aline Courtois*. Here she argues that the imperative to internationalise is most keenly felt in the higher education sector, and that universities are actively seeking to position themselves in both national and international league tables, where "international" measures of value dominate. Despite efforts by universities across the world to become competitive at an international level, the UK and US higher education sectors continue to be the most sought-after destinations. Courtois concludes by considering whether and how higher education systems and institutions will acknowledge and engage with the reality that there are not in fact as many highly paid positions in the "global labour market" as is promulgated by institutions seeking to position themselves as "world-class", and that social class location continues to predetermine access to elite higher education and future elite destinations.

Section V—Elite Education and Internationalisation

In the final section, *Ulrike Deppe*, *Jasmin Lüdemann* and *Heiko Kastner* survey the entire German education system to understand the extent to which internationalisation is altering its structure, as well as how elite forms of education are constructed and the impact this has on processes of stratification. They offer a conceptualisation of internationalisation as a continuum, and find the adaptation of Weber's work on negatively privileging in terms of status groups productive as well.

Adam Howard offers an important provocation to scholars and educators to examine further through and with elite education institutions ways in which desires to internationalise and create global citizens can potentially be social justice-promoting projects. Drawing on data from his multi-sited global ethnography of elite schools, he offers some examples of how this is being done. Howard makes a case for the use of collaborative research methodologies as a way to more fully understand the production

and re-production of elite subjectivities, but also to attempt to make the research itself part of the transformative practice.

Finally, *Claire Maxwell*, in the concluding piece, seeks to offer some new understandings about how internationalisation practices within education are altering our conceptions of what is elite. Drawing on the various contributions in the book, Maxwell highlights four critical juxtapositions in the interpretation and implementation of internationalisation across various education spaces. She then makes a case for taking a "glonacal", multi-scalar approach to the study of this issue, and concludes by suggesting how geographer Thrift's (2009) work on four spaces could be usefully brought to bear on the question of internationalisation and how claims to eliteness within education are made, received and being re-articulated.

Notes

1. The research group 1612 "Mechanisms of elite formation in the German education system" is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and includes six specific projects examining stratification processes in the German education system from early childhood into the university level, as well as a coordinating team who are examining the broader issues emerging from the focused projects. The research group is based at the Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg and Albert-Ludwigs-University Freiburg, Germany.
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PART I

Theoretical Approaches

CHAPTER 2

Where Have All the Elites Gone? Cultural Transformation of Elitism in the Schooled Society

David P. Baker

Societal elites, their selection and legitimation, have been connected to elite forms of formal education for centuries across a wide variety of cultures. Understanding the continuing changing relationship is essential for the study of education and society. At the same time, the relationship between education and society is fundamentally changing, a phenomenon of cultural power resulting in sweeping demographic shifts in who attends schooling and the length of academic careers (Baker 2014). Ubiquitous massive growth in schooling, now well into the university level, and the spread of a culture of education create what can be called a "schooled society"—a new type of society where dimensions of education reach into, and change, nearly every facet of human life, including a profound change in the social construction of not only selection to the elite, but of the essential qualities of elitism. An older bifurcation between elite and non-elite schooling breaks down and the narratives used to legitimise such a separation have also been called into question. Elites, and particularly

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elitism, however, are not abolished in the schooled society; instead, they are fundamentally recast within the institutional logic of education. And with the world scope of the education revolution, this transformation is spurred on by the internationalisation of education for elite positions, which in turn lends itself to intensify processes of globalisation affecting the economy and individual and group subjectivities.

This chapter briefly considers what the rise of the schooled society means for the social construction of elites and elitism, and the future of elite education. Addressed are three interrelated questions: In what way has the deepening institutional logic of education *replaced* former processes of elite formation? Beyond the changing nature of elite formation, is there also a *fundamentally new* social construction of the meaning of elite? And what is the *future* of educational formation of elites and the social construction of elitism in the schooled society as it becomes increasingly more international in its reach? The intention here is not to present a definitive argument, but rather to use the perspective of education as a robust institution to raise insights for the continued study of societal elites, their education, and the internationalisation of a new form of elitism. While where possible empirical evidence is presented, the proposed perspective awaits future research for fuller verification. Before this, a brief description of changes brought on by the education revolution sets the stage.

The New Institution of Education

Simply put, the education revolution has resulted in major shifts in school attendance and educational attainment throughout the world over approximately the past 150 years. These changes are obvious in the demography of education as successive birth cohorts experienced increasing enrolment rates to the point that contemporary participation in primary and secondary education is fully normative, legally compulsory, and valued by families and nation-states alike. Importantly for the issue here, expanding enrolments in postsecondary institutions have grown apace, with over a fifth of the world's entire youth cohort attending some form of higher education, plus graduate education grows as well (Schofer and Meyer 2005). In the academic year 2006–2007, for instance, the entire American higher education system awarded one graduate degree for every two bachelor's degree granted (US Department of Education 2008). Since the early 2000s, the USA has witnessed the highest rate of increases in individuals earning advanced degrees: over

the past decade new PhDs grew by 45% and master's degrees by 43%, and trends in Northern Europe and North America are increasingly mirrored worldwide (US Census Bureau 2012).

Less obvious than the demography of schooling is the far-reaching cultural impact of the education revolution, first occurring in Western society and now worldwide (Baker 2014). This has fashioned a new institution of education, the intensification of which is responsible for changes in actions towards schooling by individuals, nations, and world society. The education revolution is a cultural phenomenon more than a material or political one, although it has major material and political consequences. Widespread education in a postindustrial society creates cultural ideas about new types of knowledge, expanded types of experts, new definitions of personal success and failure, a new workplace and conception of jobs, and new definitions of intelligence and human talent. At the same time, educational achievement and degree attainment have come to dominate social stratification and social mobility, superseding and delegitimising forms of status attainment left over from the past. Functioning to construct far more of society than the reproduction of status, the global impact of formal education on postindustrial society has been so extensive that it can be argued that mass education is a founding social revolution of modernity (Meyer 1977; Parsons 1971).

Another consequence of a maturing education revolution is unprecedented historical change in the content, intent, and organisation of schooling. Formal education, including the university, has become more cognitive in content, less vocational in intent, more focused on broad human development, and increasingly merged with universalistic ideas about knowledge. For example, while all education at any point in history involves cognition, a dominant curricular trend of the schooled society constructs and celebrates a particular set of cognitive skills and elevates them to a heightened status. Academic skills, particularly higher-order thinking capabilities, are equated with intelligence as a generalisable skill becoming the explicit overarching epistemological leitmotif of modern education, and is assumed to be useful for all types of human activities and general development of the individual (e.g., Baker et al. 2015). So too, the earlier education goal of schooling for specific vocational preparation, usually as the working-class part of a bifurcated education system, gives way to general academic training for most students including mass access to what was once considered elite knowledge and training in science, mathematics, and advanced language skills. The three now make up the cornerstone

of the mass school curriculum from the earliest grades on, while older notions of elitist classicalism die out. Also, the emerging epistemology of the education revolution assumes that all knowledge has universalistic qualities, and the university is chartered to generate, organise, and apply its authoritative-universal science and rationalised scholarship to everything (Lenhardt 2005). Lastly, scientific knowledge based on universalism comes to include humans themselves, with ideas of equality of humans and societies, constructed along the norms of universal social justice; all are overarching themes that have been widely distributed over the past 50 years through the schooling curricula globally, regardless of the cultures of nations (Frank and Meyer 2007; Suárez and Bromley 2012).

The education revolution comprises one of the largest societal projects of institutionalisation in the modern period (Baker 2014). And from this historical process comes profound transformation of elites and elitism in postindustrial society. Prior to the coming of the schooled society, special elite education, embodied in a recognised set of schools, verified and legitimated elite status of individuals who usually (although not necessarily always) originated from a stratum of elite families. An outgrowth from older aristocratic and classical forms of education, these schools represented an upper caste of organisations with a much celebrated and maintained qualitative difference from all other educational institutions (Marrou 1956). A caste system in this sense describes immutable groups of schools and universities based on nominal elitism. The breaking down and then restructuring of each dimension of this former order is caused and legitimated by the new robust institution of education. As described below, while subtle, this shift is transformative. It is not that elite institutions vanish in the schooled society; rather, the social strategies to remain (and gain) elite status relentlessly move towards educational parameters, making them operate much less as a caste explicitly reproducing an elite stratum, but as a school or university, among many, who strive for broader legitimation through "educational excellence."

From Elites to Elite Positions

Perhaps the most sweeping change brought on by the education revolution is a shift away from elitism as an enduring "ascriptive-status" of a particular individual to a formal elite position filled by an individual with specific educationally created and defined social charters codified in advanced academic degrees. And generally this is a status lasting only for

an individual's tenure in such a position, usually now as a career in large complex organisations. This is changing both the meaning of elite and the qualities of actual elites themselves.

A shift from ascriptive status, through birth into clan, family, or ruling strata, to what is often called "achieved status" is a time-honoured sociological observation about the central historical transition from traditional to modern and then postmodern societies. Unfortunately the term "achieved" has always been misleading, overstressing an image of general merit and individual differences. A more accurate formulation would be "educationally derived status." Put this way, education becomes the provider of skills, sensibilities, and ideologies that enable placement into formal elite positions, regardless of family origin. Also a process often accompanied by overt attempts to break older ascriptive patterns: think efforts to reduce gender inequalities in education in recent decades. Thus formal education creates and defines parallel skills and "ways of doing and thinking about" sets of tasks in elite positions (Baker 2014). While obvious, on a deeper level this arrangement erodes education as chiefly *reproducing* elite status and, in its place, considers education as *constructing* the content of elitism of positions and defines legitimate access to them. This is evidenced by two empirical trends in postindustrial society.

First, the direct influence education performance increases as the reproductive influence of education declines. For example, among the general population there is considerable evidence that intergenerational influence of family origin on adult status attainment has completely vanished among the growing number of individuals completing the BA (i.e., first university degree), and has substantially declined among individuals with a secondary school degree in the USA, as well as a score of other extensively schooled societies (e.g., Hout 1988). Of course there remains the sway of one's origin on educational attainment, even up through higher education, but parental socioeconomic status is itself increasingly a function of earlier educational attainment. Consequently, over just several generations, education has thoroughly saturated intergenerational mobility. Thus once one is in the higher education arena, success becomes based chiefly on educational outcomes, such as better academic performance, majors declared (subjects studied), and perhaps the influence of educational and prestige differences among higher education institutions (but probably not as a upper caste of schools, see below). This logic applies throughout the system, from lower to upper social destinations, including elite positions. And considerable empirical research indicates the same

process is happening across many nations (Breen and Jonsson 2007; Breen and Luijkx 2007).

Second, a major facet of postindustrial society highly relevant to elites is the growing density of formal organisations—both profit-seeking such as large corporations and non-profit such as multinational agencies, the state, larger non-government organisations (NGOs)—to a degree unknown in traditional and early modern societies (Drori et al. 2006). Internationalised and interconnected with one another and operating in a similar bureaucratic and functional fashion, these formal large organisations claim involvement in all kinds of human activity, including the economy and other sectors. And it has long been observed that education significantly raises capacity for creation and expansion of rationalised formal organisations. Therefore, within some of these organisations are the most (and most plentiful) elite positions in contemporary society. The transformation from an ascribed to an educationally constructed elite occurs through educational effects (including credentials, but surely also cognitive resources, communication capabilities, psychological empowerment, technical vocabularies, and world orientations) on individuals who become elite organisational actors. Additionally, the internationalisation of educational and organisational forms can be argued to further reinforce this process.

Three dimensions support this embedding of elite and elitism in large formal organisations. First, educational sensibilities are embedded into organisational culture and structure. There are several aspects to this. One is extensive "personnel professionalism" permeating throughout modern organisations. Leading core professionals of the organisation holding elite positions are educated and formally credentialed. Importantly too, this same logic permeates the entire organisational structure. Education provides people with the skills to function in the modern organisation, and it certifies them as such, and this occurs on a global and highly fluid scale. Educational credentials control access to sets of activities and management responsibilities inside formal organisations, and a hierarchy of academic degrees has become thoroughly blended with the internal hierarchy of the modern organisation. With the notion of personnel professionalism comes a workplace based on the idea of personnel as responsible individuals who are "thinking and choosing actors, embodying professional expertise and capable of rational and creative behavior" (Luo 2006: 230). All of which are qualities that have become embedded in the education systems as attributes expected of everyone, and most certainly of those in elite positions.

Another dimension is intensive education-led rationalisation of ever more internal aspects of organisations. The rise of accounting and auditing, fundraising, elaborate legal contracts, corporate (or in the public sector, organisational) social responsibility, human relations, and strategic planning are just a few examples of now heavily rationalised internal activities of formal organisations, in which an expert culture reigns supreme, and with corresponding university-based scholarship. An underlying core belief in the schooled society is that these rationalised domains are to be trusted only to educationally credentialed individuals in university-created areas of expertise with accompanying special knowledge bases (e.g., Fogarty 1997). Instead of being solely a "natural outcome" of organisational need, in actuality intensified rationalised internal activities are supported and increased as a function of the education revolution. Accountants, auditors, fundraisers, legal staff, corporate social responsibility experts, directors of planning, and so on are increasingly educationally credentialed professionals assumed to have similar educationally accredited operational approaches and common understandings. And these individuals also consider themselves as a specific kind of professional first and an employee of a specific organisation second. By the same logic, each type of profession captures, and legitimately holds, control over certain sets of activities within organisations, often with major resource and strategic implications. Accountants, for instance, are by virtue of a specific university degree considered special experts with an accepted standard and up-to-date technical method and image of organisational process used for controlling accounting functions and budget flows. Thus, although these new organisational professionals are embedded within organisations, their educational credentials with accompanying authoritative charters transcend any particular organisation (Drori et al. 2006; Shanahan and Khagram 2006). Elite positions are then embedded within the same professional matrix of the formal organisation and follow similar rules of selection and educational verification.

The last dimension of the educational-organisational symbiosis is an increasing horizontal authority structure of organisations. Authority and responsibility, a hallmark of elitism, are far more widely distributed within organisations than in the past, thus "the relative authority, autonomy, and degree of responsibility for people and things"—in short, managerial skills of various types—grow as parts of job descriptions across occupations (Howell and Wolff 1991: 488). Unsurprisingly, in many current organisations, accepted managerial styles and the rhetoric supporting them contain

considerable reference to teacher-like mentorship and an education-like development of employees for the future well-being of the economic enterprise (Scott and Meyer 1991). In the schooled society, the cultural power of education as an institution makes an educational process a prominent model for the workplace, instead of the reverse, as traditional images of schooling and capitalism would have it.

Through education's direct influence on social mobility, the growing educational-professional rationalisation of the formal organisation, and the educational social construction of work reshape elitism. The elite increasingly becomes people holding elite positions in major organisations, such as multinational corporations, multilateral agencies of world society, organisations of the nation-state, religion, and civil society; all where the content, specific authoritative know-how and access to those positions is increasingly developed within the institutional logic of education, particularly the university. And elite qualities of positions expand within this arrangement even as elite status becomes less indelible for individuals. Legitimately achieved educational credentials are irrevocable and necessary for elite positioning within the powerful formal organisation, while at the same time elite status of the individual becomes ephemeral and evermore tied to tenure in such a position. All of this is, of course, Weber's confluence of rationalisation and bureaucracy, but with the additional insight that by the end of the twentieth century the cultural matrix and driving force behind this convergence is the education revolution. The demographic and cultural expansion of the university rationalises and defines elitism within authoritative professionalised occupations within the intensifying formal organisation.

This is not to suggest that economic resources and political power are no longer relevant. Rather, they themselves are recast in terms of organisations with varying resources, control, and power. Elite positions controlled through educational performance and credentials is a whole system by which educational degrees become the main legitimate route to power and access to resources within an increasingly professionalised and formally organised society. The culture of education has been directly interjected into the growing personnel professionalism of large formally organised, white-collar workplaces. The schooled society makes educational credentials ever more dominant, not only for individuals in elite positions but also in how the prodigious resources and riches from a technological world are legitimately divided up, or, in short, for the very meaning of elitism itself. This is already occurring in parts of

the world where the schooled society is most developed, and given the internationalising influence and spread of the education revolution, it is likely to occur worldwide. Educationally constructed elitism lends an international homogenisation to the qualities of elite positions and the content of those roles.

Chartering Elitism

The central role the university plays in the social construction of ideologies is well demonstrated. The university has become a strong primary institution, producing and granting authority to a considerable number of the ideas about the nature of knowledge, individuals, humankind, and indeed the entire cosmos—all of which form the bedrock cultural beliefs and values that drive the schooled society to ever larger proportions worldwide (Meyer et al. 2008). In short, this picture is one of the university producing not only new knowledge through scholarship and research but also, and crucially so, the very ideology and beliefs that underpin the experienced reality of modern society. The Western form of the university has come to have a powerful charter to define and connect knowledge production with degree creation, thereby interjecting its authoritative ideologies into ever more aspect of daily life (Baker 2014).

It is not that universities do all of this cultural construction in some heavy-handed fashion. When universities mechanically try to shape people's everyday worlds directly, they are inept and indeed usually are ineffectual. Their power is subtler but extremely pervasive. This argument then should not be confused with proclaiming that because the university trains elites, it is a powerful institution passing information down from on high. Part of the story of course, yet this image, being overly functional and grandiloquent in tone, confuses the charter to train elites with elite status itself: the university is neither omnipotent nor conspiratorial. Nevertheless the cultural meanings produced by the university, often employing the methods of science and relying on an epistemological mandate that rests on original methods of scholarship having deep roots in Western culture, are deeply embedded within the everyday life. And given the universal charter of university-generated and verified knowledge, this process is bound up in growing international networks of knowledge production. A process further reinforced by growing privilege to ideas of internationalism within the university's curriculum and its ideologies about truth claims (e.g., Frank and Gabler 2006).

Increasingly then, elitism—the chartering of what is elite—becomes defined as the entitlement to wield such authoritative ideologies (think: high-form legal, scientific, and financial versions), verified (and learned) of course, through the holding of advanced academic degrees. The earning of a degree becomes crucial, more salient than the particular institution in which it is earned. There are still prestige hierarchies among universities, but these pale in comparison to degree attainment. Qualities of elitism conform to the primacy of universalised knowledge and academic degrees, thus producing a self-reinforcing dynamic. The result of this dynamic charter is the creation of reigning meanings in society, reinforced by the now legions of university-trained and degree-certified experts who make up so much of contemporary society, and who in turn perpetuate the legitimacy of university-generated knowledge.

Therefore legitimate access to elite positions and their charter changes in the schooled society as academic credentials (degree completion) come to dominate. Traditional forms of access to an elite—such as sinecure, simony, tutelage, praetorship, personal letters of reference and introduction, family membership, "traditional school tie" (attendance at a particular institution), rectitude, patronage, ownership, and position in a social stratum—are steadily de-legitimatised and, in some cases, made formally illegal. It is true that certain universities carry older elite status and there is still considerable reproduction of family status among some parts of the university system worldwide, but if the trends described here persist, one prediction would be that access to elite would become less tied to these institutions acting as an upper caste with attendance, not performance, the key quality. A movement away from this caste form is what the social mobility findings described above suggest.

From Elite Education to Prestigious Education

The above changes correspondingly transform elite education. Older caste barriers symbolically separating elite and non-elite forms of education erode as education evolves more into the form of a market, a prestige hierarchy. This is partially evident in changes within old elite institutions themselves. For instance, prestigious institutions now routinely have processes to admit students explicitly from outside elite strata and provide them with financial assistance. And in recent years this trend has grown in size from a token to a significant commitment to distinguish themselves as schools and universities in the business of creating, not reproducing, an elite.

While a prestige hierarchy can be mistaken for only a slightly modified caste system, in fact they have very different underlying logics yielding different structures. The education revolution has opened up what were once elite sectors of education for increasing proportions of successive birth cohorts. What is often referred to as "mass" education is a bit of a misnomer: better might be "normative" education, meaning that the education careers once reserved for reproducing elites become an assumed norm of education for many, and hence the ongoing worldwide expansion of university enrolment and degree attainment. Instead of nominally bounded-off elite schools, this lends to a trajectory, or a kind of market in quality across educational institutions. The quality differences are assumed and can be reflected in costs of admission, yet the essence of quality becomes more difficult to identify beyond reputation. Thus over the course of the education revolution elite education is less supported by the assumptions of a rigid caste system.

The fluidity of a prestigious market of educational opportunities is a weaker social form of elite maintenance than a caste system. This is evidenced by the historical accounts of universities taking long jumps in prestige thus undermining the image of enduring elite charters. Cases like that of New York University's rise from a lower-status institution for students chiefly from the surrounding city to an aspiring world-class research university are relatively numerous (Kirp 2009). Even Stanford University's reputation as being among the world's very best was a post–World War II product of some happenstance. And the same is occurring through governmental "excellence" schemes for inventing elite universities in a number of nations. This process is one likely cause of the above noted fact that completion of particular advanced degrees far outweigh association (just attendance) with prestigious universities, even though the latter was once a viable verification of membership in the elite. A prestigious hierarchy of education increases competition among families and students for elite positions. The decline of "sponsored" placement in an upper caste of schools also means that crucial points of competition are extended over the length of the whole school career, even starting with pre-schooling in some nations with advanced schooled societies (Turner 1960). This is not to imply that the world will instantly become meritocratic. There is always reproductive pressure on education opportunity, and with the public pressure for more access to better education, private interests generate counter-pressure. The point is that increasingly merit itself is defined educationally, and the education process at the upper levels moves away from a caste system of institutions.

This trend will likely continue because of its cultural support. Contemporary negative attitudes towards exclusionary castes versus more accepted ones about markets in postindustrial society are easily applied to prestige hierarchies of schooling as well. With some likeness to a market, the latter enjoy a degree of legitimation while old elite castes of schools become less valid, even taking on a forbidden image of antiqued elitism. This intensifies the degree to which prestige is defined as general academic quality instead of ascriptive reproduction.

The Future of Elite Education

The decline of segmented traditional forms of elite education will likely continue with the educational revolution. Although remnants remain, increasingly they become less legitimate or must reinvent themselves along new meanings in line with larger institutional trends in education (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009). No doubt some observers will be tempted to consider this a move towards a greater meritocratic process, while others will be equally tempted to criticise such a conclusion as naïve. Either way, what is overlooked is that education takes a direct constructive role in elite position creation in part because the former has come to be the legitimate form of social stratification. By shaping a culture where educational performance, reflected by academic degrees, is widely believed to be the dominant arbitrator of merit, elite formation through education becomes compatible with such a social construction.

Whether or not the education revolution creates "true merit" among elites is not the right sociological question to ask. Just as popular attempts to judge how much family-origin ascription remains is secondary to the larger issue of qualitative change. Much like celebrated non-educational realms of merit operating in past societies, such as military prowess, superior physical ability, or masterful craftsmanship, the main point is that educational ability is constructed as the supreme arbitrator of merit in the contemporary schooled society, and the saliency of educational credentialing and associated charters to impose authoritative knowledge, usually within a highly organisational context, enacts this belief. Over a relatively short sociological period, education has approached worldwide acceptance as the one appropriate and legitimate playing field on which to compete for merit, for both low and high positions. This normative belief could perhaps be the education revolution's furthest-reaching and most salient cultural product so far. And of course, this new institutional logic permeates elites and elitism and will continue to define both into the future.

The recasting of elite education by the education revolution also suggests new avenues for scholarship. All of the changes to elite education reflected in the questions considered here are in need of assessment and new scholarship. While the idea of an elite is still useful sociologically, its meaning and structure are undergoing transformations that require a new perspective. The shift to a prestige hierarchy is in some ways obvious, but its deeper implications for the top of the hierarchy and its products await future study. With the major interest in inequality, a lion's share of research focuses on the disadvantaged. The other end of the spectrum is rarely systematically studied, except to note that these are the winners of an unequal system. (The research projects summarised in the current volume being notable exceptions.) The transformation of social mobility and social structure through the effects of a robust institution of education means that advantage and privilege and its terms of legitimation likely have, and will continue, to evolve as well. The educational transformation of elites and elitism is a phenomenon ripe for future sociological investigation, and particularly given the global nature of the processes outlined here, a special emphasis should be placed on the growing internationalisation of education and elitism.

Humans are increasingly citizens embedded in a world society constituted of empowered individuals—empowered in large part by formal education (Baker 2014; Frank and Meyer 2007). This transformation applies to those in elite positions as much as to all others. The education revolution does not end the importance of the question of the relationship among schooling, society, and elite formation; rather, it offers a more dynamic and central sociological investigation.

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CHAPTER 3

Elite Formation in the Educational System: Between Meritocracy and Cumulative Advantage

Richard Münch

Introduction: The Meritocratic Theory of Elite Formation

In modern, democratic societies, elite formation can only be legitimised through recourse to a meritocratic discourse. The internalisation of elite formation does not change this precondition of the acceptance of elites in society. From this viewpoint, access to an elite education in national and international terms should be open to everyone irrespective of their social origin and it should be organised in such a way that everyone has the opportunity to achieve at school, higher education and within his or her occupational career. This contribution offers a critical analysis of the meritocratic narrative so prevalent today, from a conflict-theoretical perspective (Young 1958; McNamee and Miller 2004; Kreckel 2004). A conflict-theoretical viewpoint argues that educational achievement of students and competition between schools are driven by strategies of

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status reproduction within and between the more highly resourced classes, a process leading to the stratification of schools.

Within a competitive educational environment, schools are under continual pressure to achieve measurable annual progress for their students, which further exacerbates the stratificatory effects within an educational system. Usually, those institutions that come out "on top" are schools that are able to recruit the "best" students on the basis of a school's existing competitive advantages (evidenced in the physical resources—classrooms, sporting grounds, laboratories—but also teachers recruited, student demography, links to other schools and alumni networks). Existing advantages such as these are converted into further advantages in a cumulative manner. Hence, if the aim to improve the overall educational outcomes of a population is pursued through the introduction of competitive mechanisms, a conflict-theoretical perspective would suggest that such systems cannot be understood to be meritocractic in the true sense.

This contribution will examine this theoretical position more closely, and the evidence supporting it, through a focus on how the narrative of competition is being fuelled at a global level. In particular, it will consider the increased attention paid to international comparative performance assessments, and especially the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), organised and administered by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) every three years since 2000. Against this backdrop, the basic features of the narrative of competition as a tool for raising educational achievements are considered compatible with establishing a meritocractic approach to education worldwide. I take the USA as a case study, where the utmost significance is ascribed to the competition narrative. Based on this case study, I highlight how competition within education does not foster meritocracy, and that taking an international and global perspective on education obfuscates the continuing dominance of leading American and English elite universities in educating and facilitating the paths of those who will become the next generation of the global elite.

PISA as Representative of the Hegemonic Competition Paradigm

PISA has made international competition an inevitable reality in the field of education (Grek 2009). According to the OECD, knowledge and competences are the crucial factors of growth in the knowledge-based

economy (OECD 1996, 1999). One PISA study even predicts the percentage of economic growth possible following a proportionate improvement of PISA test results (OECD 2010). Critically, proponents of PISA argue that through international league tables, and the competition this generates, this will directly drive a rise in test results. Thus PISA is an example of an instrument which drives what has become a hegemonic discourse advancing competition as the overriding solution to problems of perceived low educational "quality" or "standards". I would suggest that the assumption that one approach alone might solve such an entrenched issue is rather unrealistic. However, because within the international field of education the OECD educational directorate possesses a monopoly position with regard to the definition of education and its role in managing education governance (Sellar and Lingard 2013) at an international level, it is relatively easy for the OECD to obfuscate the ways in which this approach may be skewing the promotion of educational opportunities for all.

To help consider this issue further, I draw on theories which use economics as a core concern within the field of social sciences. In particular, New Public Management (NPM) is a framework which explains the approach taken by the OECD, as founded on theories of public choice and agency. public choice theory changes public matters or "public goods" into the articulation and meeting of individual preferences. From this viewpoint, "education" is not a public good whose meaning should be decided upon through the public formation of opinion and whose quality the state must act as a guarantor for. Instead, education is considered a private good that can be shaped in different ways depending on consumer preferences. From this viewpoint, the best possible education will be provided in an educational market where public and private suppliers compete with each other for consumer preferences. Economics' globally dominating hegemonic position as a discipline and prism through which to understand the world also fuels the competition paradigm we find within the field of education, and has had the effect of ensuring that different national traditions of public education have lost their legitimacy to a large extent.

A second theoretical foundation that helps to make sense of the competition paradigm found within education is agency theory (Eisenhardt 1989). This theory envisions the relationships between clients and contractors as a relationship between a principal and an agent. It is characterised by an "information asymmetry" in that the principal depends on the agent's largely independent activity, but cannot immediately monitor the latter's actions. Actors can be principals and agents at the same time.

In the educational system, the education lead for a local/national area is the agent of the local government but also the principal of the school and its management team. Meanwhile the school principal/management team is the agent of the education lead for the national/local area and the principal of the teachers within that particular school. To remedy the information asymmetry between principals and agents, we find, on the one hand, competition between agents for achievement and, on the other hand, the measurement of their performance. In the educational system, this applies particularly to the competition between schools and the measurement of their achievements by regular performance tests. Both public choice and agency theory can be found within NPM ideas. In the wake of NPM's global diffusion (Hood 1991), competition and efficiency controls by performance tests play an ever more crucial role for education, too.

The Narrative of the Competition Paradigm: Solving Problems by Competition

For the protagonists of NPM, competition in education means a learning process that leads to improved performance across the system. From their perspective, more competition results in better schools, better schools produce better students, and better students go on to take on better employment; this in turn raises incomes, which then increase an economy's affluence. Such is the narrative of the competition paradigm. In terms of the OECD agenda, economic growth in the knowledge society very much depends on the mobilisation of cognitive competences both at the top and among the broader masses (OECD 2010). McKinsey's "global war for talents" and George W. Bush's programme "No Child Left Behind", which was established in the USA in 2002, speak to this agenda.

But how can competition be introduced into a public/state-funded school system? In the framework of the competition paradigm the following measures are aimed at guaranteeing this:

- Autonomy: more power of decision-making and responsibility on the part of the school management
- Free choice of schools
- Regular central performance tests
- Publication of the test results in rankings to inform the parents with regard to their choice of schools
- Allocation of resources and reputation according to test achievements

A meritocratic interpretation of the introduction of such system changes might be the following: schools producing better achievements are rewarded with money and rank; more highly ranked schools can make higher performance demands on their students and attract better-performing students and those ready to perform; better-performing students attend better schools where they are offered greater challenges and more support; better schools and better students serve as models for the previously weaker schools and students. The competition supplies stimuli (resources and prestige) for the weaker schools and students to improve their performance. As a result, all schools and all students improve. The top has to improve to stay at the top, the midrange wants to approach the top, and the schools and students on the lower ranks strive to reach the midrange level. The end result is that all move to a higher floor, meaning all are better off.

The theoretical background justifying the ranking of schools and people according to performance levels is the functionalist stratification theory of Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, found in an essay they published in 1945 (Davis and Moore 1945). The theory's hypothesis is that for a society to achieve its goals certain tasks and jobs are necessary. Stimuli and rewards must be provided to motivate people undertake the required tasks and to have acquired the necessary competences to do so, through education and further training.

From this viewpoint, elite schools are functionally necessary to prepare students for leading positions. Nevertheless, elite schools must be open to all high-enough performing and eager students if meritocratic ideals are being pursued. This is required, first of all, to ensure an "elite selection" and, secondly, to offer equal opportunities for all. "Elite selection" and "equal opportunity" are two sides of the same coin. They are the two legitimating principles of meritocracy. To comply with both principles, special efforts are needed to make access to the best schools as independent as possible from a student's social origin (family). All efforts of competition-based educational policy as evidenced in the USA are geared towards providing stimuli to raise performance and motivating all students, but also towards reducing the effect of social origin on attainment. It is schools that are expected to support initiatives aimed at promoting social mobility. From the perspective of the competition paradigm, competition is understood as the most effective tool for enhancing the outcomes of weaker students from less-privileged families, who are not inherently advantaged by their families' resources.

The politically endorsed mechanism for improving students' performances through competition in the USA has been the generous licensing

of so-called charter schools (Lubiensky and Weitzel 2010). These are privately managed schools with public funding that are, however, not subject to the same regulations as publicly managed schools. To justify their greater autonomy, charter schools are arguably more invested than regular public schools to prove their "quality" in terms of student performance. The idea behind charter schools is that they can identify what is needed and most relevant for improving student performance.

Ray Buddle, a professor at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, was the first to promote this idea in 1974. Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers, called for the establishment of charter schools for reforming public schools in 1988. The first state to pass a charter school law was Minnesota in 1991. In 2015 this had risen to 42 states. The number of charter schools in a school district is limited, meaning that public schools still constitute the main type of provision. However, across the USA, the number of charter schools has grown steadily, particularly since the passing of the No Child Left Behind Act in 2002. More than 400 new schools opened in 2015, for instance, though another 270 were shut down. Overall, there are currently approximately 6800 charter schools serving about 3 million students (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools 2015).

To incite competition, a central purpose of the charter school movement, school management are given greater decision-making power. Annual tests in English and Maths assess the students' performance level, which are then published in a league table, which is aimed at informing parents' decisions around schooling for their children. Performance tests are meant to mirror the annual progress of the students' performances according to the Value Added Measure (VAM) that lead to bonus payments for both school management and teachers. School management and teachers who are unable to demonstrate success in the form of expected levels of performance can be dismissed and replaced. In line with the disciplines of the market, schools can be quickly opened and closed. Large schools are subdivided into several smaller schools. Parents and students frequently do not know whether their school, school management or teachers will still be there at all in the coming term. A driving force behind the embedding of these market dynamics within the school system are wealthy foundations, such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation which supports this policy through its advocacy work and philanthropic activity (Kovacs 2011).

According to the rationale of the competition paradigm weak schools are placed under competitive pressure to ensure that their weak students achieve at least average levels of attainment. The incentives here are rewards for the school management and the teachers for improving the students' achievements in performance tests and punishments for those who do not, potentially leading to their dismissal. In the meritocratic narrative, all this is justified in the name of equal opportunities and promoting economic growth in society.

What achievements can such an articulation of meritocratic policy in education demonstrate, if any? We turn to this question next by assessing the research evidence, using the USA as our case study.

The Reality of Competition in the Educational System: Evidence from the USA

Following the publication by the Reagan administration of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983 (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983), concerted efforts were made by successive governments to bring about substantive improvements to the American education system. Based on the principles of competition, reform efforts have included George W. Bush's 2002 initiative "No Child Left Behind" (NCLB), as well as Barack Obama's "Race to the Top" programme. VAM is the central feature of both programmes. VAM exerts substantial pressure on the teachers in disadvantaged school districts to achieve improved results for their students. Given this pressure, there is some evidence that schools resort to practices such as exempting the weakest students from tests or even falsifying test results, illustrating the strategies engaged with by actors to survive in the competition-driven education context.

The Atlanta Public School Scandal highlights the lengths to which institutions can go in order to successfully navigate the demands of such a regime of governance. In 2011, surveys revealed that the annual progress attained, as reported, in 44 schools in black neighbourhoods in Atlanta appeared to be falsified. A total of 178 people—principals and teachers—were identified who were proven to be involved in the manipulation of results. In April 2015, three of the persons accused were sentenced to serve seven years in prison, which was reduced to three years two weeks later. Another 35 people were punished, but less severely. The district's superintendent had exerted massive pressure on the schools to comply with the NCLB programme, issuing the expectation that the disadvan-

taged black students should make annual progress to approach the average performance level of the white middle class across the country.

These developments, as found in the USA, have prompted commentators to describe them as having fallen prey to a test-industrial complex or an education-industrial complex (Picciano and Spring 2012). This in part refers to a network of powerful actors who have a strong influence over the USA's, but also global, educational policy. Diane Ravitch (2015) outlined how such a network operates. Ravitch states that some of the key nodal policy actors are: Pearson PLC, the world's largest educational company offering various educational materials and resources, including technology and tests for teachers and students; Salmon River Capital, an equity and venture capital company based in New York, which invests into the profitable business of charter schools—a growth market covering around 500 new schools every year; New Leaders, national non-profit organisations that develop "effective" management models for school management; New Classrooms, non-profit organisations offering teaching technologies for personalised learning; and Common Core State Standards, a national initiative for the development of educational standards in which the National Governors' Association and the Council of Chief State School Officers are involved. Crucial advocates and sponsors in this policy network include the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Walton Family Foundation (Walmart), and the Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation (finance, real estate, insurance).

Besides allowing certain business enterprises to flourish, such competition-oriented measures are often not supported by the research evidence. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP 2016), a long-term assessment in reading and mathematics, conducted regularly since 1971, shows only minor progress between 1971 and 2012.

The scores of high school graduates on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) have decreased from 507 to 496 in the period between 1986 and 2012 (SAT 2016). Furthermore, falling average performance was recorded in the PISA test in reading competence in the period from 2000 to 2012, with a small improvement for those students at the lower end of the scale but a decline of performance at all levels above.

As we see in Fig. 3.1, the USA shows average performance in reading competences compared to other countries, with weaker performance in 2012 compared to 2000, while Poland and Germany have demonstrated improved performance in the same period without putting so much emphasis on competition between schools. Interestingly, Sweden has

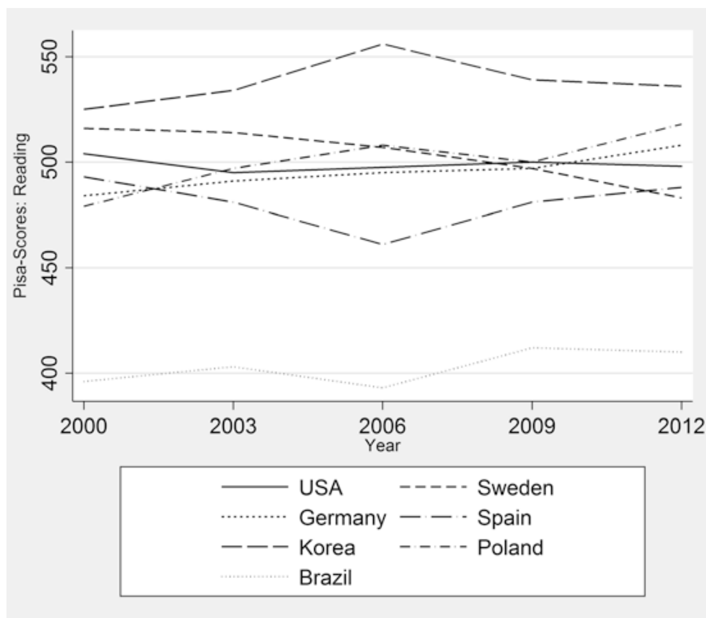

Fig. 3.1 PISA Score Reading 2000–2012

experienced a substantial decline in PISA reading scores since introducing choice and competition in its education system (Fig. 3.1).

Cognitive competences are arguably overvalued in such performance measures, as PISA represents, at the expense of social competences, although research suggests that social competences are far more important for professional success (e.g., Heckmann et al. 2006). At the same time, it is suggested that the dominance of mass and standardised testing regimes in education leads to questionable but perhaps inevitable school level practices such as teaching to the test. Moreover, Jones (2015) argues that the emphasis on standardised tests in schools consumes a disproportionate amount of time over the course of the school year, to the detriment of providing a broader educational experience for students. This also has implications for teachers, with some suggesting that they are increasingly de-professionalised as their work and expertise is oriented towards facilitating acquisition of approved knowledge. Teachers and schools are made responsible (or accountable) for raising standards by ensuring that

students achieve or exceed their expected levels of achievement, while the social, cultural and economic factors affecting this are sidelined. Ravitch (2010) argues that "[t]he best predictor of low academic performance is poverty—not bad teachers", and, with regard to VAM, The American Statistical Association points out that:

> teachers account for about 1—14% of the variability in test scores, and that the majority of opportunities for quality improvement are found in the system level conditions. Ranking teachers by their VAM scores can have unintended consequences that reduce quality. (ASA 2014: 2)

Furthermore, Lubienski and Lubienski (2014) conclude:

> In fact … education may be unique in that it embodies essential elements that resist the easy application of simple structural remedies from the private sector, and it may corrupt the competitive incentives thought to promote improvements in schools. Indeed, despite the bipartisan popularity of choice and charter schools with policymakers, it appears that the major reform movements promised on the assumption of school sector remedies may be misguided. (Lubienski and Lubienski 2014: XVIII; Lubienski 2005, 2007; Lubienski et al. 2009; Lubienski and Weitzel 2010; Gaztambide-Fernández and Garlen-Maudlin 2015)

The Counter-Narrative: Stratification and Closure of Chances by Competition

Melvin M. Tumin (1953) formulated the classic criticism of the functionalist theory of stratification. He argued that the higher social classes determine the goals to be pursued by a society. They also have privileged access to the acquisition of competences for better-paid jobs. Their efforts to secure the acquisition of approved and valuable competences—knowledge and skills—for their children make it more difficult for those less-privileged groups to gain access to the acquisition of such competences. Inclusion policies introduced by the state and nominally designed to guarantee equal opportunities are undermined by the higher classes' capacity to secure advantages for their children (van Zanten and Maxwell 2015).

The "Matthew effect" identified by Robert K. Merton (1968a) is an apposite concept for making sense of the continued dominance of the most privileged groups in the education game. This refers to the idea that advantages are transformed into further advantages through an

accumulation process. In the context of the increasing use of national and global testing regimes, which produce rankings, these should theoretically remove any "information asymmetry" (as coined by economists) among families when making choices about education. However, although information about a school's performance is widely available if you know where and have an inclination to look for it, not everybody has the same capacity to use such information to their advantage. For instance, even with informed knowledge of schools' relative positions in the quasi-market, some parents still experience economic, social and cultural barriers to realising their choice.

Furthermore, the latent function and effect of rankings are characterised by a self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby approved knowledge of the status of an institution contributes to the maintaining of its status (Merton 1949/1968b). Parents in turn compete to get their own children admitted to high-performing schools, who are therefore more likely to gain additional funding for most "value-added" to their students' performance, which secures the necessary finances, reputation of the institution, the ability to attract the best teachers and so forth. All this, in turn, is likely to further improve student performance. Hence, the Matthew effect is apparent in the ways in which existing advantages are transferred into further advantages. Such an analysis supports Bourdieu's (1996: 285–299) findings of social reproduction within the French education system.

Perhaps most powerful in justifying the continued social reproduction of advantage through a discourse promoting competition within the education market, is the emphasis within these policies that they seek to improve educational standards, and especially the educational performance of disadvantaged children. Clearly, the US education policy "No Child Left Behind" rhetorically focused on the inclusion of the most disadvantaged children legitimises continued and growing inequalities with regard to educational outcomes.

Conclusion

The meritocratic narrative that underpins today's focus on competition within education—"more competition → better schools → better students → more welfare for all", based on the evidence presented in this chapter, has failed to meet its stated goals. Taking a conflict-theoretical position, I would argue as follows: "More competition → higher inequality in the access to educational opportunities → earlier differentiation of

life courses → higher inequality of incomes → (leading to further) inequality in the access to educational opportunities".

The competition paradigm assumes that for all parents it is most important to know which school can guarantee the best advancement of their children, so as to ensure their placement in the best colleges of the nation. This information is provided by rankings. These rankings do, however not simply provide information on the ranking position of a school or college. Their official information function is complemented with their unofficial function of fixing status differences in the long run and securing returns in income and status of educational investments. In this way, the state's inclusion efforts are countered by the exclusion strategies of society's better-off strata.

Even the most comprehensive efforts to raise equal opportunity through the education system by more competition does not appear to change anything in the discrepancy between ideology and reality of an elite formation according to meritocratic principles (as data from the USA and Sweden testify). The increasing internationalisation of education and employment feeds this competition for certain schools and universities to work towards claiming a global elite position, which make it almost impossible for national governments to influence and attempt to promote a commitment to equality. Universities such as Cambridge, Oxford, Harvard, Yale and others are no longer exclusively committed to the nation in which they are located, but seek to enrol the best students from everywhere in the world and contribute to the formation of a new global elite.

Because of the worldwide hegemonial position of Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Princeton, Stanford, Cambridge, Oxford, and the likes, the internationalisation of elite formation means that enrolment in these colleges is the high road to global elite positions. Typical careers of the global elite lead from these globally dominant elite colleges to Goldman Sachs and the likes, or to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank and so forth. This is meritocracy as envisioned by Michael Young (1958), because the global elite can claim legitimacy of its leading role in handling world affairs according to the narrative of competition. According to this narrative, increasing international enrolment in the globally established elite colleges has freed access to elite formation from any prejudice and national privilege to select the very best in their profession.

International rankings of universities like the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) or the ranking of the Times Higher Education

Supplement (THES) are powerful forces of the internationalisation of higher education and elite formation. As explained with national rankings of schools, they provide people interested in internationally leading education institutions with information on universities which can claim to offer such an education. From the perspective of the competition paradigm this is necessary information to make the market of higher education transparent for investors in human capital. From the perspective of the conflict paradigm, international rankings turn the coexistence of universities side by side serving different national student populations into a unitarian hierarchy in terms of academic prestige. The higher the rank of a university the higher the value of its academic degrees and the higher the returns of investments in their bachelor, master or Ph.D. programmes in terms of achievement in the labour market. Rankings consolidate created hierarchies like a self-fulfilling prophecy, so that they make sure that investors in an educational programme can expect a high stability on the returns to their investments. As access to the highest ranking universities is bound to preceding achievement, which depends highly on social origin and available capital—nowadays, more than in the time of educational expansion in the 1960s and 1970s, rankings help forcefully to reward the privilege of higher social origin. In this way the idea of a global meritocracy is corrupted by the emergence of a kind of global aristocracy.

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CHAPTER 4

Exclusive Globality, Inclusive Diversity: Internationalisation as a Strategy of Inclusion and Exclusion

Tobias Peter

The Ambivalence of Strangeness

There is a renewed engagement with the concept of strangeness in Germany (*Fremdheit* in German, which can mean strangeness, Otherness and/or foreignness, or all three, depending on the context). Contrary to the rhetoric of migration and global migrant workers, the stranger—or in this case, the foreigner—is apparently no longer seen as "a wanderer, […] one who arrives today and leaves tomorrow, but as one who comes today and stays tomorrow" (Simmel 2009: 611). This has resulted in extremely diverse social references being made to the Other who can occupy a rather contradictory space—either as a potential skilled worker and as someone providing cultural enrichment, or as a subject to be rejected as an economic parasite and a risk to security (Nassehi 2016).

This contribution follows the hypothesis that this ambiguity is particularly prominent in the context of internationalisation and education.

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One the one hand, educational institutions of excellence, especially universities, boast that they promote cosmopolitanism, a global exchange of knowledge and a multicultural atmosphere. Universities aim for elite status through metrics such as international publications, global research partnerships and a diverse student body. Likewise, exclusive schools refer to the international character or profile of their curricula and teachers as a particular feature when competing for pupils. Here internationalisation is used as a source of distinction. However, the increasing multicultural nature of many societies is a form of internationalisation that has been responded to through a focus on inclusion, seeking to ensure all people, no matter what their background, have the potential to achieve academically. In such engagements people do sometimes recognise the value of inter-cultural learning that can occur within mixed spaces.

With exclusivity and excellence at the one end, and inclusivity and the promotion of basic competencies at the other end of the continuum, "the stranger" occupies an ambivalent position in today's educational system. Internationalisation, or "being international", in this context may act as a divide within the education system and as a mechanism for segregating those at the top of the social hierarchy from those at the bottom (Zymek 2009: 185). This chapter explores some of the strategies of inclusion and exclusion that are connected to different facets of internationalisation. It argues that the notion of the stranger has changed to somebody who has to prove his worth as a member of society and within the education system. This changed notion can be found in discourses about elite and international education as well as around inclusive education which promotes diversity, and I show how both position students as self-responsible individuals. I will begin by elaborating the dualism between inclusion and exclusion evident in some processes of internationalisation by adopting a systems theory approach. I will then trace the defining discourses and strategies of, first, exclusive globality and, second, inclusive diversity by discussing some historical examples. The chapter concludes by summarising the differences and the similarities between the various facets of internationality.

Inclusion/Exclusion and Internationalisation

These paragraphs present the socio-theoretical basis of my argument. Unlike the rather normative educational discourse of inclusion that formulates the participation of all students in schools as a goal, the sociological

perspective offered by systems theory is more analytically oriented (Cramer and Harant 2014). The dualism between inclusion and exclusion in systems theory offers a differentiated perspective on the social mechanisms determining these processes that goes far beyond more common analyses of social participation and social (in)equality which are often presented. A systems theory approach on this topic is less interested in what could be termed "external" forms of exclusions—that is, exclusions from society as a whole—and more on the "internal" forms of exclusion that occur *within* society itself. If we consider inclusion and exclusion as mutually dependent, then it might follow that those who are excluded will form a counter structure which also determine and make visible the conditions of inclusion, and are therefore integral to the production of a new social order (Luhmann 2013: 18). Following this approach, the phenomena of strangeness is highly contextual and linked to specific systems of rationality and subjects of inclusion. It serves as means for deciding who will receive recognition within systemic communication, and who will not. Against this backdrop the ambivalence inherent in the figure of the Stranger can be understood. Furthermore, internationalisation, with its many different aspects, is relevant not only for phenomena of inclusion and exclusion across several systems, but also for various mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion operating at different system levels of social subsystems like education, organisation systems such as schools and universities, and interaction systems like lessons or mentoring.

Based on this theoretical approach, the chapter will present an empirical discourse analysis of system-theoretical issues (Peter 2014; Stäheli 2004) that focus on the dualism between inclusion and exclusion, and more specifically how the rhetoric and semantics of inclusion and exclusion establish different figures of educational strangeness. Lying behind this is the assumption that phenomena of exclusion today are no longer characterised by the outright refusal to respect the right to participate, but rather by increasingly "making the 'no' invisible" (Bohn 2008: 178). Exclusion occurs *ex negativo* in relation to how functional systems and organisations articulate and (re)inscribe discourses of inclusion. Conversely, the perceived risks of exclusion are anticipated, and responded to, within inclusion discourses and translated into individual and collective practices.

This paper investigates how these processes might be unfolding in secondary schooling and higher education as those are the segments of the educational system in Germany where processes of selection actively shape who "succeeds" in German society. I analysed various texts in

which internationalisation is treated as an approved and accepted feature of "excellence" in education, denoting either exclusive and/or inclusive education. Contrasting and comparing the social construction of internationality in secondary schooling and in higher education offers the opportunity to focus on the specificity of internationalisation as a mechanism of both inclusion and exclusion in each sector and to identify the continuities between these stages in the educational process. The study is part of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)-funded project "Equality and Excellence: On the Simultaneity of Counter-Directional Rationalities in the German Education System" that examines the discursive formation and practical effects of the two rationalities of equality and excellence that dominate the contemporary system of education in Germany. These discursive formations are then compared and contrasted to further consider the function of exclusivity and inclusivity in claims relating to internationalisation and being elite.

In terms of practical research, the construction of the text corpus focused on information from the field as well as the reconstruction of the discourses. The identification of discursive events and data resulted from a preliminary investigation into themes, reference phenomena and key terms such as "internationalisation", "immigration" or "diversity" when related to the concepts of excellence or equality. The underlying assumption driving the work was that references to equality and excellence in politically strategic and institutionalised programmes lead to the adoption of an orientation which functions at different levels and, as interpretive schemes, structure individual perceptions and positions (Bröckling 2015: XIIf.). The selection of texts was focused on the time period—1980s up to the current moment. First, education policy documents and statements given by different educational-political agents ranging from governmental authorities and parties and advisory organisations were gathered. Second, various institutional artefacts such as plans of action, guidelines, mission statements and prospectuses of schools and universities were collected. About 204 texts from the policy and administrative level, as well as 134 texts from the institutional level were collected and quantitatively analysed by using MaxQDA. I was able to identify discursive regularities in this material based on the dominance of certain themes like "global competition" or "cultural diversity", which were then coded accordingly. A detailed analysis of the chosen documents led to a reconstruction of various facets of internationality as strategies of inclusion and exclusion. The article concentrates on this aspect. Through the analysis of these different "texts", the original hypothesis of a strict ambiguity within internationality

was modified and the theoretical focus sharpened. I then conducted a more detailed qualitative analysis of those texts that were representative of the different system levels—interaction, organisation and education system—and which appeared to show discursive coherency. This enabled me to problematise the programmatic goals and subjective requirements for achieving internationalisation as a strategy of both exclusion and inclusion, depending on the context. The following is thus a discussion of how and where these features diverge from one another, as well as how and where they are aligned.

Exclusive Globality

To understand the relationship between exclusivity and internationality, it is necessary to reconstruct briefly its historical development. The exchange of ideas across borders has been a universal principle of learning and science since the beginning of modern academia found in the mediaeval university (Scott 1998). This notwithstanding, only a very limited academic exchange was needed to guarantee the cosmopolitan character and function of the medieval university (Stichweh 1994; Schwinges 1986). With regard to studies abroad, the inclusion of people from different regional backgrounds in the *nationes* was limited to a social elite of noblemen or urban patricians, and it was thus characterised by strong social exclusivity. The stranger or foreigner was privileged because he incorporated a fundamental principle of scholarship: the marvel of Otherness that offered a different view of reality (Stichweh 2010: 87ff.).

The worldwide institutionalisation of education and science within the nation state in the nineteenth century (Stichweh 2005: 42; Meyer 1992) led to the development of national systems of education, each with their own national discourses and areas of specialism. The concepts of exclusivity, excellence and internationalisation in this particular context and time conjured up connotations of the splendour of particular national models of, for instance, higher education. Thus, the German universities in the nineteenth century became a "much admired model for the entire world" (Nipperdey 1998: 470). With regard to school education, at the systemic level many inclusive and exclusive practices emerged within education, which were also legitimised in relation to the nation state. The perceived hierarchy of "innate" talents of citizens and their associated suitability for different occupational fields (Lenhardt and Stock 1997: 54f.) resulted in the development of an exclusive education track, that still remains today for

the most part, for the selection and training of a national elite of functionaries who would then lead the various domains comprising the nation state (Dreitzel 1962). The German *Gymnasium* (grammar school), for example, became the elite segment of the education system and continues to be a national project that has long been defended in the face of international developments of implementing comprehensive school after the 1960s.

In Germany, after and in response to the atrocities of the Second World War, the discursive coupling of exclusivity and nationalism/nationality was gradually eroded and international understanding, peace and cultural exchange were, at least up to the early 1990s, still an essential part of the discourse of internationalisation in politics and institutions of higher education (Teichler 1999). It is necessary to understand this in order to discuss the fundamental changes that occurred in the wake of the emergence of the powerful discourse promoting neo-liberal *globalisation*. Inclusion and exclusion thus began, in this neo-liberal context, to run counter to the maintenance of nation states, which—along with their social welfare and education systems—were problematised on the one hand as obstacles of globalisation, and on the other as insufficiently equipped to harness its possibilities and potentials. In the texts from the 1990s, an emerging discourse can be detected in which competition was not only regarded as both a necessity due to processes of internationalisation, but also as a catalyst for internationalisation in the education system in Germany. Having internationally competitive institutions of higher education became a way of participating in the global "competition for top positions in key technologies" (Wissenschaftsrat 1988: 161). Finally, political programmes like the German Excellence Initiative strove to raise the international visibility and attractiveness of selected "beacon" institutions in order to "strengthen Germany as a location for science and research in the long term, to increase its international competitiveness and to make outstanding achievement at the university and in research more visible" (GWK 2005: 1). "Being international" and "excellence" thus became mutually dependent and reinforcing. The objectives of exclusive globality became the focus of internationalisation strategies at this time (DFG 2012; BMBF 2014) and were geared towards the establishment of global networks of scholarly communication, in the form of, for instance, transnational research partnerships and the publication of research in international scholarly journals.

In order to be competitive enough for inclusion in top global research league tables, universities need to appeal to the relevant subjects—leading academics. In the "Global Competition for Talent" (OECD 2008),

launched by the OECD and other international organisations, a particular discourse of competition is promoted which defines inclusion in very specific ways. Universities and research institutions are encouraged to "attract excellent scientists and researchers from all over the world in an increasingly tougher competition" (BMBF 2014: 14), and scientists and researchers are urged to present themselves as valuable, demonstrating how they can both individually but also as members of their institutions compete on the global stage. International students, too, are considered valuable to Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) because of their "difference" and international profile, yet other markers of strangeness—for example, their socio-economic status or level of education—should remain excluded from view as they communicate a less productive interpretation of the Otherness. When business schools advertise that their students and managers come from "more than 30 nations with the most diverse professional backgrounds and cultures" (EBS 2011), they regard international experience as a human capital and draw on the status of the stranger as a resource. Exclusive HEIs and elite degree programmes in public universities, also promote a guarantee of exclusivity by focusing on providing high levels of inter-culturality and globality within their provision and as an ambition for their graduates. The promotion of internationalisation in the university context is based on building or securing a reputation of "excellence", as can be seen in the "Diversity Code of Conduct" of the TU Munich (TUM 2015). Achievement standards are not necessarily undermined by a heterogeneous student body. Indeed, in searching for people with "high potential", individuals around the world should be considered for a place on a programme as this promotes a diversity of students and the potential for recruiting the best.

The establishment of exclusive globality in the compulsory education sector in Germany—including the *Gymnasiums*—is less politically charged. This is perhaps because these institutions are oriented more towards inclusion within the nation state. Unlike in higher education, there is arguably less symbolic (and economic) value attributed to Otherness, and international exchanges are at best an ancillary and not a constitutive part of compulsory education. It is telling that the *Gymnasium* has long focused on classical languages and traditional humanistic knowledge as symbol of the specific German educational tradition of *Bildungsbürgertum* (education bourgeoisie) rather than on modern languages as competence of international exchange. However, the shift towards a global order of inclusion, as discussed above, has resulted in Gymnasiums adopting two strategies for

establishing their exclusive globality, as an extension of their already existing vertical differentiation within the German three-tiered school system. As a first strategy, *Gymnasiums* derive their exclusivity from the higher number of foreign languages they teach, as compared to other types of schools (the *Hauptschule* and *Gesamtschule*); second, these schools present an international orientation through their ethos and profile, for instance in the form of international school partnerships and student exchange programmes, and by offering the International Baccalaureate. Interestingly, the latter is framed in the public discourse as appealing to "world-class educators and students", with "the IB support[ing] schools and teachers to provide a rigorous, high-quality education" (IBO 2016a).

The IB Diploma Programme promises decisive advantages for students because it aims to develop "students who have excellent breadth and depth of knowledge—students who flourish physically, intellectually, emotionally and ethically" (IBO 2016b). In this way, internationalisation, and "being international", aligns with neo-liberal discourses of educational "excellence" and "quality", and the development of appropriate forms of human capital for an international and competitive context. When a *Gymnasium* can offer the IB programme, or a pupil earns an IB certificate, this promises exclusivity because it is still a rare qualification and promises direct access to universities abroad. The educational programmes of international schools also strive towards this goal by incorporating key narratives of the "excellence" discourse of universities. For example, the Berlin International School states: "We have identified the needs of the highly competitive, global world that our students will be part of in the future, and ensure that every child feels happy and secure allowing them to develop the academic and linguistic skills necessary to succeed in it" (Internationale Schule Berlin 2015). Internationalisation, therefore, appears here to be a feature whereby schools and pupils can distinguish themselves from others (Helsper and Krüger 2015). The narrative of "Global Competition for Talent" not only incites educational *institutions* to compete with one another; it also targets *parents and their children*, both of whom are considered and treated, again in the neo-liberal context, as clients.

The constitution of a national elite has thus been transformed by strategies of exclusive globality. Although exclusive schools and higher education institutions are still organised in accordance with a nation-state framework, their stated remit is the cultivation of "global leaders". "Being (truly) international" acts as a distinctive code for signalling that a person

can handle the challenges of complex leadership requirements, and in relation to which the figure of the stranger promotes a certain diversity and inter-culturality that promotes a form of human capital that can be further developed and strengthened throughout one's lifetime.

Inclusive Diversity

Educational institutions that position themselves, and are perceived by others, as "excellent" and "elite", try to preserve and reinforce their international distinction in the education market. In doing so, the "normal" education system must therefore act as the counterpart that has little, if anything, to do with internationality and globality. However, processes of internationalisation do influence the broader education system, but as my analysis argues—they emphasise inclusivity, albeit at different levels and based on other kinds of logic.

A decisive factor in shaping the internationalisation of the school system has been immigration (Zymek 2009). Not only does immigration affect schools in different ways to institutions of higher education, but the effects are also much greater in the compulsory sector. Since the turn of the century, the figure of the first- or second-generation immigrant child living in urban centres has become a symbol of marginalisation in the education system (Allemann-Ghionda 2006). Due to the segregation of immigrant groups into socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods and certain types of schools, like the *Hauptschule* and *Gesamtschule* (forms of lower secondary education schools that, unlike the *Gymnasium*, do not prepare pupils for university), a form of internationalisation has unfolded which is accompanied by a corresponding educational discourse of exclusion.

The poorer educational outcomes of pupils with immigrant backgrounds was another aspect of the internationalisation discourse that was brought to light by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) debate, identifying the main problem not as their insufficient adaptation to the majority cultural norm but their falling short of performance requirements in school. As a result, insufficient integration and language skills were identified as key policy problems (Stanat 2003: 224; Diefenbach et al. 2002). The ensuing debate was dominated yet again by a deficit image of immigrants with low socio-economic status. Following the arguments of the German federal government, this status caused "risks for the educational success of children and youths that must be remedied through adequate, individual support" (BBMFI 2011: 70f.). With this goal in mind, a range of

supportive measures emerged that did not target the complex societal structures behind the increasing segregation, but rather focused on the responsibility of organisations and individuals. According to this logic, an immigrant background may be a resource, but its potentially problematic aspects should not be perpetuated. Egalitarian schools have responded to such directives by emphasising their inclusive understanding of internationalisation by focusing on the effective integration of students, families and parents with diverse immigrant backgrounds into a heterogeneous community.

The emphasis of this particular articulation of the internationalisation discourse—the promotion of inclusive pedagogical approaches—goes far beyond a commitment to special needs education, and thereby paving the way for a more general education paradigm change (Hunt and McDonnell 2007; Booth and Ainscow 2011). As one of the most influential discourses of education reform around the world, inclusive education is based on human rights, is a powerfully normative approach and is aimed explicitly at counteracting phenomena of social exclusion (Peters and Besley 2014: 108ff.). The so-called education of diversity is based on the assumption that there are multiple cultural characteristics that cannot be defined beforehand and that intersect on a case-by-case basis (Prengel 2005). This heterogeneity is based on different forms of discrimination related to, for instance, cultural, social, immigrant or ethnic background, or having a disability and/or being of a certain gender or age. However, although it may no longer be legal to attribute negative aspects to Otherness, those who are underprivileged must still prove their usefulness and worth in the "right" way in order to be acknowledged by, and integrated within, society.

In exploring this approach, we can see that the German discourse of diversity also has a clear economic bias. According to the corporate initiative *Charta der Vielfalt* (Diversity Charter): "We can only be successful in business if we acknowledge and leverage diversity" because "the diverse competencies and talents of management and staff open new chances for innovative and creative solutions" (Charta der Vielfalt e.V. 2011). Business-oriented diversity *management* is thus ultimately aimed at increasing productivity through optimal human resource management. If we assume that successful education efforts are essentially investments in human capital, as claimed by neo-liberal discourses, then it perhaps becomes clear why this approach is being applied in the education sector. In light of a diverse education clientele, it seems problematic that "the degree programmes and academic organisation of many institutions of higher education in Germany are [oriented towards] an ideal 'norm stu-

dent', a pupil with an *Abitur* [entrance qualification for university] from a German family, who begins his or her full-time studies immediately after finishing school and regards this as the centre of his or her life. However, diversions from this 'norm' are more the rule than the exception," reports the *Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft* (Donors' Association for the Promotion of Humanities and Sciences in Germany) (2015). The target group of diversity management strategies is thus those who are disadvantaged, including students with immigrant backgrounds. Strategies of standardisation, like the *Stifterverband's* diversity audit, are thus designed to try and "increase equal opportunity in university education and to ensure that access to, and success in, higher education is not dependent on cultural or social background, previous education, experience or life situation, but rather on personal motivation and abilities" (Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft 2015).

At an institutional level, the programmatic goals of inclusive diversity are thus translated into higher education institutions as egalitarian spaces, thereby contrasting starkly with the internationalisation strategies of elite universities. Both emphasise their international network of partners, but non-elite universities also stress an ethos and mission of providing "equal opportunities for all". As one higher education institution put it: "The percentage of students with an immigrant background at universities [in Germany] is generally too low. In the Ruhr area, which has a specific demographic structure, a lot of potential is left undeveloped this way"; for this reason, it aims to "increase the percentage of students with immigrant backgrounds and include as many nationalities and domains of experiences as possible in the academic and non-academic personnel at the university" (Hochschule Ruhr West 2015). In this case, "being international" is problematised as something which may require remedial action. Crucially, such remedial action is not targeted at equalising deficit, but at activating potential (Karakaşoğlu 2012: 93f.).

Reviewing documents highlights that diversity and inclusion policies in university have a tendency to be totalising: they "focus on accessing and promoting the potential of all people involved at the university" (Folkwang Universität 2012). However, they tend to be more oriented towards disadvantaged students. Strategies of inclusive diversity support those students with immigrant backgrounds who need help preparing for and undertaking study at higher education institutions. Other strategies also support foreign students by providing them with "tailor-made programmes that enable them to advance through education". Participation in the

labour market is perhaps the ultimate goal of these integration strategies, albeit not on the level of global leadership, but on the level of "normal" professionals.

While elite students may try to distinguish themselves from others through their prestigious degrees, perhaps the goal for upwardly mobile students (from lower socio-economic backgrounds) is simply to obtain a degree in the first place. The techniques used "to promote hidden talents and potential" systematically and comprehensively empower the students with immigrant backgrounds via remedial education, mentoring and self-management courses (UDE 2013: 23, 2013). Universities, like the TU Dortmund, highlight in their development plan the ways to "make the start of students' careers easier: The goal is to establish a culture of inclusion that will be a resource and a competitive advantage for the university" (TU Dortmund 2013: 16). Thus, although the policies of more egalitarian universities regard the Other as a marginalised figure that needs to be included, they are not referring to inclusion in an academic world in which there is a pure exchange of ideas; nor are they talking about inclusion in a society conceived as democratic. First and foremost, these policies position inclusion as taking place in a society concerned with labour and competition.

On the one hand, the international(ised) and exclusive discourse of excellence can be traced back to a well-established academic culture of privileged Otherness; on the other, discourses of inclusion and diversity are articulated in a politically motivated reversal of the negative aspects attributed to Otherness. Exclusive internationalisation strategies are translated into vertical stratifications, while inclusive strategies of diversity regard the characteristics of Otherness as a horizontal difference (Jäckle 2009: 311). Personality and competence development is associated with such strategies as diversity management that envision the individual as a resource to be both mined and worked. The more uncertainty there is about the skills expected to be acquired in the future, the greater the necessity to promote special talents today. The radical individualisation that goes hand in hand with subjectivising strategies of inclusive diversity means that individuals must assert the uniqueness of their personalities in a competition with others.

Productive Otherness

"Being international" is linked with strategies of inclusion and exclusion that are negotiated and enacted in very different ways in the various sectors of the education system. The notion of the stranger has changed to

somebody who has to prove his worth as a member of society and within the education system. Although all approaches are based on a heterogeneous education clientele, exclusive strategies focus on stressing the positive aspects of Otherness, while inclusive strategies strive to overcome the negative aspects attributed to it. In both cases, there are implications for how we understand inclusion and exclusion in education and elsewhere today. Although "being international" might be characterised by strategies of exclusivity at elite institutions and at some schools and universities, due to the limited number of pupils and students they serve, these institutions still strive towards inclusion but only for a small global elite. On the other hand, because egalitarian and less-privileged educational institutions are open to all, their potentially more diverse social and cultural intakes pose problems for, and inform, their pedagogical and inclusion strategies. These institutions must identify and try to address the perceived risks of exclusion posed by their student intakes in order to legitimate and demonstrate their own inclusivity. Unlike the global focus of Others make an active choice to be mobile and attend more exclusive education institutions, schools and universities, stressing diversity in these non-exclusive institutions focuses on the inclusion of local clientele with immigrant backgrounds.

Despite these differences, the excellence and the egalitarian approaches outlined in this chapter do share many common goals that are based on a positive, resource-oriented connotation of Otherness, strangeness or foreignness. For both international education and education of international students, the stranger has to prove his/her worth, that is, that he/she can become productive. Both strategies are concerned with the economic cultivation of Otherness, and both regard heterogeneity and diversity as a resource that needs to be utilised effectively. Exclusive globality and inclusive diversity are both geared towards developing potentials that can be identified through performance tables and rankings. On the one hand, inter-culturality at exclusive institutions of higher education is part of the education trajectory for leadership positions; at the other end of the continuum, the diversity within schools where a high number of students with an immigrant background are found is focused on ensuring basic competences which can be applied later to the benefit of the labour market. Foreignness for both academics and students recruited to leading/exclusive universities, as well as the composition of students in multicultural schools in inner cities thus becomes a strategy for education institutions. Practising tolerance serves to improve talents and outcomes for both sectors. What was once a privilege in the medieval university is

thus transformed into a visible, positively articulated international form of human capital that promises an advantage in the competition for the best students and researchers in global higher education. Meanwhile the permanent exclusion of immigrant potential is positioned as economic wastefulness, this making the promotion of inclusion and diversity a necessary investment. It would appear that the original ambivalence of Otherness is now located somewhere between privilege and exclusion. The Other—the stranger and the foreigner—is now someone who comes today and must prove him- or herself tomorrow. Otherness has thus become productive.

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CHAPTER 5

Internationality within Business Elites and National Elite Educational Institutions

Michael Hartmann

In parallel with the drastic globalisation of the world economy, the internationalisation or globalisation of elites[1] has become a constant topic of both public and sociological debate in the past three decades. The focus has generally been on the business elite, which is the group most likely to be regarded as internationalised considering both the existent interrelations in the world economy and the dominant role of major multinational companies. From the late 1980s to the beginning of the new millennium, publications that prophesised the development of an international or global business elite or capitalist class in the near future were prevalent, but such forecasts were usually based on meagre empirical data (Dahrendorf 2000; Kanther 1995; Kantor and Yang 2002; Marceau 1989; Robinson and Harris 2000; Sklair 2001). Divergent opinions have, however, begun to emerge in more recent research over the past decade. Work is now deliberative and cautious (Carroll 2009; Heemskerk 2013) or, more usually, sceptical to dismissive of this theory (Bühlmann et al. 2017; Davoine and Ravasi 2013; Hartmann 2009a, 2015, 2016; MacLean et al. 2010; Pohlmann 2009; Schmid et al. 2015;

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Schneickert 2015; Timans 2015; van Veen and Marsman 2008; Yoo and Lee 2009).

Surprisingly, the role played by the traditional elite educational institutions in the creation of the business elite is scarcely mentioned in older studies (with the exception of Marceau) and is mentioned in only a fraction of more recent ones (Hartmann 2007a, b, 2010). One would expect that elite educational institutions, which have been decisive for admission to socially important, elite positions in the spheres of business, politics, civil service and the judiciary in both France and the UK, as well as in the USA and Japan, for more than a century, would be a hindrance to a rapid and drastic internationalisation of elites for two reasons. Firstly, they are firmly rooted in the national traditions of the respective country. Secondly, because they educate all elites they constitute the link between the elites, especially in politics, that are still clearly nationally oriented and recruit nationally, and those elites, especially in business, that are most likely to be subject to a trend towards inter- and transnationalisation.[2] Instead, elite universities often tend to be viewed as the breeding grounds for a global business elite, especially, as in Marceau, the leading business schools such as INSEAD, the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and the renowned American business schools. In this respect, Marceau subscribes to the classic analysis of Weber and Bourdieu on the role of exclusive educational qualifications for the reproduction of national elites and classes, although she applies this analysis to a transnational elite.

Weber (1976: 577) sees the academic "educational patents" as the equivalent of the old aristocracy "proof of ancestry". Due to the high cost of a university education, such patents contribute to a "monopolisation of socially and economically advantageous positions" that favour university students and thus to the "formation of a privileged stratum in bureaus and in offices". The increasing "demands for the introduction of a regulated curricula culminating in specialized examinations" did not arise from "a suddenly awakened 'thirst for education'", but were the result of the aspiration of the state and the educated classes ("*Bildungsbürgertum*") to "limit the supply of candidates for these positions and to monopolize them for the holders of educational patents". Due to the high financial burden (fees and many years without income) required to acquire an educational patent, wealth is increasingly displacing talent (Weber 1976: 577). Weber sees this process as an essential element of social closure and it plays a central role in his definition of class. "Costly (educational) status

privileges" are one of only five points listed by Weber under the heading "primary significance of a positively privileged property class", while as an example of positively privileged property classes, Weber specifies, inter alia, "workers with monopolistic qualifications and skills (natural, or acquired through drill or training)". The importance of exclusive educational qualifications in his analysis is made even clearer by his characterisation of social class. He explicitly mentions only four broad types of social class, one of which he calls "the classes privileged through property and education" (Weber 1976: 178 f.). Weber clearly had in mind the German graduates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and, more generally, the German educated classes and their socially privileged position within the German empire.

In Bourdieu's work, exclusive educational qualifications, in this case degrees from the French *grandes écoles*, play an even more important role. He believes the essential function of these elite universities is to produce a socially recognised elite and ensure the reproduction of the ruling class. According to Bourdieu, degrees from these institutions are increasingly indispensable for leading positions and are becoming the equivalent of an "entry pass" for executive positions in large companies, especially those without private majority shareholders (Bourdieu 1996: 285, 308 f.). The reproduction of the ruling class is guaranteed by the high social selectivity of the renowned *grandes écoles* (Bourdieu 1996: 137 f., 169, 246 ff.). The main reason for this can be found in the structural alignment of the requirements of these elite educational institutions with the habitus of the applicants from the ruling class. The assessment criteria are determined by a taxonomy that is organised according to social hierarchy. Personality traits generally associated with the ruling class (such as ease or smartness) are rated especially positively (Bourdieu 1996: 36 f.). The selection of applicants is thus heavily influenced by the habitual affinity between teachers and candidates from "upper classes"; such candidates leave a more positive impression. Additionally, it is precisely the behaviour of these candidates that facilitates their acceptance in these institutions, whereas other candidates spontaneously exclude themselves through their behaviour (Bourdieu 1996: 141). All in all, the recruitment procedure is set up to guarantee that elite universities generally receive students who are "already endowed, through their background, with the dispositions they require that we have to wonder whether, as the Romans used to say, they aren't merely 'teaching fish to swim'" (Bourdieu 1996: 74).

Statistically, this method ensures the reproduction of the ruling class to the same extent as a direct transfer of power by inheritance, except the criteria for selection are different. Elite educational institutions can thus only contribute to the reproduction if they follow their own rules, which means sacrificing the odd child from the ruling class that a reproduction mechanism fully controlled by the family would have "spared" (Bourdieu 1996: 287). But the new mode of reproduction has an invaluable advantage over the old one. Due to its purely statistical effectiveness, it contributes significantly to concealing the real mechanisms of power. Since the anonymous "competition" theoretically gives everyone the same chances, and there are constant examples of individuals without the "right" background making it to the head of large companies, the effectiveness of this mode of reproduction of the ruling class is superficially undetectable. It thus acquires a high degree of legitimacy. Historically, there have likely been only very few ruling groups that would have had so many and such varied principles for legitimising their power as the leading French *bourgeoisie* (Bourdieu 1996: 335).

In order to gauge the importance elite universities and business schools may have had for the formation of a global or transnational elite, I have carried out an empirical study (Hartmann 2016) analysing the internationality, transnationality and educational careers of the chief executive officers (CEOs) of the 1000 largest companies in the world and the CEOs of the 100 largest companies in the three leading European and the three leading non-European countries (Germany, the UK and France, and China, Japan and the USA respectively). The methodology was identical to that used in earlier studies (Hartmann 1999, 2000, 2009a). The companies were selected using the Forbes Global 2000 list. The *FAZ* list of the 100 largest companies was also used for Germany, while for other countries other supplementary lists were used detailing the French companies missing from the Forbes list and the ten largest unlisted companies in the UK and the USA. Data for top managers was then researched in relevant databases, on the companies' websites and in other sources (e.g., newspaper/magazine articles and conference minutes). Meanwhile, the data for CEOs from the 100 largest companies had already been compiled at the beginning of 2015 as part of a different study, while the data for the CEOs of the 1000 largest companies was only compiled between July and September 2015.

CEOs and Elite Universities

It is clear at first glance that it is utterly unrealistic to think that renowned business schools are a kind of breeding ground for a global elite. Only 13 out of just under 1300 CEOs attended INSEAD and the London School of Economics (LSE), that is, only 1 per cent, most of whom came from smaller countries such as Greece, Portugal or Taiwan that do not have any internationally renowned universities. The figures are more promising only at the Harvard Business School and at the French elite university École des Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris (HEC). After all, 20 CEOs completed their MBA at each of these two institutions. However, and this is the significant limitation, the CEOs from the former all came from the USA, with the exception of four individuals. This means they did not study at an international elite institution, as per Marceau, but rather at an elite educational institution that was deeply rooted within the educational system of their own country. This is even truer of HEC. All the CEOs who studied there were French, and the vast majority of them also manage French companies.

This is typical for the CEOs of all countries with traditional elite universities. A large portion of native CEOs gained their degrees at the elite universities in their respective countries (see Table 5.1). Just over a third of British CEOs studied at Oxford or Cambridge, and almost one in three American CEOs studied at an Ivy League university. More than half of the French CEOs and Japanese presidents attended one of the most renowned elite universities in their home country: in France the École Nationale d'Administration (ENA), the École Polytechnique or HEC, and in Japan one of the so-called big five, the five most renowned elite universities in Japan (Todai, Kyodai, Hitotsubashi, Keio and Waseda). Todai alone accounted for a quarter of presidents.

Table 5.1 Degrees held by native and (in brackets) all top managers (CEOs, presidents) of the 100 largest companies in France, the UK, Japan and the USA (in per cent)

	France *n = 96 (100)*	*UK* *n = 67 (100)*	*USA* *n = 93 (101)*	*Japan* *n = 99 (100)*
Top elite universities	52.1 (50.0)	34.3 (24.0)	32.3 (29.7)	54.5 (54)
Other elite universities	9.4 (9.0)	6.0 (4.0)	16.1 (14.9)	21.2 (21)

Source: Hartmann (1999, 2009a) and personal research

If more elite universities, such as Stanford, MIT or Berkeley in the USA, King's or Imperial College in the UK, Sciences Po or the École Centrale in France or Tohoku or Osaka in Japan, are included, then the proportion of CEOs who studied at an elite university increases up to just over 75 per cent. Elite universities are a significant factor in preparing people for top positions in business in all four countries.

The Internationality and Transnationality of Top Managers

Elite university education, however, does not result in a radical internationalisation of top management. Only one in eight CEOs at the 1000 biggest companies worldwide is a foreigner. The largest percentage of foreigners by far can be found in Swiss enterprises at 72 per cent, followed by Australian, British, Dutch and Canadian companies at 30–45 per cent. The Germans are next at just under 16 per cent. Large companies in the USA have a proportion of only 8.8 per cent. In companies from the Asian countries China, India, Japan and South Korea and the European countries Italy, Spain and Russia there are no foreigners at all, with only two exceptions. If we omit all CEOs from binational companies who are citizens of one of the two countries or who manage a company that has its registered office in a country solely for tax purposes but whose headquarters remain in the CEO's native country, then the proportion of foreign CEOs decreases to under 10 per cent. At 22.5 per cent, not even a quarter of native CEOs have experience abroad. Here the German CEOs lead with 75 per cent, ahead of their Italian, Dutch and Swedish counterparts with approximately 50 per cent. Not even one in ten CEOs in Chinese and American enterprises have had experience abroad in the course of their studies or work.[3]

If we look just at the 100 largest companies in the six biggest economic powers, it is apparent that differences between the countries that were negligible in 1995 (when I conducted my first study) have increased dramatically. There are now three clearly delineated groups of national top management types: one that has become noticeably more internationalised, one in which this development has progressed only very moderately and one that exhibits a slight downward trend in this respect (see Table 5.2). Top managers from Germany and the UK fall into the first group, ones from the USA and France are in the second and ones from China and Japan are in the third.

Table 5.2 Internationality of top managers (CEOs, presidents) of the 100 largest companies in Germany, France, the UK, China, Japan and the USA (in per cent)[a]

	1995 2005 2015	*Germany n = 100 n = 100 n = 102*	*France n = 100*	*UK n = 100*	*USA n = 100 n = 100 n = 101*	*Japan n = 100*	*China n = 100*
Foreigners	1995	2.0	2.0	7.0	3.0	–	–
	2005	9.0	2.0	18.0	5.0	1.0	–
	2015	13.7	4.0	33.0	7.9	1.0	–
Foreigners from countries with a different language and culture	1995	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	–	–
	2005	4.0	2.0	6.0	2.0	1.0	–
	2015	5.9	3.0	15.0	4.0	1.0	–
Native CEOs with at least six months' experience abroad (as % of native top managers)	1995	26.3	21.4	26.9	7.2	n.s.	n.s.
	2005	36.3	18.1	18.9	9.5	34.3	14.0
	2015	46.6	26.0	23.9	15.1	31.3	8.0

Source: Hartmann (1999, 2009a) and personal research
[a]The slight deviation of data for Germany, the UK and the USA from the data in Hartmann (2015) is the result of replacements that were hired in the first three months of 2015

One in three CEO positions is held by a foreigner in large British companies. For German enterprises, this is the case for just under one in every seven positions. Even considering the fact that approximately one in seven British companies are binational—for example, British-Australian, British-Dutch or British-South African—and that one in three of the 33 foreigners work at one of these binational companies and often holds one of these two nationalities, the growth in the proportion of foreign CEOs to one-third is still impressive. Top management in the UK has become truly international. The same is not true of Germany, despite a noticeable increase. The proportion of foreigners there is still too low for it to count as international. Furthermore, 14 CEOs in the UK come from countries with a foreign language and culture, that is, countries that are not Anglo-Saxon like the USA (five CEOs), Australia (four CEOs) or South Africa (three CEOs), but rather countries like France (five CEOs), Sweden (two CEOs), Germany, Italy, Norway or Brazil. This is the case

for only six of the foreign CEOs in Germany. The other eight all come from Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands or Denmark, countries that are close to Germany both geographically and culturally.

On the other hand, native top managers in Germany are much more likely to have had experience abroad than their counterparts in the UK. German managers already had a head start compared with top managers from other countries in 1995, and this lead has now grown significantly. Today, almost half of German managers have had at least six months' experience abroad and just over a third of them have spent at least two years abroad. That accounts for more than double the average of other countries and almost twice the percentage in the UK. If the proportion of foreigners and native managers with experience abroad is combined, then about half of the top managers in both countries fall into this category.

The situation is quite different for the two countries in the second group, France and the USA. There are only four foreigners at the head of major companies in France and eight in the USA. In France, 26 per cent have experience abroad, and in the USA just over 15 per cent. Altogether, that amounts to just under a quarter to a third internationality. An examination of two decades, from 1995 to 2015, reveals a big difference between top managers at German and British enterprises in comparison to France and the USA.[4] During this relatively long period, the number of foreigners in France and the USA, which started out at a very low level, has merely doubled, whereas the figure grew to almost five times its original level in the UK and an impressive seven times its original level in Germany. If stays abroad are included in these statistics, the difference between German top managers and their French and American counterparts becomes even larger.

Despite acute differences between these four countries, at least a weak trend towards internationalisation of top management can be ascertained. The same can clearly not be said of the two largest East Asian countries, China and Japan. In fact, in the last two decades there has even been a development in the opposite direction. Firstly, 2015 there are still virtually no foreigners, with one exception, and that has been the same person for ten years, namely the Frenchman Carlos Ghosn. As CEO of the French enterprise Renault, he also manages Nissan, since Renault holds over 40 per cent of Nissan's shares and thus practically controls the legally independent Japanese automobile manufacturer. This means that there are no foreigners at the head of any major company in either Japan or China today, just as was the case 20 years ago. Secondly, and this is even more

astonishing, in contrast to all other countries, there has been a decline in experience abroad among CEOs. In Japan, it is still the case that almost one in three company presidents has spent some time abroad during their career (in most cases for two to three years and usually in US subsidiaries). But that is still 10 per cent less than in 2005. The decline of experience abroad among CEOs of major Chinese companies is even more pronounced, with only 8 per cent having experience abroad compared with 14 per cent ten years ago. Remarkably, contrary to what we might generally expect, it is not the younger CEOs who have had the most experience abroad but rather the older cohorts who were born in the 1950s. Whereas 12 per cent of the latter have spent at least six continuous months abroad, only about 6 per cent, or half as many, of their younger counterparts have done so. The smallest proportion of CEOs with experience abroad can be found in the large group of CEOs born in the first half of the 1960s, at just over 3 per cent. For the youngest group, those born after 1965, the proportion rises again to 10 per cent, but is still not at the same level as for the oldest cohorts.

The Importance of Elite Universities for Access to the Business Elite

At first glance, a comparison of the internationality of top managers and attendance at elite universities paints a confusing picture. In each of the two pairs of countries in which the internationalisation of CEOs has progressed most quickly or most slowly respectively, one country has elite educational institutions and the other does not. The UK has them, but Germany does not; Japan has them, but China does not. On the surface, elite universities do not appear to have an influence on internationalisation.

A comparison of only Japan and Germany clearly reveals the role educational institutions can play for the internationality of a country's top management. For the majority of Japanese top managers, attendance at a designated elite university is an essential prerequisite for being hired by a major company: the leading major companies hire the majority of their future managers from among graduates of these elite universities, who then carry out their entire careers within one company (Ernst 1998; Schmidt 2005: 193–197; Watanabe and Schmidt 2004: 59). Just under 97 per cent of the current presidents of the 100 largest Japanese companies have never worked for a company other than the one they now manage. More than half graduated from one of the five top universities; 22 studied

at Todai alone. In addition, just over a fifth were at one of the elite universities that rank sixth to tenth, such as Tohoku or Osaka. Thus, three-quarters of top managers have attended one of the ten leading universities (see Table 5.2). In Germany, by contrast, there is also a convergence on a limited number of universities, but to a much lesser extent than in Japan, and no tradition of designated elite universities exists. At least 38 per cent of the current CEOs graduated from one of only ten traditional universities such as RWTH Aachen, the University of Cologne or LMU Munich.[5] However, almost a fifth of all German students studied at one of these ten universities during the time period relevant for today's top managers, the 1970s and 80s, compared to just over 5 per cent of all Japanese students at the top five and only 1 per cent at Todai.

Potential foreign candidates for top management in Japan are therefore faced with a serious problem: it still remains far more difficult for foreigners to be accepted into Japanese elite universities than into leading German universities. This applies in particular to undergraduate studies, which are crucial for a career in management. Despite all attempts at internationalisation since the start of the new millennium, only 238 of the 14,000+ undergraduates currently studying at Todai come from abroad. Although 837 of the 6853 master's students are foreigners, together that still only adds up to less than 1100, that is, just over 5 per cent of nearly 21,000 students in total. At Kyodai, only approximately 500 out of a total of just under 23,000 students are foreigners, that is, just over 2 per cent. Although at the private Waseda University, about 1600 out of almost 45,000 undergraduates are from other countries and a total of about 4100 out of just over 54,000 students in total, compared with German universities this is still a relatively small proportion. Almost 7400 of the 50,000+ students at LMU Munich are foreigners. At RWTH Aachen, more than 7000 out of 42,000+ students and at the University of Heidelberg, almost 5400 out of only approx. 30,000 are foreigners. The percentage of foreign students ranges between 15 and 18 per cent at these universities, that is, two to nine times higher than at corresponding Japanese institutions. The close relationship between studies at an elite university and access to careers carried out within a single company effectively excludes foreigners from high-level management positions in major Japanese companies.

Elite universities in the UK, on the other hand, do not have the same impact. Student figures at British universities make this clear. A third of all students at Oxford come from abroad, including one in six even at undergraduate level. The percentage is lower at Cambridge, where 11 per cent

of undergraduate students are foreigners, but it is still much higher than at Japanese elite universities, particularly Todai and Kyodai. But a fact that is even more important for internationalisation than the higher admission rate of foreign students is that Oxford or Cambridge, generally referred to as Oxbridge, have become significantly less important for top business careers in the past 20 years. Just over a third of all British CEOs studied at Oxbridge, but that is still a significantly smaller percentage than in 1995 when almost half of British company managers had completed their studies at one of these two universities (see Table 5.3). Furthermore, if one considers not only British CEOs but all CEOs of the British companies, the percentage of Oxbridge graduates has almost halved from 42 to just 23 per cent in the past two decades. Even taking the five most famous elite universities in Scotland (Edinburgh and St. Andrews) and London (Imperial College, King's College and LSE) into consideration, this picture remains the same. The percentage of former students among company managers declines even more, from 51 to 27 per cent between 1995 and 2015. Evidently, studying at a British elite university does not play nearly as big a role for access to top management in British companies as it does in Japan. In particular, it does not exclude foreign applicants from such positions from the outset.

The two remaining countries with elite universities, France and the USA, exhibit very similar trends with regard to internationality. However, the role of elite educational institutions differs greatly. In France, their effect is similar to that in Japan, whereas the situation in the USA is very

Table 5.3 Degrees held by native and (in brackets) all top managers (CEOs, presidents) of the 100 largest companies in France, the UK, Japan and the USA (in per cent)

	1995 *2005* *2015*	*France* *n = 98 (100)* *n = 98 (100)* *n = 96 (100)*	*UK* *n = 93 (100)* *n = 82 (100)* *n = 67 (100)*	*USA* *n = 97 (100)* *n = 95 (100)* *n = 93 (101)*	*Japan* *n = 100* *n = 99 (100)* *n = 99 (100)*
Top elite universities	1995	67.3 (66.0)	45.2 (42.0)	28.9 (28.0)	62.0 (62)
	2005	52.0 (51.0)	31.7 (27.0)	23.2 (22.0)	52.5 (52)
	2015	52.1 (50.0)	34.3 (23.0)	32.3 (29.7)	54.5 (54)
Other elite universities	1995	6.1 (6.0)	9.7 (9.0)	11.3 (11.0)	11.1 (11)
	2005	12.2 (12.0)	9.7 (8.0)	27.4 (26.0)	12.1 (12)
	2015	9.4 (9.0)	6.0 (4.0)	16.1 (14.9)	21.2 (21)

Source: Hartmann (1999, 2009a) and own research

different. Half of all CEOs of the 100 largest companies in France studied at one of the three most famous *grandes écoles*. Polytechnique and ENA are tied almost equally for first place, just like in 1995 and 2005, while HEC trails some way behind. If an additional six *grandes écoles* are taken into consideration, including École Centrale and Sciences Po, then the proportion of graduates from elite universities rises to over 60 percent. Despite the downturn, this is still an incredibly high proportion, considering that, unlike the big five in Japan where 5–10 per cent of the corresponding cohorts studied, or Oxbridge with 8–12 per cent, between half and 1 per cent of all French university students studied at one of these three leading *grandes écoles*.

The dominance of the leading *grandes écoles* has similar consequences for foreigners as the elite universities in Japan. At first glance, the situation appears to be very different; thanks to massive efforts to foster internationalisation, between a fifth and a third of all students at ENA, Polytechnique and HEC now come from abroad. However, at the two state-run elite universities, ENA and Polytechnique, virtually all foreign students must pass an entrance examination of a very different nature to the traditional *concours*, which is largely reserved for French students. Due to its very specific exam requirements, it is also virtually impossible for foreign students to pass the *concours* (van Zanten and Maxwell 2015: 85–87). Foreign students at ENA generally study a separate degree programme, called the "long international cycle". Moreover, French students at these two *grandes écoles* also become employees of the state and therefore receive a modest salary of about 1200–1400 euros. This means an additional hurdle for foreign students, who must pay tuition fees of 24,000 euros for their three-year degree at Polytechnique. But the most significant factor is that admission to the *grands corps*, the elite state administration institutions, which is even more important for access to top management positions, is all but prohibited to foreigners. The *grands corps* are reserved for the best French graduates from ENA and Polytechnique. Twenty-four of the current CEOs of the 100 largest companies were at one of the *grands corps*. Another 12 CEOs held high-level ministerial positions, usually as a member or director of a *cabinet ministériel*, the group closest to a minister. Although the requirement is less formal, the same essentially applies for these positions as for the *grands corps*, except that they are also open to graduates from other renowned *grandes écoles*.

Although the degree of internationalisation and its development in the USA is similar to that in France, elite universities are given a very

different emphasis with regard to the recruitment of top management. For one thing, major US enterprises recruit from a much larger pool of applicants than French businesses. Due to a much larger population and higher number of students, they not only have more applicants in general, but the concentration of applicants from elite universities is lower. Similar to the UK, only a quarter to a third of CEOs are graduates of an Ivy League university (with Harvard in the lead). However, depending on the year, 3 to 6 per cent of all students study at Ivy League universities, instead of just 0.5 to 1 per cent at the leading *grandes écoles*. If other elite universities from the top 20, such as Chicago or Stanford, are included, then these universities produce 40 to 50 per cent of the top managers in the USA, although only 8–15 per cent of all students study there. Adding the other renowned *grandes écoles* to the statistics for France brings the total of CEOs from these universities up to just over 60–70 per cent, compared with 1–2 per cent of the total student population. These ratios differ significantly. Furthermore, there is no close connection between the government and elite universities in the USA. The latter are not only almost exclusively private institutions with their own entrance exams that are not subject to any government influence, there are also no institutionally defined admission guidelines from elite universities to leading governmental posts. Many leading politicians and lawyers studied at elite universities, including four of the last five presidents, who studied at either Harvard or Yale, and it is common to switch from business to politics (Domhoff 2009; Hartmann 2009b). However, unlike in France, there are no state-regulated career paths, or ones that are at least strongly influenced by the state in determining who attains leading positions in different sectors.

Elite Universities—A Severe Impediment to Internationalisation or One That Is Relatively Easy to Overcome?

The empirical data clearly demonstrates two facts: on the one hand, elite universities are not breeding grounds for a global or transnational business elite: they remain far too strongly linked to their own national traditions of elite education and have far too small a proportion of foreign CEOs among their graduates for that to be the case. On the other hand, they only significantly inhibit an internationalisation of the business elite under two conditions. Elite universities only become a permanently difficult or

insurmountable hurdle for foreign managers attempting to access leading management positions in two cases: either, as is the case in France, if they are closely intertwined with a subsequent, high-level position in the civil service, which in turn paves the way to becoming the head of a larger company. Or, as is the case in Japan, when they are linked to immediate recruitment by a company in which a manager then spends their entire career.

With regards to future development, there is very little to suggest there will be a radical change in the coming years. This assessment is primarily based on three observations. First, the number of CEOs that studied at foreign elite universities has remained stable over the course of time. The younger CEOs do not seem to take this route more so than older CEOs. Second, developments in the last two decades show a (surprising) stability of recruitment patterns across various countries. Third, and finally, elite universities play very different roles for elite groups in various countries and the connections forged between the different elites. The stronger and more uniform their influence on these connections, as in France and Japan (Hartmann 2007b: 61–66, 75–78; Hartmann 2016: 185–188; Schmidt 2005), the greater the stability of the recruitment patterns will be.

There is yet another noteworthy indicator that reflects how strongly elite universities are rooted in national culture, and that suggests there will be continuity as opposed to change: the very different stances of today's students at elite universities in France and the UK. A recent comparative study of students at Sciences Po and Oxford shows that the outlook of students at Sciences Po has essentially remained the same over the years. Students continue to be primarily oriented towards the nation or the French state and to see their future career as lying in the civil service. Students at Oxford, on the other hand, see themselves as future members of an international elite and wish to advance their careers, which they envision as being largely outside the civil service, by means of frequent changes of position, including taking positions outside of the country (Power et al. 2013). Regardless of whether all these career wishes are fulfilled, the obvious discrepancy between their fundamental stances certainly reflects how deeply the national tradition of an elite training system largely organised by and oriented around the state is still rooted in French culture today, and, at the same time, how little this applies to the UK. The situation in Japan (and, in the long term, China) is similar to the former, while the situation in the USA (and, in the long term, Germany) is similar to the latter.

Notes

1. On the concept of elites see Hartmann (2007b) and (2015).
2. Internationality refers to the percentage of foreigners within each of the national elites and transnationality refers to the experience abroad of each of the domestic elites.
3. More extensive and detailed information can be found in Hartmann (2016).
4. A comprehensive comparison is only possible for these four countries, because an earlier project (Hartmann 1999) only collected all corresponding data for these countries. For China and Japan, only the nationality of top managers is known for 1995.
5. That is considerably more than in China, where only one in seven top managers attended one of the ten leading universities (including the two top universities in Beijing and Shanghai). The strict hierarchisation observed in Chinese universities in the last two decades is not yet noticeable among today's top managers.

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CHAPTER 6

The Work of Desire: Elite Schools' Multi-scalar Markets

Jane Kenway

Founders in Melbourne, Australia, is an elegant school. It has stately buildings, luxurious well-tended gardens and is set in a wealthy suburb. It is holding an event for prospective school clients and about 60 parents have come along. On arrival they are pleasantly greeted by well-groomed students and taken to the school hall. I join them.

While we wait we are treated to a musical performance by a senior boys' ensemble. It's impressive. The Deputy and other senior staff address us. They explain what the school stands for educationally and morally. We are told it has strong links to the local community, that it is proudly multi-cultural and has a global vision. I look around to try to assess how "multi-cultural" the assembled parents might be. About a third appear "Asian" and the rest are white. But beyond this I can't tell what multiple cultures might exist amongst them.

After the addresses we break into groups and are taken on a guided tour. I join one group consisting mainly of Asians. We are led around by one of the school's marketing staff and taken to its most impressive areas: the well-stocked library, the modern science labs, the art and sculpture studios showing students' ambitious artworks, the high-tech media labs, the full-sized swimming pool and the well-equipped

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gymnasium. As we move through these various spaces, specialist teachers informally address us. Few questions are asked and we don't talk to each other. The tour lasts about an hour before we are dismissed, sent off with promotional materials in hand. Subsequently parents may seek to enrol their child, but ultimately, the school will choose whom it will accept.

I find out later that some of the prospective parents are from China and that an education agent has suggested that they visit this school and other specific schools. The education agent will probably receive a fee from whichever school finally admits their client. If the parents live overseas, the school will charge them a great deal more than it charges local parents.

Variations of this scenario, and related activities and representations, are an everyday part of the globalising elite school market. Other activities include open days, individualised visits, parent/child interviews and virtual and material promotions. Such offerings have traditionally been directed towards national residents but now they speak to international parents and students as well. Thus we now see such things as international networking and promotional "tours" and events. The latter include alumnus reunions attended by school senior staff. These encourage graduates to promote the school to friends and families. Such word of mouth is regarded as vital, particularly, we are told, in China.

Whatever the case, these activities are designed to incite and direct the desires of various members and potential members of the school. But what does the work of producing such desire involve? Who does it and how is it conducted?

There is an established literature on markets in all education sectors, including a wealth of research on university markets and internationalisation. However, studies of elite secondary school markets, and their links to internationalisation, are just emerging. To my knowledge there are no studies of how the work of teachers in elite schools contributes to an elite school's market position and how teachers are conscripted to undertake such work.

In this chapter I begin to address such matters. I offer a distinctive way of theorising them which helps explain how elite schools harness desire as a market resource and how teachers' desires are implicated. Specifically, I focus on teachers and, to a lesser extent, external agents. The latter are paid by the school, and by international parents, to assist them to navigate

and negotiate the global elite school market. And I also consider the work of another group of professionals whom I label the "emotion engineers". They are employed to market the market. Many tensions are involved in such work as I will show.

Research Base

The event above and my subsequent analysis here arise from the five-year project *Elite schools in globalising circumstances.*[1] This research focuses on elite schools in countries that were part of the former British Empire. Through *multi-sited global ethnography*[2] our international research team studied seven elite schools, one in England (*Highbury*) and one school each in the former British colonies—Australia (*Founders*), Barbados (*Old Cloisters*), Hong Kong (*Cathedral*), India (*Ripon*), Singapore (*Straights*) and South Africa (*Greystone*).[3] In this chapter I draw general insights from all these schools, but offer illustrative instances from Founders and Ripon.

We have explained, elsewhere, why we characterise these schools as elite and also the various ways in which all are globalising their practices (Kenway et al. 2016). It is apt, here, that I mention the national origins of their student populations. These schools mostly cater for parents who live in the vicinity but those with boarding houses or "homestay" arrangements also cater for those who live further afield in subnational and international locations. Regionalism also features in the international student intake of three schools. The largest percentage of international students, at Founders, comes from mainland China. Straights mainly draws its international students from other parts of Southeast Asia, including China, Vietnam, Malaysia, India and Indonesia. At Greystone, international students are mainly from other parts of Africa. Highbury has a more global catchment attracting students, for example, from Hong Kong, Nigeria, Ghana and Russia. Cathedral, Old Cloisters and Ripon have few full-time international students.

The elite school market is often thought of as either national or international. But our research indicates that it operates on four scales: global, regional, national and subnational. I thus call it multi-scalar.

Passionate Workplaces

Karl Marx (1867: 1990) talks about "the noisy sphere of circulation" (the market). This is the highly visible sphere of seductions, distractions and mystifications. It is the sphere where "Capital" accumulates further capitals. He contrasts this with "the hidden abode of production"—the

workplaces in the factories of industrial capitalism. This is the abode where workers produce commodities for the market. Such workplaces can be considered "the night time" of the commodity.

Commodities mystify labour. They show only a fraction of the physical, emotional and creative labour involved in their production. Certainly they give no indication of the power relationships that exist in the workplaces where they are produced. Indeed, "the *noisy* sphere of circulation" is usually *very quiet* about the processes of production involved in the commodities that it advertises, distributes and sells.

The "night time" of the elite school market involves the production of desire and the work of those who produce such desire. My argument is that this work includes, but also involves, much more than the promotional activities already alluded to.

Frédéric Lordon provides an evocative way of theorising such work in his book *The Willing Slaves of Capital: Spinoza and Marx on Desire* (2014). Lordon is a French economist whose *oeuvre* brings together economics and philosophy. In this text he concentrates on contemporary neo-liberal work and workplaces—the "the hidden abode" of contemporary production. He brings together Marxist theories of the social relations of production, or what he calls Marx's "structuralism of relations", with Spinoza's "anthropology of passions" (Lordon 2014: x).

Lordon observes that, in the industrial capitalism of Marx's time, the basic needs of "bare life" (2014: 63) kept workers labouring on, despite their appalling conditions and treatment and the "sad affects" (Lordon 2014: 52) they generated. He also observes that in the factories of Fordism, workers worked, not just to survive, but in order to gain the "joyful affects" of consumption (Lordon 2014: 52). In contrast, he argues that the neo-liberal workplaces of contemporary capitalism involve a richer "landscape of passions" (Lordon 2014: xi) and more complex worker hierarchies.

Lordon reexamines the employment question "through the passions" and asks how capital's *few* succeed in making labour's *many* work for them. He grapples with the paradox of the "happily dominated". "Making the dominated happy so that they forget their domination is one of the oldest and most effective ruses of the art of ruling," he proclaims (Lordon 2014: xii).

Rather than drawing Marx's conceptual toolkit of exploited, alienated and dominated labour, he asks about the *enlistment* of workers. He asks "how is it possible for some to involve others in the realisation of their

own enterprise" (Lordon 2014: xi). In other words, he wonders why workers willingly help to fulfil others' desires when these desires are not actually their own? Indeed, how are they persuaded that others' desires are their own? He answers this question via the idea of the "passionate temperament" of employment (Lordon 2014: 51).

Lordon's reading of Spinoza is central to his analysis, but here I can only mention those most pertinent aspects. The notion of the "conatus" is at the core of Spinoza's thinking. Lordon explains it as "the fundamental energy that inhabits bodies and sets them in motion" in the pursuit of some "object" (Lordon 2014: 1–2). In ontological terms this energy, he suggests

> is the energy of *desire*. To be is to be a being of desire. To exist is to desire, and therefore to be active in pursuit of one's objects of desire. Indeed, the link between desire and the effectuation of effort for the sake of persevering in being, and the setting in motion of the body, is expressed synthetically by the very term *conatus* (Lordon 2014: 3–4 his italics).

This view of desire reverses the way of thinking that "understands desire as the pull of a, preexisting, desirable object" (Lordon 2014: 15). Objects *have to be produced* as desirable.

Affecting Teachers

It might readily be argued that producing the elite school, as a desirable object, is an ongoing whole-of-school project. Leaving employees aside for the moment, this project involves students, ex-students, parents, and management teams, governing bodies, patrons and donors. In one way or another, all work to convince each other of the success, popularity and reputation of their school. Through their efforts they seek to ensure that it is recognised as a place of educational enchantment and altruism. All have financial, moral, symbolic and psychological interests in undertaking such work. In other words, from Lordon's Spinozist perspective, the elite school is produced as desirable by those who most desire it and whose interests are best served by it. Collectively, no matter what their differences, these sets of people carry out work on themselves for themselves, on the institution for the institution.

They share another common desire. This is to enlist outsiders to their imaginary of desire so that their own desires can be more widely

affirmed and their interests more widely confirmed. Overall, their collective actions produce the elite school as a "great amorous" (Lordon 2014: 73) institution.

For the rest of the chapter I ask how teachers are *enlisted* by the school and how are they are *re-enlisted* when the school intensifies its marketisation and internationalises its clients and practices. I also ask how the school enlists agents and how agents enlist international parents. What "affections, affects and actions" are involved?

Lordon explains that, in Spinoza's thought, "affections, affects and actions" entail "a fundamental sequence" (2014: 56). The "conatus", mentioned earlier, involves a free-floating desire to act. This desire has no particular direction of its own and is thus available to be steered by external forces. It is steered, externally, by an "affection" (an encounter with something). This encounter incites the residues of previous "affections". Together, the immediate affection and previous affections bring about "affects" (e.g. sadness, joy). These, then, provoke actions.

Lordon deploys the term "willing slaves" in his book's title. Obviously, he is not discussing slaves in the conventional sense but rather "passionate servitude" (2014: 22) and the manner in which certain contemporary workers are enlisted, ideologically, in the service of employers' desires.

On the basis of our research, I can readily argue that elite schools seek to steer the desires of their teaching staff. They seek to incite, in them, an affective attachment to the school's ethic of success and social supremacy. They attempt to harness teachers' conatus and to produce affects that lead teachers to expend their energies cultivating accomplished and high-achieving students who also recognise their class collectivity and superiority.

If teachers are to carry responsibility for such class imaginaries of desire the school requires their ceaseless effort. And indeed, teachers' work is conducted in the harsh light of hyper-vigilant and demanding parents with elevated expectations of their children and the school. Insistent, and sometimes anxious, students require teachers to be available on demand. The schools oblige teachers to undertake intense intellectual and emotional labour, to put in long hours, to offer much one-on-one teaching, caring and counselling. Overall, they seek to extract maximum value from their teaching staff.

Why are teachers willing to fulfil the desires of the school and its clientele? In terms of social class analysis, teachers in elite schools occupy a contradictory position. They may be recruited to identify with their

school's class values and purposes. But economically they usually have little in common with their clients; their salaries are invariably meagre in comparison—although some teachers we met had monied families. Teachers' working conditions might thus be regarded as ripe for alienation not contentment. So why is it that they "make common cause" (Lordon 2014: 33) with their employers? Or do they? What affections and affects set teachers' working lives in motion?

Many imperatives are involved. Teachers must be thoroughly enlisted, by the school, to fulfil its desires. A process of co-linearisation must take place (Lordon 2014: 52). If this is to happen, the desires of the school must be turned into teachers' own "authentic desires". Lorden argues that "gladdening the hearts of the subjected" is a "strategy of power". It activates employees to move in "suitable directions". He says,

> The subjects rejoice when they are offered desires they mistake for their own. It is then that they set themselves in motion …and enter the sweetened universe of consent, whose real name is happy obedience. (Lordon 2014: 61)

In these terms, teachers must come to love the school—to see it as very desirable. And, I suggest, that it is this love that provokes them to play their part in ensuring that the school remains lovable. The teaching staff is provoked to take pleasure in their work at the school, for, after all, this allows them to be part of a superior institution. In turn, this permits them to feel superior; a cut above teachers in "lesser" schools. Their institution is of a higher order and so, therefore, are they—at least amongst the teaching profession. Indeed, elite school parents and students in our research schools regularly remind us that they have the best teachers—teachers who "care". Such apparent professional elevation is another form of enlistment.

Further, the school's abundant resources, and its "superior" families and students, also mean that the work of teaching, although demanding, can be less complex and arduous than in most other schools with less resources and a more socially diverse clientele. Students' academic, sporting and artistic success tends to come more easily in such resource-rich circumstances and, thus, so too do pleasurable affects for teachers.

Their school thus provides them with multiple opportunities for professional fulfilment. Their employment relationship of dependence on the school (and indirectly the parents) is diffracted through their gratitude.

Even though the teachers are usually aware that the students' and the school's success are indexed by their own excessively hard work, they take great satisfaction in such success. Indeed, to have taught powerful and famous school alumni is often a source of pride. This feeds into subsequent teaching "affections" in Spinoza's terms. The joys of proximity to various elites appear to outweigh the burden of any "distressing affects" (Lordon 2014: 101). And certainly for some teachers the school invokes stress and anxiety and their work becomes an affective burden.

But teachers' apparently willing, even joyful, servitude may arise from other "affections". One is the opportunity for their own children to attend the school for low or no fees. This holds out the possibility of intergenerational social mobility. Their children might, perchance, join the social class that their parents currently serve. Without such subsidies the schools are out of financial reach for most teachers, unless their children win scholarships.

Let me develop these points further through the example of Ripon in India. In so doing I also offer an instance of what happens when a school seeks to internationalise certain of its practices.

The Interplay of Affects in an Indian Elite School

In Ripon many of the teaching staff, and their families, are housed on campus. They are thus always available—their working life has become, essentially, their whole life, especially if they live in the boarding house or are involved in school sports. But their children attend the school, free of charge, from their earliest to their final years. This means that these teachers are highly privileged in comparison with teachers in the vast majority of other schools in India. It also means that their children will probably join India's expanding middle class (Varma 2007). Further, inside the school campus their living conditions are in sharp contrast to those beyond the school walls. As illustrated visually in Fahey et al. (2015) inside Ripon is a world of plenty, serenity, expansive space and order. Outside is village life of bare necessity—crowded, messy, noisy. In the village, material life appears to be reproduced without much, if any, surplus. This juxtaposition of wealth and poverty no doubt helps Ripon to enlist its teachers.

Ripon's history is entangled with the local aristocracy (the ruling Rajput caste) whose collaboration with, and to some extent imitation of, British colonial powers assisted the school to survive and thrive during colonisation. Its history is also entangled with the development of Indian

nationalism and, more recently, with those local aristocracy who are developing globally oriented capitalist enterprises and who are now part of India's capitalist class—they are the ruling caste/ruling class.

As a whole, Ripon College subscribes to hierarchical caste, class and gender relations, and to a large extent, these are reflected in staff hierarchies. Most teachers have been in the school a long time and such hierarchies seem normalised to those we talked with. The school's approach to curriculum and pedagogy is also conservative. One reason for this is its history of preparing certain students to join the Indian civil service. It has adopted the Indian national curriculum, which is developed by India's Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). Largely, classes are teacher-centred, teachers teach to the text, and the test, and if students can faithfully regurgitate the text, this is regarded as success. Quiet compliance has long provided many teachers, and students, with affective and other rewards. These have then led to further quiet compliance.

But Ripon involves diverse affections and affects. Its order of things, and the stability and predictability this offers has activated, in some of the teachers we spoke with, affective reassurance and comfort. The school is indeed a beloved object for them. Other, often more progressive, teachers experience the anguish of contradictory affects. They are less comfortable with the school's conservatism than many of their peers. However, some are more affectively invested in their family's security and their children's futures than in the professional disquiet that the school provokes in them. So they too conform. The burden of this servitude is relieved by their ambitions for their children. Yet other progressive teachers adopt innovative approaches to their teaching despite experiencing the uncomfortable pressure to conform. And they are particularly encouraged by the reforms that the Principal has been introducing over recent years.

The Principal is intent on internationalising and modernising Ripon. He is seeking to do so in two main ways—first via its membership of various trans-national organisations, including "Round Square" and the "G20", and, second, by adopting an international curriculum.

Round Square and the G20 consist, mainly, of elite schools from around the globe. The G20 is a highly selective group of school principals. It meets to audit elite education globally so that its member schools can remain ahead of the game. As the Principal explained to us, all members regard internationalisation as one form of competitive advantage that they can readily mobilise in the elite school market.

In order for schools to be admitted to membership, Round Square requires them to undertake certain whole-of-school reforms. These are tied to its acronym IDEALS (Internationalism, Democracy, Environment, Adventure, Leadership and Service). Various types of international student exchange are linked to each of these notions. The Principal has deployed these IDEALS as a way of instigating whole school reform. And it wasn't until some such reforms were achieved that it was able to gain membership of Round Square.

Alongside the CBSE, the principal has also introduced the Cambridge International General Certificate of Education (IGCE). He hopes that the innovative pedagogies that are required for the IGCE will flow through to the rest of the school.

Despite the school's history of adaptation to national and international political forces, these programmes of reform encountered obstacles from many parents and teachers. Lordon makes the point that there is a

> profound heteronomy of desire and affects caught up in the vagaries of past and present encounters and the dispositions of recollecting, linking and imitating formed over the long course of biography (2014: 16)

This was evident in various ways. For example, some parents felt that IGCE called into question the school's affective attachment to India's national identity. Others were worried about the disunity that might arise within the school due to two coexisting curricula—one international, one national. Yet others heard some colonial echoes in the adoption of a British curriculum.

Reorienting parental desires was required and eventually, the principal achieved this, in part, by invoking the fear that the school would be left behind if it did not adapt to global economic and cultural imperatives. The school's market value was at stake if parents did not align their desires with the principal's. The parental order of desire was eventually shifted and new collective affects opened the way for a different regime of desire in the school.

But teachers' desires were more difficult to redirect, particularly those that fought further internationalisation of the school. This speaks to Lordon's comments about the importance of the traces of the past.

> The life of desire … unfolds most often though the interplay of memory and associations, for the affections and the affects that result from them leave traces that are more or less deep, more or less amenable to being mobilized. Old joys and sorrows contaminate new objects that are related to them, which then become new objects of desire. (2014: 15)

The Principal's interventions, or "affections" in Spinoza's terms, provoked resentful affects in those whose comfort was in conforming to existing norms. The emphasis on innovative pedagogies, for instance, caused them to feel professionally invalidated. These long-standing teachers had been validated, by the school, precisely for being set in the long-standing conservative ways of the school. And, ironically, if the Principal had coerced them to change, this would have gone against the Round Square IDEAL of school-based democracy. But also, the principal's "affection" did not involve the type of knowledge-building professional development likely to produce joyful affects, and thus, it did not invoke a desire to change in accordance with his new programmes. Neither suitable knowledge nor suitable affects were sufficiently mobilised and thus these teachers did not want to move. They clung to the current order of desire via various affective refusals. One such refusal involved some of the teachers in the Round Square inter-cultural programmes for student visitors invoking a highly reductionist form of Indian nationalism (Kenway et al. 2016).

But there were other interplays of affects. The more progressive teachers (liberal-humanist) experienced more pleasant affects. Having worked in a situation where their curriculum and pedagogical desires often came up against the frowning disapproval of some of their teacher peers, they saw, in these reforms, new opportunities for professional expression and fulfilment. Indeed, in many ways, their desires preceded those of the Principal and thus their realignment was not necessary.

Further, the Principal did not regard internationalising the school as an end in itself. After gaining membership of Round Square, he swiftly organised a Round Square international conference at the school. This was a highly strategic promotional move. The Director of Internationalism said that:

> the press, the people and Mr Acharya left no stone unturned to popularize it. And parents, teachers, students, the whole—I mean it was just like a big festival happening in [this city]. And LNP, no organisation ever had such a big conference. So that gave a big boost to our internationalism. (Interview 2012)

Internationalisation is designed to enhance Ripon's national and global presence as well as its reputation as a leading school in the highly competitive elite school market in India. Clearly, the internationalisation of Ripon unleashed a plethora of desires, many in tension with each other. The Principal's task was to shepherd these in such a way as to ensure they were in tandem with his ambitions for the school.

The Work of Redirecting Desire

Archetypical elite schools have a history of competing with each other at the national and subnational levels. However, in today's hyper-competitive multi-scalar education market, elite schools are intensifying their direct and indirect marketing activities. More and more institutional energy is expended on attempts to direct the desires of possible clients. This has altered conventional institutional power structures.

Traditionally elite schools have had sternly hierarchical chains of command. A school's governing body ultimately ruled over the Principal (through appointment) and the Principal ruled the teachers, through the mediation of senior staff. The promise of promotion, and slightly higher wages, acted to ideologically cohere staff. Other, non-teaching, staff largely serviced them and maintained the school's buildings and grounds. The "hierarchical structure of servitude" (Lordon 2014: 21) was well understood.

But within the contemporary market regime, institutional relations of servitude in the "night time" of the elite school market have shifted. Fresh priorities have come to the fore and disrupted conventional employment hierarchies. Institutions have been reordered: new organisational units have arisen. These include marketing, internationalisation, technology and networking units. They add extra organisational layers and further the performance imperatives and pressures on other staff.

A feature of these new units of desire is that more and more resources are directed towards them and to the people who staff them. These units have been increasingly elevated in importance and power compared to others. In other words resources are being redirected from the work of educating to the work of marketing. The market has become a "master desire" (Lordon 2014: 21).

Along with these new institutional forms, new forms of work and workers have emerged. Some teachers have taken up different roles, but, also, workers without educational expertise have been appointed. They include, for example, "communications" (marketing and media) experts—"emotion engineers". These people are experts in "desire-producing work" (Lordon 2014: 51). Their precise purpose is to nourish an acquisitive appetite for what the school currently offers and for the future it tries to affect.

Interestingly, the work of the emotion engineers is informed by the decidedly Spinozan premise that "value is produced by desire" (Lordon 2014: 65) not the other way around. Lordon explains that "Value and meaning do not reside in things but are *produced* by the desiring forces that seize them" (Lordon 2014: 64 his italics). He quotes Spinoza.

> We neither strive, nor will, nor want, nor desire anything because we judge it to be good; on the contrary, we judge something to be good because we strive for it, will it, want it, and desire it. (*Ethics* 111, 9, Sholium quoted in Lordon 2014: 65)

Obviously, such institutional shifts and the associated desire-directing work are not unique to elite schools. But the level of resources that can be directed towards inciting desire, and the resources that can be put on display to try to stimulate desire, are unique to most of them. Take the case of their websites.

Elite schools energetically participate in the virtual market place of educational desire deploying school websites to try to activate affective flows. Most such sites involve high production value and, presumably, high cost. They include such things as "virtual tours" and "get-to-know-us videos". These often foreground delighted and delightful students expounding on their enjoyable and interesting range of experiences at the school and on their wonderful teachers and friendships. These sites also display "world class" and "state of the art" facilities, the school's traditional symbols and rituals and images of powerful and famous alumnus. These affect-imbued images seek to incite parents and students to yearn for the multiple opportunities for fulfilment that the school offers.

Virtual advertising potentially speaks to audiences on multiple scales and at any time. But local print media still figures prominently in promotional campaigns. For example, in Melbourne, at strategic enrolment times each year, school advertisements flood community print media. The following slogans, included in many such advertisements in 2015, are typical.

Turn dreams into reality She will amaze herself
Be immersed Creative minds are forever learning
Preparing for a life of leadership
Creating tomorrow
Inspiring exceptional futures
The challenges she needs First Class A chance to excel
MLC girls become world-ready women
Entrepreneurs start early here
A rewarding education journey
With a great education anything is possible
We believe there is strength and talent in every girl
Acclaimed Express yourself Best of both worlds
Be part of something great Shaping the future

The related schools are clearly trying to find a slogan that might focus the desires of potential clients. When mobilised in local print media, such slogans are directed towards the local market. But they are clearly intended to have wider appeal. They tap into rich rhetorical reservoirs of meaning associated with educational "magnificence". At the same time their banality is transparent. Such slogans appeal and repel simultaneously.

A related development is the promotion of international curriculum. The International Baccalaureate and the Cambridge International General Certificate of Education are examples of qualifications that are recognised as providing a global passport to success. Internationally mobile parents value highly the reassurance provided by globally recognised and respected curricula. Such curricula are regularly promoted in various media. For example, in various advertisements circulated by a collective of elite private schools in Melbourne that offer the IB, the following terms are regularly used: "Recognised everywhere", "A global education for a global generation", "World class Australian schools". Usually, framing this vocabulary of global enticement are pictures of students. Most are smiling, implicitly pointing to the joyful affects of this particular curriculum. Some are concentrating on science equipment, pointing to its cognitive benefits. Most pictures have a mixture of ethnicities on display, pointing to its cosmopolitan benefits. All students are wearing their school uniform, thus reassuring parents that those undertaking this curriculum will be well disciplined. All the schools' crests are on display. The crests have potential affective resonance symbolising links with prestigious traditions.

Let us return to Founders and consider the work undertaken for international clients by certain school employees and the private agents who are employed by international parents.

Founders has a set of staff whose work includes the recruitment, admission and management of international students, compliance issues and specialist services such as language and student support. For anonymity purposes I call them members of the "international relations team". Collectively, these responsibilities certainly include helping to engineer affect amongst the school's potential international clients. But these also include caring for such clients once they have acted on their desires. Like many other elite schools, Founders has direct and indirect relationships (through parents) with various external agents. These include relocation agents, migration agents and as well as human resources (HR) agents in trans-national companies. Such agents both provoke and mediate affects for the school and the parents—although in dissimilar ways.

Agents help Founders to identify suitable clients who can readily afford the fees. As Ken (international relations team) tells us with regard to HR agents in trans-national companies, the school cultivates:

> connections with companies like L'Oreal, Mercedes, BMW. … All the big successful European brands, we've actively marketed to them. … We've gone to those companies rather than go to those countries, because they are direct pathways in for families that we perceive could have the potential to afford us, or have their fees paid for them by the companies as part of relocation agreements (Interview 2012).

International education agents are also part of the school's strategic approach to recruitment. Founders' website includes the details of selected, and presumably approved, agents in China, Hong Kong, South Korea, Germany, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. Suitable agents must be identified and relationships with them nourished. Given their steering role in the direction of students' educational mobility (in terms of school and country) such good relationships are essential. Those who are in charge of Founders' recruitment strategies and activities travel to "meet and engage with the agents that we have overseas", says Bill (international relations team, Interview 2012). Such engagement with agents is crucial for they also help Founders to interpret the educational and cultural requirements of potential clients in specific locations. In turn, this assists Founders to adopt suitable "affections" in Spinoza's terms.

Through our focus groups with international parents we learn about the intense desires that propel parents from China to send their children to a school in Australia. In China access to elite schools and universities is extraordinarily competitive. The associated pressure on families is considerable. Ambition is a fierce driving force and constant worry is in abundance. This is particularly so because of China's one-child policy. Educating children in Western countries provides an escape from such intensities—it is an emotional release valve. Further, education in the "West", and in the English language, are unashamedly coveted.

Some mothers from China shared with us their craving for their precious only child to succeed at the highest level in a Western school and the immense emotional labour they put into ensuring that they do. These mothers appear very class-conscious. It seems that they regard their child's success, as well as the status of their child's school, as a measure of their family's success—thus their emotional investments are high. This hints at why agents are important to them (Kenway 2016).

For parents from overseas, agents perform various functions. As some international mothers explain to us, *education agents* advise them on the most sought-after schools and universities in particular countries and cities. Such advice includes which schools are best connected to which universities. *Relocation agents* provide them with advice on the most prestigious suburbs to buy or rent properties in and the stature of the schools and universities in the vicinity. *Migration agents* assist them with the complexities of Visa and citizenship applications and with any arising difficulties.

Back to my opening story about Founders' Open Day. One role of the "emotion engineers" (discussed earlier) is to recruit teachers, to persuade them that the market should be their master desire. Indeed it might be said they try to engineer teachers to become "emotion engineers" themselves. We see that teachers' educational work is interrupted by directly promotional work. They appear happy to accommodate the master desire and seem proud of what they display. But resentments simmer beneath Founders' smooth surfaces. Some teachers have "reservations" about the reordering of the school's priorities and practices according to the market. This does not "gladden their hearts" (2014: 62) in the manner proposed by Lordon. Further, some are not entirely "comfortable" with internationalisation.

The senior staff at Founders is proud of the school's internationalism. It offers the International Baccalaureate Diploma and its progressive approach to language education stresses the links between language and culture. In the Arts programme Founders has introduced some Asian instruments and music, and the student merit awards include a sports Blue for badminton (accommodating the Chinese students). Senior staff proclaim that Founders has become more "accepting of difference". However, Shannon, who works closely with international students and families, says

> I think there are many groups within the school both in the teaching staff and the school body that are still very firmly rooted in an old British model … there simply isn't an inclusive enough curriculum or methodology. (international relations team, Interview 2012)

Like Ripon, the senior staff is having trouble redirecting teachers' desires away from the enduring traces of the school's history. These traces include earlier trans-national encounters associated with colonialism. As Shannon says:

> The colonial heritage … is still very strongly a part of the school. In the daily functioning and the ideology … It comes through in … the structures of the

> buildings; the kinds of subjects that are still the dominant part of the curriculum; and it also comes through in things like the assembly, the expectations in terms of uniform … It can be quite difficult to get things moving away so that structures change sufficiently to be inclusive … (Interview 2011)

In short, international education requires that elite schools harness multiple flights of desire and direct them and re-design themselves and their staff accordingly

Conclusion

Overall, I have argued that elite schools produce themselves as desirable and that internationalism is currently integral to such desirability. I have identified the work, workers and re-designed workplaces involved in such production. The manner in which such schools enlist teachers to this desirable school project through the mobilisation of affirming affects has been a central feature of my analysis. And I have shown how teachers respond to schools' attempts to enlist them. Second, I have indicated how marketisation and internationalisation have altered elite schools as workplaces and shown what this means for those who work for, and with, such schools. I have offered a distinctive way of theorising all this through an engagement with Frédéric Lordon's evocative ideas about contemporary neo-liberal workplaces as landscapes of passions.

In the multi-scalar elite school market, elite schools cannot rest on their laurels. They have to produce themselves as desirable on different scales and in relation to different populations. This means that elite schools of the type discussed above are becoming more nakedly linked to the commodity form. Always places of passionate attachments, now they are places wherein passion itself has become a commodity.

Notes

1. The team involved Jane Kenway, Johannah Fahey, Diana Langmead (Monash), Fazal Rizvi (Melbourne), Cameron McCarthy (Illinois), Debbie Epstein (Roehampton), and Aaron Koh (Chinese University Hong Kong) and PhD students Howard Prosser, Matthew Shaw (Monash), Mousumi Mukherjee (Melbourne). Funded by the Australian Research Council (DP1093778) and our respective universities (2010–2015).
2. For full details on the project's methodology, see Kenway (2015).
3. The schools have all been anonymised.

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CHAPTER 7

Commentary to Part I: "Elites" and "Internationalisation" in Education Research: Essentially Contested Concepts with Great Heuristic Fertility

Reinhard Kreckel

This short commentary has been written with the following two starting points in mind:

- Ever since the days of Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, international and intercultural *comparison* has been essential to social theory. Among other things, comparisons serve as antidotes to unwarranted theoretical generalisations and parochial or ethnocentric problem perceptions. However, if the main emphasis of comparative research is on measuring, evaluating and ranking national or cultural differences and performances, it may have reverse effects. It may even reinforce ethnocentric and hegemonic positions.
- *Elite* is an "ineradicably evaluative and essentially contested concept of social theory" (cf. Lukes 2005: 14; Krüger et al. 2012:

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330). Consensus about its precise definition will never be reached. Nonetheless, there is wide-spread agreement that elites should be analysed as "power elites" (cf. Khan 2012; Maxwell 2015). It is also uncontroversial that educational merit is not the only accepted way to reach elite status, not even in a thoroughly "schooled society" (Baker 2014). There are alternative legitimate paths to the resources of power, such as electoral success and property ownership. And there is, of course, the phenomenon of usurpated power. It follows that the scope of any theory of elite formation must go beyond the analysis of processes of elite education.

David Baker does not seem to concur with my second point. In his opening chapter he says about contemporary society: "Educational degrees become the main legitimate route to power and access to resources within an increasingly professionalized and formally organized society" (Baker: 10). By thus narrowing down the field of elite research to that of elite education research, Baker is unable to develop the full strength of his own theoretical approach.

The continuing relevance of economic resources and political power cannot be denied. In keeping with the neo-institutional conception of world society (cf. Krücken and Drori 2009), Baker interprets the global educational expansion as the outcome of a process of normative diffusion of the model of formal education. His description of this process is enlightening, especially when he points out that the conventional opposition of traditional systems of "ascribed status" and modern systems of "achieved status" is misleading. What is really happening is the transition to a global system of "educationally derived status" (Baker: 6). The key role in this process is attributed to the "Western form of the university" (Baker: 11). Most authors included in the present volume would probably go along with this diagnosis. But many would insist that it ought to be embedded in an analysis of global political and economic asymmetries, and they would prefer to treat the diffusion of scientific universalism and Western models of higher education as a phenomenon of global hegemony.

This may be a debate about principles. But there is potential for empirical controversy, too. Indeed, Baker puts forward the hypothesis "that completion of particular advanced degrees far outweigh association (just attendance) with prestigious universities, even though the latter was once a viable verification of membership in the elite. (…) The decline of 'sponsored' placement in an upper caste of schools also means that crucial points of competition are extended over the length of the whole school

career, even starting with pre-schooling in some nations with advanced schooled societies. (…) The point is that increasingly merit itself is defined educationally, and the education process at the upper levels moves away from a caste system of institutions" (Baker: 10).

This amounts to a head-on attack on one of the central tenets of the "social reproduction paradigm" associated with the name of Pierre Bourdieu. In contrast to Bourdieu and his followers, Baker argues that the socially selective function of "elite" schools and universities is about to disappear in the new global regime of educationally derived status attainment. This is a strong theoretical hypothesis. But so far, its empirical basis remains ambivalent.

Quite clearly, *Michael Hartmann*'s research presented in this volume does not support Baker's hypothesis. His main topic is the presumed emergence of a "transnational elite" in the globalised world. As to the holders of leading political, administrative and legal positions in international organisations, we know from Hartmann's earlier publications (e.g. Hartmann 2007: 195ff.) that national recruitment paths predominate. In his present contribution the focus is on the educational background of the international "business elite", presidents and CEOs of the largest national and international companies residing in six economically leading countries (cf. also Hartmann 2016). The picture he draws is clearly one of national path dependency, not of a general global trend away from a "caste system" of educational institutions.

Hartmann compares four countries with long national traditions of exclusive schools and universities—France, Japan, the UK and the USA—with two countries without such a tradition—China and Germany. He finds that the "differences between the countries … have increased dramatically' in the last 20 years (Hartmann: 4). For instance, with respect to the background of French and Japanese business leaders he observes neither an increased internationalisation nor a significant decline of the impact of "elite" universities. On the opposite end of the continuum, he discerns a sharp rise of the number of foreign business leaders in the UK and a concomitant decline of the share of graduates from "elite" universities.

Hartmann explains the conspicuous difference between the situation in France and the UK by referring to the direct institutional links between "elite" universities, the state apparatus and the business world in France which are absent in the British Oxbridge-system. He concludes that "elite universities are rooted in national culture, and that suggests that there will be continuity as opposed to change" (Hartmann: 10), a view not shared by the neo-institutional school of thought. On the other hand, Hartmann's

numerous comparative studies all display a tendency to focus on the stability of national structures of elite reproduction rather than trying to explore new developments.

This is precisely what *Jane Kenway* is attempting to do in her chapter on the "globalising elite school market" (Kenway: 1). In her view, "elite" schools are thriving, not disappearing in the process of globalisation. As she has written elsewhere, she sees the sociology of elite education as closely related to the analysis of class and power (cf. Kenway and Koh 2015: 4). Kenway's chapter in this volume is based on a small segment of a much larger research project (cf. Kenway et al. 2017). To make the chapter accessible without elaborating on the theoretical and methodological basis of the project, she uses the concept of "desire" developed by Frédéric Lordon in his recent book on Spinoza and Marx as her guideline. This notion was new to me and sounded relevant and interesting; however, it is difficult to assess its merits without linking it to the broader argument developed by Kenway's team's global ethnographies of elite schools study. Kenway draws her empirical material from seven private fee-paying schools claiming to be "elite" and addressing an "elite" clientele. All are located in England and countries linked to the former British Empire, and the schools are very active in advertising their high-quality, cosmopolitan atmosphere and international reputation. They are highly selective and very expensive.

Of particular interest for the present book are two themes. On the one hand, Kenway is interested in solving the puzzle of why private school teachers, though usually poorly paid, tend to identify with the philosophy and the aims of their schools. Apart from some general reflections reminding me of Julien Benda's classic *La trahison des clercs*, she mentions that teachers are offered "the opportunity for their own children to attend the school for low or no fees. (…) Their children might, perchance, join the social class that their parents currently serve" (Kenway: 6).

On the other hand, she comments on the strong "internationalism" of the schools. Among other things, she sees the tendency of wealthy Asian parents to send their children to Western private schools as an "escape" from the fierce educational competition in their own countries. She adds that "education in the 'West', and in the English language, are unashamedly coveted" (Kenway: 11).

These are just two arguments put forward by Kenway of the ways educational expansion at a global level is driven and the varied motives of many of the actors for this.

Whilst Kenway concentrates on aspects of privileged (or "exclusive") internationalisation, *Tobias Peter*'s approach focuses in on both "exclusive"

and "inclusive" internationalisation, the latter having to do with mass migration and the resulting problems of integration of (mostly lower-class) migrants and their offspring. The theoretically interesting point in this contribution is that he considers processes of "inclusion and exclusion as mutually dependent" (Peter: 2).

On the "exclusivity"-side of the coin, internationally oriented schools and top universities attracting high quality staff and students from abroad are perceived as privileged players in the "Global Competition for Talent". On the "inclusivity"-side, the *leitmotif* of the discourses analysed by Peter is to make the best of the national and ethnic diversity of immigrant pupils and students in order to prepare them for competitive labour markets. Both sides are bound together by the growing influence of neo-liberal ideas, the logic of competition and the understanding of education as investment in human capital.

Peter's findings are based on an historical discourse analysis inspired by the Foucauldian governmentality concept supplemented by certain aspects of Niklas Luhmann's systems theory (cf. Peter 2014). This methodological and theoretical background has its main strength in its sophisticated procedures of "reading" and interpreting all kinds of spoken, written and/or institutional texts from a power-critical point of view. It is, however, less suited for analysing the structural conditions into which discourses are embedded. Thus, Peter's distinction between "inclusive" and "exclusive" internationalisation seems to make heuristic sense, and one would hardly deny that they are somehow "mutually dependent". But the question of how exactly they are interlocked and what this signifies cannot be answered within the confines of discourse analysis alone. It would have to be supplemented by a carefully argued theoretical frame.

Richard Münch, a proponent of the "academic capitalism" paradigm in education research is well aware of this (cf. Münch 2014). He is the author of many highly respected theoretical treatises. In the earlier years of his career, Münch tried to adapt Talcott Parsons' theory of action to the analysis of modern society (for an English summary of this endeavour, cf. Münch 2012). In recent years, he has turned to the conceptual world of Pierre Bourdieu, albeit with some Parsonian reminiscences. It is from Bourdieu, not from Marx or Weber, that he inherits his concept of capitalism. It locates "cultural capital" and "social capital" on the same level of abstraction as "economic capital".

Within this renewed theoretical framework, Münch addresses a core theme common to all papers discussed so far: the growing importance of

competitive ranking procedures at all levels of education, for example, comparative tests of student performance (PISA), national rankings of schools and universities, international league-tables of nations (ARWU- and THE rankings). Münch sees the "meritocratic narrative" according to which competition leads to quality enhancement as part of a hegemonic discourse. Although he does not reject competition as such, his central thesis is that under the present power regime "competition within education does not foster meritocracy", as "'elite selection' and 'equal opportunity' are two sides of the same coin" (Münch: 2, 5).

None of the authors I am discussing here would probably deny this, as they all are aware of the ongoing reproduction of educational stratification in competitively organised systems of education, either with or without "elite" schools and universities. What separates them is their theoretical interpretation.

Obviously, the juxtaposition of the five authors discussed above is somewhat fortuitous. Their research questions, their theoretical orientations and their methods differ considerably. What binds them together is their common interest in "elites" and "internationalisation" in the field of education. But their interpretations of these terms differ. This is quite unsurprising as both terms clearly are "essentially contested concepts", deeply immersed in political debates and conflicting interests. However, conceptual divergencies of this kind are no cause for alarm. They are to be expected if one follows Max Weber in his conception of the social sciences as an unending effort to analyse and understand the ever-changing social world as clearly and distinctly as possible, without dreaming of an "objective" social theory (cf. Kreckel 2004: iiv).

For the five chapters discussed here, as well as for the others included in this volume, it may be said on these grounds that in spite of their inherently fuzzy qualities, the key concepts of "elite" and "internationalisation" display an *enormous heuristic potential*. In the present period of globalised history they are able to provide valuable conceptual orientation for research on local, national and global fields of education.

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PART II

Early Years and Primary Education

CHAPTER 8

Embedded Internationalisation and Privilege in German Early Years Provision

Johanna Mierendorff, Thilo Ernst, and Marius Mader

Introduction

Although policy debates (White 2011) and scholarship (e.g. the European Early Childhood Education Research Journal, published since 1993) relating to early childhood education are taking place internationally, little is known about the extent to which processes of internationalisation are affecting the provision of Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC)[1] at the national level. This chapter seeks to address this gap, through examining the case of Germany.

The overall trend of increasing marketisation of education also affects childcare systems (Lloyd 2012), and education organisations use internationalisation efforts as an instrument for gaining prestige and market advantage. It is, for example, in the context of increasing marketisation

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within education that internationalisation has become a central feature of efforts aimed at creating images of outstanding education organisations in higher education (Bloch et al., in this volume). Assuming that such strategies trickle down through the levels of education systems (Krüger et al. 2012), the role internationalisation may play in reshaping German ECEC is of paramount interest—the more so because equal access features strongly in German ECEC, and programmes are differentiated according to their philosophical and pedagogical approaches, rather than according to any agreed-upon notion of their quality or excellence.

The increasing marketisation of ECEC features strongly in traditional ECEC research, which focuses on equity issues such as access to and use of ECEC, and on trends of segregation of childcare organisations and their clientele (Alt et al. 2012; Betz 2013). In this chapter, we ask whether internationalisation may fuel existing tendencies of structural segregation within the German ECEC system. To develop a nuanced assessment of the form of internationalisation taking place within ECEC and its possible impact, we propose to take a contextualised perspective that starts from an analysis of how internationalisation is understood, adapted and used in individual childcare centres.

We start with an overview of centre-based care in Germany. The recent emergence of high-priced commercial childcare centres in this sector has been accompanied by heated debates about the possibly exclusive and elitist character of such organisations (Ernst et al. 2014; Mader et al. 2014). We then discuss concepts used in the research of elite education organisations and internationalisation, as these need to be adapted to be of use in the examination of (German) ECEC. From data gathered and knowledge gained in an ongoing research project,[2] we identify, in the third section, three frames through which internationalisation is embedded in childcare centres. The fourth and final section consists of a systematic conceptual assessment of how internationalisation, embedded in these particular frames, may or may not contribute to further segregation of German ECEC. The conclusion summarises our findings and points out areas for further research.

Centre-Based Care in Germany

On the legislative and administrative levels, ECEC in Germany is not the responsibility of federal and state ministries of education, but belongs to the system of social security. In contrast to many other countries, early

years care and preschool education are not separated out as two distinct types of organisations; instead, German childcare centres are tasked to integrate both aspects. Centre-based childcare is essentially state-funded, not-for-profit, and provided by private (i.e. non-state) organisations—only about one-third of the roughly 54,500 childcare centres are operated by state organisations (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015: 15). Attending a childcare centre has long been commonplace for children from the age of three. As of March 2015, more than 95% of children aged 3–6 (over 3s) attended a childcare centre nationwide, with attendance rates 92% or above in every German federal state. Attendance rates for under 3s are steadily rising, although the national average of 28% masks sharp differences across the country. Compulsory education in Germany begins with the start of primary school around the age of six years, so kindergarten attendance is voluntary.

Administration and organisation of centre-based care are multi-tiered. Federal law sets the basic principles, and the states (*Länder*) have their own laws and regulations, provide funds and oversight. At the local level, the municipalities co-finance and manage childcare provision (see Oliver and Mätzke 2014: 176 for details on the underlying subsidiarity principle). Public funding covers centres run by public authorities, those run by private non-profit organisations, and in several states also the for-profit providers. For-profit or commercial providers are however few in number; they run only about 3% of all childcare centres. A small fraction of the commercial centres operate without state subsidies, relying on parents' fees as their only income, while the fees charged for attending a publicly funded centre are income-dependent and not intended to cover all costs. We will later draw on one non-profit centre and one high-cost for-profit centre from our sample to illustrate the argument we develop below.

Researching Elite Organisations and Internationalisation in German ECEC

Elite Organisations

The issues of marketisation and increasing hierarchisation of educational landscapes are prominent in research on elite schools and universities. Particular attention is often paid to how specific education organisations may play an integral role in the (re-)production of (future) elites. We will

now briefly discuss possible adaptations of this line of inquiry for ECEC research. One approach would be to deductively define the (functional) elite as a certain proportion of the richest people, for instance, managers of big corporations or people in other kinds of influential positions and then examine how their education may have been instrumental in securing these positions for themselves (Hartmann 2013: 75). This approach, however, cannot easily be applied to ECEC and its organisations. First, the long timespan since these people's early education and the wide variety of educational trajectories make it difficult to draw inferences between early years provision and 'success' in adult life. Additionally, there is currently no distinct group of ECEC organisations in Germany which would widely be regarded as being exceptional or prestigious either in terms of quality or outcomes for children attending them. Thus, there are no predetermined starting points from which to identify an organisational foundation of elite formation processes. For a large part, this holds true for both primary and secondary schools in Germany, so seeking to identify ECEC organisations feeding into prestigious schools is arguably even more challenging. Indeed, German research into elites and elite education has never to date concerned itself with preschool education (Mader et al. 2014).

Nevertheless, within the field of ECEC research, questions of equity in relation to access, use and outcomes have formed the cornerstone of this academic field. The recent state-led expansion of the German ECEC system's capacity has renewed interest in this topic, with one of the main lines of inquiry focusing on disadvantages experienced by low-income groups (Alt et al. 2012). In this context, a heated debate has arisen in professional and academic circles about equality of access to quality care and the role of commercial high-priced providers. These providers are allegedly contributing to a vertical differentiation of German ECEC by marketing 'enhanced' services at very steep prices that are aimed exclusively at high-income groups (Ernst et al. 2014).

If and in which ways the establishment of high-priced commercial childcare centres leads to new processes of (organisational) distinction and segregation is the main focus of our broader research project which informs this chapter. Our approach to considering how the concept of elite education might be interpreted within the field of ECEC has been to research how notions of elite and exclusivity are constructed by those involved in German ECEC (Krüger et al. 2012). We found that both the term and the notion of 'elite' are virtually absent from German ECEC—both in the literature as well as in our sample's childcare centres themselves. There are

some tentative findings in the literature as to what key actors in the field consider a ‘good’ early childhood education. This, however, is related to the diverse discourses of pedagogic quality and is not aimed at identifying a group of ‘best’ or ‘elite’ ECEC organisations in Germany (Honig et al. 2004). We therefore decided to consider the issue further by examining how parents and teachers in individual childcare centres engaged with the interactional particularisation of their organisation (Mader et al. 2014). This mode of distinction, or of ‘doing exclusivity’, is, however, restricted to those directly involved in individual centres; this symbolic stratification is largely self-referential and cannot be assumed to be recognised in wider social or geographical circles. Approaching the question of how internationalisation may contribute to processes of differentiation and segregation of early childhood education thus means to ask how internationalisation processes may, on a structural level, provide resources that can be gainfully used in such interactional particularisation.

Internationalisation

As there is no established framework for researching internationalisation in ECEC, we turned to literature on the internationalisation of higher education as this sector is much more strongly international and the theorising of these processes far more developed (Grothus and Maschke 2013; Kehm and Teichler 2007). Jane Knight conceptualises internationalisation as

> the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education. (Knight 2004: 11)

With this working definition, Knight is interested in developing an approach that is “appropriate for use in a broad range of contexts and for comparative purposes across countries and regions of the world” (Knight 2004: 11). We will use this definition and its accompanying exemplifications as a heuristic tool to explore what is understood by internationalisation and the specific activities developed in German ECEC.

That Knight’s working definition is mainly descriptive is actually an advantage for our current investigations. It mainly delineates the range of phenomena to include in the term internationalisation and so helps to analytically distinguish it from related phenomena such as globalisation or marketisation. Also, no *a priori* assumption is made about how

internationalisation might be connected to these latter developments, to segregation or to elite formation, thus providing a rather neutral starting point from which to develop further empirical and theoretical insights. Furthermore, the descriptive nature of the definition allows us to reflect upon the extent to which internationalisation efforts might be called 'strategic' in the sense that 'integrating an international dimension' would mean that the process has been actively planned, reflected on, or integrated into a broader strategy. We will argue that such strategic notions of internationalisation are largely absent from German ECEC and that understanding how processes of internationalisation have nonetheless become embedded into childcare centres' work is key to establishing how internationalisation efforts lead to the continuation but also disruption of processes of inequality.

Knight also proposes to distinguish three levels in analyses of internationalisation processes: the national, sector and institutional levels. For German ECEC, the national level translates to both the national government, which sets general ECEC policy, and to the level of the states, who are in charge of ECEC provision, administration and financing. At the sector level, that is policy arena, the social security system is most relevant here. The institutional level encompasses both individual childcare centres as well as the providers themselves, which may operate multiple centres each. In the remainder of this section, we will briefly assess the national and sector levels, but our focus in this chapter is on the institutional level. Along with identifying to what extent internationalisation is taking place, we will point out structural constraints that, compared to other education sectors, limit the range of internationalisation activities possible within ECEC. These constraints include the ages of the children, the low degree of standardisation of German ECEC, and the absence of federal, state and sector initiatives. Then, in the next section we outline the international and intercultural activities which we observed as taking place in the centres we studied.

Children attending childcare centres are aged between 0 and 6 years. At these ages, the children are not independently mobile and are, on a pedagogical and philosophical level, quite differently understood as autonomous subjects than is the case for older pupils or higher education students. The younger the children, the more they are regarded as beings in need of care and affection, further complicating the notion of children being recipients of formal teaching. All this has a strongly inhibitive effect on any internationalisation efforts that would require students to be both independently mobile and independent decision-makers—student exchanges and language courses abroad are among the kind of internationalisation

proxies used in other research which are rendered largely meaningless here. It could be argued that it is not the children but their parents who are the decision-making customers or clients of ECEC, but there are obvious limits to the types of programmes that can sensibly be offered to families seeking out early years care and education.

The low degree of standardisation is another important feature of German ECEC which limits developments around internationalisation. First, there are no certificates or examinations which children have to complete before they can enter the next phase of their education. In some states local health authorities do assess whether a child's development is such that they are 'ready' to start primary school (i.e. 'school readiness'); other states now focus on assessing whether a child might have any potential special educational needs. Meanwhile, all states have introduced language assessments at preschool ages. These assessments have been conceived of as identifying any needs schools must take into consideration when providing the child with an education, but they do not yield certification that could be used as capital by families to gain access to particular schools. Given the non-standardisation of German ECEC, parents' views on what is to be considered a desirable or successful early years education vary widely. In fact, the very broad range of educational philosophies and styles available to families in ECEC is one of the most prominent features of the German system. This means that up until now there have been few coalescing definitions of what excellence in ECEC should be comprised of.

At the federal, state and social service sector level, there are no policies or programmes that would amount to an explicit or strategic aim for the internationalisation of ECEC (although foreign language education might, in time, become an exception to the rule—see below). This means that there is no politically or pedagogically endorsed frame of reference which would suggest to childcare providers that they need to explicitly engage with internationalisation efforts.

International Activities at the Organisational Level—Embedded Internationalisation

At the organisational level—individual childcare centres—several international and intercultural activities can be found that closely resemble those in other education sectors. One example would be the study of a foreign language, ranging from discrete familiarisation sessions in a new language

to full language immersion in bilingual environments. In some centres the focus is on German as a second language. While there are no international curricula in a strict sense, strong international and intercultural dimensions have been found to enter everyday operations in some centres where the diversity of their clientele requires this for pedagogical reasons. In centres where families have a range of national and cultural backgrounds, international and intercultural events, partnerships with community-based cultural and ethnic groups, community service and intercultural project work are often developed as extracurricular activities. Finally, and somehow resembling the notion of international students, there are non-German families using ECEC—though many of these families are not necessarily members of the global middle classes or elite, seeking an educational provision that mirrors what they received elsewhere or will go on to use when they once again move.

However, central to our analysis is our assertion that the international activities and centres' characteristics are not representations of strategic internationalisation, as they are not constructed in this way by the staff and parents interviewed in our research. Two case studies of centres illustrate how internationalisation might contribute to both the perpetuation and potential disruption of privilege.

The first centre is one of a non-profit provider's several centres. It is located in a migrant inner-city neighbourhood that is characterised by high levels of poverty and unemployment; due to low income, many families are exempt from the attendance fees that usually have to be paid to the municipality. The centre takes in children from a few months of age to school age. Owing to the multinational composition of the centre's clientele, there are necessarily intercultural and international dimensions to both its everyday operations and its extracurricular activities such as summer fairs or excursions. There is also an explicit focus on community outreach and service that revolves around assisting immigrant families to participate more fully within German society. This includes assistance with liaising with government agencies, schools and healthcare organisations as well as the provision of German-language courses for parents, and parent peer-support groups. This emphasis is also reflected in the provider's staff training and professional development activities. Many of these are tailored to fostering the staff's skills in engaging children and families in a context of language barriers, poverty and a multitude of different cultural habits (including German ones).

The second centre is a high-priced for-profit operation. It belongs to a commercial provider that runs several centres in larger cities. The centre draws clients from all over the city, operates a programme of German-English bilingual immersion and, like the other centre, takes children from a few months of age. Staff and the directors of the centre emphasise the flexibility of care arrangements offered and the high quality of education provided. Operations are completely bilingual; among each group's two or three teachers, there is one native English speaker. The centre is also frequented by English-speaking expatriates. The centre's rationale for operating a bilingual programme can be said to be twofold. First, it is seeking to build a social infrastructure for globally mobile professionals. Given the highly demanding jobs pursued by many of the parents, the centre aims to provide an extensive and flexible form of childcare to meet their needs. The provider also seeks to support the families and their children in an environment where there is language familiarity. Second, a foreign language appears to increasingly be one of the markers of a holistic and comprehensive educational package the centre aims to offer aspiring parents. Overall, the bilingual concept, the flexibility of care arrangements and the proclaimed quality of education are deemed to be the necessary things to do if the centre is to accomplish its mission of accommodating highly qualified parents who are, actually or potentially, mobile across borders.

Meanwhile, the centre in the migrant inner-city neighbourhood provides a different frame through which to understand international and intercultural activities. The provider's mission includes a strong commitment to furthering equal opportunities and enhancing the children's and families' agency. Against this backdrop, the international and intercultural dimension of the staff training, everyday practices, and community outreach are seen to be necessary to accomplish this goal. The activities are thus embedded in a social pedagogical coping strategy that is tailored to the provider's mission, the centre's clientele, and its socio-geographical location.

Intersections of Embedded Internationalisation and Privilege

The international and intercultural activities outlined above are embedded within but are not at the core of providers' and centres' strategies for the provision of early years care and education. We therefore propose to think

of such activities as embedded rather than strategically conceived processes of internationalisation within German ECEC. The rationale for, and the outcomes of, international activities can only be understood within the particular context in which they are being developed and practised. In this final section, we consider further the three frames identified above—building a social infrastructure for mobile parents, a comprehensive educational package and social pedagogical coping strategies—and their connections to processes of (organisational) segregation and distinction. To achieve a nuanced assessment, for each frame, we will discuss aspects that point to trends of increasing stratification as well as to opposing trends.

Social Infrastructure for Globally Mobile Professionals

While the organisational structure and purpose of international schools differ markedly from those of childcare centres, in some aspects there seems to be a functional equivalence. Hayden (2011) describes traditional international schools

> as a means of catering for the children of expatriate diplomats and employees of transnational organisations who followed their parents' globally mobile professions around the world, and for whom education provided locally—perhaps because of language or a mismatch with university entrance requirements in the home country—was deemed unsuitable. (Hayden 2011: 214)

This draws attention to the role international education organisations—and, to some degree, childcare centres such as the commercial one mentioned above—play in enabling and supporting the cross-border mobility of the elite group of parents outlined by Hayden. Drawing on this perspective, a major function of these childcare centres is not the excellent education of the children, but the provision of a suitable social infrastructure for internationally mobile families. In other words—such specialised childcare provision can be viewed not necessarily as a tool for conferring further advantages to one's children, but as a necessary precondition for facilitating the increasing flow of well-trained expatriates across borders. Flexible and non-German medium extra-familial childcare has long been scarce. High-priced providers are therefore eager to capitalise on this lack, while the high fees contribute to their somewhat exclusive character.

Such internationalised, flexible care arrangements are, however, increasingly also being offered by state-funded non-profit providers. While the

overall proportion of bilingual childcare centres is low, it seems to be steadily rising (FMKS 2014). There is also an ongoing discussion within the sector on how to provide institutional childcare outside the 'core hours' (approximately 7 a.m. to 4 p.m.) (Stöbe-Blossey 2011: 380–383). The more such kinds of programmes grow, the less likely they are to be only accessible to specific, privileged groups of parents, thus losing their value as marketable indicators of excellence and distinction.

Comprehensive Educational Package

Implementing a bilingual programme, and thus a foreign language education, is as close as ECEC appears to engage with the notion of strategic attempts to internationalise. However, as illustrated above, this is not necessarily how bilingual programmes are framed—we argue that they are better understood as one of several building blocks of a specific and comprehensive educational package that aspiring parents may seek. There are strong similarities to the interests and activities Vincent and Ball (2007) describe for the parents in their study, who can be said to be engaged in 'making up' the middle-class child. In the case of our commercial centre, the centre includes in its programme what Vincent and Ball call enrichment activities, such as music, gym and art. Not only is there a clear service aspect to such provision—as the parents do not need to organise these activities themselves and drive their children around in the afternoon—but the centre also ensures it signals to parents the high quality of these programmes (Mader et al. 2014). For example, the centre does not merely include science experiments in its education, but the provider employs a science graduate to run them, a trained singer to facilitate the centre's music education, and one native (English) speaker per group, thereby signalling the quality of its foreign language training.

There are a number of ways in which childcare centres disseminate their claims of offering a specialised and superior education; in another commercial centre we studied there were, for example, certain artefacts such as small easels and a piano on display. While the existence of such programmes and ways of addressing specific class fractions are in themselves nothing new, they may be linked to internationalisation insofar as a foreign language seems to be more and more a requisite enhancement to any comprehensive educational package. Making up a middle-class child may thus increasingly include building a capacity for future international and cross-cultural mobility, independent of the family's current level of transnational

movement. The high fees commercial childcare centres are charging also mean that such comprehensive service and education packages are only available to families able to deploy the considerable financial means necessary. This small niche of ECEC provision can thus be said to be marketing itself to a very particular clientele—one in which a privileged socio-economic position and specific educational preferences intersect.

However, this tentative assessment needs to be further differentiated and nuanced. Bilingual education at preschool age is steadily increasing, including within publicly funded childcare centres. Numbers available from the Association for Early Multilingualism in Day Nurseries and Schools show, for example, that the number of childcare centres offering some sort of bilingual programme has risen from 340 in 2004 to 1034 in 2014 (FMKS 2014: 1). Furthermore, catering for different families' needs and worldviews by offering choice among a range of educational philosophies is one of the central structural features of German Early Childhood Education and Care. This variety, along with possible effects residential segregation may have on the structure of provision, has meant that parents have always had a certain degree of choice in selecting their child's educational experience (Franke-Meyer 2014).

Overall, the increase in bilingual childcare provision and the ongoing discussion in the publicly funded childcare sector on how to better accommodate families' needs (e.g. the extension of hours of care) raise the question—how exactly might bilingual provision be deemed to denote a certain level of exclusivity in provision? Further research in this area is needed, and currently the focus of a study (Mader and Mierendorff 2017; Mierendorff et al. 2014).

Social Pedagogical Coping Strategies

In the non-profit centre, international activities are embedded into the provider's and staff's mission of empowering its clients to participate in society. There are some fundamental features to this social pedagogical approach that do not lend themselves to commodifying the centre's services, that is, to make them into a product that can be sold to individual customers. This is due to the dual structure of social pedagogical work: on the one hand, it consists of advocacy on the client's behalf; it has to dialogically help the clients help themselves to autonomously manage their lives in a context of demanding societal normalcy. On the other hand, it is

engaged in the surveillance and supervision of deviance on behalf of the majority society—or, given its position in public welfare, on behalf of the welfare state (Böhnisch and Lösch 1973: 27–29; Klatetzki 2010: 16; Olk et al. 2003: xxi). Accordingly, the subjects of voluntary sector social work are, in our case, the families using publicly funded childcare centres, while the paying customer of the services is mostly the welfare state. Additionally, considering the aims of this approach—integration on the societal level, developing in individuals a capacity to autonomously manage their lives in potentially adverse circumstances—it is hard to imagine ways in which efforts at internationalisation could be conceived of as either introducing systematic differentiation among groups of people or providing individual families or children with a means of gaining or perpetuating privilege.

Conclusion

Understandings of processes of elite formation, and how imperatives towards internationalisation intersect with these, operate differently in German ECEC when compared to the school and higher education sectors. Such an examination must be adapted to accommodate for specific features shaping ECEC—the age group of the students, the specific mission of care and education, and the peculiarities of the national and local contexts in which such care is being offered.

In the case of internationalisation, the most notable difference to other education sectors is the absence in German ECEC of the kind of strategic internationalisation found within higher education, which includes national and sector level policies that compel education organisations to engage in internationalisation activities. We proposed to understand the international and intercultural activities taking place at the level of individual childcare centres as being embedded in missions and strategies that have been tailored to the specific local context. In our research we have found evidence of internationalisation in centres' desire to create an infrastructure for globally mobile families, in the provision of a comprehensive educational package (particularly desired by middle-class families), and in centres' social pedagogical coping strategies tailored to the accommodation of less-privileged groups.

This analysis supports the argument that internationalisation in ECEC does not introduce new inequalities *per se*, but may modernise and blend in with existing mechanisms of differentiation. This is most obvious with

the provision of a comprehensive educational package—bilingual education seems increasingly to be a requisite component of the educational experience specific middle-class fractions may seek for their children. Yet, our research also suggests that initiatives that could be 'internationalising' in their outcomes (such as bilingual programmes) are becoming more commonplace across the entire ECEC sector; their value as markers of exclusivity can thus be expected to diminish in the future. More importantly, the social pedagogical coping strategies with their inherent notions of compensation and empowerment—helping families to navigate the social security and education systems, through both advocacy and the development of individual capabilities—show that internationalisation does not necessarily connect to mechanisms that perpetuate privilege but might actively oppose them.

Internationalisation, in the case of German ECEC, is taking place within a vastly differentiated field that is deeply rooted in its social welfare history, yet confronted with the same effects of globalisation and cross-border migration as other educational sectors. Our analysis points to the importance of employing a contextualised perspective on institutional-level internationalisation processes, taking into account the various local and regional settings in which particular ECEC education organisations operate.

Notes

1. We use 'early childhood education and care' (ECEC) to refer to the sector of state-regulated, extra-familial care and education of children aged 0–6. 'Centre-based care' refers to ECEC as it takes place in daycare centres (as opposed to certified childminders), which is the predominant form of extra-familial care and education in Germany as well as the focus of the current research project.
2. The research project 'Distinction in Institutional Settings in Early Childhood Education and Care' (Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg) aims to microanalytically identify the impact of the changing structure of German ECEC provision on processes of inequality and (organisational) distinction. It is a six-year qualitative study of three high-priced and two conventional, state-funded childcare centres. Principal researcher is Johanna Mierendorff; research associates are Thilo Ernst and Marius Mader. See Mierendorff et al. (2014) for further information.

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CHAPTER 9

Marketisation, Elite Education and Internationalisation in Australian Early Childhood Education and Care

Frances Press and Christine Woodrow

Introduction

The "study of elites and elite education is a perpetually emerging field of research" (Howard and Kenway 2015: 1007) and not more so than in the field of early childhood education. In taking up Howard and Kenway's exhortation for research to be undertaken on "elite institutions for the very young" (Howard and Kenway 2015: 1007), we ask: how might internationalisation and elite education be understood in relation to children's

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early childhood education and care (ECEC), in particular, in the highly marketised Australian childcare sector?

Australia's highly privatised childcare sector provides a rich site for interrogating how internationalisation and elite education might be manifest in an early childhood market. To examine these issues, we turn to the writings of researchers and scholars of internationalisation and elite education in the school and tertiary education sectors to provide a framework for considering the applicability of these concepts to ECEC (Howard and Kenway 2015; Knight 2008; Maxwell and Aggelton 2013; Prosser 2016).

We concur with Mierendorff, Ernst and Mader (in Chap. 8 of this volume) that internationalisation and elite education assume particular forms within ECEC settings that are distinct from schools and higher education, distinctions that are driven primarily by the very young ages of the children who attend such settings, and the non-compulsory nature of children's attendance. For these reasons, the relationship between elite education and internationalisation, often portrayed as symbiotic or interlinked in schools and higher education, is also not as pronounced in ECEC. In the context of ECEC, these studies are emergent, with little done in the way of empirical research or context-specific theorising. Yet, the growing interest in early childhood education globally from an expanding range of stakeholders suggests such enquiries are both relevant and timely.

Drawing upon our own and others' previous research and scholarship on the creation of an Australian childcare market (Newberry and Brennan 2013; Press and Woodrow 2005, 2009; Woodrow and Press 2007; Sumsion 2012) and the history of ECEC in Australia (Press and Wong 2013, 2015, 2016), we consider the possible manifestations of elite education and internationalisation in ECEC. We ask whether the rise of private, for-profit childcare has resulted in an elite early childhood education market. In doing so, we examine the way in which the discourses of childcare adopted by the market are increasingly linked to middle-class parental aspirations for their children. We tentatively "test" the reality of an elite market in early childhood education, by examining the rhetorical promise of a number of childcare providers against the quality ratings provided by the Australian Children's Education and Care Quality Authority (ACECQA)—a statutory body which assesses all Australian ECEC services. We reflect on the applicability of internationalisation to ECEC through two lenses: firstly, in relation to institutionally framed intercultural practices, and secondly, in relation to globalisation and the related processes of movement and flows of people, ideas and capital, and the

creation and penetration of international markets. We conclude by drawing on preliminary findings from these explorations to suggest potentially productive future lines of enquiry.

We commence with an overview of the Australian early childhood sector and the rise of its childcare market.

ECEC in Australia

In Australia, ECEC comprises all formal education and care services offered to children in the years before school, including family day care (based in carers' homes and administered and supported though central coordination units); preschools (available to children in the one or two years before school and often offered on a short day basis) and centre-based childcare (which is available to children from birth to school age). The management and delivery of ECEC includes management by non-profit entities such as community-based associations, local government or government departments (the latter is more common in relation to preschools); independent schools; for-profit companies and publicly listed corporations.

This chapter focuses on childcare centres as this is the sector in which the market is most firmly established. Significantly for this discussion, not all Australian children have access to government-run preschools in the years before school (which are usually free or low cost). Thus many families rely on childcare for their children's access to an early childhood education programme. Preschools and childcare centres are subject to the same regulatory requirements, including the mandated implementation of the Early Years Learning Framework (EYLF) and the employment of qualified educators. The Australian Children's Education and Care Quality Authority (ACECQA) monitors and assesses all ECEC against established standards and awards a rating to each centre based on this assessment. There are five rating categories ranging from "excellent" to "significant improvement required" and ACECQA ratings are publicly available online.

An estimated 22% of children under the age of two, 71% of children aged between two and three years of age and 83% of four- and five-year-olds attend ECEC (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2015).

Fee Support

To improve the affordability of childcare, the Federal Government provides two types of fee subsidy: Child Care Benefit (CCB) and the Child

Care Rebate (CCR). CCB is a progressive means-tested subsidy paid to parents, based on family income, with higher levels of subsidy available to families with lower incomes. CCR is a tax rebate of up to $7000 that subsidises the gap between the fees that centres actually charge and the government-nominated hourly amount against which the CCB is paid. The CCR is regressive, favouring those families on higher incomes who can cover the cost of the gap until the rebate becomes available. There is no cap on fees and annual increases in the cost of childcare have exceeded the consumer price index for a number of years. Regardless of fee subsidies, childcare is expensive (The Conversation, March 2016).

From Philanthropy to the Market

Understanding the interplay of Australian childcare with internationalisation and elite education necessitates an understanding of the ways in which the provision of ECEC has changed since the turn of the twentieth century from a predominantly not-for-profit, community-based sector to one dominated by private for-profit operators.

The origins of contemporary ECEC in Australia are found in the philanthropic kindergarten and nursery school movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Influenced by the kindergarten movements in Europe and the United States of America (USA), the first Australian kindergarten association was formed in New South Wales (NSW) in 1895. Kindergarten advocates included suffragettes, philanthropists, educational and social reformers, determined to establish free kindergartens in poor suburbs and to transform the way children were educated in the early years of school. But the short days of the kindergarten and restrictions on the age of children who could attend failed to support women who were often forced into paid work through widowhood or desertion by their husbands. Thus the nursery school movement emerged some years later in an effort to provide care for the babies and young children of mothers who had to work. Today, these early philanthropic organisations remain significant providers of non-profit childcare throughout Australia.

Despite the efforts of these advocacy groups for early childhood education to become widespread, the commitment of various governments to early childhood education was haphazard. Major Federal Government investment in ECEC nationally did not occur until the 1970s with the introduction of the *Child Care Act 1972*. This Act was introduced with

bipartisan support for only funding non-profit childcare that was embedded in local communities, with strong parent input (Logan et al. 2013). However, the rise of a neo-liberal economic agenda throughout the 1980s eventually triggered a significant policy shift in 1991 when the Hawke Labor Government announced that families utilising private centres could access government fee subsidies (Press 1999). This resulted in a rapid escalation in the establishment of for-profit centres. The community-based sector soon became overshadowed by for-profit providers, and for-profit providers soon came to be dominated by one publicly listed company, ABC Learning. Between 2001 and 2008, ABC Learning came to be the largest single childcare provider in Australia. At its height it also acquired a number of overseas interests and claimed to be the largest childcare provider in the world (Newberry and Brennan 2013).

However, at the end of 2008, the company collapsed. In order to stave off the inevitable chaos created by such a large part of the childcare market suddenly closing, the Federal Government allocated $100 million to keep centres open while new arrangements were made (Newberry and Brennan 2013). Although the company's dramatic financial collapse sent a strong signal about the shortcomings of commodifying what was previously conceived of as a public good (Newberry and Brennan 2013; Press and Woodrow 2009), government reliance on the market for childcare in Australia remains unshaken. The provision of childcare is still largely a commercial operation and all childcare providers (non-profit and for-profit) find themselves competing for market share.

Has Childcare Marketisation Created an Elite and Internationalised ECEC Sector?

Neo-liberalism has been remarkably successful in its quest to "make markets wider and create new markets where they did not exist before" including in education "whose commodification was once almost unimaginable" (Connell 2013a: 100). While the contemporary childcare market in Australia is largely taken for granted, its "unimaginability" was evident in widespread opposition to this policy change when it was initially mooted in 1990. This opposition was in large part driven by concerns that operating childcare for profit would result in lowering standards (Press 1999). Conversely, proponents of marketisation argued that competition in the marketplace was an incentive for services to improve the quality of ECEC.

A number of studies indicate that the quality of childcare provided through markets is notoriously uneven (Brennan et al. 2012; Cleveland and Krashinsky 2009). This is largely because ECEC is expensive to provide (mainly due to high staffing costs) and competition may occur around affordability rather than quality. For example, when childcare was first opened up to the market in the 1990s, the influx of private providers was so great that in areas of oversupply, commercial operators offered incentives, such as vouchers to toyshops, to entice parents to enrol their children (Loane 1997). As the childcare market has matured, its marketing has become increasingly sophisticated. At its height, ABC Learning engaged in a multimillion-dollar advertising programme, selling its childcare places to parents through cinema and television commercials cut to the tune of the Beatles hit “All You Need Is Love” (Press and Woodrow 2009).

Latterly, for-profit childcare centres are more likely to pitch to parents’ aspirations for their children. The websites of commercial childcare companies are replete with assertions about the educational offerings within their centres. Statements such as “the highest standard early education programmes,” “the benchmark for quality in early childhood care and education,” “leaders in the early childhood education field” are typical. The importance of children’s early development for their later success in life is also emphasised, for example:

- *we are the provider-of-choice for parents seeking the very best educational start for their children* (Company 1)
- *endless possibilities for every child* (Company 2)
- *take advantage of the windows of opportunity in these years to give your child the best start toward a lifetime of learning* (Company 1)

One company declares it will

build a reputation … as a platinum cutting edge child care operator with advanced educational programming in early childhood (Company 1)

Centres may also seek to distinguish themselves through the provision of specialist add-ons. For example, a “*menu designed by [a] leading Paediatric Dietitian and Nutritionist and prepared daily by a qualified Chef*” (Company 1). Performing arts studios, specialised sports programmes designed by sports science physiologists, and state-of-the-art

campuses are among the other types of claims made (Company 1, Company 2, Company 3).

Are these claims associated with the development of an elite and internationalised ECEC sector in Australia? To explore this further, we discuss the possibilities for eliteness and internationalisation in early childhood education. However, we address these separately, as it appears for the most part, they follow distinct trajectories.

"Eliteness" in Early Childhood Education: How Is It Manifest?

How might elite education be understood in relation to early childhood education in the Australian context? As highlighted by Prosser (2016), the term "elite education" is fraught with ambiguity. For example, the term "elite" may either refer to the quality of education or the social position of those receiving the education. Kenway and Koh (2015) offer one description of elite schools as being schools of very high rank. Maxwell and Aggleton (2013) point to factors such as independence from the state system, scholastic differentiation, the longevity and history of the school, a record of academic excellence, and the reproduction of eliteness—that is, elite schools shape the next generation of elites. Gaztambide-Fernandez (2009) includes typology and geographical location in his list of elite "markers."

The relatively recent history of formal childcare institutions, and contemporary policy arrangements, preclude many of these markers of eliteness from applying to childcare in Australia. Only a relatively small number of providers have a long established history of providing ECEC, and the legacies of these institutions are grounded in a commitment to redress disadvantage, rather than the education of elites (Press and Wong 2013). Additionally, all childcare is fee paying. While fees vary and may exclude many families from affording particular centres, all centres are bound by the same government guidelines concerning which parents should gain priority. Government-issued priority of access guidelines state that where there are more families requiring care than places available, priority must be given to children at risk of abuse or neglect (priority one); or children whose parents are working, training or studying (priority two); and within these categories, children with disabilities, children with an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander background, children from non-English-speaking

backgrounds, and children of single parents are also prioritised (Department of Education and Training 2016). In addition, all centres are obliged to implement the same curriculum framework. Therefore, it is not possible to identify elite education in ECEC using the same suite of criteria as might be applied in the school sector.

However, there are two expressions of eliteness in early childhood education that can be more readily explored: elite as pertaining to the quality of early childhood education (highly ranked); and early childhood education pertaining to the reproduction of elites.

Elite as an Expression of the Quality of Education

The quality ratings assigned through ACECQA provide an opportunity to examine whether claims of educational excellence are matched in reality. Through the ACECQA process, services are rated against seven quality areas comprising the National Quality Standard (NQS)—educational programme and practice, children's health and safety, physical environment, staffing arrangements, relationships with children, collaborative partnerships with families and communities, and service leadership and management. Centres are then awarded an overall rating of: excellent, exceeding the National Quality Standard; meeting the National Quality Standard; working towards National Quality Standard; or significant improvement required.

To explore this question, we reviewed a sample of centres' quality ratings through the National Quality Standard for Australian ECEC. We produced a snapshot of ratings drawn from two listed for-profit childcare companies, one sole owner for-profit company and two non-profit companies. Where companies owned multiple brands of childcare, we looked at only one brand. In the larger non-profit company we selected the first 25 rated centres for comparison. We only included ratings for childcare centres and preschools. For the purposes of this discussion, we refer to the overall rating only. It must be noted that our snapshot is not a comprehensive review of all companies, or of all brands held by the companies reviewed (Table 9.1).

Such figures indicate that the rhetoric adopted by providers in selling their education and care credentials is not always matched by what is delivered. In other words, the appeal that centres make to "being the best" is not what might be experienced by children and their families and demonstrated through the ACECQA process. Services rated as "exceeding the

Table 9.1 Snapshot of quality rating against provider type

Provider type	*ACECQA overall rating*		
	No. of centres rated as "Working towards the National Quality Standard"	*No. of centres rated as "Meeting the National Quality Standard"*	*No. of centres rated "Exceeding National Quality Standard"*
For-profit listed company (150 total) Company brand (10 total)	6	3	0
For-profit listed company (>450 total) Brand centre (30 total)	9	8	2
For-profit unlisted company (Estimated 25 centres)	2	7	11
Non-profit (Estimated 25 centres)	2	3	13
Non-profit (86 centres total, 25 centres reviewed)	2	6	17

Data obtained from Australian Children's Education and Care Quality Authority (ACECQA) (2016a)
Note: The estimated number of centres does not match the number of rated centres, as all had not been assessed

quality standard" were more likely, but not only, to be found in the non-profit sector. Interestingly, the for-profit provider with a higher percentage of exceeding ratings was not a listed company, but a sole owner who is recorded as saying "running a sustainable childcare business means making decisions that appear 'uneconomic.'" (AFR 2015) The two not-for-profit providers reviewed describe their missions by making an appeal to the educational entitlements of all children, for example, "every family should be able to access affordable, high quality early childhood education and care for their children"; that "the promise and potential of every child is realised" and that "families and communities are strong and caring." This contrasted with the for-profit providers who tended to make individualised appeals to parents, referring to "your child," reflecting the neoliberal discourse of narrow, individualised self-interests.

These indicative findings are consistent with the findings of the ACECQA report on *Quality Area 1 of the National Quality Standard*

(2016b). This pertains to educational programme and practice," and was found to be the outcome that services are least likely to meet.

According to this report, non-profit services were more likely than for-profit services to be rated as "exceeding the quality standard" for their educational programme: with local government-run services (46%), community-managed non-profits (35%) and "other" non-profits (25%) most likely to achieve this rating. Only 16% of private for-profit services were rated as "exceeding the national quality standard in this area" (ACECQA 2016b: 19). Thus claims akin to eliteness, such as offering "the best educational programmes," in "state-of-the-art facilities," staffed by "educators who are leaders in their field," are not always matched by reality.

To further consider elite education as an expression of the quality of education on offer, we searched for the childcare centres and preschools that received the highest rating under the National Quality Standard—that of "excellent." Of these centres, the majority (n = 19) are not-for-profits either attached to local councils, charities, parent committees, universities, or not-for-profit childcare umbrella organisations; six (6) are run by departments of education; three (3) are Montessori schools; four (4) are attached to private schools; and five (5) are for-profit centres. This is an interesting phenomenon with the not-for-profit sector performing disproportionately well and often in areas of socio-economic disadvantage (ACECQA website, May 2015).

The Education of Elites

Turning to Prosser's definition of elite education as also encompassing the education of elites, and Gaztambide-Fernadez's dimension of geographical location, we then examined the ACECQA ratings of centres in three of Australia's most advantaged local government areas: Peppermint Grove, Nedlands and Mosman (ABS) (Table 9.2).

Table 9.2 ACECQA ratings by location

Most advantaged local government areas	*ACECQA overall rating*		
	Working towards	*Meeting*	*Exceeding*
Peppermint Grove (WA)	4	2	
Mosman (NSW)	9	8	2
Nedlands (WA)	2	2	9

Data obtained from Australian Children's Education and Care Quality Authority (ACECQA) (2016a)

In two of these local government areas, the majority of services were not rated at a high standard. Only in Nedlands were the majority of services rated as "exceeding." Thus an area's socio-economic advantage does not necessarily correlate geographic access to elite education.

In order to further interrogate Prosser's contention that "calling a school elite is class formation in action" (ACECQA 2016b: 218), we looked at the ratings of early childhood programmes attached to grammar schools. The vast majority of these early childhood programmes were rated as "exceeding the standard," and three programmes run by grammar schools were rated as "excellent." Again, the ACECQA Report on Quality Area 1 reflects this finding, with 48% of assessed early childhood programmes in independent schools rated as exceeding in this quality area (ACECQA 2016b: 19).

Whilst early childhood programmes attached to already designated elite schools might confirm Prosser's proposition about class formation, the hypothesis that better-quality early childhood programmes are geographically concentrated in more advantaged communities does not seem to hold. Notwithstanding, the one for-profit provider identified in our earlier analysis as having a high percentage of exceeding ratings, reportedly charges fees of at least $164 per day (Marriner and Butt 2013). This restricts the access to such centres to families able to afford a substantial gap between the fee charged and any government subsidy. This suggests a small but emerging elite for-profit childcare sector.

A number of scholars of elite education in schools have identified connections between elite education and internationalisation process within schooling (and higher education). In the following section, we explore expressions of internationalisation in early childhood education and ask whether the same association between elite education and internationalisation holds true in the early years sector.

Internationalisation in ECEC

Is internationalisation, as it is understood in other areas of education, applicable to early childhood education? De Wit (2011) canvasses two overarching categories of internationalisation in education—the cross-border delivery of education and "internationalisation at home." Internationalisation across borders encompasses for instance, the direct delivery of educational programmes in other nations, attracting overseas students, and student mobility programmes. Internationalisation at home

tends to be curriculum oriented, encompassing the development of intercultural awareness and skills.

While a number of scholars of elite education in schools have identified connections between elite education and internationalised schooling, we contend that in Australia at least, these connections are not evident in the same way. This is partly because, as Mierendorff et al. (in this volume) note, the very young ages of the children attending ECEC precludes the widespread adoption of internationalisation strategies involving student mobility. However, more significantly, the ECEC sector in Australia has a long history of adopting strategies that might be now classified as "internationalisation at home." Its focus on intercultural awareness precedes the emergence of a potential elite ECEC sector, and we argue, is deeply embedded in a commitment to equity.

Nonetheless, the dominance of the childcare market does warrant consideration of Pike's (2012) description of neo-liberalism's paradoxical impact on internationalisation in education:

> a movement born out of the communitarian ideals of internationalism and enrichment through cultural exchange, and still able to deliver on those ideals at the micro level, seems inextricably caught up at the macro level in the web of commercialisation (…) (Pike 2012: 142)

Thus we examine the question of internationalisation in ECEC by first discussing expressions of internationalisation at home. We follow by considering whether the market is implicated in internationalisation abroad.

Internationalisation, Multiculturalism and Australian ECEC

To aid comparative discussion, like Mierendorff et al. (in this volume), we adopt as a starting point, Knight's articulation of internationalisation as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery … education" (Knight 2008: xi).

Cogent to this discussion is Australia's cultural diversity. Despite the existence of the racist "White Australia Policy" formally introduced in 1901, the cultural diversity of Australia's population expanded greatly after World War II. Between 1947 and 1953, 170,000 displaced persons from Europe were resettled in Australia commencing a commitment to migration that has continued to the present day.[1] An estimated 28% of

Australians are born overseas, with an additional 20% having at least one parent born overseas (Press 2015). Former Australian Human Rights Commissioner Sev Ozdowski argues that Australian multiculturalism is not a simply demographic descriptor but can be "understood as a social compact that involves power and wealth sharing between different ethno-cultural groups … usually based on equality of status and opportunity" (Ozdowski 2012: no pagination).

Multiculturalism emerged as a public policy ideal in the early 1970s and became official government policy in 1978. In 1979, the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) was established to raise awareness of cultural diversity and promote social cohesion (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011). Since that time, the policy of multiculturalism has attracted bipartisan support, although its cultivation and enactment has varied according to the government in power. For example, the conservative Howard Coalition Government (1996–2007) emphasised the assimilation of a range of cultures to a "core set of values" (Lawrence et al. 2012). The Gillard Labor Government (2010–2013), on the other hand, espoused a multiculturalism in which diversity was embraced asserting that "[m]ulticulturalism is the word that we use to capture our love of the things that bind us together and our respect for the diversity that enriches us" (Gillard, cited in Ozdowski 2012).

Against this background, we argue that at both the policy level and the micro level of the setting, Australian ECEC has a tradition of being concerned with the development of culturally responsive curricula and the promotion of intercultural exchange that reflects an enrichment agenda rather than assimilation. Even preceding the emergence of multicultural ideals in the seventies, early childhood education advocates were considering how to respond to the needs of newly arrived migrant families for whom English was not the first language. During the 1950s the Australian Pre-school Association successfully lobbied the government for funding to provide English classes for mothers in migrant hostels while their children were minded by qualified pre-school teachers (Press and Wong 2015). In the subsequent decades, non-profit pre-school providers such as the Kindergarten Union of NSW used vans to take pre-school programmes and playgroups out to newly developed suburbs and grappled with how to cross the barriers of language and culture that stood between the middle-class, English-speaking pre-school teachers and the newly arriving migrant families (Press and Wong 2015). This concern was, at least in part, a

product of the ethic within early childhood education and care of developing close and responsive relationships with families.

Funding for public childcare expansion in the 1970s paralleled other progressive social and political developments, such as the development of multiculturalism as official government policy. As a result, a number of agencies emerged to directly support the development of culturally respectful and responsive early childhood programmes, often supported by government funding. Strategies such as the availability of bilingual support workers, the implementation of anti-bias curriculum (Creaser and Dau 1995; Derman-Sparks 1989) producing and making available resources reflecting family and cultural diversity have been evident in ECEC programmes since the late 1970s. In 1981, for instance, the Lady Gowrie Child Centre, Sydney—a demonstration early childhood programme—was funded by government to establish a Multicultural Resource Centre "to assist children's services to promote the skills and attitudes within their programmes suited to the rich diversity of New South Wales multicultural society" (cited in Press and Wong 2016: 38). Today, respect for cultural diversity is a principle embedded in the Early Years Learning Framework (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations [DEEWR] 2009).

Internationalisation in Curriculum

The Early Years Learning Framework (EYLF) applies to all ECEC settings. In their examination of the EYLF, Millei and Jones (2014) provide two readings of how its intentions and enactments might be understood. On the one hand, they postulate that the EYLF and its associated policy documents construct a "global space" for early childhood education that is infused with neo-liberalism. They argue that such documents construct early childhood education as the space in which to promote "specific skills, to produce 'globally minded and entrepreneurial subjects' rather than educated and ethical communities" (Millei and Jones 2014: 73). This reading of the EYLF in part arises from its origins in the Labor Government's (2007–2013) "Education Revolution" which expounded upon the "critical link between long term prosperity, productivity growth and human capital investment" (Australian Labor Party 2007: 1) and the positioning of policy for ECEC under the national *Productivity Agenda* (Millei and Jones 2014). At the same time, Millei and Jones (2014) offer a counter reading of the EYLF as containing a social imaginary in which

children can come to understand themselves in relation to "humanity as a whole" (Millei and Jones 2014: 77) through, for example, its emphasis on the cultivation of respect for difference and the practice of "inclusive ways of achieving coexistence" (DEEWR 2009: 27).

Millei and Jones' (2014) latter reading resonates with Pike's conceptualisation of internationalisation within a globalised community as one that can recognise that the "care and concern for neighbours, one of the defining characteristics of a well-functioning community, becomes a global, rather than just a local ethic" (Millei and Jones 2014: 134). This approach is consistent with the aim of Article 29 of the *United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child* (1989). This Article states that "the education of the child shall be directed to:

> the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin (…)

Like Millei and Jones (2014) and Pike (2012), we can see two sometimes contradictory trends in the internationalisation of ECEC. The first concerned with equity and social cohesion through the promotion of intercultural understanding and the adoption of culturally responsive educational practices; and the second, more concerned with creating a culturally agile subject, able to negotiate a global economy.

Internationalisation in Commercialisation

Is Pike's (2012) assertion that at the macro-level, the internationalisation of education is caught in a "web of commercialisation" true of Australian ECEC? Before its collapse, ABC Learning held interests in Canada, New Zealand, the USA, the UK and, through its acquisition of one of the US-based providers, South East Asia (Newberry and Brennan 2013; Press and Woodrow 2009). Its internal "web of commercialisation" included the vertical integration of related businesses (e.g., educational toy supplies, furniture and professional training). While ABC Learning's foray into international markets might not be replicated to the same extent by current commercial players, at least one Australian childcare company currently runs a centre in Singapore. As national providers cross borders to enter global markets, internationalisation becomes both a response to and agent of globalisation (Pike 2012).

However, while there are indicators that there are opportunities for an internationalised market in the delivery of ECEC across borders, this delivery is not tied to that of elite education.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have sought to examine elite and internationalised ECEC in Australia, with a particular focus on exploring their interplay and the implications for a childcare market. We asked, does the market give rise to the formation of elite education for very young children, and if so, whom does this education serve? We then examined expressions of internationalisation in ECEC and considered the ways in which internationalisation may or may not be implicated in the production of elite ECEC.

Prosser (2016) writes that the "sale and purchase of educational opportunities" has transformed "an experience generally regarded as an important social good, to become a consumable means of social distinction, rather than a social leveler" (Prosser 2016: 220). This concern about the inequality that can arise from education as consumption is echoed by Connell (2013b) who argues that central to the neo-liberal project is the need to restore privilege.

There is no doubt that operators within the childcare market vie for custom by making claims to offer the best in ECEC and appealing to parents' aspiration for their children. These claims and aspirational appeals relate to the facilities provided, attention to nutrition, the promise of a rich curriculum and parents' desire to ensure their childcare choices optimise their children's chances of future success. However, such claims to quality are not always matched with external ratings of quality and thus the act of selling childcare is disassociated with the reality of the educational product.

The disjuncture between what is claimed by the market, and what is on offer, complicates our understanding of elite education in ECEC. In reality, it is the non-profit sector, which does not position itself as elite, that is more likely to deliver the most highly rated early childhood education programmes. Not-for-profit community-based services are disproportionately more likely to offer services ranked as excellent. But the picture is not clear-cut. Alongside the high-performing elements of the non-profit sector are expensive, well-resourced, high-performing early childhood educational settings attached to elite schools. A smaller but emerging trend is a high-end for-profit childcare sector. Yet, the outperformance of the non-

profit sector on quality as measured through the National Quality Framework suggests a failure of the prevailing market logic about competition and its effects. This finding disrupts both the perceptions families might have gained through marketing, and a "market logic" that privileges competition as the lever for quality assurance. So how might elite early childhood education be understood? There is no doubt that there is a high-performing sector that might be classified elite based on its quality ranking. The question remains whether the emergence of a high-end sector in both independent schools and high-fee-paying private childcare, will become implicated as primarily concerned with the education of elites.

Our exploratory work in investigating how concepts of internationalisation and elite education might be understood in the Australian ECEC market is both intriguing and revealing and at times contradicts emerging themes in this arena of educational research.

In relation to internationalisation, our research suggests that the ECEC sector has on the whole positioned itself strongly in relation to multiculturalism as a public good and the promotion of ideals of global education (Pike 2012). These intercultural ideals have roots in the history of early childhood education, Australian multicultural policy and the progressive social movements of the 1970s and are currently reinforced by the requirements of the Australian early years' curriculum. However, still to be explored is the extent to which deep intercultural understanding is embedded throughout the ECEC system, both public and private. Further, we ask whether globalisation is inscribing internationalisation in ECEC in new ways. There is rich potential for research exploring how implementation of the EYLF in local sites reflects varying constructions of internationalisation and the global (child) citizen. Will centres, for example, promote international exposure and mindedness as a resource for families wanting to concertedly cultivate their child (Vincent and Maxwell 2015)? We have also noted that in the future, the highly commercialised sector of ECEC may re-enter the international markets (as universities and increasingly schools appear to be doing).

The relationship between the market, the development of elite education and internationalisation in Australian early childhood education plays out in complex and unexpected ways that are nuanced and distinctive to the research findings in the schooling and higher education sectors. Our findings suggest that as elite schooling and international education are under-researched in the early childhood context, considerable potential exists for their exploration, both individually and in relation to each other.

The distinctiveness of findings in these early forays foregrounds the need for fine-grained research that explores institutional, organisation- and actor-based contexts in order to better understand how these phenomena are manifest in ECEC and how they might be accounted for conceptually.

Notes

1. Notwithstanding Australia's widely criticised mistreatment of asylum seekers.

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CHAPTER 10

Choosing International: A Case Study of Globally Mobile Parents

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Everyday choices made by people "reflect and reproduce societal power divisions of economic and cultural capital" (Johnston and Baumann 2010: 128). Johnston and Baumann write about elite food preparation and consumption, and we venture to say that the everyday parental practices around school choice are also distinct markers of social class and social identity that reflect both the social history of an individual family as well

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as their future aspirations. Paralleling the discourses surrounding contemporary food culture which are normalising elite social status through the construction of so-called foodies as "middle-class elites" (Mapes 2015), we argue that similar effects are evident in moves to open up schools to practices that were formerly the preserve of elite schools in order that they can meet the expanding desires of middle-class families. Bilingual education is of particular interest here due to our focus on internationally mobile parents and the educational aspirations of middle-class German families. While social distinction is not often the overt desire of parents seeking such forms of educational practice, its attainment contributes to the production and re-production of middle-class elites.

Stephen Ball, along with his colleague Dimitra Nikita, recently challenged education scholars to recognise school choice as a global phenomenon, extending beyond local and national politics and policy-making (Ball and Nikita 2014: 81). They point to transnational school choice as a prerogative of a burgeoning global middle class who are simultaneously mobile and post-national in their orientation. In taking up this challenge, we focus mainly on the needs and concerns of a group of parents who either are about to move to Berlin or are already "in place" and offering advice to those intent on moving to this increasingly global city. The interchange we observe and analyse is an online forum on "International Schools in Berlin" (ISiB). Our contribution aims at broadening and deepening understanding of the ways in which the educational choices and strategies of globally mobile parents impact local social systems, particularly those pertaining to education. The chapter therefore makes a contribution around the ways in which "global cities and international schools are social sites in which new kinds of class identity are formed and reproduced" (Ball and Nikita 2014: 88).

The website hosting the thread we followed for the research reported below is Toytown Germany—the Berlin page specifically (https://www.toytowngermany.com/berlin/). The website requires individual contributors to register, and invites them to contribute personal information as part of their profile, including gender, age, nationality and current location. There is no information indicating qualifications, employment or income, which means judgement of socio-economic status is based on qualitative conjecture, analysing mostly the cultural values and positionings expressed throughout the thread. What is clear through the tone and tenor of the discourse in the thread is that we have not encountered any sort of "super elite" in this study; these are not the people who are in

control of the flows of global capital (Freeland 2011); instead, most, if not all, of the various contributions to the Toytown site offer insights into the habitus and capitals of the global middle classes. The nature of their inquiries in the ISiB thread, the needs they identify and the informal exchange offered give us confidence that we are investigating a discourse created among the global middle classes, described by Ball and Nikita (2014: 85) as the "managers and professionals and their families who move around the globe in the employ of multi-national corporations (MNCs) or as freelance experts" (Ball and Nikita 2014: 85).

In order to grapple with the complex, dynamic interchange between the global and the local, we draw on anthropologist Appadurai's (1996) depiction of cultural globalisation as a highly variable flow of people, materials and ideas. Appadurai used the *scape* suffix to represent different forms of these flows of globalisation, identifying *ethnoscapes*, *financescapes* and *mediascapes*, thus offering metaphoric links to the uneven shaping of local terrains caused by the impacts of global modernisation. Tempering visions of globalisation as an overwhelmingly homogenising force, one needs also to imagine the push-back that happens from pre-existing structures—be they physical or ideational. Such an imaginary aids our comprehension of the irregular effects of globalisation. As Appadurai puts it, "Locality is itself a historical product and the histories through which localities emerge are eventually subject to the dynamics of the global" (Appadurai 1996: 18).

The notion of the "eduscape" was coined by Stronach (2010) to help conceptualise a globalised educational "market" characterised by international assessment and comparison as evidenced in the likes of the Third International Mathematical and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Stronach observed that, "the earlier coining of the notion of an 'eduscape' as a global discourse against and through which localities could identify themselves seems even more appropriate, since we now have evidence of how that self/other assessment is highly influential in leading to further educational policies and actions" (Stronach 2010: 34).

Extending Stronach's ideas, we argue that an eduscape is a system, an apparatus characterised by an interconnected ensemble of institutions, architectural forms, regulatory negotiations, legislation, policies, as well as philosophical and moral discourse and positionings (Foucault 1980). The eduscape is profoundly influenced by the winds of ideas and policy and the driving channels of finance swirling around it. Often emanating from

centres of particular influence, these forces *reshape* rather than flatten the local. This means that at any given moment, the eduscape is distinctly local but at the same time these conditions of schooling are affected and produced by and through the global. For all of their similarities, the school systems of contemporary Berlin are different from those of London, Singapore, Frankfurt and so on. This helps explain why families moving to other jurisdictions for whatever reason have perplexing school choice decisions to make, regardless of their positions in social hierarchies. They do not understand how the apparatus works and have to learn "the system".

"Choosing international" has a number of layers to it. Most obviously, in this context at least, globally mobile parents are taking decisions to relocate their families and to educate their children at some remove from their normal national system. International schools often facilitate globally mobile parents seeking to keep their families together whilst living abroad. The majority of these schools, up until relatively recently at least, have catered for expatriates seeking a particular national curriculum for their children. Some are specific in their national focus—British schools, or American, French, Japanese schools and so on—while others are more global in their orientation, catering for students from a broad range of nationalities and ideally offering a "distillation of the best content and the most effective instructional practices of each of the national systems" (Terwilliger 1972: 361). The aim of such schools is to offer students the ability to transfer smoothly between schools regardless of location and ultimately to be able attend university either at "home" or in other parts of the world (Hayden and Thompson 1995). There is a growing list of schools aimed at educating "young people to be at home in the world anywhere" (Leach 1969: 10). These types of international schools are much more global in their focus, and they are not under the control of any particular national groupings and target both local and international clientele (Cambridge and Thompson 2004; Hayden and Thompson 1995).

The International Baccalaureate is a notable development in the curriculum apparatus engaged by international schools. Aimed at providing an appropriate academic curriculum that simultaneously supports geographic and cultural mobility and the promotion of international understanding, while also offering competitive advantage for the more globally focused international schools seeking to attract international and domestic students (Bunnell 2008; Doherty 2009; Hayden and Wong 1997). As will become apparent, the Berlin eduscape contains examples of each of the

types of international school described above, all of which can be construed as contributing to greater and lesser degrees to the social production of an "elite middle-class" produced both locally and internationally. Our data allow us to join with migration scholars in challenging representations of globally mobile migrants as sojourners whose movement is characterised as short-term, "frictionless" and devoid of meaningful encounter or incorporation in the host society (Ryan and Mulholland 2013: 586).

Case studies on migrants reveal the crucial role children and their education play in decision-making on mobility (Forsey 2015; Ryan and Sales 2011). When families move due to employment opportunities pursued by at least one of the parents, all have to face a new environment that requires various forms of engagement with the host society at official levels as well as in the informal, everyday spheres of social life. Regardless of economic resource base, mobile families have to operate within the complex ideoscapes and social structures created around them, which is rarely straightforward or easy (Favell et al. 2006: 18; Forsey 2015: 780). In other words, the moves are not without friction. Taking one example—the problems evident in the case study pursued by Ryan and Sales (2011) on Polish immigrants in London alerts us to the frustrations and risks faced by parents as they weave their way through the needs and requirements of the local educational bureaucracy. Often the parents are not aware of national differences in the age of school enrolment or in the possibilities or necessities of school choice, uncertainties that are part of the migration experience. Naturally a parent does what she or he can to reduce the risks and frustrations of uncertainty created through migration, seeking information and advice offered by those who have gone before them. In contemporary society, websites targeting such exchanges of information are often accessed by those who are about to move.

As indicated, the data we refer to here emanates from an online discussion among parents who are *planning* to migrate with their children, and have enabled us to "observe" the processes and practices of decision-making *in situ*. We consider these practices to be part of an evolving global-local "eduscape". The next section introduces our data. From there we will illustrate the specific concerns expressed in these posts by presenting some extracts from it. Two schools are particularly prominent in the discussion. These reflect the two main choices in types of international school highlighted above. The final section canvasses the ways in which the idea of the "eduscapes" aids comprehension of the ways in which *internationalism* is mobilised in different ways by middle-class parents to

ensure a safe or productive position for their child in a social hierarchy that is simultaneously local and international.

An Online Discussion on School Choice

The analysis originates from an ethnographic research project which examines school choice in primary education in Germany.[1] The project is interested in which kinds of parents actively engage in the process of choosing schools for their child or children, how they inform themselves about these choices and whom they talk to. In other words, we are interested in how parents orient themselves in relation to the different schools available to them, and how they gather the information necessary to exercise choice. It is a study that brings into view the social dynamics and contestations, the negotiations and compromises surrounding the gathering of "detailed knowledge of how to move in the market" (Walford 1996: 105).

The German context is particularly instructive as school choice opportunities are still not self-evident and are accompanied by heightened levels of distrust and critique when compared with nations in which the notion of school choice has been naturalised and taken for granted (Forsey et al. 2008). This is especially true for primary education in Germany where school enrolment is in most cases governed by catchment areas. Whilst parents of primary-aged children are legally required to enrol their child in their catchment area, some parents pursue alternatives available to them, either through an expanding private school sector (Ullrich and Strunck 2012) or through state schools that have developed specialised programmes that open up possibilities for enrolments beyond catchment boundaries (Altrichter et al. 2011). Some parents also resist enrolling their children in schools the state requires them to attend because of particular features of these institutions which they perceive as undesirable or detrimental to their children's education, particularly those schools in catchment zones with significant numbers of poorer migrant families (Baur 2013; SVR 2012). In a society that retains a strong commitment to egalitarian principles, parents in Germany have to perform "legitimising work" to justify their choice as something which is aimed at meeting the needs of their child and yet is not seeking any form of social segregation or elitism, which needs to be avoided (Breidenstein et al. 2014).

By accompanying families through the process of looking for the "best school" for their child, we seek to understand the kinds of identification and self-positioning parents engage in through the *process* of school choice.

Our target group is parents who are just starting to consider their choice of school when their child is four or five years old. In addition to interviews with parents before enrolling their child in school, we also attended various school "open days", recording the ways in which the schools represent themselves to potential "clients". While international schools were part of our sample, we struggled to recruit parents who were considering these schools. However, following some web searches on school choice in Berlin, a thread in an Internet forum on international schools emerged which proved to be a rich source of data. Typing "international schools in Berlin" into a well-known search engine, we located a number of active sites. The forum we chose to focus on ("Toytown") carried the declaration of representing the "English-speaking crowd in Germany".[2]

Internationally mobile parents wishing to identify potential schools for their children in yet-to-be-arrived-in places often wander into cyberspace to see what knowledge and insights are available to them. We argue that ethnographers have to follow them there (Forsey et al. 2015). The transnational nature of the particular target group engaging in this forum made them particularly interesting to us. The thread we have been following was started by a woman from San Francisco (or at least we assume she is a woman) with the site nickname of Adelle on 11 May 2008. The thread remains active to this day. By the time we ended data collection for our research in 2015, there were 287 posts, made by more than 180 contributors, spread over 15 pages. Nearly 35,000 views were recorded during the period of our investigation from May 2008 to June 2014. We coded the posts inductively, identifying the key topics and issues the contributors engaged with.

Adelle opened with the following post[3]:

> *adelle 11.May.2008*
> *Hello!*
> *I have three children and will be moving to Berlin in two years. At that time, they will be 5, 9, and 13. The older children attend a Waldorf school here in America, and I am in the information gathering phase. I know what the options are - Waldorf, International - but could use some real advice from those who have been down this road before. Many thanks in advance!*

The mother naming herself Adelle is fairly typical of those engaging with the International Schools in Berlin (ISiB) thread that she initiated. She is internationally mobile, and needing to relocate herself and her

family to Berlin. Clearly she has no experience or knowledge of the Berlin educational scene and, not surprisingly, anticipates that there may be differences between the school choice situation in America and Germany. At the same time, she is already identifying "what the options are". It is a very focussed request that establishes a particular kind of choice framework within which she wants to consider how to educate her children when she moves to Berlin. She is seeking "real advice from those who have been down this road before", supposedly unwilling to rely only on the official information provided in the homepages of schools.

Uncertainty is an obvious problem that many parents have to deal with when it comes to choosing schools for their children. For globally mobile parents the situation is even more complex: They are not familiar with the local school landscape, nor are they familiar with the German school system. In many instances the families are unable to visit schools prior to arriving in Berlin, yet they have to make a decision about where to enrol their child/children prior to arriving. They are therefore unable to acquire insider and informal knowledge, which may be just as critical in helping them to make a decision (Krüger 2014).

The ISiB thread highlights that parents are not only concerned about finding a good school, but also about how their children will cope with the transition to a new school and new system. Language proficiency is one obvious point of concern: Is it necessary to speak German for a child when he or she comes to school? How strange will the experience of a German school be for them? How will it affect their older children's chances of applying to university? School fees were highlighted by some as a particular concern, with parents also expressing misgivings about the high costs associated with certain international schools in Berlin, most notably the British International School, which charges up to €14,000 per year. Parents also discuss access to certain schools and seek to debate differences between teaching and learning methods. Other topics included: outside school activities and occurrence of bullying within schools. Most fascinating to us was the vivid *dispute* that arose about the value and relevance of intercultural and bilingual experiences for a child's education. This debate captures a critical aspect of the school landscape and is relevant to our engagement with the question of how processes of internationalisation initiated by increasing global mobility shape what is understood as a worthy form of education.

Two Versions of Mobility

The ISiB thread very quickly shapes the debate about school choice for internationally mobile middle-class parents by highlighting only a small number of potential schools in Berlin. The thread centres mainly around two schools: the John F. Kennedy School (JFKS) and the Nelson Mandela School (NMS). Close to half of the posts discussing specific Berlin schools in the ISiB thread mention, or are specifically focused on, JFKS and/or NMS (48%). JFKS and NMS are particularly attractive to parents as they are state-supported schools, and therefore do not charge fees.

As the screenshot of the webpage from the JFKS shows, the school has a 50-year tradition of catering to American families posted to Berlin either through the military or more recently as members of the diplomatic corps. The school is a "bilingual, bicultural German–American tuition-free public school" and declares that it incorporates the best of both American and German school curricula. The school guarantees entrance to children of American Embassy staff based in Berlin, but otherwise declares itself to be an academically selective school with priority for enrolments given to students who are siblings of current JFKS students, those with two American parents and those who are the children of JFKS teachers. It is clear from the website that the school receives more applicants than it can satisfy (http://jfks.de/admissions/us-embassy-families/, accessed 04 November 2015).

NMS also promotes itself to the children of diplomats and those posted into various government departments—thereby catering to what it calls "highly mobile families". It is also a bilingual school—German and English—and students have to pass a language test in their second language before being permitted entry. Whereas in the past it catered for a limited number of students whose families resided in Berlin on a permanent basis, the demand for places among the highly mobile population has caused the school to rescind this possibility in recent times. The screenshot copied in below makes it clear that NMS is a selective school with language competence a vital element of the selection criteria (http://www.sisberlin.de/about-nms/admissions.html, accessed 04 November 2015).

We suggest that the dominance of the two schools in the thread draws attention to two different styles of *choosing international*, styles which are apparent from the beginning of the discussion by Adelle. We argue that at the very beginning of the thread, in 2008, particular understandings about

"internationality" were already set out, thereby shaping future engagement with the forum.

"jedi" is one of the first to answer Adelle:

jedi 16.May.2008

Hi, I was in the same situation last year and had no other option but the berlin international school as the british school was way too expensive. B.I.S is ok although it does cost a lot specially if you got a few kids.

why dont you guys try the John F Kennedy school as they do give preference to americans and its very good from what ive heard…being australian we didnt qualify!!!

As its state and embassy supported it doesnt cost that much and from what i hear the education standard is pretty good and compatible with the US system.

Good luck and do pm when you get here if you need any help.

cheers

Within three hours of this first mention of JFKS the reactions started to flow:

lolo 16.May.2008

John F. Kennedy forget about it…your kid will never get into college. Its got a bad name.

colinmanning 16.May.2008

The Nelson Mandela school is a state funded school (i.e. not private) and is excellent - my daughter is there. Getting in is not always easy, but they have a well defined acceptance process (outlined on their web site) and it is applied very fairly.

From what I hear JFK is not a good school, and it seems to be an American enclave in Berlin - so your kids will not benefit form the wonderful multi-cultural experience that can be growing up in Berlin.

Colin

With these two posts a controversy is established which arose repeatedly in subsequent years. The participant calling himself "colinmanning" was quite active in the thread over 5 years, posting altogether 24 times.

The next morning the discussion continued as follows:

adelle 17.May.2008 - 07:57 hrs

Lolo, Are you kidding about college, or serious? I'm interested in your perspective. Thanks!

sunny 17.May.2008 - 09:28 hrs

> *JFK school has a unique history in Berlin. And to understand the school you have to understand its history. It was set up in the 1960's as a free, German public school governed under the Berlin House of Representatives for the purpose of promoting "intercultural understanding" between the German and Americans. That's their charter and that's why they are not international in scope.*
>
> *colinmanning 17.May.2008 - 10:32 hrs*
>
> *And thus my comment on the JFK school being an "American enclave in Berlin" - not an international school but one that focusses on maintaining very American values for the kids. If that's what you want for your kids thats your choice. However I believe in that case that your kids are missing out on one of the great aspects of growing up in Berlin, which is the open multi-cultural environment that exists here.*

In this sequence it becomes apparent that the two schools represent different concepts of internationality. Initial responses centre on school-quality, but clearly there are concerns about the social and cultural aspects of the contrasting choices available to families. According to the argument put forward by *colinmanning*, the choice before parents is also about the sort of relationship families will establish with their place of location. *Colinmanning* argues strongly that the JFKS not only favours Americans, but aims to maintain "very American values" in a city he characterises as an "open multi-cultural environment". According to *colinmanning* JFKS isolates itself from its surroundings, leading him to question its status as an "international school". Obviously this is a controversial position given that the thread's focus on "International schools in Berlin" and the claim JFKS makes to being truly "international".

The discussions around JFKS arise several times in the subsequent years following similar lines of argumentation. For example, Jane Reey reports deciding against Nelson Mandela, *"because it is VERY international … people from ALL over"*—choosing JKFS instead. Among the several reasons offered she mentions the following: *"My children will get the benefits of some American culture while they grow up here (celebrating thanksgiving, Halloween, and the language of course) …"* (post #64).

JFKS is controversial on this site for a variety of reasons. Significantly, it is often portrayed as promoting an American way of schooling, if not life, within the midst of Berlin. This makes it attractive for families who come to Berlin from the USA and who defend their choice of school on the grounds of similarity to the schools they have experienced. One motive identified by a contributor to the thread is a "smooth transition".

It is clear from this discussion that JFKS stands for a model of mobility that does not aim at (complete) integration or assimilation into the new culture but rather at keeping a sense of one's own (American) culture—and, above all, providing children with a sense of the culture of their descent. This is a model of mobility which tries to include the possibility of going back—or going elsewhere. Migrants working within this model do not appear to settle anywhere for very long, but base their school choices decisions on the possibility of moving again. And like any parents used to a high-stakes examination system that determines which university their offspring can go to, they are keen to ensure that their child/children is/are not disadvantaged by the educational choices made on their behalf. Such families look for a familiar type of school, one resembling what they might find upon returning to North America.

Naturally enough this standardising (globalising) of American (school) culture is contested. Other families prefer models of mobility emphasising some form of integration into the local conditions—especially when these are perceived as "multi-cultural". Understanding oneself as part of the kinds of multi-cultural setting that can be found in many of the metropolises of the world, offers another way of dealing with the tension between mobility and the reality of living in a "local" space for at least some of that time. The Nelson Mandela School represents a choice that meets the needs of this preferred mode of mobility.

The common feature of both versions of mobility is the crucial role the school plays within it. Schools are not only perceived as institutions of qualification and important agents in the formation of future careers but also as agents of socialisation and enculturation. They help imprint children into some form of cultural practice that will equip them for further educational opportunities and life experiences that enable them to at least maintain the place they currently occupy in the social strata.

Schools can offer opportunities for mobility and being locally positioned—become part of a local community, but also ensuring these children can stay mobile. The two types of mobility articulated within the thread that we have analysed—moving to Berlin to stay, or remaining mobile—shape the "eduscape" found in Berlin.

A Globalised "Eduscape"?

How might we theorise this attempt by globally mobile parents to reach into the "global microspaces" (Ball and Nikita 2014) of the Berlin eduscape? "Scapes" as delineated by Appadurai are not only characterised by

interrelatedness and connection; they are also disjunctive, fluid and perspectival—that is to say they are not "objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision" (Appadurai 1996: 33). As already intimated, the idea of the "eduscape" not only describes a globalised educational market and the flow of educational practices; it also captures the *specificities* of the relation between the local and the global with regards to the idea and practice of education. In our understanding, the "eduscape" refers to the specific part education takes in a globalised world. The eduscape affects and demands the localisation of any family regardless of their mobility status. From the perspective of globally mobile parents, and increasingly from that of local parents, the eduscape should simultaneously provide a concrete social surrounding while also promoting their child's future mobility. An "eduscape" not only consists of league tables and global requirements to measure the "output" of schools as discussed by Stronach (1999); it is also made up of concrete and located schools, of parents and children loaded as they often are with aspirations and anxieties (Campbell et al. 2009). Additionally they are increasingly gathered around ideals expressed in terms of "internationality", however this is understood.

The ISiB thread offers some insight into how globally mobile parents try to come to terms with the local conditions of schooling in Berlin. At the same time it reveals a very particular view of ways in which the landscape of Berlin Schools is constructed within and through the discourse of the globally mobile parents moving to Berlin. The John F. Kennedy School and Nelson Mandela School loom large as centrally important schools in the global city of Berlin. Private international schools, other bilingual schools, as well as *Waldorfschule* are canvassed, but do not figure significantly in the discussions. Looking in from the outside, at the Toytown Germany site at least, we see a Berlin "eduscape" dominated by two summits with much that is *terra incognita* surrounding them. The two peaks that are JFKS and NMS attract attention from people from all over the world, but as with all *scapes*, people view them differently depending upon their needs, wants, cultural training and individual aesthetics. The emphasis on these two schools is partly related to the peculiarities of selection based on who "turns up" for the debate, but is also caused by the relative prestige of these two schools and their attractiveness as state-supported, free, but exclusive, schools.

The perspectives on the Berlin school landscape refracted through the online discussion occurring between people based in different parts of the world differs markedly from those we heard narrated when discussing school choices face-to-face with parents resident in Berlin itself. Returning

our gaze to the local discourse on school choice, we find yet further understandings of how internationalisation shapes education and educational desires in Berlin and beyond. Based on 30 interviews with middle-class parents in Berlin it became apparent that the local school choice discourse also integrates a focus on “international” schools, at least among some. In contrast to the online discussion, participants living locally were strongly localised by “catchment areas”. And we found how this affects the articulation of choice. To actually *choose* a school they have to think and act beyond the catchment area, and in turn, then, *become mobile*. The desire to avoid the educational experiences provided by the local state-run school is fairly widespread, but being able to move outside of their catchment area is not a decision that can be taken for granted in the same way as it can by “outsiders” moving to Berlin. Locals need to justify their choices to move beyond the local catchment zone, and they are faced with the dilemma of having to legitimise this desire within a national discourse of social justice. In contrast, the transnational choosers are not pinned down by catchment areas at all; there is no discussion of these, or of any obligations they may need to choose a local school once they are “in place”.

Whereas within the ISiB thread few negative connotations were raised in relation to “internationalisation” and education, this was not the case in our discussions with local parents—where particular types of internationalisation were construed negatively. Schools associated with large numbers of Turkish or Arab pupils and small numbers of native German-speaking ones were to be avoided in their view. These schools were rarely labelled “international”, but rather they tended to be stigmatised for their “non-German-speaking origins” (“*nicht deutscher Herkunftssprache*”). In these particular cases, non-German languages were heavily problematised (Roch et al. 2017).

In stark contrast, we find a growing number of primary schools with bilingual profiles where the notion of “internationality” engendered a more *promising* tone. One characteristic feature of the Berlin eduscape is the rise of “international” schools offering bilingual education. Between 2004 and 2006 different bilingual private schools were founded such as the “Metropolitan School”, the “Cosmopolitan School”, the “Lomonossow-Schule” and the “Phorms Schule”. In addition there are, at last count, 17 state-run schools in Berlin which are accredited as “Europaschule”, for which they are required to have bilingual profiles and are only open to pupils who pass a language test. The main language coupling is German–English, of which there are 17 schools. There are also German–French and

German–Spanish schools and, more recently still, schools which teach in Chinese and Japanese alongside German. Significantly, despite people of Turkish origin constituting 20% of Berlin's migrant population, the largest minority group in the city, Berlin Mitte has only one bilingual Turkish–German School. In such a context, with a growing segment of "international" and bilingual schools in the Berlin school landscape, education somehow being "international" is becoming increasingly desired—where speaking more than German competently (in particular English) is seen as central to accessing a globalised world and cosmopolitan culture.

Have we found there any commonalities and connections between understandings of internationalisation and (elite) education within our analysis of the online ISiB forum and interviews with local parents? On an initial analysis they do not seem connected at all; there is very little attention paid to the newly created bilingual schools in the online site, whilst JFKS and NMS are not mentioned in our interviews with "the locals". The perspectives seem completely different between the two groups, highlighting different schools that address different problems. While local families are initially bound to catchment areas and desired moves outside of these zones have to be justified, choice is taken for granted in the global online forum—concerns over "problematic" schools in particularly socially and ethnically heterogenous areas are not recognised.

Looking more closely we have identified a *common* problem raised by both groupings—a concern with the *composition of the pupils* in a school. An underlying concern for the international and the local participants, associated with school choice, centres around concerns about an overwhelming heterogeneity of certain types of pupils. Class filters appear to be activated, which for all of the avowed commitment to a "multi-cultural" and "cosmopolitan" experience, refer to a particular form of difference, one that coalesces around the taste and interests of a broad grouping of the middle class. These strategies of social emplacement are consistent with contemporary sociological thought regarding class as a practice, as a set of cultural proclivities which guide those positioning themselves in the broad middle spaces between the more rigidly positioned upper class and the "underclass" (Kincaid 2016). The middle classes are concerned with the signs and symbols of status as much as they are with income. In this regard, English language skill serves as a class marker, a clearly distinctive feature of choosing "the right sort of school"—in seeking to be amongst other people who speak English or would like to speak English, one can more or less be assured of meeting a similar "class" of person.

When it comes to young children and to primary school education, the parents' concerns emphasise the school as a place of socialisation rather than as a place for qualification and for gathering certain competencies. Schools loom as places of risk, a domain outside the influence of parents, and potentially ruled by dystopic images of unruly mobs, underpinned by threats of violence and disenchantment. This imagery threatens the future potential of one's children. The parents under consideration are seeking a safe place for their children, a task whose difficulties are often magnified either by having to choose from far away or because the families in question are "caught" in the legal and social entanglements of neighbourhood schools and their catchment areas. In either the "cosmopolitan" version or in the globalised American version of schooling, "internationality" stands for social distinction and for a certain belonging. There is a paradoxical drive towards homogeneity in a so-called global city among globally and socially mobile adults, who are seeking to raise their children in particular ways.

Our case study highlights the notion of "internationality" as the significant driver of processes of social positioning for parents seeking to socially and culturally locate their families in the eduscape of a globalising city. This drive is much more significant than commitments to educational values related to language skills or other such academic qualities. "International" schools give the eduscape a particular shape. At first glance this appears to refer to globalisation and cosmopolitanism—but on closer inspection reveals how contested "internationality" itself is and how deeply it is rooted in the *local* conditions of schooling and an ongoing search for social distinction. There is not just one form of distinction of course, and parents choose between idealised versions of a particular cultural formation based on imagined national values or a multi-cultural formation based on imagined cosmopolitan values. Ultimately both work to enhance the prestige of the receiver of the educational practices associated with the ideal types of schooling represented by JFKS and NMS. These differences and the ways they shape future outlooks and practices offer significant insights into how middle-class families with international mobility intentions may seek to secure their children's safe passage into an ever-developing global middle-class elite.

Notes

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2. See http://www.toytowngermany.com/forum/topic/96588-international-schools-in-berlin
3. NB: All online material is quoted verbatim and uncorrected.

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CHAPTER 11

Commentary to Part II: Internationalising Early Childhood Education, or Embedding International Children into Local Contexts?

Ingela K. Naumann

"Internationalisation" has been the focus for a growing field of higher education and secondary education research, but has so far received little attention in scholarship on early childhood and primary education. The three contributions in this section thus offer timely forays into unchartered ground by exploring ways in which internationalisation processes might actualise themselves and be understood in the context of early years education. Interestingly, the three contributions come to similar conclusions regarding "internationalisation" in early childhood education—despite the different national contexts examined—that also point to marked differences between this sector and the higher education and secondary school phases.

Before engaging with the findings of the three essays, it may be useful to reflect on the core concept itself for a moment. To start with, the term "internationalisation" identifies a temporal trend—something is becoming more international than it was before. That "something", however, is not clearly defined; thus, "internationalisation" can point to many things:

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firstly, it can mean that the people involved in education—the students and/or teaching staff—are becoming more international; secondly, it can refer to education providers increasingly operating cross-nationally or internationally; thirdly, it can mean the strengthening of international and intercultural aspects of the curriculum, that is, the educational content and purpose; and lastly it can signify new modes of governance pointing to the increased influence of international policy discourse, international evaluations and league tables and the role of international organisations such as the OECD or the European Union in shaping national education policy and the strategies of individual education institutions.

As there exists no shared definition of "internationalisation", the study of any one of these aspects, or a combination thereof, can be found in higher education and secondary education research (e.g. Ball 2012; Grek 2014; Martens and Wolf 2009). The same holds true for the budding research field on internationalisation in early childhood education: a number of studies have examined the role of international organisations in shaping policy discourse and governance in early childhood education (e.g. Mahon 2006, 2010; White 2011) and internationalisation trends in curriculum development (Hayden 2013); others have pointed to the ways market-based early childhood education and care and primary school providers are operating internationally (e.g. Lim 2017; Sumsion 2012; see also, Press and Woodrow in this volume); and the three contributions in this volume provide case studies on how national policy and/or individual providers in the early childhood education and care and primary school sectors respond to the needs of children and parental preferences against the backdrop of international migration and intercultural diversity.

Already a brief overview confirms that "internationalisation processes" are taking place across the whole spectrum of education, from the early years to higher education. The question is whether internationalisation trends follow the same underlying logic across all education stages, and the intriguing and clear answer of the three case studies on early childhood education and care and primary education in this volume is that they do not.

Much research on higher education or secondary schooling starts from the assumption that internationalisation processes are based on intentional strategies by education institutions to selectively attract high-achieving and internationally mobile students and to position themselves as high-quality, if not leading, educational providers. Internationalisation in education has thus come to be understood as strongly linked to elite education (the key question being examined in this book). Does this assumption hold for

education in general? If this were the case, we should also be able to find a strong link between internationalisation and elite segregation in the early years, and this is the question Mierendorff et al. and Press and Woodrow examine in their German and Australian case studies respectively.

At the outset, an important finding across these studies is that researchers should be wary of assuming similar trends and developments across all educational stages—or across national boundaries for that matter. Put another way—a child/young person's learning at various stages of their life is shaped by quite different legal frameworks, requirements, resources and constraints, as well as the historical traditions and trajectories of the institutional settings in which that education takes place. Higher education and early childhood education and care are both optional phases of education, whereas primary and (part of) secondary education are compulsory. While compulsory education across all OECD countries is dominated by the state as the main educational provider, there is a stronger role for non-state actors (for-profit and non-profit) in the pre-primary and tertiary sectors. With this in mind, we might expect more scope for parent and student choice, and thus internationalisation could function as a mechanism for segregation and the creation of elite tracks within the provision made available.

As Mierendorff et al. point out first, the fact that early childhood education and care targets young children considerably limits the scope for internationalising within early years education. As the term "early childhood education and care" suggests, a large part of what early childhood education and care institutions do is "care" for young children, and depending on the age of the child and the type of institution, care may be the most dominant aspect of early childhood education and care. Furthermore, due to the age of the children, many internationalisation strategies such as international exchanges or foreign language acquisition are not applicable, or only to very limited extent.

A second, further key distinction between higher education and early childhood education and care is that higher education is by definition selective, with access to higher education programmes being based on the criteria of academic achievement (in some countries or with some institutions more competitive than others). Higher educational qualifications also tend to be nationally, and oftentimes internationally, accepted. Thus, higher education is, from the outset, usually linked to educational segregation and, in many systems, aims to produce educational elites. Early childhood education and care does not attempt to do this, as a general

matter of principle. To the contrary, as the essays by Mierendorff et al. and Press and Woodrow emphasise, equality of access is a core mission of early childhood education and care policy both in Germany and in Australia—and this holds true for other OECD countries as well (e.g. Naumann in press; van Lancker 2013). There are no selection criteria for nursery attendance other than the age of the child—and sometimes the particular care or learning needs a child may have—nor are there any certificates or "grades" awarded at the end of early childhood education and care attendance that could create distinction or "elite access" to certain forms of primary school education. Furthermore, historically most early childhood education and care institutions developed out of social welfare initiatives aimed at children in need and, as Press and Woodrow emphasise, "the legacies of these institutions are grounded in a commitment to redress disadvantage, rather than the education of elites" (Press and Woodrow, this volume). The orientation and purpose of early childhood education and care thus strongly contrasts with the selectivity and elite orientation of higher education (although recently, "widening access" demands have started to gain ground also in higher education).

In their respective case studies, Mierendorff et al. and Press and Woodrow thus find that no strong links exist between internationalisation and the formation of elite education tracks within early childhood education and care at a (sub-)national level. To the contrary, their examination of different early childhood education and care centres demonstrates how some nurseries use internationalisation activities and practices (such as the availability of bilingual support workers) to address social disadvantage and to bolster the coping strategies of children and families from immigrant backgrounds at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. However, Press and Woodrow also caution us that internationalising and intercultural practices in early childhood education and care are not necessarily new developments. In fact, there has been a long-established focus within Australian early childhood education and care programmes on supporting integration and providing a multicultural anti-bias curriculum. This can also be found embedded in the early childhood education and care curriculum and practices of other nations with multicultural populations and a history of immigration, such as New Zealand. In this sense, we could argue that internationalising processes have always been integrated into the purpose, function and delivery of early childhood education and care where it has needed to cater for an international and multicultural population. This is understood as a core aspect of preschool pedagogy—to support the child

in exploring and understanding their natural and social environment (Naumann in press) and helping children to learn how to mediate between different cultural experiences. Such principles have arguably been a more central feature within early childhood education and care provision than found in compulsory schooling which has traditionally been geared towards achieving nationally set educational standards and goals.

On the basis of the two national case studies on early childhood education and care found in this section, we could conclude that internationalising activities and practices in early childhood education and care are more closely related to strategies aimed at "closing the gap" of educational inequality than to aims of elite formation. Additionally, whether and in what ways internationalisation manifests itself in early childhood education and care is linked to the ways in which historic multinational or multicultural developments and broader globalisation trends are being embedded in local contexts and communities. Mierendorff et al., therefore, suggest the notion of "embedded internationalisation" as a more precise and useful concept when studying internationalisation in early childhood education and care.

Internationalisation in early childhood education and care does not, therefore, appear to follow the same logic of elite formation processes as found within higher education or secondary education. Nevertheless, Mierendorff et al. and Press and Woodrow, as well as Breidenstein et al. (the latter examine internationalisation in the context of primary education in Berlin, Germany), also point to more recent developments in early years and primary education that might suggest that similar trends are emerging as noted within higher education and secondary education—the role of marketisation. In theory, internationalisation activities could be used by providers as a marketing strategy in response to preferences for an "international education" by internationally mobile or national elite families. However, all three contributions identify only small niches in the German and Australian childcare and primary education market, where for-profit providers attempt to attract clients through a focus on internationalisation practice. This suggests that there is neither a high demand amongst parents for the internationalisation of early childhood education and care, nor do providers rely on it as a main strategy for increasing their competitiveness. Internationalisation aspects, where present, tend to be directed either at families who "wish to be amongst themselves", for example diplomats, other internationally mobile professionals or "expats" (see in particular the contribution by Breidenstein et al.), or highly edu-

cated, resident middle-class parents who seek a comprehensive education for their child, which includes aspects of an international education. However, these internationalisation activities such as foreign language classes tend to be no more than "add-ons" to the early childhood education and care activities on offer (in line with other extras such as the catering to specific nutritional standards, extracurricular activities or "flexibility" of opening hours). Interestingly, Press and Woodrow found in the Australian childcare market, that while some providers included in their promotional activities internationalisation practices as part of their "education package", oftentimes such claims to quality were not always confirmed by external evaluations of this provision. Thus, exactly in what ways internationalisation may add to the quality of early childhood education and care is far from clear. It could be argued that interpretation of internationalisation practices by early years experts may in fact be very different from that by parents and providers.

Reflecting on the findings of these three contributions on early years and primary education, it is clear that we cannot assume comparative equivalence of concepts between different educational stages. Instead, the three essays provide fascinating insights into the temporal and institutional layering of different, and partly contradicting, internationalisation trends in early childhood education and care and primary education. On the one hand, we find a tradition of "internationalising strategies" and intercultural awareness in early childhood education and care deeply committed to equality, which precedes the development of (to date small) parts of elite early childhood education and care sectors. On the other hand, there is a newer trend emerging, which seeks to offer comprehensive early childhood education and care as a means to develop a child's human capital and potential international agility. Such an interpretation is more in line with the internationalising processes found in higher education research. The question of how these different internationalisation trends play out in combination with, or against each other in the early childhood education and care sector opens up an interesting new field of study. It is important to note, however, that it may not so much be the presence or absence of "internationalising activities" in whatever form, that shapes or counteracts processes of segregation and exclusivity in early years education, but more generally the socio-economically differentiated access to high-quality early childhood education and care that sets some children on the path of successful educational achievements whilst widening the educational gap for others (van Lancker 2013).

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PART III

Secondary Schooling

CHAPTER 12

Processes of Internationalisation in Germany's Secondary Education System: A Case Study on Internationality in the *Gymnasium*

Katrin Kotzyba, Lena Dreier, Mareke Niemann, and Werner Helsper

The imperative to raise the profile of a school has become a permanent practice within the German education landscape. School self-portrayals draw heavily on references to the global: European schools are committed to a humanist Europe; international schools train pupils to become 'world citizens'; bi-national schools impart skills so students can move seamlessly between Germany and other countries such as Sweden or France. Phrases

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such as 'We are international', 'Local roots, global understanding' and even the motto 'Reaching out to the world: international, intercultural and interdenominational' can be found on school websites. Schools seem to attach a positive connotation to the label 'international', but what does it actually mean in terms of the school culture and the curriculum offered within these schools?

While the German education sector is dominated by the state, the ongoing marketisation of the education sector, which began in the 1970s in Germany, is frequently understood as being driven by processes of globalisation (Hayden and Thompson 1997; Hornberg 2010; Ullrich 2014; Krüger et al. in this volume).[1] A global and transnational (e.g. European) focus on raising and being able to compare educational standards has arguably led to an increasing desire for *international schools*.[2] International schools and those with a bilingual orientation have grown significantly in number since the 1970s (Ullrich 2014), with many opening up as private institutions in Germany (Destatis 2014; Koinzer and Gruehn 2013; Kraul 2015).

In this chapter, we examine first what 'internationalisation' within secondary education might mean. Second, we consider how schools in Germany which position themselves as international suggest this through their promotional materials. Third, drawing on in-depth case studies of three schools, we consider how internationalisation is practised through the curriculum and ethos of these institutions.[3] Finally, we reflect on the broader structural factors shaping a commitment to internationalisation within the German education system and consider regional variations. The chapter concludes by considering how claims to being international are linked to schools positioning themselves as elite.

International Schools from a Historical, Institutional and Biographical Perspective

Several studies have broadly explored the transnational phenomenon of international schools, and there is a growing body of research into how this phenomenon is unfolding in specific national contexts. Hayden and Thompson (2011) and Ball and Nikita (2014) register an increase in the demand for international schools across the globe and describe the 'global middle class' as their target group and, hence, economic backbone. They examined the values driving international schools from both pupils' and teachers' perspectives, and suggested there were differences between international schools found in Europe and those outside. The authors

argued that local aspects (e.g. support or engagement with local community structures) carried greater weight in European international schools than those found in other parts of the world.

Few studies have focused on the German context. One exception is the study of international schools in Germany by Bernd Zymek (2009: 185). He contextualises his analysis by highlighting a link between their growth and the diversification and expansion of the *Gymnasium* sector from the 1970s. As the secondary school track that is designed to prepare pupils for university education,[4] *students in the Gymnasium* tend to come predominantly from middle-class families. In particular, Zymek notes how the diversification policy which emphasised specialisation was, and continues to be, translated and enacted by schools through their various strategies to differentiate their curricula, ethos and school profiles from those of their competitors. He further suggested that, in the current context, there is a particular demand (from the parents as well as from transnational organisations) for *Gymnasiums* to increasingly become 'international'.

It is worth noting that Zymek (2009: 176ff., 184) offers a more complex understanding of internationalisation in German education, and one which moves beyond simply ascribing this phenomenon to the education of a global elite. On the one hand, internationalisation can refer to the education of children from migrant, less advantaged families in publicly funded comprehensive and lower secondary schools. When considering this kind of interpretation of internationalisation, we propose the use of Max Weber's concept of 'negative privileging' (Weber 1922) to describe and make sense of its purpose and outcomes. In his work on the sociology of religion, Weber defines 'negative privileging' as a form of social status. Social status contains a privilege as it's a premise for salvation (Lichtblau 2001: 282), so it became a partly positive ('privileged') value in religious systems. The systematic educational disadvantage of certain migrant groups in schools functions more and more via segregation. It could be described as negatively privileged internationalisation (Zymek 2008, 2009, 2015), in the sense of resulting in negative ascriptions and status. On the other hand, within *Gymnasiums*, Zymek identifies a process of internationalisation where pupils and teachers, the pedagogy and curriculum, as well as the profile and ethos of the institutions themselves are oriented towards the international in terms of approach and desired outcomes. Thus here, internationalisation is ascribed with a positive privileging function in an attempt to prepare the pupils for the global labour market and transmit values that should position them as world citizens. An examination

of these parallel developments—increasing internationalisation in lower secondary and comprehensive schools, as well as within the *Gymnasium* sector—assumes that the clientele in these different schools are stratified along socio-structural lines and there have been existing respective disparities in cultural and economic capital (Krüger et al. 2014, 2015). On the one hand, there appears to be a disproportionate share of negatively privileged migrants in *Gymnasiums*, comprehensive and lower secondary schools with lower status than exclusive *Gymnasiums* and which are located in neighbourhoods seen as underprivileged. On the other hand, we find transnational, mobile and more privileged families colonising the more distinguished schools (Zymek 2009). This supports a more positively privileged form of internationalisation.

In our study, we identify internationalisation in schools through a variety of references made towards, for instance, multilingualism, globality and participating in activities abroad. These activities are of a sporadic, temporary and often individual nature (e.g. trips abroad and international exchanges), enacted differently depending on the type of school (state/private schools, *Gymnasium* or other) and its local and regional context. We have also identified more sustained and institutionally-embedded forms of internationalisation, that appear to be enacted by a group of schools who seek to position themselves actively as ‘international’. These are frequently exclusive schools—who might offer a European school graduation certificate, are a bilingual *Gymnasium*, and/or being a member of one of the major international organisations, for example, the International Schools Association. Approximately 50 schools in Germany are certified as an international school by one of the international associations (Hornberg 2012: 122; Koinzer and Gruehn 2013: 25). The International Baccalaureate (IB) is also offered by a number of state schools (Hallwirth 2013: 188).

What broader conclusions can we glean from the literature about the processes and enactment of internationalisation in schools? Although several authors (Hornberg 2004; Zymek 2009; Ball and Nikita 2014) attest to diversity in schools with an international profile, the classic ‘international schools’ tend to take centre stage in their analysis. We suggest that this calls for widening the perspective to include other schools that likewise create links to the international, but are not ‘international schools’ *per se* (see Hallwirth 2013). In this chapter, we are particularly interested in ‘German’ schools, seeking to position themselves as international, perhaps in competition with the widely-recognised ‘International School’.

Thus, for the purposes of our research, we have identified German schools with an international, bilingual or European profile as well as those offering the IB-accreditation.

Overview of 'International' Schools in Germany

It must first be stated that in comparison to western Germany, only three schools in eastern Germany—excluding the metropolitan area of Berlin—can be defined as international in the classic sense. These schools are characterised by, and embrace, the essential ingredients identified by Köhler (2012: 25): a curriculum not determined by the home state, a globally mobile student and teaching body, English or another foreign language as the main language of instruction, and an international profile, for example, a globally thinking mind as an educational goal.

A small number of both state and private schools in eastern Germany offer the AbiBac[5] and the IB. Western Germany and its major cities have quite a different profile when considering the issue of internationalisation and education, largely because of the very different migration histories these two parts of Germany experienced due to the previous East-West divide. The motives for establishing international schools in western Germany point largely to the need for English-speaking schools for the children of mobile employees (beginning in the 1950s) but also for normative reasons as the idea of European citizenship education grew in popularity (Hornberg 2009). In the following, we provide an overview of the different groups of German international schools we have identified and contrast them according to characteristics such as year they were founded, local setting, profile and status.

The *first group* consists of exclusive schools which have long-standing academic, often humanist traditions, and are usually church or state funded. These schools tend to excel in foreign language instruction, offering students bilingual options or the opportunity to take the IB diploma. Internationalisation should be understood here not only in terms of developing 'skills' such as a command of foreign languages but also as part of an all-embracing 'personality'. Since some of these schools that can be found in eastern Germany have resumed their old pre-GDR school tradition after adhering to the 'centralist education policy of the GDR [German Democratic Republic, AN]' (Koinzer and Gruehn 2013: 29), regional differences here are negligible. The schools in this group are found both in western and eastern Germany, mostly within close proximity to urban

centres. Some boarding schools, which tend to be located in the countryside, also follow this tradition.

The *second group* consists of state schools. All of these schools have undergone a number of name changes over the years, and are characterised by a somewhat sporadic positioning in relation to the international, despite the policy focus on this since the 1990s. We also include schools in this group which have only recently gained an international profile, and it is important to bear in mind that many of these schools also have their own inner logic for such an orientation. The main approach to internationalisation in this group seems to be their emphasis on student exchanges and their commitment to students learning a foreign language. Most schools with a bilingual or multilingual profile in this group are state, not private schools. Furthermore, several urban *Gymnasiums* in this category secured authorisation to provide the IB in the late 1990s, or the necessary accreditation to provide bilingual language programmes. The distinguishing feature of these schools is their policy of open access, which means that they can provide a gateway to internationalisation to a larger group of families. A vocational college in western Germany, for example, now offers its students access to the IB through a 'second-chance' education. This group of schools can be found across all regions in Germany.

The third and fourth groups of schools we have identified with an international focus are distributed throughout western and eastern Germany, respectively. The *third group* includes the classic international IB schools, which were founded between 1956 and 1966 in parts of the former West Germany. Schools of this kind tend to follow the traditions of schools abroad so mobile families or temporary residents of a particular place, such as embassy staff, can attend these. Such schools have existed since the nineteenth century, such as the *British Army School*.[6] Similar to corresponding schools in other countries, a certain number of pupils from the 'host nation'—in this case Germany—also attend these schools (Keßler et al. in this volume).

The *fourth group* of schools which we have identified were all founded in the 1990s in eastern Germany, in some cases immediately after reunification, and all are sponsored by private initiatives or associations. There is evidence to suggest that these schools were established in order to enhance the attractiveness of these locations for global capital—indeed, this may explain why these schools are also partly sponsored by the state. Some of these schools are enrolled in international programmes such as the IB programme and target highly mobile parents. However, evidence suggests that the share of pupils with migrant experience or a migrant background

is actually rather small. The equivalent schools in western Germany are those founded in the late 1990s by international companies (e.g. Adidas) for the children of their employees, which also offer an IB diploma.

The *fifth group* of schools with an 'international' orientation which we have identified are those founded by associations (comparable to GEMS in the US and UK) and which act almost like companies operating under quasi-market conditions (Weiß and Steinert 1996). Striking in this group is the apparent link between internationalisation (e.g. language learning) and professional 'training' as they call it—not education. The core educational content of these schools, apart from their international focus, is economics. The schools in eastern Germany belonging to this group were primarily founded in the early 2000s, and appear to be evenly distributed throughout eastern and western Germany. Unlike 'classic' international schools, they are found in large urban centres as well as in the rural regions.

Such an initial categorisation of schools into five groups offers only partial understandings of differences between them—in terms of when they were founded, what factors prompted their emergence and development, their curricula focus, and what kinds of graduating certificates they offer. In the next section, we aim to offer a more nuanced examination of internationalisation in schools, including an appreciation of both the general and highly diverse references to, and enactments of, the international and, crucially, of bilingualism in schools. These processes and enactments are dependent on the national and increasingly European school administration boards, as well as on geographical factors such as the composition of regional populations and the kinds of competition that exists with other schools. We will therefore take a closer look at the logic and formation of internationalisation in the three examples from the most divergent of these categories presented above: a state and a private school, schools in a more rural and a more urban region and schools that differ in the function of internationalisation. We will contrast them by their inner logics of being international and how they position themselves in the field of international schools.

Varying Dimensions of Internationalisation

Forms of Internationalisation

The international is constructed in different ways in the *Gymnasiums* we researched. This is particularly evident in the ways schools position and portray themselves in relation to the international—both internally and to the public.

Vogdberg Gymnasium, for instance, is a private school which was established by a group of parents at a nearby primary school and is categorised as an example of the fifth group. Pupils can opt for the standard curriculum or a French class with an AbiBac diploma that enables them to study at a university in a francophone country. Although the school is keen to engage native-speaking teachers for the foreign language instruction and bilingual lessons, finding such people in sufficient quantity has proved challenging. *Vogdberg Gymnasium* is located on the outskirts of a city in eastern Germany and both the region and the city are not prospering economically. As the only *Gymnasium* in the locality, it is attended by pupils from the city as well as from the surrounding areas. The income-related school fee amounts to approximately €100 per month. Very few pupils and parents in the region are migrants. *Vogdberg Gymnasium* emphasises its international profile by describing itself as a school that aims to train 'world citizens'. Striking in this context was the ways in which the training of the 'world citizen' constitutes a specific pedagogical objective, implying that this is something which can be acquired by studying there. International education is mostly directed at gaining a command of foreign languages. The daily school routine is not shaped by 'international' practices in terms of its routines or symbols: the general language of instruction, for example, is German, not English or French. The school selection process, which includes an English-language assessment, likewise indicates that the school focuses on the language acquisition skills of its pupils rather than accommodating the mother-tongue languages of migrant families across the curriculum. In other words, the international at *Vogdberg Gymnasium* appears to target local families who might be interested in an instrumental approach to internationalisation—parents who are primarily concerned with the value and use of education in the labour market (as suggested by the school principal). Additionally, the school presents itself in the regional field as an institution that offers pupils access to the international in the form of an AbiBac diploma.

In contrast, *Lessing Gymnasium*, a government school offering an IB diploma, does not publicly showcase its commitment to the international. It was founded at the end of the nineteenth century, and can be categorised as belonging to the first group of international schools. It is located in a privileged neighbourhood of a large city in western Germany. The student body is recruited for the most part from educated, middle-class families in the surrounding district. Approximately 10–12% of the pupils

have a migrant background. The principal sees the school's international focus in its offering of the IB diploma, which she further views as complementing the school's two other curricula focus areas (music and natural sciences). The principal is concerned that the international might be perceived as an 'elitist' and 'privileged' status-bearing mark for the school, but the IB offers the opportunity to broaden the international horizons of her student body. That means, as she explains, to know other regions of the world and to be thankful for the privileged position the students are living in. The public perception of the school's orientation to the international through offering the IB has had some perceived negative consequences, leading the school management to refrain from emphasising it too much, as the principal explains:

> *We've now got an 'alleged' (emphasis) elitist emblem here this international //: ah yes the hmm// Baccalaureate now of course again=again they can brand us (.) especially considering it's not cheap.*[7]

For the head teacher and school management at *Lessing Gymnasium*, this association with 'elite' appears to be the result of some misplaced external branding (the principal suggests 'they can brand us'). 'Elitism' is a label with connotations of affluence and economic privilege, which is further manifested in the financial cost of the IB (Helsper et al. in press).[8] For the school, instead, they wish to promote their emphasis on the international as evidenced through the potential of the open-minded citizen and having a 'care about people in other parts of the world'. The potential of the open-minded citizen, whose privileged position allows them to appreciate what they have achieved and at the same time to give something back in a responsible manner, is what the principal emphasises here as the school's self-positioning.

Dreberg Gymnasium reflects and enacts the third form of internationalisation found across schools. The pupils at this school are selected based on the grades received during their primary school education. Additional selection procedures, as those found in *Lessing* and *Vogdberg Gymnasium* are not employed. The school is located in a socially and ethnically mixed neighbourhood of a city in western Germany. Approximately 30% of pupils have a migrant background, and the school specialises in: having a bilingual profile, a focus on the natural sciences, and a strong sports programme. The school's language orientation and its concomitant international positioning is evident in the provision of several bilingual

courses where English-medium instruction is available and the opportunity for students to complete language certificates at affordable rates. In the context of enrolment-related considerations and changes to the school profile, *Dreberg Gymnasium* took the decision to revert to a nine-year *Gymnasium* period of study, instead of the regular eight years. As described earlier, internationalisation can refer to a type of negative privileging, or to the perceived negative attributes of pupils who have experienced migration. The school principal describes her student body as 'very mixed', referring specifically to the school's relatively high percentage of migrant pupils. Differences here are constructed along the lines of parents' educational experience and qualifications, and their cultural and economic assets. Referring to pupil performance and particularly to the lack of confidence they have in their own abilities and aspirations, the principal declared: 'most of our pupils lack confidence, "that" (emphasis) is a huge problem'. In other words, the principal perceives her students as vulnerable, describing them as 'educationally an "extremely difficult" (emphasis) challenge'. The change to a longer period of learning has in fact enabled the school to target a different and new pupil and parent clientele, particularly middle-class families, for whom a nine-year secondary schooling period is seen as a benefit, as they perceive it as more focused on educational attainment via an emphasis on personal development and reduction in the stress children experience in completing their compulsory education.

In contrast to the two more economically oriented notions of internationalisation found in *Lessing* and *Vogdberg*, *Dreberg Gymnasium* positions itself around a definition of internationalisation associated with negative privileging. The international in this context can be seen in the school's explicit concern to address the pedagogical challenges associated with educating disadvantaged migrant children, which is manifested in the perceived low economic and educational resources of the families.

Referring to the model of school culture following Helsper et al. (2001), we understand school as structured by significances and recognitions. The analytical perspective focuses on three levels: the imaginary level (such as ideal student images); the symbolic level (concepts of acting, for instance); the material level (a focus on structural logics). What we suggest is that the imaginary level[9] (cosmopolitanism or normative references to being a world citizen) of the international pervades all three schools. The material formations (e.g. provision of particular graduation certificates or having native-speaking teachers), however, seem to differ.

The Function of International Profiling in the Regional Education Market

The international focus of the three *Gymnasiums* discussed above is linked to their position, we argue, in the urban or regional education market. In this section, the significance of this context will be explored in relation to each school.

The schools in the region in which *Vogdberg Gymnasium* finds itself have to actively compete against one another for pupils. That means they are engaged in a competition of the first order (Maroy and van Zanten 2009) and not for the second order competition, defined rather as competing for the 'better' pupils. Some state-funded *Gymnasiums* closed after the reunion of Germany, making way for some private *Gymnasiums* to be opened or expanded. Meanwhile, all *Gymnasiums* in this region have relatively stable pupil numbers and are increasingly competing for 'better' (more high performing) pupils (i.e. second order competition). *Vogdberg Gymnasium's* international focus is largely articulated at the imaginary level. Due to the fact that the school is located in a region with only a small population of migrants and globally mobile employees of multinational companies, the school's ethos and curriculum emphasis on training 'world citizens' is targeted at a local rather than an international parent and student body. Moreover, for the principal of the school, the transregional education market has no bearing as a spatial point of reference for the school's international focus. As he explained: 'It was a painful adjustment and a learning process [for us] because this particular school programme in a "yet again" (emphasis) non-international place like this has never been tried out in Germany before//I: yes// we soon dropped the cities [Metropolitan Region A] as a yardstick and so on because (.) it got us nowhere'. In the competition to attract 'suitable' pupils for the school, the principal explained that he prefers to benchmark himself against the other *Gymnasiums* in the region with other profiles. It might be concluded from this that *Vogdberg Gymnasium* is an example of how some schools embrace the international in order to remain competitive in the regional education market and to enhance their appeal to certain target groups in comparison to other local *Gymnasiums* (Helsper et al. 2015; Maroy and van Zanten 2009; Zymek 2009).

Unlike the recently established *Vogdberg Gymnasium, Lessing Gymnasium* has less difficulty attracting parents and students in the regional education market. As a traditional school in a privileged neighbourhood, the school principal had little call for concern when it came to

enrolment figures. The school's accreditation as an IB school was in fact the result of outside intervention rather than a step taken by the school itself, so the IB can be seen as an addition running alongside the traditional school programme. As the principal explained in an interview: 'The idea came from a council member at the time … and local government wanted (1) to move forward … we've a school here in the next town the International School … there was a massive influx I mean the next town property prices soared, lots of international managers moved there'. By means of a *public-private partnership* arrangement with affluent parent and alumni clientele, *Lessing Gymnasium* was able to meet the financial costs of gaining its accreditation as an IB school. Local government was not in a position to finance accreditation or provide for the running costs: 'and then (.) it seemed natural to ask us if we wanted to do it with this IBO "after all it's not exactly cheap" (quickly) (.) … additional costs that the local administration doesn't (.) cover … and practically have to be raised in some way or shouldered on the pupils—by the pupils themselves'. *Lessing Gymnasium* is in fact the only state school in this government district to offer the IB diploma. The school principal, however, considered it inappropriate, even risky, to use this as a mark of distinction in the regional market. As noted earlier, public opinion (in this area) tends to view the IB negatively, as a symbol of elitism. *Lessing Gymnasium* was therefore reluctant to indulge in proactive marketing of this unique feature of its educational profile. Its international focus is hence presented more as a complement to its profile, with little made of it in terms of the school's ethos and its aspirations for its student body.

The relationship between the international and *Dreberg Gymnasium* is quite a different matter. The school's attempt to distinguish itself from competitors by offering bilingual instruction alongside its curriculum focus on natural science and sport has not led to increased enrolment. When compared to two other rival *Gymnasiums* in the neighbourhood, *Dreberg Gymnasium's* school principal suggested his 'international' profile was not necessarily a 'selling point' in the local market:

> *We always had (.) hm a hm unique selling point as the saying goes for instance we had a 'bilingual' (emphasis) focus for years (.) the other two schools didn't [inhales audibly] but that's the 'cognitive' (emphasis) the other was more of a 'life-style' thing (emphasis).*

Crucially, the principal emphasised the heterogeneous ethnic and socio-economic composition of its student body and the high proportion of

migrants who could be considered asset-poor and in need of outside support. These are the key ways in which the school positions itself in relation to the international. The decision to extend the learning period from eight to nine years was justified on the basis that this would suit the needs of its pupil and parent clientele. The pupils at *Dreberg Gymnasium* are as international as those who attend a traditional international school. The parents and pupils in each case come from several different countries, have cross-border migration experience, belong to different religions and, apart from German, speak their native language. The pupils of *Dreberg Gymnasium*, however, are not children of highly mobile parents with substantial economic capital and cultural capital which matched the school culture and the educational system's culture at all. Neither are the teachers experienced in terms of personal mobility or in relation to their careers. Moreover, in interviews with the pupils, one can see that few have internationally oriented future plans or aspirations of being globally mobile. Their international status and orientation tends to be the result of their parents' background. The difficulty of neatly defining and applying concepts of internationalisation and migration emerges clearly in the context of comparing international student bodies. While the heterogeneous student body at *Dreberg Gymnasium* is perceived by the teaching staff as an educational challenge and the principal understands it as a pedagogical duty to exploit 'educational reserves' (as the principal calls these challenges), the school safeguards its enrolment figures with precisely this appeal in comparison with other *Gymnasiums* in the area. Thus for *Dreberg Gymnasium,* the international is neither a profile feature nor a strategy of distinction. On the contrary, its targeting of a heterogeneous student body unfamiliar with *Gymnasium* routines guarantees its continued existence through steady enrolment figures.

In all three schools, there is a connection between the internationalisation of its profile and the school's positioning within the education market.

The Diversity of Internationalisation in the *Gymnasium* Segment

Our contribution has explored processes of internationalisation in the German secondary school system. We sought to investigate the different meanings of, and responses to, the international in this context. Taken together, our analysis leads us to the following conclusions:

1. In general, the results of this study indicate that *school references to the international have become both more diverse and more common*. This diversity is also mirrored in the orientations of the three *Gymnasiums* we researched in depth and outlined above. Each, we argue represents a different type of internationalisation as observed across the German secondary schooling sector. The focus on the international in these schools is notably apparent at both the imaginary and programmatic level, since the highest importance in the first and the second school we looked at appears to be attached to offering international school-leaving diplomas or certificates, and to the normative horizon of cultivating a spirit of openness to the world.
2. The different composition of the five groupings of international schools which we have identified point to *differences in orientations to the international between western and eastern Germany*. The educational concept and value of internationalisation prospers in western Germany and especially in cities with a higher share of migrants, or in areas that are home to companies with a global reach. The latter is important because these areas attract and are populated by mobile, asset-rich families. 'Classic' international schools tend to be found in western Germany and in cities—particularly those considered 'global cities' (Sassen 2005). Meanwhile, in eastern Germany and more rural areas, internationalisation and references to the international are more likely to take the form of programmatic or imaginary references (such as bilingual programmes, the offer of the IB, of being a world citizen).
3. Finally, our analysis has identified a discrepancy between, on the one hand, internationalisation as a positive attribute to be achieved through education (e.g. greater opportunities in the labour market with excellent language skills), and on the other hand, internationalisation as presenting pedagogical '*challenges*' to some schools, with negative connotations ascribed to such internationalisation features (positive privileged vs. negative privileged internationalisation).[10] Positively privileged internationalisation in this context refers to the education of globally mobile families with considerable economic and cultural capital, and to the aspirations of middle-class German parents who are keen to open up the possibilities of an international career for their children. This illustrates clearly that *references to positively or negatively privileged internationalisation are linked to strati-*

fication and hierarchies in the education system (Helsper et al. 2016; Zymek 2009). The positive understanding of internationalisation, as open to and appropriate for a certain category of pupils only, heightens the already existing segregating tendencies within the education system in Germany.

Our analysis suggests that references to the international are no longer the specific preserve of the traditional international school sector. Instead, efforts to internationalise have gained currency across the German educational landscape, and we have identified some of the different ways in which this is happening. The common ground for the three case study schools is that they refer to an international orientation—whether it be negatively or positively privileged.

Notes

1. The education sector in Germany is controlled through the state; it is decentralised through the *Länder*, the local authorities. School decisions are part of the federal responsibility. Private schools do have the function to substitute or supplement the school system.
2. Here this refers to international schools (certified as IB schools), schools with an international profile and international schools without certification from an IB umbrella organisation.
3. These schools are samples from the project led by Werner Helsper, "Distinction in the German '*Gymnasium*'? Processes of Creating Habitus in 'Exclusive' Secondary Schools", which is attached to the *Center for School and Educational Research* at Martin-Luther-University of Halle-Wittenberg within the scope of the DFG research group 'Mechanisms of Elite Formation in the German Educational System'. Lena Dreier, Katrin Kotzyba, Anja Gibson and Mareke Niemann are the research fellows working on the project.
4. They are generally tuition-free secondary schools funded by the state. A number of private *Gymnasiums* also exist.
5. The AbiBac (A-Level) is a bilingual curriculum to pass the French *baccalauréat* and the German *Abitur*.
6. So-called Russian schools in the GDR promoted Russian systematically at an early stage, as did cadre schools with a wide spectrum of foreign languages, including English and French.
7. All parts of interview excerpts we are referring to are head teacher interviews from our research sample.

8. In German-speaking countries at least, certain labels continue to linger today due to the ideological charge of the elite concept—it is associated with National Socialism—and its proximity to terms such as 'ruling class', 'authoritarian leadership' and 'social and economic privilege'.
9. For further information about the theoretical approach, see Helsper et al. (2001, 2008); Helsper (2008); Helsper and Hummrich (2006); Nash (1990).
10. Krüger et al. (2016) show that parents' primary school choice influences the positive and negative labelling of multilingualism.

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CHAPTER 13

"Being International": Institutional Claims and Student Perspectives at an Exclusive International School

Catharina I. Keßler and Heinz-Hermann Krüger

Introduction: *International Schools* and Developments in the Education System

International schools have long been part of the education system—in Germany and around the world. Given the historical legacy of first one and then a second world war, schools such as the *United Nations School* in Geneva (1924) were founded with the desire to further international understanding (Hill 2000: 32; Hornberg 2012: 118). Following this, the *International Baccalaureate* (IB) was founded in 1968 and has since increased its reach to all corners of the world. While the principle of "creating a better world through education" drove the IB, one of the reasons

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for its success was also the increasing importance and development of global markets and multinational corporations in the post-World War era requiring globally mobile workers, who in turn required an education provision that would meet the needs of their children as they moved around the world which would minimise changes and upheavals such mobility brought to their schooling. This created a need for certified *international schools* (Bartlett 1998: 77–78; Keßler 2016).

In Germany, since the millennium, we have witnessed a further expansion of *international schools*. These increasingly cater not only for globally mobile families but also for middle- and upper-class families resident long term in Germany. These latter parents are generally seeking an education that supports their efforts to facilitate opportunities for their children to *be international* (Helsper et al. 2016; Kotzyba et al. in this volume). The strategies used by parents to achieve this, how this corresponds to parental distinction work and how it might differ to that of other parents is a largely under-researched in Germany, hence the focus of our work. Today, the label *international school* functions as an umbrella term, referring not only to privately run schools which are often accredited by organisations such as the *International Baccalaureate Organisation* (ibo.org), but also to state schools that offer bilingual classes or are approved as *European* or *UNESCO schools* (Murphy 2000: 6; Köhler 2012). Over the last two decades, there has been a significant rise of "the" *international school* as an important feature of the (German) education system (Keßler et al. 2015). In their chapters for this volume, Deppe et al. and Kotzyba et al. offer new ways of defining internationalisation within German schools, including a focus on exclusivity and how these institutions and processes may positively or negatively privilege students (see also Zymek 2015).

International schools or *international* programmes within schools play an increasingly important role in creating points of differentiation and ultimately stratification within education systems. *International schools* cater for what Ball and Nikita (2014) describe as "global middle class" families and could be argued to be spaces of transnational (elite) education (Adick 2005; Hayden 2011; Krüger et al. 2016): they are, in the main, privately run, quite expensive to attend and sought out by professionally mobile parents working in senior management positions of global companies. We argue that even "traditional" *international schools* in metropolitan areas are today increasingly being accessed by affluent (German) families who might choose these schools above others for reasons different from their

globally mobile working counterparts (Keßler 2016). Resnik discusses an international school education as an alternative for parents looking "to 'purchase' the kind of education and credentials that will ensure their children secure a pathway into the global market place" (Resnik 2012: 294–295; Phillips 2002: 170).

There are also a rising number of state schools offering the IB curricula. In Germany, there were 44 schools offering the IB curriculum in 2011, which increased by 60% in five years to 73 schools in 2016 (an increase from 28 to 46 in the private school sector, and from 16 to 27 in the state school sector, source: ibo.org). State schools mainly offer the IB diploma programme alongside the German *Abitur*, while private schools usually offer the primary and/or middle years IB programme as well as the IB diploma programme. This can be explained in part by the high cost of offering those curricula, which at state schools usually have to be funded by the parents or other funding sources accessed beyond the federal funding provision. Additionally, in Germany, the law governing education does not allow students at state-run schools to replace the *Abitur* with the IB; so students have to study for both, which constitutes a considerable burden for those young people choosing this path. Hornberg and Pawicki (2016) assume that students completing the IB at state and private schools are likely to differ in terms of background and possibly motivation for their study choices. Such differences could be important in understanding the education and production of different elite groups in the future. Interestingly, the state does not actively promote the IB (unlike the Ecuadorian case as highlighted by Prosser in this volume or Resnik's (2012) analysis of the UK context). We would argue that the emergence of the IB within state secondary schools is a response to the development of greater competition within the education system and is strongly shaping the development of new hierarchies within German secondary education (Keßler et al. 2015). Thus, as Resnik (2012) argues, the presence and growth of "traditional," largely privately run *IB schools* in the German context suggests that these schools have played the role of trendsetters in processes of internationalisation that have affected the German educational landscape and have led—as argued by Deppe et al. (in this volume)—to a standardisation and expectation of internationalisation within education.

Being international is a contested concept and can be defined and implemented in various ways across different schools and by different school or education actors. Using a case study of a privately run (i.e. fee-paying) *IB school* in Germany, we examine its institutional codes in relation

to *being international* and how students engage with these positionings.[1] We are specifically interested in how different school actors' own biographies shape their explicit conceptualisations and tacit knowledge of *being international* and how this shapes the educational choices, unequal experiences and outcomes for various students. Before presenting our empirical findings, we will outline the relevant literature and set out our guiding theoretical and methodological framework.

Empirical, Methodological and Theoretical Lines of Reference: Framing the Research Question

To date there has been little research in Germany on *international schools*.[2] Important reviews have been offered by Hornberg (2010) and Hallwirth (2013) on the development of *international schools* in Germany, while Köhler's (2012) empirical study explores student experiences at such institutions with a focus on peer relations. Similarly, while transmigration research examines understandings of transnationality, processes of social inequality (Berger and Weiß 2008) and education (Nohl et al. 2009), the role of schools in building transnational careers and an understanding of the self as *being international* has not yet been a focus within the literature. The global expansion of *international schools* and curricula (Hayden and Thompson 2011a, b, 2012) has been documented in part, and Ball and Nikita (2014: 89) found that in 2013 there existed approximately 6710 English-speaking *international schools* worldwide which were attended by over three million students. With regard to the growing number of so-called *host nation students* attending these schools, Song (2013) as well as Koh (2014) analyse the extent to which *international schools* can be argued to contribute to growing inequality in the South Korean and Singaporean national education systems respectively.

Little attention has likewise been given to the school actors' perspectives on *being international*. Kanan and Baker's 2006 quantitative study of students at three *international schools* in Qatar found that almost all aspired to a university education in the English-speaking world and stated a preference for business or media studies, engineering, politics, law and medicine. Quantitative studies by Hayden and colleagues have examined students', parents' and staff perceptions of these schools and found that they articulated an ideological as well as instrumental motivation for pursuing such an education—with the balance between these two aspects differing across contexts: "the ideology underpinning international education

is considered important, but it is still perceived necessary to ensure that students follow a curriculum and take examinations which will enable them to access university in a number of countries around the world" (Hayden and Thompson 1998: 553). Furthermore, students and teachers associated *being international* with characteristics such as "international mindedness", "second language competence", "flexibility of thinking" and "tolerance and respect for others" (Hayden et al. 2000). They understood *international education* as being concerned with other cultures and/or the broadening of their own horizons.

Despite this short overview of some of the relevant research published to date, there is, we argue, a lack of empirical research on the concept of *being international*, especially in the context of various schools today laying claim to *being international* (Helsper et al. 2016). The chapter therefore takes this gap as its starting point. We are especially interested in whether, and how, *being international* plays out in the institutional codes of an *international school* and likewise shapes the orientations of its students. Through a focus on a "traditional" *international school*, which arguably belongs to the "trendsetters" in internationalisation and the provision of education, we hope to offer some initial empirical insights and theorisations in relation to this critical question. We rely on praxeological approaches that link Bourdieu's cultural theory with action theory (Bohnsack et al. 2010; Mehan et al. 1996; Reay 2004; Reckwitz 2004). Through such an approach, we consider milieu-specific experiences and socialising interactions within family, school and their peer world as central to the genesis of people's habitual (educational) orientations (Bohnsack 2003: 68). We analysed school documents, ethnographic notes from observations and in-depth interviews with the principal at two points in time, two years apart. Based on a quantitative survey with students, who during the first phase were in the tenth grade and during the second phase of the study were in the twelfth grade,[3] we gathered information on their social and ethnic composition, school performance, peer networks and leisure activities. Then, using *theoretical sampling* we selected sixteen students to be involved in a longitudinal exploration of their experiences and ambitions as they moved from the tenth to the twelfth grade at the school, and then again, at a third point in time—two years after they had left school and were in their second year at university.

Our analysis of the qualitative data collected is based on the *Documentary Method* (Bohnsack et al. 2010) which was developed in part as a continuation of Mannheim's sociology of knowledge and the ethnomethodology

of Garfinkel and Bourdieu's habitus theory. Following Mannheim, a distinction is made between communicative and conjunctive, rather tacit knowledge: "the documentary method aims at reconstructing the implicit knowledge that underlies everyday practice and gives an orientation to habitualised actions" (Bohnsack et al. 2010: 20). This procedure involves a multistage analysis of individual (or in other cases collective) narrated experiences and enables the reconstruction of both forms of knowledge—communicative and conjunctive (Bohnsack et al. 2010).

In what follows, we argue that *being international* is in various ways an integral part of the school's everyday life. We also discuss the different articulations of *being international* which emerged from our discussions with students.

"What It Means to Be International"—Institutional Codes and Programmatic Claims

The *international school* which forms the focus of our case study was founded over 30 years ago. As most schools offering the IB curriculum from primary through to senior school, it is privately run and located in a metropolitan region in West Germany, where many international companies are based (Ullrich 2014; Zymek 2015; see also Kotzyba et al. in this volume). It was founded by non-German parents who were looking for an English-speaking school in the area. A school place costs up to €1500 per month, with about ten scholarships available at any one time. Students mainly work towards the *International Baccalaureate (IB)*, which allows them to apply for universities abroad as well as in Germany. The school is attended both by children of internationally mobile workers as well as students who live permanently in the area.

In the two interviews,[4] the principal considered *being international* not simply as the ability to speak numerous languages or being in possession of dual citizenship but also:

> if you describe yourself as (.) international … one thing is that you don't consider people always as members of groups as Japanese or German … you see them as individuals with characteristics which might be common to members of groups but also characteristics which they share with other people just because they're members of the human race … you can't really be international unless you're willing to consider differences and test your assumptions about the world … you need to be flexible and open minded (Interview 1).

Being international is understood as an *attitude* associated with individuality, reflexivity and tolerance. Differences are brought together and integrated with the common trait of belonging to the "human race." Notions of the individual, self-reflexive learner also echo in the principal's depiction of the ideal student:

> I don't know if there's such a thing … some of the students that I work (3) best with … are sometimes students who have (2) problems or difficulties one way or another they might be academic they might be:: behaviour … it would be less interesting (3) to work in a school where everybody behaves perfectly (Interview 1).

Instead of praising accommodating students, he champions "confident, creative and critical thinkers" (Interview 1), even if this means they display more challenging behaviour.

This attitude of *being international* traverses all institutional codes reconstructed from the school's educational offer: the focus on the individual learner, lifelong learning, academic excellence and world citizenship (reconstructed in Keßler et al. 2015). The first aspect ties in with the commitment of the IB's programme to a *pedagogy of letting individuals grow* "through all domains of knowledge" (IBO 2015: 1). The principal says that if he and his colleagues were of the opinion that a family would be better off at one of the other *international schools* in the region, they would recommend this (Interview 1). The code of *lifelong learning* also plays a prominent role here. The principal talks in terms of an interconnected global world whose citizens must adapt to diverse changes: "We do all have to be lifelong learners whether we like it or not because technology brings lots of changes." (Interview 1) Within this frame of reference, he describes the school as one that strives towards *academic excellence*. It is presented as a full-time school that prepares its students for prestigious universities worldwide. Its website publishes annual lists of the universities attended by its graduates and students' average marks are presented as excellent.

A further educational code of the school is that it produces *world citizens and international mindedness*. These concepts remain largely vague, suggesting these notions may be taken for granted within the school's culture. Part of this notion is the promotion of experiences of difference and openness to these within the school: social interactions with manifold *others* are incorporated in the school's everyday life (Helsper et al. 2016). "Internationality" and "cultural sensitivity" are important terms used

here—the school is presented not merely as a supportive space for coping with the migration situation of the families; the *international* setting is furthermore imagined as facilitating learning from and inspiring each other. Given the range of cultural backgrounds within the student and staff groups, the particular setting of the school becomes a prerequisite itself which supports further internalisation of *being international*. This seems to be one of the decisive differences between this kind of *international school* and other kinds of (state) schools who are seeking to orient themselves to the *international* (Helsper et al. 2016).[5] Being open to change, and tackling it in a productive manner, is described as a challenge that might not always be easy but is turned into something positive. The school is mapped out as being a source of inspiration and a motivation for continuous learning beyond the transfer of academic knowledge and as such as an "international community of learners" (Interview 2).

Apart from understanding *being international* foremost as an attitude (and embedded within the setting itself), the principal points to the school being an *international* one in the sense of its association with global actors such as the IB organisation and other networks like the *New England Association of Schools and Colleges* by which the school is regularly evaluated. This is imagined as a quality marker for *international schools* in general: the principal understands the IB diploma as a "good product" (Interview 1) setting the school apart from state curricula, which are perceived as being developed by state personnel instead of by educators (Interview 1). In this context, the diploma functions as a kind of symbol standing *pars pro toto* for the quality and situating it as better in comparison to other types of schools.

Summarising the main arguments made so far, we have suggested that the understanding of *being international* promoted by the school and school principal is semantically linked to an orientation of personal and institutional development and growth. Both dimensions are brought together in the school's institutional codes. This interweaving of aspects allows for different readings: parallels can be drawn with progressive and also humanistic concepts of education, with a strong focus on individual learning, interconnectedness and the ability to adapt to lifeworld issues that might also be discussed as opening pedagogic possibilities for dealing with mobility and migration other than that of the positively privileged (Zymek 2015). Aside from this, the economic vocabulary associated with the depiction of the school's distinctiveness (see also Prosser in this volume) as well as practices such as regular evaluations, the implementation

of a mission statement or the notion of the lifelong learner are not only suggestive of a purely pedagogical ideal, but such understandings are equally driven by economic needs, such as the ability to adapt quickly to new conditions, thus still playing a role in the economisation of education. This allows the concept of *being international* to be interpreted as a self-mobilising strategy of educational actors (Bröckling 2007: 73; Masschelein et al. 2007). We argue that the IB diploma as a symbol of distinction as it is positioned against state-mandated and state-funded education is especially powerful. Our analysis suggests that this particular school's interpretations and practices around *being international* allow for the creation of a space that promotes integration and the development of global understandings, while at the same time allowing their students to implicitly distinguish themselves as being superior in terms of their education, experiences and outlooks (see also Prosser in this volume).

The Students: Ways of *Being International*

In the following, we provide an overview of the general student body and the different motives they identified for choosing the school and how these are linked to notions of *being international*. We will then present in more detail two student perspectives on *being international*: a conscious involvement orientation and a more embodied, and therefore, naturalised approach.

The student body of approximately 1000 is comprised of young people from almost 50 different nationalities. The majority of the students was born outside Germany and they have only attended the school for a relatively short period of time. Since their parents tend to hold senior management positions within global companies in the region, school fees are usually paid for by employers. Most young people have moved across national borders at least once in their lives, and the majority can be described as highly mobile. The spectrum of mobility encompasses students like Abiram who came to Germany from Israel when he was six years old, or Vitória who was "born in Brazil … and [her] whole life people move a lot" (Interview 1) and who had already attended five internationally profiled schools in Asia and Europe before coming to Germany at the age of 16. Around 20% of students have a German passport. One of them is Charlotte who was born "in this city and … lived up to now in this city" (Interview 1, translated from German), has been attending the school since fifth grade and has never lived outside Germany. Meanwhile,

Sandra has German citizenship like the rest of her family, but went to a school in the UK for six years because her parents moved there for work, before returning to Germany, again due to her parents' employment. While Sandra might be German according to her passport, she has lived abroad for an extensive period of time, can speak more than one language and sees her future as not necessarily being in Germany.

Families have chosen the *international school* for different reasons. Most identify the desire to have broad-ranging experiences in an international education setting. In addition, families' more specific motivations and understandings are shaped by their own *spaces of experience* (*Erfahrungsräume*) through which they have lived, and relate most strongly to the extent to which they have been transnationally mobile. Based on our analysis, we have identified four groups of families using this school.[6] The first group is comprised of mainly non-German, mobile parents seeking a curriculum which is taught and accepted globally, so their children can move and almost seamlessly continue with their education whenever they next move. The second group consists of binational families, where one parent has German citizenship, but these families tend to be quite mobile due to their work commitments as well. Parents in this group seem concerned that their children's command of German is not strong enough for them to "survive" at a German-speaking school: Elizabeth, for example, first tried to attend a German-speaking school and explains "suddenly I had to do everything in German … German classics, … biology in German and history … and I just hated school" (Interview 2, translated from German). A third group of students are mainly German, have non-mobile parents, but are seeking an education for their children that will support future international mobility and participation in the global labour market. While this also holds true for parents among the first two groups, it is very clearly articulated by these parents as a belief that the *international school* will significantly support such transnational future projects in a way state schools would not be able to: "You have more options with the IB and I think many universities regard the IB as a higher degree than the *Abitur* or the American high school diploma (.) it helps" (Daniel, Interview 1, translated from German). The fourth group comprises mainly German young people, who following experiences of taking part in a school exchange programme, wanted specifically to continue pursuing a more *international* education, which led them to enrol in this international school. While these families' motives were reconstructed from interviews with the students themselves, only the fourth group of

young people articulated a strong sense of students themselves leading decision-making in relation to school choice (Keßler 2016).

Being International Between Conscious Involvement and Embodied Perspectives

Drawing on the interview narratives, we have reconstructed two modes of *being international*: a more reflexive engagement and a more embodied practice. We illustrate these with two case studies. While the first case study follows a student in an in-depth, longitudinal perspective, the second one focuses on pointing to differences and commonalities between the two. We chose two less internationally mobile students from our sample as we believe this allows us to highlight more clearly the contrasting perspectives on *being international*. These case studies also allow us to show the interweaving dimensions of internationalisation and inequality within education in the *IB schools* space—which we have argued can be seen as "trendsetters" in promoting and driving desires for, and commitments to, internationalisation across the wider field of higher secondary school education in Germany.

As mentioned above, we use the Documentary Method to differentiate between an individual's explicit self-concepts and theories and the tacit knowledge that "guides" his or her action on a conjunctive level. The latter is formed through individual stratified milieu experience. We can trace this through a longitudinal perspective for our first case, that of Charlotte, and her *being international* by using the three interviews we conducted with her—when she was in Year 10, again in Year 12, and then two years post graduation.

Charlotte is German and representative of a third group of students we found at the school, who do not have any of the obvious *international* markers often associated with those attending *IB schools*. She joined the school at the beginning of the fifth grade. Her family had enough economic capital to finance a place for her at the school which already sets her apart from those children of mobile families whose employers pay the school fees (and without this provision might not have been able to afford the high school fees). Charlotte's case highlights a central aspect of the first mode of *being international*: a generally high degree of reflexivity and explicit processing of ideas and concepts of oneself as being in a global world—especially as her position at such a school is not self-explanatory as she does not have a transnational biography, or require access to a curricu-

lum that is available in other parts of the world. We argue that such an orientation was found for most of the German or binational students with relatively non-mobile biographies we studied.

In this particular student's case, *being international* goes along with a relatively strategic pursuit of her own ambitions (Hayden and Thompson 1998: 553). For Charlotte, going to a private *international school* was about enabling future success: "It is best for any job (.) this international aspect … that one can speak English that one can internationally get along with people," which in her view would not be available to her at a state school (Interview[7] 1; also Resnik 2012: 298; Prosser in this volume). Experiences at the *international school* as well as in other spaces, formed a desire to explore the world and learn from these experiences—moving her engagement with the international beyond a purely strategic motivation. *Being international* was central to Charlotte's narratives around school and university choice across the three interviews. Alongside strategic mappings concerning a network of international contacts that she felt the *international school* would provide for her future ambitions, she articulated an organic understanding that *being international* was something she needed to "preserve" and possibly "nourish further" (Interview 3) after leaving the setting of her *international school*. She understood that speaking English was a prerequisite to accessing international work contexts, as well as an imperative for being "drawn out into the world" in order to explore it (Interview 3).

During her interviews, Charlotte reflexively considered the privileged education context she was in and sought to distinguish herself from an "elitist clan" that consists of "a group of people who are very privileged … either been born into it or always strived to be part of something elitist," who had lost touch with the "real world" and did not appreciate their privileged access to education (Interview 2) as anything but normal. As a German student whose family was able to finance her school place, a high degree of identity work was done in order to distinguish herself from those rich students she positioned as ungrateful. It was not that Charlotte did not want to belong to an elite professional group herself in later life (Interview 1) or that she did not already engage in exclusive lifestyle practices such as high-end partying (Interview 1, 3), but she was at pains to offer a reflection on her own privilege and desire to belong to a group of elite-reflexive, thoughtful world citizens, who sought to contribute to the world via their privileged position. This is where we understand her to identify closely with the institutional imagery of the *international school*

which the principal articulated as well, and therefore her identity work occurs on the communicative as well conjunctive level: "They really teach us to become citizens in the world and … get along with fellow humans" (Interview 2).

The continued longitudinal perspective shows that this view of *being international* is not merely part of an explicit self-concept, but is actually guiding her action in the form of incorporated knowledge. She therefore *enacted* her orientations in order to take up studies at a prestigious university in a capital city outside Germany. Although she was not immediately offered a place at her first-choice university, she refused to accept this decision and kept getting in touch with the institution. She shared with us that "right before the start of the semester (.) they did accept me … they said that I remained on the ball" (Interview 3). This embodied attitude "of dreaming big" (Interview 3), that "if one really wants something, one can do it" (Interview 2), informed her actions through incorporated, tacit knowledge.

Our second, briefer case study is that of Gwyn, who we argue represents students who while not continuously mobile due to their parents' employment, have a more deeply embedded international orientation due to their family biographies. Gwyn held non-German dual citizenship, but had lived in Germany since the age of six and attended the *international school* from that time onwards. His parents came from southern Europe, and his father had studied and worked in both Germany and North America before the family settled in Germany when Gwyn was still young. The migrant history of the family is also evident from Gwyn's dual citizenship—that of a southern European country and American citizenship, as a result of being born there when his father was working in the United States. Gwyn speaks fluent German and has lived in Germany for most of his life. His family keeps in touch with their relatives in southern Europe and are socially part of an internationally diverse network of family and friends in Germany. Both parents studied at university and have considerable economic and cultural resources. While his parents do not represent the kinds of families who can be considered part of the *global middle class* (Ball and Nikita 2014), their investment in an expensive, international education stems from their desire to facilitate opportunities for Gwyn to pursue a transnational future should he wish to, which stems from their own personal experience of transnational mobility.

In contrast to Charlotte, Gwyn's perception of himself as *being international* is much more embedded in his habitus—so much that it is difficult

to find interview passages where he directly reflected upon this matter. Rather it became apparent during the interviews that he regards himself as a world citizen, who would study at an internationally renowned university. In contrast to Charlotte, *being international* was not a strategic decision that would best promote his future opportunities, but appeared to be an expectation that he would select a university from a global offer of possibilities and find the best match for his own personal interests. He did, however, specify that he would be seeking a warmer climate than the one he was accustomed to in Germany (Interview 3). He expressed surprise when he discovered that his university and degree choice might tie him to certain national contexts in the future: "Then I will probably need to do this here (.) because it would be difficult … the system [elsewhere] is different … and it would make no sense to break with this and go back well (.) I will probably … have to practice the job here [in the USA] (.) mmmh (3) I don't know whether I like this plan" (Interview 3).

Against the background of his integration in extended, transnational family networks, attendance of an *international school* from an early age and involvement in community service projects in Africa through his school, Gwyn's identification with the overall institutional guiding principle of *being international* and being a tolerant world citizen is a given, documented by his desire to study linguistics or anthropology at an American university as well as his views on inequalities in education across different school types and even national systems: "One needs to be grateful to visit such a good school … in this *southern European country* [anonymised] or at a *Hauptschule* [German secondary school enabling to take up an apprenticeship; highly stigmatised] … people do not have a future just because they do not attend a good school" (Interview 1).

Although he has lived in Germany since his childhood, Gwyn does not appear to face the same dilemma as Charlotte of having to distinguish himself from affluent, non-mobile (German) students. On the whole, these lines of distinction seem less explicit in the biographical narratives of students with considerable transnational experience and the significant cultural, social and economic capital it (re)generates. This stands in contrast to the narratives of people who feel obliged to explain their presence at the *international school* and their claims to *being international* more minutely as a result of their lack of mobility. We consider this argument further in the context of Maxwell and Aggleton's (2010: 3) work on the "bubble of privilege" and the ways in which *privilege* is integrated into young people's attempts to create a sense of identity or self (Maxwell and

Aggleton 2013). We have found that the biographical experiences of students in our study directly shape their tacit knowledge and orientations as well as explicit knowledge and theories of subjecthood. Given their resource-rich backgrounds in terms of economic, cultural and social capitals, these processes actively shape the forms of privilege they draw on to make sense of themselves in the world, and in doing so sustain the formation of privileged identities (as Howard et al. 2014 would argue). Thus, with Charlotte and Gwyn, we have demonstrated how their experiences inside and outside the *international school* shape their habitual orientations and understandings of their own privilege and how privilege is justified through the school's institutional code which promotes the (morally upstanding) self-reflexive world citizen.

In our comparative, praxeological perspective, we can thus also add greater depth to the initial findings of Hayden and colleagues on *being international* by highlighting that the orientations of the students and their rapport with institutional claims to *being international* can differ greatly as a result of their respective biographical experiences and degree of integration in the different spaces they inhabit inside and outside of school. Thus, Charlotte and Gwyn represent two distinct modes of *being international*. Against this specific theoretical contribution we make here, we assume that these two modes could be further differentiated when considered alongside other individual's biographies and experiences.

Conclusions

Drawing this chapter to a close, we would like to offer three conclusions based on our research. First, understandings of *being international* are evident across all institutional codes of the *IB school* we studied. It is associated with an attitude of reflexivity and tolerance which is further internalised through the experience of difference and openness promoted in the institution's everyday settings. There are both tensions but also possibilities created through the integration of a humanist and economic imagery that the school articulates in its orientation to *being international*. This means that while possibilities for distinction (for the school and its students) are created, this is done by embracing (palatable) and desirable forms of "togetherness."

Second, drawing on an analysis of the biographical accounts of the students, we proposed two modes of *being international*—a more conscious and a more incorporated engagement. We suggest that alignment with

one or the other is linked to specific biographical experiences that form specific tacit knowledge. Third, by drawing together the principal's and the students' perspectives, Ball and Nikita's (2014: 84) claim that *international schools* are educational institutions that seek to serve families belonging to the *global middle class* needs to be modified in our view. We have shown that *IB schools* in Germany are in growing demand from German families, with different combinations of high social, cultural and economic capitals (Phillips 2002; Brown and Lauder 2011; Song 2013). In this context, new hierarchies are emerging in the education system based on families' access to, and uptake of, international schooling within Germany. We therefore argue that *being international* is facilitated by unequal experiences and ultimately (re)produces unequal opportunities. That is to say, it further embeds inequality, both in terms of current schooling experiences and future educational opportunities, but also through the kinds of orientations and values that are developed within young people. Based on our research we argue for the need for further examination of the lines of distinction between "international and national elites" (Resnik 2012: 305) at *IB schools* (see Keßler et al. 2015 for an analysis on this issue), and an exploration of how the provision of the IB at a state school may further exacerbate differences, or possibly in fact minimise these within national elite groups.

Glossary of transcript symbols

(.)	Brief pause in oral talk
(3)	Three second pause in oral talk
that	Stressed spoken word
There = s	"Latched" talk
wo:rld	Prolongation of the prior sound
☺	Brief laughter
☺text☺	Text spoken laughing

Notes

1. This chapter is situated in the larger context of a longitudinal research project on *exclusive educational careers of young people and the role of peer cultures*. We examine the institutional presentations as well as (educational) pathways and orientations of young people at five *Gymnasien* (German upper secondary schools) with different claims to exclusivity. Here, we draw

on data from one *international school* in our sample. First ideas were presented at a conference on internationalisation of education in Wittenberg, Germany (19–22 October 2015) together with Daniela Winter. We thank her and the editors for their helpful suggestions concerning earlier drafts of this chapter.

2. See Resnik (2012) for an excellent overview of the state of research on international educational networks, policies, students and curricula. Here, we point primarily to studies that are especially important for this chapter.
3. In Year 10, 94 of 101 pupils and in Year 12, 89 of 97 pupils, took part in the survey.
4. A glossary of transcript symbols can be found at the end of this chapter.
5. The *other* is here still part of a wider specific social group, but implies a different student and staff composition generally found at German (state) schools.
6. For a more detailed reconstruction, see Keßler (2016).
7. All quotations of Charlotte are translated from German, although the code often switches to English in all three interviews.

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CHAPTER 14

Elites Go Public? International Baccalaureate's Decolonising Paradox in Ecuador

Howard Prosser

The International Baccalaureate (IB) is flourishing in Latin America. The International Baccalaureate Organization's (IBO) implementation of its curriculum, especially its secondary school diploma programme, has progressed slowly in the region since the 1970s. Elite private schools—especially in Argentina, Chile, and Ecuador—began teaching the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP) during the 1980s. Other ambitious private schools followed suit soon after as part of the enterprising mimesis of eliteness that has allowed the IB to spread around the world. The IBO, based in Geneva, offers schools a curriculum—mainly secondary, but also primary and middle years—that is considered both academically rigorous and culturally lucrative (Bunnell 2011). Its almost exclusive association with the elite and private schools in Latin America changed in 2007. That year the new Ecuadorian government, under President Rafael Correa, introduced an agenda for social and economic improvement that included wide-ranging educational reforms that aimed to implement the IBDP programme across the nation.

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Two purposes motivate my approach in this chapter. The first is to outline this situation in which an educational marker of eliteness—the IB—is co-opted by the Ecuadorian state. This internationalisation strategy, previously the domain of elite schools, is designed to provide opportunities for students who wish to continue their education beyond the age of 14. The large-scale implementation of this international curriculum directly challenged local elites that have harboured economic and cultural resources for decades. This reform is not simply a matter of class belligerence. To be sure, there are strong anti-elite strains in the Correa government's overall project. But to achieve its aims, the Ecuadorian state has been assisted by the IBO and some elite schools to roll out the IBDP in secondary schools across the nation. The process, still under way, complicates a dualist or oppositional reading of elite education or one that sees no role for elite schools in the critique of inequality's reproduction. The IB's significance in Ecuador indicates how different social groups engage with the idea of eliteness and its educational relevance in circumstances influenced by national and international concerns. This internationalisation of secondary education aims to improve Ecuador's citizenry's educational outcomes and, in turn, the nation's social and economic prospects after years of colonial hegemony. The government's co-optation of elites' successful "internationalisation strategies" (Windle and Nogueira 2015) can be read as a decolonial moment.

This leads to the chapter's more theoretical purpose: to consider the Ecuadorian situation and elite education more generally in the light of decoloniality. The IB's implementation in Ecuadorian public schools occurs as part of other internationalising historical processes that have global impacts—first and foremost, the effects of modernity under colonialism/capitalism. The latest incarnation of this struggle was characterised by regional governments and social movements which, though now waning in popularity, drew the continent further to the political left than any comparable zone since the Cold War. Thus the Correa government's reform agenda, including education, intersects with other socio-political circumstances that can also be characterised as having internationalising traits. All these fit neatly into the social theory that analyses the colonial/decolonial pasts of Latin America with a mind to the political possibilities of its future.

Such "decolonial theory" can inform discussions of elites within particular locations because it promotes colonialism/decolonialism as central to modernity's continuing manifestation. Such theory can be linked to

larger political projects that challenge existing power structures, not least in research (Connell 2007). This has a bearing on those scholars of elite education keen on challenging its dominance. Decolonial theory can be applied in understanding how the dynamics of elite schooling must confront the ongoing aftermath of colonial histories. This reading can be seen in the growing corpus of investigations on elite schooling beyond the North Atlantic quadrant. But less obvious than this work is how decolonial theory is apposite to studies of elites and elite schools within the North American or European metropoles where the consequences of colonialism/decolonialism are just as patent.

By co-opting the IB from its association with elite schools, the Ecuadorian state emphasises how colonialism retains a central place in education at all levels. Any state that mobilises internationalisation strategies as a means to reform public education faces the paradox of colonialism/decolonialism. This is especially, though not exclusively, the case in regions with a colonial history. Below, the Ecuadorian example captures the paradoxical nature of the IB's appropriation as a means of decolonial liberation, on the one hand, and colonial reinforcement, on the other.

Simultaneous Internationalisations

Internationalisation continues to hold value in education. While other social sciences, including economics, have tended to shirk the term's use in favour of transnationalisation or globalisation, education scholars see national sectors affected by interactions between states and other organisations (Jones et al. 2016). Such usage indicates the continued position of the state in educational decision-making. But certain influences from non-governmental educational organisations, or simply global trends, significantly impacted on state-run education too (Ball 2012). This is especially true of higher education, where the internationalisation strategies—student recruitment, online courses, campus outposts—have become a means of survival in an increasingly competitive global tertiary market.

Such strategies have also filtered into secondary schooling. As with universities, internationalisation has come to signify a competitive edge for secondary schools in a similar, but often more localised marketplace (Cambridge and Thompson 2004). Elite private schools' acumen is well honed through this process. They often have the business nous and wherewithal to reap the benefits of competitive environments. Moreover, these

elite schools' internationalisation strategies are so sharp that they carve clear pathways to the internationalising universities. In short, internationalisation, though synonymous with processes of capitalist expansion, is today an educational descriptor for the ways that national education systems are influenced by and connected to trends, organisations, and other education providers beyond their borders. Internationalisation is thus, as Knight (2004) suggests, both a part of globalisation, more broadly, and often underpinned by a neoliberal sensibility that encourages private schooling and corporate influence across a national education system at all levels.

Other less obvious processes of internationalisation are occurring simultaneously, or in reaction to, these neoliberal versions. Indeed, that internationalism has now become synonymous with a neoliberal agenda, however unwittingly, is indicative of this ideology's current dominance. In the past, internationalism was the catch-cry of workers and anti-imperialist movements that rallied against capitalism and colonialism (Anderson 2002). The post-1989 vestiges of this type of internationalisation exist in various locations around the world. Latin America is a case in point. With its twentieth century marred by a succession of authoritarian governments, much of the region reverted to liberal democracies of sorts during the 1980s and 1990s. These democracies, at the behest of the Washington Consensus, followed their own version of pro-market policies designed to improve the well-being of all. Such trickle-down approaches, as elsewhere, did little to improve the circumstances of most in the region, especially the vulnerable and impoverished, but assisted in making elites more and more wealthy (Robinson 2009). After a series of spectacular social and economic collapses, a succession of popular leftist governments with charismatic leaders emerged at the turn of the century—Chávez in Venezuela, Lula in Brazil, Kirchner in Argentina, Duarte in Paraguay, Morales in Bolivia, and Correa in Ecuador (Chodor 2014).

Elites in these nations were dismissive of these new governments and sought ways to challenge them. But these elites found themselves limited by the popular backing of governments keen to redistribute wealth and nationalise key industries. These governments, though increasingly problematic, were complemented by diverse social movements with genuine grassroots credentials. Such movements, like the governments, differed from state to state, but they were also often connected beyond borders as a part of larger internationalised activism. This connection was especially pronounced among workers' movements—landless or labouring—and

indigenous movements that sought to build regional solidarity via, for example, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (Muhr 2013). Post-dictatorial and post-neoliberal Latin America provided a strong desire for social alternatives which gave the impetus to organise and consolidate alongside sympathetic state systems.

In Ecuador, this generalised view holds. The government led by President Correa came to power in 2006 with a reformist mandate. He quickly identified himself with like-minded leaders throughout the region. But unlike more pugnacious regional counterparts, Correa was savvy in using these alliances to fortify support at home, while playing down his own radical tendencies in favour of what has been described as an unstable "technopopulism" (De la Torre 2013). His "citizens' revolution" instituted a new constitution which sought to undo damages of previous governments and, most famously, promoted the concept of "good living" (*buen vivir*) for all, especially indigenous peoples, through enshrined rights and sustained social services (Becker 2011). He also criticised exploitation by foreign (read US) government and corporations which had made the nation dependent on an extractivist economy—from bananas to oil—with deleterious environmental and socio-cultural effects. The public's belief in the government held local elites at bay and citizens were rewarded with successful measures to reduce poverty, improve taxation, build infrastructure, and expand education (Ramírez Gallegos 2016). As time passed, compromises were made with elites and allies to ensure the government's longevity (Becker 2014). But in spite of such accommodation, the internationalisation supporting the Ecuadorian reform—between regional governments as well as civic groups—differed significantly from the pro-market agenda that is hand-in-glove with internationalisation in the education sector.

Ecuador and the International Baccalaureate

This difference, as well as its countervailing paradox, is captured in a national rejuvenation project that opposes neoliberal globalisation which has enlisted an international education organisation, usually associated with elite schools, to help achieve its goals. This is the nature of the Ecuadorian government's roll out of the IB curriculum throughout the nation's public schools. In this process, the government's ideals intersect with the global ambitions of the nation's elites via the implementation of an international education organisation's curriculum service. This IB initiative is a small,

but significant, part of the Ecuadorian government's ambitious education reforms from early childhood to tertiary education. As Julia Resnik (2014, 2016) has shown, the approach is not social-welfare wistfulness. Such thinking, to the government's mind, previously entrenched complacency and stymied student outcomes. Instead a forthright meritocratic system has been put in place. At this stage, such meritocratic logic applies more to the teachers than the students. Improving teacher quality—via teacher-education improvements and teacher performance reviews—is regarded as a crucial step in bettering the education system. Indeed, the IBDP's introduction to Ecuadorian public high schools intended to improve the teachers' skills as well as the students' futures.

A precedent for teaching the IB in Ecuador was already set by its elite schools. A handful of elite private schools began offering the IB during the early 1980s. These elite schools played a crucial role in the education of governing, economic, and cultural elites. Educationally, they provided students with bilingual schooling that was, until recently, unlike anything available within the public system. This meant that graduates almost always went on to university either locally or internationally. Economically, fees in these schools have always been high by local standards, which defined the clientele according to wealth (Johnson 2011). A homogeneity around income—either from the land or from finance—characterises the social groups associated with the schools (Bowen 2011). But eliteness here is not simply economic; it also works along racial lines. Ecuadorian society is made up of Europeans and a sizeable indigenous population. Whiteness is celebrated by elites as a means of excluding indigeneity. Traditionally Ecuador's elites have amplified European connections to muffle any mixed (*mestizo*) or indigenous signals (Benavides 2010). The same is true of elite schools in which whiteness is tacitly celebrated (Novo and De la Torre 2010). The economic and racial definition of eliteness cossets these schools in the proverbial "bubble" of advantage. The IB's role within this process of reproduction was crucial because it represented international connections beyond Ecuador—as in the colonial period—as well as a reputed secondary school qualification.

Co-opting this reputation was part of the Correa government's purpose. International qualifications for matriculating students could improve the nation's knowledge base in order to bolster the economic future and create an educated citizenry. The challenges faced within the education system were vast, especially given that the majority of the population was, up until recently, either mired in poverty or close to it and the state lacked

the resources, including university-trained teachers, to support such a massive social project. The government understood that only a wholesale approach to social reform could shift the long-standing malaise. Continuing a decline in the number living below the poverty line—64% in 2000 to 22% in 2014 (World Bank 2016)—would strengthen any changes to the provision of education. The Ministry of Education instituted changes from primary to tertiary levels that were designed to improve standards among students and teachers (Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2007). More specifically, Correa wanted to improve secondary education throughout the state by increasing the number of students enrolled as well as bringing equivalence between state schools and elite private ones in Quito that his own children and those of his ministers attended (Economist 2009). Therein lies the motivation behind introducing the IB in Ecuador. On the one hand, the eliteness captured by Ecuador's elite schools could be co-opted for nation-building purposes; while, on the other, the IBO offered a practical solution to the limited provision of secondary schooling because its curriculum could be taught to teachers to upskill them and increase their number, while also being delivered to students.

A reformed state-based curriculum still remains the government's dominant tool, but the IBDP was introduced to supplement this initiative in secondary schools. An ambitious goal has been set for over 1400 state secondary schools to run the Diploma Programme. Today, over 250 schools in every province now offer one of the IB's offerings (International Baccalaureate Organization 2016). The effects of this roll out have become quickly apparent alongside improvements across all areas of education. Educationalist Elisabeth Barnett (2013: 46) reported that the IB's effect on Ecuador's state education provision was "profound" in the way it improved students' learning and teachers' work. The latter is especially important since the improvement of teacher quality is a key state goal and the IB provides ready-made professional development. There are, however, question marks, especially fiscally, over the programme's sustainability. In her study of IB schools in Hispanophone nations, Resnik (2016) outlines an issue associated with the IB's roll out in Ecuador. Money assigned to public schools for exclusive use in the running of the IBDP flows to improve the facilities and resources for all students. This misapplication weakens the IB's foothold in the school.

The government initially turned to elite schools to help with the implementation process. Teachers from these schools, as well as consultants from elsewhere in the region, made their expertise available to mentor

new teachers. The success of these relationships was mixed and generally relied on the commitment of the teachers (Barnett 2013). But the collaboration between government and elites is arguably the most interesting aspect of the scheme mainly because the Correa government, like counterparts across the region, expounded a heavy anti-elite rhetoric. This compromise reveals the role elites, especially economic elites, play in ensuring a degree of political stability. The Correa government's longevity has largely been thanks to its percipience in this regard. Its enthusiasm for the IB is just one example of a willingness to accept the values and beliefs of these elites as important for the future of the nation.

Paradox of Decoloniality

This situation highlights the paradox at the heart of the IB going public. The opposition between Ecuador's elites and the Correa government collapses in this instance, as does the divide between elite schools and public ones. Similarly, the internationalisation of education through the IBO is not simply promoting the global prospects of elite-school graduates; it is actively assisting national reconditioning. On the other hand, the Ecuadorian situation is an example of the cooperation that takes place—with different levels of compliance—between elites, governments, and international organisations around the world in education and beyond. A triangulation between the Ecuadorian state, elite schools, and the IBO raises questions about the degree to which this national reformation is simultaneously challenging and appropriating eliteness.

Latin American social theorists offer some ways to explore this paradox. Significant voices, from the southern cone to the US border, have recently coalesced as a way of combatting neoliberal hegemony, remembering authoritarianism, and promoting political solidarity with other voices from the global South (Mendieta 2007). Central to these critiques is the point that vestiges of previously dominant powers—be they colonial, authoritarian, or neocolonial—inevitably remain in place among those working to subvert them via government or social movements. Accommodating such residual power in order to overcome it is at the heart of "decoloniality".

Although its origins lay with the post-war Third Worldism, decoloniality appeared as a social theory during the late 1990s and is associated with the *Grupo Modernidad/Colonialidad* scholars like Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano, Mexican-Argentine philosopher Enrique Dussel, Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar, and Argentine semiotician

Walter Mignolo. Their immanent critical theory of decoloniality is difficult to capture in a simple definition. Its theory is not synonymous with post-modernism or post-colonialism; its politics is neither liberal nor Marxist; its strategy is to see itself as an "option", rather than a programme or a demand, that challenges colonial knowledge construction (Mignolo 2011: xv).

Decolonial theory is perhaps best illustrated by what Mignolo (2007) who has become decolonialism's most prominent voice, calls a "de-linking" from Western epistemological and ontological dominance. Mignolo calls for a programme that sees beyond parochial European conceptions and critiques of modernity. Instead, modernity is something multiple—temporally and spatially—in which different, if competing, ways of seeing the world are coevally recognised. As Mignolo (2007: 453) argues:

> de-linking presupposes to move toward a geo- and body politics of knowledge that on the one hand denounces the pretended universality of a particular ethnicity (body politics), located in a specific part of the planet (geo-politics), that is, Europe where capitalism accumulated as a consequence of colonialism. De-linking then shall be understood as a de-colonial epistemic shift leading to other-universality, that is, to pluri-versality as a universal project.

Modernity is thus reconsidered using the language of modernity, especially the patois of transatlantic social theory, in order to bring to light how such language silences other ways of understanding the world. Those possessing different knowledges—Indigenes and Creoles—can use these other ways of knowing, in concert with colonial epistemologies, to challenge the outcomes of European colonisation. Education is central to this process. Indeed, Mignolo (2007: 485) indicates that an expression used by Ecuadorian indigenous intellectuals Luis Macas and Jorge García—"learning to unlearn"—provides the basis for a grammar of decoloniality.

Four Decolonial Implications

A decolonial lens offers a clearer view of the paradoxes involved in Ecuador's implementation of the IB because it places it within a larger global history of colonialism and the resistance to its effects. The IB is at once a European discourse with potentially neocolonial effects as well as a tool used for decolonial purposes to improve the social outcomes among Ecuador's citi-

zens. It is not too much of a stretch to say that decoloniality is a part of the government's agenda: Correa (2012) has contributed to scholarly discussions by pointing out how European thought dominate non-European and indigenous discourses. His government's policies capture the intertwined nature of modernity's supposedly competing discourses—nationalism/internationalism, (neo)colonialism/anti-colonialism neoliberalism/post-neoliberalism. These are not the binaries that have long underpinned European thinking about the other, but are actually entwined as ongoing history of social relations. Four dual-sided implications of this decolonial scenario are worth considering.

First, the Ecuadorian state's use of internationalisation strategies that were previously the purview of elite schools undermines, or at least neutralises, the symbolic role the IB plays in the education of its elites. I don't want to overstate the case for the IB serving as some Freirean liberation project. Ecuador has been burnt before by international education reforms led by the World Bank (Whitman 2004). But the employment of the IBO appropriates a means of elite differentiation to improve the chances of future leaders of the state (who were not necessarily born into the elite). The fact that the IB is open to students across the state does not overturn associated disadvantages, educational or otherwise, but it opens new possibilities for students that tend to leave school before the age of 14. Coupled with the championing of indigeneity, the educational reforms can be seen as part of what Mignolo (2011: 362) has praised as the government's increasingly "dewesternising position".

The other side of the state's use of the IB, of course, is its potentially *recolonial* consequences: IB curriculum reasserts Western systems of knowledge as well the Diploma's significance as a marker of eliteness among the privileged. The willingness of elite schools to assist in this process shows a genuine commitment to improved educational outcomes and the Ecuadorian project. But it also shows that they do not feel threatened by such imitation or the larger educational reform per se. Indeed, the elite schools' involvement is yet another instance of the government's policy of negotiating with elites while gesturing against them for political effect (Wolff 2016). Such realpolitik shows how challenges to pro-market reforms within Ecuador, as elsewhere in post-neoliberal Latin America, are limited by the entrenched legacy of neoliberalism itself. This also plays out in the education space where the rhetoric of meritocracy heavily influences the government's attitudes to teacher tenure and its limitations on union activism (Resnik 2014). Such signals indicate less decolonalism than a

hybrid internationalisation in which the internationalism of Latin America's leftist governments and social movements accomodate an ongoing pro-market sensibility.

A second implication may assist in destabilising neocolonial/neoliberal's dominance. The IBO's partnership with the Ecuadorian state indicates the IB's decoupling from its usual association with that nation's elite private schools. This association occurs as the IBO is increasing its affiliation with public school systems around the world. This development is in keeping with the IBO's original post-war social-democratic ethos which was displaced by a pro-market logic during the 1990s (Tarc 2009). This public turn assures the IB's longevity; but it also points to the fact that the IB is not *in-itself* elitist. Its status as a first-class educational qualification has gained much through its association with the elite-school sector. Yet the IB has also benefited from a design agility that allows for shifts between both traditional and reformist pedagogic modes: examinations coupled with inquiry-based learning, for example. It is this dexterity and rigour, as well as the globally European brand, which has attracted elite schools in the first place and can easily be incorporated into public systems, like Ecuador's, in need of revival.

Such learning can also cater to local cultures and histories within comprehensive public education systems. The question is whether the IB's association with elite schools will remain as a bias. The IB's latent effects are starting to become clear in a number of states' education systems. Resnik's (2012) survey of its global expansion field reveals the IB's "unintended percolation" within national education systems. This situation adds to a belief among public systems that the private schools should be imitated in other ways—from uniforms to career goals. On the other hand, the IB's current phase of expansion into public schooling, which is especially pronounced in North America's tenfold increase in a decade (Saavedra 2014), actively challenges the accusations of the IB's elitism by association. The IB's implementation in public schools in Ecuador is particularly compelling because it welcomes such intentional and unintentional percolation.

Third, a further implication is the decolonisation of the IB itself. Such a reform is quite speculative, but if the IB is about the reinforcement as well as destabilisation of dominant epistemologies, as Lodewijk van Oord (2007) suggests, then there is an opportunity for the organisation to recognise how their international brand caters to local types of knowledge, specifically indigenous ones. The strength of a state system is that it can incorporate such localism into the curriculum. Ecuador has included some

innovations in its revision of the state system that are deliberately decolonial in application (Vientie 2013). Improving the latter is especially important since indigenous activists have been critical of Correa's government (Webber 2015). Working with state systems, the IB could include decolonial options in its flexible programmes that are already focused on identities, knowledges, and communities. All this reform would require significant planning. But rather than simply justifying a definition of knowledge value that is usually associated with "Western" thought, and highly valued by elites, the IB has an opportunity to liberate itself from the association with the (neo)colonial practices by championing decolonial unlearning within its curriculum. If indigenous knowledges are incorporated into the IBDP's implementation—in the Theory of Knowledge domain, for example—it would present an approach to education that values "pluri-versality" while simultaneously challenging the positions of elites—both raced and classed—within the nation and region through future social reform. Moreover, a precedent would be set for a decoloniality via an international educational organisation.

Finally, the Ecuadorian state's championing of the IB, with some help from elite schools, is a compelling example for those studying elite education to consider their work with reference to decoloniality. Decoloniality is not just about what happens in colonised nations of the global South; it applies everywhere. The growing literature on decoloniality is a sign of its resonance around the world. To be sure, the notion has traction in places with colonial pasts, but it need not only be the case. The movement of peoples from the periphery to the metropole increases the decolonial option's global relevance. A decolonial option recognises the domination of elites as facilitated by access to particular forms of knowledge that are also enshrined in unequal social practices directly connected to colonialism. This is commensurate with the revived sociology of elite education. A number of studies are now appearing of elite schools—often modelled on British public schools—that have direct links to colonialism and the reinforcement of post-colonial power beyond the state by economic elites (i.e. Ayling 2016; Rizvi 2015).

For those scholars researching elites and elite schooling in the North, decoloniality should not be something done by those working in the South. Rather it presents a framework for understanding how elite schools today in Europe, North America, and Australasia continue to construct colonial knowledge. By applying the decolonial option to these more metropolitan settings, such reinforcement may not be found to be the case

or, more likely, be found to be operating in contradictory ways. One recurring theme among recent studies on elite schools is the consistent revelation that the liberal rhetoric within these schools superficially challenges inequalities—especially around class, race, and gender—while doing little to undermine the structural issues that reproduce them (i.e. Khan 2011). Studies of elite schools that produce political, economic, and cultural elites of the future—especially those that are attracting large numbers of international students—can mobilise decoloniality to show the subtleties of education and its internationalisation, as a neoliberal force, that is always linked to an ongoing history of colonial dominance. This colonial dominance continues in contemporary manifestations of economic imperialism as well as in the advocacy of eliteness as preferable to solidarity. The Ecuadorian example, paradoxical as it is, shows that this need not always be the case. In fact, the collaboration between elites and government over schooling exemplifies the very political possibilities that are being championed by scholarly activists who see the teachers and students of elite schools as potential allies in social change around inequality and education (Howard and Kenway 2015; Swallwell 2013).

Conclusion

The IB's implementation in Ecuador's public high schools since 2007 captures the manifold nature of internationalisation in education and complicates the position that elite and eliteness hold in this process. Obvious internationalisation processes—like the expansion of the IBO—are part of this change. But the overriding impetus for the initiative is the government's reform agenda. This reform agenda emerged as part of a regional reaction against internationalism under the sign of neoliberalism. The Correa government's approach, and ongoing survival, can be seen as less divisive than its coequals. At the reform's heart is a desire for autonomy within a globalised economy as well as the possibility of "living well" within the state itself. This desire emerges from decades of colonialism and authoritarian rule which had dire consequences for the majority of the population, especially indigenous peoples. The ability to push back against the latest incarnation of this power—neoliberal globalisation—was steeled by an international approach among the nations of the region. Not all are happy with the results, be they elites or not. But in Ecuador, the educational pillar of the restructuring is crucial to supporting the reforms' far-reaching effects. The IB provided the government with a practical

solution: a ready-made curriculum for upper-secondary schooling across the country. The confidence the government had in the IBO originates from the qualification's established reputation in local, private elite schools as well as its worldwide latitude. Hence the government's implementation of the IB imitates local elite's internationalisation strategies to improve the educational outcomes and future of young people.

This mimetic implementation is paradoxical in a number of ways. The government's anti-elitist position runs counter to the imitation of an elite-school system; the government explicitly used elite private schools to assist in the roll-out of the public reform; and the Western knowledge imparted by the IB jars with the tacitly de-Westernising nature of the educational reform. Decolonial theory offers a way of thinking about this situation in relation to elite education. The dominance of elites in Ecuador, as elsewhere, is directly linked to colonial processes—economic exploitation and cultural condescension—which are being challenged by government educational reforms. The IB's use in public schools can thus be read as part of a decolonial challenge to elites and elite education. The outcome—whether pluriversalist, neocolonial, or, somehow, both—remains to be seen. But those interested in elites and internationalisation should take note of the possibilities for highlighting the implicit colonial/decolonial nature of elite schooling.

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CHAPTER 15

Commentary to Part III: Why Is "Being International" So Attractive? "Being International" as a Source of Legitimacy and Distinction

Florian Waldow

A common theme across all the chapters in this section is the significant rise in the number of schools that aspire to "being international" in various ways and the increase in the demand for these schools across various parts of the world. However, the chapters also show that individuals and organisations conceive of and make use of the term "being international" in quite different ways. At one end of the spectrum, the case of the International Baccalaureate (IB) in Ecuador as discussed by Howard Prosser, the quality of "being international" is supposed to be extended across the whole school system. In the other cases discussed, "being international" applies to individual schools or particular groups in the context of school systems that still mostly operate within a national frame of reference—in terms of the end of school qualifications being prepared for, the social groups schooling is being provided for and so on.

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So, it appears that "being international" is a highly sought-after quality for a wide variety of different actors across many education systems. Why is "being international" so ubiquitously attractive? The chapters suggest that a purely functional explanation for this phenomenon in the sense of changing "needs" of the economy and—connected to this—the rise of a postulated "global middle class" (Ball and Nikita 2014)[1] does not capture the full story. Rather, the accounts presented in this section of the book suggest that "being international" by receiving or offering an "international" education has become a potential source of legitimacy (Waldow 2012) and distinction (Bourdieu 1979), both for individuals and for organisations such as schools, universities or even—as in the case of Ecuador—whole nation states.

Organisational legitimacy can be defined as a "generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman 1995: 574). Taking an institutionalist perspective, being perceived as legitimate by their environment is key to an organisation's survival (Brunsson 1989; Meyer and Rowan 1977). The concept of legitimacy cannot just be applied to organisations but also to policy agendas and social structures; they, too, need to be legitimated as "desirable, proper, or appropriate" (Suchman 1995: 574).

The concept of "distinction" as developed by Bourdieu (1979) refers to the ways and mechanisms in which (privileged) social groups mark their differences, their "distinction", from others. It is a relational concept, that is "[w]hat 'distinction' is, what 'difference' is, can […] only be said in a relative way, in relation to others. […] The dominant culture is always marked by a distance" (Bourdieu 2005, quoted according to Dazert 2017: 17). This marking of (socially meaningful) differences can occur in indirect and seemingly non-intentional ways, for example, through demonstrating certain cultural preferences, including preferences for certain types and forms of education (Dazert 2017: 46).

So why is "being international" a potential source of legitimacy and distinction to so many individuals and organisations across a range of contexts? An important reason seems to be that it is possible to connect "being international" to a range of important and quite diverse educational principles, "storylines" and intended outcomes. Bellmann and Waldow (2007) have argued that some current educational reform agendas such as "learner-centred education" or "school autonomy" are so successful[2] because they can tap into a number of widely different—sometimes

even contradictory—legitimate arguments at the same time, ranging from "education for human capital formation" on the one hand to various demands and programmes often associated with "progressive education" on the other. In this way, these reform agendas can garner support from a variety of different actors with different political and educational orientations. Thereby, they become hard to resist, precisely because the coalitions of actors supporting them are so diverse.

Similarly, "being" or "becoming international" is an aspiration behind which many different actors can unite and one that can be connected to a number of quite diverse, possibly even contradictory, educational agendas. "Being international" is seen as being critically connected to the needs of the "global knowledge economy" on the one hand and the production of "world citizens" on the other. Seemingly, international schools prepare for the needs and requirements of a globalised knowledge economy by producing the right kind of human capital. At the same time, these schools claim to produce "world citizens and international mindedness", as Keßler and Krüger argue in their chapter. While the contributions in this section show that it is possible to combine these two arguments, their political connotations and origins are quite divergent, with the "knowledge economy"—argument coming more from a human capital-oriented "education for growth"—perspective and the "citizens of the world"—argument coming more from a left-liberal "progressive education"—position.

Vagueness as an Advantage

In this way, "being international" can be connected to widely divergent, even partly opposing educational agendas. The apparent ease with which "being international" connects different stances is further enhanced by the fact that the concept itself is sufficiently vague. Therefore, schools, pupils, parents and other actors can project different meanings onto this ideal—so it comes to mean quite different things in different circumstances.

"Being international" seems to share certain characteristics with other concepts about which there is a wide-ranging consensus in the field of education, such as "quality" or "fairness". These are concepts whose importance in educational matters is no longer fundamentally called into question. Few would speak out against quality and fairness in education as principles to aim for, although different actors might have widely divergent positions on what "quality" or "fairness" actually mean and how they might be achieved. It is possible to argue for

various conceptions of "quality" and "fairness" in education; however, what has become very difficult (or at least what is done very rarely) is to dispute that the principles of "quality" and "fairness" in education are important.

To a certain extent, the same seems to be true for "being international". The value of "being international" no longer has to be justified in each individual instance; it has seemingly become self-evident. On the contrary, an educational programme (i.e. school programme, curriculum etc.) that expressly claimed to not contain at least some element of "internationality" nowadays would arguably encounter questions about its value and legitimacy, at least in many Western democracies. It would appear from the literature that "being international" is even more important and expected in the field of higher education than in the K-12 education phase. Even small institutions of higher education, catering mainly to a local clientele, are eager to demonstrate their ties to the wider world in various ways (Altbach and Knight 2007; De Wit 1999; Knight 2011).

Despite the claim that concepts such as "quality", "fairness" and "being international" are assumed to be inherently "good" principles which should be integrated into the development of educational programmes, there is one significant difference between the first two ideals and the latter. As emphasised in the chapter by Kotzyba et al., only certain forms of "being international" are deemed desirable (a phenomenon also discussed by Zymek 2009). For instance, a high number of "international" pupils from low socio-economic backgrounds are not viewed as increasing a school's status, but on the contrary, are thought to decrease it. This is perhaps not surprising, as according to Bourdieu (2005) "'being distinguished' means 'not being of the common people'—nothing else" (quoted according to Dazert 2017: 17).

Furthermore, since the whole purpose of processes which lead to "distinction" is to mark the social difference between those who possess it and those belonging to the *classes populaires* (Bourdieu 1979), any strategy that seeks to extend the state of "being international" to becoming a system-wide norm is likely to change its meaning and the ways it is pursued. Thus, in Ecuador, where the government plans to roll out the IB across the whole secondary system, simply studying for the IB will no longer be enough to distinguish oneself from others. Dominant social groups will in turn need to further diversify what "being international" might mean and how it is achieved.

Conclusion—"Being International" as Rationalising Myth

To conclude, I have argued that the quality of "being international" is now commonly used as a source of legitimacy and distinction both by individuals and organisations. Apparently, demonstrating that a school, a curriculum or a graduate are "international" in some, often quite general way, seems to be an effective source of legitimacy and distinction. "Being international" is a concept particularly well suited to these purposes because it is relatively vague and therefore open to a range of interpretations. Partly because of this conceptual indeterminateness, it can be easily connected to a wide range of other educational concepts and desired outcomes and can therefore be agreed on as a goal by quite diverse coalitions of actors.

How can we theorise the attractiveness of "being international"? Sociological neoinstitutionalism offers some interesting points of departure, which unfortunately can only be sketched very briefly here. Neoinstitutionalist theorists of society and education have pointed to the importance of "rationalising and legitimating myths" for the shaping of models of reality (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Ramirez 2012). "Myths" in the neoinstitutionalist sense are not "falsehoods", but "symbolic accounts that tell us who we are, providing us with a sense of entitivity and a perspective on the world around us" (Ramirez 2012: 429). In order to ensure their survival, organisations have to conform to the myths in their institutional environment, at least at the level of their "formal structure"; that is the way they present themselves to their environment (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Myths thereby shape the institutions in the institutional fields they dominate. Myths are acted out in ritualistic ways and tend to appear as self-evident to individual actors (Ramirez 2012). Seen in this light, it makes sense to ask whether the desirability of "being international" may have become one of these "rationalising and legitimating myths" surrounding and thereby shaping education.

Notes

1. Hartmann (2016) has recently demonstrated that the "transnational capitalist class" as postulated, for instance, by Sklair (2001) is much smaller than often assumed, to the point that it is not clear if it really exists. This leads to the suspicion that the size of the "global middle class" (and as a consequence its impact on education) might likewise sometimes be overstated.
2. Successful in the sense of enjoying widespread support; whether these policies really achieve what they promise is quite a different matter.

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PART IV

Higher Education

CHAPTER 16

Stratification Through Internationality in German Higher Education

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Traditionally, the German higher education system has been perceived as being only marginally stratified. Instead, a "fictitious equality" (Kreckel 2010) is assumed that regards degrees from higher education institutions of the same type as equal in value. In more recent times, stratificatory differences between universities have been emerging. They are connected to changes in government policies that endow universities with more organisational decision-making power and that increase the role of competitive funding schemes and ranking devices. A central marker of

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differentiation among universities is their degree of internationalisation. Internationalisation refers to a large body of literature, theoretical reflections, policy recommendations, and developments in practice that address aspects of globalisation, intercultural competences, cross-border cooperation between universities, and student mobility in higher education. Internationalisation also alludes to scientific universalism and thus to an inherently global scientific community. As "internationality", internationalisation has also become a topos of higher education that is used by nation-states in their efforts to increase competitiveness and by universities to construe excellence and distinction in relation to other universities.

This chapter aims to describe the complex relationship between internationalisation and the university with regard to stratificatory processes in Germany. We examine this relationship in two ways. First, we set out how internationalisation is transformed into a valuable and quantifiable attribute of the university as an organisational actor. We draw on in-depth field analysis of governmental policies and show that the implementation of internationalisation strategies comes with a set of measures and devices that aim at increasing organisational leadership. Devices such as audits, accreditations, and rankings visualise the internationality of universities. They allow for abstract comparison and hence the positioning of the university.

At the same time the operational functioning of universities might be decoupled from such efforts that then appear as mere window dressing. We thus examine, second, the effects of internationalisation by exploring how internationality as an organisational abstraction is integrated into the research, teaching, and learning activities of academics and students. Our analysis is based on case studies of two graduate schools funded by the German Excellence Initiative[1] and master's degree programmes at three German private universities.[2] We trace the effects through academics', administrators', and students' accounts of on organisational arrangements to internationalise research partnerships, admission procedures, and the student body. While the graduate schools directly responded to a competitive funding device, the Excellence Initiative, the master's degree programmes focus on imperatives for high mobility as these are visualised in rankings.

In both cases, the implementation of measures to achieve internationality stands in tension with other norms already in place, such as those of scientific universalism and of national professions. We identify four ways through which organisational members react to these norm inconsistencies: (a) ignorance, (b) suspended conflict, (c) separation, and (d) realignment.

The different responses suggest that organisational members seek to decouple the imperative of internationality from their work activity. Their efforts to do so may however be deftly realigned to fit into a broader, more general discourse on internationalisation. The chapter highlights the complexity of stratification as a process of vertical ordering in unclear field settings. We explain how the government's quest for internationalisation and organisational actorhood go hand in hand and lead to the construction of an abstract and scalable formal requirement—internationality—which has significant effects on the everyday work activities of its organisational members.

Internationality and Stratification

In Germany as well as elsewhere, the core activities of the modern research university—research and education—are based on standards that are universal in character. The "communal character" (Merton 1959: 557) of science is per se cosmopolitan and universally inclusive. Research results have to be published and are perceived by a scientific community that transcends national borders. Potentially, everybody can participate in this global exchange and to a certain extent has to participate in order to stay up-to-date on current research. Curricula have to adhere to universally valid disciplinary knowledge. Not being tied to a specific place, scientific universalism (cf. Scott 1998) is not suited for establishing vertical differences among institutions.[3]

Yet, the contemporary discourse and prevalent practices of internationalisation presuppose the existence of nation-states with concrete borders (Scott 2000; Bloch et al. 2014). Internationalisation in other words is a movement that uses national demarcations to account for its own progression. International students and faculty, cross-border education programmes, foreign accreditations, and so forth all build upon the distinction between nation-states. Each of these cross-border attributes can be used to describe the *internationality* of an entity such as a nation-state, a university, or a degree programme. While internationalisation is "used to describe anything and everything remotely linked to worldwide, intercultural, global, or international" (Knight 2011: 15), internationality allows to specify, measure, or ascribe how much an entity has evolved within the process of internationalisation. Internationality transforms a wide range of internationalisation approaches into either values (cf. Lamont 2012) or precise quantities (cf. Espeland and Stevens 1998). In both instances, it allows for vertical distinctions to be made—that is, to stratify an entity from

a comparable other. Within this process of attribution and comparison, internationality becomes an abstraction that is indifferent towards its content and implementation (Stock 2015). It parasitically and selectively draws on internationalisation processes that follow a far wider scope of "integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight 2004: 9).

Internationalisation and German Higher Education

The purposeful internationalisation of German higher education has many roots that reach back to the late nineteenth century. During this time, internationalisation focused on the cooperation and competition between nation-states at a political level and only played a minor part in policy development for higher education within Germany. Since the early 2000s, internationalisation has become a strong political concern, as the globalisation discourse has connected universities with a rhetoric of competitiveness on a broad scale (Bloch et al. 2016). This rhetoric has framed the migration of scientists to other countries as a loss of valuable talent in competition with other countries (i.e. as "brain drain"). The international mobility of scientists has been taken as a sign of the national universities' attractiveness (or lack thereof) and is an issue identified within many European countries. Thus, the internationality of a nation's higher education system has become an important factor in driving policy developments, and internationalisation is an essential element of a Europe-wide political agenda "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world" (European Council 2000: 1). Internationalisation has been positioned as a mandatory strategy at the national level. In Germany, political actors such as the federal government (Federal Ministry of Education and Research 2008), the German Rectors' Conference (2008), the German Research Foundation (2012), and the Max Planck Society (2013) promote internationalisation strategies to make Germany "the first address for the best scientists and students worldwide" (transl. Federal Ministry of Education and Research 2008: 3). Rather than addressing individual researchers, these strategies primarily concentrate on the university as an organisational body:

> "We want [our] universities to be attractive and competitive in the contest with other countries' best universities" (transl. Joint Science Conference 2013: 2)

German research universities have traditionally been highly regulated by the government, peer governed, and have operated as loosely coupled ensembles of faculties and institutes. Professors have enjoyed a high degree of autonomy in their teaching and research which was, and still is, constitutionally guaranteed. Within an agenda focused on becoming globally competitive, universities are being transformed into decision-making organisational actors "which are able to act strategically and position themselves with regard to their competitors" (Krücken and Meier 2006: 242; cf. Ramirez 2010). In the last few decades, organisational reforms, driven by New Public Management, have sought to strengthen the universities' academic leadership (deans, rectors, or presidents) and to organise decision-making procedures via a hierarchical structure (Schimank and Lange 2009). Such changes in governance have allowed the universities' leadership to advance the core activities of the university and respond more directly to the demands of the internationalisation agenda, for instance by turning internationality into an organisational goal and by implementing comprehensive strategies to become more international (cf. Max Planck Society 2013).

Parallel to the strengthening of organisational decision-making, the German Rectors' Conference and the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research have initiated a voluntary "internationalisation audit" to support the development of an internationalisation strategy within the university. The audit's core function is to collect information from loosely coupled organisational entities to support the university leadership's decisions. External consultants then draw on this information to "account" for individual universities' "position" with regard to internationalisation. The consultants then help to formulate a coherent approach that allows to "strategically organi[ze]" and "firmly establish" internationalisation at the organisational level.[4] Internationalisation is established "as a strategic topic for the leadership of higher education institutions" (transl. Evalag 2013: 2, 3). This approach predominantly focuses on those organisations that have the capabilities to achieve international visibility. More German research universities (49%) than universities of applied sciences[5] (31%) have been, or are, in the process of being audited.[6] Figure 16.1 shows how the "internationalisation audit" has been implemented across the German higher education system according to the audit's website.

The strategic aim of increasing the competitiveness of a national higher education system has thus become operationalised via a double process of increasing internationality and of tightening the links between the organisation and its constituent parts—especially within research universities.

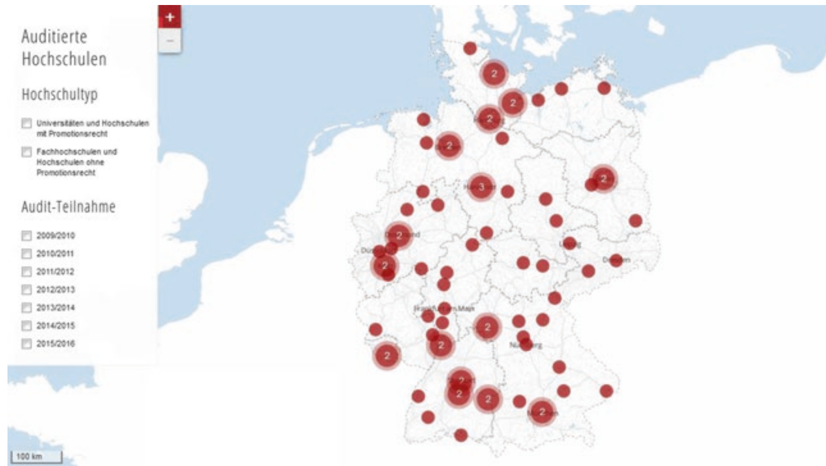

Fig. 16.1 Audited universities and universities of applied sciences (Source: German Rectors' Conference, http://www.hrk.de/audit/audit/hochschulen/)

This strategic objective appears to have been successful. Currently, almost every German university possesses such an internationalisation strategy. These initiatives mainly seek to increase the number of foreign students and scientists as well as the number of cooperative agreements in research and teaching but are part of a more holistic approach (Joint Science Conference 2013; Federal Ministry of Education and Research 2008). On their websites, most research universities prominently mention their internationality as a goal on the same level as research and teaching. All research universities and 80% of the universities of applied science have some form of "international office" in place. Internationalisation has thus become a core priority of the university.

Furthermore, the discrepancy between the large number of internationalisation strategies and international offices, and those universities that have been audited shows that the audit functions as a device that can institute and visualise differences between universities (see Fig. 16.1). Because internationalisation is a general imperative, it allows for these differences to be interpreted vertically. The audit provides a dot on the self-constructed landscape and a seal of approval around internationality that is abstracted and independent of the respective measures taken and their success.

While the audit is widely used, non-scalable, and potentially inclusive, there are other non-compulsory but legitimising devices in the field of higher education that construct internationality along defined criteria. This is for example the case for graduate schools that applied for funding under the Excellence Initiative. The Excellence Initiative is a highly competitive government scheme that provides funding for specific research clusters, the whole university, or the institutionalisation of doctoral education as graduate schools. Universities applying for these so-called Graduate Schools of Excellence have to demonstrate their existing and potential capacity for "international networking" as well as their "attractiveness for domestic as well as foreign graduates" (ExV II, §3). Specific attributes of internationality are treated as having value among the criteria for successful funding; however, which attributes are most decisive in an application is neither quantified nor made public. Internationality as a marker is thus abstracted as a measure of excellence in the decision-making process but can only be retrospectively and speculatively reconstructed based on the graduate schools that are funded. Again, a requirement of the funding scheme is that these graduate schools are directly embedded in the organisational structure and linked to the university's leadership (Bloch and Mitterle 2017).

Internationality is also used as an attribute by the main accreditation agency for the social sciences, law, and business administration. The agency demands that degree programmes "explain how international content and intercultural aspects are implemented in the curriculum" (FIBAA 2015: 19). Standing in contrast to the claim that science is universal per se, "international content" is delineated here from specific teaching content and treated as an organisational resource. Quality requirements can thus be met by addressing the international content and intercultural competences, and can be exceeded by making them the "core of the programs' learning objectives" (FIBAA 2015: 20). By becoming a coherent, quantifiable, and scalable organisational attribute, the internationality of a university is transformed into a resource that can be set into a stratificatory order. Ranking devices make this order visible. In their annual survey of third-party funding, the German Research Foundation (2015: 66ff) measures the international attractiveness of universities by the number of grant holders from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Alexander-von-Humboldt-Foundation (AvH).[7] It generates a ranking order of the top 20 universities with the highest total number of grant holders (see Table 16.1).

Table 16.1 Number of AvH and DAAD grant holders per university 2009–2013

AvH grant holders		*DAAD grant holders*	
University	*N*	*University*	*N*
Berlin FU	296	Berlin FU	374
Berlin HU	278	Berlin HU	317
München LMU	261	Göttingen U	190
Bonn U	182	München LMU	179
Heidelberg U	182	Leipzig U	158
München TU	168	Berlin TU	152
Göttingen U	148	Heidelberg U	150
Freiburg U	144	Tübingen U	148
Münster U	140	Dresden TU	147
Frankfurt/Main U	125	Bonn U	135
Aachen TH	123	Freiburg U	132
Berlin TU	119	Aachen TH	125
Köln U	119	Gießen U	116
Karlsruhe KIT	106	Köln U	113
Erlangen-Nürnberg U	105	Hamburg U	110
Bochum U	102	Münster U	105
Hamburg U	97	Potsdam U	105
Tübingen U	91	München TU	100
Dresden TU	86	Hannover U	91
Darmstadt TU	82	Karlsruhe KIT	91
Rank 1–20	**2954**	**Rank 1–20**	**3038**
Other universities	**1621**	**Other universities**	**2152**
All grant holders	**4575**	**All grant holders**	**5190**
Number of universities	**112**	**Number of universities**	**72**

Source: German Research Foundation (2015: 66)

The ranking device uses third-party-funded foreign scientists as the only indicator of international attractiveness and attributes this directly to the university. However, only the AvH professorships require active involvement of the university leadership in their application, while DAAD grant proposals are submitted by individual academics.[8] In the latter case, the ranking reframes the individual application of a scientist to go abroad as a stratificatory resource of the organisation. By defining specific criteria of internationality, the German Science Foundation thus transmits the competitive logic of the nation-state onto universities as organisations.

Aside from the politically motivated desire to promote internationalisation across the system, some universities are constructed and visualised as more international than others along specific numerical indicators.

The U-Multirank is compiled by a consortium of Dutch universities and the Center for Higher Education (CHE), for example, compares both universities and degree programmes from a wide range of countries. Internationality as a resource (here: "international orientation") is reflected in criteria such as foreign-language degree programmes, international faculty, student mobility, or international joint publications (see Fig. 16.2). The ranking visualises the position of a university through differences in the size of a circle used to represent internationality.

Fig. 16.2 U-Multirank (Source: http://www.u-multirank.org)

In summary, originating in a scientific universalism that has always transcended national borders and was not tied to a specific location, internationality has now been transformed into a resource that is attributed to the university as an organisation and used for producing differences in status, for instance, through "comparative public communication" (transl. Heintz 2010: 178) in rankings. By addressing specific aspects of educational provision and research activity, nation-states, devices, and organisations now abstract internationality from an immanent condition of science into a measurable and visible aspect that can be achieved by formal organisations. Internationality becomes an organisational goal that legitimates and triggers organisational programmes for making the university more international. In the following section, we will show how, based on organisational case studies, such programmes yield contradictory effects and the ways in which these are accommodated in the work activity of the various organisational members: professors, students, and administrative staff.

Formal Requirements and Work Activity

As a common script that provides legitimacy vis-à-vis other universities, internationality nonetheless seems detached from specific forms of educational provision found within the university's everyday practices. The more it is abstracted and functions as a commensurable resource that can be accumulated to reflect stratificatory aspirations, the less it seems connected to the everyday work activities of teaching and research in the university. Brunsson (1993) has accounted for such a gap in organisations by distinguishing between ideas and actions. Ideas communicate organisational goals mainly externally, in self-descriptions such as mission statements, and are not directly related to concrete actions. Political programmes that address universities as organisational actors however assume that the definition of organisational goals will yield measurable results in the actions of organisational members. This implies a rationality in which ideas govern actions. Studies in organisational sociology like Brunsson's, however, have shown that empirically organisations do not function this way. In fact, the stability of organisations and their ability to survive in turbulent environments relies on a loose coupling between ideas and actions, allowing them to react flexibly to changing demands by the organisational environment (Stock 2004: 39f). As we have shown, internationality has been positioned as an important organisational goal alongside the research and teaching

activities of semi-autonomous academics. Loose coupling implies that there is no direct relationship between these activities and the organisational goal of internationality. Nevertheless, organisational members are confronted with abstractions of internationality in their everyday work practice. Thus, actors must in some way respond to, and act on such demands. The following empirical examples from our case studies show how integrating internationality as an organisational goal and setting up organisational programmes to increase internationality have led to conflicts for organisational members, and we examine how these tensions are managed.

Internationalisation Effects and Conflicting Norms: How Organisational Members Respond to Norm Inconsistencies

Ignorance

As discussed above, graduate schools funded by the Excellence Initiative were required to develop organisational arrangements to reflect their international aspirations. One way to increase internationality is to set up international cooperations between scientists. The following quote from a professor at one of the Graduate Schools of Excellence in our sample discusses how his colleagues responded to a particular arrangement with Asian partners:

> After I came back [from China and Korea] and I told them [my colleagues], which colleagues work on which topics in Shanghai (…) and [I asked them] whether they don't want to invest some money and go there or invite somebody over: minimal interest. I don't believe that much has changed. (…) On the individual level, yes, but it has not led to any structural effects. (…) I mean, you don't want to produce inactive members [*Karteileichen*] but you also have to establish a certain level [of internationality]. And I think the faculty, the university, and the graduate school struggle to achieve this. It has an officer for internationalization but to be honest I have no idea what he does. (Professor Bendtner, Scheelheim Graduate School)

An "officer for internationalisation" has been appointed in this particular university, and thus the formal requirements for demonstrating a commitment to internationalisation are in place; however, an academic who is

active internationally is uncertain of the international officer's function for engaging and forming partnerships with others abroad. Also, it is apparent that most of the faculty in this graduate school are not very responsive to the potential of institutionalised ties with foreign partners. Cooperations—also those that bring together scientists of different nationalities—arise primarily from factual interests[9] of particular scientists and are therefore not necessarily aligned to instrumentally driven alliances that the organisation is promoting. Hence, organisational attempts to set up international cooperations conflict with the actions of its members. As these follow their own academic values, they are ignorant towards the organisational logic.

Suspended Conflict

A further example from the same graduate school of the tensions that arise between organisational goals and individual members' priorities and practices centres around internationality as a formal requirement in the admission process. To achieve an international student body, graduate schools must attract and recruit PhD students from abroad. The following quote shows how internationality is negotiated in the admission process:

> In the proposal [for the Excellence Initiative] it had been proclaimed as a goal to achieve a 25 percent share of international PhD students through 'specific recruitment strategies'. But as Prof. Hasselkamp remarks, the international applications had been disproportionately bad. (…) For him, the quality of an application is decisive. Prof. Franzen responds that if you promise internationality in the proposal, you must meet this claim in your [selection] procedure. Hasselkamp responds that then you would have to introduce quotas to achieve this claim. Academic quality would only be of secondary importance. Prof. Weiss objects: Academic quality ranks first, also in the proposal. "We don't have to achieve any quotas" (observation protocol, admission committee, Scheelheim Graduate School)

The observed discussion in the admission committee for PhD applicants demonstrates the potential conflict between promoting internationalisation and prioritising academic quality. On the one hand the discussion focuses on the values of the global scientific community: the best candidates are to be selected solely on the grounds of academic merit. On the other hand, ascriptive criteria, such as coming from a different country, are set as formal requirements to ensure a certain composition of "the chosen".

As long as there is no discrepancy between both meritocratic and ascriptive criteria, the inconsistency between these norms does not lead to conflict in the selection process. The composition of the candidates is constantly monitored along ascriptive criteria such as nationality, gender, and disciplinary background throughout the selection process. The norm inconsistency becomes apparent when merit-based decisions diverge from the desired composition of the chosen. Within an organisation, such an inconsistency can only work as a response to formal requirements if it is not followed by corresponding actions (Brunsson 1986: 171). However, the admission committee has to reach a decision about admission and hence must negotiate and confront these two norms of selection. The members establish a fragile hierarchy between the norms ("quality ranks first") that can be maintained only if they do not select domestic applicants alone.[10] Thus, the formal requirement of internationality can only be decoupled from the selection activity as long as there are international applicants who meet the requirement of academic quality.[11]

Separation

The conflict discussed above was also observed in the private universities in our sample. A degree programme at one of these private universities responds to demands for high student mobility (as exemplified in the U-Multirank above) by requiring students to spend a semester abroad. At the same time, it is a degree programme offered in German as its main language of instruction and related to the specific demands of a national professional field. It is therefore difficult to ensure that the educational content of curricula at foreign universities meets the needs of the professional training required, or to easily accommodate international students in the domestic programme.[12] The following quote from a student shows how internationalisation is perceived by a domestic student:

> International students [I meet] rather less. (…) We have this program here, they come for half a year (…) I think summer till December. And that is the problem here. We only start in October, or rather we are gone for a year on exchange ourselves when they come. We thus don't have much to do with them. (Andreas, student, PHE 3)

Setting up an extra non-degree programme of activities for students from abroad allows the university to maintain student exchange relations

with nondomestic universities. In the composition of the student body, this programme is considerably international. It however is separated from the domestic students' provision, who in turn are not exposed to their international peers. The degree programme reflects the international aspirations of the university but does not alter the student experience. For the organisation, such a complete decoupling from the formal structure of its core programme is costly. A whole new programme must be put in place and maintained exclusively for the international students. At most German universities, such a clear-cut separation cannot be put into practice.

Realignment

Where the educational content of a degree programme is not related to a national professional field, the main obstacle for taking in exchange students is often the language of instruction. Most German degree programmes now either offer pre-study language courses in German or at least some of the main courses in English. A growing number of degree programmes have in fact made English their only language of instruction. This enables universities to enrol students in cross-national programmes with multiple degrees from different universities—another important marker of internationality. However, such a change does impact on the teaching and learning experience where most academics and students are working in a second language (cf. Thielmann 2007).

Furthermore, if exchange students are to be enrolled in full-length degree programmes, their needs must be further considered and addressed in relation to the curriculum and assessment requirements. For example, in one of our case-study universities, a large proportion of the assessment is based on group work. Here a student explains the challenges encountered with such a system:

> We have a relatively large number of exchange students and if you look at the course size that practically means that the number of people in the course doubles. (…). And that implies that if you do group work you have (…) probably around two exchange students [in the group]. And to be honest that in some cases creates friction [*Reibungsverluste*]. There are good exchange-students, without question, but the mentality in the semester abroad (…) is more like 'I'll take it easy, I want to get to know the culture and to travel, I'll look at everything'. Of course that is fully legitimate, (…) but it makes it more difficult for us. The workload sticks with us. First, the exchange-students don't care and second: yes, they have the intellectual

> capacity but they lack the necessary ability to structure the huge load of group work, the knowledge of power point, to work in excess, they are not used to that. It means we have to compensate for all of that. (Daniel, student, PHE 2)

The accommodation of exchange students in the same degree programme as domestic students directly impacts on the way these latter students organise their studies. As the degree programme sets high workload demands, compensating for less-motivated group members, or for those less accustomed to high workloads, challenges domestic students. In such reflections, internationality is perceived as having a negative effect on their workload.

The formal requirements however remain in place. Domestic students cannot evade working together with their international peers. Rather, the conflict is realigned to the purpose of the curriculum through other arrangements that come with the internationalisation of the university. Similar to the case of the Graduate School of Excellence, the three cases from the private higher education sector in our sample have created international offices with multiple staff members that work for a rather small cohort of students. Such facilities have already existed at public German universities for a long time. Traditionally, they were called *Auslandsamt* (foreign bureau) and had a restricted range of duties and personnel. Now renamed International Relations, their role has been expanded.[13] The International Relations staff participate in conferences and enhance their knowledge of internationality and initiatives, such as how to incorporate intercultural competencies within the curriculum and the university as a whole. Consequently, when asked about the problems reported by the students, the director of an International Relations team reframed the issue in the following way:

> It [having international students] is very good for our regular students, that they not only have internationality if they go abroad but also here at [the university]. Problems arise partially from differences in intercultural perceptions. It makes integration a bit difficult. That means, if I give regular students a task, the first thing they do is sit down and write a work schedule. If I give this [the same task] to a group of Indian students, they start at two in the morning if they have to hand it in at 8 am. And bringing those two groups together is really difficult. (Director International Relations, PHE 2)

The director understands that working together with international students can be challenging for domestic students but he reframes the

problem as a distinct educational aspect the degree programme must engage with. In line with theories of intercultural learning (Kammhuber 2000; Mezirow and Taylor 2009), the challenge of adapting to the needs and habits of students from different cultures is translated into the development of intercultural competencies required for future employment (Deardorff 2006). Daniel, the student who had complained about the problems of working together with international students in the quote above, reflects on this by valuing the "interesting experience":

> But on the positive side, (…) you realize internationality is a different way of thinking. You learn that other cultures work in a different way, that other things can be important and that really is an interesting experience. You curse sometimes, but nevertheless it is an interesting experience. (Daniel, student, PHE 2)

Internationalisation provides a rationale for the interaction between students that transforms intercultural exchange from an informal practice into a central aspect ("internationality") of what it means to study in a degree programme. Domestic students complain a lot about the high workload, but they also rationalise the benefits for their future from interacting with international students. The appropriation of intercultural competencies is thus attributed as a positive outcome to the university's institutionalised internationality.

Discussion

The transformation of universities into organisational actors is paralleled by a logic of internationalisation that converts science-immanent processes into valuable and quantifiable abstractions of internationality. These abstractions function as resources for inducing verticality between universities and their programmes. Internationality is a resource used for positioning the university. It is reinforced by policies that increase the pressure on universities and their departments to act as a consolidated organisational actor, responding adequately and effectively to these abstracted measures of quality. Devices such as audits, accreditations, and rankings render the individual position of a university visible in relation to others in the field. Consequently, internationality has become a variable that is measurable and therefore allows for comparisons across the actors in the field of higher education. It is regarded as equivalent to the other core functions of the university—research and teaching.

As we have shown, integrating internationality as a formal requirement into the organisation leads to conflicts in the organisational members' everyday practice. Norm inconsistencies arise from treating internationality as a resource. Graduate schools cannot claim to be international without having international students. Universities cannot run programmes specifically for international students on a broad scale but have to integrate them into their regular curriculum. The responses to such measures by faculty and students encompass (a) ignorance, (b) suspended conflict, (c) separation, and (d) realignment. While the first three can be understood as specific ways of accounting for an unsolvable conflict with scientific universalism or curriculum demands that match Brunsson's (1993) typology, realignment recouples internationality as a stratificatory abstraction with the wider scope of internationalisation as a process. Internationalisation not only translates (literally) the form in which content is communicated (in English) but also the way students interact. International offices that operate close to such programmes appear to support the process of resolving norm conflicts that arise. Theories of intercultural experience reframe a norm inconsistency into a demand that can be productively accommodated and benefited from. In this way, intercultural experience is promoted as a resource for graduates wishing to work in transnational companies.

Internationality as an abstraction strengthens the organisational actorhood of the university. It appears as an organisational goal that is decoupled from research and teaching and that can be achieved through the implementation of specific organisational programmes. Norm inconsistencies in academics' everyday practice can be accommodated through inscribing new purposes into internationality. Next to other attributes such as selectivity (Bloch et al. 2015) or placement records (Bloch 2017; Mitterle 2017), internationality is one resource used for positioning the university within a field of higher education that is increasingly stratified.

Notes

1. Universities received funding to set up and maintain graduate schools.
2. The case studies are based on semi-structured interviews with professors, staff, and students (70 at private universities and 25 at graduate schools), as well as participant observation of a wide range of programme activities. Internationality was a relevant term for students at these private universities to legitimise their university choice and their daily activities. Similarly, fac-

ulty and administration of the graduate schools saw the need to legitimise their status with reference to internationality.

3. Of course, there are low-quality academic institutions where scientific innovations are more or less ignored, for example, due to intellectual parochiality, restricted access to research literature, or dogmatic limitations.
4. https://www.hrk.de/activities/audit-internationalisation/
5. Within the binary structure of the German system, these are the teaching- and practice-oriented universities which do not have the right to grant doctoral degrees.
6. Own calculations based on data from http://www.hrk.de/audit/audit/hochschulen/
7. Both organisations provide highly competitive grants for foreign scientists working at German universities.
8. The DAAD funding is changing, however. While in 2014 the largest number of grants were still awarded to individuals, DAAD funding for programmes and projects in universities is increasing (Maiworm 2014).
9. These are likely to be limited to Europe and the USA. Even though the research activities of Asian countries have increased significantly in the last decades (Zhang et al. 2015), research in Europe is still predominantly Western oriented (Jöns and Hoyler, 2013).
10. This is reflected in the frequent discussion of internal, that is, in-house applicants, whose share is steadily increasing throughout the multiple-stage selection process. Under the auspices of internationality, this is framed as a lack of international competitiveness, regardless of whether internal applicants are better qualified or not.
11. Actions taken in advance, such as thorough international marketing or travel grants for potential international applicants, aim at increasing the number of highly qualified international applicants, thus narrowing the potential gap between the two norms.
12. Medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, law, and teaching are degree programmes with a standardised core curriculum that is tested in independent state exams. Due to this regulation, faculties do not have much leeway to respond to contradicting organisational demands.
13. Of 88 public German research universities [229 universities of applied sciences] less than 30% [18%] still use the name *Auslandsamt* (foreign bureau). All the others have changed from “foreign” to “international” or take up descriptions that allude to a network character (international centres or relations) or the university as a whole (TUM Global; Göttingen International etc.) (69%) [61%]. It is observed that 21% of the universities of applied sciences do not have any form of international office in place. The data is based on a website search of all universities in 2016.

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CHAPTER 17

Institutional *Habitus* of French Elite Colleges in the Context of Internationalisation: An In-Depth Look at the *Écoles Normales Supérieures*

Anne Schippling

The System of Elite Education in France: Traditionally Anchored and Facing New Challenges

The French system of elite education, in its structure and function, cannot be understood without taking into consideration its interdependence with the state. The foundation of the so-called *grandes écoles*—the elite education institutions—began in the pre-revolutionary period. For centuries, the *grandes écoles* have remained unchallenged as centres of elite education, while universities were considered, at least in the past, as "either too influenced by the Church or too autonomous to produce the kinds of competent military and civil servants that would be loyal to the state" (van Zanten and Maxwell 2015: 74). While, in more recent times, the French universities have become institutions for mass education, which in the main have no special admission processes, the *grandes écoles* have remained

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exclusive higher elite institutions due largely to their “unique” (Jurt 2004: 92) and very competitive selection procedures.

The French elite education system is comprised of two levels: the *classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles*, a two-year preparation course offered at certain secondary schools, with the most elite being in the Parisian region[1] and the *grandes écoles*. The preparation courses begin after the students’ 12th year of schooling and the award of the *baccalauréat*. These courses intensively prepare students for the admission exams for the *grandes écoles*: the so-called *concours* (Darmon 2013; François-Poncet and Braconnier 1998). The *concours* is a very selective written and oral exam. Only those students with the highest results will be offered the small predefined number of places available each year across the various *grandes écoles*. This stringent admission procedure is seen as promoting the meritocratic ideal of education (Darchy-Koechlin and van Zanten 2005; de Saint Martin 2005; Tenret 2011; van Zanten 2016; Zymek 2014).

Despite a strong discursive commitment to the meritocratic basis of France’s elite education system, which is supported by the state, the *grandes écoles* themselves, and many members of the French population, increasingly there is evidence of strong social selectivity regarding who gains a place at these elite institutions. The student populations at the *grandes écoles*—especially at the most renowned—mainly come from the upper classes—(Albouy and Wanecq 2003; Baudelot and Matonti 1994; Bourdieu 1989; Duru-Bellat et al. 2008; Euriat and Thélot 1995). Therefore, in the last few decades, the elite education system has faced a degree of criticism and pressure to change from both politicians and industry.

In response to such challenges, some institutions have sought to introduce new admission pathways for students from socially disadvantaged areas—as done by *Sciences Po* in 2000–2001, the so-called *Conventions d’Éducation Prioritaire*. Nevertheless, this and other initiatives, such as the tutoring programme *Une grande école, pourquoi pas moi?* (Eng. ‘A grande école, why not me?’) introduced by the *École supérieure des sciences économiques et commerciales* and the programme *talENS* (*Tutorat d’accompagnement de lycéens de l’ENS*) (Eng. ‘Tutoring support for the *lycéens* of the ENS’), have not led to any substantial change in terms of the social diversity of students attending the *grandes écoles* (Allouch 2013; Allouch and van Zanten 2008; Pasquali 2010; Schippling and Allouch 2015; van Zanten 2010; van Zanten and Maxwell 2015).

A second set of challenges to the elite French higher education and research landscape has come from processes of internationalisation and globalisation that have affected universities across the world. First, the traditional, rather small and exclusive *grandes écoles* are internationally less visible, largely because they are quite small, often focused on teaching, and therefore do not produce as much research as other elite higher education institutions elsewhere. This has meant that no *grandes écoles* can be found amongst the top universities in worldwide rankings (Harfi and Mathieu 2006). In the *Academic Ranking of World Universities* of 2015–2016, for instance, the *École normale supérieure de la rue d'Ulm* comes at 54, the only French higher education institution in the top 100.

In the last few years, the French government has launched various programmes under the general term *Investissement d'avenir* (Eng. 'Investments for the future'), awarding around €47 billion to the higher education sector, primarily in research and technology. The strategy has been to cluster higher education and research institutions—arguably the most prominent is the *Université Paris Saclay* cluster—which, at the time of writing, brings together 19 research and higher education institutions such as the *École normale supérieure de Cachan*, the *École Polytechnique* but also universities such as *Université Paris-Sud* with the aim of increasing the international visibility of *grandes écoles* and strengthening cooperation between them, universities and other research institutions. It is uncertain whether and how this strategy is going to (a) improve the international ranking of various French higher education institutions, and (b) shift the relationships between and perceived status of universities and the *grandes écoles* in the longer term.

A second issue for the French elite higher education system in terms of international recognition is that access to the *grandes écoles* is highly restricted for international students, due to both cultural and linguistic barriers, but crucially, the strong relationship between attending the preparation classes and successfully completing the *concours*. In those cases, where international students are admitted to the *grandes écoles*—via other admission paths[2]—they are often viewed as being of lower status compared to their fellow French students as they have not completed the rigorous and perceived meritocratic *concours* (Darchy-Koechlin and Draelants 2010; Darchy-Koechlin et al. 2015; Schippling 2015; Zymek 2014).

To examine the pressures faced by elite education institutions due to processes of internationalisation within higher education, and how these are being responded to, this chapter explores in-depth the response of one key institution—the *Écoles normales supérieures*.

The Discourses on Internationalisation at the *Écoles Normales Supérieures*: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

The *Écoles normales supérieures*—especially the most renowned *École normale supérieure de la rue d'Ulm* found in the centre of Paris—have traditionally educated primary and secondary school teachers for the French state. However, during the twentieth century, they became institutions for the education of the academic elite. In this context, Bourdieu (1988: 19) designated the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* as "the apex of the whole academic hierarchy" in France. Until the 1960s, the *normaliens*[3] exerted "a real hegemony on the most important sections of the disciplines" comprising the scientific and the literary section (Karady 1986: 362; see also Rieffel 1994). A recent unpublished institutional ranking by Jonathan Wai and Stephen Hsu shows that the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* holds first place worldwide regarding the proportion of undergraduates of the respective institution that went on to win a Nobel Prize between 1901 and 2015 (Clynes 2016).

In France there are currently four *Écoles normales supérieures*: the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* which offers study and graduate programmes in natural sciences and humanities; the *ENS de Lyon* that merged with the former *ENS-Lettres et sciences humaines* (ENS-LSH) in 2010, also offering courses in natural sciences and humanities; the *ENS de Cachan*, founded in 1912, which specialises in the area of (applied) natural sciences and technical courses; and the recently founded *ENS de Rennes* that until 2013 had been a branch of the *ENS de Cachan*, which specialises in (applied) natural sciences and sports sciences.

This study on the *Écoles normales supérieures* is an analysis of the self-representation discourses articulated by academics working at two ENSs, the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* and the *ENS de Cachan* with a special focus on the semantic field around "internationalisation". The aim of this chapter is to reconstruct this semantic field, and on this basis, work out elements of an institutional *habitus* at the *Écoles normales supérieures* related to "internationalisation".[4]

Theoretical resources informing this study mainly come from Bourdieu and colleagues' work on social reproduction and the formation of elites, with a particular focus on the theory of *habitus* and distinction (Bourdieu 1979, 1989; Bourdieu and de Saint Martin 1978, 1987; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1991). These theoretical concepts, understood as heuristic

elements, have been developed further, through a focus on internationalisation, during the research process. The concept of *habitus*, for example, was applied to the institutional context following Reay (1998: 521), who understands the institutional *habitus* as "the impact of a cultural group or social class on an individual's behaviour as it is mediated through an organization".

I also draw on Bourdieu's work *La noblesse d'état* (1989), in which he showed how the field of the *grandes écoles* contributes to the reproduction of the national elites. However, Bourdieu never directly engaged with the dimension of internationalisation, so the analysis in this chapter seeks to examine how these more recent developments, spurred on by processes of globalisation within higher education, could be integrated into the insights regarding elite education and the production of national elites offered in *La noblesse d'état* (see also Darchy-Koechlin and Draelants 2010; de Saint Martin 2005).

The study reported on here is based on a data corpus of 23 semi-directed expert interviews (of which five took place in an exploratory study) with professors and lecturers at the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* and the *ENS de Cachan* lasting between 30 and 90 minutes, and an analysis of self-representation documents of both institutions (websites, brochures, posters; further details in Schippling 2015). The principal aim of these interviews was to generate institutional habitualised knowledge (Meuser and Nagel 2005: 75), which is embedded in self-representation discourses of the *Écoles normales supérieures*. The interviews with the academic staff started with an open stimulus examining how they would describe their institution, followed by open questions about the role of their institution within the current transformation processes of the French higher education landscape, admission procedures and how they understood the concepts of "elite" and "excellence".

To reconstruct elements of an institutional *habitus* through an analysis of the self-representation discourses, the documentary interpretation method (Bohnsack 2010; Nohl 2012) was chosen as the method of analysis. This method, developed by Ralf Bohnsack with references to the traditions of the sociology of knowledge by Karl Mannheim (1964) and ethnomethodology by Harold Garfinkel (1967), aims primarily to reconstruct the *modus operandi* of social actors and, consequently, offer an analysis of "atheoretical knowledge" (Mannheim 1964) or "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi 1958). For that reason, this method provides a reconstruction of *habitus* on a micro-analytical level (see also Bohnsack 1993; Meuser 2007). A key concept

within this method is that of "orientation patterns", which examines how implicit knowledge might be related to social practices (Bohnsack 2003: 132f.), which I understand as offering insight not only into the individual but also the institutional *habitus*.

In the following sections, I offer an analysis of self-representation discourses constructed during the interviews with professors and lecturers of the ENSs, focusing particularly on internationalisation. Five reconstructed orientation patterns will be outlined, evident across both ENS colleges, and argued to constitute elements of an institutional *habitus*. I will then consider the similarities and differences between the two *Écoles normales supérieures*.

Orientation Patterns of the *Écoles Normales Supérieures* in the Context of Internationalisation

Across both colleges, homological patterns were found in the orientation patterns narrated during interviews with professors and lecturers, which I examine further here as constituting elements of an institutional *habitus*. Below I outline the five patterns, while also highlighting any important variations found between the two institutions being studied.

Five basic orientation patterns were identified for both institutions which could be considered relevant to discourses around internationalisation:

— Orientation towards tradition-transformation
— Orientation towards research
— Orientation towards competition
— Orientation towards social commitment
— Orientation towards selection

These orientation patterns are highly interrelated and do overlap.

Orientation Towards Tradition-Transformation

This orientation pattern was found for both *Écoles normales supérieures*. Whereas the orientation towards tradition was stronger at the *École normale supérieure de la rue d'Ulm*, the discourses of self-representation at the *École normale supérieure de Cachan* suggested an orientation towards transformation, though there are also elements of orientation towards tradition. Regarding the identity construction of the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm*, the academics often referred to the institution's long-standing history.

The foundation of the *grandes écoles* after the French revolution was highlighted: "It could be observed that the universities formed neither engineers who were needed to build roads, bridges etc. nor teachers who were really needed //mmh//, er, for educational purposes (…)"[5] (Monsieur Albert, *ENS Ulm*). In this description of the historical context in which the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* was founded, there appears to be strong distinction made between this elite education institution and the French universities, a mechanism which is characteristic for both ENSs, and a central element of their institutional identity construction.

At the *École normale supérieure de Cachan*, while also linking to notions of tradition, participants did so through engaging in a distancing from too much reverence for tradition:

> Well, er, when a student at Rue d'Ulm enters the school of Aron, Sartre, Foucault, Bourdieu they feel like they're carrying a weight on their shoulders right? It is a… the feeling, like entering some kind of temple and, er, here no one is entering a temple which means that here we are, we have, we have very good students, er, we have people who have had, who will have very interesting careers and who will perhaps become the next Bourdieu or the next Foucault or the next, but you do not have this weight, if you want so, of the the history, (…). (Monsieur Laval, *ENS Cachan*)

The focusing metaphor "temple", in this case used to describe the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm*, serves as a negative contrast for the *ENS de Cachan*, which wishes to distance itself from the "weight (…) of the history". By referring to well-known personalities, who are alumni of the institution, it is stressed that attending the school can also represent placing too high an expectation on the students. In contrast, while *ENS de Cachan* is highlighted as an institution that undertakes high-level research and produces "people (…) with very interesting careers", they are nonetheless free of the "weight" of too high a veneration for tradition.

The self-representation discourses found through discussions at the *ENS de Cachan* are therefore more focused on transformation:

> So, we are mainly concerned with the ties between education and research, but which are based much more on the research and the international exchanges in research. So this is still in progress //mmh// this hasn't finished but //mmh// we have, we have changed the a::, the active, the type of international activity. (Monsieur Besand, *ENS Cachan*)

Here the orientation towards transformation is directly related to being more "international". There had been fundamental transformations of the *École* in terms of "the type of international activity" pursued, particularly around exchanges in research and the generation of ideas.

Orientation Towards Research

In discussions about the nature of research undertaken and its value, the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* professors suggested they pursued an orientation towards undertaking purer research, whereas the *ENS de Cachan* narratives place an emphasis on research related to "practical sciences", where research plays "a particular role in the connection of fundamental research, applied sciences, industry or, er, fundamental research" (Monsieur Besand, *ENS Cachan*).

In the context of internationalisation, such different orientations have various implications. The orientation towards "practical sciences" focuses on closer cooperation with international companies in industry and technology:

> And the last, er, fundamental change, which is a change, and which occurs rather slowly. Due to our fields of activity at the *École*, er, of course technological fields of activity, there has always been a lot of cooperation with companies, there have always been research contracts with companies, in mechanics with Renault, with big aircraft manufacturers, with, er, in electrical engineering with all people who deal with questions of electrical systems or magnetism etc., er, but, er, this cooperation goes even beyond, there are developed partnerships, there were, were, the *École* has increasingly filed patent applications (…). (Monsieur Besand, *ENS de Cachan*)

Internationalisation with regard to institutional *habitus* at the *ENS de Cachan* is linked to the idea of an opening up and out towards industry and fuelling economic development at a more global level now. At this point, there is an overlapping of two orientation patterns: transformation and research. Processes of internationalisation have led to an increasing focus on research in cooperation with companies, many of whom now operate on a global level; which in turn positions the college within the international field of research, as it competes with other universities and research institutes for funded projects and innovative contributions.

Research is also central to the institutional *habitus* of *ENS de la rue d'Ulm*; however, here the focus is on research that is conducted in a closed, silent and peaceful environment [see "temple" metaphor (Monsieur Laval,

ENS Cachan)]. Elsewhere, the institution is compared to the "Tübinger Stift", which functions at this point as a positive contrast:

> The (.) there is an institution, which I often compare to the *École normale supérieure*, the so-called *Tübinger Stift*. It is a similar institution. There, you find a selection of the best students of the schools ((door slams)) //mmh// which then enter the *Stift* in order to study theology, philosophy, ancient languages, but essentially theology, in a place with little student numbers, material support, an important pedagogical support. Here, we are not talking about a seminary, right? The, the, the, the, the scientific topics are very broad, but the principle is the same. (Monsieur Poitier, *ENS Ulm*)

The focusing metaphor "Tübinger Stift"[6], used here to compare the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* with this institution in Germany, shows that, according to the interviewed professor, there are different "scientific topics" at both institutions, but that "the principle" is the same for both. It refers to two focus points: selection of students and providing to only a few students special education and working conditions which, in turn, are claimed to be the basis for fruitful scientific work. At this point, a picture of a place of retreat, silence, leisure and isolation from the external world is drawn in which some people can devote themselves to research. Internationalisation appears, in this context, to be a threat to carrying out research in "silence and freedom" (von Humboldt 1964: 255f.). It becomes clear that the research orientation pattern in this case is affiliated to the orientation towards tradition. However, I also found some engagement with an orientation towards transformation around research at the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm*. One professor, for example, emphasised that isolation from the external world would obstruct an international opening up of his institution, which would become especially problematic when considering how best to prepare their students for future in a largely globalised professional world (Monsieur Albert, *ENS Ulm*).

Orientation Towards Competition

Research was often discussed in relation to increasing competition due to processes of internationalisation affecting higher education and research. For academics at the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm*, in particular, such pressures were contrasted negatively with the desire to undertake research in the context of silence and security. Yet, participants also acknowledged that if the colleges did not attempt to take part in such a competitive, international field, it will directly threaten the much-valued status of their identity.

When discussing such tensions, the small size of these elite institutions and the negative impact this had on their ability to competitively locate themselves within international rankings was a recurring motif in the discussions with academics at both ENS institutions.

> The *École normale* is, er, the *École normale supérieure* is ((telephone rings)) a little small in, er, in, er, in the contemporary world of of research, there is a total globalisation right, er, of the higher education sector and of research. And so the *École normale supérieure* is a little small, thus we decided to build alliances //mmh// right and we have established alliances with institutions, not with the big universities but with relatively small but very renowned institutions. (Monsieur Muller, *ENS Ulm*)

The strategy of building alliances with other renowned institutions prevents an institution's own prestige from being called into question, while allowing it to gain in size and visibility as is, for example, the case for the alliance PSL (*Paris Sciences et Lettres*, since 2015 *COMUE*[7] *PSL research university*), whose members are the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* and other renowned institutions such as the *Collège de France* and the *Institut Curie*. This is just another example of the preference for traditional distinctions, where no "big universities" are involved in the creation of such alliances. The *ENS de Cachan* is also engaged in building alliances (e.g. since 2014 it has been part of *COMUE Université Paris Saclay*), but participants appeared more open minded towards forging partnerships with private enterprises, technological-focused partners and developing links with French universities.[8]

Orientation Towards Social Commitment

The orientation towards "practical sciences" and the cooperation of the *ENS de Cachan* with economic and industrial institutions is strongly linked to a "social commitment" orientation pattern. The institution is committed to supporting the development of societal progress and well-being on a national and international level:

> Th- there are, for example, students who built schools in Laos, in Madagascar or things like that. I like that. Those are, those are, those are the students who believe in something and who do not not hesitate to invest time to to participate in activities, er, in in order to do specific things //mmhh//. So yes, that is a good thing. That is a *normalien* right. He is brilliant and at the same time he contributes to society, he participates in society. (Monsieur Monier, *ENS Cachan*)

In this statement, the professor constructs a particular way of understanding who a *normalien* is. Social commitment—in addition to being "brilliant"—is a core attribute that students have and which is further embedded during their time at the institution. In this statement, social commitment is linked to having an impact in the international dimension. There is, therefore, a shift away from the traditional understanding of the *normaliens* as future members of a national elite with close connections to the French state towards students who make an international contribution.

The *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* participants also referred to social commitment, although more often aligned this with a reflexive approach. The *grande école* appears here as a "place of reflection on big challenges which currently concern the world" (Monsieur Albert, *ENS Ulm*). In this context, the students are characterised as focused on "research", devoted to science and intellectual contributions—ones that will have an impact globally, but which is undertaken in a secluded context—"the temple".

Orientation Towards Selection

Discussions around "selection" highlight important differences in engagement with the international at both the ENSs. Whereas the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* supports the maintenance of the traditional national selection procedures of the *concours* (with, at the same time, the creation of the *sélection internationale*[9] as a special *concours* for foreign students), colleagues at *ENS de Cachan* appeared more open minded towards the development of alternative admission procedures:

> I think that they [the ENS; A.S.] must be substantially more open-minded towards the international and this is a little bit difficult, because, well, it is a little bit in contrast compared to its republican, very French character of their functioning. So, er, I think, they must open up towards the the international which may er, er (.) bring along changes within the selection procedures, that, in turn, means not to recruit only from the *concours* of the French *classes préparatoires*. We have to find other ways. (Monsieur Legrand, *ENS de Cachan*)

This professor is calling for the implementation of alternative admission paths in order to facilitate the entrance of more foreign students. Thus, a stronger orientation towards transformation found at the *ENS de Cachan* is aligned with a commitment to changing current selection procedures as well.

Discussion

Through careful analysis, elements of an institutional *habitus* were reconstructed for both ENSs. The orientation pattern towards tradition-transformation, in relation to the *ENS de la rue d'Ulm*, places greater emphasis on tradition. Internationalisation, often associated with the idea of transformation, therefore functions as a negative contrast in the sense of posing a threat to the institution's identity, which is strongly tied to tradition and its place in French history, and the notion that research is best undertaken in silent, closed-off spaces. Meanwhile, at *ENS de Cachan*, there is a greater openness to transformation, linked to internationalisation regarding research engagement; how students and the institution demonstrate their social commitment; and college admissions procedures. Internationalisation poses a threat for both institutions when considering increased competition for status, funding and students. While both ENSs engage in alliance building to increase size and visibility, again their approach to who is a welcome and fruitful partner differs—which links back to their different orientations to the tradition-transformation continuum. How an orientation towards tradition or transformation shapes an institution's response to internationalisation and in turn has a positive or negative effect on the ENS' status as institutions of formation of the future research elite, remains an open question with no definitive answer because it is dependent on constantly changing power relations in local, national, international and transnational contexts in the French system of higher education. What is certain is that these contexts provoke a permanent restructuring, sometimes with ambiguous dimensions, of their institutional identity.

The reconstruction of these five orientation patterns as well as the reasons for differences found within institutional *habitus*, could be usefully applied to other elite education institutions in France, who also face the same challenges and possibilities that have emerged through processes of internationalisation.

Future Prospects: Internationalisation Processes in the Field of Elite Education in France—An Almost Untouched Area of Enquiry

The French system of elite education has developed over centuries and is strongly shaped by national culture. Perhaps its most distinctive feature is its admission procedures—the interplay of *classes préparatoires, concours* and *grandes écoles.* It is secured by ideologies as "the social fiction of

meritocratic mobility within the educational system" (van Zanten 2015: 36; see also Dubet 2004; Tenret 2011; van Zanten and Maxwell 2015). Despite processes of transformation found in the French higher education and research landscape in recent years, such as the effect of the Bologna Process, for instance, the system of elite education has proved very resistant in its structure and function.

The pressure to be visible at an international level for research, but also to attract international students are now seen as central in the attempts of higher education institutions to become "the best of the best". It is these new pressures around 'internationalisation' which makes the study of the French system fascinating—as despite these changes, it is still a system closely managed by the French state, and so central to the production of the French national elite. Thus far there have been only a few isolated studies focused on this question. These have tended to be more descriptive or focused on analysing the (self-) perception of (international) students at the *grandes écoles* (Darchy-Koechlin 2012; Darchy-Koechlin and Draelants 2010; Darchy-Koechlin et al. 2015; van Zanten and Maxwell 2015; Zymek 2014).

Thus, the research reported on in this chapter offers new insights into these questions—by focusing on the perspectives of the academic staff at two elite institutions and a reconstruction of their orientation patterns towards internationalisation offers further insights into their institutional *habitus*. At the same time, the study begins to facilitate greater comparison between national systems of elite education and how internationalisation processes are altering them (Krüger and Helsper 2014; Maxwell and Aggleton 2015).

A further, yet also significant, contribution made by this research is its ability to extend the classical studies on the French field of elite education such as, for example, found in the work of Bourdieu and colleagues (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu and de Saint Martin 1987; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1991), by considering how internationalisation is shifting priorities for the *grandes écoles*, opening up differences between them, and realigning relationships between elite and more broadly higher education institutions, the state, private enterprises, and actors or institutions based outside France.

Notes

1. In the last few years, *classes préparatoires* have been increasingly established outside the centre of Paris, also in socially disadvantaged areas, the so-called *zones d'éducation prioritaire* in order to increase the social and ethnic diversity of the student body at the *grandes écoles* (Allouch 2013; Buisson-Fenet and Landrier 2008; Pasquali 2010; Poulin-Deltour 2013; van Zanten and Maxwell 2015).

2. Special selection procedures were introduced for the admission of international students at the *grandes écoles* which differ from the traditional *concours*. For example, there is often an individual interview with each candidate which does not occur in the classical admission procedure.
3. The designation *normalien* (female form: *normalienne*) functions as a name for the students of the ENS who have passed the classical admission procedures (*concours*). They have the status of a *fonctionnaire-stagiaire* (Engl. 'civil servant trainee') and receive a monthly salary of €1494.30 for four years with the obligation to work in the civil service for ten years which includes the duration of their studies.
4. The research project, whose results will be presented in the following, is entitled "French elite colleges in the process of internationalisation. A qualitative study on the *Écoles normales supérieures*" was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) (project period: 01.12.2013–31.05.2015). It is a secondary analysis of data material initially collected in another research context (Schippling 2012, 2013) during a visit to the *Centre Maurice Halbwachs* at the *École normale supérieure de la rue d'Ulm* from September 2010 to July 2011 (funded by the German Academic Exchange Service, DAAD). In addition to the project director, Anne Schippling, the following research assistants worked in the project: Tabea Tetzner, Johannes Zimmermann, Maria Schmidt, Lydia Barthels, Wiebke Schramm and Caroline Nolte. The research project closely cooperated with the DFG research group "Mechanisms of Elite Formation in the German Educational System" (FOR 1612).
5. The project director was responsible for the translations into English, which were carried out in collaboration with Johannes Zimmermann. Peter Walton and Claire Maxwell were responsible for proofreading the article.
6. The *Tübinger Stift*, founded in the sixteenth century, is an educational institution where people who want to become pastors in Württemberg are educated.
7. *Communauté d'universités et d'établissements* (COMUE; Engl. 'Association of Universities and Higher Education Institutions') is a designation for recently founded research clusters, initiated in 2013 by the French government to strengthen the scientific cooperation between these institutions. They are the followers of the so-called *Pôles de recherché et d'enseignement supérieur* (PRES; Engl. 'Centres for Research and Higher Education').
8. Both institutions belong to different alliances, but there is no alliance between themselves. This situation allows conclusions to be drawn on the power relations in the field of the ENS.
9. Foreign students in the final year of their bachelor's or first year of their master's programme can apply for participation at the *concours* of the *sélection internationale* in which they have to pass several exams. This procedure differs from the traditional *concours*. For example, international students are often asked to take part in an admissions interview, which does not occur in

the classical admission procedure. The students who are accepted at the college receive a monthly grant of €1000. Nevertheless, they do not have the status of a *normalien* with the same conditions as students, who have to pass the classical selection procedure of the *concours*.

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CHAPTER 18

Commentary to Part IV: Institutional Identities in Flux: Internationalisation and Elite Making in Higher Education

Aline Courtois

Much has been written about how the acceleration of global capitalism has led to the rise of a stateless "transnational capitalist class", or "global elite", whose commonality of interests transcends national borders and loyalties (Robinson 2004; Sklair 2001; Struna 2013). With high concentrations of wealth and power, its members move freely across the "global cities", where they have organised their own spaces, and from which they direct financial flows and influence political decisions (Andreotti et al. 2014; Tannock 2010). Common career, lifestyle, consumption and mobility patterns allow them to present themselves as cosmopolitan, "global citizens" impervious to border regulations and rising above narrow national concerns (Birtchnell and Caletrio 2014; Ong 1999). There is much debate on the extent of overlap between the global elite and "traditional" national elites, and on the position and movement of global elites between the local, national and global arenas (Robinson and Harris 2000). Similarly, there is little consensus in the literature on the conditions of production and reproduction of this supposed global elite through

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education. The rise of the MBA and the growing visibility of international schools suggest that specific educational spaces play a role in these processes. However, it is also argued that the symbolic power of educational credentials is still very much defined within national spaces—and that elite universities in the USA and UK, in particular, define what it means to be elite both nationally and internationally.

Arguably, the internationalisation of elite educational spaces and the cross-border mobility of elite students contribute to the formation of global elite identities, networks and practices. Yet not all elite institutions internationalise in the same way. Internationalisation may take the shape of an emphasis on international accreditation, international staff and/or student recruitment, and various ways of presenting as "global", "international" or "cosmopolitan" on paper. It may prompt institutions to relegate national and institutional specificities in order to adhere to the "world-class university" model (Deem et al. 2008). At organisational level, the emphasis might be placed on commercial or reputational benefits, or both might be joined through "elastic" legitimating discourses (Garneau and Bouchard 2013). Examining these internationalising processes as they play out within elite institutions is one way to grasp how existing patterns of elite distinction and internationalisation relate to each other, interact, amplify or contradict each other.

The two chapters in this section both examine how elite institutions embedded in national spaces respond to internationalisation. Their emphasis on institutional processes (from the perspective of organisational theory for Bloch and colleagues, and institutional habitus for Schippling) and the intersection with national government-led imperatives around internationalisation contrasts with the contributions in previous sections of this book, which reflects the specificities of the third-level sector. Second- and third-level institutions operate according to differing sets of principles and modes of legitimation. The main discursive frame dominating secondary schooling is a focus on the promotion of equality of access, even in contexts where the existence of elite institutions and elite tracks is tolerated or supported. While secondary elite schools may be reluctant to be characterised as such, third-level institutions vie for world-class status and top positions in international rankings, boldly presenting themselves as incubators for the global elite. At secondary level, international education is often more of a niche, a specific space which independent private institutions are better positioned to invest in, compared to less autonomous institutions closely tied to their local or national

mission (Weenink 2009). Although the contributions in this book emphasise the growing interest in internationalisation practices across the sectors, nowhere is internationalisation as much an "imperative" as it is in higher education (Altbach 2007), where it is arguably a matter of both symbolic and financial survival. International rankings have contributed to the emergence of a global higher education "market", where universities adopt corporate principles in order to draw large numbers of fee-paying international students. The development of "world-class universities" has become a focus in many nations, no matter their current position in the global economy. It is often steered by national governments who see "world-class universities" as supporting a nation's positioning in the global economy: higher education may be framed as an international export, as a site of production of economically useful graduates, as an innovation hub for the knowledge economy, as a magnet for multinationals, as a focus of soft power and national prestige. Policies explicitly aimed at producing status differentiation between higher education institutions have become legitimate, to an extent not imaginable with respect to other levels of education systems.

In several countries, where higher education institutions were originally not strongly differentiated, stratification has been driven from above in order to facilitate the emergence of a few select, internationally visible universities. This is the process Roland Bloch, Reinhard Kreckel, Alexander Mitterle and Manfred Stock examine in their chapter on the German case. To explore the interaction and tensions between internationalisation processes and elite (or elite-in-the-making) institutional identities and practices, Bloch and colleagues focus on two graduate schools funded by the German Excellence Initiative as well as on master's degree programmes at three German private universities. The authors explain how "quantifiable abstractions of internationality" are crafted and measured and how these are used by universities to gain positional advantage both nationally and internationally. Like other neomanagerial modes of evaluation implemented in universities, these specific criteria and measurements collide with traditional ways of conducting and appraising academic work. More specifically, sites of tensions between traditional conceptions of academic excellence and measurable internationality emerge at the level of international student recruitment as well as in relation to the amount of work international students should be expected to do, and their integration into the German student body. The organisational perspective used by Bloch and colleagues sheds new light on processes described elsewhere in terms

of neoliberal multiculturalism (Mitchell 2003) or neoracism (Lee and Cantwell 2012), focusing on the daily negotiations where institutional identities and organisational practices are constantly unsettled and recrafted, and reinterpreting the demands of internationality and interculturalism through this theoretical lens.

Anne Schippling's chapter focuses on the French situation. As she notes, elite education in France has long been defined within the national space. The *Écoles Normales Supérieures* (ENS) have a particularly strong connection to the state through their role in the production of academic elites and other top civil servants. Among the French *grandes écoles*, business schools were the first to significantly internationalise—in line with their position half-way between the world of industry and the academic world (Bourdieu 1996; Wagner and Serre 2015). Some of these have achieved high positions in international business school rankings. By contrast, while the domination of the ENS in the French higher education landscape remains uncontested, it does not translate into comparable positions in the global higher education space—partly because they are very different from the large, multidisciplinary, research-intensive institutions modelled as "word-class universities".

The originality of Schippling's study lies in her choice of two broadly similar institutions, which share common origins as well as the "ENS" label. Understanding the shape taken by internationalising processes within these institutions, as well as the principles of legitimation at play, helps bring to the fore their differentiated institutional habitus. At *ENS Cachan*, international research collaborations and engagement with industry are actively sought and play into a representation of the institution as dynamic and open onto the world. By contrast, at *ENS Ulm*, research is understood as a solitary activity conducted in quiet, closed-off spaces. This differentiation echoes Bourdieu's description of the opposition between cultural capital (*ENS Ulm*) and economic capital (business schools), with *ENS Cachan* moving to the latter. From the viewpoint that internationalisation is produced within the specific conditions of marketisation and economic globalisation (Rizvi and Lingard 2010), different patterns thus become discernible, making visible how institutions interpret, embrace or resist these processes, what identities are crafted or reasserted, and what imaginaries are mobilised. Schippling suggests that *ENS Ulm* presents as rather unconcerned with the pressure to internationalise, which resonates with Friedman's recent work in an elite British university (forthcoming). In Paradeise and Thoenig's typology (2015), *ENS Ulm* falls into the

"Venerable" category, that which displays sufficient assuredness to resist, or master change, rather than follow trends. Mergers are currently underway in France as part of a policy effort to allow French universities to achieve international visibility. The ENS will be grouped with other higher education institutions; thus, it will be interesting to see whether and how this process will create pressures for *ENS Ulm* to change their current practices and discourse around internationalisation.

It remains to be seen whether these repositioning processes will significantly alter the configuration of the global higher education landscape. Will these French and German elite institutions rise to the top of international rankings? Can they challenge the domination of the UK and US institutions? Will Brexit and the election of Trump allow challengers to rise to the top, and if so, which region will benefit? Will their graduates become part of the "global elite"? What form of international education counts: international education per se, or credentials from the institutions which dominate the international field of higher education?

The "neoliberal imaginary of globalisation" influences institutional decisions as well as individual strategies, creating desires for the acquisition of cosmopolitan capital as a means to reinforce employability in an assumed global labour market (Rivzi 2011; Sidhu 2009; Shahjahan and Morgan 2015). The global imaginaries thus produced are inseparable from a belief in the individual career opportunities offered by the global labour market. This constitutes a vast emotional resource that universities can tap into. It also has a homogenising effect on institutional discourses, making ever more pressing the need to present themselves as bigger and better. Yet, as suggested by Brown et al. (2011), this is largely an illusion, as the number of highly paid positions may in fact be diminishing due to the overproduction of graduates and the losses of labour movements under the acceleration of global capitalism. In times of uncertainty, when "the degree is not enough" (Tomlinson 2008), acquiring cosmopolitan capital may be perceived as a guarantee against risk and a way to maintain or gain positional advantage. But an imperfect understanding of shifting hierarchies may lead non-elite students to miscalculate the benefits of their investment. Wagner and Garcia's (2015) study of Mexican students choosing an MBA education in France shows that a French MBA has little value in the Mexican labour market dominated by holders of North American diplomas. This is not only due to the higher status of US credentials but also to the fact that what matters in an MBA is networks rather than the content of the education.

References to the global labour market abound in institutional marketing discourses, but these remain relatively silent on its morphology. Some institutions may produce "global citizens", but not global leaders. The internationalisation efforts of elite institutions traditionally focused on pathways to national positions may therefore not result in a significant reconfiguration of the global hierarchy, which positions only a small number of institutions as producers of global elites. Elite institutions in the UK and USA may remain the most likely pathways to transnational elite positions. These can "funnel" their graduates towards high-paying careers through their unique connections with transnational companies and recruitment agencies (Binder et al. 2016). Furthermore, class remains central to recruitment processes (Rivera 2016), which leaves open the question of how international capital, that may be accrued at and through particular institutions, may (or may not, in fact) effectively compensate for the lack of economic and social capital.

It is also uncertain whether international students at these top elite institutions can gain full access to local elite networks. Both Schippling's and Bloch and colleagues' chapters point to the separation of international students from local student networks. Their recruitment is instrumental to institutional strategies but does not elevate them to full membership. This resonates with studies of the recruitment of international academic elites by elite institutions. In the UK, a top tier of internationally acclaimed academic "stars" may negotiate access to the top ranks of virtually any institution in the world (Paye 2015), while at the same time many non-national academics, not considered part of a select group, often remain trapped in temporary, low-paid jobs (Khattab and Fenton 2016). In this sense, the internationalisation of academic staff serves institutional purposes without challenging hierarchies that pre-date these processes. Traditional elites have demonstrated a remarkable ability to maintain their power and boundaries over time. Elites have the capacity to protect their own positional advantage and to keep contenders at a distance. Their ability to maintain the value of cultural or academic capital as they define it within national borders plays a role in this. Beyond positional struggles within European countries, this raises further questions about the race for "world-class university" status in relation to the strategies that elites from the North deploy to maintain their domination over elites from the South.

As noted by Sidhu (2009: 137), despite "the formidable expertise underpinning the discursive machinery of global knowledge economies", the global imaginary is not easily translated into globalising practices and

outcomes as universities "remain embedded in, and influenced by complex space/time relations". Consequently, "pronouncements about the 'end of geography' and the deterritorialised university, and claims that the historic advantages of adjacency are over should be approached in caution for now".

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PART V

Elite Education and Internationalisation

CHAPTER 19

Internationalisation, Stratification and Elite Formation in the German Education System

Ulrike Deppe, Jasmin Lüdemann, and Heiko Kastner

Introduction

Internationalisation processes are increasingly influencing conceptions and provision of education today. Internationalisation can be understood 'as the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of (…) education' (Knight 2004: 11). In the German education system, there is evidence of these processes at work (Zymek 2009, 2016). All universities have an international office; all *Gymnasiums* (upper secondary schools) have at least one partner school in another country or run student exchange programmes. Increasingly, students can spend a period of time abroad as part of their education. Multilingual curricula are being offered in kindergartens, primary schools and Gymnasiums. Some universities now offer English-speaking graduate and postgraduate programmes of study. Thus, Germany's educational institutions are actively engaging with processes of internationalisation in a variety of ways.

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Simultaneously, the German education system is experiencing stratificatory changes, as government policy, parental demands and marketisation enforce processes of hierarchisation. The research group 'Mechanisms of elite formation in the German educational system' (FOR 1612) funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) is studying this closely, seeking to understand changes across the education system—from early years to higher education (see chapters of this volume; see also Bloch et al. 2014; Deppe and Kastner 2014; Helsper and Krüger 2015).

In this chapter, we aim to explore, as the German education system is increasingly becoming more stratified, and as processes of internationalisation gather pace, how these processes are affecting the provision of and access to education. To support us in our work, we draw on Max Weber's understanding of positively and negatively privileged status and the interdependency between these two positions (Weber 1978: 305). Just as Kotzyba et al. (this volume) apply this framework for examining internationalisation within German Gymnasiums, we extend such an investigation to look at the effects within the German education system as a whole. Weber (1978) 'defined status as the effective claim to social honour or esteem in terms of a set of positive or negative privileges. Status, furthermore, is usually founded on a set of criteria including a specific style of life, a formal education, or the prestige derived from occupational or hereditary positions within a society' (Holton and Turner 1989: 94). 'For all practical purposes, stratification by status goes hand in hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities (…) This monopolization occurs positively when the status group is exclusively entitled to own and to manage them; and negatively when, in order to maintain its specific way of life, the status group must *not* own and manage them' (Weber 1978: 935). In relation to the question of how internationalisation in education could affect the social order, a special kind of formal education such as international education and programmes could be, according to Weber's theory, used as a distinctive marker of consumption and at the same time as the foundation of status itself 'reinforced by the reproduction of a specific form of life-style within the group' (Holton and Turner 1989: 95). If international education and programmes can be used 'both for the defence and the expansion' (Holton and Turner 1989: 95) of particular forms of entitlement associated with status groups, it will consequently affect non-privileged or negatively privileged status groups by extending the stratification of the social order. This would mean that international education and pro-

grammes are a particular good which has become an object for monopolisation by status groups (Weber 1978: 935). We apply this concept to education to consider how internationalisation may form part of a strategy that results in different forms of stratification within a whole national system of education.

Following an overview of the current literature on internationalisation at the different levels of education in Germany (early years education, primary school, secondary school and university), we identify three characteristics of internationalisation that can be used to compare developments across the different sectors of the education system: its growth in terms of numbers, the extent of regional expansion and an examination of the kinds of foreign languages being offered. Based on an analysis of internationalising trends, we then consider the relation between internationalisation and stratification.

Internationalisation Trends in the German Education System—Cross-Phase Perspectives

Just as in published work from other parts of the world, the study of internationalisation and education in Germany is disproportionately focused on the higher education sector, with a little research also having been done within the secondary school phase. There is, however, a paucity of work undertaken on early years and primary schooling.

International comparative studies in the field of early years education are the only source of information on such processes in other European and non-European countries. See Döbert et al.'s (2001) analysis of early years education policies or Naumann's (2014) work examining discourses shaping policies and social investment in early childhood education and care. However, these studies do not investigate how pressures and attempts to internationalise are unfolding in Germany or elsewhere. Internationalisation and its effect in the primary schooling sector is also underexplored, both generally and more specifically in Germany (Ball and Nikita 2014; FMKS 2014b; Ullrich and Strunck 2012; Unger 2015).

On the other hand, internationalisation processes occurring within secondary schools are currently being examined and addressed, particularly in the context of international comparative studies (Amos 2012; Brauckmann 2012; Hornberg 2010, 2012; Krüger et al. 2015; Parreira

do Amaral 2012; Resnik 2012; Zymek 2009). Despite the growing popularity of, and public interest in, international schools in Germany and elsewhere, research on this type of school model in the German-speaking world remains limited (Hallwirth 2013; Hornberg 2010; Krüger et al. 2015). In contrast, research on the topic of internationalisation in higher education has received sustained attention. Perhaps this is not surprising, given the well-documented and increasingly apparent internationalisation of universities across many parts of the world (Alesi et al. 2012; Bloch et al. 2014; DAAD 2010, 2014, 2015; Hahn and Teichler 2012; Kehm 2012; Kehm and Teichler 2012).

Processes of internationalisation in education institutions can be observed mainly in parts of the world which have benefitted from sustained periods of relative peace and security making student exchanges and mobility possible (Zymek 2016). Internationalisation of education is also inextricably bound up with growing international employee mobility. The other facet of mobility—that was prompted by economic migration and fleeing from conflict-stricken and less-peaceful regions (Ball and Nikita 2014)—also necessitates an engagement with internationalisation of education, but does so in quite different ways, according to research published to date—the need for additional academic and social support to facilitate their integration, and an increasing division between schools with a more homogeneous student population and those, often in large urban areas, with a large multicultural student body.

To identify internationalisation processes and collect data on international education institutions across the German education system as a whole, we undertook an exercise of identifying what literature and data already existed around internationalisation and internationality (using Knight's definition as our starting point). Based on what we gathered and analysed, we identified various dimensions of internationalisation that could be considered relevant for all education phases. Drawing on this framework, we suggest that processes of internationalisation of education can be examined for the following criteria: the nature of the educational programmes on offer and the extent to which they are shaped by an interest in 'the international' via 'foreign' language provision, a bilingual programme and so forth; whether the institution offers a curriculum that results in an internationally recognised certificate (such as the International Baccalaureate (IB)); and the geographical location of the institution in terms of its proximity to large cities and companies that operate globally. Drawing on available statistical data in Germany, we have undertaken a

national, cross-phase analysis, using the following three measures to ascertain the extent of 'internationalisation' within the education system:

1. Numerical distribution of educational institutions that are arguably 'international', where institutions offer international curricula and leaving certificates and/or run bilingual or multilingual programmes;
2. Mapping where these institutions are geographically located; and
3. Number of bilingual and multilingual institutions and programmes being offered across educational institutions.

The limited data available has constrained us to some extent in our examination of the issue, but the focus of our analysis was to engage with data that allowed us to compare across phases of the German education system—something not done to date across any national education systems when examining for manifestations of 'internationalisation'.

Numerical Distribution of Internationalised Educational Institutions—An Increasing Trend

Recent years have seen a vast increase in educational institutions which could be labelled 'internationalised'. The number of bilingual kindergartens in the early years sector, for example, has tripled in the last ten years (FMKS 2014a). In 2004, the Association for Early Multilingualism in Kindergartens and Schools (FMKS) identified 340 bilingual institutions. Four years later, 532 kindergartens were offering bilingual education. By 2014, this figure had increased to 1025. The FMKS adopts the following criteria to define a bilingual kindergarten: the new language is the *lingua franca*, the educational staff talk in just one of the official languages of the kindergarten, the staff have native-speaker competencies and language contact occurs during at least half of the times the kindergarten is open (see Table 19.1).

Table 19.1 Bilingual kindergartens in Germany over time

	Kindergartens	*Bilingual kindergartens*	*Percentage of bilingual kindergartens (%)*
2004	48,000	340	0.7
2008	50,000	532	Approx. 1
2014	52,000	1035	Approx. 2

Source: FMKS (2014a, February 2014)

Table 19.2 Bilingual primary schools in Germany over time

	Primary schools	*Bilingual primary schools*	*Percentage of bilingual primary schools (%)*
2004	16,962	80	0.5
2008	16,500	150	0.9
2014	15,749	287	1.8

Source: FMKS (2014b, February 2014) and Statistisches Bundesamt (2015)

In 2004, the FMKS identified approximately 80 bilingual primary schools. The number had more than tripled by 2014 to a total of 287 primary schools (FMKS 2014b). This table includes all primary schools offering classes in at least one foreign language (see Table 19.2).

To date, however, there is little data available on the growth in bilingual provision in secondary education at Gymnasiums (which are the only type of secondary school that can award students an end-of-school leaving certificate that is required to apply for university in Germany). Due to this lack of information, we included in our analysis a focus on international schools where a foreign language is used as the medium of instruction, and/or where the IB diploma or (more rarely) the Cambridge Certificate is awarded (Hallwirth 2013; Hornberg 2010; Krüger et al. 2015; Ullrich 2014). The latter schools tend to adopt English as the medium of instruction, adhere to an English language curriculum and offer an internationally recognised school-leaving certificate. School certification by the IBO, the awarding organisation for the IB, is a costly undertaking, with private schools more likely to be certified than state schools. On the basis of data from IBO reports, we have therefore been able to assess the growth in schools certified to award the IB diploma in Germany, in comparison with the overall growth of such provision globally. Figure 19.1 below illustrates that in the secondary sector, IB Gymnasiums have tripled in number in Germany since 2005. This growth is fairly similar to the global trend.

Another major variant of international schools in Germany are those who offer the 'AbiBac'—which is a school-leaving diploma, that has existed since 1994, for students studying in a Gymnasium for those living in Germany and France, and facilitates access to German and French universities. The 'AbiBac' in Germany requires that students take at least one subject in French (usually geography, history and politics) from the fifth grade to school-leaving age (Ullrich 2014: 186).

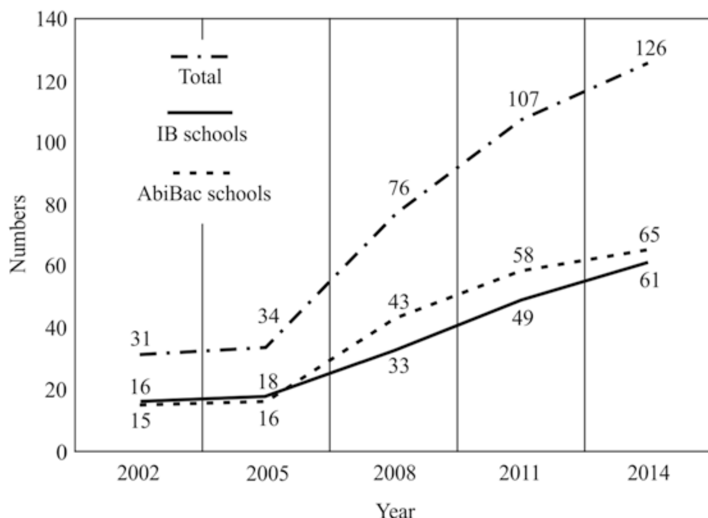

Fig. 19.1 Number of IB programmes in schools and AbiBac schools by year
Source: Own calculation based on data from the International Baccalaureate Organization (October 2015) and Institut français Deutschland (March 2016)

Table 19.3 UNESCO and European schools in Germany over time

	UNESCO schools	*European schools*
2008[a]	188	346
2016	200[b]	541[c]

Source: [a]Hornberg (2010), own calculation based on data from the [b]Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission e.V. (November 2016) and [c]Bundes-Netzwerk EuropaSchule e.V. (November 2016)

European Schools and UNESCO project schools (see Table 19.3) are also regarded as international schools, since their clientele include a high share of pupils with migrant backgrounds or foreign citizenship and their school programmes adhere to an international curriculum. In contrast to the aforementioned variants—IB and AbiBac schools—any secondary or vocational school in Germany can acquire the title European or UNESCO school as long as they meet the requirements of the European and UNESCO curricula. Most of these schools do not charge fees.

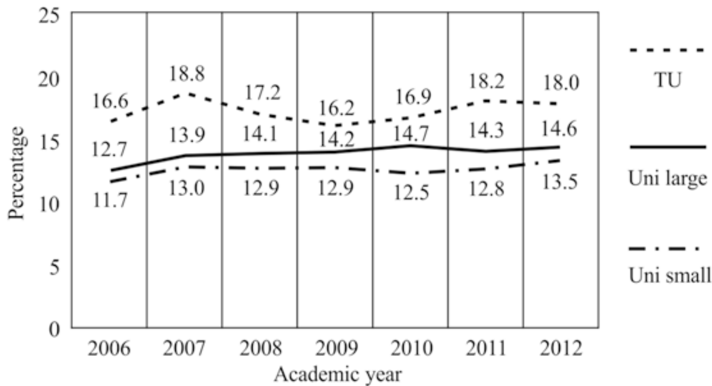

Fig. 19.2 Share of doctorate degrees earned by foreign students between 2006 and 2012 by university type and size (percentage). Source: DAAD (2014: 19)

Universities tend to view themselves as 'internationalised' (Hahn and Teichler 2012). The number of foreign students studying for a doctorate degree in German universities has become an important measure in the national debate on ways to enhance the global attractiveness of German universities and their ambition to 'bring-in' intellectual resources from abroad. In 2012, the national share of foreigners with a doctorate degree was 15%, with Technical Universities leading at an average 18%, followed by large universities (with more than 20,000 students) at 16.6% and smaller universities (who have a student body of up to 20,000) at 13.5%. During this time, the overall average proportion of foreign students doing their PhDs at German universities increased by 2% and, despite occasional fluctuations, appears to be fairly stable and is in fact rising (see Fig. 19.2).

This quantitative analysis testifies to the substantial increase in internationalised institutions in recent years across the German education system. In the early years and primary school sectors, identification of the influence of internationalisation as indicated by the presence of bilingual programmes produces fairly clear results. However, while the 'international' is increasing present, it is still an approach that individual institutions engage with, not a norm pursued by the whole sector. Meanwhile, the evidence suggests that across the secondary and tertiary sectors of education, internationalisation is now a more common and almost expected feature, particularly when we look at the provision of instruction in other languages beyond German, and the extent of student and staff mobility (DAAD 2010).

Interestingly, a closer look at figures across the early years and primary school sectors highlights a pronounced drop between provision with an international orientation from early years setting and the primary education phase. Whilst there is a total of 1053 bilingual kindergartens, there are only 287 primary schools offering bilingual provision in Germany. The FMKS explains this contrast by stressing that bureaucratic constraints are more pronounced in the primary school sector and that bilingualism makes some parents worry about their children getting worse grades that could have an adverse effect on school careers, notably the transition to the appropriate secondary school provision (such as the Gymnasium—which is an academically selective form of provision). Furthermore, kindergarten institutions and primary schools are the responsibility of two different state departments, which pursue slightly different aims through their provision. Reservations about bilingualism in kindergartens are of little consequence since it is merely perceived as a 'fun feature', whereas at the primary school level, the performance dimension of their children's education becomes more salient for parents (FMKS 2014b: 9).

Geographical Locations of Internationalised Institutions—A Very Urban Phenomenon

Cross-sectional analysis shows that educational institutions more oriented to the international tend to be clustered in cities and city-states. Indeed, almost half of all bilingual kindergartens in Germany are distributed across ten cities led by the city of Saarbrücken (FMKS 2014a) (see Table 19.4).

A similar picture can be seen in the primary school sector. Over half of all bilingual primary schools are found in cities and city-states. In 2014, Berlin topped the list with a total of 39 bilingual primary schools (FMKS 2014b; Graßhoff et al. 2013; Suter 2013).

Over 75% of all international schools in Germany are found in large cities, with the remaining 25% located on the margins of urban centres (Hornberg 2012). We were able to verify this trend in relation to IB schools. Around 80% of these schools are located in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, while only 19% are found in regions and localities with less than 100,000 inhabitants. The latter tend to be exclusive boarding schools beyond the environs of large cities. The number of European Schools and UNESCO project schools is likewise higher in cities than in other regions (Hallwirth 2013; Hornberg 2010). In comparison, AbiBac

Table 19.4 Bilingual kindergartens in selected cities

City	*Inhabitants*	*Number in 2008*	*Number in 2014*
Saarbrücken	176,996	20	36
Wolfsburg	121,758	4	8
Frankfurt	687,775	20	42
Berlin	3,375,222	74	173
Hamburg	1,734,272	34	80
Kiel	239,866	5	11
München	1,388,308	22	53
Bonn	309,869	10	11
Köln	1,024,373	11	22
Hannover	514,137	3	10
Bremen	546,451	5	10
Düsseldorf	593,682	6	10
Stuttgart	597,939	2	10
Dortmund	572,087	2	8
Essen	566,862	1	5

Source: FMKS (2014a, February 2014)

schools are divided evenly across cities and less-inhabited areas. This may be explained by both the ongoing political support for fostering and maintaining German-French international relations and by the absence of accreditation fees for such schools (see Fig. 19.3).

Universities in Germany more generally tend to be distributed within urban regions. It has been observed, however, that universities offering specific international degree courses tend to be large institutions serving medium to high numbers of students (DAAD 2014). Another measure we might use to consider internationalisation of a university is the distribution of Alexander von Humboldt grant holders and awards winners. Each year, research grants and awards by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation give approximately 2,000 highly qualified academics from abroad the opportunity to conduct research in, and contribute to, the academic communities of German universities. In the period 2009–2013, only 10% of these grants were given to academics based in universities in towns of less than 100,000 inhabitants (ratio of award holders is 20 to 100 in these locations; source: Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung 2015). In contrast, almost a third of these grant holders spent their time in German universities in the few cities with over a million inhabitants.

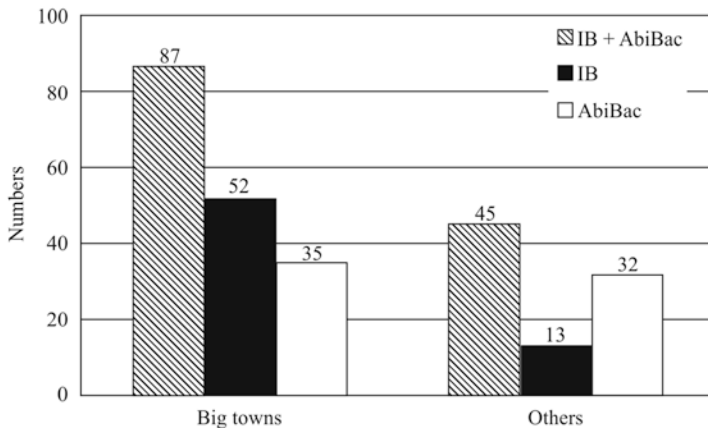

Fig. 19.3 Number of IB programmes in schools and AbiBac schools by location
Source: Own calculation based on data from International Baccalaureate Organization (October 2015) and Institut français Deutschland (March 2016)

Bilingual and Multilingual Institutions and Programmes—The Predominance of English

English is the language with the highest relevance for current internationalisation efforts. The languages spoken in Germany's neighbouring countries are also important. Bilingual kindergartens in Germany offer programmes that cover 21 languages. At 41%, English is the most popular, followed by French at 30% and Danish at 5%. The frequency of French and Danish language provision is due to the proximity of these countries to Germany (FMKS 2014a). A similar situation is apparent in the primary school sector. English is the most common foreign language with 44%, followed by French and Danish, each with 13% (FMKS 2014b).

Our analysis reveals that in 90% of schools offering an IB diploma, English is the sole medium of instruction. Only 5% teach in both English *and* German, 3% in English and Spanish and one school teaches in German only. An exception to the many different school diplomas largely instructed and assessed in English is the AbiBac, which is based on a German-French model of language provision. The prominent role of the English language in the internationalisation of education in Germany is also evidenced in the Weltweiser Report (2015), which documents the most popular host countries for student school exchanges of at least three months or more,

and demonstrates that English is the main language spoken in the top six host countries.

The statistical data on higher education in relation to host countries for international exchanges for German students allows for a number of conclusions to be drawn. In 2012, 23.2% of all foreign students studied in Austria, a German-speaking country (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014b). The Netherlands was the second most popular destination with 18.1%, while Switzerland was third with 10.4%. These findings may seem odd at first since there is no direct link to the English language. However, universities there tend to instruct in English—in the sciences in particular—and numerous events at these universities take place in English, with academic books also being frequently published in English, so as to reach a wider audience, and so although German students tend to study abroad in neighbouring countries, their access to the English language will nevertheless be relatively high.

Meanwhile, the importance of English at German universities is particularly noticeable when reviewing international degree courses, as their provision is currently increasing. For the winter semester 2013–2014, 7.4% of the 17,345 degree programmes registered in the HRK (German Rectors' Conference) University Compass were marked 'international' (DAAD 2014: vi). The medium of instruction for 25% of these international courses at German universities is English (DAAD 2014: 49), although lectures in a foreign language represent only a part of what is offered. For the most part, international degree programmes target students from abroad who do not master German sufficiently to follow the main university programmes offered.

Internationalisation requires a common language, which, as our above analysis suggests—is in the main English. In the German early years primary and secondary school sectors, English as a foreign and teaching language is ranked the highest. In the academic world, it is taken as the lingua franca, since it now serves as the standard language of communication and one reason for this is the need for publications to reach a worldwide audience. It seems reasonable to assume that English skills are improving at the various educational levels and fast becoming an expectation. The early years sector focuses on laying the foundations for a command of the language and integrates it through play into everyday life. Subsequently, learning English is commonplace in primary schools at least from third grade onwards and this becomes more pronounced in secondary schools. Having a *lingua franca* in international schools (Zymek 2016) is associated with the global mobility of 'corporate movers' or 'global nomads' (Favell

2008; Hayden 2012). English protects the children of mobile parents from experiencing too many language barriers due to the inevitable school changes caused by continual job mobility. The command of the English language is also believed to be critical in access to an upwardly mobile lifestyle, to English-speaking elite universities and to a global labour market characterised by senior management positions (Hayden 2012).

Elite Formation and Stratification in Internationalisation in the German Education System

How do these processes indicate increasing levels of internationalisation within the German education system intertwined with elite education and formation? The general trend towards internationalisation in Germany rather complicates the identification of elite education and its consequences for and emergence via processes of stratification within the German system. While figures showing an increase in bilingual kindergartens and schools, and in international student exchanges indicate a more general internationalisation of education in Germany, this does not offer us the necessary tools for understanding whether and how mechanisms of segregation and exclusion might be drawing on these changes.

A glance at figures from the German Federal Statistical Office on the socio-economic and migrant status of pupils attending private or state schools, including Gymnasiums, reveals a 'watershed' in the education system, marked by privileged and non-privileged forms of internationalisation in education (Zymek 2009; Hayden 2012). The number of pupils with a migrant background is far higher in lower secondary schools than in Gymnasiums (a more academic, arguably elite form of education at the upper secondary level). Very few children with foreign citizenship attend the latter (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014a). This trend is also found in the higher education sector. For instance, only a small number of scholarship holders are migrant students, which directly influences their ability to finance the exchanges or internships abroad required at some universities in general for those scholarship holders. All other exchange students must rely on their families to raise the substantial amount of money needed to participate in such initiatives (Zymek 2009). Furthermore, a large proportion of migrants in Germany have little or no opportunity to participate in and potentially benefit from these exchange programmes, since social selection in the secondary school system prevents many from studying at

university in the first place as they are less well represented at the Gymnasium level (Deppe et al. 2015: 91).

In a world oriented to the global, language learning becomes a key dimension of internationalisation. This is evident in the burgeoning of bilingual education in the fields of early years and primary school education in Germany. As identified by the analysis above in relation to secondary and higher education, internationalisation and outward mobility have been established as a standard premised on acquiring a good command of a second language. All of this, however, obscures the fact that a great deal of political and symbolic weight is attributed to languages and, indeed, to some languages in particular. Interestingly, the bilingualism of children with a migrant background, who migrated to Germany for reasons of economic hardship or are fleeing violence, is not given the same recognition in the education system as the ability to speak English or the language of other leading countries in the political and economic sphere.

The three measures that we have been able to analyse across the education sectors for evidence of internationalisation reveal some of the ways in which positive and negative privileging underscore and operate through internationalised education. Positive privileging, for instance, comes with an implicit hierarchy of diplomas and curricula in addition to particular forms of knowledge, and such provision is located in specific geographic areas. In what follows we suggest a distinction between the forms of internationalisation by drawing on Max Weber's (1978: 305) terms of positive and negative privileging status through formal education (Kotzyba et al., in this volume). We consider international education in the German system as a status-reproducing continuum, where both positive and negative forms of internationalisation exist, augmenting stratification (Zymek 2009; Hayden 2012) (see Fig. 19.4).

Exclusive international education is the first form of *positive privileging international education* found and is provided by institutional and corporate 'global players'—national and international 'leaders' in terms of standards, reputation and exclusiveness—as identified and discussed for higher education by Knight (2004) and for secondary education by Kenway and colleagues (Kenway et al. 2013). In the school context, this comprises of international schools operating under a supranational umbrella organisation (Deppe and Kastner 2014; Hallwirth 2013; Helsper et al. 2015; Krüger et al. 2015; Ullrich 2014). These kinds of schools with their internationally recognised diplomas cater to a so-called global middle class

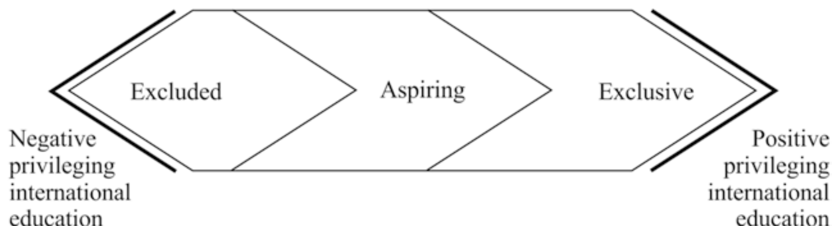

Fig. 19.4 Status differences in the course of internationalisation in the German education system

who are continuously mobile (Ball and Nikita 2014; Hayden 2012; Kenway et al. 2013) or 'corporate movers' (Favell 2008).

Alongside these *exclusive* forms of *positive privileging international education*, we find a group of parents and students who are *aspiring*. Through attending schools with bilingual programmes (many of them state funded), and later on making use of university exchanges and internships abroad schemes, the members of this group are keen to enhance their positioning within the German rather than the global labour market (Brooks and Waters 2011). Among them are the 'social spiralists', who risk moving outwards territorially to increase their opportunity of moving upwards socially, and the 'Euro families', who are professionally more flexible as a result of lower mobility costs, allowing them to maintain their social networks across national borders within Europe (Favell 2008).

Finally, there is a large group of students experiencing *negatively privileged international education*, who could arguably be seen as *excluded*. Mobility has been forced on them by war or economic conditions. In the receiving country—that is Germany—the members of this group are more likely to experience 'being international' as at best an appreciation of their culture of origin and at worst as a stigma and an obstacle. Often parents suffer a misrecognition of origins, cultural knowledge and educational credentials (Gogolin and Salem 2014). In this context, non-Anglophone or non-European multilingualism and intercultural backgrounds lead to stigmatisation rather than advantages. These groups of students are overrepresented in German lower secondary and comprehensive schools, who demonstrate far further engagements with 'the international' (Zymek 2009), thereby further increasing these students' marginal status.

Conclusion

In summary, internationalisation of the German education system is a common feature that can fuel both *positive* and *negative privileging forms of international education*. We find the economically highly resourced social groups at one end of the continuum and those in more difficult circumstances (culturally, socially and economically) at the other. Both extremes include high rates of mobility (Ball and Nikita 2014; Kenway et al. 2013). In between we find social groups with high economic and appropriate forms of cultural capital, whose members are less mobile but able to exploit these resources to facilitate access to language qualifications and experiences of studying abroad (see Keßler and Krüger; Kotzyba et al., in this volume; Keßler 2016). In this middling space, we also find those who are less affluent but financially 'comfortable', but are not actively or strategically pursuing internationalisation as a means of social reproduction and mobility.

Just as we are proposing to categorise different social groups and families, we might also apply these terms to different types of educational institutions. *Aspiring* early years, primary, secondary and even higher education institutions have shown significant growth in all areas of the German education system in recent years. Engagements by *aspiring* institutions include the growth of bilingual provision in kindergartens and primary schools, and an increase in educational foundations that organise exchanges at both secondary and university level.

At the same time, the general trend in intensification of internationalisation efforts complicates the identification of elite forms of education and institutions. The traditional lines of distinction between elite and non-elite are becoming more blurred due to the significant growth of internationalisation initiatives and orientations across all provision. One way to further consider the relationships between internationalisation and elite education are the differences in understandings offered around 'internationalisation' by different actors. Thus, *exclusive* forms of internationalisation are targeted at globally mobile families and do not rely on the experience of, or skills development that come from involvement in organised programmes abroad (Brooks and Waters 2011: 82). Meanwhile, *aspiring* forms of internationalisation tend to be developed within government-led initiatives and be secured within a national system (Martens and Wolf 2006). That is to say, these efforts first and foremost serve to support the enhancement of national education standards, in

order to facilitate Germany competing with other countries in educational league tables, for graduate employment prospects and so forth.

Overall, we argue that internationalisation contributes to the stratification of the German education system and vice versa. Just as an international offer—IB, bilingual provision and student mobility—offer opportunities for distinction for individual institutions and families, so too the German education system as a whole is seeking to distinguish itself in the field of education globally, through making itself more international in outlook and in encouraging outsiders to join. Knight's (2004) definition of internationalisation, which was developed for the higher education sector, was not found to appropriately capture the various ways internationalisation is manifesting itself in the early years or primary education phases. Beyond this lack of fit between Knight's work and internationalisation across the education phases, we have also highlighted that such an understanding does not adequately concern itself with the inequalities which emerge through processes of internationalisation. We have therefore drawn on Weber's (1978) work as a means for opening up within our analysis such a focus. By engaging with his notion of status we developed an understanding of positively and negatively privileging forms of internationalisation, which helped us account for particular manifestations of 'international' and 'internationalisation' as adding value (while others do not) and therefore increasing stratification within education.

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CHAPTER 20

Making It Political: Working Towards Transformation in the Study of Internationalisation of Elite Education

Adam Howard

> *What drives our school's mission, more than anything else, is preparing our students for a global, more interconnected world. We know that they're going to operate in an environment where they need to be able to work with and understand people who speak different languages, people who come from different faith backgrounds, people who come from different cultures and operate from different belief systems. We want to graduate young people who cannot simply live comfortably with conflict but have the skills to work through conflict. I tend to think of it as certain kind of competencies that our students need to have if they are going to be successful and able to address the more complicated issues that this part of the world is facing, and that the rest of the world is facing. Some of those are intellectual skills and some of them are social or emotional. These are the twenty-first century skills that people talk a lot about like collaboration, teamwork, empathy, an ability to listen to people, and even the ability to talk about difficult things respectfully. What lies at the heart of what we do here is offering, or facilitating, an educational process that provides opportunities for students to develop these skills.*
>
> Dr. Thomas, Headmaster, Olive Grove Academy

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Different approaches of internationalisation at elite schools depend, in part, on contextually situated assumptions about globalisation and education. At Olive Grove Academy,[1] an elite boarding school in Jordan, the various assumptions behind these complex concepts give meaning to powerful lessons students are taught about themselves, others, and the world around them. For the headmaster and others at the school, these lessons reflect an understanding of globalisation as the interconnectedness of a world that seems to be shrinking with fading boundaries that is characterised by difference, competition, and conflict, and education as a means for equipping students with the necessary skills, knowledge, and competencies to thrive as global citizens. Olive Grove adopts global citizenship education as an umbrella framework for the internationalising practices that drive these efforts.

The school's global citizenship education takes different forms—from the way the campus was designed to what happens within and outside the classroom context. The features of this framework include a campus modelled on the distinctive culture of a prestigious American boarding school; the roughly six hundred students that come from nearly forty countries; the faculty who represent an equally international mix, most of whom have worked all over the world; the primary language of instruction is English; "Harkness" tables are found in most classrooms to encourage inquiry-based learning; students are required to participate in local community service and international service trips, and in the sports programme; and the academic programme offers a college-preparatory course of study based on the American Advanced Placement curriculum. As with other elite schools around the world, these components of global citizenship education at Olive Grove point towards questions about boundaries, flows, power relations, belonging, responsibilities, otherness, and interdependence, and reveal the ways in which privilege, as a collective identity, is reinforced, regenerated and, to a lesser degree, contested.

The quote above and the following discussion emanate from a multi-sited global ethnography (e.g. Kenway 2015; Kenway et al. 2016) of the lessons students are taught about their place in the world, their relationships with others, and who they are at elite secondary schools in six countries: Australia, Chile, Denmark, Ghana, Jordan, and Taiwan. There are no common criteria to determine what constitutes an elite school (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016). Here, the schools involved in this study are identified as elite based on their high standing and prestigious reputation within their society and, for some of the schools, across the world due to their high

academic standards, well-resourced education, and notable track record of sending their students to highly selective universities (Kenway and Fahey 2014). The schools' shared focus on global citizenship emerged as a focus during the initial phases of the project. Specifically, main questions guiding this inquiry seek to address the ways in which the schools define global citizenship, the lessons students learn about global citizenship and how these lessons shape their self-understandings, the increasing global connections and imaginations impacting students' self-understandings, and the roles that elite schools play in facilitating and mediating these influences.

In this chapter, I draw on my experiences and encounters collaborating with nearly seventy student researchers at my home institution and those involved in the study at Olive Grove (teachers, students, alumni, and administrators). After providing a brief discussion on global citizenship education and an overview of the study's findings, I explore the possibilities of a justice-oriented collaborative approach to the study of the internationalisation of elite schools in providing an epistemology for researchers and participants to challenge, contest, and transform practices that reinforce privileged ways of knowing and doing, thus connecting those involved in the process empirically and politically. The chapter concludes with identifying limitations of this collaboration and questioning whether such a research approach reflects social justice practice.

Lessons of Privilege

> *If I have one fear and an obstacle in life, then those who aren't as fortunate as me have millions. As a person, I want to help them because they need somebody like me and other students here to help them. We should feel how other people who are less fortunate feel. We should help them out. It's sometimes hard to do that because our school is a bubble from the outside. Sometimes big events happen around us and we're just living our everyday life. We're not impacted by what's happening to others. It's hard to keep aware of things but we must do that. This is the biggest thing that I've learned here—to keep in mind what's going on outside this bubble. Respecting people's opinions, understanding each and every culture, every aspect that you don't have in your own life. Those are the things that I'm taking away from here.*
>
> Tariq, Twelfth-grade Student, Olive Grove Academy

The prevalent forces of globalisation and the need to respond educationally to the myriad problems, challenges, and opportunities of these forces have formed a global imperative in education (Dill 2013).

Throughout the world, increased pressures are placed on schooling to engage with "the globe" through global citizenship education (Pashby 2011). Despite competing understandings of the term, most scholars agree that global citizenship education involves providing students opportunities "to develop an awareness of global connectedness, a reflective distancing from one's own cultural affiliations, and an orientation of openness towards the other" (Langmann 2011: 400; Banks 2008; Weenink 2008). As indicated in the above quote, these common aims of global citizenship education are reflected in what Tariq (as well as the other students involved in the study) believes he is learning at Olive Grove.

With such ambitious learning goals, global citizenship education represents an ideal, and as such, like all curricular ideals, it represents a particular vision of goodness—a form of "cosmopolitan thriving"; it represents a vision of what a good person should be and "what he or she needs in order to flourish and thrive in a cosmopolitan age" (Dill 2013: 3). At the centre of this curricular ideal is moral distinction; a status achieved through doing and being good. For elite schools, global citizenship education offers a route for producing and maintaining institutional goodness, a useful and effective curricular path for distinguishing institutions (and those within those institutions) as elite through moral excellence (Angod 2015). Within the elite-schooling context, global citizenship education plays an incredibly important role in the production, rationalisation, and legitimisation of elite status.

The moral framework constructed through global citizenship education produces a particular institutional habitus (e.g. McDonough 1997; Reay 1998) within elite schools that emphasises such qualities as benevolence, critical self-reflection, awareness, empathy, diversity, character, and leadership. Turning to Bourdieu's (1977) signature concept of habitus—the unconscious dispositions, attitudes, and values that individuals acquire as they move through various contexts and "fields"—McDonough (1997) argues that institutional habitus informs an institution's sense of who its students are expected to be. Institutional habitus becomes situated in curriculum and schooling practices to teach students particular lessons aimed at shaping individual habitus. McDonough (1997) further argues that institutional habitus is a link between an institution and the larger context in which that institution is located. In fact, institutional habitus is developed in relation to an institution's position in the field of power (Koh and Kenway 2012). Therefore, the sorts of lessons elite schools are attempting to teach their students are wrapped within their elite status.

The findings of the larger study begin to identify these lessons of privilege by identifying the four domains that give meaning to global citizenship education within the six elite schools: *cultural, relational, emotional*, and *material*. Consistent with how global citizenship education is commonly understood and practised (e.g. Dill 2013), these domains emphasise awareness and knowledge of differences, relationships across differences, a sense of obligation towards others different from oneself, and skills necessary to be competitive in a global economy. Embedded in practices, curriculum and overall educational purposes, these domains point to the lessons students are taught about themselves, others, and the world around them.

The significance of what we are discovering, though, is the noticeable absence of an explicit political domain to these educational meanings and practices. More focused on a moral ideal of what constitutes a "good person" and what that person needs to flourish and thrive in a cosmopolitan age (Dill 2013), the stated learning goals do not acknowledge the inherent political nature of embracing and working towards such an ideal. In fact, Olive Grove and the other elite schools intentionally avoid *being political* (i.e. taking particular positions and engaging in social justice practice) or teaching their students the necessary lessons in *becoming political* (i.e. developing the habits of mind and heart to work towards social justice aims and imagining self as an agent of change). Rather than connecting the moral with the political (Westheimer 2008), these schools maintain an apolitical position that evades such lessons as combating inequalities and transforming social and political power relations (Veugelers 2011), and avoids taking on the task necessary for individual and social transformation of proposing "a few possibilities, in the plural, a few possibilities other than what we are told is possible" (Badiou 2001: 115).

Without this political domain, as I explore elsewhere more in depth (Howard and Nguyen, in press), the lessons imbedded in global citizenship education at Olive Grove instil a sense of belonging that reinforces privilege as a collective identity within their school community: others are too different from us to relate to; success is achieved by working together; despite individual differences, we are more alike than different; everyone's voice within the community matters; and we are superior to others. These lessons embrace particular norms, perspectives, dispositions, ways of knowing and doing, and ideologies that give shape and meaning to students' self-understandings. These lessons reveal not only several of the underlying paradoxes of global citizenship education (Pashby 2011), but

also some of the powerful ways in which privilege is produced and perpetuated within this elite educational context.

Global citizenship education represents political agendas at play within practice, advocating for a particular form of cosmopolitan learning through the development of epistemic virtues (Rizvi 2009) and an epistemological shift (Andreotti 2010) in the way knowledge and identities are understood (Marshall 2011). The lessons students are taught through this educational framework inculcate particular narratives that confer upon them understandings of self, others, and the world around them. These identity-forming narratives implicitly and explicitly reinforce and regenerate privilege. Although critical impulses (such as building awareness of others different from oneself and establishing relationships across differences) make an important move towards interrupting privilege, global citizenship education within these elite contexts serves to retrench rather than transform the various forces perpetuating power inequities (Pashby 2011).

Given the strong reproductive tendency in global citizenship education (e.g. Veugelers 2011), what would be pedagogical possibilities for working towards a more critical approach? More specifically, instead of ignoring and/or avoiding the political domain, how do those within elite schools craft an educational process for making the political a central feature of global citizenship practice? These questions have become central to our research endeavour.

Political Possibilities

Accompanied by the headmaster and two other administrators I enter the dedicated space on campus for faculty to come together for meetings and professional development activities and visit with colleagues during breaks throughout the school day. Gathered around a long table covered with a diverse selection of Middle Eastern cuisine, teachers are grabbing and filing plates. We take our position at the front of the jam-packed room. Without the headmaster saying a word, all eyes turn towards him and conversations end.

After being introduced, I begin to present what I've discovered through my research at their school. Just a few minutes into my prepared remarks, a teacher sitting near me interrupts to share her thinking and to surface questions about the negative consequences of global citizenship education. She asks, "Are we encouraging our students to think about others different from themselves in ways we don't want them to? Is there something we can do to align what students are learning with what we want them to learn?" Another teacher across the room chimes in, "When we're teaching about others and diverse perspectives, are

we creating more divisions? Are we 'othering' these differences?" Their questions spark additional ones that lead us into a complicated conversation about educating privileged students to become global citizens. It became the kind of discussion that the headmaster hoped for. (Howard's field notes, March 2016).

In the midst of severe economic crisis and the use of violent methods to exert social control across the globe, an increased sense of urgency exists for making explicit the entrenched and knotty relations of privilege and injustice. In the study of elites, a small group of researchers seek to make use of research approaches that both explore and promote social justice education within the elite educational institutions they are studying. These research approaches have emerged and are usually drawn on to investigate and interrupt the adverse consequences of oppression and to empower individuals from marginalised groups (e.g. Stoudt 2007, 2009). Thus, researchers of elite education rely on collaborative, participatory, embodied, and arts-based research approaches that enable them and those within elite educational contexts to seek to challenge injustices (e.g. Stoudt et al. 2012).

The underlying tenets that inform the majority of these research efforts include a collective commitment to explore an issue or problem; a desire to engage in self- and collective reflection; a joint decision to engage in action; and the building of alliances in the planning, implementation, and dissemination of research (Howard et al. 2014). These aims are achieved through a living dialectical process that changes researchers, participants, and the contexts in which they act. These efforts are providing conceptual, pedagogical, and research frameworks for not only advancing individual and collective understandings of injustices, but also enabling these individuals and groups to contest and challenge those injustices.

Griffiths (1998) identifies three principles in developing an approach to educational research guided by social justice aims. The first principle is that there is no one right answer. Working towards social justice research is less about particular outcomes than about processes. As Griffiths points out, "A socially just [approach] is one characterised by a continual checking and adjusting. It is not a static perfect system: utopia is not to be found" (1998: 12). The second principle emphasises the importance of all individuals involved in the research endeavour. Each individual (researchers and participants) is recognised as an important valued part of the community as a whole. At the same time, however, no individual exists completely apart from others and, therefore, negotiating individual interests within a particular group is a necessary part of the research processes.

The third and final principle draws attention to the importance of structural injustice. Although concerned with individual transformation, as reflected in the second principle, an equally important focus is on institutional transformation and with questions of power and resources available to particular groups at the expense of others.

Drawing and extending upon these principles and ones reflected in methods employed by researchers who engage in critical inquiry to study *with* elites *within* elite institutions (e.g. Stoudt et al. 2012), our project was conceived and continuously shaped through a collaboration between myself and teachers, students, alumni, and administrators at the six elite schools, as well as the undergraduate student researchers who mostly come from class-privileged backgrounds. At its base, our project, like other collaborative research endeavours, gathered together individuals with different forms of knowledge, understandings, and experiences. We came together not only to explore meanings and practices of global citizenship education but also to interrogate how privilege is constructed and cultivated through those meanings and practices. These areas of focus emerged from our collaboration.

I led the undergraduate student researchers, all of whom did not have prior researcher experience, through a similar collaborative process described in depth elsewhere (Howard et al. 2014) to formulate initial research questions, design the study, and construct research instruments. Throughout this initial process, we consulted primary contacts at the schools (teachers and administrators) to give feedback and direction in developing questions to guide our inquiry and methods for gathering data. Our method included conducting a series of interviews over Skype before our two- or three-week visit at each school: three in-depth, phenomenological interviews (Seidman 2006) with four students and one in-depth interview with two alumni at each school. Then, while in each school, two to four members of our research team generated data through conventional ethnographic techniques including observations of classes, events (such as all-school gatherings, sporting competitions, and graduations), and faculty meetings, semi-structured follow-up interviews with the four students, and structured interviews with six to eight teachers, the head of the school and two to four other members of the school's governing body. We also employed creative methods by photographing the schools to capture the social aesthetics of those sites (Fahey et al. 2015) and blogging about our embodied encounters and experiences to facilitate ongoing reflexivity (Davies 1998). While gathering data, we simultane-

ously addressed integral aspects of the research process through critical dialogue and collective reflection to revise methods as necessary. This led to employing additional methods than originally planned. For example, at Olive Grove, we conducted a series of focus group discussions with teachers and students, and at two other schools, parents participated in the project.

From the outset, common goals guided our inquiry: to reconsider everyday assumptions that keep class privilege hidden, not talked about, and unexamined, and to examine aspects of our understandings "that are ordinarily invisible" because they are "ordinarily lost in silence" (Greene 1988: 19). We put data to use by bringing together faculty to spark critical discussions, like the gathering described at the beginning of this section, facilitating small and large group discussions with others in the community, developing strategies with teachers and administrators for addressing the problems brought to light through this research, and working with students to develop strategies for increasing awareness of privilege within their communities. Over the course of the project, transforming global citizenship practices became central to our efforts as well. At four of the schools, including Olive Grove, we are in the process of planning and implementing approaches to make the political more explicit in these practices. Through their engagement with the study, these schools appear to have become more aware of, and expressed an interest in, actively challenging their practices to engage in more social justice-oriented work.

Our efforts at the schools are ongoing. At Olive Grove, we are mostly concentrating on transforming practices related to community service activities and trips, which are important components of their global citizenship education. We are in the initial stages of sorting out the contradictions between what the school aims to teach students through these experiences and what students are actually learning from these experiences; that is, we are addressing the unintentional lessons of service that surfaced in our research similar to the ones found in previous studies (e.g. Howard 2008, 2013). This work includes bringing teachers and researchers together to study theoretically and pedagogically the structures and dynamics of privilege, to reimagine learning goals for these activities, and to develop alternative approaches for engaging students in service efforts. At the school in Taiwan, we are further along in the process of making the political more explicit in the service component of global citizenship education. Researchers, administrators, and teachers are developing a unit plan grounded in social justice, which aims to foster students' critical

consciousness during a week-long service trip in a Taiwanese aboriginal community. Researchers, including seven undergraduate student researchers, will join the school community on this upcoming service trip to co-teach this unit. Further research and reflection will be needed after this initiative to examine how potentially transformative such an approach can be.

Through this research project which covers schools based in various corners of the globe, we are charting an approach that provides an epistemology for researchers and participants to challenge, contest, reframe, and transform global citizenship practices that reinforce privileged ways of knowing and doing. Fundamental to this approach is "the notion of action as a legitimate mode of knowing" (Tandon 1996: 21) and "the social world can only be understood by trying to change it" (Brydon-Miller et al. 2003: 15). This approach emphasises individual and social change; therefore, it is a transformative process that involves exploring "the potential of different perspectives, theories and discourses that might help to illuminate particular practices and practical settings as a basis for developing critical insights and ideas about how things might be transformed" (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005: 568).

Complicated Justice

I know the aim of me being interviewed was about telling you things that will help your research. But I think that I benefited the most from these interviews, or what I think of more like our discussions. I don't talk about these issues, like my privilege and higher social class. There was that one point when I was talking about social classes and I told you it doesn't matter to me. But I realized when talking about it that it does matter. It was frustrating to realize just how much it matters in how I think about things and different people and how I live my life. Even though it was frustrating, I'm grateful that my thinking changed. I think it changed me in ways I can't put into words right now.

Fatima, Eleventh-grade Student, Olive Grove Academy

Being involved in this research project has been the most impactful and transformative experience that I've had at Colby. It has been more than just what I have learned about research methods, other cultures, and educational practices. This research allowed me to form deeper conceptions of myself within the global community. I gained new insights about my own self-understandings and privilege that not only advanced my thinking but also equipped me in ways to put my social justice commitments into practice.

Patrick, Student researcher, Colby College

We were engaged in a process that allowed us to sort out, discuss, and reflect on our practices and understandings and the workings of privilege provided all of us—researchers and participants—with valuable learning experiences for advancing our understandings and thinking more deeply about the meanings imbedded in our practices and experiences. Most of us emerged from this research with a greater capacity to question our assumptions, more willingness to acknowledge the significant role that our advantages play in our lives, a deeper understanding of privilege, and an increased interest in learning more. As reflected in the two quotes above, the self-understandings of participants and researchers transformed through this process, especially so with the students involved in the process.

The methods employed in this project have intentionally placed privileged young people in conversation with one another, mainly through formal and informal interviews, to provide them with opportunities to advance their understandings. Beyond the types of questions developed to structure conversations, these exchanges have hinged on democratising the relationship between researchers and participants (Stoudt et al. 2012). We seek to actively challenge the power dynamics typically considered unavoidable in the study of elites and elite education (e.g. Desmond 2004). This project therefore deliberately joined privileged young people as both researchers and participants to bring together similar forms of understandings and experiences. This has created the necessary conditions for both participants and researchers to share their perspectives and experiences more openly, and begins to establish connections between the issues covered (e.g. class inequalities and privilege) and their lives (e.g. Howard et al. 2014).

It is precisely through the process of sharing what they know and experience that their taken-for-granted, commonsense understandings of themselves and others can begin to be questioned, examined, and challenged. In debriefing interviews, student participants, for example, reported that through this process they became more aware of their privilege, developed a more complicated understanding of the concepts of social class and privilege that led to questions about their advantaging life and schooling experiences, and paid more attention to class inequalities when they went off campus. They mainly attributed these outcomes to: the meaningful relationships they developed with student researchers; the mutual-questioning exchanges with researchers; and the questions posed to them that connected theoretical concepts of privilege and social class to their experiences and lives.

While our project opened up possibilities for engaging in research as transformative practice, it is important to acknowledge the limits of these efforts. In particular, we need to consider more fully in this kind of work, as Žižek cautions, "how to fight the system without contributing to its enhanced functioning" (2012: 3), given that "we are part of the social world we study" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 18). Although this project brought about deeper awareness of our own privilege and how privilege works within our communities, our efforts did little to disrupt the unjust systems or unequal distribution and accumulation of power, resources, legitimacy, dignity, and recognition that perpetuate inequalities.

Some scholars, in fact, doubt whether efforts to change individuals—the main focus of our efforts—actually leads to changes other than to individuals. Smith maintains that personal changes are ephemeral and often do not lead "to any political projects to dismantle the structures of domination that enabled their privilege" (2013: 263). Given this, she concludes, "The undoing of privilege occurs not by individuals confessing their privileges or trying to think themselves into a new subject position but through the creation of collective structures that dismantle the systems that enable these privileges" (Smith 2013: 263). She believes that "individual transformation must occur concurrently with social and political transformation" (Smith 2013: 263). To engage in such transformative efforts, we would need to extend our work beyond our own communities to address the larger forces at play that generate and maintain the very fabric of privilege that clothes our elite status.

Moreover, it could be easily argued that our project, situated within elite educational contexts, facilitated yet another means for legitimising privilege within our own communities by enacting our goodness through social justice-oriented commitments and efforts. As I argue elsewhere with Gaztambide-Fernández, "This projection of self as justice oriented … has considerable ideological value—in diverting attention away from the power of dominant groups and convincing subordinates [and I would add, ourselves] that they are concerned for others and are compassionate, kind, and giving" (2013: 3). These ideological messages play a significant role in protecting class interests and power. This raises a few questions: are we really engaging in social justice efforts when those efforts are protecting, and, in our case, possibly even advancing, our own privileging circumstances and class position? What would it take to engage in social justice efforts? Can privileged individuals engage in social justice efforts without any significant change in the very circumstances that enable us to engage in such work?

In considering such questions, we must acknowledge that nothing was really at stake in our project—especially our privileging circumstances. Although we did not consciously enter the project with the aim of reinforcing our interests, such efforts do work to do so by legitimising our privileged positions. This project, however, opened up possibilities for those involved to question, become more aware of, and problematise their privilege. Thus, the project provided a means for contesting and interrupting privilege (Howard 2008) both on an individual level and within the school communities involved in this process. It, therefore, opened up new opportunities for individual and institutional transformation.

Notes

1. A pseudonym, as are all names of individuals at the school.

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CHAPTER 21

Changing Spaces—The Reshaping of (Elite) Education Through Internationalisation

Claire Maxwell

This book has specifically examined how policies and practices of internationalisation are shaping the meaning, provision and experiences of education through a multi-scalar lens. The chapters have variously focused on specific curriculum initiatives, examined the orientation of an educational institution, considered the effects within local education markets of internationalisation practices and more broadly teased out the stratificatory implications of these for national systems. Meanwhile, some chapters have taken a more regional or global perspective on these questions. What emerges clearly through the contributions within the book is the interdependence and connectedness of the flows of ideas, desires, people and education "products" between the local, national, regional and global (or "glonacal" as coined by Marginson and Rhoades 2002). The collection therefore seeks to consider similarities and differences across education spheres (early years, primary and secondary schooling, higher education—something not done to date; see Dvir and Yemini 2017) and offers some comparison between countries. In doing so, we hope, through the book, to have facilitated a deeper exploration of the ways in which processes of

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internationalisation within education are continuing to inform and reconfigure which groups and which education institutions are attempting, and are successful in making claims, to being "elite" in today's various education spaces.

Many institutions would be hesitant to be associated with the concept of eliteness. Yet, it is my contention that where there are direct or indirect attempts to distinguish oneself from those in a particular geographical, ideological or social context, in ways that are suggestive of superiority, excellence and/or being facilitative of significantly beneficial outcomes for their constituents—this signals engagement with the process of elite claiming or elite making. This, in turn, influences how individuals and institutions are made sense of by others (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016a). Thus, claims of promoting mobility, of working towards producing particular subjectivities, and/or valorising certain types of knowledges and skills through practices of internationalisation are all understood as attempts to charter particular meanings of becoming and being elite (Meyer 1970; van Zanten 2009, 2016).

In developing the overall argument for this chapter, I offer a summary of the various practices of internationalisation highlighted by the contributions in this volume. The first, main contribution is to highlight four critical juxtapositions identified in the interpretation and implementation of internationalisation across various education spaces. I demonstrate that despite the origins of this work being channelled towards "international abroad" activities, most initiatives are now conceived of as "international at home". Then the chapter explores how particular conceptions of the international are accorded different values and translate into different orientations towards mobility. Third, I show that current internationalisation practices continue to embed the global North-South divide. Finally, I suggest that pragmatic articulations of internationalisation predominate, with little engagement made with the ideological imperatives introduced through the initial conception of internationalisation of education. This reading is made sense of within the neoliberally infused competitive paradigm that now infiltrates so many education spaces, and internationalisation is shown to have become a critical tool in the chartering of eliteness within education today. While some forms of internationalisation appear to be benefitting all, and others have the potential to offer opportunities for usurping dominant groups by those who are less well resourced; in the main, internationalisation practices within education are shown to offer yet a further mechanism for distinction making and positively privileging

particularly those who are economically wealthy. The contributions in this book therefore conclude that internationalisation has led to further stratification of local, subnational, national, regional and global education systems, but that the ways in which claims to eliteness are made and received are being rearticulated in important and new ways by these practices.

The second key contribution, which has emerged from reflections on the chapters contained here, emphasises the need to take a "glonacal", multi-scalar framework of analysis to this issue. I examine how global, national and local policies intersect with local community demographies and histories of education institutions in these spaces, which in turn shape the curricula offerings made and the development of student subjectivities in relation to internationalisation and orientations to mobility. To conclude I suggest that Thrift's (2009) theorisation of four spaces could be generative for investigating internationalisation in education—to understand what drives practices, what shapes the various outcomes these practices lead to and how new articulations of what constitutes elite education have emerged.

Practices of Internationalisation—Summarising Key Findings Using a Multi-scalar Perspective

Drawing on the contributions in this edited volume, what practices of internationalisation have been identified? Here I consider practices at the level of the curriculum, how they interact with the local community demography and shape student subjectivities. These in turn generate different kinds of mobility, varied types of relations with local communities, and construct institutional habitus (Schippling, this volume) or codes (Keßler and Krüger, this volume). Subsequently, I examine the effects of internationalisation practices in the organisation of education at a national level and the concomitant effects of these differences observed across education phases. Then, to conclude this section, I examine how internationalisation practices might be operating at a regional or even global level. The various juxtapositions which emerge from the uneven ways in which internationalisation becomes visible through particular practices are subsequently summarised and explored in the next part of this chapter.

Important alterations within curricula are highlighted throughout the book—from provision of bilingual and/or multilingual education, to student-exchange programmes, the promotion of global citizenship

education, introduction of the International Baccalaureate and other internationally or regionally recognised diplomas, and building links with (international) organisations. The continuing expansion of bilingual and multilingual education in various parts of the world, such as Germany (as highlighted by Deppe et al., in this volume), Brazil (Nogueira and Alves 2016) and elsewhere, demonstrates the extent to which a concern to prepare younger generations for a globally oriented future is altering educational provision. Even in early years settings—bilingual education is becoming increasingly embedded as an expectation, at least in some parts of the system (Mierendorff, this volume; Vincent and Ball 2007). Similarly, growth in the provision of the International Baccalaureate (Keßler and Krüger; Prosser, this volume; Resnik 2012, 2016) and other "international" qualifications (Yang 2016) in local and national education markets has had the effect of valorising particular future aspirations, forms of knowledge and orientations to the global (Howard this volume; Yemini and Dvir 2016).

Processes and practices of internationalisation also influence and are shaped by changing demographies within local and subnational education spaces. Thus, attempts by regional governments in eastern Germany to invest in their economies have resulted in the promotion of more schools with an "international" focus, in the hope of attracting multinational companies to locate their offices there—which, while not always resulting in an influx of "the global middle classes" (Ball and Nikita 2014), has stratificatory effects through local school choice-making systems. Similarly, with the increasing mobility of families and students for education and work, local institutions are having to adapt their provision—either in terms of the staff employed and opening hours offered (such as one of the early years providers featured in Mierendorff et al., this volume), or the study programmes offered to local and international-exchange students, who often have quite different needs (see Bloch et al., this volume).

Experiences of "the international", expectations of "being international", and the formation of "global citizens" also affect the formation of student subjectivities and their future imaginaries. As Howard argues in his chapter, focusing in particular on an elite school in Jordan, the commitment to global citizenship education informs the design of the campus itself, the demography of students and staff, the language of instruction, the type of pedagogy employed, sports provision, community service work and qualifications offered. This in turn affects how students understand themselves, their futures and their role in the wider world. Keßler and

Krüger (this volume) outline how the international school on which they focus articulates an institutional code that promotes individuality, reflexivity and tolerance, as forming the basis of an international trajectory. The authors go on to illuminate how students, with different biographies, interpret and extend such an institutional framing. While some students display a conscious involvement in seeking to practise an international orientation, others embody such an orientation more effortlessly, as it is already a core part of their biography. These different orientations, in turn, open up a range of possibilities and outcomes for students.

Therefore, when considering practices of internationalisation at an individual and institutional level, the chapters in this book highlight different forms of student and staff mobility, varied types of relations with local communities, and educational institutions that articulate and initiate a range of "institutional habitus'". Some institutions, for instance, appear to focus on receiving and meeting the needs of particular groups who are largely mobile in one direction—travelling from Country A to B, usually as immigrants. This group tends to have fewer economic and educational resources, despite their experiences of the "international", their "cultural" otherness and arguably evident resourcefulness to create new opportunities for themselves. These institutions tend to focus on promoting "inclusive diversity" as Peter (this volume) argues and take on a social pedagogic function (as claimed by Mierendorff et al. and Press and Woodrow, this volume). Meanwhile, other institutions position themselves as embodying and promoting "exclusive globality" (Peter, this volume), with seemingly few concerns about the stratificatory effects of such an orientation.

Different forms of mobility are also analysed in terms of the kinds of future destinations—local, national or transnational—that are promoted and expected. Thus, in some countries, the training of future business elites is still largely restricted to a nationally bounded trajectory through clearly articulated institutional wormholes (Nespor 2014), as demonstrated by Hartmann (this volume). Meanwhile, for some well-resourced families, secondary education in one "Western" country is seen as a stepping stone for pursuing university training in another education or national space (Kenway et al. 2013; Fahey 2014; Kenway, this volume), while yet other families choose exclusive education provision in their "home" country with a view to sending their children abroad for their higher education (Nogueira and Alves 2016; Yang 2016).

Breidenstein et al. (this volume) make a critical point through their analysis of the Berlin schooling market, with regard to the tension between

different interpretations and promotions of mobility—that the orientation or institutional habitus adopted affects the connection which is strived for with the local community within which one is physically/geographically located. Thus, one of the international schools featured in Breidenstein and colleagues' chapter seeks to act as a stepping stone for the global middle classes, where families and students are constantly moving and therefore disconnected from their local environment (Ball 2016), while another internationally oriented school emphasises the importance of engaging with and benefitting from the locality in which, however fleetingly, one is currently moving through. These two case study schools afford a very different importance to the local community, which in turn affects how young people develop a sense of identity, belonging and social responsibility (as also examined in Howard's chapter).

Schippling examines the changing or adaptive institutional habitus of one of the French *grandes écoles*, which is comprised of more than one institution, all of whom have slightly different foci and histories. Her chapter offers a fascinating insight into how differently academics at these two affiliated *grandes écoles* understand the benefits and challenges of internationalisation and how practices that develop in response to these imperatives begin to differentiate between these two institutions—their purpose, mode of engagement with others, student cohorts, and the future imaginaries produced for staff and students (see also Forbes and Weiner 2008 and compare with Forbes and Lingard 2015; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016b).

The authors offer important insights into the ways institutions respond to internationalisation in different parts of the world, and across different phases of the education system—be it to recruit more "international" students, to seek to position themselves within a regional or global education space (Bloch et al., Münch, Peter, Schippling), meet the demands of globally mobile parents (Breidenstein et al., Kenway, Mierendorff et al.), the desires of well-resourced local families (Kotzyba et al.), or a broader strategic investment by a government (Prosser). The findings from the chapters suggest that internationalisation practices in higher education are far more developed, globally oriented and homogenised than those within the early years sector. This, the authors argue, relates to the organisation, funding and societal values that drive these two sectors—though this is not without tensions and contradictions. Meanwhile, changes within primary and secondary school spaces are more varied when we examine for evidence of internationalisation practices, and lead to quite different positionings of institutions—depending

on geographical location, institutional history, local and national socio-political context.

Taking a national perspective, as Nogueira and Alves (2016) do for Brazil, and Kotzyba et al. and Deppe et al. (both this volume) do for Germany, leads the authors to categorise and evaluate the extent to which imperatives promoting internationalisation and the desire for a global outlook are engineered (Kenway et al. 2013; Kenway, this volume). This offers a critical way to begin the process of understanding just how effectively and deeply "internationalisation" is seeping into national (or subnational) education spaces, and the extent to which these are drawn on by institutions within the "market" for engaging in processes of distinction and position taking. Kotzyba et al. argue that secondary education in Germany is being reshaped by internationalisation processes. The researchers have found four different ways in which education is being internationalised in different parts of the system: at a most basic level—through the promotion of student exchanges and the imperative to learn a modern foreign language, found across differently tiered secondary schools; to a more engaged level—through the provision of bilingual education and the promotion of the International Baccalaureate diploma, usually only found in state-funded institutions based in urban centres (partly to meet the demands of the urban middle classes); the continuing existence of long-standing International Baccalaureate/international schools established decades ago in Germany; and finally, the newest development observed is the establishment of new schools and programmes, usually privately funded, oftentimes with links to multinational corporations. Though an attempt to categorise different forms of internationalisation is never without exceptions, and will not always be transferable across subnational or national boundaries, it does, as Deppe et al. attempt to do, offer the opportunity for tracing change over time more concretely, and thereby identifying ways in which national systems are being affected by processes of internationalisation (Resnik 2016).

Such categorisations also facilitate a careful analysis of how understandings of internationalisation are being formed (through government policy, local economic conditions, demands of constituents, the philosophy of a particular head teacher), how these are articulated and developed into institutional practices, and the effect this has on the composition of the institution's staff and student body, the curriculum and the destinations and values being promoted (as Keßler and Krüger, for instance, examine in their chapter). A useful way of conceiving of internationalisation within

such examinations might be to further develop and apply Resnik's (2012: 251) notion of the "thickness of the global". This would afford insights into what is being counted as "international" and how this links to "the global" and "the transnational", and emphasises difference or a desire for homogeneity across provision (nationally or internationally). Such careful thinking promotes more nuanced and theoretically rich interpretations of internationalisation practices within education and critically of their effect. As Yemini (2015) argues, internationalisation must be defined and understood through the outcomes of the practices that make it visible.

Although "internationalisation" is always linked to some conceptualisation of "the global", most of the chapters in this book consider the question in relation to specific social groups, individual institutions, subnational and national spaces (interestingly, only Münch directly considers the role of international policy-makers). Kenway and her colleagues (2017) have been seminal in arguing that some education institutions and specific social groups are networked into regional or global circuits of influence (see also Sandgren 2014), which therefore begins to loosen their ties to the "nation state". This "rearticulates" "choreographies of class" (Kenway et al. 2017: 5) and charters particular conceptions of "elite" through their associations with these particular social groups and institutions. "Institutional wormholes" (Nespor 2014) are therefore created and embedded at a regional or global level (see Münch, this volume in his discussion of elite universities). However, elite schools shape and rearticulate their charter, claiming eliteness usually in relation to the nation state within which they find themselves (McCarthy et al. 2014; Rizvi 2014; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016a), although the case of elite schools in Switzerland offers an interesting counterpoint to this argument, which is only now beginning to be researched (Bertron 2016). Research also continues to emphasise how nationally bounded trajectories into elite labour-market positions remain (van Zanten and Maxwell 2015; Mangset 2017; Mangset et al. 2017; Hartmann and Bloch et al., this volume).

Yet, Ball concludes that we need to distinguish between national and global elites, with the latter "constantly on the move" (2016: 71). Research on the transnational capitalist class (Robinson 2012; Sklair 2000) should urge us to consider the education practices of these groups, as a critical addition to examining how internationalisation practices of different social groups affect what it means to create an elite education. Kenway et al. specifically seek to understand the relationship between these economic (and social) groupings through examining the ways elite schools respond

to such "changing configurations of the global" (2017: 9). I would argue that some elite institutions may also be directly affecting how these transnational capitalist groups understand, engage with, and seek to benefit from such "educational products"—created by the emotional engineers propping up the elite education system (Kenway et al. 2013; Kenway, this volume).

Thus, research and writing about internationalisation and (elite) education needs to consider the drivers and articulations of such practices as coming from "the global"—arguably a transnational capitalist class, but also international policy-making and education bodies (Ball et al. 2016; Lingard et al. 2016); the national (government policy, organisation and funding of education); the subnational (regional government policy, economic and migration factors); and finally—the local (the particular demography of and resultant distinction-making practices found within the local education market, histories of particular institutions, biographies of particular education leaders and individual families and students). Arguably, a truly glonacal approach (Marginson and Rhoades 2002) is therefore needed.

Juxtapositions Created Through Practices of Internationalisation

The chapters in this book offer valuable insights into the varied outcomes of internationalisation practices for the configuration of an education space—which could be conceived of as juxtapositions (a term also used by Kenway et al. 2017). Four main juxtapositions have been identified: whether internationalisation practices are occurring "at home" or "abroad"; the value accorded to different forms of internationalisation which in turn affect the orientation of mobility; the embedding of the North-South global divide; and the tension between various values espoused within practices of internationalisation.

A first juxtaposition emerges when reviewing the ways curricula are being internationalised. While the movement of people abroad has often been thought of one of the first and primary internationalisation practices within education (Nilsson 2003), most of those curricula practices identified in the book could be largely defined as practices of "internationalisation at home" (Nilsson 2003). Although in secondary schools and universities, student exchanges abroad are encouraged, it would appear from most of the chapters that these are often only a rather small aspect of how internationalisation is

being practised and experienced today. Yet, newly emerging internationalisation practices—such as the expansion of satellite schools abroad, from the UK for instance (Bunnell 2008), the promotion of offshore schools from Canada into China (Wang 2017) or satellite university campuses overseas, offer new forms of "internationalisation abroad" (Nilsson 2003), which require further research. The balance for different institutions between internationalisation at home and abroad and how the particular balance shapes institutional habitus and student subjectivities means that experiences of internationalisation and their outcomes will be quite varied for different social groups and within different national or subnational education spaces.

The second juxtaposition identified through this collection is the way internationalisation is interpreted and the value it is accorded for differently located and resourced groups. Thus, economic or political migrants to a country, despite having significant cultural resources that relate to their experiences of international mobility, are assimilated into a national education system, where the social and pedagogical approach to their education often focuses on "inclusive diversity" (Deppe et al., Mierendorff et al., Peter, this volume). Meanwhile for families with higher levels of economic resources and the "right" kind of cosmopolitan capital (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016b; Breidenstein et al., this volume), internationalisation practices focus on "going global"—through student exchanges, community service programmes, learning other languages, gaining an internationally recognised diploma and having transnational future ambitions for study and work. In this way, increasing internationalisation practices found across the world will lead to very different outcomes (Yemini 2015). Highly resourced, arguably elite groups, reproduce outwardly focused mobility to secure potentially transnational futures, while some middle-class groups aspire towards these outcomes but their strategies to put such desires into practices are not as skilfully or successfully managed as in the case of the elite. Meanwhile those groups with the fewest resources remain locally fixed.

Deppe et al. and Kotzyba et al. (this volume) draw on Weber to suggest that some institutions promote positively privileging practices which have the effect of creating and maintaining an exclusive status for the institution and their constituents. Meanwhile, the groups with lesser valued economic and cosmopolitan forms of capital find the negative effects of these to be exacerbated within the currently emerging education structures. The research highlighted in this book offers clear evidence that lines of stratification appear to be, at least in part, driven by internationalisation practices. These are variously shaped by the socio-economic and political

context, but overall, economic wealth seems to positively privilege certain forms of cosmopolitan capital, which in turn influences the trajectories taken by institutions and social groups. Therefore, one way we might seek to differentiate between institutions and the groups they educate is to consider some as largely inwardly focused to the local, possibly subnational context, while others are outwardly focused to the global and are encouraged to be nationally or internationally mobile.

Linked to the above is a third type of juxtaposition which is increasing in significance through the growth of internationalisation within education—the North-South global divide. Internationalisation practices continue to model and reproduce a form of colonialism—through the increasing embeddedness of internationally recognised diplomas which are developed and bring profit back to organisations based in the North (Resnik 2016; Yang 2016; Prosser, this volume), the mobility of students from the South to the North for secondary and higher education (Brooks and Waters 2011; Fahey 2014; Nogueira and Alves 2016; Yang 2016), and the continued concentration of transnational corporate headquarters in northern, global cities, which many young people are now being encouraged to view as a desired future destination (Brown et al. 2011, 2015; Power et al. 2013; Windle and Nogueira 2015).

A fourth, critical juxtaposition highlighted by the contributions in this collection are the inconsistencies between values underpinning the purported rationale for internationalisation, the history of institutions and the outcomes of current practices. While the International Baccalaureate, global citizenship education and other forms of internationalisation explored here are imbued with humanist values (Goren and Yemini 2017; Keßler and Krüger, Howard, this volume), schools' and students' engagement with these curricula becomes largely instrumental for their own distinction and mobility, though humanist discourses may still legitimise the privileging impact of these practices (Howard 2013). Fahey and Prosser (2015: 1038) argue that global citizenship education "serves to create a kind of contemporary 'moral aristocracy'".

Similarly, Bloch et al. (this volume) highlight the long tradition of scientific universalism that has informed the purposes and practices of universities, to some extent untethered from the function of the nation state. However, in today's neoliberal context which promotes the competitive paradigm (Münch, this volume), where universities are now organisational actors within broader government agendas—internationalisation, rather than sustaining the value of universalism and a non-instrumental

desire for the generation of knowledge, appears to have become a stratificatory mechanism for distinction-making practices, as Bloch et al. (this volume) argue in relation to the German higher education landscape.

The dominance of neoliberal thinking within education may explain why many of the chapters in the book highlight pragmatic forms of internationalisation practices, without adequately exploring how exactly the ideological dimensions of internationalisation (Tarc 2009; Yemini and Fulop 2015) are interpreted and engaged with, though Howard (this book) considered this for the elite schools he researched. Press & Woodrow and Münch (both this volume) argue that a more instrumental usurpation of internationalisation and an acceptance of the paradigm that competition increases quality (and equity) of provision can in fact easily be refuted when we survey the evidence.

The Role of Internationalisation in Chartering New Understandings of Elite Education

Defining something as "elite" must be done with reference to space—geographical and temporal (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016a)—as well as placed within a circuit of social relations (Ball 2016). This is why a multi-scalar lens is critical (see also Breidenstein et al., Kenway, this volume). Such an approach to studying elites and internationalisation also invites an engagement with multifarious mobilities—in terms of the (un)constrained geographical but also affective and imaginative spaces constituents are invited to traverse.

Baker (this volume) argues that elite education institutions are central in constructing what is considered to be necessary and valuable knowledge, skills, attitudes and qualifications (see also Prosser 2016; Israël and Vanneuville 2017; Mangset et al. 2017; Ziegler 2017), and then, through the meritocratic discourses that are sustained in so many education systems (Koh 2014; Münch, this volume), the claim made to elite status of particular social groups and institutions is thereby legitimised (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009; Khan 2011; Gaztambide-Fernández et al. 2013; Lim and Apple 2015). Yet, as van Zanten and Maxwell (2015) have argued, it is also critical to understand how dominant groups, and the nation state or global education organisations play an equally important role in determining what is taught, the affective and discursive practices promoted within these education spaces (Maxwell 2015) and the orientations to mobilities which are promoted (Power et al. 2013). Aiming to understand what constitutes an elite education in a particular space therefore requires a multi-scalar approach.

The various contributions in this collection demonstrate how international education policy, government priorities, regional and local socio-economic-political contexts shape the specific ways internationalisation is defined, interpreted, implemented and responded to by various social groups—facilitating particular kinds of practices to come to the fore. In this way, particular forms of internationalisation have been shown to confer different kinds of status—positive or negative (as argued by Deppe et al., this volume)—and to have greater or lesser impact on measures oftentimes associated with "success". Through the chapters presented here it is possible to observe a range of agreed upon internationalisation practices, but depending on the particular space—early years or university, urban or in an area of economic decline, global North or South, employment sector or professional group, private- or state-funded secondary school, concentration of migrants compared to members of the so-called global middle class in a location—and the outcomes these make possible, claims to eliteness appear to be unequally distributed. Critical to this process is the extent to which constituents "buy-into" such claims, the visibility of the processes through which internationalisation practices confer status, and a broader, societal engagement and agreement that particular practices and associated outcomes are appropriate, right and legitimate (Meyer 1970; Salverda and Abbink 2013).

In sum, the contributions collected in this volume challenge some the "truths" which may be associated with the concept of "internationalisation" and international forms of education. The insistence on, and form of, physical mobility that is promoted largely focuses on internationalisation-at-home practices, over ones that focus on "abroad". It is only really in the imagination of futures that "international abroad" gains a strong foothold in most education institutions. Second, the encouragement of cultural diversity as originally linked to internationalisation has been rearticulated to mean that only certain types of "diversity" are positively privileged. Overall, a more pragmatic interpretation of internationalisation dominates, marginalising a willingness by education policy-makers, institutions and oftentimes social groups, to consider and find ways to take on the ideological imperatives of internationalisation, as originally conceived in the mid-twentieth century. As Howard (this volume) shows—seeking to engage with the ideological dimensions of internationalisation is fairly easy at a discursive level, but much more challenging, particularly for elite education institutions, at a programmatic and affective level when non-instrumental, and positively privileging outcomes are being sought.

Understanding Internationalisation and Elite Education Through Concepts of Space

Any consideration of internationalisation and how it is reshaping elite education thus requires us to engage with conceptions of scale and space. Different spheres of influence have been identified—international, national, regional and local policy; the composition and extent of mobility within local communities and desires around mobility of specific social groups; and local institutions with their own histories and networks, but who are also part of a broader education marketplace. Thus, the summary offered above of some of the key findings presented in the book was organised in a scalar way—from the local to the global.

Yet, as Gibson-Graham (2002) argue, "the global is local", where all spaces are hybrids of the global and local, but with different "thickness(es) of the global" (Resnik 2012). The global, at least as an imaginary frame of reference appears to be firmly encroaching on the discursive and affective structures influencing our everyday practices (Maxwell and Aggleton 2013)—whether it be individuals, communities and institutions, to different effect, as the writings in this book have highlighted. Thus, it might be useful to draw on some of the more theoretical work on "space" (and the constitution of space) to offer additional ways of considering how processes of globalisation are affecting practices of internationalisation that we observe, and to make sense of the varied outcomes these might have for different groups of people, institutions and the broader organisation of education systems. A range of theories could support this work—Appadurai's (1996) concept of scapes, and Stronach's (2010) development of "eduscape" (drawn on by Breidenstein et al., this volume); Burawoy et al.'s (2000) three axes of globalisation (which influenced Kenway et al. 2017); actor-network theory (engaged with by Resnik 2016 for instance); post-colonial theories (such as Massey 2005 or Soja 1989); and decolonial theories (as Prosser draws on for his chapter in this volume).

Focusing on just one example here, Thrift (2009) discusses four spaces. Here, I draw inspiration from Thrift's work to suggest ways in which his conceptualisation of space can help us analyse how the practices of internationalisation observed in this book create opportunities for some while fixing others in place, which leads to particular kinds of rearticulations of elite education—benefitting some more than others.

- Empirical space—the physical, tangible construction of space, which, in terms of education, would most likely represent the locality we inhabit and lead to considerations of how the architecture, demography, access to resources, ability to traverse the locality and so forth shape social relations (perhaps akin to Rowe's (2015) argument where she draws on Harvey's (2006) concept of relational space).
- Thrift's second kind of space—unblocking space—encourages an unfixing of our experiences of a particular space, where routine interactions are disrupted and greater degrees of mobility and fluidity are evident (spatial, intellectual, social). Arguably, the increasing imperatives to "internationalise" outlined through the book to a greater or lesser extent provide that impetus to disrupt and capitalise on new mobilities. While educational institutions and social groups have always had to respond to external influences or have themselves attempted to push for new perceptions and modes of working, arguably the current moment of globalisation means that relations are being shifted and rearticulated at a hitherto unknown level of intensity and speed (Appadurai 2006), driven in particular through transnational capitalism, technological advances and reach of "the media". What we need to examine, therefore, is the extent to which particular groups and institutions have access to such unblocking spaces or are able to engage with these kinds of spaces. That may facilitate a deeper analysis beyond how well-resourced particular groups or institutions are, to understand why particular internationalisation practices are taken up and implemented, and to what effect.
- Internationalisation brings with it a range of images (Thrift's third space) which can be visual but also more broadly discursive, that may act in concert or in opposition to the other influences seeking to unblock space. Kenway's "emotional engineers" (this volume) are critical to generating a desire and a particular image that seeks to express these desires more visibly, and creating economic and/or status gain within the education space. Think back to the promotional webpage messages outlined by Kenway (this volume) or the publicly distributed tables and maps shared by Bloch et al. (this volume) in their analysis of Germany's shifting higher education landscape. These powerfully convey how images can drive and affirm particular kinds of practices over others. Again, while many of these images are accessible to all, only a proportion will feel they are particularly relevant to them, or feasible to strive towards—an analysis

of why this might be, would be generative for understanding engagement with internationalisation.

- Thrift's fourth space is place space which most likely captures the kinds of spaces many of the contributing chapters sought to analyse—Olive Grove Academy in Jordan (Howard), the international school (Keßler and Krüger), *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* and *ENS de Cachan* (Schippling), Toytown Germany—the Berlin webpage discussion forum (Breidenstein et al.). Critically a place space conceptualisation seeks to emphasise the affective and other embodied potentials that are opened up through practices of internationalisation—a key element in understanding how eliteness is chartered through education. In place space, the "rhythms of being" (Thrift 2009: 92) are potentially reset and recalibrated. My contention is that positioning internationalisation as central to education, as feasible and desirable will facilitate the creation of particular place spaces within social groups, institutions or even local or national education systems. Taking such a conception may support an evaluation of whether or not the Ecuadorian government's desire to roll out the International Baccalaureate nationally (see Prosser, this volume), so that all its students benefit from this curriculum change equally, is likely to be effective.

Thrift's (2009) four types of space allow for an analysis of the physical and the visible, but also the imaginary and affective/discursive structures shaping education—policy, institutions, markets, curricula and subjectivities. Critically, it demands an engagement with the "glocal" (Gibson-Graham 2002) or "glonacal" (Marginson and Rhoades 2002) and the various ways and intensities through which the global becomes local in different spaces. Yet, as a sociologist it feels as if Thrift's conceptualisation could be further augmented by incorporating an understanding of how these spaces may intersect. We need to be able to carefully consider how the intersections between the first and second spaces lead to greater or less potential for unblocking, or how particular images in the third space drive particular practices of unblocking. To draw on a place space conception, we need to more accurately trace how the various actors and discursive/affective structures at the glonacal levels interact with one another to ultimately shape internationalisation practices and their outcomes.

Imperatives to internationalise surround us and are coming at us in all directions, yet how these are interpreted and practised will vary. Some of the chapters demonstrate that particular engagements with internationalisation may benefit many (increasing provision of bilingual education

across Germany; the introduction of the International Baccalaureate in Ecuador). Other chapters could be interpreted as suggesting new or previously less-resourced groups are using internationalisation practices to usurp others (see *ENS de Cachan*, a previously less prestigious *grandes école*; Parkin 1974). Yet, the main conclusion most authors draw is that internationalisation has become a further mechanism through which dominant groups and institutions navigate the continually shifting spaces of education, positively privileging particularly resourced groups over others, thereby increasing stratification within our education systems.

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