Empires, Post-Coloniality and Interculturality

New Challenges for Comparative Education

Leoncio Vega (Ed.)

Sense Publishers

CESE

Empires, Post-Coloniality and Interculturality

The Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) is an international non–profit making association of scientific and educational character. CESE was founded in 1961 in London and is a founding society of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES).

CESE has traditionally promoted a space for dialogue amongst scholars, specialists and young researchers from the field of education and other disciplines. More specifically, its purpose is to encourage and promote comparative and international studies in education by:

- promoting and improving the teaching of comparative education in institutions of higher learning;
- stimulating research;
- facilitating the publication and distribution of comparative studies in education;
- interesting professors and teachers of other disciplines in the comparative and international dimension of their work;
- co–operating with those who in other disciplines attempt to interpret educational developments in a broad context;
- organising conferences and meetings;
- collaborating with other Comparative Education Societies across the world in order to further international action in this field.

Every two years CESE organises an international conference of high scholarly standards which attracts academics, scholars, practitioners and students from all parts of Europe and around the world. Throughout its history, CESE has organised twenty–four such conferences, a special conference for the 25th anniversary of the Society, a symposium, and two 'CESE In–Betweens'. In–Betweens are international symposia organised between the biennial conferences. A web site of CESE is maintained at http://www.cese–europe.org/

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Edited by

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EVA GARCÍA

PREFACE

The celebration of the XXV CESE Conference in the city of Salamanca last summer (2012) is a *bona fide* indicator of the health status of one of the oldest scientific societies in the Old World.

On that occasion, the achievement was greater than expected if we take into account the huge economic difficulties currently being imposed on University affairs by the recession and, by virtue of this, the organization of academic meetings with an international perspective.

Paradoxically, it is now, within this context of economic crisis and political upheaval, that the celebration of such international meetings may have the greatest meaning and potential impact. From the exchange of ideas and the formulation of proposals, comparative education can and indeed must contribute to an international debate that will offer contributions of interest as regards deliberations about the construction of Europe.

With all these issues on the horizon, the setting up of a scientific meeting in Salamanca had as its *leitmotiv* three arguments that are analysed in–depth in this book: empires, post–colonialism and interculturality, understood as arguments that apart from standing out as individual entities in themselves also share areas of convergence.

We are thus dealing with epigraphs with many derivatives for the field of comparative education. The evocation of the new *empires* in education raises issues such as the hegemonic presence of certain elements, examples of which are accountability, international rankings as an incentive to develop reforms and that act as keystones in pedagogical reflection, and the presence of an unequal "trafficking" in the development of comparative education. Here we find languages, models, concepts, developments and even the editorial distribution of discourses in a set direction, these therefore being hegemonic or predominant.

The issue of post–colonialism is equally relevant. Under this spreading denomination we find interpretations in at least two different levels. On the one hand, the phenomenon can be understood from the viewpoint of cultural identities. And the tight relation in the identity–school binomial is well known.

Study of this phenomenon – for which there are very evident enclaves in Europe for its analysis –, has important obstacles in that nothing is constructed *ex novo*, and of course education is no exception. Thus, together with the demand for or recovery

of (where pertinent) a given cultural identity it is also necessary to bear in mind the dialectic between what we wish to rid ourselves of and the new elements we wish to incorporate into the cultural, political, social, and naturally educational, equation.

On the other hand, post–colonialism also admits other points of view, other focuses. Thus, some interpretations hint at the prevalence in this new post–colonial scenario of a cultural relativism, at loggerheads with the values formed in the West. To a certain extent, post–colonialism propitiates debate about the discourse on Modernism and Post–Modernism, also within the span of international education.

Finally, the discussion addressing interculturality forms part of the reality of our environment and is hence a pertinent aspect that the CESE has wished to incorporate as one of the thematic axes in the field of academic activity. Global society expresses itself not only through movements or trends in the same direction in what some have referred to as an institutional globalization, but also refers to a culturally pluralistic world in which the role played by education is crucial.

Recalling one of the four pillars announced some years ago by Delors, comparative education also finds it relevant to persevere in the reflections and proposals of what the French author called *learning to live together* as one of the imperatives for the 21st Century, at the time knocking at the very door.

Regarding acknowledgements, it is necessary to mention the institutions that collaborated actively so that the CESE Meeting could be held successfully in Salamanca. In the "external institutions" sector, two merit special mention: the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness, which supported the Meeting with the granting of a Complementary Action (Ref. EDU2011–15549–E). Our gratitude is also due to the City Council of Salamanca, who facilitated diffusion of the Meeting and was kind enough to nominate the expert in comparative education Prof. R. Cowen as a "Distinguished Guest".

It is also just to recognise the support provided by the academic institutions and agencies who understood the importance that International Meetings of this kind have in broadening the field of scientific knowledge. With such high sights, we are grateful to the collaboration of the University of Salamanca, the School of Education of this University and the Department of Theory and History of Education itself. Regarding academic contributions, we sincerely acknowledge the encouragement and support offered by the Spanish Comparative Education Society. Our thanks are also due to the work, commitment and professionalism of the *Fundación General* of the University of Salamanca for ensuring that the Meeting would be a success.

Committee of CESE. Likewise we are indebted to the work of the Organizing Committee of the Meeting: Leoncio Vega Gil, José María Hernández Díaz, Belén Espejo Villar, Luján Lázaro Herrero and Juan Carlos Hernández Beltrán, and of the Technical Secretariat, composed of Eva García Redondo, Silvia Martín Sánchez, José Francisco Rebordinos Hernando, Alexia Cachazo Vasallo, Sara González Gómez and Tania Gómez Sánchez.

LEONCIO VEGA

EMPIRES, POST–COLONIALITY AND INTERCULTURALITY

New Challenges for Comparative Education

XXX CESE CONFERENCE

The central topic of discussion and debate for the XXX CESE Conference, held at the University of Salamanca on 17–21 June 2012, was approved by the Executive Committee of the CESE in April 2012 together with the structure of the thematic sessions. The main focus proposed for the debates of the Conference can be encompassed within an intellectual effort aimed at reappraising and redirecting the scientific discipline of Comparative Education on the basis of the major cultural trends affecting the internationalization and/or globalization of education. Reconsidering and/or rethinking our discipline involve studying the influence of three large international forces on it. On one hand, we see empires, not so much in the sense of discipline or government but rather from the cultural, technological and knowledge perspective. This addresses both historical processes and present events and is expressed through networks, research programs, the academic processes of university reform under the auspices of governmental criteria and efficiency, transnational mobility, and linguistic monopolies. Second, it is necessary to rethink the influence of post–colonialism on educational models and citizens' education, not only from the point of view of its impact on the curricular reordering of educational systems, but also of its educational and socio–cultural expression; both forms were expressed in the 19th and 20th centuries within different international geographic contexts. The third component of the discursive triangle is the reconsideration (not only historical) of the impact of migratory flows, or perhaps better said of cultural migrations", and their relationship with the reordering of the curricular and educational processes, both in the educational systems and within the social framework. Education is from a "monoculture" to multi–cultures in schools.

With a view to achieving our goals, the Conference was organized in eight sessions (seven working groups and the Symposium). WG1, on Education and Empires (Chair: E. Klerides), aimed to answer the question about the type of comparative thinking we need to understand the "old" and the "new" empires, studying geographic contexts on the five continents. The topics of comparative analysis focused on the EU, the Council of Europe, the OECD, the World Bank, UNESCO, etc. That is, the international agencies and their practices (discourses,

rankings, benchmarks, governance, legitimization, experts, etc.). From a geographic perspective, the contributions presented at the WG focused on Argentina, China, Finland, Portugal, the European Union, Pakistan, the Philippines, Spain and Italy. It should be noted that most papers corresponded to the central theme of the Conference: the involvement of Comparative education of the new "imperial" forms of knowledge, technology, discourses, and identity.

WG2, addressing Post–socialism and Education (Chair: V. Domovic), aimed to study issues related to Post–socialist States and their construction or reconstruction as regards education (curricula, universities, instructor training, civic education, etc.). A further aim was to explore how the "new empires" affect the reordering of education systems. Geographic contexts should not only refer to Eastern Europe but also to Cuba, North Korea, Africa and Russia. The papers presented and discussed in this WG came from countries such as Italy, Poland, Eastern European countries, Russia, Kenya, Armenia and Kazakhstan, among others.

WG 3 dealt with Imperialism, Education and Interculturality (Chair: J. Gundara) and their relationships with comparative education through scientific contributions from anthropology, political science, sociology and other disciplines of the social sciences. This WG received papers from Finland–Japan–Turkey, Spain, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom, Europe, and Cyprus, together with others with no specific geographic circumscription.

WG 4, addressing Post–colonialism and Education (Chair: L. Wikander), looked at thematic issues related to post–colonial education after the collapse of the large empires of the 19th and 20th centuries. Comparative reflection on the educational perspective of post–colonialism theory includes discursive constructions about the British, Portuguese, Spanish, etc., post–colonial times, but also attending to South Korea, Japan and China. The papers presented at this WG focused on Angolan, Latin–American, Argentinean, Tanzanian, Bolivian, Jamaican, Korean and Rwandan contexts.

WG 5, focused on New Empires of Knowledge (Chair: H.G. Kotthoff), was dedicated monographically to the study of international programs and institutions for the assessment of competencies (TIMMS, PIRLS, PISA, etc.). This group studied the sociology and international politics of numbers (Education by Numbers, W. Mansell, 2007), and how programs have become the matter of study of Comparative Education as regards ideology, the sciences, policies, systems and processes. The thematic contributions to this WG came from Greece, United Kingdom, United States, Cyprus, Turkey, Middle East, N. Africa, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Finland, Germany, Norway and Romania.

WG6, which looked at International Cooperation and Education (Chair: E. Buk–Berge), focused on the infrastructures, mechanisms and processes that use both discourses (evidence, rigour, relevance, etc.) and practices (agencies, programs, bodies, etc.) in the new forms of international cooperation and the role played by education in their initiatives and projects. Should this international educational cooperation be studied within the scientific discipline of Comparative Education?

The thematic contexts of the contribution to this WG came from Finland, Italy, EU, UK, Sweden and Japan.

The NSWG (Chairs: L. Vega and J. Valle) was devoted to welcoming young researchers or investigators who were participating for the first time in CESE Conferences and who had the opportunity to position their contributions within an international setting. The work topics were the main ones addressed at the Conference. However, this section was in great demand and received works with contextual references to Europe, Argentine, Chile, Uruguay, Russia, Norway, Spain and Bolivia.

The Symposium with the main topics of the Conference was also well received by those attending: there were works from the Italian, Spanish, Mexican, Portuguese, Argentinean and Brazilian contexts

The participants at the Conference came from different countries, although it seems pertinent to distinguish between the registered (150) and (non–registered (160) participants. This second category included accompanying persons and those interested or involved in some of the sessions of the working groups or of the Conference. 86.2% of those who were registered came from European countries (taking as a reference the country in which they worked): Spain, 50; The United Kingdom, 20; Italy, 12; Portugal, 10; Germany, 7; Norway, 3; Sweden, 3; Greece, 3; Belgium, 2; Denmark, 2; The Netherlands, 2; Poland, 2; France, 2; Croatia, 2; Cyprus, 2; Finland, 1; and Ireland, 1, an indicator of the full attendance of the CESE in the European university. 14 % came from both North and South America: USA, 8; Canada, 3; Brazil, 3; Argentina, 3; Mexico, 2; Chile, 1; and Uruguay, 1, and the remaining 3.33 % from the Asia–Pacific area: Japan, 2; Korea, 1; Hong–Kong, 1, and Australia, 1.

The Local Organizing Committee (presided by the Professor of Comparative Education of the University of Salamanca, Leoncio Vega) offered an academic, social and cultural program that led to intense academic sessions for thematic discussions (with a broad high–quality participation), and was combined with some cultural initiatives, such as a visit to the majestic Renaissance Old Library of the University of Salamanca, where the visitors had occasion to enjoy the historical beauty and documentary quality of the manuscripts and incunabulae conserved there, and a nocturnal visit to the "Golden City" to appreciate and enjoy the city built of Villamayor stone and its rich architectural and artistic heritage (the ample series of civil Renaissance buildings, the "procession" of Gothic or Romanesque churches. This was headed by the two Cathedrals, and also the rich University heritage, special attention being paid to the main façade of the Major Schools (the Historical University Building), constructed in the 16th century in a Castilian Plateresque style and guarded by the austere skull and frog as a symbol of the loneliness and rigors of intellectual work and the licentious life–style of the students of the day).

Among the programmatic actions, we should not overlook the institutional act of reception offered by the City Hall of Salamanca, which included the emotional and highly merited appointment of the comparativist Professor B. Cowen as a

distinguished guest of the City and the later gathering on the balcony for those present to enjoy an "aerial view" of the uniform "Churrigueresque"(from Churriguera, the architect) Main Square, constructed in two phases along the 18th century.

In panel format we had the opportunity to attend a round table coordinated by Professor M. Pereyra, whose contributions focused on the intellectual effort involved in rethinking or redirecting research and teaching in the field of Comparative Education from perspectives that situate human beings (their education, training and moral construction) at the reference epicenter of the comparison, of educational systems and the daily activities of comparativists. The words of researchers such as J. L. García Garrido, Karin Amos, Carlo Cappa and Andreas M. Kazamias allowed us to gain further insight into the historical construction of comparative education since the advent of Humanism, in which the University of Salamanca has been a well–known and renowned intellectual reference.

The academic work program included the delivery of seven plenary speeches. Four were in English, two in Portuguese and one in Spanish. The first one was delivered by the Professor at the University of Bayreuth (Germany) Sabine Hornberg (an expert in PIRLS tests and in the transnational dimension of educational spaces), addressing "*Transnational Education Spaces: Border–transcending Dimensions in Education*". The second was given by Iveta Silova (Professor of Comparative and International Education at the College of Education, Lehigh University, Pennsylvania (USA) and Editor of European education) on "*The Futures of (Post) Socialism; Critical Reflections on Transitologies and Transfer in Comparative Education*". The third was delivered by Professor at the University of Pernambuco Zélia Granja Porto (an expert in pre–school education in Brazil) on "*Infancias y Poder: Discursos Transnacionales en las Formas de Regulación de Políticas para la Educación Infantil*". The fourth contribution was delivered by Professor of Comparative Education at the University of Valencia (Spain) María Jesús Martínez Ussaralde (an expert in relations between cooperation and education) on "*Sentipensar la Cooperación al Desarrollo en Educación desde las Políticas Internacionales y de Subjetividad*". The fifth was given by Professor at the Piaget Institute (Portugal) Joao Ruivo (an expert in teachers training) on *"La Globalización, la Escuela y la Profesionalización de los Profesores*". The sixth corresponded to Juan Manuel Moreno (Senior Education Specialist at the Department of the Middle East and North Africa of the World Bank) on "*Skill Gaps and Meritocracy in the Transition from Education to Work: The case of the Middle East and North Africa*". The Lauwerys delivery, or closing speech, was given by Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin–Madison (USA), Thomas Popkewitz (a specialist in curricular analysis, advisor of education systems in different countries and a renowned publisher of political–educational themes, schooling and instructor training as the construction of power). His stimulating historical talk addressed "*The paradoxes of Comparative Studies: The Representation of the Others as Exclusions and Abjections*".

The deliveries, widely followed by the participants at this event, focused on the topics basic to the Conference and, although with different perspectives and levels, acted as an academic stimulus to comparative reflection in education.

The reflection of the work involved in the organization and planning of the Conference, together with the condensation of research richness in the comparative field, could be encapsulated in the two documents that the organization made available to all the participants. On one hand, there was the booklet, which detailed the composition of the various committees (both that of the CESE and of the Local Organization), general information for the participants, the general program of academic activities, the organization of the Panel, the Working Groups (these gathered the abstracts presented and debated and the programming of their presentation) and the final list of participants.

The CD–ROM (ISBN 978–84–695–3792–3) includes the 50 papers that the authors accepted for publication in this format for academic research works. The distribution some homogeneous levels, but the sections most demanded were the Symposium, the New Scholar Working Group, and WGs 1 and 6.

The CESE Conference that was held in Spain for the fourth time (Valencia 1979, Madrid 1990, Granada 2006 and Salamanca 2012) should first be interpreted as a new opportunity to continue broadening the international dimension of the comparative research of the Spanish scientific community. This is an extensive and diverse collective that to a large extent responded with its participation and contributions. The presence of curricular continents in the subjects of Comparative Education (CE) and similar materials in the study plans of Pedagogy, Social Education, Infant Education Teaching, Primary School Teaching and the formal Master's degree in Teachers Training in Secondary education, with different levels of development in the Spanish university spectrum, requires a constantly updated academic effort and a renovation in a social context of progressive consumption of contents and information of an international nature. Second, we are also supporting a process of aperture and expansion of the CESE, not only in the internal European and North–American contexts but also in the Latin–American sphere, that of the Middle East and that of Africa and, of course, in the rapidly economically developing Asian zone.

Third, apart from the above contributions to the "internationalization" of the discipline of CE, we should underscore those of strictly academic and intellectual nature. The initial proposal of comparatively reflecting and rethinking the relations between knowledge societies, the teaching and research activities that are expressed through social and/or institutional education and the cultural trends, current and movements (political and economic) that act as "empires", was achieved with complete satisfaction, as may be seen both from the participation and from the intellectual richness and interest pervading the debates that took place in the Work Groups, the contributions, and the Panel. The material embodiment of this richness is seen in the CD–ROM, available to all participants and is more intensely expressed via the bibliographic documents to be found in this volume. All this suggests that CE is not what it was some decades ago. Education systems as we knew them are

not undergoing reforms (internal and external) derived from the "world culture". Additionally, new programs and knowledge are being added to reflection and teaching. Examples are those deriving from international assessments of competencies and the educational contributions or determinations from international agencies. We are also advancing in the scientific construction (theoretical and intellectual) of Comparative Education in an attempt to overcome data fetishism and "on–the–spot democracy" (A. Nóvoa).

From the domestic viewpoint, we cannot overlook the fact that the Conference also served to lend continuity to the historical and international trajectory of the University of Salamanca, with centuries of external relations that are now expressed in terms of student mobility, cooperative programs, signed agreements, doctorate programs, the training of researchers and an endless list of collaborative academic activities with other universities, teams and researchers from all five continents. The CE team of which we form part has also joined that academic trajectory.

AUDIENCES IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Currently, following the scheme proposed by Professor A. Viñao (2003) our avenue of enquiry involves the social groups that use Comparative Education: the audiences or the "consumers". According to Prof. Viñao, the reference audiences would be the official, social, professional and scientific groups. Eckstein (1990) concentrates these audiences in three sectors: teachers, researchers and users (to implement and assess policies). It is clear that the main audience of comparative studies comes from the Administration and the political system. In this sense, Comparative Education has been the victim of its own success (Nóvoa, 2033) since research has been governed by political and administrative concerns in the field of schooling, which has mortgaged scientific construction. Support for international references can be seen in parliamentary discourses, reports and interventions. This is the case of the European Network on Education and Policies in Europe (Eurydice), whose comparative research work on education systems is performed with two collectives in mind, the political and the administrative collectives, the former being the one that sets and determines both the agenda and the rhythms and processes. In other words, comparative studies are converted into a "System of Governability" (Nóvoa, 2006) as a result of the revitalization of comparative education brought about by globalization (Vega, 2006). Regarding the social audience, it should be borne in mind that education forms part of the concern and social debate and comparativists must act as key elements in this process of conformation. The social consumption of the international perspective of education can be found in the literature, the communications media (television, radio, etc.) and in the press (in their regular contributions or in education supplements such as those published by El País, Le Monde, The New York Times, etc.). Nevertheless, these books, documents, reports, supplements or sections not only become converted into instruments of the social process of education but also act as a support and/or academic reference

for professionals (teachers, school teachers, administrators, politicians). Moreover, this social information about international education plays a substituting role with respect to CE. Current international issues –such as the evaluation of teachers in Portugal, segregated schooling in Spain, the reform of the *Lycées* in France, the student protests in Greece against the political system and the divorce of the system from youth or the ranking of countries according to the evaluation of competencies derived from PISA and the subsequent debate and reforms concerning the standards of school performance in Sweden, the USA and other countries– should not, despite the political, cultural and social relevance harboured within them, mark the academic agenda in CE (a trend also seen in Educational Policy). However, we are aware that they offer detailed information based on international reports or reports on the professional and academic consequences of expected and desired reforms and, in this sense, they should form part of a more structural, systematic and planned approach to teaching activities or research projects. However, all this is a clear reflection of the "popularity" of CE. Social enthusiasm for comparisons has two consequences of interest for the academic field of CE. On one hand is the "society of spectacles" ("on–the–spot democracy" or "urgency regime", with new ways of socialization). On the other we have the policy of accountability (the discourse of the "experts" that is able to create concepts, methods and tools for "comparing" education systems) (Nóvoa, 2003).

Thirdly, the collective of education professionals (school teachers, professors, administrators, inspectors, orientation providers, educators), which so strongly contributed to the birth and consolidation of comparative studies, has been converted into an audience that is now contributing to reconstruction the field. As an example, one could refer to the common directives of the study plans of the teacher–training degrees from 1991 and 2007; the Regulatory Bill providing for the grades in pre–school children and Primary education gathers international competencies such as "situate the school in the Spanish, European and international context", or "international experiences in pre–school teaching". In degrees in Social Education and Pedagogy (non–regulated professions) the organization of study plans lies in the hands of Departments as well as influential groups and individuals. In this case, we see two reform–directed trends: the continuation of the present academic weight of the disciplines and equality. That is, the aim is to put the weight of the curricular blocks (history of education, Comparative Education, education policies, social pedagogy, environmental teaching and women's education) on the same level. Such equality involves the need for certain renunciations and the "*deconstruction*" of certain professional profiles. However, in the pedagogical academic community in Spain there is not even consensus about the knowledge and disciplines that make up the Education Sciences. As an example, one could cite the meeting that the School of Education of the University of Santiago de Compostela organized in 2004 to commemorate the centenary of the first University Chair of Pedagogy in Spain (created in 1904), which aimed to concentrate reflection and debate on the state of the art in the education sciences. The corresponding publication includes contributions

about the history of education, social pedagogy, didactics, the theory of education, educational organization, orientation, and research methodology (Trillo, 2005). No contribution from Comparative Education is mentioned but we are bound to ask ourselves about the reason for this irrationality… On one hand, it could be due to a misinterpretation of comparisons as a methodological application and not as the scientific construction of knowledge. On the other hand, Galician academic tradition has not been sensitive to studies (disciplinary and investigatory) of a comparative nature in education.

The last audience comes from the scientific community of comparativists. CE as a research field, and above all as an academic discipline in universities, is international. In some contexts, as well as being a discipline and a field of Comparative Education encompasses a third meaning that encompasses practical work, mobility, awards, exchange, collaboration, contests, school networks, associations and other international actions from the organization and functioning of education centres at the primary and secondary levels (Porcher, 2002). That is, international activities developed in classrooms, workshops or the schooling environment. The scientific community of comparativists, the "discursive communities" are unitary in their institutional dimension but heterogeneous as regards the basic training of its component elements (pedagogues, economists, inspectors, psychologists, sociologists, etc.), the methodological focuses used by them, the means of expression used, and internal scientific circles (Masemann, 2007; Martínez, 2003).

THE MYTHS OF RESEARCH INTO COMPARATIVE EDUCATION.

 The dictionary of the *Real Academia Española* distinguishes between "myth" and "fallacy". One of the meanings of the former refers to a person or thing attributed with qualities he/she/it does not have or a reality that is not present. The second term refers to the use of falsehoods although it can also be interpreted as referring to fraud, trickery or lies with the intent to cause harm. Since this latter characteristic of the second term is not present in the processes we wish to analyze, we shall use the first one. The issue of "myths" in education has been addressed by Prof. R. Cowen (2003 and 2012) in several works. In the first, Prof. Cowen briefly presents the three myths of Comparative Education: education systems as commercial spaces, that is, the education markets (market–driven); the new values or discourses used to explain success in education (Thatcherism, competitiveness or Confucianism), and life–long learning. It is true that these discursive categories do not act simultaneously but prevail in some countries, with more or less explanatory power, as a function of the history, culture, sociology and politics of the context of each country. In his latest work he explains in more detail the fundaments and expressions of the market myth, focusing his discourse on quality, quality control, the classic myths in the academic construction of Comparative Education and the "political" governance of our lines of enquiry. The context chosen is the United Kingdom and the universities can be seen as the institutional circumscription. The detailed analyses of Prof.

Cowen inform us that "the doctorate has increasingly become a performance of an act of empirical research calling for the display of research techniques and careful reporting of research results" (Cowen, 2012, p. 17).

Along the same lines, we wish to mention those that we consider to be "myths" in the processes of research into Comparative Education, taking as a reference comparative research in Spain. We first have what we could consider the "*myth of language*". This considers as comparative and/or international knowledge all studies published in other languages. In the "discursive community" it is very common to be under the belief that researchers in comparative education are the studious scholars who express themselves (both at Conferences and in journal articles or books) in European languages such as English, French or Italian. The assignation of roles depends not so much on the quality of the research processes (methodological approaches, the contribution to the progress of knowledge and narrative richness) as on ease of communication. The dominance of foreign languages (crucial in Comparative Education) is no longer a means but is the very goal of academic research. The second is what one could refer to as the "*myth of the sample*". This involves interpreting educational research from the perspective that it contains an empirical part. In the supervision of research works, both the completion of academic degrees and doctorate programs, degree reports and doctoral theses, we become aware of the "social image", but not the academic one, surrounding research. To a large extent I believe that this is due to the myth that Prof. Cowen refers to as "market–driven"; one which is still very present in our countries and also in Latin America. Nevertheless, we can connect it to the scientific traditions in universities that have undergone a considerable tilt, in discursive and academic terms, from the natural and experimental sciences. Such is the influence of this "empiricism" that the main value of research lies not in this context, nor in the theoretical underpinnings, structure, focus or narrative quality of the thesis, but in the empirical data presented. This is a quantification that also "adulterates" the research process on considering empirical data to be the goal of research and not a means to provide analytical and explanatory knowledge of a comparative nature. In research projects and journal articles it is also possible to note a reappearance of methodological empiricism in the social sciences; perhaps "collateral damage" of the crisis and the reduction in resources destined for investigation. Thirdly, we are witnessing the progressive academic presence of the "*technological myth*", according to which research processes are those that allow us to handle information and perform empirical studies from the new information and communications technology. As well as favouring the "privatization of educational and training spaces" (interpreted as individualization), technological tools are becoming not only instruments and research means but also the goals of research itself. This is perhaps another example of the "education market" as regards the determination of the focus of research processes. A fourth myth can be found in the varied basic training of researchers in Comparative and International Education. This refers to "economists", "politicians", scholars of philology, sociologists and historians and not to researchers with training in the education sciences. This

is unlike what happens in other fields of the social sciences such as economics, literature or political science, in which comparative investigation is performed by specialists trained in the subject matter.

We also consider a fourth academic myth (narrative and methodological), which consists of the attraction towards research classicism both in the topics addressed and in the working methods, which – despite the "theoretical" defense of the social sciences –, to a large extent overlooks its explanatory application. In its desire to differentiate between Comparative and International Education it remains glued to a national conception of education systems and descriptive research practices of International Education oriented to the study of education/school systems. This trend attempts to present and demarcate the scope of Comparative Education with respect to other disciplines in the Educational Sciences.

<div align="center">THE CONTRIBUTIONS INCLUDED IN THE BOOK.</div>

The 16 chapters of the book are organized in four blocks preceded by the Introduction in which the Editor explains the organization of the XXV CESE Conference, some reflections on the social and professional dimensions of Comparative education and on the "implicit forms" that underlie research processes as well as a synthesis of each of the chapters included. The four sections of the structure refer to the following issues. The first section addresses the comparative contributions in the historical dimension. The second includes research work addressing the empires of knowledge (communications networks and competency research programs). The third one covers the presentations and papers dealing with the transnational and or colonial/post–colonial dimension of International Education. Finally, the fourth section includes two research works on the intercultural dimension of education from the international perspective. The presentation of each chapter is included below.

Comparative Studies and the Reasons of Reason: Historicizing Differences and "Seeing" reforms in Multiple Modernities.

The evocative work contributed by the researchers **T. Popkewitz, A. Khurshid and W. Zhao** is focused on the study of the relationship between cross–cultural and international comparative research embodies a conundrum, which lies in the very analytics of comparativeness in the human sciences. Such analytics are continually presented in some forms of connection to certain notions of the European Enlightenment of reason and rationality even when seeking to maintain the integrity of differences outside Western cultures. The challenge of comparative studies set forth in this paper is to explore differences without inscribing a continuum of values through the representations of the identities recognized for inclusion but defined as different. Their approach, a History of the Present, focuses on "systems of reason" or different historically inscribed rules and standards about what is "seen", thought about, and acted on as the subjects of school research. The exemplars to

engage in different systems of reason are reforms in China, Pakistan, and the US. The strategy does not escape the conundrum of enlightenment attitudes; rather it provides an alternative style of thought which disrupts the hierarchy of values that differentiate the self and others. The exploration of "seeing" difference as relational has implications for curriculum and policy studies in contemporary western school reforms, discussed in the conclusions.

Complexity of History–Complexity of the Human Being. Education, Comparative Educati, and Early Modernity

The contribution offered by **C. Cappa** aims to offer a theoretical–explanatory peek, from the historical perspective, into the "philosophical" relations between education, comparative education and modernity. It is a re–reading made from the possible "humanist" view implicit in interpretations of the educational phenomenon. However, the work offers the reader highly original conclusions that can and should spark debate among the "discursive communities" of Comparative Education. These are related to the cultural interpretation of the first modernity in the Renaissance and Humanism, with emphasis on the plurality of modernities and with the interpretation of rhetoric as a discursive resource. It is an investigation with more of a philosophical underpinning than a pedagogical one, more historical–cultural than political–educational, that is found in the relativism and pluralism of the discursive orthodoxy of modernity,

Time, Location and Identity of WWII–Related Museums: An International Comparative Analysis

The work offered by **M. Shibata** focuses on an innovative topic, with a strong international expansion. This refers to the pedagogy of museums. After exploring the social and political functions of museums as a reflection of the historical memory in the organization and functioning of western societies (branded, like museums, by the consequences of the Second World War), it focuses its analysis not so much on explaining and understanding the pedagogical dimension of these spaces of memory (programs, courses, distance learning, congresses, etc.) as on their origins (the time and context within which they were created) in order to better understand and explain their character and meaning. The research sources are in particular taken from Germany and Japan.

Citizenship, Values and Social Orders. The Assessment of "census" and Ritual Education in Ancient Rome

The suggestive work of A. Paolone starts from a more pedagogical springboard in that the author make a discursive analysis of the social processes of the conformation of "citizenship" through collective ceremonies and rituals, which acquire a socio–

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pedagogical category. The ceremony *par excellence* studied is the "census", which refers to a holistic symbolic construction with repercussions in the form of social and family organization. Classical Rome is where we find the origins, both juridical and institutional, of public education according to the institution theory (Meyer and Ramírez, 2010), in which academic rituals form part of symbolic learning.

Science and Educational Models in Europe. From the Disaster of 98 to the Weimar Republic (1898–1932)

The study of **J. L. Rubio and G. Trigueros** is focused on scientific research systems and their relationship with teaching models in Europe and North America. First they compare the Spanish and German science systems with their university teaching models between 1989 and 1936. The initial hypothesis also relates production sectors and their economic development level to the scientific research model and the role of the State concerning science and university teaching. The method used begins with interdisciplinary debates about the contrast in social science and history. Among the main conclusions, the first highlights the fact that in the most advanced economies of the twentieth century the State used to organize the promotion and foundation of those scientific institutions independent of universities, dedicated exclusively to research. Secondly, part of the leading science was linked to the solution of basic production problems due to the second industrial revolution. Thirdly, most of the research institutions were funded by the industry sector, for which they researched and which they depended on. Fourthly, the research areas lay not only in the natural sciences and mathematics, but also in studies on humanism and in the social sciences, although with their own particular characteristics. The fifth point is that university teaching established the basis of and used a network of scientific information sharing, which stopped the knowledge produced from becoming obsolete. Finally, the university model changed with the creation of an independent system of science and technology, which provides considerable upgrades since these also solve the practical problems of the industry sector and of the State, as reflected in the Great War.

High Performance in Reading Comprehension in Poverty Conditions in South America. The Case of Resilient Student in PISA 2009 in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay

In the most recent version of the PISA (OECD, 2009), Latin America was one of the regions in which socio–economic status had a strong influence on reading performance (OECD, 2010). Argentina, Chile and Uruguay are three of the countries that participated in the study. In all of these countries, despite the strong influence of the environment, some students do not follow the tendency to perform according to their socioeconomic status. Research work offered by **G. Gómez, J. P. Valenzuela and C. Sotomayor** focuses on high–achieving students and low

income. They share two essential characteristics: they belong to the poorest 25% of the sample of their country and they outperform the national average academically. This phenomenon is associated with the notion of resilience. They study the features of these young people and their schooling in the three countries mentioned. The objective is to identify the factors that favor their academic performance. By means of a multilevel analysis of the probability of being resilient, common characteristics are identified among resilient students in these three countries: female gender, positive attitudes toward books and reading, remaining current with their schooling (avoid repeating grades), and the socioeconomic level of the peers with whom they share schooling.

Approaches to Assist Policy–Makers´ use of Research Evidence in Education in Europe

The contribution of **C. Kenny, D. Gough and J. Tripney** addresses the use made by European politicians of research evidence in decision making. The content focuses on an analysis of the academic literature and on the documentary contributions of the research agencies and institutes to analyze the focuses of this relationship and the type of actions aimed at meeting the needs of political action. The conclusions, with the due reserve in data use, reveal that there are few countries that work in international cooperation; that it is the governments themselves (through agencies and specific bodies) and university academics who are the main actors. The authors also posit that the mechanisms and strategies employed by the actors in the use of research evidence are education, facilitation, interaction–collaboration, searches and social influence.

Redesigning Curricula across Europe: Implications for Learner´s Assesment in Vocational Education and Training

I. Psifidou, from the CEDEFOP, offers a well–documented study of the political need to re–think the systems and methods of performance yield and qualifications in students and Vocational Training apprentices. The theoretical framework rests on European contributions focused on programs addressing Competencies and Life–long Learning (2006), within the **European Framework of Qualifications** (2008) and the **Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (ET 2020).** Additionally, the analytical approach includes empirical data from questionnaires given out to politicians, experts, employers, trainers and students. The conclusions offered are in keeping with the perception of an increasing awareness (political, social and pedagogical) of the need to revise the methods of competence acquisition in VET; of the complexity of this field due to its intimate link with the production system, and also of the offer made by some scholars who seek to unify learning and assessment.

Performativity and Visibility. Shapes, Paths, and Meanings in the European Higher Education Systems

In her contribution, **V. D´Ascanio** analyses the present debate on the role played by European university systems and the kind of knowledge they are called upon to produce and transmit. Performativity is a category used by many scholars to comprehend the variety and inter–relation of the factors involved. This paper regards the idea of performativity – referring to Jean–François Lyotard's thinking – and its relation with visibility in order to understand the forces, agents and discourses involved in requests that touch upon the production of knowledge and the governance of university systems. In this frame, the plurality of agents is underlined and their role in placing performance centre–stage is identified. These tendencies are examined to explain the emergence of the audit society and why its founding element is the visibility imperative. The relation between performativity and visibility is analysed to understand the adoption of the Global Emerging Model and harmonization and differentiation processes in European higher education systems. To represent educational space, both global and local, the network image is taken as the appropriate heuristic instrument to symbolize the plurality of actors, the complexity of relations and the asymmetry in the degrees and levels of influence.

Transnational Educational Spaces: Border–transcending Dimensions in Education

The contribution offered by **S. Hornberg** is organized in three parts. In the first the author lays down the conceptual bases and interpretations of the term "Transnational Educational Spaces", which are expressed in three forms or presentations: socialization, educational convergence and transnational education. The author then studies the aims and characteristics of the International Baccalaureate, offered through different international organizations, which is explained as a case of educational transnationality. In the third part, we read, by way of conclusions, of a series of open questions (issues to be addressed in the future) such as the added value of these programs for schools, parents and students; the added differentiation with respect to national programs and certifications; the relationship with the education markets and, of course, the "World Education System".

The Interplay of "Posts" in Comparative Education: Post–Socialism and Post–Colonialism after the Cold War

I. Silova offers an exhaustive and well documented paper on post–socialism and post–colonialism in countries from the former Soviet bloc, after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The two work categories are of great methodological interest in studies addressing Comparative and International Education because they encompass the great explanatory and narrative potential of the reference area, despite the prevalent diversity (geographic, social and educational). These categories are also analyzed

as "alternative proposals" to the dominance of globalization. The study examines the literature on "blocs" and "dichotomic theories" in the last decades of the 20th century. The categories are expressed through narratives of crisis, danger and decline and, in educational terms, they are transformed into belligerent discourses against western models (especially European ones) in their desire to break away from the most immediate context (both historical and geographic and cultural). The author concludes that comparative studies on post–socialist education have followed the pathways marked by global and neoliberal reforms (including those of a more local nature) that represent subjugation to the dominant discourse, despite the "alleged" cultural detachment. Accordingly, the categories analyzed are converted into a narrative potential that challenges the dominant neoliberal discourses of globalization.

Childhood and Power: Transnational and National Discourses on the Regulation of Policies for Early Childhood Education in Brazil

The Brazilian research **Z. Granja** provides a documented study of educational policies and infant attention in Brazil. From a Foucaultian focus, combined with the "ecological model", the study analyzes both the discourses of the actors and the production contexts of these. Having explained the analytical categories and their political and academic expressions, the author offers us (in the Conclusions section) some questions as a research strategy for the future and for the case in hand. In Latin–American societies there is a profound contradiction between policies, discourses and regulation (Recall that the 1990 *Child and Adolescent Statute*), approved and applied in Brazil, was pioneer and advanced in the application of childhood rights covered in the 1989 Convention) and the practices and social and moral position of childhood. This is why these paradoxes become analytical "objects of desire". This change in the discursive practices and their representations at different levels (local, regional, state–level and transnational) wrapped up in "global" discourse opens questions for future research; the issue is finding an answer to the question of how they operate both in the social mentality and in school cultures.

Translating Higher Education in the British Empire. The Question of Vernacular Degrees in Postwar Malaya

The historical–education work presented by **Grace Chou** addresses the consequences and reasons (political, social, cultural and administrative) of the British Academic Council's refusal to accept University degrees in vernacular tongues, as had been agreed, for Malaysian universities when they still formed part of the British Empire, but towards the end–phase of colonialism in an international post–war context and following guidelines that might be termed "African". This area is of great academic interest, especially for western scientific communities, because it helps us to understand part of the puzzle of the extensive and very diverse Asian–Pacific

region. The conclusions of the study show up the difficulty involved in "translation" under imperial auspices together with the ambiguity between the necessary respect for local cultures and the academic and cultural criteria of the Empire, whose actions are not only acts of cultural imposition

Finnish, Japanese and Turkish Pre–service Teachers´ Intercultural Competence: the Impact of Pre–service Teachers´Culture, Personal Experiences, and Education.

The study offered by **Hosoya, Talib** and **Arslan** is encompassed within intercultural education at the international level. The first part of the contribution is more theoretical and conceptual, with abundant and very sound bibliographic support, and a careful exploration of terms such as "self", "identity", "self–respect", "personal advancement" "intercultural competency" and "professional identity" The second part, which is more empirical, is based on information provided by teacher training students from three countries with huge geographic cultural, socio–economic and `pedagogical differences, namely Finland, Japan and Turkey. The aim of the author is to related two variables: intercultural competency and the professional identity of teachers. The conclusions offered in the work suggest that both variables are only partly related and that the observed relationship is not uniform but different in each country studied since it depends strongly on the cultural and pedagogical conditions of each of the societies in which the teachers live and work.

Constructing the "other": Politics and Policies of Intercultural Education in Cyprus

The work of E. Theodorou focuses on an analysis of the political discourses about intercultural education in Cyprus from a post–modern analytic stance. It should be recalled that these discourses are encompassed within a context of special significance insofar that Cyprus is a fairly small country (both geographically and demographically), with strong social and economic disparities in the population, which is divided into two regimes (the Greek and the Turkish). In this case, the study focuses on the part of Cyprus that belongs to the European Union: the Greek–Cypriot half. Moreover, the financial regime has acted as a strong attractor of capital and human resources since it has acted more as a "Tax Haven" than as a democratic state of the European Union. The system has failed and has required the help of the countries of the Eurogroup and the IMF. However, the "major" discourses on tolerance, respect, diversity etc… are analyzed from the perspective of subjectivity in the mentality of the "external" students of the Greek–Cypriot education system.

In Cyprus, we see the same situation as that recorded in many western countries: the contradiction between discourses and reality, between form and content, and between politics and reality. Better said, the discourses display two, indeed paradoxical, forms of expression. The political rhetoric insists on the "goodness" of intercultural education, but at the same time the practical discourse of exclusion

occurs or re–appears. And both forms are incorporated in the subjectivity of the students. This is so much so that research ends up by delimiting, in social and cultural terms, three categories of otherness: *the tolerable "others", the deficit (deficient?) "others" and the problematic "others"*.

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SECTION I

FROM EMPIRES, HISTORY AND MEMORY: COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF EDUCATION

THOMAS S. POPKEWITZ, AYESHA KHURSHID & WEILI ZHAO

COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND THE REASONS OF REASON

Historicizing Differences and "Seeing" Reforms in Multiple Modernities

Cross–cultural and international comparative research embodies a conundrum the very analytics of comparativeness in the social and education science research, with variations in their themes, draw from particular European and North American Enlightenments' notions of reason and rationality that provide their epistemological "foundations"[1]. The classification travel as the subjects of the representations and as independent sources of the local identities of differences, such as in research about cultures, nations, minorities, religions, and indigenous populations. The same style of reasoning is apparent within European and North American research. A recent European educational research conference, for example, addressed issues of social exclusion through the category of "urban education". While the West European city is mostly an enclave of the wealthy, "urban" was given to represented as an identity of difference in the hope of rectifying social wrong for the poor, "ethnic' and immigrant groups.

  On the surface, the comparativeness in the latter distinction of "urban" is not readily apparent as "urban" seems to have its own identity in research. "Difference" assumed in this and the other classifications above is to recognize others for inclusion yet paradoxically define those populations as different from some unspoken hierarchy of values[2]. This paradox and an alternative are pursued in four parts. First, we place the paradox within arguments about "modernity" that give expression to a particular European and American enlightenment style of reason. That style of reason embodies the representation of subjects from which differences and divisions are ordered. In the second and third sections, an alternative strategy is proposed through the study of systems of reason. Reason, we argued, is not something natural to the mind or logic but entails historically generated principles about what is known and how that knowing is to occur[3]. Three cultural sites of the US, China, and Pakistan are explored through two intellectual tools: first we follow the logic of "multiple modernities" to understand differences in systems of reason; and second we historicize the categories of science and agency as embodying a particular cultural space and which to render other cultural theses about ways of living. The concluding section revisits and reframes the conundrum of comparative studies and discusses the broader issue of difference in contemporary policy and research.

Our method is a "History of the Present"[4]. Historical in the sense of studying that the distinctions and differentiations that order teaching and learning are made possible through a grid of political, social, cultural, and epistemological practices in the present[5]. This approach intellectually plays with Foucault's (1979) notion of governmentality and Rabinow's (1996) "anthropology of reason". It thus takes what seems as irreconcilable, contradictory and heterogeneous actions to explore the rules and standards that give intelligibility to diverse actions[6]. While this strategy goes against the grain of looking for debate and conflict, its advantages are to make visible the rules and standards of reason that make debate and conflict possible. Further, it allows thinking of "reason" as not a single rationality or logic, but as the play of differences that order and classify the things of the world (see, e.g., Fauer, 2000/2004)[7].

Yet in moving in this direction, the conundrum of comparative studies is not escaped. Our exploration is to push the limits of Western rationalities by being sensitive to the different epistemological systems (Jullien, 1995/2000). Chakrabarty's Provincializing Europe (2000) partially engages this challenge when he argues that Western notions and categories are indispensable but inherently insufficient to narrate the processes of change in and outside of the West[8].

MODERNITY, DIFFERENCE, AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE, SYSTEMS OF REASON

Comparative studies often embody a notion of modernity that focuses on cognitive and social transformations that serve to differentiate contexts and people within a continuum of value. If we draw on the work of Gaonkar (2001), modernity is cast as the growth of a scientific consciousness, the development of a secular outlook, doctrines of progress, the primacy of instrumental rationality, divisions between nature and mind, and the oppositions of the subjective and objective[9]. Gaonkar continues that the cognitive transformations intersect with the emergence and institutionalization of market–driven industrial economies, the bureaucratic state, modes of popular government, rule by law, and increased mobility and literacy that are accompanied with urbanization. These assumptions about the transformations that constitute modernity were assumed in the founders of post–World War II Anglo–American comparative education research.

The significance of locating modernity in these transformations is twofold. First and as Sachsenmaier (2002) argues, many societies had institutional changes related to science and industrialization, conventional markers in which modernity is discussed, prior to what came to be labeled as modern in the West. Seventeenth and eighteenth century China, for example, had the technological possibilities, economic dynamism, public spheres and notions of individualism that today are folded into the category of modern. To focus on these transformations as emanating solely from the west to the rest, then, is to misrecognize historically the patterns of changes and their diversity.

Second and closer to the problem of differences that we discuss, the transformations placed in the spaces of modernity (industrialization, capitalism, and urbanization) were not merely institutional and structural. The categorizations of modernity as an epoch or period are possible through a particular system of reason that governs how experiences are classified, problems located, and procedures given about reflection and action. Modernity, as it is expressed through the 19th and 20th century[10], embodies historically fashioned rules and standards of thinking and acting that enabled the casting of "modernity" an a particular epoch or age and the categorizations that order that age through the abstractions about society, class, and institutions.

At one layer, the cognitive changes that Gaonkar associates with modernity are inscriptions of the Enlightenments' cosmopolitanism as a social and political project of governing and change[11]. Cosmopolitanism embodied the notion of the planning of secular change through human reason and rationality (science). To replace the prior certainties of theology and given social status by giving, the individual was given the qualities of a rational being that separate from nature, in which humanity had its own particular history, and that human reason could assess its own nature and plan for change through observations of the empirical world. Contemporary notions of "human interests" in liberal to neoliberal theories of the subject embodied the notion of the "rational" human.

The property of agency became intertwined with collective belonging and a particular citizen as a kind of human associated the new forms of government associated with republicanism in the late 18th century. The "reason" that made agency possible, however, was not just about the individual. It was given distinctions that were assembled and connected to institutional, social and cultural practices (see, e.g., Popkewitz, 2008). American and French Republics, for example, (re)visioned particular elements of the Enlightenments'[12] cosmopolitanism as link to the order that made government possible through conceptions of participation and agency in a life viewed as involving incessant change. "Reason" and science were to tame the uncertainty of change and enabled the possibility of progress[13].

The cosmopolitan idea of human agency and reason was given temporal qualities regular and irreversible time which notions of progress embodied[14]. Progress gave the present as superseding the past and a looking to the future. And with the idea of change was ways of thinking about what the future was and should be that historically re–assembled particular salvation themes of the Reformation in secularized tropes of the nation (see, Tröhler, 2011).

The regularizing of time in the 19th century and the salvation themes of Protestant reforms were embodied in the new scientific psychologies. The interior of the mind was opened as a place of development and growth (Steedman, 1995). If we focus on American Progressivism, spoke of children's problem solving, motivation, and learning as ways articulated in social, psychological and educational theories of the child and teaching. The classifications projected the individual from the present to the future. Society, individual development, and their histories were given temporal dimensions which could be calculated and ordered for social and educational programs.

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The cosmopolitan ethos embodied in the sciences, however, was not only about secular life. Again if we use American social and education sciences as exemplars, secular and revelatory forms of knowledge were integrated to contemplate the virtuous life through empirical means (McKnight, 2005; McKnight, Douglas & Triche, in press; Tröhler, 2011; Tröhler, Popkewitz, & Labaree, 2011). Progressivism in the US, for example, was given direction by Protestant (Calvinist) reformism whose salvation themes were translated into the categorizations and classifications of "the adolescence", "youth", "the urban family", and workers. The classifications of kinds of people were to reveal paths that would reveal moral imperatives through their lives embodying principles of responsibilities and obligations (agency)[15]. The relation of science and the salvation themes of Protestant reformism is not simply a remnant of the past but (re)visioned, reassembled and connected in different ways in neo–institutional theories about world systems, research about the knowledge society and the lifelong learners, and reform oriented research to produce the effective teacher and teachers' content knowledge (see, e.g., Tröhler,, 2009; Popkewitz, 2011).

In the particular transformations taking place, American enlightenment cosmopolitan notions of agency was placed in a progressive history (progress) [16]. The present was taken as superior to the past through its universal "reason" and science that differentiates humanity according to a continuum of value that traced development[17]. Contextual and psychological attributes of differences were "seen" and acted on in hierarchical distributions associated with the representations of people. It is this comparativeness that made possible the distinctions of the Enlightenment of civilizations, and the possibility of Social Darwinism and eugenics. The differentiation and production of "Others" were both internal and external to the boundaries of territories. "The Social Question" of American Progressivism and European Protestant reforms at the turn of the 20th century, for example, focused on the moral disorder of the city. As a response to this question of moral order was G. Stanley Hall (1905/1969), a founder of child studies proposed the scientific psychology about adolescence. It was to think and plan for the proper development of urban male children that would overcome prior traditions and enable a proper moral transition to adulthood.

Also visible in American Progressivism was the inscriptions that divided and differentiated the "urban" as the site of that moral disorder. The disciplinary formation of sociology, for example, gave attention to urban conditions and "community" that embodied narratives and images of the child who is different from particular but unspoken standards from which to judge "the urban" child. If we return to the European conference discussed in the introduction, "the urban" embodies the style of reason that embodies a dual space. It is about the "the child left behind", the poor, immigrant, ethnic and racial groups who are recognized for inclusion but positioned discursively as different from the unspoken norms about the child who not only learns but is what the urban child is not. That lacking of capacities and characteristics of the child is today represented in the child who is represented as the lifelong learner (see Popkewitz, 2008).

Our focus on the particular rules and standards of cosmopolitanism in the American social and educational sciences has two purposes in this argument. One is to think about the notion of reason and agency from different cultural theses in Chinese and Pakistani reforms that do not reduce the latter to the principles of the former. It is to consider different systems of reason through which judgments are made, conclusions drawn, solutions given plausibility, and the existences made manageable from those embodied in American social and educational research.

The principles explored above in the social and education sciences also provide a way to make visible the exportation of unspoken standards that insert a hierarchy of values and judgment in "seeing" others. This traveling of a system of reason is illustrated in an ethnographic study of women's education in Pakistan. The study concludes that the new educational forms produce new modes of self–presentation and categories of authenticity about women resisting the Islamization (Marsden, 2008). The descriptions of difference in this research were simultaneously a judgment of value through the classifications that differentiated and distinguishes the women of the village who "not only cultivate and earn reputations for being intelligent (kabil) … and doing so is also widely considered an important marker of their own moral self–worth" (p. 416).

The standards about difference (new modes of self–presentation, authenticity, voice, critical thinking, among others) embodied particular American and European principles of representations. These principles ordered, classified, differentiated, and defined what was constituted as resistance. The Muslim women's voices that "are rarely heard" are given identity through distinctions about moral agency that stands against Pakistan as a "deeply purdah–conscious society" (pp. 408, 415)[18]. The research classifications of "seeing" agency and voice in "Others" lose sight of how such concepts presuppose and normalize a particular cultural thesis about modes of life. The subject of comparing "others" elides the particular judgments that travel as universalized salvation narratives of moral human development.

Our task in what follows is to work against the logic of fixing identities from which to understand different. We approach difference as a relational and historical problem through thinking about systems of reason. This provides us with an intellectual "tool" to compare the "reason" described above about the cultural practices embodied in American sciences and education with those of China, and Pakistan. Differences are posed in two layers; to locate the grid of practices that give intelligibility to the cultural thesis about modes of living in different times and spaces. And then to consider the differences in the systems of reason that cross–culturally intersect within inserting a hierarchy of value in the representations of identities.

MAPPING MULTIPLE MODERNITIES, DIFFERENCES, AND SYSTEMS OF REASON

One strategy to engage the differences in systems of reason is through the notion of multi–modernities; that is, there are different logics or rules and standards of reason

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that order and classify what is seen, thought about, and acted on. The subject of comparative research is to understand these systems of reason without placing them in a continuum of value from which to see "Others".

Why, though, should we maintain the notion of modernity, itself a particular category of Western history even if we make it multiple rather than singular? If we treat modernity, first, as a floating signify that directs attention to the relation of the sublime and rationality in ordering individual and social life; and second that relation has multiple and different contours and boundaries in organizing the self and collective belonging that are brought into the making of schooling through different cultural, social and political assemblages and connects, then it becomes possible to study its different systems of reason as historical practices in the making of kinds of people through schooling.

Modernity as a European phenomenon gives emphasis to particular historical formations that become evident in the long 19th century. These formations relate to the emergence of science as an important element in organizing life, new forms of governing and government, and new conditions of economy that include interactions of people on a global scale not apparent earlier. Modernity is a way of thinking about common school that is organized to teach children how to think and reason through rationalities associated with science, whether that science is to understand children's learning or science as a mode of thought taught as a way of living, such as embodied organizing daily life through problem solving and decision making. The previous discussion about the enlightenment and cosmopolitanism embodied this double quality of science: a method to administer social and natural life and as a mode of living where agency, "reason", and rationality are part of the political and cultural project about the individual *qua* citizen who embraces the common good through planning and efforts to create a more progress world.

Our use of multiple modernities, then, is to use the historical discussion of cosmopolitanism in the US comparatively and at two levels: first we examine how "modernity" itself is assembled as an overlap of multiple discourses in the contexts of the US, China, and Pakistan; and second, we argue that each of the contexts mobilizes a distinct system of reason and cultural theses about who the child is and should be that does not impose its distinctions within a hierarchy of difference. Our approach is to bring a Deleuzian sense of the play that gives attention to the assemblage of different cultural practice, institutional forms, and social arrangements that co–function as symbiotic elements.

At first glance and in the West, modernity as a cultural set of principles about the self cannot be subsumed as a unity. The processes in the making of the cosmopolitan citizen were not singular even if we take the notion of agency embodied in political and pedagogical projects. Particular cultural principles emerged to order reflection and action with attachments that formed collective belonging and "home". Human agency, an invention that is given visibility in the construction of the cosmopolitan citizen, entailed different cultural theses about the actors and participation of the citizen that worked their way in pedagogical projects (Tröhler, Popkewitz, & Labaree,

2011). The U.S. "Progressive" school pedagogies, often a sign as modern, were assembled in a grid of practices that we discussed earlier about science, Calvinist salvation themes about the good works of the individual, political theories about the agency and participation, and the development of institutional forms for mass schooling. The "reason" of Germany pedagogy, in contrast was bound to the notion of *Geiss* (a universal spirit of the nation) and *Bildung*, (the individual cultivation of the self) that embodied Lutheran notions of inner reserve with the authority of the state) (see, e.g., Dumont, 1991/1994). French and Portuguese pedagogy assembled liberal and Catholic salvation themes to map the physical and spiritual life of the educated subject (Ó, 2011). Swedish pedagogy of the 19th century connected the confessional forms of Luther's Table of Duties with the Scottish enlightenment to construct a mode of reason as the expression of the doctrines of knowing one's duties to God, the individual and neighbors to notions of common duties and civic virtues (Lindmark, 2011). The reason and rationality that guided "the soul" in the different pedagogies are not reducible to a singular notion of what constituted the "modern" and modernity.

At this point, the historically particular "reason" of the European and North American "modern" individual is apparent when compared with that of Greek Stoic and Medieval Church systems of reason. Stoic reason, for example, ordered everything of the present in place as are the settings of the table (see e.g., Toulmin, 1990). Life was modified through the acts of memory that liberated one's own being. For the Stoics[19], knowing oneself meant knowing the past that is drawn from the wisdom given by the gods. History told as an indefinite cyclic time rather than in a logical temporal order that linked the past, present and future. The primacy of memory was to "sing the hymn of gratitude and recognition to the gods" and "to grasp the reality of which we cannot be dispossessed which makes possible a real sovereignty over ourselves" (Foucault, 2005, p. 468 not in the reference list).

Stoic "reason" excluded the modern sense of human agency in the governing of one's life that ordered things to plan for the future. Comparative studies as we think of them were not possible in the sense of placing people on continuums of time and spaces related to their human attributes. Humans for the Stoics were a natural part of the origins of things embodied in that cosmos. The search for the future, an element of European modernity, destroyed memory and the person who forgets as "doomed to dispossession and emptiness… [Individuals] are really no longer anything. They exist in nothingness", consumed by forgetting, incapable of action, and not free (Foucault, 2005, p. 467).

The "reason" and the reasonable person in The Medieval Christian Church, in comparison to the enlightenment and Stoics, were placed in the universe of universal time that chronicled divine intervention and providence through the self–contained quality of timeless propositions (see, e.g., Pocock, 2003). Reason disclosed the eternal, immemorial ordering and hierarchies of nature and events in which people maintained their place in the cosmology of God. The moral rules that guided people to the afterlife stood in contrast to circumstantial, accidental and temporal

knowledge. History told of expectations related to the constant anticipation of the end of the world and its continual deferment to that end. Koselleck (1985) argues, for example, that paintings for Renaissance Christian humanists were didactic lessons in which temporal differences were not significant. The time of the painting, the time of its subject matter, and the time of the observer were contemporaneous. There was no sense of inserting individuality in a sequence of regularized time that spoke of human agency and progress to judge and order the capacities of humanity.

The historicizing of reason above is to direct attention to the social and cultural practices that produce the principles that order the subjects and objects of schooling. The subject of child, the teacher, the learner, among others in schooling, are not merely present in research to ask about how to make their learning, their possibilities of citizen, but are made possible as objects of reflection and action in a grid or assembly that connects different historical practices. The different movements, debates, conflicts and outcomes of American Progressivism, for example, were possible and given intelligibilities through political, social and revelatory discourses that come together to form the cultural principles. This grid of practices ordered the possibilities in the pedagogical sciences (Popkewitz, 2008). Through making these historical principles of "reason" visible, we now examine reform practices in China and Pakistan. Our purpose is to consider different systems of reason that order what is seen, acted on, and thought about as embodiments of historically particular principles and cultural theses.

CHINESE DISCIPLINING: THE REASON OF SCOLDING AND EDUCATION

Contemporary Chinese curriculum reforms speak about the humanistic and autonomous development of the child into the future citizen as a lifelong learner who leads an active life and contributes to a more egalitarian social system. The new child–centered curriculum reforms, when translated into the English, make them seemingly fall into the cosmopolitan categories about agency and social change/progress that we discussed early in US pedagogical discourses. The words, however, are (re)assembled and (re)connected to particular and distinct historical cultural practices and rationality. To historicize these differences beneath the cover of "seeming sameness", this section starts with a specific scolding education case in order to render that cultural system of reason visible while realizing the limits of translating Chinese (especially historical and cultural) notions into equivalents placed in their English classification.

Teachers' Scolding Education and Educational Policy

On August 12th, 2009, the Education Ministry of the People's Republic of China officially stipulated that "primary and middle school teachers have the right to scold and educate students in appropriate ways in their daily educational teaching and management" (Middle and Primary School Teachers Working Norm, 2009)[20]. The

Ministry of Education placed this stipulation within the 2010–2020 Middle–and–Long–Term Educational Reforms and Development Planning Guidelines[21] that are to "protect the lawful rights and interests of school teachers to educate students" (Working Norm Press Conference, August 23, 2009) and further promote the national quality education agenda launched around the 1980s.

The Ministry statement that scolding is a specific right of teachers in their education triggered heated nationwide debates among intellectuals, media, teachers, and students as well as parents. The media discussed the issue of scolding rights as teachers "taking off their jinguzhou (constraining hoop) for a shangfang baojian (empowering sword)" (Shanghai Oriental TV New Report, August 24, 2009). Teachers viewed the Ministry's directive as correcting the current unbalanced teacher–student pendulum that gave authority to students in the previously enacted students–centered pedagogy reform. The students–centered pedagogy reforms, coupled with parents' spoiling of the only–child generation and children's self–centeredness, are often cited as hindering teachers' educational work. The new regulation was seen to provide a limit to the indulgences given to students and, as one teacher in a Shanghai middle school said in the media report, "I can now give students various requirements and I can scold/criticize students to an appropriate degree" (Ibid.).

Scolding was viewed as a "natural", indispensable part of the pre–high schooling (Xiong, 2009). The Time–Weekly newspaper (August 26, 2009) comments that "it should have been the society's common sense that school teachers and advisors could criticize their students, and it already signals a tragedy that the Ministry of Education has to stipulate it as a norm". The article suggested that the teacher–student relationship in contemporary education has already been alienated from China's cultural practices of "respecting teachers and prioritizing education". "Respecting human rights doesn't mean respecting students' rights and their rights only. What on earth is wrong with our education?" (Xiao, 2009).

The debate about scolding is woven and made sensible when placed in a grid that embodies notions of relations about cultivating humans, moral/virtue education and teaching–governance that have no direct equivalence to notions of a rational self that circulate in Europe and North America pedagogy. The aesthetic metaphor of "taking off jinguzhou (constraining hoop) for a shangfang baojian (empowering sword)" immediately strikes out as cultural sensibility. This way of talking, seeing, and "feeling" about schooling might jar the American "ear" in Peoria or Madison as the metaphors seem rhetoric and a flowery language that masks the real need to confront rationally the purposes and goals of teacher–student relation. It is this reading of discourse and schooling that this paper seeks to problematize through mapping the relations among various social, cultural, historical layers of the reason in which principles are generated about what is seen, acted on, and hoped for. This mapping is not to pit the oppositions of classical Chinese and Western notions of reason in contemporary school reforms but to render explicit the differences that can play together.

Cultural Grid around Scolding Education

China's current guiding principle on educational reform that (re)visions the earlier national quality education agenda is "to have the cultivation of humans as its basis and morality/virtue education as its priority" (育人為本、德育為先) (Zhou, 2005). Thus, at one level, scolding inscribes the relations of spiritual, rational, and science in the teacher's role of producing what it means to be human. That notion of human is not merely about the individual but also linked to national belonging and embodied in the narratives that order governmental policies. The Communist Party Leader Deng Xiaoping's inscription motto at a Beijing middle school in 1983 that "education is to face the modernity, the world, the future" also expressed that the Chinese must hold on to their material and spiritual civilization in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. He said that we must insist on the "Five Stresses, Four Beauties, Three Loves" to educate the whole nation to have "ideal, virtue/morality, culture (knowledge) and discipline"[22]. The Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces value education proposed by current Party Leader Hu Jintao embodies the qualities expected of a modern citizen or human that becomes symbolized through phrases such as the life–long learner who is to learn and treasure the Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces as socialist core values.

> Love the country, do it no harm; Serve the people, never betray them; Follow science, discard superstition; Be diligent, not indolent; Be united, help each other; make no gains at others expense; Be honest and trustworthy, do not sacrifice ethics for profit; Be disciplined and law–abiding, not chaotic and lawless; Live plainly, work hard, do not wallow in luxuries and pleasures[23] (2006, English translation from Chinese Government's official Website: http://english.gov.cn/2006–04/05/content_245361.htm).

The qualities put under the umbrella term honor (榮/rong, semantically overlapping with "de" [德/virtue/morality]) are not adequately viewed as propaganda or of political strategy. The new educational reforms on "cultivating humans and prioritizing virtue–morality teaching" have as their core a seemingly liberal focus of students' agency in school learning that fits into the western scientific logic of the cognitive order of the students' future.

When the discourses of students' agency combine and connect with those of the teachers as the role model for students – a mode of living about "loving to learn, knowing how to learn and life–long learning" by "consciously enforcing teachers' own moral cultivation" (National Curriculum Standards), then this networking becomes not merely a translation of some universal values or traveling global discourses. They are culturally assembled with notions of students' healthy, moral, intellectual and physical growth that can be seen as related to a re–visioned Confucian ways of life.

This re–visioning of Confucianism in the current educational reforms is not merely bringing back 'basic' and authentic Confucianism into modern China.

The notion de (德/virtue–morality) is the weaving together of Confucian govern–mentality and Confucian learning. According to Confucius, sage–rulers (like King Wen and Duke Zhou) govern, teach and transform the subjects by virtue and the ideal effect of virtue–governance is compared to the charm of the North Star as "it (North Star) stays in its place, while the myriad stars wait upon it" (Confucius, Analects II:1). Learning, according to Analects, could be best described by the line from the Book of Odes – "As you cut and then file, as you carve and then polish" (Analects 1:15). In other words, learning is like a life–long stone–carving process through self–reflection every day with an ultimate goal to become a gentleman with the virtues that nourish qualities like being humane, righteous, polite, wise and trustworthy, which help to order his social life harmoniously both interpersonally as well as intra–personally.

In Chinese, one learns to make a person (zuoren/做人) and this making process is full of art; learning is far more than learning from the outward world, but rather through inner self–cultivation. Confucian education combines sage–rulers' virtue–governance, teaching–transforming and the subjects' inter/intra–personal cultivation to achieve a harmonious society through ideally observing various rites in political and cultural daily life. This network of education, teaching–transforming and virtue–governing is about the individual; but is connected to the nation and the forming of collective belonging as expressed in the argument that Chinese society historically "respects teaching/teachers and prioritizes education" (zunshizhongjiao/尊師重教). Education, or teaching–transforming is the prototype of Chinese schooling ever since the Spring and Autumn period (770 to 476 BCE) and continuing until the Qing Dynasty (1636 to 1912). It is, as Zhouji – the Minister of Education – states, "historically treated as the most effective way to purify the social wind and transform the social customs (淳風化俗)" (2007).

The historical cultural principles that travel in the discussion of scolding are evident when we think about its written expressions as based on ideography rather than an alphabet. The Chinese characters, with their distinct meaning–making rationale, are more of a sign–post pointing toward something indirectly rather than definitely referring to some fixed meanings (see, e.g., Julliet, 1995/2004; Hansen, 1993). Classical Chinese characters, mostly monographs, are rich and vague in meaning. They have a strong power to associate with other monographs; single Chinese characters have many rough English equivalents. For example, the character de (德), with a constitutive graph of xin (心/heart–mind) within, could form phrases like daode (morality), shide (virtue of teachers), wude (no virtue) and be roughly translated into English terms as morality, virtue, ethics with an assumption of inner virtue–quality cultivation and outward moral acts. However, these commonly used English equivalents fail to catch some cultural nuances embedded within this cultural thesis of de, i.e., in classical texts, this character de could be semantically equated to another character with the same pronunciation de (得/to get). Put aptly, to be virtuous paves your way to "getting/winning something or somebody".

The cultural principles provoked in the scolding debate also embody social forms of hierarchy. Scolding gives expression to the high social position that teachers have historically assumed and to the qualities of strictness valued when teachers train students. With some interruptions, teachers' high social position is conveyed through the ordered combination of "heaven, earth, emperors, parents and teachers" (天地君親師) on memorial tablets in grassroots and literate households usually hung on the sitting room wall. Lilun (論/Comments on Li–Rites by Xunzi) lists three foundations to life:

> "Heaven and earth are foundations of generations; ancestors are foundations of human kinds; emperors and teachers are foundations of governing" (Xunzi:Lilun, Chapter 19)[24]. There are culturally old sayings like "it is the father's fault if the kid is not well–taught; it is the teacher's laziness if the teaching is not strict", "strict teachers have a good apprentice", and "the Tao of teaching is respectful and authoritative".

Historically, the ultimate goal of Confucian learning was to become a gentleman with gem–like qualities of being virtuous, humane, righteous, and trustworthy in building up a harmonious relationship with one's inner self, outward toward one's own family, friends and also strangers. The seeming rhetoric and aesthetics of the language of present reform draws upon the sentiments of that discourse but is placed in a set of relations whose embodiments engender cultural theses about modes of life. De/Virtue, "to learn and treasure the Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces as socialist core values" and the "distinctions of jinguzhou (constraining hoop) for a shangfang baojian (empowering sword)" are embodiments of the cultural thesis in which a grid of practices bring together values and moral qualities.

The incident of scolding is connected to the aesthetic and moral framings of daily life and with their social and political forms. This grid of practices through which schooling is seen and acted on cannot be accounted for adequately and comparatively through principles of agency, action, and problem solving, at least in the sense found in the western cognitive psychologies that drive contemporary pedagogical practices. The words of life–long learner and student–autonomy, traveling into Chinese contemporary reforms, are assembled in cultural theses that are glaringly distinct from its inscriptions in northern European and North American pedagogical forms. Neither is today's virtue education merely the evolution of Confucius learning. Its construction is connected with seemingly western notions of modernity like being scientific. This relation can only be made visible through a sustained and contingent historical study of the grid through which such movements and relations occur.

We again face the conundrum of comparative research raised in the introduction. While our focus on systems of reason is to understand historically the relations that produce the objects of thought and action, there is still an inherent incompleteness of translating historical and cultural Chinese notions as an embodied mode of thought, such as the "de" and the eight honors and eight disgraces into what might seem

as logical English equivalents as "morality", "virtue". The equivalents–seeking translation unavoidably risks reading the particular western conceptualizations of time and space into Chinese cultural ways of reasoning. While translations are necessary to any comparative studies– linguistically and theoretically–such efforts are, as we stated in the introduction, acts of creation and not copies of the original. Thus there is a need to continually probe the sensibilities and dispositions of the cultural reason for the possibility of cross–cultural understanding.

DEMOCRATIC AND PARTICIPATORY EDUCATION AND THE SUBJECTIVITY OF PAKISTANI MUSLIM WOMEN

The post–colonial Muslim state of Pakistan in the aftermath of 9/11 has made women's teacher education a major reform agenda for modernization. In a way more forceful than in China, the media and policy take on a particular global (and American discourses) about educational reforms as the remedy of all the ills including the war on global terrorism. The internal discourse is sometimes modeled after the American one about modernization and become modern marred by political instability, economic upheavals, and security issues (Kristof, 2010). The reform of society is pronounced as dependent on the education of women. In an editorial in the New York Times, one of the few national US newspapers, Kristof (2010) tells of the education of Zahida Sardar, a young woman from a small town in Punjab, Pakistan. Zahida story is told as the future of Pakistan, convincing her illiterate and poor parents to send her to an expensive private school because of the importance of quality education to. Kristof contends that this educating of women "is a ray of hope" in Pakistan that "has become a dysfunctional money pit and a sanctuary for terrorists".

This narrative about modernity pits particular values about bureaucracy and a secularized civic society against Pakistani institutions placed as having a lack of rationality. The latter, the argument continues, allows religious extremism and the oppression of women and other marginalized groups. Educational reforms are narrated as making possible the promise of progress by connecting notions of quality and human rights to gender empowerment in classrooms. Women teachers are agents of modernization in their families and communities; and that modernization is tied to the functioning of the governing of the state.

When the educational reforms to modernize are looked at more closely, they overtly are organized to create child–centered, participatory classrooms through transforming the curriculum and pedagogy so as to produce quality academic performance. Further, quality is tied to another universal associated with modernity –the basic rights of children. The reforms position the reforms against communal educational system that are said to be premised on an authoritarian teacher who intellectually and physically subjugates children. The traditional values are not only outdated, so the argument goes, but also violate the creativity and basic rights of children.

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Participation and its assumption of a democratic school in the educational reforms emphasize the value of interaction between the teacher and the student rather than the teacher transferring knowledge to the student. Sania, for example, a teacher at a community school supported by a transnational development organization, used a language about the role of the teacher that seemingly gave support to this notion of democracy in the education to children from low–income and rural communities. Talking about girls from marginalized communities in Pakistan, she articulated her journey of child–centered teaching.

> When our students did not do well, we used to say that they were not working hard or were not smart. We would blame them. It is through this (teacher) training that we learned to accept our responsibility. Now if the student is not doing well, we know that it is we, as teachers, who are not doing well. We then think what to do and how to teach in a better way. What we have learned is that every student learns in a different way, so we have to find the way that works for each student. I think it is a better way to teach.

Sania's language at one layer can be identified as embodying the shift from responsibility to rights–based teaching espoused by the educational reforms in Pakistan and teacher education programs supported by the international development agencies that transports UNESCO's *Education for All* into Pakistan as calls for inclusive and participatory classrooms for children, especially for girls from marginalized communities[25]. In this narrative, students are positioned possessing universal human rights and teachers as actors with the responsibility to protect those rights. Quality education, as reflected in child–centered pedagogies, is closely tied the narrative about human rights as the central objective of education. Women, as students and teachers, are positioned to restructure and modernize the child, family, and community that will make Pakistan modern– not only as a society but through the everyday relations of family and upbringing patterns.

An initial reading of the interview transcripts of rural and low–income women teachers working in community schools managed by a transnational development organization seems to reinforce the traveling of liberal values of participation and democracy in Pakistani reforms (Khurshid, 2012). After receiving intensive training from the development organization, the women teachers described the worth of their roles as facilitators and friends rather than as distant teachers. This interpretation and purpose of reforms posits the inscriptions of principles of moral worth and political efficacy as traveling globally and as part of a single modernity.

However, a closer reading of these transcripts brings to bear a grid of cultural practices that are not merely about modernization, democracy, and participation. The discourses are reform are inscribed within particular sets of norms and values through which the women are to see, think and act as teachers, members of their families, and communities. The discourses of Pakistani women teachers from the low–income rural areas express the subject of rights as part of communal discourses about the responsibility of students and teacher (Khurshid, 2012).

The cultural thesis of the teacher embodies principles about responsibilities as related to communal hierarchies of family and obligations to Islam and the State. The women teachers described their roles as facilitators, friends and critical thinking as bringing into the present the lost heritage of Muslims and not as a Western entity imposed as the cure for Pakistan's problems. The teacher as facilitator is to support the rediscovery of Muslim tradition. The democratic and participatory spaces of the classroom instantiates values of respect, collaboration, and harmony learned as Islamic norms that are re–instantiated in Pakistani citizenship. The women teachers contended that only educated people were aware of the real Islamic virtues and, thus, emphasized the importance of their roles as teachers to impart education that can enable students to recognize and appreciate community and Islamic culture and values.

The principles inscribed are neither traditional nor modern, as such distinctions inscribe a hierarchy of difference from some unspoken and universalized concept of the modern from which the traditional becomes knowable. The teachers' reference to the traditions that were wasteful and irrational customs had historical connotations drawn from the Islamic reformist movement of the 19th century British–ruled–India. These movements were to steer Indian Muslims in the direction of modern education and scientific household management. The reform supported the need for modern education of Indian Muslim women to eradicate irrational and traditional customs and rituals often carried out in women–centered spaces as well and to provide Islamic and scientific upbringing to their children. The contemporary reform narrative is (re) visioned as a knowledge that gives an awareness of connecting what is modern that is shaped by Islamic ways of thinking[26]. For instance, Salma, a thirty–two year old woman working as the head mistress of a community school supported by a development organization, described her role as a teacher in the following manner:

> These girls (students) are from the village, their parents are illiterate, and they have no exposure to the outside world so they can get lured by the distractions very easily. It is I who has to guide them, to tell them to be careful. Even a small stain on women's honor can ruin her life. I am a very strict teacher but act like a friend when it comes to such matters. They cannot tell their parents but confide in me. Their parents tell me that they would send their daughters anywhere with me, they trust me because I am educated. You see teachers have to give taleem (education) as well as tarbiat (moral character building) and only then we can change things for us. That is our role (as teachers), we have to be the teacher, parent, and a friend.

The teacher as facilitator and friend communicates communal values about women's honor. Education to participate fully in social life connected to principles of honor and self–discipline in building moral characters in governing the family and community. Individual interests and curiosity of students are bound within a cultural set of principles of taleem (education) and tarbiat (moral character building) that protected their well–being. The honorable character for women is something that empowers

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women by bringing them respect and trust of their families and communities and not something individualist and about agency in the sense described earlier with the notion enlightenment notion of cosmopolitanism. Embodied in the perception of women's rights were the values of providing tarbiat to her students through her performances as a teacher.

Salma's discourse about the actions of teaching were made possible through a grid of practices historically assembled and connected particular international discourses of reform that disconnected them Anglo–American notions women's rights and its individualistic notions of empowerment. In this narrative, Muslim women are seen as the carrier of family honor and would face violent oppression and in some cases death in case of any discretion. However, in the narrative of the teachers, agency, rights and family honor were not oppositional values. They overlap and form a grid through which obligations and responsibility were ordered that is neither traditional nor modern. The notion of family honor was not confined to proper sexual conduct, as defined in popular media and policy discourses, but was reflective of a wider range of practices that brought the good name to the family. The education of young women was to earn them respect through virtues of honor and thus a voice in the community. The teacher as friend was to provide tarbiat about issues that were folded into the task of taleem. The principles generated about rights were not universal human rights guided by individual interests but Huqooq Allah (rights of God) and Huqooq ul Ebad (rights of people) in constituting the construction of the human and community.

Taleem (education) and tarbiat (moral character building) connected Islam and modernity as synonymous systems of knowledge, morality, and community that reinforce, rather than contradict each other. Teaching and learning entail rationalism (science as principles for organizing life) with Islamic values of spirituality and universality. The Pakistani discourse of the principles of Islamic teachings, for example, draw a comparison between Islam and science as compatible ways of living a healthy and productive life through instructions for a number of day–to–day activities such as eating, drinking, sleeping, etc. In the narratives of women teachers, the reference to uneducated persons did not allude to the lack of educational credentials but to the lack of wisdom informed by Islam and science.

The distinctions and differentiations, as the Chinese case, embody principles that make education and teaching legible and intelligible that are different from those discussed in the case of American education. Center in the distinctions are the sciences of pedagogy. Muslim scholars in South Asia have historically employed science to develop a rationale to provide education for Muslim women. Scholars have argued that a "reasonable" community valued education for women as education and science have the potential to restructure women, children, families, and communities. Women teacher interviewed for this study embodied and enacted a cultural thesis that modern education did not merely equip one with skills to do things but rather a "wiser" in resolving interpersonal and community related conflicts. In the narrative of teachers, science was seen as an epitome of human reason and progress on the

one hand, and on the other hand, reflecting principles that ordered the ethos of an ideal teacher and child as it relates to obligations of family and community. Women were agents of change, in this narrative, through the scientific principles brought into managing child rearing as a Muslim woman in modern societies.

Gender as the subject of reform is continually placed in a universalist language about abstract principles about schooling yet it embodies a particular kind of subject that is not adequately understood as variations of themes of agency instantiated and differentiated through particular European/North American distinctions of participation, equality, and democracy. The cultural patterns in Pakistan overlapped different social and cultural patterns that is the sum of its parts of western liberal discourses interacting with Pakistani "traditions". In making these observations, we return to the conundrum posed by the complexity of the translation from Urdu (the national language of Pakistan) to English poses a number of challenges that is not merely about finding the right words but to communicate the historical, social, and cultural systems of reasoning attached with languages.

COMPARATIVE STUDY AND SYSTEMS OF REASON

The challenge of comparative research since the second half of the 20th century has been, at one level, to understand others as pluralities rather than as oppositions to European and North American times/spaces. The difficulty of this strategy, we argued is twofold. One is "seeing" difference through systems of representation that fix standards of the subject as norms or models from which to judge the other. Differences are embedded in a hierarchy composed by the values inscribed in the representation. Ironically, differences become mediated by sameness. Second is the conundrum of comparatives studies. The very notion of comparison that orders research is a particular style of thought about research whose analytics are never totally outside of the west even when seeking to narrate differences outside of its time/spaces.

This chapter has explored the limits of the study of differences and an alternative through the history of the present. Its method can be seen within a broader attempt with the sciences of education, social sciences and philosophy to consider difference historically and relationally (see e.g., Lather, 2007; Ong, 1999; Hacking, 2002). The focus on making problematic the "reason" of schooling was, first, to consider the historically formed grid that shapes and fashions "seeing" and acting in different times and spaces. We argued that cultural theses about modes of life can be examined and compared without placing them in a continuum of value and hierarchies.

Our approach to compare the three sites operated at two layers. One was in thinking of the present as produced in an assembly of different historical trajectories that connect about what is seen and acted on the present. The differences were mapped as sources of potentialities for cross–cultural dialogues and understanding rather than as in a hierarchy and continuum of values. The disparate elements that are connected are not merely the sum of its parts and reducible to "difference from sameness". It

was in this context that we spoke of the notion of multiple modernities through the systems of "reason" that ordered U.S. educational sciences and its notions of agency and change, Chinese debates about scolding, and Pakistani reforms concerned with women's teacher education.

As we suggest an alternative, however, we acknowledge the conundrum of comparative research as an insolvable limit of the present that is still with us. The study of a history of the present maintains the attitude of the enlightenment and its commitments to reason and science for understanding and rectifying social wrongs. This intellectual "debt" of research was acknowledged in contemporary post–colonial studies earlier discussed by Chakrabarty earlier. The commitments are embodied in the conscious awareness in writing this paper in thinking about differences in a mutual space of the relation of self and "others".

We expressed this limits, in part, through issues of translation. No matter how we tried to think through the multiplicities of "reason" the search for translations continually are acts of creation rather than "copying" an original. Translation is not merely, for example, finding equivalent words from Urdu or Mandarin into English, but of the unavoidable risk of reading particular conceptualizations and distinctions that order and classify analytical ways of reasoning into other ways of reasoning. Constituting the cultural practices of Pakistani and Chinese reforms in English is to deploy classification systems that partition what is seen and talked about as sensible, the sensibilities, and the sensible/reasonable person.

Nor do we forego the political issues of difference raised in the comparative distinctions such as posed in the categories of "urban" and indigenous. That is, how one knows is intricately bound to what is to be known, and how the objects of schooling, the social and cultural are "seen", talked about, and acted on. While the politics of representation are important to struggles of socially excluded groups, when there is the givenessness of identities there is an inscription that recognizes inclusion by defining "difference". In this respect, the problem of comparative studies was to seek methods that do not re–inscribe a hierarchy of values through divisions such as "traditional" /"modern", "progressive"/ "backward", global/local or indigenous. The very strategies to differentiate Eurocentric thought from, for example, indigenous cultures may produce a dualism, oppositions, and hierarchies in the impulse to correct social wrongs. Inequality is ordered as equality by the very rules and standards of reason that are to correct social wrongs.

Our purpose has been, first, is to recognize the limits of the categorical imperatives of contemporary comparative research as engendering commitments and purpose. These limits require continual scrutiny. Second and through the argument of the paper, we pose the challenge of comparative research as not only in its styles of thought that define what and how comparison proceeds; but the challenge is that the very notion of comparison is political. This is easily recognized with the recognition given to difference in contemporary social and educational politics about diversity and equity.

NOTES

[1] For a discussion that pulls together many of the disparate elements of the enlightenments into a framing of its principles and style of thought, see, for example, Cassirer (1932/1951).

[2] The discussion intellectually plays in a non–deductive way with the historical and philosophical principles that order and classify differences and issues of representation in the social and psychological sciences. See, e.g., Deleuze's argument about the philosophy of representations; Derrida notion of logocentric; and Foucault's episteme.

[3] This notion of history is discussed in Dean (1994) Foucault, (1971/1977). This is discussion in education (see, e.g., Popkewitz, 1991; Popkewitz, Pereyra, & Franklin, 2001; Popkewitz, 2013).

[4] The approach is explored in Popkewitz (2005, 2008, 2010); and found in Foucault (1971/1977), and Dean (1994).

[5] What makes possible thought about children "developing" and parents and schools as responsible for that moral, social, psychological, and physical growth, for example, is a relatively recent phenomenon. The determinant categories given to these kinds of humans are made possible through divergent political, social and cultural processes that come together from different processes from the 1700s to early 20th century, what is called the long 19th century.

[6] The approach to research is found, for example, in what are now classical studies in their fields; Cassirer's (1951) study of the enlightenment, Dumont's (1991/1994) research on German and French modernities, and Foucault's (1972) history of the episteme in the formation of the social sciences. We are not claiming here the status in their studies but to illustrate a way of thinking and doing research that has a strong history.

[7] Because of the limits of an article, writing such a paper as this, the analysis cannot be neither exhaustive or represent the fields of education in these national context and their internal debates and conflict**s.**

[8] Our use of the modernization is an example of the difficulties of historicizing concepts that have taken on a particular universalizing quality. The term modernization is itself one that has been continually historically debated and, as we will discuss later, contentious. But for the moment it is used to explore particular nuances through which differences can be explored.

[9] The limits of such divisions in social research are found in Hacking (1999).

[10] Modernity was a term used in medieval Germany centuries earlier, but the particular ways of thinking about change and people is different from what is given expression here is one of the long 19th century.

[11] For a discussion of the American enlightenment, see Ferguson (1997). One example of the difference in reason associated with the Enlightenment "reason" to find progress is the "reason" of colonialization and the Spanish differentiating of "others" where "reason" was to find salvation in Christ and those who could not reason were savages.

[12] We use the plural to recognize that there were multiple movements within Europe and North America that were not similar in outcomes, such as the German, French, British, and American. Our focus is on certain general epistemological principles that circulated among them and thus gave them, to use Wittgenstein (1966), a family of resemblance.

[13] The self–reflectivity that includes doubt is considered historically important to Western liberal and republican notions of rationality. The ability to engage in a critique, while having limits, has provided flexibility and (re)visioning that throw into questions what seem as processes of whose stabilities and consensus.

[14] As a simple illustration of difference, Greek notions of time were cyclical and not linear. The Medieval Church "saw" time as universal and located in God's ordering of things.

[15] The words were not 'new' such as citizen or child. But words do not have any sensibility outside of the cultural and social practices in which they are assembled. Contrary to analytical traditions that trace the notion of citizen back to the Greek Stoics (see Nussbaum, 1996), the notion of the citizen and its notions of reason and citizen are not merely an evolution from the past to the present. The citizen given identities in the new republics is governed by different principles of reflection and action than the Greek citizen (see Foucault, 2008/2010).

[16] The notion of time also becomes a way to differentiate the other and makes possible colonializations that divide the advance civilizations from those less advanced and the barbarians. That is, however, a different trajectory embodied in the discussion of this paper.

[17] This production of difference as an epistemic principle of knowledge is historically explored in Popkewitz (2007).

[18] The head–to–toe covering for women, constructs a Muslim modality that in fact intersects South Asian historical practices associated with notions of respectability among women from different religious backgrounds.

[19] As someone who studied Greek art, they will recognize that the merging historically of nuances to make appropriately the general points relevant to this argument.

[20] The Chinese version of item 16 stipulation is "班主任在日常教育教学管理中，有采取适当方式对学生进行批评教育的权利". The Chinese term "pipin jiaoyu" (批评教育) is a bit hard to translate into English terms "criticizing education" or "scolding education". According to the Oxford Dictionary, "to criticize" can mean "to offer judgement upon with respect to merits or faults" and "to scold" can mean "to address (esp. an inferior or a child) with continuous and more or less angry reproach or to chide". The word "scolding" may sound a bit harsh, but according to the historical cultural understanding, it is still appropriate in that scolding contains the teacher's moral involvement to correct students' wrong behaviours.

[21] The 2010–2020 Middle–and–Long–Tern Educational Reforms and Development Planning Guidelines was initiated in 2008 under the Premier Wen Jiabao team, and made public to invite nationwide suggestions and comments between January –February 2009 and February 28–March 28, 2010, and passed in May 2010. Details are available at http://baike.baidu.com/view/2801453.htm.

[22] 5 stresses, 4 beauties and 3 loves are: stress on decorum (讲文明) stress on manners (讲礼貌) stresson hygiene (讲卫生) stress on discipline (讲秩序) stress on morals (讲道德); beauty of the mind (心灵美) beauty of the language (语言美) beauty of the behavior (行为美) beauty of the environment (环境美); love of the motherland (热爱祖国) love of the socialism (热爱社会主义) love of the Chinese Communist Party (热爱中国共产党) – part of the Chinese spritual civilization construction guideline mobilized in the 1980s. National morality education campaigns have been launched by the party once in a few years with the latest one on "eight honors and eight disgraces" core value education in 2006 initiated by President Hu Jintao.

[23] Though translation in general and this version in particular is inherently incomplete in that part of the nuances not immediately transparent in the English terms are regrettably glossed over, still a general feeling of its cultural distinctions is already tangible. English translation from Chinese Government's official Website: http://english.gov.cn/2006–04/05/content_245361.htm

[24] The Chinese version is 礼有三本：天地者，生之本也；先祖者，类之本也；君师者，治之本也.

[25] The organization trained educated women from the same communities to implement right–based curriculum and pedagogy developed primarily in its head office in the United States.

[26] We use the notion of Islamic cautiously as we earlier discussed the notion of respect as emerging and embodied in South Asian cultural traditions "purdah–conscious society".

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CARLO CAPPA

COMPLEXITY OF HISTORY–COMPLEXITY OF THE HUMAN BEING. EDUCATION, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, AND EARLY MODERNITY

Non dura 'l mal dove non dura 'l bene,
Ma spesso l'un nell'altro si transforma.

Michelangelo Buonarroti

INTRODUCTION

The themes of this chapter were first presented in the framework of a panel with a fascinating title – *Socrates, Salamanca and Science: Historical and Humanist Motifs in Comparative Education*[1] – that, I believe, poses extremely stimulating queries, pointing to a highly topical line of research. Understanding what relationship educational studies, and comparative education *in primis*, can forge with the tradition of humanistic studies; identifying the critical urgencies of this relationship and observing its limitations and its potential: nowadays all these issues go beyond a single disciplinary field to address a wider concept of culture and, inevitably, of the human being.

THE PAST...

The relationship with the past has played a major part in European tradition across all fields of study; over the centuries, this role has changed radically and has been the subject of widely differing theoretical thinking while losing nothing of its value. Within our tradition, looking towards the past has always had a double aim: cognitive, in order to understand the present; practical, in order to determine actions and to take measures for a different future, hopefully a better one. In this sense, the past was seen as a precious fount of experience and wisdom: we resorted to it in order to regard the future with greater confidence, not because it was seen as a repetition of something that had been, but because the past could be the foundation on which to build personal choice and personal preparation. Apart from the specific historical situation, Verdi's words in his famous letter to Francesco Florimo on January 5 1871 fully describe this role attributed to the past: «I hope you will find a man who is, above all, learned and a strict teacher. (...) Let us turn to the past: that will be progress» (Verdi, 2006, p. 412, trans. by author).

During the last century, the efficacy of a humanistic approach centred on history was evident in the field of comparative education: authors such as Michael Sadler, Isaac L. Kandel, Nicholas Hans and Robert Ulich make clear how the educational and heuristic requirements and needs posed by the field may find answers in an historical–philosophical–humanist approach, even with its limitations (Kazamias, 2009).

Today, we could say that the wide–reaching historical and cultural context justifying such a fruitful relationship with the past appears to have entered a profound crisis. Over the last thirty years, the foundations that allowed us to consider, in Vico's words, classic culture *utisanguis par totum corpus* with respect to contemporary thought have disappeared (Vico, 1990 [1708], p. 96); it appears difficult to accept Verdi's statement and, thinking of comparative education, even Jullien's outline seems hard to sustain. The same idea of returning to a past capable of rejuvenating humankind's destiny in the present was in fact at the root of Jullien's project of comparative education: «It is through the return to religion and morality, it is through a reform widely contrived, introduced in public education, that one can reinvigorate man» (Fraser, 1964, p. 34; Kaloyannaki & Kazamias, 2009, p. 24). For today it is not possible to think about the humanistic approach without considering the theoretical foundations that cast doubt on the relationship with tradition and have profoundly influenced the idea of Man (this terms used here for brevity in the sense of human beings, the Greek *anthropos*).

In 1979 and 1980, at least four works were published whose influence is still strongly felt today. These texts, each in its own way, have brought into discussion both the relationship with the past and the possibility of following traditional routes to allow reflection to act on reality. The first one is *La condition postmoderne* by Jean–François Lyotard (Lyotard, 1979); the second is the book by Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Rorty, 1979);the third is the collective volume edited by Aldo Gargani, *Crisidellaragione*, with contributions, among others, by Bodei, Ginzburg, Viano and further important Italian scholars (Gargani, 1979); and the last is the short but absolutely essential essay by Jürgen Habermas, *Modernity versus Postmodern* (Habermas, 1981)[2]. This massive production of books about the end of the central role of western reason is a multifaceted outcome of a long process, which in more ways than one started with Nietzsche's thought. What is in crisis is therefore Kant's premise of *Aufklärung*, which he posed as the cornerstone of a new era in human life, in his work *An Answer to the Question: «What is Enlightenment?»*:

> Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self–incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's own understanding without the guidance of another. This immaturity is self–incurred if its cause is not lack of understanding, but lack of resolution and courage to use it without the guidance of another. The motto of enlightenment is therefore: *Sapereaude*! Have courage to use your own understanding! (Kant, 2003 [1784], p. 54)

Within this composite framework, Italy has maintained approaches that are deeply rooted in its tradition, which I would define as peripheral with respect to the *Empire*. This has marked Italian thought as having developed through its relations with the culture of other countries, in and beyond Europe. Italian tradition, at least from our Humanism onwards, has kept up a peculiar relationship with the past and is capable of fuelling a strong link between thought and reality. Also in comparative education, the Italian tradition has been often linked with an historical approach (Palomba, 2011). Especially at the present, sensitive historical moment, these two features have made it the subject of wide interest.

In looking into the specificity of Italian tradition, we should recall that one very relevant recent approach is that inherent in the *Italian Theory*. Addressing an interest in the Italian context found in the 1980s (Borradori, 1988), over the last fifteen years this approach has defined a specific, albeit composite, profile of reflection (Hardt & Virno, 1996; Chiesa &Toscano, 2009; Esposito, 2012). The authors who identify themselves with this definition – whose roots can be traced back to thinkers that are relatively distant from the present debate – are bound to a critical vision of reality, and their works point to an intention of commitment (Pierpaolo & Mussgnug, 2009) and an intervention in reality (Gentili, 2012).

The contacts of this approach with the post–modern tradition and its main representatives in Italy are quite complex; it is not possible to give an account of them here. The reflection I wish to set in this essay follows the trail of the specific Italian approach in which the past and a strong link between thought and reality play a really important role, but is not attributable at the *Italian Theory* approach as such: rather, starting from a reference to Habermas and Lyotard's writing, I intend to demonstrate the richness of the retrieval and the use of key concepts in our tradition, with the potential even now of a heuristic function in the educational field.

...AND THE POST(*S*): ENDS – RE–READINGS – RESTARTS

Both Lyotard and Habermas paint a picture in which there seems to be no place for a human approach to reality, with weighty consequences for education. Lyotard shows the impossibility of «*meta*» or «*grand narratives*» as the foundation for rational choice and he points to the advance of the *inhumain* in the spheres of knowledge and politics (Lyotard, 1979; Lyotard, 1993). In reference to Brecht and Benjamin's thinking, Habermas declares that the modernity project is incomplete, a project he identifies with Kant's Enlightenment approach, and he claims that the relationship with tradition has been lost.

> The project of modernity has not yet been fulfilled. And the reception of art is only one of at least three of its aspects. The project aims at a differentiated relinking of modern culture with an everyday praxis that still depends on vital heritages, but would be impoverished through mere traditionalism (Habermas, 1983, p. 13).

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What is in crisis is the possibility of *Bildung* itself, the formation of the subject: media technologies and disciplinary isolation lie, for the two authors, at the basis of a gap between reflection and life that renders thought ineffective. Interestingly, both Lyotard and Habermas, although from different positions, see in the separation between thought and reality the roots of the decadence of the modern project.

Of course, even in his most recent books Habermas sustains a vision in which the Enlightenment tradition is still the principal approach, although in a specific way, with a quest for a constitutional process linked to the notion of communicative action (Habermas, 2011; Habermas, 2012). Habermas' intent belongs to a situation in which the past also seems to be separate from its identity:

> The relation between "modern" and "classical" has definitely lost a fixed historical reference (...) The new value placed on the transitory, the elusive and the ephemeral, the very celebration of dynamism discloses a longing for an undefiled, immaculate and stable present. This explains the rather abstract language in which the modernist temper has spoken of the "past". Individual epochs lose their distinct forces (Habermas, 1983, p. 5).

The modern project seems to have fallen prey to cannibalism, where thought rounds upon itself, drained and lifeless; reflection can do nothing but reason upon its own end, upon its own passing. Education laboriously pursues fleeting new stabilities, clinging to a vision centred on measurement and performance, transferring and externalizing its own parameters and its own aims. Yet the persistence of the Enlightenment model is an element that is both distinctive and troublesome for contemporary philosophical and pedagogical thought. An author as strongly critical and provocative as John Gray highlights how many contemporary thinkers are unable to abandon the enlightenment's aspiration to a universal framework of values. In particular, what makes such theorizing ineffective, if not dangerous according to Gray, is in fact its separation from reality. Achieving the universality of ethical precepts comes at a high price: the human being taken as the yardstick against which thought is calibrated is a spirit without body or historical significance:

> It is an inquiry into the right whose agenda is justice and whose content is given, not by any investigation of human beings as we find them in the world, with their diverse histories and communities, but by an abstract conception of the person that has been voided of any definite cultural identity or specific historical inheritance (Gray, 2007, p. 3).

According to John Gray's view, Richard Rorty's thought would be unable to spark a true rebirth of ethical reflection for the simple reason that a historical and contingent analysis of the human being in all his multiple and different traits is missing. In a different way, even the insistence on returning to a *post–modern* set–up such as that found in Alasdair MacIntyre (MacIntyre, 1981) would be ineffective and would lead to no fruitful outcome. MacIntyre, while bringing into perfect focus the intrinsic limits of the Enlightenment, its spread and power in liberal societies, underestimates

(in Gray's opinion) the impact that has so profoundly changed Western Culture and the cultures of the countries adopting this approach. Gray particularly denies the possibility of emerging from the stalemate imposed by Nietzsche's work using an approach he believes to be a continuation of the thinking of Thomas Aquinas (MacIntyre, 1990) since: «The post–modern condition of plural and provisional perspectives, lacking any rational or transcendental ground or unifying world–view, is our own, given to us as an historical fate, and it is idle to pretend otherwise» (Gray, 2007, pp. 228). Gray's considerations are extremely interesting especially regarding his reading of *disenchantment* as a typical feature of the Enlightenment, an aspect that cannot be cancelled but may be mitigated (Gray, 2007, pp. 231–234). A possible weakness of this reading however could be the excessive uniformity inherent to it: the whole of the modern age is taken to be summarized by the positions of the Enlightenment which are presented, once more, as its achievement and highest expression.

Tendencies found in post–modern thought have permeated and continue to influence comparative education as well, finding important new formulations in this discipline. Among the numerous scholars who have worked on a conceptual horizon that can be defined as post–modern, I wish to recall Robert Cowen. In this case, we find a reading which, while accepting the modernity crisis as unavoidable, does not fail to investigate the present in search of stringent interpretations of features inherent in educational policies (Cowen, 1996). For Cowen, therefore, what post–modernity has brought to a crisis is first of all the modernist approach within the specific field of study; and this requires that the reflexive and argumentative structures typical of this period must be overcome through radical re–thinking in the light of late modernity (Cowen, 2010). The tradition, if not correctly used or re–used, could be a cage, a "modernist trap".

HOW MANY MODERNITIES?

One possible research approach to respond to the critical points indicated by the scholars mentioned above may be to query the uniform, often univocal, vision assigned to modernity in the post–modern environment. In the Italian environment, with reference to philosophy, the limitations of this impoverished reading of modernity were indicated by Paolo Rossi (Rossi, 2009). From the critical viewpoint, his intention was to re–open discussion on the positions held by a great many authors belonging to the post–modern. The very title of his essay *«Idola» della modernità* (Ibid., pp. 47–71) recalled one of the author's philosophers of reference, Francis Bacon; in it he shows how the simplification of the characteristics of modernity has served to construct, *ex contrario*, the features of the post–modern. Such an operation encouraged the belief that an epoch might possess one single code comprehending all its tensions and indicating the main line of its development. This set–up, mistaken in a philosophical sense, is harmful to the comprehension of the educational thinking of early modernity, often interpreted as a way to freedom whose natural climax is the

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revolution of the Enlightenment. Although in his specific way, Toulmin, in the same years of Rossi[3], has also questioned the notion of modernity: in his work *Cosmopolis. The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*, Toulmin looks back at some roots of a specific vision of modernity already present in Renaissance, roots that are visible especially in authors such as Erasmus and Montaigne (Toulmin, 1990, pp. 22–36).

The crisis of specific features of Enlightenment has thus been transformed into a demonstration of the limitations assigned to all modernity: above it looms the ominous shadow of the failure and unspeakable tragedies of the twentieth century, which could therefore be overcome only by reneging on, or stigmatizing, the past. Clearly this does not signify that no continuities exist over the long period of western history, such as for example the persistence indicated by MacIntyre (MacIntyre, 1981) of an Aristotelian nucleus in morality after the eighteenth century (Raimondi, 2002, pp. 26–27). Such important *fils rouges*, the best indicators of the dialogue within our culture, do not however cancel out the differences and specificities of each single age nor, within each one, of every single author. The specificity of humanistic disciplines is found, among other distinctive features, in the attention to be devoted to each component part, each articulation of their history, for their complexity cannot be understood if only the last moments are considered, a mode of interpretation that belongs rather to the world of science (Steiner, 2001).

It may therefore prove interesting to turn our attention to certain specific traditions of the modern age, which hardly come within the image of the age as handed down by the post–modern. In particular, following the directions provided by Habermas and Lyotard, we can search for those which accept the difficult and unstable condition of the human being, and that have founded on such premises an education of the subject firmly anchored to life. This means considering history in two forms: a) a rich mine of concepts and instruments for thinking about the present and the rediscovery of their effectiveness; b) a set of traditions to be studied in their own context, reassigning to them all their unshakeable singularity. These two forms forge go ahead hand in hand; the former without the latter would be subject to undue simplifications, while the latter without the former would risk betraying the essential role tradition has always had.

If we look again with care at Kant's famous passage, it is easy to see how inconceivable it would be without that conquest of independence in reasoning whose fundamental steps are Spinoza, Descartes and, before them, a large part of the humanist tradition of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries. This milestone of Enlightenment is thus set in a wider process that shows how exceptional, and how historically important it is. In the same work by Kant, we see how the new state earned by Man is primarily the loss of a false second nature.

> Thus it is difficult for each separate individual to work his way out of the immaturity that has become almost second nature to him. He has even grown fond of it and is really incapable for the time being of using his own understanding, because he was never allowed to make the attempt. Dogmas

and formulas, those mechanical instruments for rational use (or rather misuse) of his natural endowments, are the ball and chain of his permanent immaturity. (Kant, 2003 [1784], p. 54)

It is the nature of Man to be rational, while custom, a second nature acquired through habit, is the main hindrance to be jettisoned. Here we see Rousseau's influence, also reflected in Jullien's thinking.

About two hundred years previously, Michel de Montaigne appeared to have shared the same concern as Kant; the inability to carry forward one's own judgement independently was, however, attributed to an excessive confidence in a culture unable to adhere to life.

> We can talk and prate, Cicero fayeth thus, These are Platoes customes, These are the very words of Aristotle, but what say we ourselves? What do we? What judge we? A Perot would say as much. (...)

> We rely so much upon other mensarmes, that we disannul our owne strength. Will I arme myself against the feare of death? It is at Senecaes cost: will I draw comfort either for my selfe any other? I borrow the same of Cicero. I would have taken–it in my selfe, had I beene exercised unto it, I love not this relative and begd–for sufficiencie. Suppose we may be learned by other mens learning. Sure I am, wee can never be wife, but by our owne wisedome. (Eyquem de Montaigne, 1603, I, 25, pp. 62–63).

Montaigne decidedly refuses the possibility of using tradition as an instrument to make individual judgement superfluous, assigning judgement as one of the most important acquisitions that a young person gains from education (Foglia, 2011). Independence of judgement, instability of truth, weakness of identity: these coordinates were important features of the period that is often referred to as pre–modernity, but that I prefer to call, as in literary and philosophical studies, early modernity.

Humanism and Renaissance as Early Modernity: this is the point of my paper. Humanists' educational thinking, heir to the Greek *paideia* and to the Roman *institutio oratoria*, comprehends a complex, problematic vision of the human being, an aspect often not sufficiently present in contemporary pedagogical reflection. Our historical condition had already shifted into the fluid state.

In the Renaissance, complexity invaded all the main dimensions of humankind: relations with the past, the image of reality, identity. The complexity typical of Renaissance authors is of course not the complexity that was to become central in the works of Edgar Morin, especially those featuring a more limpid pedagogical model (Morin, 1973; Morin, 2000; Morin, 2011, pp. 145–168). Rather, it was the breakthrough of the Enlightenment that in fact radically modified the view of Man and his education in the following centuries (Quondam, 2010). In spite of this, the particular feature that found significant momentum in Humanism and the

Renaissance was the attention paid to the single case, to the individuality of Man and of single events.

PRUDENCE AND RHETORIC AS INSTRUMENTS TO EXPERIENCE COMPLEXITY

In this sense, the past was in fact the subject of wide–reaching, profound reflection and was at the same time a lofty model that could deceive: in Francesco Guicciardini's work we find the moralist's concern when he observes the progressive failure of the normative value of the past as an instrument to understand the present.

Whatever has been in the past or is now will repeat itself in the future; but the names and surfaces of things will be so transformed, that he who has not a good eye will not distinguish them, or know to guide himself accordingly, or to form a judgment on what he sees. (Guicciardini, 1999 [1512–1530], p. 98, trans. by author)

Focus on the single case crushes any possible reduction of reality and prefabricated theories. No longer has man an ever–reliable compass to orientate him in the complexity of the real. Reality seems to be shaken to its foundations; moral values are set to the test by geographical discoveries and by the fragmentation of Christian unity. This awareness of the variety of what is real, although causing strong unease, did not destroy the confidence placed in reason and in the possibility of understanding the human being: the scepticism found in Guicciardini's pages was accompanied by the wisdom to penetrate human nature, an ability always acknowledged by his illustrious readers. From Jean Bodin to Michel de Montaigne, from Boccalini to Vico, Guicciardini's disenchanted view – to use a highly evocative term – has kindled admiration in the thinkers who over the centuries have returned to his work to conduct a conversation capable of enlightening their present. The sharp awareness of human nature underlying the works of this author was noted by Leopardi among others; in Book LI of his *Pensieri*, he was able to state that: «Guicciardini is perhaps the only historian among the moderns who understood men very well and philosophised about events drawing on his knowledge of human nature, rather than on a certain political science – divorced from the study of man» (Leopardi, 2002 [1845–1849], p. 45).

In Leopardi's words we clearly find the tension between a thought able to adhere to reality and a type of reflection preferring to move in the wake of a theory constructed far from the *conditio hominis*. The beating heart of modernity, therefore, is revealed as more complex than we often think: it is inspired by a strong sensibility for the multiple and the plurality unveiled by human experience. This tension is clearly shown in fifteenth–century authors such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Lorenzo Valla, Leon Battista Alberti and in authors contemporary to Guicciardini such as Baldassarre Castiglione and, of course, Niccolò Machiavelli. In his famous pedagogical work *De studiis et litteris* (1426), dedicated to a woman, Battista Malatesta, Leonardo Bruni already warned against a culture developing far from the bustling events of life; he underlined the need for concerted harmony between *rerum scientia* and *litterarum peritia*:

> True learning, I say: not a mere acquaintance with that vulgar, threadbare jargon which satisfies those who devote themselves to Theology, but sound learning in its proper and legitimate sense, the knowledge of realities – Facts and Principles – united to a perfect familiarity with Letters and the art of expression. (Bruni, 1912, pp. 123–124)

Plurality and variety were dimensions always to be confronted by these authors in their thinking: as well as posing problems throughout all political and moral reflection, these elements also had a profound effect on Man's questioning of his own identity, a gesture of Promethean impetus. Right from its moving spirit, Francesco Petrarca, thinking Italian Humanism destabilized the human's identity. The latter was brought to a critical point by work such as *De remediis Utriusque Fortunae* (1366): in the *Praefatio* to the second book and in the chapter *De discordia animi fluctuantis* (II, 1), we may see a conversation with the previous tradition that does not settle the restlessness which seems to pervade Petrarca's writing.

In a different manner, this image of the human being also pervades Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola's pages: in the famous *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (1487), Pico sketches a portrait where diversity and variety are the main features:

> He took up man, a work of indeterminate form; and placing him at the midpoint of the world (…) no fixed seat, no form of thy very own, no gift peculiarly thine (...) The seeds that each man cultivates will grow and bear their fruit in him. (...) Who does not wonder at this chameleon which we are? (Pico Della Mirandola, 1998, p. 4–5)

This vision of Man founded on his complexity – which reached as far as the scepticism of seventeenth–century Venice, an essential ingredient for libertinism, for Spinoza and, therefore, for Kant himself – did not, however, weaken the role of education. Indeed, the very instability, the same radical uncertainty of the *conditio hominis* encouraged the flowering of a rich pedagogical production addressing life. Using Aristotle's notion of *phronesis* and re–reading the Stoic tradition and oratorical training founded on Cicero's *occasio*, the Renaissance leads to an education tinged by scepticism, yet rooted solidly in life. Prudence is the principal virtue for affronting the world's variety and instability (Goyet, 2012).

This educational model was to prove highly successful, spreading throughout Europe. Uncertainty and relativity were no impediment to these authors; rather they were food for their judgement. Prudence becomes a virtue capable of making the contingent inhabitable without constraining it within preconceived forms. The plurality of viewpoints, the difficulty of mediating between individualities within community life, do not however lead to the subject's solipsism; there is another instrument, closely linked to the virtue of prudence, which is essential if we are to pass beyond the individual sphere in order to reach out to others: this unparalleled resource is the art of rhetoric. In this paper we cannot devote sufficient time to this aspect of the individual's formation in the modern age, but it necessary to keep in

mind how much the debilitation of a unique criterion of truth has, throughout the modern age, meant confidence in words as the instrument of encounter and mediation among individuals. The role played by rhetoric has therefore strengthened a specific vision of the human being, open to future change and belonging to the contingent, in constant dialogue with another (Vinkers, 1988; Fumaroli, 1999). These elements are very important in the recent philosophical reflections: in many works by Perelman, we may find rhetoric linked with the idea of pluralism and a search for moderate solution (Perelman, 1979, pp. 62–72). In Toulmin's last book, *Return to Reason*, in a different way the author stresses the meaning of rhetoric for understanding the different models of rationality and he finds in the tradition of Renaissance some philosophers able in their pages to give us «the full kaleidoscope of life» (Toulmin, 2001, p. 30).

This is apparent in the experience of otherness, frequently gained during journeys: leaving behind the old familiar places makes it possible to learn from differences, to bring one's own opinions into perspective, to understand the complexity of human beings. Think of Francesco Vettori's *Viaggio in Alemagna*, or the pages of Montaigne, Descartes and Pascal. In his *Essays*, Montaigne considered the variety of traditions and customs among the peoples about whom information was starting to arrive with the new geographic discoveries, and stated:

> The barbarous heathen are nothing more strange to us, then we are to them: nor with more occasion, as every man mould avow, if after he had traveiled through these farresetcht examples, hee could stray himselfe upon the discourses, and soundly conferre them. Humane reason is a tincture in like weight and measure. (Eyquem de Montaigne, 1603, I, 22, p. 48)

The *conditio hominis* has no stable features; it is this very fact that aligns and accustoms individuals to the most diverse traditions and customs. For this reason it can be highly instructive as long as it is comprehended in a framework of logic that is plural and open, in which the yardstick is not truth but verisimilitude. In the framework of geographical discoveries, I would like to recall here the contributions from Bartolomé de las Casas, also a professor at the glorious University of Salamanca during el *Siglo de Oro*.

From a different angle, René Descartes in his *Discourse of Method* (1637) also attributed great importance to travelling as the moment when otherness is confronted, in order to gain a more knowledgeable, informed opinion as a basis for one's own beliefs:

> It is useful to know something of the manners of different nations, that we may be enabled to form a more correct judgment regarding our own, and be prevented from thinking that everything contrary to our customs is ridiculous and irrational, a conclusion usually come to by those whose experience has been limited to their own country. (Descartes, 2009, p. 8)

This relativism is no doubt worrying, a fact well recognized by Pascal and Chateaubriand; yet it is accompanied by a highly fertile vision of man. Montaigne said: «I propose humane fantasies and mine owne, simply as humane conceits (...) A matter of opinion, not of faith (...) instructable, not instructing». In complexity, education is found under the heading of the human: the aim of education is knowing how to live. This is why it is essential to acquire prudence and skill in judgement–making. These are faculties – or virtues – that are applied in the field of the likely, of the probable.

This concept was to be central in the idea of education proposed by Giambattista Vico in his inaugural lecture *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* (1708) where we find it strongly linked to the notion of common sense – even more so than in the authors mentioned previously. In different ways, in fact, also in the Renaissance tradition and in Montaigne common sense plays a central role: it could be the compass for managing and for regulating actions and relations with otherness. Vico proposes an education founded on learning that is open to change and to the indefinite. Common sense is a faculty needed to live through *condition* the *hominis*: it is very distant from Descartes' solitary *cogito* and much more problematic than Kant's reason. Vico's common sense is bound to practice and experience: it opens the person to the collective dimension of comparison, with others and with tradition. Both elements featured in the above authors, prudence and rhetoric, find a favoured position in Vico's work, since they are the instruments with which to regulate an education based on verisimilitude as the trigger of common sense: «Ut autem scientia a veris oritur, error a falsis, ita a verisimilibus gignitur sensus communis» (Vico, 1990 [1708], p. 104).

Thanks to the lesson of the Italian Renaissance and in an exchange with the fundamental moments of education, Vico – like Montaigne – restricts the field of the human, depicting it as uncertain, but rooting it in reality. Through education, the human beings can live their lives to the full. In this tradition, humanist culture is still the main instrument in the formation of Man. The classics provide the compass, open to interpretation and always uncertain, to orientate thought and act. Man understands the limits of tradition thanks to tradition itself. The *studia humanitatis* with their store of wisdom form the perception that the human being has of himself; in turn, this education supports a specific idea of the human being.

CONCLUSIONS

This is of course only a quick sketch of a complex tradition; it was, however, my intention to show the extent to which our most contemporary concerns may find suggestions even in authors of early modernity. If today uncertainty appears to have led to the verge of a chasm between education and life, between word and communication, the fluidity of early modernity seems to have facilitated an educational reflection that is plural and complex, where Man, although nothing more than Man, is able to address life.

An example of the wide influence exerted by this tradition is to be found in Bergson: good sense is nourished by the classics and is the faculty that allows us to avoid blindly following the ideas of others; and this was already a concern for Montaigne, Descartes and Kant; furthermore, it is a way to act and to behave, thus reasserting its existence as being firmly rooted in reality.

> The education of good sense will thus not only consist in rescuing intelligence from ready–made ideas, but also in turning it away from excessively simple ideas, stopping it on the slippery slope of deductions and generalizations, and finally, preserving it from excessive self–confidence (Bergson, 2002 [1895], p. 352)

Nietzsche, in his *Lenzerheide–Fragment über den europäischen Nihilismus* (1887), was already aware that the end of extreme positions unfortunately did not bring with it an attempt to live out the freedom won. These positions were in fact replaced by others that were just as extreme. The philosopher looks at this movement of human thinking with disenchantment, but for him this attitude does not involve any abandonment of the possibility of reflecting and living in this world.

> Who will prove to be the strongest in the course of all this? The most moderate; those who do not require any extreme articles of faith; those who not only concede but love a fair amount of accidents and nonsense; those who can think of Man with a considerable reduction of his value without becoming small and weak on that account. (Nietzsche, 1967, [1901], section 55, pp. 38–9)

Now, as then, human thinking is needed, human and moderate: positions that are able to accept the finiteness and complexity of the human can supply us with the instruments necessary to live through all contradictions and variety. This vision of human beings, implying specific values, has not lost its strength through post modernism: it entails the idea of a broad education that does not address just training or schooling in the narrow sense. This is the idea of an education able to retrieve and experience the complexity of our cultural identity, plural and problematic, to set up a dialogue with other cultures and to read the present with a critical eye. In this sense, we observe that a reflection about our tradition can meet the more advanced positions and considerations produced in the field of comparative education, especially the critics concerning the new and challenging horizons of post– or late modernity. This meeting can happen under the aegis of the richness of the humanistic tradition, in which it is possible to find refined instruments and a wealth of ideas for reading the complexity of the human being.

NOTES

[1] The panel, chaired by Professor Miguel Pereyra and Professor Andreas Kazamias, took place in the XXV CESE (*Comparative Education Society in Europe*) Conference, held in Salamanca, 18–21 June 2012, *Empires, Post–Coloniality and Interculturality – Comparative Education Between Past, Post, and Present*.

²   This was presented first in German, in 1980, when the author was awarded the Theodor W. Adorno prize; then it was delivered in English as a James Lecture of The New York Institute for the Humanities at New York University on March 5, 1981. Finally, in 1983, this article was also published also in another book, with the title *Modernity – An Incomplete Project* (Habermas, 1983).

³   The first edition of Rossi's book was published in 1989.

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TIME, LOCATION AND IDENTITY OF
WWII–RELATED MUSEUMS

An International Comparative Analysis

INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at educational messages offered by museums whose major theme is the history of World War II. It focuses on places that were heavily involved in the war or are closely related to its history.

Generally speaking, these museums provide well–thought, comprehensive and sometimes innovative educational programmes. Occasionally, distance learning is also available through online courses, payable by credit cards. A variety of programmes are designed for each of the different social groups of, for example, children, school teachers, soldiers and the general public. Several methods are devised for children to follow preparatory lessons at home or at school. The educational purposes and messages embedded in those programmes are explicit and conclusive.

At the same time, there are messages that are demonstrated implicitly, although still with an educational intention. This chapter tries to capture these messages connoted in aspects outside educational programmes. For this purpose, the chapter pays special attention to the location and the historical context in which individual museums have developed. Finally, an attempt is made to analyse the notion of the war history encompassed within different times and spaces.

POSITIONING OF HISTORY MUSEUMS IN SOCIETY

The origin of museums is traceable back to academic and cultural institutions in ancient Greece. It was a sanctuary for goddesses who presided over poetry, music, dance, other fields of arts, and knowledge. Thus, in the West, museums have long been an important source of learning and cultivation for human beings. For a long time until the modern age, access to museums was restricted to the elite of society, those who had political and economic power. Museums used to be places for displaying rarities that were only affordable for those people with such power.

The function of museums, however, has gradually changed, along with social transformation in modern European societies. From the period of the Enlightenment, interest in knowledge, along with that generated by materials, has spread to the people in the lower echelons of society. In the development of capitalism, the access

of the middle class to new cultural experiences entered the market. Control of the arts and materials extended from aristocratic and religious patrons to the paying public (Curran, 2001). Based on the belief of lay people in science and knowledge, museums became yet again a social institution for 'civilised' people, *i. e.* the members of civil society.

Museums are involved in collections, preservation and exhibition based on their judgement that those materials are worthy of knowledge for people. Exhibits in museums are selected for certain purposes and philosophies, such as the acquisition of 'correct' information and the exclusion of 'wrong' messages. As a result of such selection and allocation of knowledge, all the others are doomed to be underplayed or ignored in order to highlight the good one (Karp & Lavine, 1991). Therefore, visitors receive messages that are already built into the overall structure of museums. They function as an important medium of knowledge transfer. Since people judge things as to whether they are 'fact' or 'fiction', largely based on the form of media through which they receive information, the authority of the media is crucial. It can be suggested, as Zygmunt Bauman states, that museums are a symbol of Western modern society, in terms of the belief in knowledge and authoritarianism based on themit (Bauman, 2000). Attending to authority, modern museums have become, what Stanley Fish calls, an 'interpretive community', in which museums and visitors share a certain understanding of how they view exhibitions (Fish, 1980).

History museums exemplify this notion of modern museums. The 'History' that we see in museums is not 'the past' as such and neither does it tell us anything in itself. It is transformed into a form of history through the filters of the exhibitors (Jennkins, 2005; Le Goff, 1992). By understanding the same historical perspectives, people share the past as well as the future. In modern society, national history has supplanted a pre–modern, kin–based relationship that allowed people to believe in the 'sameness' of the members of community (Sakai, 2010). History works most effectively to integrate people emotionally.

Thus, the influences of history museums are significant both socially and educationally. Not to speak of the displays and educational programmes offered by museums, their construction and existence have drawn political attention and controversies. In the following sections, we shall look at the individual cases of the history museums within the perspectives of the timing, the location and aspects outside educational programmes that tell us how history should be remembered.

JAPAN: BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Museums in Japan were, along with other aspects of modern education, modelled after those in the West. From the end of the Edo period, a number of missions of young modernisers had been dispatched to the United States and Europe to investigate the political, economic, social and educational systems and their current functioning in industrialised societies. The whole purpose of this was to identify the sources of Western civilisation. They therefore understood that the main role of museums was

to teach proper knowledge and correct information in order to cultivate and civilise people (Shiina, 1988).

Japan's catching–up in museum affairs continued after World War II. During the Allied military occupation of Japan (1945–1952), history and geography were among the school subjects most critically screened and radically revised by the American occupiers. The curriculum was revised and a new subject, *shakaika* (social studies or civics), was installed to teach the idea of democratic society to Japanese children. At that time too, Western reformers considered that museums could carry an important role for such purposes. They were positioned at the core of so–called social education (*shakai kyoiku*), mainly demonstrated outside school, and the Museum Law was enacted in 1951. Only recently, having recognised the challenges of museum education, especially in the training of qualified personnel, has the Ministry of Education begun to review the university curriculum and to create new courses for future curators.

The developing aspect of Japanese museums is recognisable in, for example, staffing. The author has conducted research and interviews in a number of war–related museums. The Kyoto Museum for World Peace, at Ritsumeikan University, is one of the few museums that were founded by the University. It is also a rare example since it has a qualified full–time curator with a graduate–level degree in the field. As one of its important missions, this museum tries to show not only the misery and cruelty of the war meted out to the Japanese people, but also those aspects in regard to Japan's waging of the war as an aggressor[1]. The Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum is often criticised, especially by Chinese and Korean people, because of its heavy focus on Japan and its people as victims. Despite the main purpose of the museum, it aims to demonstrate not only the impact of atomic bombs, but also the whole processes and the context of America's decision to drop bombs on Japan. The museum was founded by the Nagasaki Prefecture, and the staff members there, including the people in charge of developing educational programmes, are administrative civil servants. As elsewhere in municipal offices, those public administrators normally move from one office to another every few years. Therefore, the staff members must work to teach the history of the war within the routine process of personnel reshuffling, apart from their personal interests in the war or its history[2]. The Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum also has a similar problem[3].

In sum, among the major functions of museums, *i.e.* collections; storage; research; and education, the last two aspects are underplayed in these war–related museums in Japan. Specialists in education are rarely involved. Moreover, verification of the materials for historical display is not as sufficient as in other museums abroad, as will be shown in following sections, which have their own historians or researchers within the institution, or at least maintain established professional relationships with history research institutions.

According to the enquiries of the author, the only exception in Japan is the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, which has a standing committee consisting of scholars in various fields, *e.g.* international relations, architecture, physics,

information technology and so on. Their research results are publicised in the form of an annual report (Hiroshima, 2010). The staff members are divided into two groups to maintain professional consistency: one for administrative staff members and the other for permanent staff in education, museum studies and other lines of enquiry.

Given these tasks to be solved in Japan, let us turn our eyes to similarly war–related museums abroad, which can be regarded as 'models' for these Japanese museums in terms of technology and institutional settings. At the same time, they have their own background for development and the furtherance of educational messages.

GERMANY: THE CASE OF THE NUREMBERG DOCUMENTATION CENTRE

The official name of the institution is "Documentation Centre Nazi Party Rally Grounds Nuremberg". It is located in Nuremberg, one of the major cities in the Fee State of Bavaria. Formerly, this centre used to be the site where Hitler and the Nazis conducted the annual party rally since their seizure of power. The vast size and somewhat solemn atmosphere of the rallies are perceivable from the *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the Will), a film shot by a controversial director, Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003). Nuremberg is also associated with other memories of the National–Socialist (NS) past. In 1935, the Nazis declared the Race Laws, paving the way for the Holocaust. Moreover, *Der Stürmer* (The Stormer), a Nazi propaganda weekly tabloid, was issued here from 1923 until 1945.

At the zenith of Nazi power, the relatives of Richart Wagner in Bayreuth, another city in Bavaria, had been under the patronage of Hitler (Hamann, 2005). Obersalzberg near Berchtesgaden, a Bavarian village in the German Alps, was the second base of the Nazi regime after Berlin. This tourist resort had a serious turning point in 1933 when Hitler purchased his summer villa there. In April 1945, the British and American troops bombed and destroyed most of the Nazi–related buildings there, except for the *Kehlsteinhaus* (the Eagle's Nest) and the bunker complex. From 1953 until 1996, parts of Obersalzberg had been in the hands of the American authorities, mainly used for the recreation of the US military. Then, *Bavaria Freistaat Bayern* and the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich chose the place for the exhibition of the central manifestations of Nazi dictatorship[4]. As late as 1999, the Dokumentation Obersalzberg was in use for that purpose.

Despite, and arguably because of, the close connection to Hitler and his NS regime, Bavaria has gone a quite long way round in its *Geschichtspolitik* (history policy) and *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (overcoming the past) in comparison with other western states. In this sense, Germany, even in the western part, is not monolithic in dealing with the national past. The Documentation Centre was founded in 2001.

It is true that West Germany, in general, as well, its government and the people had gone back and forth until they gained respect and admiration from around the world for the policy of overcoming the past of Nazi Germany. In history textbooks as well, those issued in the second half of the 1940s and the 1950s, offered descriptions about the war and the Holocaust that were apparently underplayed (Shibata, 2008).

Germany's dealings with the history of the NS regime started immediately after the War during the Allied military occupation. The so–called denazification, which the Allied authorities had conducted, was not the way in which the Germans expected, and they wanted to banish Nazis from their society. This personnel demilitarisation in Germany was thorough, unlike in Japan. The screening questionnaire *Fragebogen* consisted of over one hundred questions. Initially the US authorities planned to screen all German adults in a population sector of 16,682,573, and distributed thirteen million copies of the questionnaire, which largely exceeded the number of adults there (Montgomery, 1957). Many Germans harbour antipathy toward the Allies' denazification not only because of the thoroughness, but also the unfair judgement of the occupation authorities. The Bavarian regional council complained about 'renazification' (Woller, 1986), while Karl Jaspers expressed his concern for the "silent disappearance of the Nazi leaders" (Herz, 1982; Jaspers, 1946). Thus since its beginnings, the government of the Federal Republic of Germany took rapid legal measures to declare the end of denazification, despite communist opposition. Under the Konrad Adenauer administration (1949–1963), a gradual release of war criminals and a gradual comeback of former Nazis into public sectors took place. As late as in 1960, there was a report of 833 cases of attacks on Jewish cemeteries (Ishida, 2002).

The apparent policy for coming to terms with the NS past became visible from the middle of or the late 1960s in West Germany. Underlying this, there was certainly a growing political pressure from the Jewish people, who also needed time to fully grasp the humiliated past of their people from the immediate post–war period, as will be mentioned later. Persistent assaults on Jewish properties by Germans led the Jewish Congress in the US to stand up and take action against the German Ambassador in Washington D.C. as well as against Bonn in 1959. In the 1960s, there was also a powerful political movement of the German youth driven by their distrust and anger towards the older generations, especially those who had remained silent about the NS past[5]. In this sense, the student movement and its leadership of intellectuals in West Germany had a vital impact on the ways in which the country had begun to cope with the history of the war, and above all the Holocaust, as the national past. Therefore, it was in the 1970s and the 1980s when people became much more exposed to the history of World War II in the levels of culture and sub–culture than the earlier post–war period (Avisar, 1994). American TV drama, The Holocaust, and its popularity in US society in the late 1970s was another push for the German people to reconsider the interpretation of history. Moreover, in the 1970s and the 1980s the political leadership of West Germany, notably involving Chancellor Willy Brandt (1969–1974) and President Richard von Weizsäcker (1984–1994), together with popular respect for their policies created a solid basis for *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.

Meanwhile, Bavaria had followed its own path. A US officer once expressed his perception of Bavarians' identity by saying that "the people are first of all Bavarians, then Catholics or Lutherans, and thirdly, Germans"[6]. The city of Nuremberg also

has taken a long time to use the Party Rally Grounds, which was once offered to the Nazis and was returned after their fall for educational purposes. After the Americans blew up the swastika on the Zeppelin Field, the grounds were used for different open–air events, for instance a motor cycle race in the 1950s. The building of the Congress Hall within the site became a place of a Jubilee Exhibition to celebrate the 900th anniversary of the city. In the 1960s, a suggestion was made by the municipal authorities that the Hall should be renovated for use as a football stadium, which was not followed through because of the large cost (Figure 1) (Täubrich, 2006).

Figure 1. Debate about the use of the Grounds in the 1960s.

In 1987, an idea for the use the grounds for recreation and a shopping centre was suggested, but was rejected by the State of Bavaria because of its irrelevance. In the 1980s, the educational administration of the State of Bavaria received a complaint about its way of teaching Holocaust history from Yad Vashem, a national memorial museum for the Holocaust in Jerusalem, Israel. Finally as late as 2001, as mentioned earlier, the historic site was opened to the public as the Documentation Centre Nazi Party Rally Grounds Nuremberg. This was the period, in contrast, when the other part of former West Germany had gradually shifted its policy for coping with NS history. It was the time of the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the national unification of the divided Germany, which can be interpreted as the end of the 'punishment' of Germany by international community (MacDonald, 2008). Inside and outside the country, people began to feel that West Germany had done enough to come to terms with the Nazi past, and as a result much more talk about Germany also being a victim of the war began to be seen, such as the Allied bombing of civilians in Hamburg and Dresden and the rape of German women by the Russian Army. In this sense, Bavaria can apparently be considered as a late–comer in the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.

Since it is a relatively new museum, it is an innovative one in terms of a variety of educational programmes, their approaches, and the concepts. The centre attempts to reduce the numbers of old–fashioned guided tours in which the centre 'taucht the visitors about its own understanding and interpretations of history[7]. Instead, there are a number of seminar rooms where visitors, especially pupils and students, can discuss their own views and feelings about the war and Nazi Germany. A six–and–a half–hour Study Day, entitled 'Facades of Terror – From Fascination to Crime', is offered to examine the sensitive border and connection between the 'fascination' of the party rallies and the Nazi crimes. On this Day, visitors can choose and include a 90–minute 'Thematic Talk' including, for example, 'Against National Socialism – Human Rights' and 'From the Nuremberg Trials to the International Criminal Court'. Themes for discussion can also be proposed by visitors themselves.

The exhibitions are based on professional researchers who work for the centre as full–time staff. The results of their research are transferred to more accessible form specifically for school children, in coordination with an associate institution, the DokuPäd, located in the city centre[8]. Both institutions share a consistent educational idea and the concept of teaching about the NS past. They not merely focus on or emphasise the horror of the dictatorship or its acts. They do not deny the 'fascination' of power, but also try to make children understand the dangers of power. Membership to the management is open to various fields of society rather than exclusive. The board, called the *Dokuratorium*, involves politicians such as the Ministers of the State of Bavaria, the City Mayor, ecclesiastics such as an archbishop, publishers, and representatives from the Jewish Council and community.

THE UNITED STATES: THE CASE OF THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM (USHMM)

One of the prime purposes of all Holocaust museums is to recall the mass murder of the European Jewry during World War II. Museums in places where the people were actually murdered, Auschwitz–Birkenau, Dachau and Buhenwald, reflect the incident by themselves. A small site in Mechelen in Belgium, too, is believed to be the only place that can demonstrate the tragedy of the Belgian Jews who were sent to Nazi death camps. Regarding the plan of its expansion and renovation, the Jewish Museum of Deportation and Resistance in Mechelen unyieldingly rejects transfer to another site and sticks to the idea of building a new museum on this site[9]. Thus, these places show the tragedy through their existence without 'dramatisation'.

However, Washington D.C., the place of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, has no direct link to the event, and does not remind people of anything to do with it. Therefore, some justification was necessary for the museum to affirm that it is a 'living memorial'. At the launch of the Presidential Commission on the Holocaust in 1978, President Jimmy Carter stated that:

"Although the Holocaust took place in Europe, the event is of fundamental significance to Americans for three reasons. First, it was American troops who

liberated many of the death camps, and who helped to expose the horrible truth of what had been done there. Also, the United States became a homeland for many of those who were able to survive. Secondly, however, we must share the responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge forty years ago that this horrible event was in fact occurring. Finally, because we are humans, concerned with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such enormities from occurring in the future" (MacDonald, 2008).
The Commission devised a plan whereby the museum 'must be of symbolic and artistic beauty, visually and emotionally moving' (Engelhardt, 2002).

   To surmount the geographic and psychological distance to the genocide in Europe, the museum uses a number of effective means to bring the past into the memory of the visitors and give them 'powerful lessons' (Engelhardt, 2002). As Carter stated first, one of the most important messages of this museum is that Americans are presented here as 'liberators'. This is convincing if one considers the location of the museum. After various discussions and negotiations, it was decided to build the museum in the heart of Washington D.C., America's political centre. The large building, of 25,000m², has two entrances. One of them, on the western side, is surrounded by the Washington Monument, the National Mall and Capitol Hill, which symbolise the American idea of freedom and the central values of American society (Figures 2–4). The exterior of the museum's building is carefully structured to harmonise such surroundings.
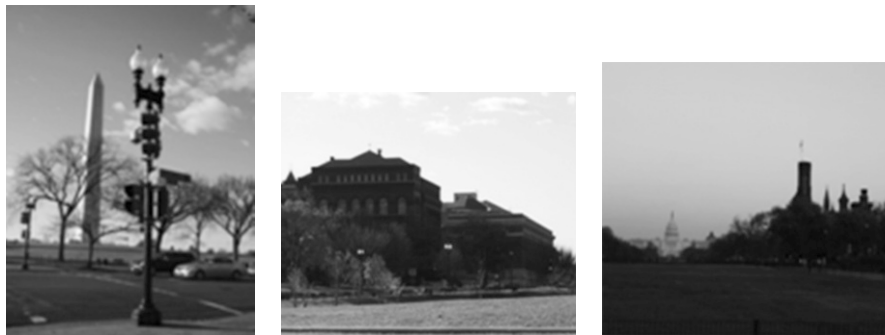
Figures 2–4. 2(left) The Washington Monument; 3 (centre) USHMM;4 (right) The US Capitol and the National Mall (Pictures taken by the author).

Materials in museums are by no means exhibited randomly. Their location also conveys important messages, such as the degree of the significance of individual exhibitions. At the western entrance, visitors encounter an epigraph of the reminiscence of Dwight Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in

Europe, in the face of the Ohrdruf Concentration Camp which was liberated by the US Army. He pictured its horrific sigh, stating that:

THE THINGS I SAW BEGGAR DESCRIPTION … THE VISUAL EVIDENCE AND THE VERBAL TESTIMONY OF STARVATION. CRUELTY AND BESTIALITY WERE SO OVERPOWERING … I MADE THE VISIT DELIBERATELY, IN ORDER TO BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE FIRST–HAND EVIDENCE OF THESE THINGS IF EVER, IN THE FUTURE, THERE DEVELOPS A TENDENCY TO CHARGE THESE ALLEGATIONS TO PROPAGANDA.

GEN. DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE ALLIED FORCES OHRDRUF CONCENTRATION CAMP APRIL 15, 1945.

At the other side of the building, the first thing visitors note are the twelve flags of the US army divisions that liberated released prisoners from Nazi concentration camps". Visitors entering the museum from either side will learn that Americans made a significant contribution to the end of a series of horrors which they only saw after the fact.

Figures 5–7. 5 (left) The entrance facing the Monument; 6 (centre) Eisenhower's epigraph at the entrance; 7 (right) "Flags of Twelve United States Army Divisions Active in Liberating Nazi Concentration Camps" in the entrance facing to the Mall (Pictures taken by the author).

Another important mission of the museum is to present lively memories of murdered or tortured Jews to those who have not experienced such pains and grief. As broadly argued, the whole construction of this massive museum is meant to be a historical lesson of the Holocaust (Linenthal, 1995; Young, 1993). The architect, James Freed, designed shapes, forms, materials and colour schemes through which visitors could feel what European Jews had gone through. He himself was one of the European Jews who had fled Europe after Hitler's power seizure. The initial blueprint he drew

contained too strong an assertion of his interpretation of the Holocaust. On rejecting this first design, the commission's executive secretary said that "The character of the building itself had an almost unintended link to fascist architecture. It was almost brutal. You could not escape identifying it with the architecture favoured by Hitler. It seemed to be more a memorial to the perpetrators of the crime, not the victims" (Young, 1993). In his revised design, his statement came to have a more subtle tone. As shown in following two pictures, visitors experience a well–known scene of the genocide viscerally. Visitors in the Hall of Witness cannot help imagining the 'death gate' in Birkenau, the second Nazi concentration camp site in Auschwitz. Moreover, the Hall is designed for people to feel constantly 'watched' from the windows of the corridor in the upper level and from the roof[10].

Figures 8–9. 8 (left) The Hall of Witness in USHMM; 9 (right) Auschwitz II–Birkenau (Pictures taken by the author).

Despite the acceptance of the Diaspora of European Jews, the US government took three decades to reveal their appalling history during the war. Indeed, the government had remained rather distanced from the event of the mass murder of European Jewry, except for the demonstration of it to the Germans. As late as the 1950s and the 1960s, as David MacDonald points out, American society was not yet ready to listen to the memory of Jewish suffering (MacDonald, 2008). It was discussed only within the American Jewish communities. This was partly because of the unwillingness of the Jewish people to talk openly about their humiliating experience in the not–too–distant past. The situation was also affected to a considerably extent by their relatively low status in American society in terms of their political, economic and cultural representation. The Six Day War of 1967 in the Middle East also devalued the position of the Jews in American society, who saw the war as an 'imperialist Zionist war' within the general movement of decolonisation (MacDonald, 2008).

In the 1970s, Jewish 'success' became more discernible than earlier both for Americans as well as Jewish immigrants. This coincided with the shift in the attitude of the Holocaust victims themselves to their own experience, now understanding it with 'moral leadership and almost heroic pride' rather than as a 'humiliated degradation' (MacDonald, 2008). Politically as well, the 1970s was also an important turning point in positioning Jewish history. During the Carter administration (1977–1981), the diplomatic relationship between Israel and the US was worsened as the latter's affiliation to Arab countries was bolstered by the sale of American fighters: McDonnell Douglas F–15 Eagle' (Engelhardt, 2002). This was the political background as to why Carter was enthusiastic about the establishment of the above–mentioned presidential commission for Holocaust recognition.

In the 1980s, there was a big 'push' aimed at boosting Carter's idea of the public recognition of Jewish history in the Holocaust. This was in the form of a controversial visit by President Ronald Regan, arranged by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, to the Kolmeshöhe Cemetery in 1985, where dozens of Waffen–SS members were also buried (Ishida, 2002). The official representation of Holocaust history in the US and elsewhere is closely bound to its relationship with the Israeli and Jewish communities around the world. Finally in 1993, the museum was inaugurated by President Bill Clinton (1993–2001), whose administration had maintained good relationships with Israel.

This vast museum is now run by about 300 staff members, including researchers, mainly in history, curators, and educators such as former school teachers. Seminars are offered regularly to young children, school teachers and the general public. Online teachers' workshops are extensive in size. Research conducted in the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies is by no means a small part of the museum's activities (Table for the Revenue and the Expenses). One can see the devotion and commitment of the museum to Holocaust teaching from this development, which has been attained in a relatively short period of time.

Table: The Budget of USHMM (USD)[11]

Support and Revenue	Private	Federal	Total	
Federal appropriation revenue		45,712,768	45,712,768	47.2%
Contributions	29,093,979		29,093,979	30.0%
Membership revenue	10,468,822		10,468,822	10.8%
Museum Shop	2,337,921		2,337,921	2.4%
Endowment payout	7,767,702		7,767,702	8.0%
Contributed services	31,526		31,526	0.03%
Imputed financing source		1,141,023	1,141,023	1.2%
Other	339,336		339,336	0.4%
Total	50,039,286	46,853,791	96,893,077	

(*Continued*)

Table: Continued

Expenses	Private	Federal	Total	
Museum operations	3,847,920	21,217,063	25,064,983	28.1%
Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies	5,025,690	2,435,638	7,461,328	8.4%
Museum and public programs	10,326,468	10,583,583	20,910,051	23.5%
Outreach technology	2,608,468	3,912,564	6,521,032	7.3%
Museum Shop	1,993,700		1,993,700	2.2%
Management and general	6,698,088	7,605,003	14,303,091	16.1%
Membership development	4,928,002		4,928,002	5.5%
Fundraising	7,879,881		7,879,881	8.8%
Total	43,308,217	45,753,851	89,062,068	

ISRAEL: THE CASE OF YAD VASHEM (THE HOLOCAUST MARTYRS' AND HEROES' REMEMBRANCE AUTHORITY)

This 'Americanisation of Holocaust memory' had a definite impact on the extensive and intensive development of Israel's Holocaust museum in the 2000s. The beautiful hill top overlooking the city of Jerusalem, where Yad Vashem is located, does not remind people of the horror of the Holocaust either. Thus, like the USHMM, although in different ways, the museum has elaborated various plans to demonstrate the importance of the museum in remembering Holocaust history. In its vast complex of 180,000m², Yad Vashem maintains a Holocaust History Museum, the Children's Memorial, the Hall of Remembrance, The Museum of Holocaust Art, and the "Righteous among the Nations". Like USHMM, Yad Vashem also has a fully–fledged research centre, called the International School for Holocaust Studies, which regularly holds international conferences, workshops, symposia and seminars. It also provides postdoctoral fellowships.

Among the different constructions, one of the most important for visitors is the Holocaust History Museum which is on the middle of the hill top (Figure 10). It is made in the shape of ship, indicating the museum's purpose of demonstrating the voyage of the Jews. The first thing to be encountered by visitors in the dim–lit entrance is children singing the national anthem of Israel, Hatikva. The floor of the museum is not entirely flat, but it is gently dented toward the centre of the building to show the Jews at the nadir of their history during the war. Passing by the bottom, visitors walk upwards again towards the exit where they see the gorgeous panorama of Jerusalem, which implies that European Jews were able to obtain this treasure because of the Holocaust (Figure 12). Yad Vashem is located higher than any other buildings or institutions on the hill, including the national military cemetery. The whole museum and the whole site of Yad Vashem tell visitors that the Holocaust is

at the core of the raison d'être of the nation and its 'national' history, which belongs to no one else but the Jews and their country, Israel.
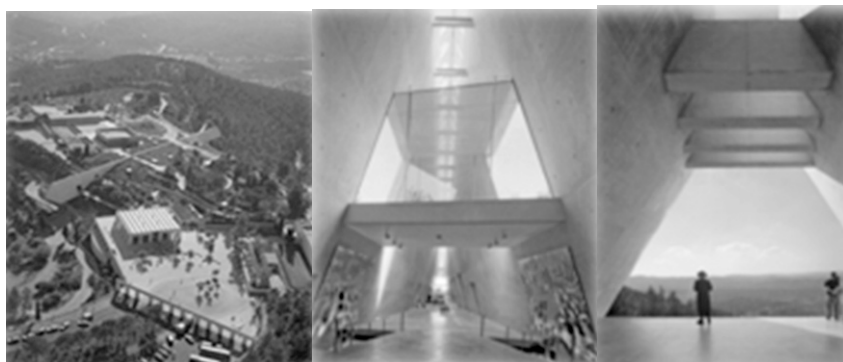
Figures 10–12. 10 (left) The whole site of Yad Vashem in Mt. Herzl (Mt. of Memory); 11 (centre) Inside the ship–shaped museum; 12 (left) The exit of the museum and a panorama of Jerusalem (Ockman, 2006).

Thus, Israel needs to own the history of the Holocaust, and maintain control over that history. Therefore, when there are different interpretations and representations of the history that are considered unacceptable, they do make claim to it, as in the above–mentioned case of the Nuremberg Documentation Centre. When this current massive construction was founded in 2005, it was first introduced to 'special guests', such as historians, before the general public by announcing that 'this is bigger' than USHMM[12]. It is broadly accepted that there has been a sense of 'rivalry' around the interpretation of Holocaust history' (Engelhardt, 2002; Young, 1993).

Not only the location and the size of the museum, but also the timing of its development is also a key to understanding Israelis' perception of Holocaust history. Initially, the museum was located on a lower part of the hill. The size of the building and exhibitions was far smaller than today. The foundation was based on the Yad Vashem Law which was passed by the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, in 1953. However, the actual establishment of the small museum was in 1957. In the meantime, there was also an important movement for Israel in terms of the control of history abroad[13]. In Paris in 1956, the Mémorial de la Shoah was opened to the public. The major materials of its presentation came from collections and documents that had been amassed by Zionist activists, Isaac Schneersohn and his associates, in Nazi–occupied Grenoble. They founded the first Holocaust documentation centre in the world, and those materials were used as reliable evidence in the Nuremberg Trial (Mémorial de la Shoah, 2006).

In this early post–war period, representations as well as education about the Holocaust had different focuses from those currently seen in Yad Vashem. The period from the foundation of the State of Israel throughout the 1950s is often referred to as

the 'statist' era (MacDonald, 2008). Similarly to the case of the Republic of China, the government of Israel regarded this initial period as one for nation–building and the formation of a national identity. For these aims, the figures of 'strong Jews' and Jewish values, shown in their heroic resistance to the Nazis, were highlighted rather than teaching about the helpless humiliation of earlier generations (Mitter, 2003).

However, a number of events in the 1960s made the Israeli government and the people look at the Jews as the victims of the Holocaust rather than the heroes. Among them, the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961 arguably had the greatest impact on this shift. It triggered the opening of the Jewish mind and eyes to directly confront their past (MacDonald, 2008). Afterwards, in the 1970s and the 1980s, Holocaust survivors gradually began to release the feelings and memories of their agony experienced in Nazi–occupied Europe to the public. At a half century after the end of the war, the current presentation of Holocaust memories in Yad Vashem demonstrates Israelis' memory about the Holocaust.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As said, all the above three newly–built museums are well advanced in terms of the development of educational programmes with high–tech and innovative ideas about historical approaches. Unlike museums in the old format, these contemporary museums provide visitors with time and space for 'thinking' by reducing the volume of old–fashioned, ready–made guides. Unlike many cases of war–related museums in Japan, these three are proud of, and confident about, the epistemological relevance of their exhibitions, which are the based on scientific research. In each of these places, this is institutionally well structured.

At the same time, as seen above, one could understand their approach to the history of the war from things outside the exhibition or educational programmes as such. In the case of Nuremberg, for example, the rather delayed launching of the addressing of war history to the public explains the difficulty felt by the authorities of Nuremberg and the State of Bavaria in dealing with the NS past. This involves about local history and the identity of the people there. In the case of USHMM, its development cannot be explained without considering the increase in Jewish power in post–war American society, the growth of their confidence in it, and the international politics surrounding Israel, Germany and the United States. The museum's architecture is elaborated in such a way as to remind visitors of the heaviness of Holocaust history, which the location itself does not tell us about. The architecture and the location of the museum also imply important message, *i.e.* Americans as liberating heroes in the history of the Holocaust. The Americanisation of Holocaust history certainly threatened Israeli control over the history. Indeed, it has always been a primary concern of the Israeli government since its establishment in 1948. The development of Yad Vashem has progressed hand–in–hand with that of major Holocaust representations outside the country. Control over Holocaust history involves the establishment of a national identity of its people.

Museums that conventionally used to be showcases have grown as an important means to educate and cultivate 'good citizens' along the development of civil society in Western Europe. In particular, museums that are related to the history of peoples and nations have played a crucial role in the formation of national identity and national cohesion. As seen above, the *raison d'être* of individual museums is can be seen in the presentation of materials and documents, as well as many choices involved in this.

The materials were never 'naturally' there. They were chosen to be presented at a specific time in a specific location, so that visitors can 'learn' that they are important parts of past events. In this sense, there exists a kind of a community within which visitors who receive information and messages and museums which provide these to the visitors. Needless to say, this argument can be applied to history textbooks and history lessons in schools. But the difference between such classroom learning and museum education is the existence of other messages, discernible from the place, the air, the light, the colour, and the smell of memorial materials and the existence of museums' as such, which allow visitors to perceive the history not merely as knowledge but as their own experience. Since history is regarded as an important political instrument for the formation of national cohesion and national identity, history museums are among the most effective social institutions that demonstrate the *raison d'État* of nations and the key to understanding it.

NOTES

[1] Interview with Dr. Junko Kanekiyo of Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University on 17 July 2008.

[2] Interview with Mr. Mitsuyoshi Taira of Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum on 28 January 2009.

[3] Interview with Mr. Ken Sonohara of Okinawa Peace Memorial Museum on 5 December 2008.

[4] "A permanent exhibition on the history of Obersalzberg and the Nazi dictatorship", an introductory leaflet issued by Dokumentation Obersalzberg.

[5] Interview with Dr. Eckart Dietzfelbinger of Nuremberg Dokumentation Centre on 4 August 2007.

[6] "Report of the Education and Religious Affairs in Bavaria" of 30 June 1945 (OMGUS Fiche # Z45 F 5/307–3/21).

[7] Interview with Mr. Alexander Berdich of Nuremberg Dokumentation Centre on 4 August 2007.

[8] Interview with Dr. Prölß–Kammerer and Julia Oschmann of DoKuPäd on 21 January 2010.

[9] Interview with Mr. Tuvia Zuckerman of the Jewish Museum of Deportation and Resistance on 10 August 2008.

[10] Interview with C. Gjolaj of USHMM on 17 November 2010.

[11] The Annual Report 2009 (http://www.ushmm.org/museum/press/annual report/2009 (acces on 5 January 2011).

[12] Interview with Professor D. Porat of the Hebrew University on 14 June 2010.

[13] Interview with Dr. Karel Francapane of Mémorial de la Shoah on 3 December 2010.

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CITIZENSHIP, VALUES AND SOCIAL ORDERS. THE ASSESSMENT SYSTEM OF *CENSUS* AND RITUAL EDUCATION IN ANCIENT ROME

INTRODUCTION

Collective rituals with a socio–pedagogical relevance have been treated by some authors as "ceremonial pedagogy" (Schriewer, 2009). In this sense, ceremonies consist of sequences of human actions that symbolically represent an order and aestheticize this order for the human groups concerned. In particular, complex political or religious order systems depend on such means of self–presentation. In such ceremonies, there is a trend towards hierarchizing the concepts of order and the procedure is assigned a symbolic value of its own; the patterns and concepts of socio–political order are translated into sensuously tangible and procedural forms of expression, seeking to establish the social acceptance and consciousness–shaping internalization of the former[1].

Ceremonies of this type are rooted in rituals, which reach far back to antiquity and, in particular, are related to Greco–Roman examples (Schriewer, 2009: 10, note 8).

Republican Rome, in particular, inspired several rituals of revolutionary societies of the XVIII century, which from then onwards caused a debate concerning the peculiarities and specificity of Ancient Culture in comparison with Modern culture and the precautions that should therefore be taken before transferring institutions, ideas and rituals from the former into the latter (Constant, 1819). The approach used here takes into account such a comparative and critical spirit which below will form part of the brief discussion we shall make of one of the numerous ceremonial systems by which Roman society represented itself in a "sensuous way", and formalised and aestheticised its social orders via a spatial and visual representation in the ceremony of *census*.

Among other purposes, this ceremony was meant to display visually (by the physical disposition of the population gathered (which represented the actual articulation of the social orders) and the ritual and sacred actions by which this disposition was commanded and obtained) the value system on which the Republic was based. In this sense, this complex ritual system could be considered as a form of ceremonial pedagogy, but its impact on the attending human groups was much deeper than one could conceive in modern societies. As we shall see below, this is partly due to the fact that Roman society, especially in the days of the early Republic, was what in socio–anthropological terms could be defined a "holistic" society, in

which the concept of the modern, morally autonomous individual did not exist, and in which society, considered as a whole, prevailed over any form of individuality.

THE HOLISM OF THE ANCIENT SOCIETY VS. THAT OF MODERN SOCIETY

Since its origins, Roman citizenship was tied to a social hierarchy based on values. Each citizen was placed in a social order according to his virtue and patrimony. Once every five years, in a ceremony called the *census*, citizens were distributed between the five social orders established by king Servius (and preserved within the Empire thanks to Augustus' restoration). In the *census*, in the presence of the whole population gathered for the occasion each citizen was commanded into one of the five orders (confirmed, promoted or demoted), according to the judgement of two magistrates (the censors), who watched and assessed the fortune and the civic virtue (e.g.: patriotism, morality. etc.) of the Romans. In each social order, privileges were balanced by duties: the higher the position, the higher the responsibilities towards the common good (*res publica*). This is why virtuous citizens (according to Livy) had a higher position in society. It was functional to the common good, and the common good was the founding principle of the Twelve Tables (*salus rei publicae suprema lex esto* or *salus populi suprema lex esto*). In such terms, Rome can be considered a holistic society in which the individual was subordinated to the group.

Thus, the ritual of *census*, followed by a stately procession called *lustratio*, was a public display of the structure of Roman society and of the values on which it rested. By attending the *census* and the *lustratio*, Roman youth was being educated in the value system that structured society. At a time when a national school system did not exist, this could be considered a ceremonial form of civic education. However, as we shall see, the meaning of these ceremonies went far beyond this "educational" vision, which is more suited to modern societies, constituted by morally autonomous individuals who freely choose to participate in a "social contract" and thus are the subjects of a civic education meant to stimulate free choices for individuals, rather than their incorporation into a holistic society.

Let us now analyse in more detail how the value system was displayed through the ceremonial system, in other words how patterns and concepts of socio–political order were symbolized in sensuously tangible and procedural forms in the holistic Roman society.

ROME DURING THE EARLY REPUBLIC: HOLISTIC CITY–SOCIETY. *SALUS POPULI*

In Rome the defence of the city, of the *patria*, was commanded by the law. In the first place by the law considered as a sort of Roman Constitution: the Twelve Tables. In the text that has been transmitted to us by Cicero, the value considered in this law as hierarchically superior is the *salus populi*. *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. The *salus populi* was to be the supreme law. An apocryphal source speaks of *salus reipublicae*. In Rome the *populus* included all citizens, patricians and plebeians. According

to some sources, *populus* designates this set as it gathered in arms. According to other sources, *populus* was the set citizens gathered in the *comitia centuriata* (the electoral assembly of all citizens). Both sources are in fact true, because in Rome the army was a direct expression of the *comitia*, and one did not become a citizen unless one did one's military service, or at least, one was available for mobilization or liable for conscription. The *populus* was therefore society. And what about the *salus*? It is difficult to understand the true meaning of this word from the point of view of modern ideology. The dictionaries speak of "salvation", but this word is for us irreparably Christian (Modern thinkers would rather talk of "safety"). The only way to come closer to the Roman meaning is to consider some aspects of Roman ideology and to appreciate the differences with Christian ideology.

To begin, it should be recalled that in the days of the Republican Rome society – and the world in which a citizen could exist – essentially coincided with the City–State. In the event of the City–State being conquered by its enemies, the living population was enslaved and lost all rights. Furthermore, there was no transcendence in the Christian meaning, and the Pagan dead, who were part of the same society as the living, did not survive as immortal souls (and, after the Final Judgement, as glorious, resuscitated bodies) as was the case of the Christian dead. After death, Christians gain access to an otherworldly dimension, separated from this material world. The Pagan dead, by contrast, were mere shadows in the *mundus* (a subterranean space under the city) and their memory survived thanks to the cult ascribed to them by the living. In the event of the State being destroyed by its enemies, the cult would cease, and the dead would follow the destiny of their city, falling into oblivion. Therefore, the city–State was the only possibility of existence for both the living and the dead. This is why in Republican Rome the safety (salvation) and survival of the City–State was the supreme law.

In this sense, the ancient city and republican Rome in particular was a society founded on a holistic ideology in the meaning of Louis Dumont: "One designates as holistic an ideology that values social totality and disregards or subordinates the human individual to that society (...)." (Dumont, 1983: 273)[2.] The whole of holistic society is characterized by the presence of a hierarchy, which is an "order resulting from the overarching value system which is oriented society." (Dumont, 1983: 273). In Rome this hierarchy was embodied by the system of the *census*. And the overarching value system was oriented by the task of ensuring the safety of the city–State, by optimising its human resources.

CENSUS

The *census* was the set of solemn operations, of ritual and formalistic character, by which the Roman City–Society modelled itself and structured itself in a system in which the rational finality (*ratio*) was to assign to each member (while especially designating him to all others) his exact place for action, at the centre of a network of reciprocal relations (Nicolet, 1976: 74).

Here we are looking at a social hierarchy in a form that modern individualistic ideologies (post–French Revolution) no longer recognize.

Several factors, among which is the influence of Christianity, instead favoured the development of other ideologies that value egalitarianism and reject the hierarchy of traditional or holistic societies, such as that found in Republican Rome, as forms of inequality.

From a theoretical perspective, the hierarchy of holistic societies should not be merely considered a form of inequality. It is the essential structure, universally rational and necessary for the existence of all society (and in Rome, for the safety of the City–State). From this perspective, social action was oriented towards specific goals; this also implies a process of selection for the determination of these goals. From this perspective, all components of the action, and the situation in which it took place, were subject to assessment. The assessment in turn, when occurring within the framework of social systems, produced two fundamental consequences. Firstly, the units of the system, be they elementary acts or roles, by collectives or personalities, had to be subjected to such an assessment. Given the process of assessment, it had to serve to differentiate the entities considered in a hierarchical order. Regarding the second consequence, this is known; and the stability of the social systems depended on it; it states that without the integration of assessment criteria, the constituent units would not know how to form a "shared value system." The existence of such a system depends on the very nature of the action as it takes place in the social systems (Parsons, 1955: 256–257)[3].

This is exactly the *census*. In the days of the early Roman Republic the verb *censere* had three distinct meanings: to "make an evaluation" or an account; to "give an opinion", and "to praise." The fundamental sense has been illuminated by Dumézil, who sought the Sanskrit root of the word – *cams* – which gave the Indo–European *census*: to "situate a man or an act or an opinion in its just hierarchical position, with all the practical consequences of this situation, and by means of a just public evaluation, by a praise or a solemn blame" (Dumézil, 1969)[4]. In this explanation we can find the two elements highlighted by Parsons: the assessment of the units of the social system (to situate each man in the hierarchy) and the integration of the assessment criteria (it is reached through a public evaluation). These two elements are inseparable: the hierarchical place where the censors –magistrates appointed to this task– situate every citizen, can be considered "just" only if the whole of society agrees. To exist, the *status* must be expressed; it must be in conformity with the public opinion, and it must reach *consensus*. The *status* of the Romans was therefore very different from that of the Modern way of thinking. This results from the dialectics between what is individual in humankind, non–reducible to the conditioning of society, and what is social, non–reducible to a perfect "free will" (Sciolla, 1982). In Rome *status* consisted of a qualification called *nomen*, which was expressed in the form of a solemn declaration, by words of blame or praise, by the whole society gathered in the *census* ceremony. The common statement was the integration of the assessment criteria mentioned by Parsons: it was the visible act by

which the idea–fact (in this case the citizen's status) ceased to be something non–social, and therefore meaningless, and became social, which means idea–value–fact. To be social, it had to be shared. This sharing existed from the moment at which the idea–fact was proclaimed by the whole society and thus became a value.

With the *census,* Roman society counted its citizens and differentiated them in order to optimise its functioning and ensure its survival, its *salus*. The number of the *capita civium* (citizens' heads) inscribed in the registers of the censors attested to the total potentialities of the State. Within this wider framework, the distribution of citizens in particular lists gave accounts of the distribution of the tasks for the functioning of the State. The criteria for assessment were diverse. Wealth was considered to assign a position to the citizen on the battlefield (heavy armour was very expensive, and it was paid for by the citizen himself) and his place in the political assemblies, his fiscal position, and to assess whether he had the capacity to exercise a given public task. However, there were other criteria, of physical, moral and social quality, that were added to the appreciation of each citizen's fortune or that corrected the absence of it. In this sense, Livy speaks of "degrees of fortune and dignity"[5].

Among these latter we find the moral qualities, indispensable for access to the privileged social orders of the *Equites* and the *Patres*, from which one could be expelled by means of an infamous *nota censoria*. Heritage was also important: there was a *de facto* heritage of political charges, which from the third century onwards is illustrated by the fact that the members of the consular and equestrian families progressively constituted a *nobilitas*. Therefore, in the operation of the *census* there was a lot more than a simple assessment of a citizen's fortune and the simple ordering of a hierarchy according to that fortune. There was a global assessment, performed by the censors, who eventually produced a public declaration–action on the day when Roman society gave itself a new hierarchical order, valid for the ensuing five years.

CIRCULAR TIME, FOUNDATION OF THE *CENSUS*

On May 29, during the festival of the *Ambarvalia*, the Romans purified the fields before the maturation of the cereals. A sow, a sheep and a bull were led in procession around the crops. Then, they were sacrificed. By this sacrifice, named *suovetaurilia*, thanks to a ritual purification the Romans "started" the maturation of wheat. The purification "expelled" what was no longer desirable, the non–maturity of wheat, and led the wheat to mature.

Likewise, the censors purified the society gathered and framed in the ranks of the *census*, in the *lustratio* ceremony. This ceremony took place immediately before the resignation of the censors (at the end of their term), and consecrated –by a public declaration– the work of assessment of each citizen's place in the social hierarchy that the magistrates had made during the exercise of their charge.

The censors were in charge of launching a new cycle of Roman society, while renewing its hierarchical structure, once every five years: A) they adjusted the social

hierarchy by displacing the citizens by promotion or demotion. They introduced new citizens (as well as their children, brides, goods) into society and eliminated those that were no longer part of it. B) This renewal was achieved by a ritual of purification: the public declaration of the new hierarchical order, legitimized by the *consensus*, "expelled" the old order, and inaugurated a new cycle of the society. This "expulsion" of what was not pure, of the "society of the previous cycle", was confirmed by a *suovetaurilia* sacrifice.

Before describing this ceremony, it is necessary to note that it is based on a conception of time –that of the Romans– that is very different from that entertained today. It is about circular time, made up of endlessly self–reproducing cycles. The time considered by the Christians, on the other hand, is a linear one and leads to the final event of the Judgment. It is an eschatological time. In his days, the philosopher Augustine had to fight against the concept of circular time, typically Pagan, in order to impose the novelty of Christian time:

> (...) sages of this world believed they had to introduce a circular path of time, to renew nature by perpetually introducing the same beings; so the periodic movements of centuries that come and leave would follow each other without stop; either these revolutions happen in a permanent world, or a dying and resurgent world constantly presents as new the same past and future beings (...) far from us, I say, such beliefs! Only once Christ is dead for our sins, and resuscitated from the dead, he doesn't die anymore: the death doesn't have anymore power on him. And us, after the resurrection, we will be eternally with the Lord (...)[6].

The *lustratio*, indeed, is one of these regeneration rituals, by which the Roman society "re–launched" itself into a new cycle, one of the cycles that reproduces endlessly, of which Augustine speaks.

CENSUS, LUSTRATIO, STATUS: THE HIERARCHICAL CONSTITUTION OF ROMAN CITIZENSHIP

The censors accomplished the *census* and "founded" the *lustrum*. The ceremony where the two activities were united was the *lustratio*. It usually took place once every five years. This ceremony had several contents, some of which are unknown to us. Those that we believe to be the most important are probably: a) the distribution of citizens within the framework of the social hierarchy, which was tied to the fighting order of the army, the electoral *comitia,* and taxation, but with repercussions on all aspects of life; b) the resurgence of society, deriving from this reorganization (to purify here means to make a flawless, to make a fresh start after a renewal).

The magistrates started by ensuring, with the help of auspices, that the gods would accept the ceremony. Then they convened the whole population in the so–called *comitia centuriata* (voting groups, divided according to social orders, but also fighting groups, in the pristine form of the Roman legion prior to the introduction of

the new system of the *manipula*) through the intermediation of a herald, who used a sacramental formula[7]. On the given day, all citizens met outside the walls, in the Field of Mars, because the *comitia centuriata* was the gathering of all citizens in arms, and a religious prescription barred all meetings of armed persons inside the *pomerium*[8]. This aspect of the ceremony can be understood better if one considers that in the beginning the *census* was a military parade. With the progressive separation of the two roles of civilians and soldiers, (whose final outcome was the birth of a professional army) the Romans gave increasing importance to the "civilian" aspects of the assembly: those concerning voting and those concerning taxation.

Along their mandate, censors had worked to assess the status of citizens: their *pietas*, their merits, their honour, their morality, their physical condition, their patrimony. On the day of the *lustratio*, this work ended with an interview with individual citizens and their personal patrimonial declaration. Each citizen, who brought with him the tablet (*tabula*) containing data on his family and assets, declared them with the *professio* to a sworn civil servant, named *iurator*, who transcribed the data onto a register. The declaration having been made, each citizen passed to the following phase: the *discriptio*, or distribution. The employee of the censors, placed his right hand on each citizen's shoulder, and imperatively announced in a loud voice his place in the social hierarchy, the class he belonged to, and the tribe (or electoral geographical district) where he was registered[9].

Then, everybody "being arranged" according to the prescriptions of the censors, the latter officiated the sacred act.

With all in silence (after pronouncing the formula: *favete linguis*) the magistrates made a tour around the assembly three times, pushing before them three victims: a sheep, a sow, and a bull; for the Greeks and the Romans the combination of these three animals constituted an expiatory sacrifice. The priests followed the procession; when the third tour had been completed, the magistrates pronounced a prayer formula, and sacrificed the victims[10]. From this moment onwards, all blemishes were removed, all flaws in the cult repaired, and the city was again at peace with her gods. But most of all, the society was "fixed" in this its new condition: as a consequence, from this day until the next *lustratio* each man in the city held the rank that the censors had assigned him at the ceremony. He would be a senator if he had been among the senators that day; a knight, if had appeared among the knights. As a simple citizen, he was part of the class in whose ranks he had been placed on that day. Thus, the place that each had occupied in the religious act, where the gods and the society had seen him, was the one that he would keep in the city over the next five years.

It is interesting to note that if the magistrates refused to admit a man in the ceremony, he was no longer considered a citizen. Likewise, if someone did not attend he would lose his place in the society, and his citizenship, and could therefore be sold as a slave[11]. The opposite was also true: one of the most usual forms of emancipation consisted in declaring before the censor a slave that someone wanted to be free, who thus became a citizen. The declaration to the censors, and

enrolment in the *census*, was therefore the entry gate into Roman society. Through it, society as a whole recognized that each man was at the same time a "rank "in the social hierarchy according to a set of values, functional to the survival of the city–State. The whole society proclaimed these values with the censors. This social proclamation at the same time created the value and its reason for existing, because a social idea is a value, because to be shared it must be bound to an assessment common to all of society. Throughout the Republic, until the *Aelia–Sentia* laws of the year 4 A.D. and the *Papia–Poppaea* of the year 9 A.D. the *census* was the only operation of civil status that allowed Roman citizens to have their identity and citizenship recognized. It was therefore this proclamation made by the censors before the "decayed" society (the one that had just finished the previous *lustrum*) that: A) created the condition of citizen, B) gave a status in the social hierarchy to each man, C) and by this founded the "new" society (which was to exist for the forthcoming five–year period).

Roman society was a system of compulsory relations – duties and privileges – where each citizen was placed in a precise hierarchical position. This position entailed for him a set of relations that enclosed him within a narrow interdependence with others: it was his *status*, based on obligations and honours. Moreover, *civis* does not mean "citizen", but "fellow citizen": it is a word that contains the idea of companionship (Benveniste, 1969, I: 334–335, 367). And *Quirites* (the traditional name of Roman citizens) perhaps comes from *co–viri* (co–men, men who live together) (Nicolet, 1976: 38). Citizenship was exactly this status: both coincided. One could not be a Roman citizen without having one's precise status at the same time. The exercise of citizenship consisted in the exercise of the coercive relations –rights and duties– foreseen by the *status* of each citizen. All aspects of life in the City–Society formed a "whole", at the same time compulsory, since it concerned the essence of relational life, and was consubstantial to the individual, since there was no possible life outside the City–Society. Because, as Cicero claimed, all things necessary to men's life could be found only in the city: "the *forum* (the decisions), the temples (the religion), the porches (commerce), the public thoroughfares (socialisation), the laws, the rights, the courts, the elections"[12]. Also, for the citizen all requirements of society were, also those which he required of/for himself. They were not imposed on him from the outside. An eminently social being, he only lived *in* the community and *for* the community.

Thus, it is easy to understand how according to the ideology of a vigorous people such as the Romans this hierarchical system of compulsory relations could not remain identical to itself. The belief that reigned in republican Roman society was that man's intervention was always possible in the course of matters. The Romans believed they had a responsibility for the proper working order of the world: it was the care with which a formula was pronounced that determined the success of a ritual; it was the courage of the soldiers that determined victory at war. If hierarchy was society, and if citizenship was the status of each citizen in this hierarchy, the Romans were convinced that for the good functioning of the city this hierarchy could not become an abstraction, but had to

adhere constantly to the reality of the facts and issues at hand. This is why the social hierarchy had to be reviewed every five years, and this had to be done in a ceremonial, highly visible, way in order to "educate" all citizens attending the ceremony in the system. In the meantime, the situation of the citizens had probably changed: some had died, some had worn (and won) the virile *toga*. Some had lost their patrimony; others had accomplished virtuous acts in favour of the community. Society therefore had to be purified of all hierarchical inaccuracy by an attentive "clarification", led by the censors and their assistants, with the meticulous collaboration of all citizens. And this "inventory" of society's human resources had to be performed in front of all citizens in order to let them know the exact potentialities of the State, and to let them know the new hierarchical order, revised and "fine–tuned" in order to maximise and optimise the effectiveness of social action.

The Romans said: *lustrum condere* (to *found* the lustrum), because each time that the status of all citizens was proclaimed publicly, the society was founded again.

Therefore, the ceremony of the public proclamation of the place of each citizen in the social hierarchy, according to his merits and abilities – and in the interest of the community – was a sort of public lesson, in which the patterns and concepts of socio–political order were translated into sensuously tangible and procedural forms of expression, seeking to establish the social acceptance and consciousness–shaping internalization of the former. However, as we have seen, this happened in a way that was peculiar of the Ancient City–State and of Ancient Culture, quite different from the Modern "revolutionary societies" about which the concept of "ceremonial pedagogy" was discussed originally (Schriewer, 2009). In such revolutionary societies, the aim was that of legitimizing a new order, substituting the previous one. In contrast, the *census* was meant to reaffirm an existing order in an updated form. Moreover, the "pedagogical" element in the *census* ceremony had a special quality: not only was it very strong and deep. It was also intertwined with the attribution of social sharing and relevance to the position of each citizen within the social hierarchy, which in such a holistic society was equivalent to bringing it into existence. To come into being, the social hierarchy and the values on which it rested had to be proclaimed publicly and accepted by all. It had to obtain the *consensus*: only then would it become a social fact and hence come into existence, becoming real and operational. Thus, by attending the ceremony of *census* citizens were apprehending the social system and its rules and schemes of functioning (the "pedagogical" effects of the ceremony). At the same time, by apprehending it and accepting it they were bringing it into existence; they were breathing life into it and making it happen.

In this sense, we should also recall that, as already mentioned, this system of compulsory relations that was the holistic Roman society was not limited to the living, to registered individuals or to those declared[13] in the *census*. In fact, the system included the relationships to the deceased and to the gods, because these were also part of society. The hierarchical status of each citizen also foresaw some obligations towards the deceased, considering them as real as those afforded to the living. This also applied to the gods. And all these hierarchized relationships often

took the visible shape of rituals, both civil and religious. The meaning of the word *religio* is exactly: "to rally", to hold society together. In Rome religion pervaded all acts and taught citizen the norms that ruled common life. All magistrates and all *paterfamilias* were priests. The former performed rituals concerning the State (*res publica*); the latter performed rituals tied to the family (*res privata*), which was in turn hierarchised by the value called *patria potestas (*the authority of the head of the family). This religion ruled people's activities at each moment of their lives and prescribed all their habits. It governed human beings with an authority so absolute that nothing remained outside it. Indeed this religion was not a mere self–portrait of society, as Durkheim would have claimed. It was the hierarchy that ruled the associated life, disguised in the form of cult. The famous opinion of Montesquieu, after which the religion of the Romans as a pure imposition to restrain the people could be valid for a later time, after the advent of the Hellenistic philosophies and the detachment of cultivated men *vis à vis* society. However, in archaic Rome, where *fas* and *jus* had developed from the same roots, religion was consubstantial to the social structure of the city. It was a religion in which doctrine and theology were not very important. Only practices counted; only practices were obligatory and imperative. The significance of this religion was there, in the imperative way by which it imposed the ties of the social hierarchy on men.

NOTES

[1] But see also, concerning rituals and education at an individual level: Bernstein, B., Elvin, H. L., Peters, R. S., "Ritual in Education" in: *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, Biological Sciences, vol. 251, No. 772, 1966

[2] On the other hand: "One designates as individualist, in opposition to holistic, an ideology which values the individual and disregards or subordinates the social totality (...) having found that individualism in this sense is a major feature in the configuration of features that constitute the modern ideology, one designates this configuration herself as individualist or as <the individualistic ideology> or <individualism> (...) "; "talking of the individual, or of individual man, it is necessary to distinguish: 1) the empiric subject, indivisible sample of the human species, as can be found in all societies. 2) the juridical person, independent, autonomous, and therefore (essentially) non social, as can be found above all in our modern ideology of man and society. The distinction is indispensable to sociology (...) "p. 274. For a description of the birth, the development and aspects of the individual in the modern meaning, see the work of Louis Dumont. See also: Dumont, L., *Homo Hierarchicus*, Paris, Gallimard, 1966; *Homo aequalis*, paris Gallimard, 1977, *L'idéologie allemande*, Paris, Gallimard, 1991; Dumont, L., De Coppet, D., *Philosophie et anthtopologie*, Paris, Collection Centre Pompidou, 1992

[3] But see also the introduction by François Bourricaud

[4] See the chapter: "Census"

[5] Livy, I, 42, 4–5

[6] Saint Augustine, *City of God*, XII, 14

[7] Varro, *De lingua latina*, VI, 86,87

[8] Space inside the walls of the city of Rome

[9] After having enacted the substitution of the gentilice system with the one of the *centuriae*, *Servius* substituted the three original tribes of the *Ramnes*, *Titienses* and *Luceres*, with four urban tribes, which increased up to thirty–five, of which thirty–one were rustic and four urban, from the year 241 B.C. The tribes had electoral importance, because some of voted before the others, which entailed some advantages.

[10] Livy, I, 44: *Suovetaurilibus lustravit.* Dionysius of *Halicarnassus*, IV, 22. Cicero, *De oratore*, II, 66: *Lustrum condidit et taurum immolavit.* Valerius Maximus summarizes the prayer that was pronounced by the censor: *Censor, cum lustrum conderet, inque solito fieri sacrificio scriba ex publicis tabulis solenne ei precationis carmen praeiret, quo dii immortales ut populi romani res meliores amplioresque facerent rogabantur* (Valerius Maximus, IV, 1, 10). These practices persisted up to the Empire; according to some, the ceremony of the *lustratio* was instituted before *Servius*. It is as old as Rome itself. What proves this is that the *lustratio* of the Palatine, the primitive city of Romulus, continued to be performed from year to year. Varron, *De lingua latina,* VI, 34: *Februatur populus, id est, lupercis nudis lustratur antiquum oppidum palatinum gragibus humanis cinctum. Servius* might have applied the first the *lustratio* in the city enlarged by him.

[11] Dionysius of *Halicarnassus*, IV, 15, 6; Cicero, *Pro Caecina*, 99; but this practice is rather archaic

[12] Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, 17, 53.

[13] The women and youth under 18 years of age, etc. were declared to the magistrats by each head of family

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SCIENCE AND EDUCATIONAL MODELS IN EUROPE. FROM THE DISASTER OF 98 TO THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC (1898–1932)

During the first years of the 20th century the States began to coordinate and organize the development of institutions and other initiatives focused on scientific research through establishment, private patronage and other means of encouragement (Santesmases, M.J.; Romero de Pablos, A., 2008). The importance of each model is essential for understanding the development of their higher education systems, and also the development of Science and its implementation in different aspects of reality. They are part of the determining factors of technique improvement and the increase in their economies in relation to the political systems that developed them. Between 1898 and the years that marked the end of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, Spain underwent important times in its political and cultural history. Three literary and intellectual generations cover the silver age of Science and Culture[1].

Our research aims to analyze the Hispanic and German models within the European context. The purpose is to relate European science to university teaching in Spain between 1898 and 1936. Separately, although it was not the aim of this study, we reviewed some of the interdisciplinary debates about the comparison in the social and historical sciences (Schriewer, J.; Kaelble, H., 2010). We were aware that this explanatory attempt included in its basic assumptions the fact that *a)* social contexts (national, cultural, etc.) exert a decisive influence on intra–social events (intra–national, intra–cultural, etc.) and on their resulting effects and problems, which in turn *b)* may be separated into determining factors (explanatory variables) that *c)* allow investigation of the relationships between the determining factors (system–level variables) and events of particular interest (within–system variables) (Schriewer, J.; Kaelble, H., 2010). The initial basis of the origin of the study was the information published in the journal *Residencia*[2]. This information was compared with the most recent studies about both institutions. The initial hypothesis also relates the production areas and their development levels to the scientific research model, and the role of the State concerning science and teaching.

SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS. GERMANY

In Germany there is an initial reference from 1887, when the *Physikalisch–Technische Reichsanstalt* (Meyenn, K. 1988) (PTR) [Imperial Institute of Technical Physics] was set up. Werner Siemens (1816–1892) was the main person responsible for its design near Berlin. It was agreed that they would not research fields or issues that might interfere with those of universities, polytechnic schools, private industries or some of the government agencies. He began his research under the presidency of Hermann von Helmoltz (1821–1894) and at the beginning he focused mostly on a basic issue for production and commerce: metrology; measures and units that allowed the unification if production standards in German industry. Despite this, the PTR did not decrease its contributions to fundamental physics. The United States and Great Britain suggested the model, although for the very long term, especially regarding the capital invested. In 1901 the United States Congress approved the establishment of the National Bureau of Standards (NBS). The British National Physical Laboratory (NPL) initiated its work in 1902. In 1917, Japan created its Research Institute of Physics and Chemistry reflecting the PTR (Sánchez Ron, J.M., 2008). In 1901, The *Caisses des Recherches Scientifiques* was created in France, which in 1939 were grouped with other institutions at the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*. In 1916 the *Comitato Nazionale Scientifico Tecnico per lo Sviluppo e l'Incremento dell'Industria Italiana* initiated its activities, which was the predecessor of the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

In Germany, a project was developed with businesses such as Agfa, BASF or Bayer in order to create an Imperial Institute of Chemistry that would be able to play a similar role to that of the PTR. The German industry was the obvious leader of the second industrial revolution, and in chemistry they had well–known scientists such as Emil Fisher, Walter Nernst, or Wilhelm Ostwald. Although a fund–raising organization was created, the idea was abandoned, giving way to the creation in 1911 of the Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaftzur Förderung der Wissenschaften (KWG) [Kaiser Wilhelm Organization for the Promotion of Sciences]. Among other purposes, it aimed to give room to all those private initiatives that singularized its inception. Its members could be people or entities that contributed with economic aid to the society. The purpose was the promotion of science, especially in the field of the Natural Sciences, establishing and maintaining research institutes grouped under a single organization capable of coordinating efforts, classifying them and leading them towards joint scientific objectives. Evidence indicates that the private patronage of industrial companies, along with those who promoted different associations and some municipalities through foundations, donations or scientific societies, took leadership from the State regarding science policy. However, the government kept a high degree of authority wherever it represented the main financing source[3]. In France, scientific research increased outside the university as centers such the Pasteur Institute or the Êcole de Chartres were created (López Sánchez, J.M., 2010).

KAISER WILHELM GESELLSCHAFT ZUR FÖRDERUNG
DER WISSENSCHAFTEN (1911)

Founded in 1911, concurring with the first centenary of the University of Berlin[4], its main purpose was to contribute to fostering the development of sciences through the establishment of different research institutes. A considerable percentage of the monetary funds came from the private sector, and these were provided by people from the highest levels of the German economy. The uniqueness of the KWG, essentially, is that the laboratories were meant only for research, therefore completely separated from teaching. Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), its first president, defended in 1909 that there were disciplines that could not adjust to the university, partly due to the research infrastructure they needed, and also because they focused their work on problems that were beyond the level of university studies, thus «they could not be exposed to young students» (Hermann, A., 1979). The central idea was to organize the institutes in such a way that scientists could focus on their research works without the limitations of university teaching[5].

University laboratories mostly preserved an academic and educational purpose (Renn, J.; Kant, H., [2010]). Furthermore, these had few materials and little equipment for research. Neither did the Ministry of Public Education have the financial means to found and maintain this kind of center. In 1911, Germany had not developed a science system in line with the reality of knowledge. The new institution was to be organized from the report presented by Adolf von Harnack, in which, along with his original ideas, some of the projects and thoughts of Leibniz and Wilhelm von Humboldt were included; projects and thoughts which by that time could not yet have been carried out. Leibniz stated that the natural sciences should be contrasted with practice in order to be both useful and productive. Preferential attention was paid to the establishment of institutes of Applied Physics and Chemistry. There are background references to the model of the Carnegie Institution, founded in Washington in 1902 by industrialist Andrew Carnegie with the aim of promoting research, discovery and the application of knowledge in the most extensive and freest way, dedicating its resources to outstanding individuals so that they could explore, under an atmosphere of total freedom, complex scientific problems. Its first president was Daniel Coit Gilman, founder of the Medical School at Johns Hopkins University, recognized by the Congress in 1904. These links with the development of science did not go unnoticed by chemists like Fisher and Nerst, who maintained their efforts in demanding from the State and from industry, the main beneficiary of scientific progress, the establishment of laboratories aimed exclusively at research. In the twenties, the KWG had about thirty two institutes.

Among those dedicated to research, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Biology, in Berlin–Dahlem, was one of them. The Physiology sections directed by Otto Warburgand Otto Meyerhof led chemical–physiological research to prevail. Correns, Goldschmidt, Hartmann and Mangold collaborated in this. Next to the Institute of Biology was the Institute of Biochemistry, directed by Neuberg. Attached to this

institute, there was a special department for tobacco research, also under the direction of Neuberg. Also belonging to the same group of establishments was the Institute of Experimental Therapy, in which Wassermann carried out his works on improving diagnoses of syphilis, which found an explanatory base for the test that carries its name (Wassermann–reaction). An Institute of Medical Research was organized in Heidelberg, aimed at the establishment of a large research center capable of gathering studies of Physics, Chemistry and Physiology applied to clinical research.

One of the centers that gained a prominent role in the legitimation of laws and the apartheid regime, fostered by the Nazi government, was the Institute of Anthropology, Heredology and Eugenism, directed by Eugen Fischer. An Institute of Work Physiology was also created, founded by Rubner and directed by Aetzler in Berlin, mostly focused on the physiology, pathology and hygiene of physical and intellectual work. The Institute of Brain Research was founded In Berlin, where Oskar Vogt, Cecilia Vogt, Rose and Bielschowsky carried out their work. These included pioneers in the study of cerebral localizations, the psychology of neuroses and hereditary traits, while the latter worked on pathological cerebral anatomy. In 1924, at the initiative of the Board of Trustees of the Institute and the Bavarian Government, the German Institute of Psychiatry was incorporated, in Munich; this was directed by Kraepelin, until he died in 1926, with the collaboration of Plaut, Spielmayer, Rudin, Jahnel, Lange and Spatz. For the study of the hydrobiology of inland waters, the Institute of Hydrobiology was created in Ploen, where Augusto Thinenmann developed his research. The biology of alpine waters was studied at the Biological Station of Lunz am See (Austria), directed by Ruttner and maintained jointly with the Science Academy of Vienna. The research work on chemistry was conducted at the Institute of Chemistry in Berlin–Dahlem, founded jointly by the National Society of Chemistry. Within its laboratories, Hahn, Meitner and Hess were devoted to the study of different areas of chemistry. As a complement, there was an Institute of Physical Chemistry and Electrical Chemistry, where Haber, Freundlich, Ladenburg and Polanyi carried out their studies. The special Institutes of applied Physics and Mathematics were also established. The Institute of Physics in Berlin was run by Einstein and von Laue. In Göttingen, under the management of Prandtl and Betz, there was the Institute of Fluid Currents Research and, attached to it, the Aerodynamics laboratory. The Institute of Hydraulics, in Munich, was dedicated, under the direction of Oscar von Miller and Kirschner, to the study of the basis for hydraulic construction works. In 1926, the KWG took under its direction the observatories of Hoher Sonnenblick, near Gastein, and that of Obir, outside Klagenfurt, although the running costs of both observatories were shared with the Austrian Government.

Moreover, several other Institutes were founded, focused on the study of the most important raw materials of Germany: the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Coal Research in Muhlheim (Ruhr) and the Silesian Institute of Coal Research, established in Breslau by the Fritz von Friedlaenden–Fuld Foundation. The former, directed by Franz Fischer, dedicated its efforts to the issue of coal liquefaction. The Silesian Institute

of Coal Research went through serious financing difficulties due to the transfer of lands to Poland. Under the management of Fritz Hofmann, it was specialized in the study of tar phenols and pyridine extracts. In Düsseldorf, the Institute of Siderology was created in 1921, directed by Korber, and in Berlin–Dahlem the Institute of Metallurgy was founded. This was relocated during the summer of 1923, due to financing reasons, to the building of the Official Laboratory for Materials Analyses, whose head, von Moellendorf, was also the director of the institute. To these, the Institute of Chemistry of Fibrous Materials was attached, which was directed by Herzog in Berlin–Dahlem, focused on the research of fiber resistance and structure, especially cellulose. In April 1926, positioned on some of the free premises of this institute and run by Eiltel – a mineralogist from Koenisberg –, the Institute for the Study of Silicates was founded. This focused on finding solutions to the technical problems of the ceramics, glass and concrete industries. These industry sectors, in turn, financed part of their operations. The Institute of Tannery, directed by Bergmann in Dresden, studied, on the one hand, the chemistry of animal skins and, on the other, the chemistry of different types of leathers. In 1932, Outside Münchenberg the establishment of an Institute for Crop Selection was about to conclude. This was run by Erwin Baur, the director of the Institute of Hodology at the Higher School of Agriculture of Berlin. Other institutions supported by the Kaiser Wilhelm Society were the Institute of Entomology in Berlin–Dahlem, under the management of Horn, and the Ornithological Station of Rositten, in Courland (Kurische Nehrung), where J. Thiermann studied the international routes of migratory birds.

The Kaiser Wilhelm Society also founded some institutes dedicated to other disciplines. For example, there were the Institute of German History in Berlin, directed by Kehr, and the Institute of Foreign Public Law and Law of Nations (founded in 1926 and mainly supported by the German Government), in which von Triepel, Smend, Kaas, Glum and Erich Kaufmann collaborated, under the management of Bruns. Besides the development of a German theory of the Law of Nations, this institute focused on the compilation, scientific study and publication of matters regarding International Law and studies of international comparative Political and Administrative Law. In Treveris, there was part of the institute dedicated, under the direction of Kaas, to the study of issues related to the right of occupancy and the concordat. Parallel to the Institute of Law of Nations, since April of 1926 it was the Institute of Foreign and International Private Law, run by Rabel, and it had Ernst Haymann, Titze and Martin Wolff as scientific consultants. This institute was designed to be a research center for the incipient science of Comparative Law at the civil, trade and trial levels, for which it gathered the international material needed and submitted the diverse systems of private Law to a comparative critical study. Among others, some of its objectives were to contribute to the establishment of a general legal doctrine and to the solution of the problems of International Civil Law.

In Rome, supported by the KWG and under the direction of Ernst Steimann, was the Hertzian Library, which constituted the base of the Institute of Art History.

Through the granting of pensions, German scientists were given the chance to spend long periods of study at the Roman library. The Kaiser Wilhelm Society had the additional duty of building accommodation (the Harnack–Haus residence) in the vicinity of their centers in Dublin–Dahlem for scientists and researchers from other countries, with the aim of reactivating scientific collaboration at an international level. The old Berlin Palace, then under a reconstruction project, held the Kaiser–Wilhelm–Gesellschaft, the Alexander Von Humboldt–Stiftung, the Deutscher Akademischer Austachdienst and the Notgemeinschaft der Deutscher Wissenschaft.

LABORATORIES OF THE JAE

Comparing both institutions involves analyzing their models. In Spain, the State is in charge of promoting its establishment. The literature concerning this matter is ample and detailed[6], although reality indicates that the dimensions of the Spanish institutions are very different from those of German institutions. Looking at the basic guidebook written by José Luis Peset (2007), one can see that from their establishment to their extinction the following were created: the Center of History Studies and Student Accommodation, the National Institute of Physical Natural Sciences, the Spanish School in Rome and the Association of Laboratories, the Alpine Biology Station at Guadarrama, a Laboratory and Seminar of Mathematics (1915), the Chemistry Laboratory (1915), the Laboratory of Physics Research and the Committee of Palaeontology and Prehistory Research (1912). The Association of Laboratories and the National Institute of Physical Natural Sciences had to coordinate the institutions of several branches, such as the Botanical Garden and the Museum of Natural Sciences, with their branches in Santander and the Balearic Islands, whereas their Anthropology section became a museum. The work of the government included the Spanish Culture Institution in Buenos Aires and the Biological Mission of Galicia (1921), and the Spanish Institute of Oceanography (1914). In 1916, the Board of National Parks was established, as well as the Laboratory of Physiology and Anatomy of Nervous Centers. In 1919, the Laboratory of Normal and Pathological Histology was founded. The process ended with the establishment of the National Institute of Physics and Chemistry promoted by the Rockefeller Foundation (1932). That very year, the new building of the Cajal Institute was inaugurated. The thriving nationalisms led to the establishment of research centers such as the Institutd'Estudis Catalans and the Society of Basque Studies or Eusko Ikaskuntza (1918). In addition to these, the International Summer University of Santander (1932) and its Ladies Accommodation, under the management of María de Maeztu (1915), were also founded.

The aims of the JAE were clearly academic. Let us consider the National Institute of Physical Natural Sciences, founded by R.D. on May 27th of 1910, during the ministry of the Earl of Romanones, with Ramón y Cajal as president and Cabrera as secretary. It was located in the departments of the Palace of Industry at Altos del

Hipódromo, where there were also «the Museum of Natural Sciences, the Automation Laboratory of Leonardo Torres Quevedo and the School of Industrial Engineers». The JAE added «already existing establishments», such as: «the National Museum of Natural Sciences (directed by Ignacio Bolívar), the Anthropology Museum (Manuel Antón y Ferrándiz), The Botanical Garden (Apolinar Gredilla)*, the Biology Station of Santander» and the Laboratory of Biology Research (also called the Cajal Institute). Following Sánchez Ron, humanistic studies were also fostered through the foundation of the Center of History Studies, with clear reference to the leading figure of Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Furthermore, the National Science Institute was created, which yielded «educational initiatives, practical projects, laboratories and research teams in almost every branch of the sciences: Geology, Botany, Zoology, Palaeontology, Prehistory, Histology and Histopathology of the Nervous System, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and general Physiology» (Barona, J.L., 2007). Linked to the National Science Institute, around the mid–twenties, there were laboratories of Chemical Analyses, Biological Chemistry and Physics Research. The latter was directed by Blas Cabrera, and had at least three different areas: Electricity and Magnetochemistry, Physical Chemistry and Electrochemistry, and Thermology, which also had an assistant devoted to the spectroscopy and chemistry of complex minerals. Besides a Mathematics Laboratory in Santa Teresa de Madrid, the team of Gonzalo Rodríguez Lafora acquired an autonomous condition that led to the establishment of the Laboratory of Physiology and Anatomy of the Nervous Centers [at the González Velasco Museum (Museo Anatómico)] (Velasco Morgado, R., 2010). With respect to the laboratories of Student Accommodation, the most detailed information can be found in several papers published in the journal *Residencia,* which we studied as a measuring element, to calculate part of the educational effort performed by the boost of the JAE, although restricted to an exclusive and small group of students.

LABORATORIES IN THE "TRANSATLANTIC"

The Student Accommodation was founded in 1910 by the Committee for the Promotion of Studies and Scientific Research. A set of laboratories was established in it as part of that project. Since its creation, its main purpose was to facilitate preparatory education for studying higher education and complementary studies of the disciplines taught in universities and other official centers. After its foundation, in 1910, those who studied Medicine, Pharmacy or Science could use them. The complementary practicals of the faculty studies and the research works were directed by several specialists. The first laboratories, established in 1912, were those of general Chemistry, under the management of the then interns José Sureda and Julio Blanco, and the laboratory of Microscopic Anatomy, directed by Luis Calandre, who performed such duties uninterruptedly for nineteen years until 1931, when he was succeeded by Enrique Vázquez López, who in turn was proposed by Calandre himself.

In 1915 the Laboratory of Physiological Chemistry was founded under the direction of Antonio Madinaveitia and J. M. Sacristán, which functioned until 1919. In 1916, two new laboratories were established: the Laboratory of General Physiology, directed by Juan Negrín, which was later fully devoted to research under the management of the Committee for the Promotion of Studies and Scientific Research, and the Laboratory of Physiology and Anatomy of the Nervous Centers, directed by Gonzalo Rodríguez Lafora, which functioned for two years. In 1919, the Laboratory of Normal and Pathological Histology was established, directed by Pio del Río–Hortega. In 1920, and under the management of Paulino Suárez, the Laboratory of Serology and Bacteriology was created. All these laboratories were founded by the Committee for the Promotion of Studies and Scientific Research, with very low resources and few vacancies. They were installed in small rooms, most of which were situated at the ground floor of the pavilion, and some others, like those of Histology and Bacteriology, were placed in the corners of a corridor. They were usually described as «a miracle of discomfort»; in the laboratory of Bacteriology three shifts had to be set up in order to meet the demand. Specifically, in 1926the Laboratory of Histology had only eleven vacancies, while more than twenty students worked in it. The same happened at the Laboratory of General Chemistry, and the Laboratory of Serology and Bacteriology had only ten vacancies, which forced the establishment of three shifts in order to teach thirty students[7].

The Laboratory of General Chemistry was directed by José Ranedo as from 1913. The work program demanded two complete courses as the minimum time. The students belonging to the preparatory group of Medicine had only one course on Chemistry, which is why the practicals were shorter. Some students performed or started different research works. The laboratory had twenty–two vacancies, and «since it worked uninterruptedly for twenty–one years with an average of fourteen students per year, it can be calculated that perhaps 294 students worked there». The Laboratory of Microscopic Anatomy was directed since 1931 by Enrique Vázquez López, with the aid of scholarship holders Valentín de la Soma and Abelardo Gallego. Its first director was Luis Calandre and it was devoted to the elementary teaching of microscopy techniques and the structures of normal organs and tissues. Moreover, two theory lectures were taught every week, with the use of microscopes, projections and diagrams. The most advanced students performed special studies. The laboratory had 30 vacancies which, owing to the limited space, had to be distributed in two shifts. Since this laboratory had worked uninterruptedly for twenty–one years with an average of twenty–two students per year, it may be calculated that 462 students worked in it. The Laboratory of Serology and Bacteriology, directed by Paulino Suárez since its foundation in 1920, admitted new students into bacteriological studies. In it, a systematic study of all the pathogenic bacteria and the immune reactions most frequently seen in medicine was carried out. Students from previous courses also conducted analyses of pathologic products from different hospitals, becoming initiated in bacteriological problem solving. In addition to this, the laboratory organized theory lectures and workshops that complemented the education

given; these were taught by professors and former scholarship holders of the laboratory. The director of this laboratory also performed a tutelage and orientative role for the studies of the many interns that studied Medicine, in addition to his general management duties in the Student Accommodation. This laboratory held 28 students and thus, following the same calculation as for the previous laboratories, an estimated 338 students may have worked in it. In 1921, Negrín occupied the Chair of the Faculty of Medicine of Madrid and organized the practical work at the Laboratory of Physiology.

The students of the Accommodation, along with some of the most advanced students, took charge of its development. In that laboratory, a large number of interns had been initiated in physiological research, culminating in many papers that were eventually published. At some point, the experimental study of all those sections of physiology susceptible to being taught in a general course was also performed in this laboratory, with theoretical explanations regarding the technical details of the experiment. We may include in the Laboratory of Normal and Pathological Histology, directed by Pío del Río–Hortega, what was mentioned above concerning the Laboratory of Physiology. In October 1920, the Laboratory of Histopathology of the Nervous System was established under the management of Pío del Río–Hortega. All these laboratories were installed within the ground floor of the pavilion, in «such small spaces that it was only possible to work in many of them by distributing time in shifts. Thus, for instance, the Laboratory of Histology had only eleven vacancies and more than twenty students working in it; the same was the case of the Laboratory of General Chemistry; and the Laboratory of Serology and Bacteriology had only ten vacancies and it was necessary to establish three shifts in order to teach 30 students»[8].

It was also a laboratory devoted to research, and the interns who showed an interest in working on the specific issues of this discipline had the right to use it. These interns were supervised by the director of the laboratory during their development and preparation. The laboratories of the Accommodation were very specifically dedicated to students of Medicine, especially to first–year students, through a set of explanations addressing the specific issues of the different study areas, with the aim of guiding them in their preparation and facilitating their work. This task was performed along a whole academic year, and it was intensified during the half–term or final exams periods. The activity of the laboratories was complemented by the Accommodation Library, also with language lectures, which the interns could attend for free.

BASIC CONCLUSIONS

Reality and its facts clearly differentiate both models. In Germany, it was industry and its search for scientific solutions for practical issues related to the different processes of production that decided part of the aims of technological research and development. Industry itself was the major funder of their establishment and maintenance, and was also the main beneficiary of the discoveries and productive

Table 1. Laboratories in "La Residencia" (1912–1926)

Establishment year	Laboratory	Management	Location	Vacancies /Students
1912	General Chemistry	José Sureda, Julio Blanco, José Ranedo	Student Accommodation / Ground floor of the pavilion	11 (1926) "more than twenty" 22 (294 in 21 years)
1912	MicroscopicAnatomy	Luis Calandre (1912–1931) (1931) Enrique Vázquez López	Student Accommodation / Ground floor of the pavilion	11 (1926) "more than twenty" 30 (average) 462 in 21 years
1919 (it was installed)	Normal Histology	Pio del Rio–Hortega	Student Accommodation / Ground floor of the pavilion	
1915–1919	PhysiologicalChemistry	Antonio Madinaveitia J.M. Sacristán	Student Accommodation / Ground floor of the pavilion	
1916	General Physiology	Juan Negrín	Student Accommodation / Ground floor of the pavilion	
1916–1918	Physiology and Anatomy of the Nervous Centers	Gonzalo Rodríguez Lafora	Student Accommodation	
1920	Serology and Bacteriology	Paulino Suárez	Student Accommodation	
1920 (October)	Histopathology of the Nervous System	Pio del Rio–Hortega	Student Accommodation	

Own elaboration of provisional data. Among other sources, the journal Residencia, (see bottom Note 6).

implementations. The State promoted the creation of a University model that grouped non–academic institutions devoted to research. It guaranteed, regulated and controlled its development, focusing at critical times on its own interest in technical research and applications linked to the purposes of strategy, among which those aimed at war requirements, applied in the military area, stood out.

When Sánchez Ron compared the KWG with the JAE, he found some differences and similarities. He highlighted four points. With regard to the policy of scholarships the difference is clear. There is no doubt that German science at that stage was in the forefront, and people from around the world went there to complete their education. As stated at the beginning of his publication, «the first third of the Twentieth Century was an extremely interesting and attractive period. Let us think, for example, about the discoveries carried out in Relativistic Physics (Einstein), Quantum Physics (Planck, Einstein, Bohr, Heisenberg, Schrödinger), Astrophysics and Cosmology (Hubble), Electronics and Electrotechnics (Marconi, Fleming and De Forest, diode and triode), Chemistry (Lewis, chemical bond theory), Geology (Wegener), Genetics (Morgan), Medicine (antibiotics, Fleming), Mathematics (Gödel)» (Sánchez Ron, J.M., 2008). The Committee for the Promotion of Studies and Scientific Research held most of its institutions in the capital, Madrid. As for Germany, although the region of Dahlem in Berlin harboured many of the institutions, the report published in *Residencia* offers much information about the broad network of research centers founded at different sites in the German territory. This did not correspond to the reality of Spanish Science. The JAE was an institution funded by the State, as reflected in its budgets, whereas the centers of the KWG were promoted by private initiatives from industry and other sectors that needed to solve real problems ranging from the production of scientific knowledge to applied technology.

The JAE was very distant from this reality, since the research aims of its laboratories were very different from those demanded by industry. This could be the most determining factor for science; the one that determines its evolution. Spain could have made use of the expansion of its economy after the First World War; however, it was unable to promote science and industry. Doubtless, the major differences were economic since *a priori*, even before comparing the data, the amounts of money invested in the centers of the KWG were much greater than those of the JAE. The JAE, in turn, had a clearly educational purpose. Its laboratories, especially those situated in the Student Accommodation and the scholarships for studying in other countries are the best example. However, this does not mean that the German University did not have laboratories and institutions devoted to teaching. A review on the training visits of the scholarship holders of the JAE could answer questions about this stage. Although the actual extent of that scientific and educational policy and the actual impact of its scientific institutions at the teaching level have not yet been established, there are still indelible memories from that experience. Ochoa talked about his «first steps in the Physiology Laboratory, "what a great chance for a young student of Medicine who, encouraged by the writings of Cajal, the example of Río Hortega, and the presentation by Negrín and other professors of wide horizons

and modern scientific concepts, was eager for knowledge and to start research!». By evaluating the role of that work, he was right and reflected an accurate historical perspective, since, as he said «the seed planted in La Colina de los Chopos has germinated in every level of Spain and it has spread to many places around the world. It will never die out» (Ochoa, S., 1963: 62).

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SECTION II

LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT PROCESSES:
AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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HIGH PERFORMANCE IN READING COMPREHENSION IN POVERTY CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA

The Case of Resilient Students In PISA 2009 in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay

BACKGROUND

Academic Resilience

Resilience is an important concern in current psychology, particularly in the field known as positive psychology, which is focused not only on problems that affect the psyche but also on the means that subjects themselves use to favorably confront these problems. The concept has propagated from psychology to other contexts, such as education, medicine, and sociology (Kolar, 2011). Resilience is present when, despite a traumatic event, there is a dynamic process of development and a positive and constructive adaptation to a stressful situation (Cicchetti, 2012; Dyer & McGuinness, 1996; Hanewald, 2011). In the first stage of the development of resilience as a concept, between the 1970s and 1980s, it was defined as an individual property based on the characteristics of resilient subjects. Currently, resilience is defined as a process that is determined by the presence of protective and risk factors (Grotberg, 1995; Hanewald, 2011; Masten & Obradovic, 2008; Werner, 1996). Risk factors or conditions are associated with the genesis of the resilience process because it is the confrontation of adversity that generates the resilient reaction. Grotberg (2006) discusses adversities from within and from outside the family environment. Among the former are parental absence, accidents, abuse, abandonment, and health problems, and among the latter are wars, natural disasters, and adverse economic conditions. The events that trigger the resilience reaction generate stress, instability, anxiety, frustration, depression and, among school–related reactions, a deficit in academic performance (Cappella & Weinstein, 2001; Fluxá & Acosta, 2009). The latter reaction is the focus of our interest: a resilience process that is specific to the educational environment and that has given rise to the concept of academic resilience (Gordon Rouse, 2001).

In these cases, the resilient character of a student is defined by the conjunction between academic performance motivated by expectations and personal or environmental risk conditions. Furthermore, risk is defined as the high probability that a student will exhibit a performance deficit. Risk can also be defined as the low

probability of a student achieving an outstanding performance under certain stress or trauma conditions. From this perspective, it is possible to discuss resilient students in the different fields of knowledge: reading comprehension, mathematics, and the sciences. In this study, we shall analyze a very specific type of academic resilience: the reading comprehension performance of 15–year–olds from three countries of the southern cone that participated in PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) 2009 and that are at risk due to poverty conditions.

Resilience in PISA 2009

PISA is an international evaluation of academic performance in reading, the sciences, and mathematics by 15–year–old adolescents (OECD, 2009). In PISA, reading comprehension is defined in direct relationship with social integration because it is a means to acquire knowledge and interact with the individuals and organizations that compose society, just as reading is defined by the study that proposes this definition. In this context, the resilience concept has been used to explain a phenomenon that is directly linked to the correlation between the performance achieved by young people and their socioeconomic status in their own countries (OECD, 2011). In each version of this study, new Latin American countries are incorporated into the sample. One constant among these countries is that their performance is usually below the international average. In addition, the socioeconomic developmental level of Latin American countries is lower than the average of the countries that are members of the OECD. In this context, the scenario in which young people who live in very difficult poverty conditions achieve outstanding academic performance in reading comprehension is particularly unusual. The OECD, as well as other literature sources, affirms that young people belonging to a lower cultural and socioeconomic stratum usually achieve lower academic performance. This situation occurs in Latin America, particularly in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. As shown in Table 1, these three countries clearly follow this pattern, with a difference of approximately one standard deviation (100 points) between the average of the 25% from lower socioeconomic conditions[1] (Q1) and the 25% from better conditions (Q4).

Table 1: Mean and standard deviation of the PISA 2009 reading test per country and socioeconomic group

	Argentina		*Chile*		*Uruguay*	
Total	400.0	(4.56)	450.4	(3.06)	427.1	(2.57)
Q1	345.2	(4.96)	409.3	(3.53)	373.89	(3.14)
Q2	376.9	(4.76)	434.6	(3.70)	407.17	(3.24)
Q3	409.6	(5.49)	456.5	(3.51)	437.83	(3.85)
Q4	468.3	(6.16)	501.1	(3.53)	489.52	(4.11)
	n: 4681		n: 5581		n: 5893	

Factors Related to Academic Resilience

As mentioned above, the process of resilience is determined by factors that increase the probability of poorer performance or that protect young people against adversity. Depending on the role, there are risk factors and protective factors (Fluxá & Acosta, 2009). Risk factors increase the probability of lower performance. The risk will increase as more factors accumulate; for example, to live in poverty is itself a risk condition; if there is also a low protective environment, violence at school, or health problems, the situation becomes worse (Catterall, 1998). The protective factors are a set of characteristics that reinforce and promote resilience. Protective factors are considered a prerequisite for the resilience process. The literature considers the following important factors: the opinion that the student has of him or herself, his or her motivation, and his or her acceptance of the content (Gordon Rouse, 2001). Martin and Marsh (2006) propose a model called 5–C, in which academic resilience depends on five factors: "confidence (self–efficacy), coordination (planning), control, composure (low anxiety), and commitment (persistence)". The literature highlights the importance of the presence of a significant adult (Baruch & Stutman, 2006) who serves as an emotional support for the resilient individual. In schools, possible factors that reinforce resilience include the following: a positive and controlled atmosphere, the classmates' attitude toward study, and the classmate's level of discipline (Fluxá & Acosta, 2009). Tisseron (2009) identifies three properties that are emphasized in the literature: a favorable non–violent atmosphere; high expectations of the school toward its students, and the ability of students to participate in collective activities, both curricular and extracurricular, that are conducted in educational centers.

Questions and Objectives of the Research

The factors involved in the academic performance of outstanding students in poverty conditions represent a specific problem that has been poorly studied in Latin American school systems. In this research, young people will be described in an individual manner along with their families and the material conditions in which they live. We shall also discuss the schools that these young people attend, their schooling conditions, and the organization and atmosphere of the school. On that basis, we shall obtain a greater understanding of what distinguishes resilient individuals from the other young people that compose their socioeconomic group.

With this information, it should be possible to develop a statistical interpretation model that considers these factors in order to quantify their relationship with resilience. In this model, the hierarchical structure of the educational systems is considered with the factors that are recognized in the specialized literature as determining resilience and reading comprehension. These factors include motivation and family and school support, which are incorporated in each individual case, and the classroom atmosphere in the case of institutions. Our general objective will be to identify the factors that determine the probability of

being a resilient student coming from unfavorable socioeconomic contexts within the context of the PISA 2009 lecture tests in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. For this purpose, the two following procedures will be implemented. First, we identify and describe who the resilient students are and how many there are within the reading PISA 2009 in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Second, we fit a hierarchical model to explain which factors favor academic resilience, as well as those factors that increase the risk of low performance in reading comprehension. The first procedure will allow us to determine which individual and institutional characteristics correspond to risk or protective factors in relation to resilience in reading comprehension. The second procedure will allow us to quantify the contribution of the different factors to the probability of being resilient in reading comprehension. Finally, we shall compare the resilience phenomenon in the three countries that compose the sample.

Because we shall focus on the data collected by PISA 2009, we will only be able to observe the case of a sample of students before a particular test, which implies specific limitations to the conclusions that could be obtained. However, this research will allow us to develop a first approximation of the phenomenon and will guide future works. We assume, as do Hanewald (2011) and Cicchetti (2012), that identifying the factors that determine the resilient reaction is the first step to be taken in reducing the impact of risk conditions and enhancing protective mechanisms.

PROCEDURES

Data and subjects

For our study, the first procedure consisted of qualifying the resilience in the sample, which was measured in the results obtained in PISA reading tests. Our definition of performance is less demanding than that of the OECD defined in the studies *Against the Odds: Disadvantaged students who succeed in school* (OECD, 2011) and the PISA 2009 report (OECD, 2010). To us, resilient individuals are those students who have a score equal or superior to the national average and that belong to the 25% with the lowest PISA index of socioeconomic and cultural status (ESCS). This definition means that resilience corresponds to what we call normal performance; that is, a vulnerable student is resilient if his or her performance is equal to or greater than the mean of his or her country (score => 50%, ESCS =< 25%). When taking the average as a reference point to define a set of students called "resilient", we are performing an arbitrary delineation, with two important assumptions. First, because the group of vulnerable students is close to half a standard deviation below the average of each country (as can be observed in Table 1), this measurement is a desired and achievable progress level. Second, the use of a stricter criterion would have reduced the sample to only those students that have particularly outstanding abilities in reading. The average, however, is the normal theoretical score that any student could achieve. This definition is no more than a functional definition of

academic resilience as a simple positive adaptation or resistance to stress (Kolar, 2011; Masten & Obradovic, 2008).

Second, a series of variables has been identified to represent the topics pursued: protective, risk, and descriptive factors in the three educational systems. Among the variables (presented in Table 2), three indexes developed by the OECD were included: parents' occupational level, cultural possessions, and the material well–being of the family; these indexes were not modified. The remaining variables were developed from the existing information in PISA databases (questionnaires from students and questionnaires from the school).

Methods

The complex sample design of the study was considered carefully. Specifically, to make the correct estimations the calculations include the following: normalized weights at the student level, replication (BRR method), and plausible values (Kreuter & Valliant, 2007; OECD, 2012). These calculations are the main source of the reduced number of observations in our work (n = 2998); only those observations with no missing values were included in the modeling. This number only represents the students of the first ESCS quartile, that is, the quarter containing the poorest population in each of these countries (the total number of participating students in PISA in these three countries was n = 16,155). Descriptive analyses were conducted to characterize the vulnerable groups of the sample. The tables in section 3.1 show the means among the resilient students and compare these means to determine whether they are different from the means of the non–resilient students. The significance of this difference was determined by means of the t–test.

The central analyses of our study are aimed at estimating the probability of resilience. With this goal, a *logit* model was implemented (Steele, 2008). This model seeks to explain the individual's propensity to belong to one of the two categories of the response variable, understanding that this tendency changes if the determining factors are taken into account. In other words, the foundation of this regression assumes that even though the observable is a dichotomy between being resilient or not being resilient (res = 0|1), the modeling can make explicit the latent continuity between these two values, which translates into tendencies toward one or another point, determined by explanatory factors (Long, 1997). An additional property considered in the design is the addition of a second level to the structure which represents the schools. That is, a *logit–multilevel* model was estimated that assumes that the probability of being resilient is determined not only by the individuals' characteristics but also by the institutions that they attend. Equation 1 represents the model without explanatory variables, and equation 2 represents the model with all the explanatory variables both for the student and at the school level. This formula was applied in a separate form for the three countries considered in this study.

$$\log[\pi_{ij}/1-\pi_{ij}] = \beta_{00} + u_{0j} \tag{1}$$
$$\log[\pi_{ij}/1-\pi_{ij}] = \tag{2}$$

$$\beta_{00} + \beta_{01}\,Sex_{ij} + \beta_{02}\,Curso2_{ij} + \beta_{03}\,Madre_{ij} + \beta_{04}\,Edupad_{ij} + \beta_{05}\,Cultposs_{ij} +$$

$$\beta_{06}\,Wealth_{ij} + \beta_{07}\,Enjoy_{ij} + \beta_{08}\,Fict_{ij} + \beta_{09}\,Memo_{ij} + \beta_{10}\,Elab_{ij} + \beta_{11}\,Peer_{ij} +$$

$$\beta_{12}\,Pub_{ij} + \beta_{13}\,Track_{ij} + \beta_{14}\,Bull_{ij} + \beta_{15}\,Clima_{ij} + \beta_{16}\,Tclass_{ij} + u_{0j}$$

Specifically, the *logit–multilevel* model will allow us to consider the hierarchical structure of the three educational systems under study and to quantify the effect of this second supplementary level on the probability. In other words, the variation in the probability of being resilient among institutions will be estimated. The multilevel model does not attempt to represent the mean, but instead represents the variance of a phenomenon (Bressoux, 2008).

PROTECTIVE AND RISK FACTORS RELATED TO READING COMPREHENSION

Factors that differentiate resilient students from the rest of their socioeconomic group

Resilient stuudents are few in number, representing approximately 30% of their socioeconomic group. However, these proportions are similar to those reported in other studies. Grotberg (1995, 2006) concludes that, in the case of a traumatic event, a third of victims will develop resilient attitudes. The same tendency had already been acknowledged by E. Werner in one of the first studies on the subject; when following a group of children, Werner found that a third of those identified as being in a risk situation were able to achieve a normal adulthood (Werner, 1996).

Table 2 shows the variables that to be considered in our analysis. The set is restricted owing to the reduced number of observations per country. At the same time, the set was designed to clearly represent the factors related to the resilience, protective and risk factors, some key elements of reading comprehension (attitudes and strategies), and the characteristics of the schools (peer effect, dependency, selectivity, atmosphere, and class size).

Here, we can observe that these three countries have very similar demographic aspects, such as those referring to well–being, cultural possessions, or family composition. The countries are also similar with respect to their school atmospheres. We found the largest differences in the dependency and selectivity of the educational institutions; in Chile, public schools have the least presence, and a greater student selection based on academic background is performed. This latter characteristic is possibly the reason why Chile is the only country in which institutions play a preponderant role in resilience. The socioeconomic segregation between institutions plays a similar role to those of selectivity and the advancement of private education (Valenzuela, Bellei, & De los Rios, 2010). The opposite extreme is observed in

Table 2. Individual and school–related factors; means of the resilient students by country

Factor	Argentina		Chile		Uruguay	
	Mean	*t*	*Mean*	*T*	*Mean*	*T*
1. Individuals						
Girl	0.64*	–2.70	0.62*	–4.09	0. 67*	–13.62
10th or 11th grade	0.74*	–6.43	0.93*	–13.47	0. 73*	–3.85
Mother at home	0.93	–1.11	0.95*	–8.85	0.91	–0.94
Parents' education (years of schooling)	6.9	1.23	8.69*	–2.57	6.75	–0.96
PISA Index of cultural possessions	–0.19*	–3.75	–0.26*	–3.16	–0.59	0.13
Home wealth	–1.58	–1.88	–1.55	–0.48	–1.41	–1.01
Enjoy reading	0.25*	–2.07	0.48*	–5.39	0.28*	–4.63
Frequency of fiction reading	0.57	0.64	0.64*	–2.34	0.44	–1.55
Frequency of non–fiction reading	0.57	–0.68	0.47*	–4.15	0.35*	–3.54
Memorization strategies	0.46*	2.62	0.57	–1.10	0.34	0.07
Control strategies	0.65*	–2.90	0.70*	–4.66	0.53*	–4.98
2. Schools						
Peers effect parent's education)	11.29*	–3.69	11.23*	–5.42	9.73*	–7.79
Public	0.74*	1.97	0.52**	3.18	0.97	1.66
Academic selection	0.27*	–2.31	0.66*	–4.39	0.13	0.35
Bullying	0.12	0.93	0.14*	2.65	0.12	1.91
Class climate	0.34	1.86	0.31*	3.33	0.30	1.87
Class size	27.57	–1.40	37.26*	–3.39	25.72*	–3.01
	n total: 775 n resilients: 306		n total: 1029 n resilients: 348		n total: 1194 n resilients: 359	

*Mean of resilient students in the country is significantly different from non–resilient students at p>t: *<0.05.*

Uruguay, which has wide state coverage in schools and where the factors related to resilience are concentrated in individual aspects. Argentina also follows this trend, even though there is a selectivity effect and a tendency toward low attendance by resilient students at public schools.

From this purely descriptive point of view, there are five common factors that distinguish resilient students from the rest of their socioeconomic group in the three

aforementioned countries. First, the female gender is associated with both resilience and better reading performance; the percentage of women among resilient students is slightly higher in Uruguay (67%), but among the three countries, 6 out of 10 resilient students are females. Second, the grade that the student attends is an indicator of the repetition of grades because those not attending the 10th grade are attending lower–level courses. Third, reading enjoyment is a key factor because it motivates resilient students and because it is a determinant of reading performance (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000). Fourth, the use of control strategies describes students' ability to auto–regulate their learning, and the use of these strategies distinguishes those who learn from those who do not. These are key strategies for reading because they can be modified by learning and taught and improved through explicit training (Alonso Tapia, 2005). Finally, the only factor related to the institutions that is common to the three countries is the educational level of the classmates' parents. This factor is an indicator of the academic backgrounds that are specific to each school. The literature has shown that having classmates with more highly educated parents is associated with better academic performance (Mizala & Torche, 2012). Thus, resilient students have classmates with more highly educated parents as compared to non–resilient students.

Factors that Determine the Probability of Being Resilient

Below we present our estimations of the probability of being resilient that were obtained from the *logit–multilevel* modeling. The resilient students have an associated value of 1, and the non–resilient ones have a value of 0. As noted above, this structure allows the differentiation between the lower level, the students, and the higher level, the institutions. In addition, we shall distinguish between fixed effects, the product of the incorporation of explicit variables, and random effects, the product of the chosen structure. The procedure for reading the models is as follows. First, a null model is estimated (unconditional means model), in which no explicit variables are incorporated; as a consequence, it only incorporates random effects. Next, the procedure is gradually repeated, increasing the complexity of the fixed effect. Here, we shall present the final model directly, which incorporates all of the variables at the student and school levels. As previously mentioned, the most important property of a multilevel model is its ability to account for heterogeneity among the higher units, i.e., the institutions. As a consequence, the probability of being resilient will vary between institutions if individuals with similar characteristics are taken as the reference. In other words, two similar students that provide the same input to their schooling could have a different probability of being resilient as output, depending on which school they attend.

Figures 1 and 3 illustrate the probabilities of being resilient for each country, explained in terms of the reading enjoyment index. Because a different equation is solved for each school, there is a set of straight lines, each line representing a school. It may be seen that the straight lines incorporate points; these points represent the

students of the schools. In general, reading enjoyment is a positive factor because an increase in the probability of being resilient is associated with an increase in reading enjoyment. However, there are large variations in this probability depending on the school and between countries. For example, in Argentina, a student whose reading enjoyment is equal to the average (enjoy coeff. = 0) will have a probability of being resilient that varies from –2 to +0.5 depending on the school that he/she attends. In addition, the figures show that the distance between the school with the highest resilience probability and the school with the lowest resilience probability varies between countries. In this way, the straight lines are distributed across a larger vertical space in Chile and a smaller vertical space in Argentina. Furthermore, for Argentina the slope is much less pronounced than in Chile, indicating that there is a smaller difference between the students distributed along the reading index; that is, reading enjoyment is less explicitly associated with the probability of being resilient in Argentina and is more explicitly associated with the probability of being resilient in Chile. In Uruguay, reading enjoyment has an intermediate explicit capacity in comparison with the other two countries. In all three countries, the estimated coefficients are statistically significant, indicating that reading enjoyment is a determinant factor of the probability of being resilient.
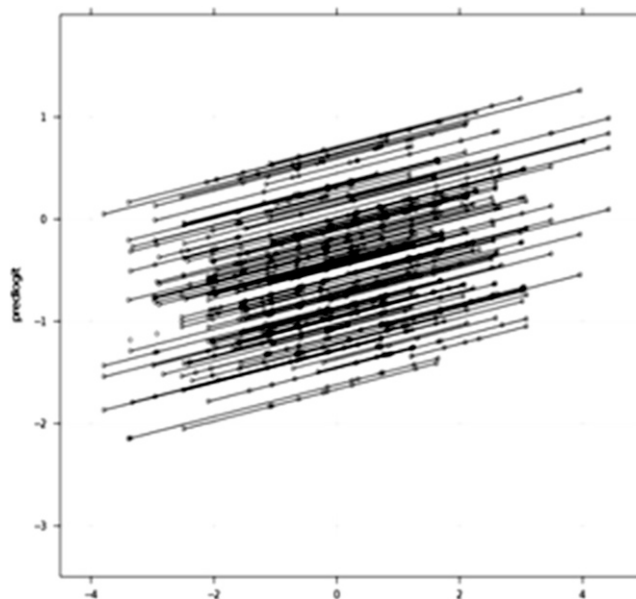

Figure 1. Probability of being resilient, explained by the reading enjoyment index of each student nested by schools in Argentina (enjoy coeff.=0.16).
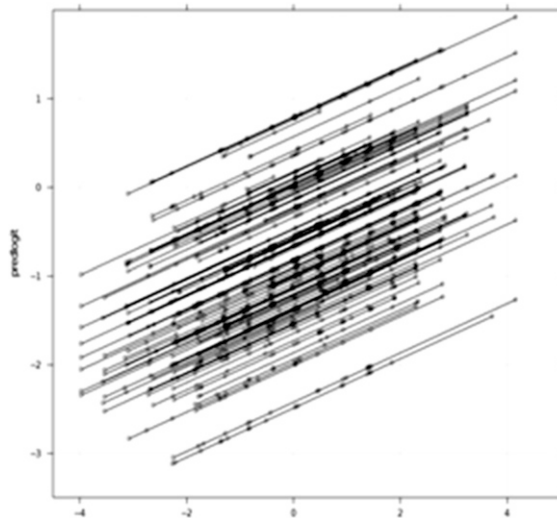
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Figure 2. Probability of being resilient, explained by the reading enjoyment index of each student nested by schools in Chile (enjoy coeff.=0.28).
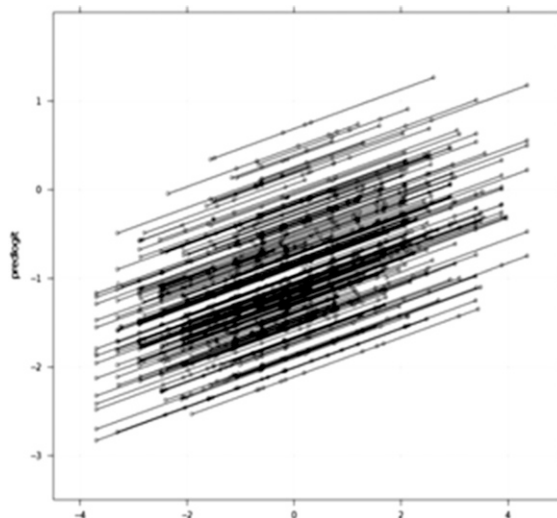

Figure 3. Probability of being resilient, explained by the reading enjoyment index of each student nested by schools in Uruguay (enjoy coeff.=0.22).

Despite being a representative example, explaining the probability of being resilient using only one factor is merely an illustrative exercise. A complete analysis of the

issue demands the incorporation of a broad set of determinants to allow the central characteristics of the educational systems considered to be represented along with the factors that are supposed to be explicit to the studied problem.

Table 3. Logit–multilevel regression: Unconditional means models

	Argentina	*Chile*	*Uruguay*
	Coeff. (s.e.)	*Coeff. (s.e.)*	*Coeff. (s.e.)*
Constant	0.83***(0.2)	1.30*** (0.2)	1.19***(0.1)
Between school variance	1.66*** (0.6)	1.37** (0.6)	0.89*** (0.3)
Variance partition coeff (ICC)	0.35	0.30	0.22
n =	775	1029	1194

p>t: *<0.10; p:**=<0.05; p:***=<0.01.

Table 3 shows the estimations for the null models in the three countries. This model provides a key element: an estimation of the variance between groups, in this case, between institutions. Because it is an empty model (without determinants), it can be used to calculate a partition coefficient of the variance from the formula proposed by Snijders & Bosker (1999):

$$\rho = (\sigma^2_{u0})/(\sigma^2_{u0} + \pi^2/3) \qquad (3)$$

where σ^2_{u0} is the variance between institutions and $\pi^2/3 = 3.29$ is the variance of level 1. The variance partition coefficient can be read in the same way as the intra–class correlation coefficient in the continuous multilevel models (Rumberger & Palardy, 2004). In Table 3, the coefficients suggest that between the three countries, a portion of the probability of being resilient depends on characteristics that are not observed at the school level. This portion is higher in the case of Argentina (35%) and lower in the case of Uruguay (22%). As long as we incorporate the factors that we have identified as determinants into the model, a reduction in the variance between schools is expected.

Table 4 shows the estimations for each country, in which the probability of being resilient is explained by factors related to the students and the schools. In the three countries, the variance between schools is different, but in all of them the model reduces this variance when compared to the empty model. In Argentina, the intra–class correlation is lowered to 16%, which represents 55% less heterogeneity between schools in comparison to the null model. In Uruguay, the model is even more appropriate because heterogeneity is reduced to only 0.04% and the variance is no longer significant between schools. This result means that the incorporated fixed effects effectively account for the heterogeneity between schools: better in Uruguay than in Argentina or Chile.

Table 4: Multilevel Logit Regression: probability of being resilient

Factor	Argentina		Chile		Uruguay	
1. Individuals	*Coeff. (s.e.)*	*OR*	*Coeff. (s.e.)*	*OR*	*Coeff. (s.e.)*	*OR*
Girl	0.35 (0.3)	1.4	0.37* (0.2)	1.5	0.33** (0.2)	1.4
10th and 11th grade	1.37*** (0.3)	3.9	2.11*** (0.3)	8.3	1.62*** (0.2)	5.1
Mother at home	0.09 (0.3)	1.1	1.58*** (0.3)	4.9	0.09 (0.3)	1.1
Parents' education	−0.01 (0.1)	1.0	0.03 (0.0)	1.0	−0.04 (0.1)	1.0
Cultural possessions	0.27* (0.1)	1.3	0.26* (0.1)	1.3	−0.17 (0.2)	0.8
Home wealth	0.29 (0.2)	1.3	−0.25 (0.2)	0.8	0.02 (0.1)	1.0
Enjoy reading	0.18* (0.1)	1.2	0.30*** (0.1)	1.4	0.15** (0.1)	1.2
Fiction reading	−0.49* (0.3)	0.6	−0.25 (0.2)	0.8	−0.07 (0.2)	0.9
Memorization	−0.54***(0.2)	0.6	0.03 (0.2)	1.0	−0.09 (0.2)	0.9
Control strategies	0.25 (0.2)	1.3	−0.11 (0.2)	0.9	0.25 (0.2)	1.3
2. Schools						
Peer effect	0.33***(0.1)	1.4	0.33***(0.1)	1.4	0.33***(0.1)	1.4
Public	−0.61 (0.5)	0.5	0.01 (0.3)	1.0	−0.87 (1.0)	0.4
Academic selection	0.41 (0.4)	1.5	0.89*** (0.3)	2.4	−0.79**(0.3)	0.5
Bullying	−0.07 (0.4)	0.9	−1.27***(0.4)	0.3	−0.15 (0.3)	0.9
Class climate	−0.24 (0.2)	0.8	0.35* (0.2)	1.4	0.15 (0.2)	1.2
Class size	0.00 (0.0)	1.0	0.00 (0.0)	1.0	0.03 (0.0)	1.0
Constant	3.86** (1.8)		8.59***(1.5)		4.74***(1.5)	
Between schools variance	0.61** (0.3)		0.46*** (0.2)		0.14 (0.2)	
Var. partition coeff. (ICC)	0.16		0.13		0.04	

p: *<0.10; p:**<0.05; p:***<0.01.

Table 4 indicates that in the case of Argentina and Chile, the individual factors are clearly more relevant than in Uruguay because five of the ten factors are determinants. Only three factors determine the probability of being resilient in Uruguay. The factors common to the three countries are the grade that the student is in and the level of reading enjoyment. The impact of this latter factor is similar in all three countries, and it increases the probability of being resilient from 1.2 to 1.4 (as indicated by the OR value). Attending the corresponding grade without repetition has a much stronger impact on the probability of being resilient than any other factor. In all three countries, this factor is the most significant, increasing the probability of being resilient almost 4 times in Argentina and 8.2 times in Chile. This

result indicates that normal school attendance without delays or grade repetitions is in all cases the factor that best protects vulnerable students against the possibility of deficient performance.

Regarding the school level determinants, only the peer effect (schooling of the classmates' parents) determines the probability of being resilient in the three countries. It is interesting that this factor is so similar at an international level; in the three countries, the OR indicates that the probability of being resilient increases 1.4 times per extra year of parental schooling. In Chile, in addition to this effect academic selection, violence between students, and the classroom atmosphere are significant. The first is a protective factor (positive), and the level of violence and the classroom atmosphere are risk factors. In Uruguay, academic selection has the opposite effect, reducing the probability of being resilient. In the model for Argentina, there are no other factors at the school level that determine resilience.

Two factors are significant in only two of the countries: gender in Uruguay and Chile, and the availability of cultural possessions at home in Argentina and Chile. Although the results are partial, these are protective factors that have been highlighted in the literature on resilience. The female gender, which is recognized as a protective factor, can become a resilience–promoting agent if the differences in gender are positively used to promote good performance among female students and to prevent a major risk associated with the male gender. Regarding cultural possessions, it is important to set the significance of this factor against the relevant absence of material possessions in general (home wealth). It is inferred that cultural capital and not economic capital facilitates this form of academic resilience. This statement must be considered carefully because we cannot forget that we are referring to the poorest 25% in these three countries. Therefore, they are young people deprived of goods and culture and well below the OECD standards.

CONCLUSIONS

Beyond the variations from one system to another, there are three factors that promote resilience and that are common to these three educational systems. First, normal course attendance and a lack of grade repetition are the strongest determining factors in the model. This finding is consistent with the extensive literature that describes the negative effects of repeating grades on performance, motivation, and a positive attitude toward school in general (Duru–Bellat, Mons, & Suchaut, 2004; Rocher, 2008). Willms and Somer (2001) claim that the normal development of schooling with peers of the same age is in itself a relevant educational objective and, in the case of Latin America, a key objective for the long–term success of schooling. Our model indicates that in addition to negatively affecting student performance in general terms repeating grades reduces their probability of overcoming critical risk conditions such as poverty.

The second common factor is the peer effect, which is also a known performance determinant. In the case of resilient students, this factor can be of particular importance due to the low educational level of their parents. In Table 2, we observed

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that the parents of these students had a mean of less than 7 years of schooling in Argentina and Uruguay, which is 4 years lower than the average education of the parents of their classmates in Argentina and 3 years lower in Uruguay. In Chile, an earlier schooling policy has reduced this distance; however, there is still over 2 years difference between the schooling of the parents of a resilient student and that of his or her classmates.

Finally, reading enjoyment in particular dominates other factors and is the most subjective and most related to the attitudes of the students in question. Despite the different realities of these three countries, policies oriented at promoting a better attitude toward books and reading could have a positive effect in all countries. This effect would affect general performance, particularly the potential for improvement among students with low economic resources.

This study has allowed us to understand the phenomenon of outstanding students that live in poverty conditions. Our findings are in agreement with the literature in regard to identifying poverty as a risk factor for academic performance. Our findings are also in agreement with respect to the proportion of students that exhibit the capacity to overcome this condition, that is, capacity for resilience. With respect to the influencing factors, there is a preponderance of individual factors over the collective. However, the policies that stimulate schooling avoid the repetition of grades, and control the effects of academic selection can have a positive impact on this particular case of outstanding students. If, in addition, enjoying reading and books is also transformed into an object of public and teaching policies for the classroom, it would positively affect not only resilient students but also other students schooled under conditions of poverty.

NOTES

[1]   The SES is represented in the OECD studies by an economic, social, and cultural status index (ESCS). This index is composed of three elements; first, a variable referring to home possessions that includes the index of well–being, cultural possessions, and home educational resources; second, the number of books in the home; and third, the parents' educational level, expressed in schooling years. We shall use this index as a reference for our research.

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CAROLINE KENNY, DAVID GOUGH & JANICE TRIPNEY

APPROACHES TO ASSIST POLICY–MAKERS' USE OF RESEARCH EVIDENCE IN EDUCATION IN EUROPE

Increasing the use of evidence in education policy is an explicit objective of many national and international policy–making organisations including the European Commission and the Organisation for Economic Co–operation and Development. It is also a growing concern for researchers as a consequence of the decision by many funders and commissioners to require verification of research impact as a condition of funding.

The breadth of what is considered evidence is wide; it can include expert knowledge, statistics, stakeholder consultations as well as research–based evidence. In talking about evidence, this paper refers specifically to the latter, that of research evidence. In referring to research, the paper employs a broad understanding that encapsulates all types of research, whether qualitative or quantitative, primary research or synthesised. The term 'users' is employed here to refer specifically to policy and policy–makers and as such, in examining the user–focussed approaches across Europe, focuses explicitly on those approaches that are targeted towards the individuals and organisations that are involved with developing, determining or applying policy in the area of education at national, federal, regional or local government levels. The paper adopts a broad understanding of 'policy–makers' to include non–departmental public bodies[1] such as the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE).

Research evidence is just one of many factors that affect policymaking with other considerations such as political priorities, the availability of resources and other contextual factors important. When most people think about (research) evidence informed policy, they think about a mechanical process where research informs policy directly (Gough & Elbourne, 2002). More common, but harder to identify, is the indirect, unconscious or indirect use where research evidence influences the beliefs or attitudes of decision–makers. This has been described in some of the literature as the 'enlightenment' or 'endarkenment' effect (Nutley, Walter, & Davies, 2007; Weiss, 1979). Both of these can have immediate and delayed effects on policy–making and may represent conscious or deliberate use of research or instances of unconscious use in which policy–makers are not aware that they are drawing on research evidence.

There is now a growing body of literature focussed on the issue of evidence informed policy and practice. This literature examines many aspects of the evidence–to–use process including the different actors, processes and mechanisms

involved in the production, use and mediation of research. Within this literature is much focus on the different approaches to increasing research evidence use amongst policy–makers. These are often divided into: 'push' strategies that focus on the production and communication of research evidence; 'pull' strategies that address the needs of potential users; and, 'mediation' strategies that have the overt purpose of bringing researchers and users together to facilitate greater interaction between them for example, meetings and conferences (see section one). Despite increasing numbers of studies showing that approaches that focus exclusively on producing and communicating research evidence are largely ineffective; these types of strategies comprise the majority of efforts to increase use of research evidence in policy–making. Conversely, relatively little attention has focussed on addressing the needs of potential users as a means to increasing research evidence use. This paper argues that user–targeted interventions are necessary to increase the use of research evidence in decision–making. Although there are many factors that affect whether it is used in policy–making, research evidence cannot be used if users are not receptive to it or to using it. Nor will it be used if users do not have the skills to be able to find, use and understand it. Furthermore, the use of research evidence within policy is contingent upon the particular context/s in which such users work, for example the personal and political interests, ideologies and institutions or structures of these organisations (Lavis, 2006; Levin, 2004; Stewart & Oliver, 2012). This suggests that focusing on the needs and capacity of users is vital to any attempt to increase the use of research evidence in policy and practice (Lavis, Robertson, Woodside, McLeod, & Abelson, 2003; Levin, 2004, 2009). The paper outlines the different approaches that have been taken across Europe to increase evidence use by focusing on the needs and contexts of policy–makers. These approaches were identified as part of a survey conducted within the European Commission funded project: Evidence Informed Policy in Education in Europe (EIPEE)[2]

(Gough, Tripney, Kenny, & Buk–Berge, 2011), which identified the range of approaches that were used to link research evidence with policy–making in education across Europe. This survey is not exhaustive nor does it provide an accurate classification process. However, it does contribute to our knowledge and understanding about the range of activities and mechanisms that are being undertaken across Europe to connect research evidence with its use. Using findings from the existing literature on evidence informed policy and practice, the paper draws out the implications of these approaches to address the needs of users for international cooperation in this area.

The paper is divided into four sections. Section one reviews the existing literature on evidence informed policy and practice. It outlines the activities and the mechanisms that have been identified cross–sectorally to connect research evidence with policy and/or practice. Section two explains in more detail the methods used to identify the different approaches to assist policy–makers' use of evidence across Europe. Section three describes the range of user–focussed approaches that have been employed across Europe to achieve evidence informed policy. Section four

analyses these approaches in order to draw out any implications for international cooperation. It reveals those areas of overlap between the efforts of different agencies or countries and, using the existing literature on the effectiveness of different ways to increase the use of research evidence in policy and practice, sets out areas of potential learning for Europe.

SECTION ONE: THE LITERATURE ON EVIDENCE INFORMED POLICY AND PRACTICE

The literature on evidence informed policy and practice is both extensive and diverse. Covering all areas of public policy ranging from health, criminal justice and the environment, the literature focuses on a range of different aspects of the research–to–use process. Much of the existing literature examining the different strategies to increase evidence use within policy and practice has been conducted outside of Europe and in sectors other than education. For example, in Canada, much research has been undertaken by the Research Supporting Practice in Education (RSPE) programme at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto (www.oise.utoronto.ca/rspe/) (Levin, 2004, 2009; Levin, Sá, Cooper, & Mascarenhas, 2009). Similarly, in healthcare there is much research on the effectiveness of different resources and strategies to increase the impact of research evidence upon decision–making (Bero et al., 1998a; Chambers et al., 2011; Grimshaw et al., 2001; Harris et al., 2011; Oxman, Thomson, Davis, & Haynes, 1995; Thomson O'Brien et al., 2000).

In describing the different strategies that can be used to encourage evidence use within decision–making, the literature makes an implicit distinction between those approaches focused on the production side ('push' strategies), those addressed towards users ('pull' strategies), and those targeted to mediation. 'Push' strategies are those focusing on producing, communicating or disseminating research evidence out to potential users and include activities such as publishing newsletters or producing research summaries or policy briefs. It could also include activities that undertake research such as research projects. 'Pull' strategies focus on encouraging demand for the uptake of research evidence by addressing the needs of potential users and the organisational and political contexts that shape their use of evidence. These strategies could include activities such as training policy–makers or practitioners in how to find, use or understand research evidence or the use of experts in decision–making. Mediation strategies on the other hand involve activities such as seminars, conferences or networks designed specifically to bring researchers and users together. This is variously referred to in the literature as 'knowledge brokerage', 'mobilisation' and 'exchange' (Landry, Amara, & Lamari, 2001; Lavis, 2006; Lavis, Ross, McLeod, & Gildiner, 2003; Nutley et al., 2007; Walter, Nutley, & Davies, 2003a). In the recent analysis undertaken by Gough et al, 269 different examples of activity were identified across Europe in education while Walter et al identified nearly 200 single interventions within criminal justice, health, education and social

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care sectors (Gough et al., 2011; Walter et al., 2003a). Using the findings from the EIPEE project, this paper will use the conceptualisation of 27 different activity types, organized into eight overarching categories put forward by Gough et al (2011).

Table 1: Types of activity connecting research with policy and their overarching categories[3]

Overarching category	Types of activity
Advisory	Advisory/monitoring groups/committees Experts External consultancy
Capacity building	Training
Information services	Bibliographic databases/libraries Other web–based information services
Interpersonal networks and events	Informal relationships Meetings (incl. seminars/conferences) Networks
Research outputs	Analytical reports Newsletters Specialist journals Summary reports of research/policy briefs
Research and analysis	Government–related/public bodies Ministry internal analytical services/departments Professional organisations Research centres/units/institutes Research programmes Research projects Systematic reviews Think tanks Other types of activity
Staffing arrangements	Secondments/internships Staff roles
Strategy, investment and development	Funding Marketing Programme of work

Underpinning these activities are nine mechanisms which enable them to achieve evidence informed policy and practice[4].

It should be noted that these categories are parallel to one another rather than hierarchical and may not be mutually exclusive in reality (Walter et al., 2003a). These categories are not universal and mechanisms are used to varying extents in different sectors and across different countries.

Mechanisms to Achieve Evidence Informed Policy and Practice:

– Accessibility: making research evidence more easily available or usable.
– Relevance: the production or commissioning of relevant research evidence to inform decision–making.
– Education: development of knowledge, skills and/or awareness about producing, communicating, finding, understanding and/or using research evidence.
– Incentives/reinforcements: changing attitudes/behaviour by the control of external stimuli.

- Social influence/persuasion: changing attitudes/behaviour through the influence of others.
- Facilitation: provision of technical, financial, organisational and/or emotional support.
- Seek and/or interpret: seeking out and/or analysing/interpreting research evidence.
- Interaction/collaboration: enabling two–way flow/production of information and knowledge.
- System focus: focusing on the interactions and relationships between different actors and institutions involved within evidence–to–policy system as a whole.

These mechanisms are focused upon different aspects of the evidence–to–use system and as such, are concerned to different extents with 'pushing', 'pulling' or 'mediating' research evidence into the decision–making process.

SECTION TWO: A NOTE ON METHOD

This paper presents a selection of findings from the survey conducted as part of the European Commission funded 'Evidence Informed Policy in Education in Europe' (EIPEE) project. This survey identified 269 activities linking research evidence with policymaking in education in Europe.

Although offering an important contribution to knowledge and understanding about the range of activities and mechanisms being undertaken to increase the use of research evidence within policy–making, the survey was not exhaustive. Consequently, the frequencies of different activities reported are only indicative. Moreover, limitations in the data collection methods employed by the survey mean that it is unlikely that all qualifying activities were identified (see Gough et al 2011: 7, 29). Therefore, the data presented in section three should not be used as an exact measure of activity within individual countries.

SECTION THREE: APPROACHES TO ASSIST POLICY–MAKERS' USE OF RESEARCH EVIDENCE IN EDUCATION IN EUROPE

The survey undertaken by Gough et al (2011) identified 52 activities predominantly concerned with the use of evidence in policy–making. This represents one fifth (or 19%) of the total (269) activities identified that linked research evidence with policy. This contrasts with 67% (181) activities predominantly concerned with the production and/or communication of research evidence (Gough et al 2011: 44). Within this, 11 different types of activity were found. These are presented in Figure 2 below in terms of the (five) overarching categories to which they pertain.

Most activities targeted towards addressing the needs of decision–makers in education in Europe focused on building or developing capacity. These types of activity constituted nearly a third of all activities in this area. This was followed by activities focused towards the staffing arrangements of users (such as those
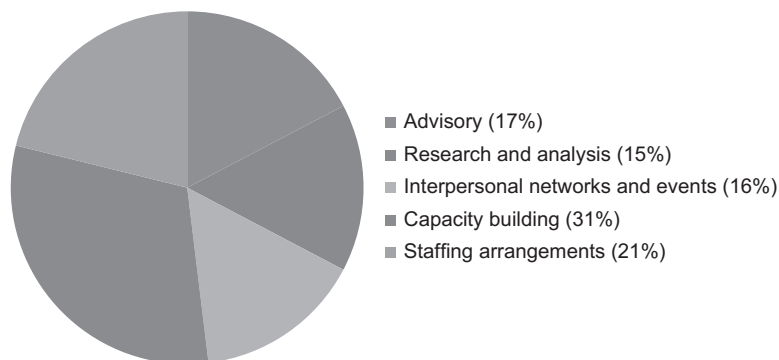
Figure 2. Activity types (by overarching group) predominantly concerned with research use (by percentage).

concerned with job roles) at 21%. Further information about the types of activities that were found within each of these categories within the context of evidence use is provided below.

–Advisory: Within the overarching category of 'Advisory', the survey identified activities including ministries' use of experts (particularly those from academic backgrounds). The use of experts was identified both at an individual level (where individual 'experts' were brought in by ministries to advise them on research) and at a more collective level where panels of experts and other advisory type bodies were created in response to requests from policymakers. Such activities incorporate the use of official bodies such as Commissions of Inquiry or Select Committees that use research to investigate and scrutinise specific issues.

– Research and analysis: The types of 'research and analysis' activities that were found within the context of research use included research centres offering capacity building training for decision–makers; and ministries with internal analytical departments that actively sought and/or analysed/interpreted research evidence in order to inform decision–making. Also identified were think tanks that typically focused on the development of practical policy–making solutions based on sound evidence, thus blurring the boundaries with policy–making.

– Interpersonal networks and events: Within the category of 'interpersonal networks and events', the survey found the following examples. First, networks that organised workshops and other training events (including bespoke training). Second, breakfast meetings held by a group within a national parliament to bring together politicians and experts from academia and elsewhere to discuss particular issues. Third, informal relationships between decision–makers and academics; and fourth, meetings organised by ministries to which key academics were invited.

– Capacity building: Activities under this category comprised workshops, courses and other training events including professional development activities. The latter emphasised the importance of 'learning' in enabling evidence informed decision–making. Identified activities also comprised a ministry that set up a specific competency framework (and accompanying training module in evidence informed policy–making) which all staff was required to complete to build internal capacity and ensure that all staff had the necessary skills to find, use and interpret relevant research evidence.

– Staffing arrangements: Within this category, examples of secondments were found in which researchers and/or policymakers were transferred from their regular organisation for temporary assignment elsewhere (for example researchers working within government organisations and decision–makers working within academic units). These were used principally to facilitate the development of skills and knowledge exchange. Also identified here were the recruitment of staff with experience (past or present) of academia and/or research into ministries; and the active support of ministry staff in acquiring research skills.

Mechanisms Enabling Activities to Address the Needs and Context of Policy–Making

In terms of the particular means that these activities sought to achieve evidence informed policy, the survey identified five mechanisms operating within the context of evidence use. These are the mechanisms of education, facilitation, interaction/ collaboration, seek and /or interpret and social influence (see Figure 3). Education is the most common mechanism, followed by the mechanism of seek and/or interpret. In contrast, the mechanisms of interaction/collaboration[5] and social influence are the least common mechanism employed, constituting only 12% of all user–focussed activities. Facilitation is the second least mechanism with 17% use however; this is nearly half the amount of the next most common mechanism: seek and/or interpret.
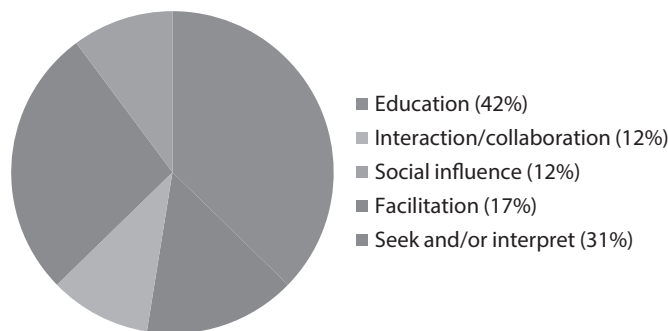

- Education (42%)
- Interaction/collaboration (12%)
- Social influence (12%)
- Facilitation (17%)
- Seek and/or interpret (31%)

Figure 3. Mechanisms used to enable evidence informed policy and practice that were predominantly concerned with evidence use (by percentage).

*Actors Responsible for Setting Up and Managing on a Day–To–Day Basis
Activities Addressing the Needs and Context of Policy–Making*

Five different types of actors were responsible for setting up and ultimately
controlling the continuance of these activities (see Figure 4). This included:

– academic organisations/universities;
– national governments or government–related organisations;
– international government/government–related organisations;
– research organisations that were neither university– or government–based; and
– non–research organisations that were neither university– or government–based.

The type of actor responsible for setting up and ultimately controlling the majority
of activities assisting policy–makers' use of evidence were national governments,
which comprised nearly 70% of the total. International governments or government–
related organisations were responsible for setting up 12% of activities, while
academic organisations or universities set up 10%. A further 10% were set up by
a combination of actors while research organisations that were neither university–
or government–based set up 6%. In contrast, non–research organisations that were
neither university– or government–based set up 2% and it was unclear which type of
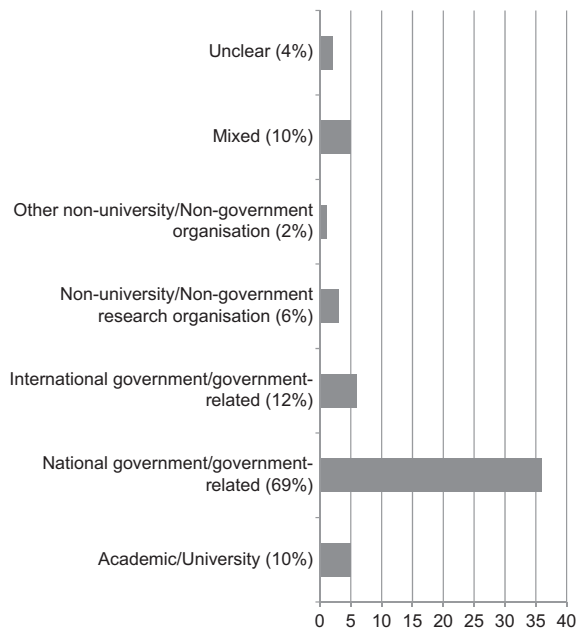organisation had set up 4% of the activities.

*Figure 4. Type of organisation responsible for setting up and ultimately controlling the
continuance of the activity (in percentages).*

This picture changes slightly when we look at the type of organisation running/ managing the activities on a day–to–day basis (see Figure 5). Although national governments or government–related organisation still occupies the majority (50%), academic/university organisations comprise 29%. Research organisations that were neither university– or government–based were responsible for managing 8% of activities while international governments or government–related organisations managed 6%. Again, 10% of activities were managed by a range of organisations and it was unclear who managed 8% of activities. These findings suggest that after setting up activities (perhaps through funding or other means); national and international governments devolve responsibility for the day–to–day running or management of some of these activities to other types of organisations. They also suggest that although non university– or government–based research organisations set up activities linking research evidence with policy, they do not engage in the day–to–day running of these activities.
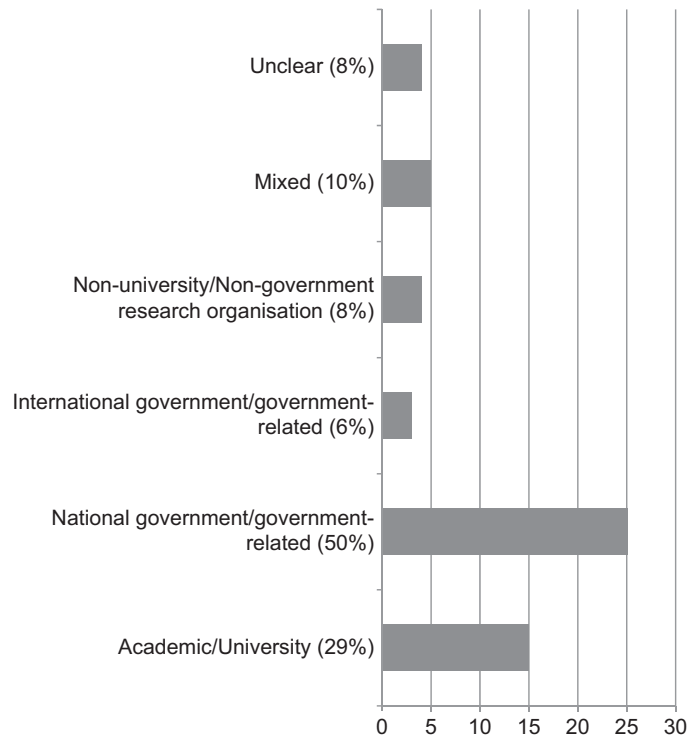

Figure 5. Type of organisation responsible for setting up or managing the activity on a day–to–day basis (in percentages).

SECTION FOUR: POSSIBILITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL CO–OPERATION IN
ASSISTING POLICY–MAKERS' USE OF RESEARCH EVIDENCE

In order for us to see where existing efforts are being focused more clearly and to reveal
any areas of overlap or gaps across the efforts of different agencies within Europe, it
is necessary to examine which types of activities are being set up and run on a day–
to–day basis by the different agencies involved. Figure 6 shows that the majority of
user–focussed activities are not only set up, but also managed on a day–to–day basis,
by national government/government–related organizations. No other actor does this.
Academic/university and international government/government–related organizations
are only responsible for setting up two types of activities: capacity building and
interpersonal networks and events. Research organisations that are not based in either
universities or governments are only responsible for setting up capacity building
and advisory types of activities, while other non–research organisations not based in
universities or government are only responsible for setting up capacity building type
of activities. A mixture of actors set up three types of activities: staffing arrangements,
interpersonal networks/events and research and analysis; and it was unclear which
type of actor/s set up some capacity building and advisory activities. Capacity building
activities are the most common type of activities set up by all of the different actors
with only the mixed group not responsible for setting or ultimately controlling this
type of activities. In contrast, staffing arrangements and research and analysis types of
activities are the most uncommon types of linking activities set up.
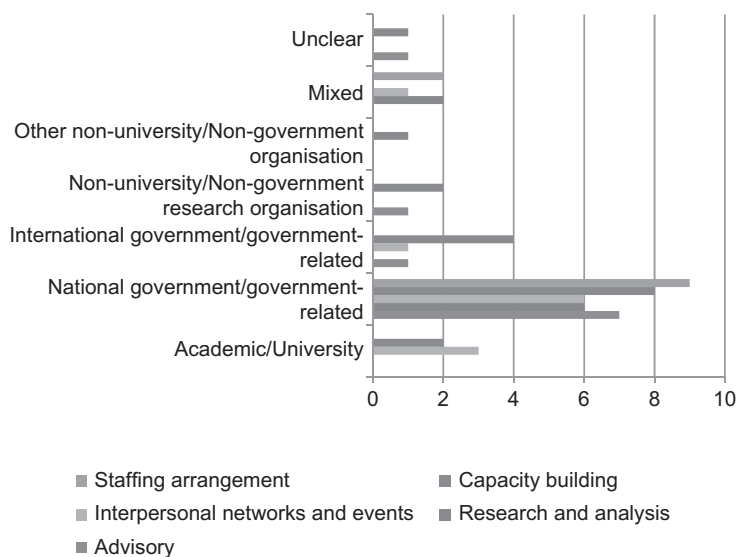

*Figure 6. Type of activities (by overarching group) set up and existence ultimately
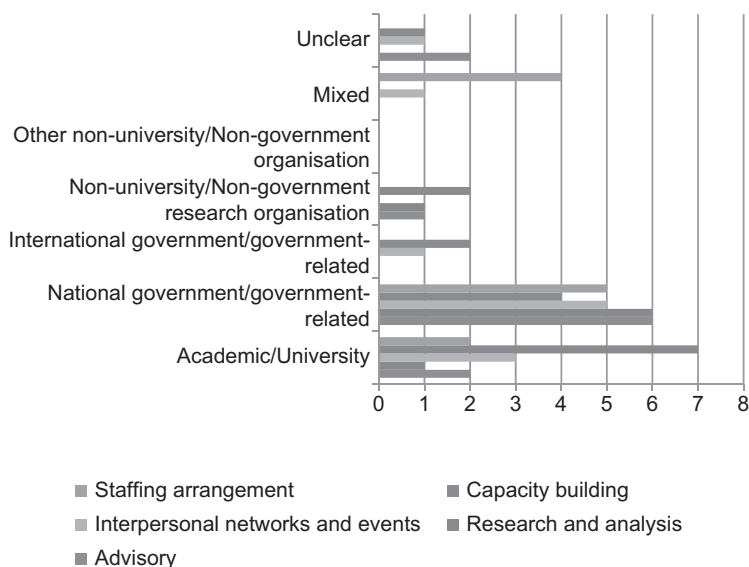controlled by actor.*

Figure 7. Type of activities (by overarching group) run and managed on day–to–day basis by actor.

This changes slightly when analysing the actors responsible for the day–to–day management/running of activities (Figure 7). First, both national governments/ government–related organisations and academic/universities are the two actors responsible for managing all five overarching types of user–focussed activities identified in the survey. This contrasts to Figure 6 in two ways: (1) only national governments/government–related organisations were responsible for the setting up and ultimate control of all overarching types of activity and, (2), academic/universities were responsible for setting up/ultimately controlling only two overarching types of activities (capacity building and interpersonal networks and events).

Second, as Figure 7 shows, academic/universities run/manage the most capacity building activities even though the majority of these activities were set up and are ultimately controlled by national government/government–related organisations.

Third, although responsible for setting up and ultimately controlling capacity building activities, non–research organisations not based in universities or governments do not have responsibility for the daily management of these types of activities (or any other type of activity).

Fourth, research organisations not based in universities or government set up and ultimately controlled capacity building and advisory activities. Yet, as Figure 7 shows, they also assume responsibility for managing some research and analysis type of activities. Two types of actors have responsibility for setting up and ultimately controlling more overarching types of activities than they do for running

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or managing on a day–to–day basis. For example, a combination of actors set up and ultimately controlled staffing arrangement, interpersonal networks and events and research and analysis activities, yet they do not have responsibility to run or manage the research and analysis activities. Similarly, in addition to being unclear on who set up some capacity building and advisory activities, it is also unclear which actor runs or manages some examples of interpersonal networks and events activities. International governments/government–related organisations set up and manage the same types of activities as shown in both Figure 6 and 7.

What does this imply for how these actors are seeking to assist policy–makers to use evidence? In other words, what mechanisms do these activities draw on to achieve their objectives and how is this distributed by actor (in terms of both those activities they set up and ultimately control and those types of activities that they run or manage on a day–to–day basis)? As Figure 8 shows, mechanisms are employed by actors to different extents. For example, as the biggest provider of user–focussed activities
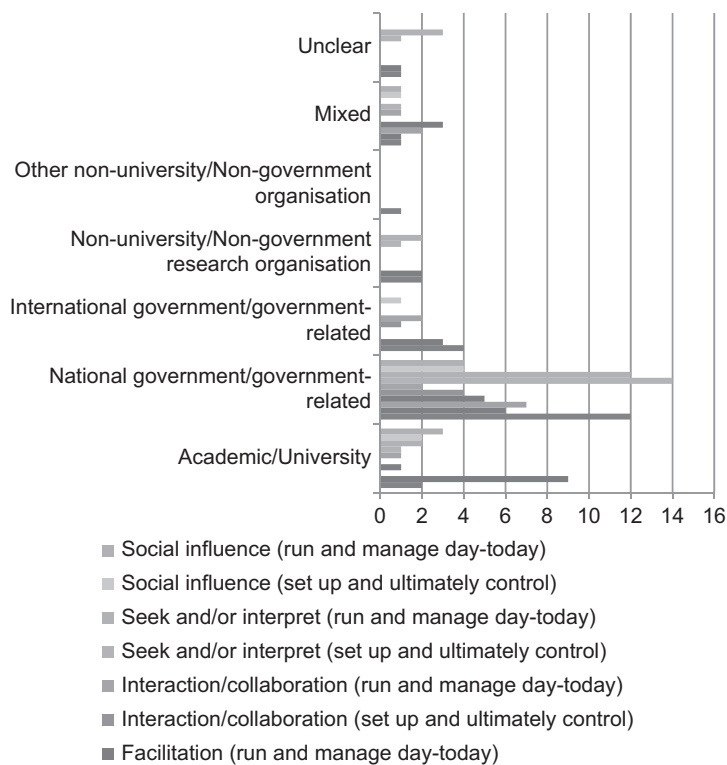

Figure 8. Mechanisms used to assist policy–makers' use of evidence (by actor).

with the biggest responsibility for day–to–day management, national government/ government–related organisations employ the most amount of mechanisms overall. However, the most commonly used mechanism by this actor is seek and/or interpret. This contrasts to the other types of actors who concentrate on mechanisms of education to assist policy–makers (including international government/government– related organisations). Both national governments and academic/universities make use of all five mechanisms identified in the policy–making context. International government/government–related organisations make use of only three mechanisms (education, interaction/collaboration and social influence), research organisations not based in universities or government make use of only two (education and seek and/or interpret) and other non–research organisations based outside of universities and government only draw upon the mechanism of education.

CONCLUSION

There are many implications arising from the analysis presented above. These are organised into four categories: country, actor, activity and mechanism.

Implications for European Countries

The EIPEE survey did not identify linking activities specifically focused on the needs and contexts of users in eight eligible European countries. Furthermore, only 14% of activities had ongoing active work with international partners or were formally focused internationally and only 6% of activities had partners or were formally focused exclusively within Europe. While we need to be careful in interpreting these results due to limitations of data collection methods (see section two), these findings suggest that more effort could be made to raise awareness of the importance of user–focussed interventions as a means to achieving evidence informed policy. In addition, the results suggest that more attention could be given to building capacity to enable actors to implement and manage such interventions in the eight countries where no such activities were identified. Furthermore, more attention could be given to cross–country collaboration and learning in the establishment and operation of such activities, particularly within Europe where there is little active collaborative work.

Implications for Types of Actors Involved In Setting Up or Managing Activities to Assist Policy–Makers' Use of Research Evidence

EIPEE findings on the types of actors that were responsible for setting up and managing these activities on a day–to–day basis reveal the dominance of national government/government–related organisations. This is a positive sign that suggests that European governments are taking calls for evidence informed policy and practice seriously. However, it may also put such efforts at risk given the uncertainty

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and instability of many national economies and the retraction of many national governments from the provision of much of public policy and civil society. This may lead to a reduction in the number of linking activities national governments/ government–related organisations are able to set up and/or manage on a day–to–day basis. It may also affect upon the abilities of other types of organisations (including academic/universities and those based outside of the university and government sectors), that are recipients of national government funding. This suggests that other types of actors such as international governments/government–related organisations, commercial organisations and those funded by other sources (such as not–for–profits, other non–governmental organisations and charities funded outside of the state sector could assume more of a role. Equally, there is much scope for collaboration across these different types of actors in the provision of user–focused activities. The input of these actors need not necessitate both the setting up and management of these activities because this can vary between different actors as the findings show (see Figures 6 and 7). Thus, while one actor may take responsibility for setting up an activity, responsibility can be devolved to another actor for its running and management.

There may also be a role for actors to become more involved in different types of activities. While the survey indicates that national governments/government–related organisations and academic/universities are involved in the running or management of all five overarching types of user–focussed activities (even when not necessarily responsible for setting them up), some actors focus on specific types of activities and do not employ a diverse portfolio of activities for this purpose. It is unclear whether this is because of resource limitations, weaknesses in capacity or unwillingness and thus action could be taken in all of these areas.

Implications for the Type of Activities Implemented to Assist Policy–Makers' Use of Research Evidence

The EIPEE survey found five of a possible eight overarching types of activity. Some of this is to be expected as certain overarching categories of activity pertain specifically to particular areas of the evidence–to–use process. For example, we would not expect much representation of research outputs category to be found in those activities focussed on assisting policy–makers as these are addressed more to the production, presentation and dissemination of research evidence. Equally, the activities within the overarching category of strategy, investment and development pertain more to the evidence production and systems level then they do to the context of evidence use. Nevertheless, we may have expected some activities to feature here. For example, the survey did not find any examples of external consultancy (overarching category: advisory), government–related public bodies or professional organisations (overarching category: research and analysis) that assisted policy–makers in using evidence. This combined with the finding that nearly a third of user–focussed approaches comprised capacity–building activities, suggests a lack of

awareness about the range of activities that can be used to assist policy–makers in using evidence or, a lack of knowledge and/or skills in how to set up and run such activities. If this is the case then there is clearly a role for the greater dissemination of the knowledge provided through the EIPEE project and the funding of further activities (both research and capacity building) in this area[6]. However, it may also be a consequence of a lack of participation from certain types of actors in undertaking such activities. In which case, more effort could be targeted to raising levels of interest, willingness and capability of these actors in engaging in such activities.

Implications for the Particular Mechanisms Used to Assist Policy–Makers' Use of Research Evidence

Five mechanisms to achieve evidence informed policy and practice were identified within the context of evidence use. These are the mechanisms of education, facilitation, interaction/collaboration, seek and /or interpret and social influence. Notable by its absence is the mechanism of incentives/reinforcement. The use of this mechanism evidence to assist practitioners in using evidence has been widely documented within the health care field (Grimshaw et al., 2001; Hanney, Gonzalez–Block, Buxton, & Kogan, 2002; Oxman et al., 1995; Thomson O'Brien et al., 2000). The EIPEE findings show a reliance of the mechanism of education in achieving more evidence use within policy–making. Given the widely documented need for capacity development within policy–making this is both unsurprising and welcome (Green & Bennett, 2007; Nuyens, 2007). Although caution should be given to application of the results from other sectors to education, we should also consider the evidence available from both education and other sectors that shows that increasing the interaction and collaboration between researchers and users is extremely effective in increasing the likelihood that evidence is used (Cordingley, Baumfield, Butterworth, McNamara, & Elkins, 2002; Cousins & Simon, 1996; Huberman, 1990, 1993; Lavis et al., 2005; Nutley et al., 2009; Walter et al., 2003b; Walter, Nutley, & Davies, 2005). Moreover, it may be also worth considering evidence that shows the effectiveness of employing more than one mechanism to increase the use policy–makers use of evidence, what is referred to in the literature as multi–faceted (or multi–component) interventions (Bero et al., 1998b; Boaz, Baeza, & Fraser, 2011; Grimshaw et al., 2001; Nutley, Percy–Smith, & Solesbury, 2003; Nutley et al., 2009; Walter et al., 2003b, 2005).

NOTES

[1]   For a definition of non–departmental public bodies see (Cabinet Office, 2009): 5.

[2]   The Evidence Informed Policy in Education in Europe (EIPEE) project operated from March 2010 until April 2011. EIPEE was a collaborative project involving 18 partners from across Europe. As part of the project, an email and telephone survey was conducted with 104 country and regional Ministries of Education and a further 14 individuals and 14 organisations working in this area across Europe. This survey aimed to identify the range of approaches that were used to link research with policy–

making in education across Europe. Although not exhaustive, this survey provides a valuable resource for anyone wishing to know more information about the types of activities taking place across Europe.

[3] Taken from Gough et al 2011: 27.

[4] It is worth noting that the conceptualisation put forward by Gough et al draws upon the work of (Nutley, Walter, & Davies, 2009; Walter et al., 2003a; Walter, Nutley, & Davies, 2003b; Walter, Nutley, Percy–Smith, McNeish, & Frost, 2004). See Gough et al 2011: 84–86 for more information about the relationship between these conceptualisations.

[5] The identification of linking activities using the mechanism of interaction/collaboration may be somewhat surprising given that this mechanism focuses on achieving a two–way flow of information between researchers and users and may therefore be expected within the context of mediation. It features here because although activities were identified that focused on bringing decision–makers into contact with researchers, these activities did not have the explicit purpose mediation or brokerage.

[6] For example, the subsequent European Commission funded Evidence Informed Policy and Practice in Education in Europe (EIPPEE) project (see www.eippee.eu).

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REDESIGNING CURRICULA ACROSS EUROPE

Implications for Learners' Assessment in Vocational Education and Training

Over the last decade in Europe, national policies on skills development to improve competitiveness, along with European policies and tools for transparency, recognition and mobility, have intensified curricular reform in initial vocational education and training (IVET). The ultimate goal of these reforms has been to focus more explicitly on the outcomes of education and training in order to accomplish a better fit between the knowledge, skills and competences obtained by graduates and the needs of the labour market. Notions of what the curriculum is and the purposes it serves are changing. Increasingly, the curriculum is changing from a static document or set of documents indicating the subject knowledge to be acquired at the completion of an academic year, towards a dynamic framework which guides teaching and learning activities and steers quality (Psifidou, 2010a; CEDEFOP, 2010, CEDEFOP 2011). The curriculum is the backbone of the entire educational process; it is a means to achieving the aims of education and training which are dynamic and evolve according to changing social and economic requirements. Orientating the curriculum towards learning outcomes is, in many ways, inherent to this new notion of curriculum. In IVET, outcome orientation has the potential to significantly improve the way in which education and training systems and the labour market interact with each other. A focus on outcomes directs attention to the interface at which these two systems meet: outcome–orientated curricula provide a means by which the competences acquired in learning processes can more effectively 'communicate' with the competences required in occupations. Assessment plays a crucial role in this communication process between VET and the labour market.

In many European countries, outcome–orientated approaches to curricular development and the need to adjust assessment methods and tools have been boosted by European policy. Among other strategic documents, the recommendations of the European Parliament and of the Council on *Key competences for lifelong learning* (2006) and the *European qualifications framework* (2008) have been particularly influential at national level. In 2009, the *Education and Training 2020 strategic framework* established the objective 'to take greater account of transversal key competences in curricula, assessment and qualifications. Curriculum design, teaching, assessment, and learning environments should be consistently based on learning outcomes and particular emphasis should be placed on those transversal

competences that require cross–curricular and innovative methods. Member states were called by the Council conclusions of 26 November 2009 to develop the role of education in a fully–functioning knowledge triangle (education, research, innovation) to foster pedagogical reforms ensuring that curricula, teaching and examination methods will incorporate transversal key competences at all levels of education. The Commission communication *Europe 2020* on the European strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth put forward two flagship initiatives the 'Innovation union' and an 'Agenda for new skills and jobs' both of which call for curricula to focus more on creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship, and ensure the acquisition and recognition of job–specific skills through lifelong education and training. These European initiatives have supported and inspired countries, which through the method of open co–ordination design national policies that seek to assimilate the recommendations to their own situation and national context.

Despite this growing emphasis on the importance of outcome–oriented approaches in curriculum design in European policy discourse, there is as yet no such European debate on assessment policies. As we shall see, it is infrequent for an assessment policy to exist independently from overarching political objectives in the educational arena. Changes in the assessment of learners must often be seen as contributions to wider reforms where other elements of the educational chain (e.g. curricula) play a more prominent role and are being reformed first. Nevertheless, it can also be observed that "individualised" assessment reforms have taken place. As the new communication from the Commission on *Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio–economic outcomes* points out: "While many Member States have reformed curricula, it remains a challenge to modernise assessment to support learning (…). The power of assessment has to be harnessed by defining competences in terms of learning outcomes and broadening the scope of tests and exams to cover these. Assessment for formative purposes to support the day–to–day skills learning of pupils also needs to be more widely used. In this context, the potential of new technologies to help find ways of assessing key competences needs to be fully explored."(European Commission 2012a, p.7).

METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The present chapter addresses the following research questions:

- To what extent are curricular policies in IVET geared towards outcome–oriented approaches?
- What are the reasons for these reforms?
- What are the implications of recent curricular reforms for learners' assessment?
- To what extent have European countries revised their assessment strategies, methods and approaches in light of outcome–oriented curricular reforms?

To prepare an overview of curricular developments in Europe and answer the first two questions, the chapter draws on a CEDEFOF 2012 study where the research

team conducted a selective review of the literature in the 32 countries under investigation[1]. A wide range of documents were consulted, including EU policy documents, countries' strategic plans and curricular documents (including standards, assessment guidelines, qualification profiles, etc.).

To complement this review of the literature, the research team conducted semi–structured interviews with policy makers, including ministry officials and official VET agencies, academics, and curriculum and assessment specialists (e.g. curriculum and assessment experts, social partners, sector representatives, teachers, professional bodies and researchers). In total, 19 informants were contacted during the first half of 2011 through semi–structured interviews over the telephone or in person and by answering questions in writing (see figure 1).
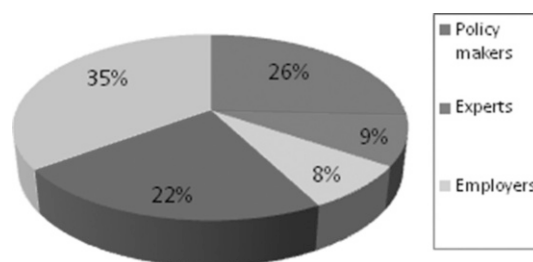

Figure 1. Distribution and profile of informants.
Source: own description using data from CEDEFOP 2012

In order to handle and analyse the data set, two analytical frameworks were developed. The first framework analysed the data in relation to national characteristics, for example, the maturity of policy, the extent of centralisation, the structure of the VET system. The second framework analysed the data in relation to the characteristics of curricula and assessment approaches of the participating countries. These theoretical frameworks helped to prepare country records and compare developments against different European countries. Two international workshops were organised to discuss and enrich the interpretation of the findings[2], the second one focusing specifically on the alignment of curriculum and assessment policies to improve learning outcomes.

To answer the third and fourth research questions and to examine the implications of curricular reforms for assessment policies and practice, the analysis is based on a review of the literature and national information collected from the countries examined.

SHAPING VET CURRICULA AROUND LEARNING OUTCOMES

The distinctive feature of learning outcome approaches is that the curriculum is described in terms of what learners will be able to do at the end of their course of study rather than in terms of objectives, processes, knowledge or other traditional curricular

language (Psifidou, 2010b;Werquin, 2012). This emphasis on performance implies a distinctive standard by which training and education should be judged and, usually, a particular emphasis on the manner in which learning outcomes can be assessed.

An emphasis on the consequences of learning reflects a behavioural understanding of learning outcomes, namely that learning outcomes are always based on observable performances. According to Winterton (2009), a behavioural approach was favoured by managerial writers who developed learning outcome approaches in the 60s. This approach was influential in the design of the English National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) – which describes the outcomes of learning in terms of a list of testable performances in particular situations (Hyland, 1994). However, the authentic NVQ approach (now much criticised) is something of an exception in practice. Even in England, NVQs only form part of the apprenticeship framework where they are combined with other qualifications which are more popular than NVQs. Contemporary accounts of learning outcomes emphasise their diversity and suggest that where learning outcomes are tacit, context–bound or applied in combination with one another, then inferential rather than behaviouristic approaches will be more appropriate (CEDEFOP, 2010).

Today, judgements about the extent to which outcome–oriented curricula for IVET have been developed in different countries are complex. A number of issues that need to be taken into account are presented below as discussed in Cedefop's recent study (2012):

First, VET curricula have always been outcome–focused to some degree, otherwise they would not have been fit for the purposes of the labour market. However, the pace of labour market change means that curricula are likely to need updating far more frequently than in the past as occupations and skill needs change rapidly. Historically, notions of competence have developed to understand and adjust curricula[3].

This historical context means that tracing the origins of outcome–oriented curricula to a particular point can be problematic. Further, whilst competence concepts are comparatively long–standing, in contrast concepts of learning outcomes are comparatively recent (Burke, 1995). They have a particular meaning in a particular place (Europe) at a particular time. As mentioned above, in most countries of Europe learning outcomes are associated with EU initiatives and tools. What is interesting is the interaction between notions of competence and learning outcomes between countries and even within the same country between different types of education and training and economic sectors. Some countries have adopted and used the EU concept of learning outcomes[4] *verbatim*; some have sought to accommodate it within or alongside already developed concepts of competence. In France, for example, during the 1990s conceptual work underpinned developments within its education and training systems, contributing recently to bridging the concepts of competence and learning outcomes. Further, Germany has long–standing and well–developed concepts of competence which underpin its unique emphasis on occupational identity (*Beruf*), although arguably this unique conception has had comparatively little influence outside of German–speaking nations.

Second, there are several countries which have had competence–based approaches for a number of years but have not introduced them into IVET; instead they were applied in adult and continuing training (e.g. Spain, Portugal). These have helped to develop considerations concerning outcomes orientation which have been geared towards IVET curricula in more recent years.

Third, in countries with strong regional government (e.g. Italy) there can be significant differences between regions in the extent of development of outcome–oriented approaches to curricular reforms.

Fourth, it is very difficult to assess whether and to what extent national level reforms have been introduced into curricula in a meaningful way rather than constituting a paper exercise to date (e.g. mapping existing curricula against a new framework rather than adjusting the curriculum). As curriculum responsibility is being delegated to local levels, the impact assessment of curricular reforms becomes even more difficult.

Finally, as outcome–oriented approaches vary considerably across Europe and so do national interpretations of learning outcomes and competences (CEDEFOP, 2010), there is not yet any common benchmark or reference point against which to judge the progress made. Countries have different starting points in terms of their cultures, institutions and practices.

These factors make it difficult to talk of one country or group of countries as being more or less 'advanced' in relation to the development and use of outcome–oriented curricula in IVET. In an attempt to measure progress made in Europe, CEDEFOP (2012) divides countries into two categories: "early developers" who date the introduction of learning outcomes into IVET curricula since the 1990s or earlier; and "recent developers", having introduced new outcome–oriented curricula since 2005[5].

The first group of countries – "early developers" – includes Sweden, Norway, Finland, and the Netherlands, along with some Central and Eastern European countries (Lithuania, Poland and Hungary) which began reform programmes in education and training at quite an early stage as compared with their neighbours. In Sweden, the advent of learning outcomes can be attributed to the introduction of a credit–based system in 1999. In Finland, national core curricula in vocational education and training and national requirements in the competence–based qualification system at upper secondary level have been based on an outcome–based approach from 1993–1994. These countries, however, have not remained static in relation to the development of an outcomes orientation. In Finland for example, although learning outcomes had been introduced during a national curriculum reform process implemented in the mid–1990s, they had comparatively little effect or leverage on curricula themselves, in a context where education providers are responsible for the written and taught curriculum. 'Outcomes' at that point were more like objectives than learning outcomes. Between 2008 and 2010, Finland saw a major reform of all its upper secondary VET qualifications. New national qualifications requirements have now been put in place, giving nationally defined learning outcomes greater influence over local curricula through reformed assessment processes.

The Netherlands provides another example, where the basis for the current competence–based approach in VET was laid down in discussions starting at national level in 1999, following the passing into law of the Adult Education and VET Act (WEB) in 1996. Current qualifications were criticised for not paying enough attention to key skills. National actors started a review process that led to a new quality framework in 2006. The first experiments with the current competence–based qualification structures took place in 2005–09. They were supposed to be implemented by law in 2009 but this was postponed to 2012. In late 2011, it was announced that the competence–based qualification structure was to be renamed the vocational qualification structure, reflecting a shift in emphasis towards vocation–specific knowledge and skills.

Another example of such gradual development is provided by Belgium (Flanders). The learning outcomes approach is not new to Flemish education and training; there is broad political support for the approach. In some sectors, updated and detailed competence profiles exist for each vocational cluster, while in other sectors competence profiles are missing or are outdated. This means that progress in practical implementation varies, in particular when looking at the translation of competence profiles into competence–developing education (teaching methodologies and assessment practices).

The second group – "recent developers" – includes countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. These countries have been those in need of more wholesale reform, modernisation and updating of their IVET curricula. Outcome–based approaches have been key to this process, and therefore seem especially prominent.

In this categorisation, we can distinguish a third group, the "competence–conceptualisers", referring to those countries who have been pioneers in conceptualising the term of competence. However, these countries, which one might have regarded as being more advanced, have not necessarily kept pace with other countries in terms of the development of outcome–oriented curricula in IVET. Indeed, Germany, Austria and to some degree Denmark, which have a very distinctive, long–standing, and well–developed notion of competence, have required long processes to interpret the current notion of learning outcomes as promulgated in EU policy into their own. CEDEFOP (2012) explains that countries that have found in the EU tools a ready–made set of concepts and measures for bringing about major reforms in their IVET systems might well overtake other countries in terms of outcome orientation in IVET curricula. Germany for example has faced great challenges given that its IVET system is so heavily bound into a structure focused on occupations and any changes also have consequences for the relationships between different levels of government. Learning outcomes have been accommodated within prevocational modularised training. Austria is in the process of developing occupational standards, which follows the development of educational standards in previous years. Denmark introduced competence–based curricula into commercial training programs in 1996, and has since then taken a number of steps to introduce learning outcomes into IVET.

In Spain, since the middle of 1990s unitisation and modularisation have been two of the principles applied in structuring qualification programmes in certain initial vocational training programmes (initial education, secondary+2 and higher, Bac+2 grades, amounting to diplomas) as well as in continuing training (occupational training leading to certificates for both the unemployed and employed). These two principles informed later the elaboration of the National Catalogue of Vocational Qualifications. In Portugal, in 2007 thinking about outcome orientation that began earlier in training for adults was the basis for introducing a national qualifications system on the basis of learning outcomes.

Table 1. The extend of learning outcomes in IVET curriculum reform across Europe

Competence–conceptualisers	Early developers	Recent developers
Austria, Germany, Denmark, Portugal, Spain	Belgium–Flanders, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovenia, Sweden and United Kingdom	Belgium–Wallonia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Iceland, Latvia, Malta, Slovakia

Source: own description elaborated based on data found in CEDEFOP2012

To conclude, CEDEFOP's research (2012) found that outcome–orientated curricula across Europe vary in the extent of approaches and development; overall though, over the last 10 years there has been a clear and pronounced trend in this direction. Mainly economic factors have boosted these reforms, accompanied by considerations of social equity. At a more operational level, outcome orientation in curricular design at national level has often been driven by the advent of National Qualification Frameworks and credit transfer systems, underpinned by the learning outcome based–European Qualifications Framework.

ALIGNING CURRICULUM AND ASSESSMENT POLICIES AND PRACTICES

It is widely acknowledged that curricular reform demands the alignment of learner' assessment systems and mechanisms. Assessment practices can exert a powerful influence on teaching, on the curriculum taught and on education and training institution ethos and organisation. There is an inevitable tendency to devalue any learning objectives (or learning outcomes) that are difficult to assess by means currently available. Given that the way curriculum is being taught interacts with assessment practices, at policy level, curricular reforms should not be seen in isolation from assessment policies.

In most European countries, on one hand assessment has traditionally been an integral element of training and education, thus making it dependent on each country's institutional structure. On the other hand, the learning–outcome–based European qualifications framework (EQF) and national qualifications frameworks

(NQFs) that are related to it create basic conditions for carrying out assessment independently of the manner in which learning takes place, including the assessment of non–formal and informal learning. It is no longer self–evident that learners' assessment is based on predefined ways of learning within an institutional context. Nevertheless, this does not make it necessary to consider outcome–oriented curricula (totally) independently from outcome–oriented assessment. In contrast, it is not only the traditional link between curricula and assessment that makes this sensible, but changes in the function of assessment: the shifting focus from summative to formative assessment, although not yet observable as a general trend creates a new link between curricula and assessment (Psifidou, 2011a)[6]. Furthermore, as CEDEFOP's research shows learning–outcomes–based standards are increasingly the basis for curricular development and assessment (Cedefop, 2009a). In standard–based vocational education and training systems the alignment of standards, curricula and assessment is thus key to achieving better learning results in different learning environments (see figure 2).
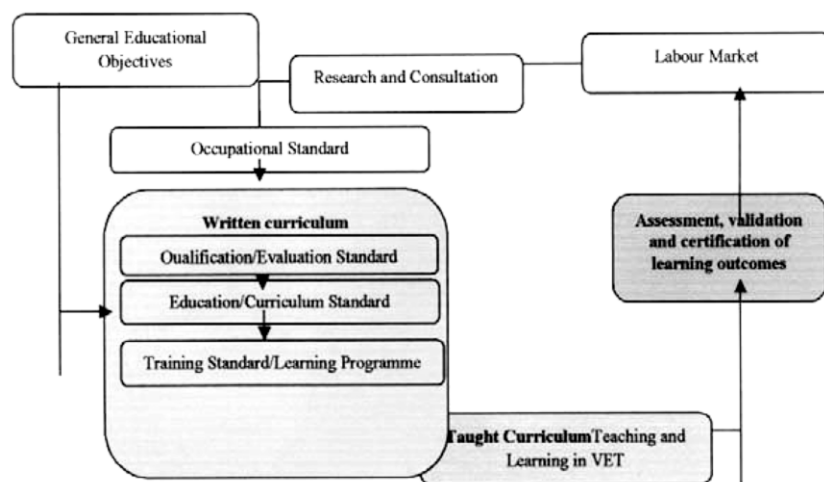

Figure 2. The place of assessment in the relationship between the VET system and the labour market.

Source: adapted from CEDEFOP, 2012 and CEDEFOP, 2009b

In the late 80's and 90's, assessment in schools (National Assessment) and public examinations have undergone a series of crises in public confidence, as well as chronic corrosive discussion of validity and standards (Wolf, 1995; Jessup, 1991; Burke, 1990). Throughout the 1990–2010 period, few studies addressed the technical issues of reliability in vocational assessment (notable exceptions are the study on the reliability of assessment of NVQs in 1995[7], the Ofqual reliability study in 2009[8] and

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presentations by Tim Oates at Cambridge, on intrinsic and contingent problems of reliability in assessment in vocational qualifications[9]).

Validation of non–formal and informal learning has raised the question of the validity of assessment methods, which is also high on the agenda in formal education, given the new focus on integrating skills and knowledge and the transferability of competence from the educational to a professional context (Reetz & Hewlett, 2008). Research on assessment in vocational settings including the workplace has been taken forward in the work of Michael Eraut (2004) and Boreham (2004) which focused more on validity issues. Steedman and the Centre for Economic Performance examined the paucity of demand and validity of quasi–apprenticeship schemes[10], while Clarke & Winch et al. (2009) analysed differences in the conceptualisation and operationalisation of competence–based programmes, through transnational studies. Moreover, active learning methods and learner–centred approaches highlight the importance of formative assessment (Psifidou, 2012). These two aspects – validity and the formative character of assessment methods – were found to attract increasing attention in the wake of curriculum reforms in Europe (Cedefop, 2010).

The *validity, reliability* and *objectivity* of assessment methods have been of particular concern in some countries in direct relation to debates on competence–based and outcome–oriented curricula (e.g. in Germany, France and the UK–Scotland) (Psifidou, 2011b). There is a variety of assessment methods used worldwide in all educational arenas, and it can be claimed that they all appear in the field of IVET. This has to do with their specific position at the interface between education and professional practice: if the purpose of assessment is to identify the ability to work in life beyond training and education, it seems reasonable that assessment methods should exceed mere knowledge–oriented approaches as used for wide parts of education that do not have the same close relationship to *practice* as IVET.

Reference to practice is thus the main challenge of all assessments in IVET. In an ideal case it should be possible to test how far candidates are able to fulfil the requirements of work. Assessment should thus be as near as possible to the real work situation. This has been a challenge for IVET assessment long before learning outcome orientation has been discussed; at least in some countries, enterprises have often criticised that VET does not cover the needs of professional practice. This of course concerns the whole process of VET, also including curricular design and teaching. However, if assessment is considered separately, this issue is mainly related to the *content* of assessment (that is traditionally defined by curricula) and *methods* of assessment, which should as far as possible refer to the work situation: The ability to work professionally should be verified in a way that issues relevant for work really do appear and this ability is demonstrated properly.

There are manifold approaches to fulfil these criteria, and they all suffer from one deficiency: Assessment can never completely verify a candidate's ability to work as a professional. This would only be possible if assessment referred to a long–term work period carried out by the applicant under real work conditions, and this would imply an anticipation of professional life that, in practical terms, cannot be

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provided. Considered under this aspect, assessment is always imperfect. Orientation to learning outcomes cannot change this situation, and since IVET as such picks out professional work as its central theme (vocational = professional), it could even be argued that IVET is outcome–oriented *per se.* It is therefore understandable that to date several ways to optimise assessment have come under scrutiny, and that –to a certain degree– they are all devoted to the –never completely achievable – objective aimed at providing learning outcomes that are applicable as competences.

As well to these "classical" quality criteria for assessment methods, another criterion has recently been mentioned more frequently, although it has always played an important role in practice: namely, the *Economy (cost–effectiveness)* criteria. This means that inputs to be examined in terms of time, personnel, and infrastructure must be in an acceptable proportion to the outcome of the examination.

A general discussion about the best methods to carry out assessment according to the learning outcome approach does not yet exist, and if assessment is discussed, this happens mostly in the context of other VET debates. What is certainly felt in many countries is the need to design assessment compliant with learning outcome orientation, which is mirrored by some initiatives; these activities and trends discussed below could be used as starting points for the still missing debate specifically addressing assessment.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES TO ASSESSMENT POLICY AND PRACTICE

In an effort to understand the direction of assessment policies and practices in Europe, below five emerging trends that result from the present analysis are discussed in a rather simplified approach:

First, reforms aim to ensure the validity of assessment methods for judging the ability of learners to be competent in a given work situation. Germany and Romania have adopted the same distinction of three aspects (planning, performing, and checking/evaluating) to develop assessment tasks addressing all dimensions of vocational competence. In other countries, this trend is primarily expressed by an increasing use of practical tests (e.g. in France and Slovenia).

A second trend in recent reforms is the increasing attention paid to formative assessment in the context of learner–centred approaches and active learning, as in the Netherlands, Romania, Slovenia and the UK–Scotland. OECD examined the integration of formative classroom assessment with summative external assessment as a tool for better validation and monitoring of summative assessments and a way to improve teaching and learning in the classroom. The study concluded that on–going research and development aims at improving testing and measurement technologies, as well as strengthening classroom–based formative assessment practices. It also points to the fact that improved integration of formative and summative assessment will require investments in new testing technologies, teacher training, and professional development, together with further research and development (Looney, 2011).

A third trend is the tendency to organise assessment in a progressive and more flexible way rather than at once, as shown by the analysis of VET laws in a range of countries (e.g. in Germany in those cases where stretched–out examinations are implemented).

Moreover, new computer–based assessment (CBA) methods are increasingly gaining ground in VET assessment (for example e–portfolios and simulations of real work settings). Gekara et al. (2011) examined the growing adoption of CBA within the safety–critical field of maritime education and training, particularly in relation to the summative assessment of seafarers for licensing purposes, and discussed the implications for validity, reliability and security. Information technology has also enabled the development of innovative assessment strategies and ways of using computer–based assessment in higher–level learning (Purvis et al., 2011).International experts on computer–based assessment examining the extent to which ICT can contribute to support assessment activities and which policies can ensure effective implementation of assessment "of" and "for" learning concluded that electronic tests, especially adaptive ones, can be calibrated to the specific competence level of each student. They are more stimulating, going much further than can be achieved with linear tests made up of traditional multiple–choice questions. Simulations also provide better means of contextualizing skills to real life situations and provide a more complete picture of the actual competence to be assessed. However, a variety of challenges require more research into the barriers posed by the use of technologies, for instance, in terms of computer requirements, performance and security (Scheuermann & Bjornsson, 2008).

Finally, learners' assessment has become broader not only in terms of the purposes and methods used but also in terms of the learning outcomes measured. Increasingly, more holistic approaches to assessment are used to effectively measure the new higher–order skills that modern investment strategies demand, for example, key competences including 'skills for innovation', 'creative thinking', 'problem–solving', 'soft skills', etc. (European Commission 2012b).

To determine the impact of political actions on assessment, we must consider that this impact is not always immediately visible but can only be identified if we examine certain elements that do not always manifest themselves as relevant at first glance. We can distinguish between *direct impact of political actions on assessment*; and *indirect impact of political actions on assessment*.

On the one hand, the direct impact of learning outcome or competence–based political actions on the assessment occurs if the main focus of these actions is to introduce, change, replace or improve the current assessment approaches, practices or instruments proceeding rather independently from other processes of IVET (like curricular design or the provision of training). In this case, the change or improvement in the assessment is the main target of political action. On the other hand, the indirect impact of learning outcome or competence–based political actions on assessment occurs if these actions elicit wide systemic changes of the whole system IVET (or the system of qualifications), requiring corresponding reaction in

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the field of assessment; or when these actions change the other processes of the IVET that –functionally– are closely related to assessment (for example, curricular design, organisation and the provision of training, etc.).

This leads to the following distinction, used for the grouping of the European countries examined:

a. direct impact on assessment policy, leading to change in assessment practices, procedures and instruments;
b. indirect impact evoked by the wider reforms in the system of qualifications and leading to systemic shifts in the field of assessment;
c. indirect impact on assessment policy targeted to adjusting the existing system of VET to a learning outcome approach and related policy instruments.

In the first category, reforms address the issue of IVET assessment explicitly (e.g. in England, France, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland and Wales). In the second, the learning outcomes–based initial VET reform influences assessment policy mainly through the changes in educational standards, in particular through curriculum design (e.g. modularisation) and the provision of education and training. This type of impact can be detected in the largest groups of countries that face important socio–economic challenges, transitions and transformations, creating the need for deep reforms and changes in their VET systems or the whole systems of education (e.g. in Balkan, Baltic and Mediterranean countries). The third group of countries encompasses those where fundamental changes are obviously not considered to be necessary. However, we can observe that all their political actions refer to learning outcomes. In this context, it is interesting to consider that countries with the tradition of the dual system of IVET all belong to this group. It seems that this system is understood to cover all issues of learning outcome orientation of assessment. However, there are evidently also other countries (such as Sweden) where no basic changes are felt to be necessary. This possibly has to do with a holistic understanding of assessment that is not necessarily based on the dual system.

These findings demonstrate that the shift to learning outcome approaches to education and training and in particular, to the design of new curricula in IVET have had diverse effects on assessment methods and policies. The evidence for changes in practices though is still scarce. Assessing learning outcomes and transversal competences remains a challenge in several European countries. Saunders and Zuzel (1997) suggest that assessment of key employability skills in the UK (England) is challenging because of a lack of available measurement frameworks. While progress may have been made since Saunders' review, adapting new assessment techniques to relevant skills, behaviours and attitudes remains a challenge both in the UK as well as in other European countries. The challenge of assessing key competences[11] in secondary education in Europe was explored by Pepper (2011) based on a major study for the European Commission drawing from information gathered and validated with the help of experts in each of the 27 EU Member States. The study's typology of assessment provides a basis for reviewing some recent developments in Member

States. Present challenges and innovative responses are addressed, including how to unpack key competences, how to map them to particular contexts and how to assess their full scope and range.

A new Policy Guidance on *"Assessment of Key competences in initial education and training"* prepared by the European Commission with the support and inputs provided by its related Thematic Working Group composed by representatives from CEDEFOP, EU members states and candidate countries, points to serious challenges in terms of resourcing and the technical implementation capacity of new assessment methods to effectively measure key competences (European Commission, 2012b). This is especially true for the cross–curriculum key competences, such as learning to learn. It is expected [1] that this Commission staff working paper providing good examples of practices in different European countries will support policy makers in addressing and overcoming these challenges.

CONCLUSIONS

The present overview of developments in terms of recent curricular reforms in Europe, although brief, shows that there is a growing awareness at European level about the need to revise curricula and assessment methods in the light of developments associated with learning outcome approaches to the design of VET provision. However, there are still several issues which challenge policy makers and which require further research. The complexity of design, the cost–effectiveness, and implementing capacity are some of the main challenges when formulating curricular and assessment strategies that will benefit learners.

Sound assessment methodologies are needed to assess a broad range of learning outcomes in a valid and reliable way and useful for different stakeholders. According to international research, and also supported by current Cedefop studies, the following aspects seem to attract particular policy attention:

– to find a balance between teachers' assessments and external assessment approaches and strategies;
– to integrate formative classroom assessment, which is regarded an integral part of teaching and learning processes within broader assessment frameworks; and
– to overcome the weaknesses of current assessment methodologies and practices (e.g. performance–based assessment, standardised tests, etc.).

A recent publication on the use of learning outcomes argues that "the way in which learning outcomes are expected to be used, affects the way in which they are formulated" and that "the key attribute of a learning outcome is that it is expressed in a level of detail that makes it fit for purpose" (European Commission and CEDEFOP, 2011, p.7). Thus, the learning outcomes for summative assessment for a qualification, for example, will be more tightly specified than the learning outcomes for formative assessment in the school curriculum. Regardless of the degree of specification, it should be possible to trace the outcomes back to the broad domains

defined in the European qualifications framework, or in national documents, and their holistic view of learning.

The present paper discusses the need for learning and assessment to be interconnected. How learners are assessed can shape the learning process for better or for worse. Assessment is a powerful tool to improve teaching and learning: it shows what we value as learning outcomes and its appropriate and positive use can greatly improve the process of learning. Conversely, its poor use can significantly weaken this process. The scope of assessment determines the focus of teaching and learning: however, most of the traditional assessment approaches relate to subject knowledge and skills, not to those cross–curricular key competences that are equally important. Assessment tools and curricula providing the framework and scope of teaching and learning should therefore be designed closely together but also allow room for validation of non–formal and informal learning.

The impact of assessment on learners' self–esteem, motivation and learning skills has been acknowledged for a long time; however, much needs to be done in order to harness the power of assessment to support each student to become a motivated and responsible lifelong learner.

NOTES

[1] These are the 27 EU Member States, Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Croatia and Turkey participating in the Education and Training 2020 Strategic Framework.

[2] 2nd International Workshop on Curriculum Innovation and Reform: An Inclusive View to Curriculum Change http://events.cedefop.europa.eu/curriculum–innovation–2011/ 3rd International Workshop on Curriculum Innovation and Reform: Changing Assessment to Improve Learning Outcomes http://events.cedefop.europa.eu/curriculum–innovation–2012/

[3] The origins of research seeking to clarify what is meant by terms such as "competence" and "outcomes" are often traced back to the work of Richard White and then David McClellandin the US, who respectively first raised the idea of "competence" as a basis for recruitment and then further developed the concept. In Europe, national variations with respect to the conceptualisation of "competence" and "learning outcomes" have been developed over time and have been influential for curriculum design to different degrees.

[4] According to the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), learning outcomes are defined as "statements of what a learner knows, understands and is able to do on completion of a learning process, which are defined in terms of knowledge, skills and competence" (European Parliament, 2008, p.4).

[5] Note that this refers to the introduction of legislation, of the development process, rather than the actual implementation of outcome– orientated curricula.

[6] The distinction between *summative* and *formative assessment* is some forty–five years old (see Scriven,1967)and has gained increasing importance in recent years. It mirrors the fact that the traditional function of assessment is not necessarily the only one; apart from delivering the condition for getting certificates useable outside education or within other educational institutions, assessment can also have an educational – formative – function, supporting the process of an individual's development.

[7] Report presented to the National Council for Vocational Qualifications School of Education University of Nottingham in November 1995. Available at:http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_cdell/pdf–reports/nvqrelrep.pdf[accessed 30/03/2012]

[8] See http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.ofqual.gov.uk/2322.aspx[accessed 30/03/2012]

9   See http://talks.cam.ac.uk/talk/index/6488[accessed 30/03/2012]
10 See: *Apprenticeship policy in England: Increasing skills versus boosting young people's job prospects,* available at: http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/pa013.pdf [accessed 30/03/2012]
11 Making reference to the eight key competences as defined in the European reference framework of key competences for lifelong learning (European Parliament, European Council, 2006).

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PERFORMATIVITY AND VISIBILITY

Shapes, Paths and Meanings in the European Higher Education Systems

INTRODUCTION

In the present debate on the role played by the European university systems and the kind of knowledge they are called upon to produce and transmit, performativity is a category used by many scholars to comprehend the variety and inter–relationship of the factors involved. This paper will investigate the idea of performativity and its relationship with visibility to understand the forces, agents and discourses involved in those requests that touch upon the production of knowledge and the governance of university systems. The first section will refer to Jean–François Lyotard's thinking in order to explore the idea of performativity and the effects of the use of the technicist–instrumental criterion on the statute of knowledge and on the heterogeneity of the social fabric. This will give a picture of the current reflections of scholars who, although from different disciplinary fields, underline the centrality of the concept of performance in many institutional contexts in which it has found specific forms over the last thirty years, forms not always consistent one with the other. In the second section, performativity will be seen in relation to visibility, in order to analyse how performance evaluation has been presented as a universally valid solution to enhance the efficiency of organizations, thanks to the rhetoric of responsibility and transparency. The plurality of agents will be underlined and their role in placing performance centre–stage will be identified. These tendencies will be examined to explain the emergence of the audit society and why its founding element and the key to its understanding is the visibility imperative and the relations deriving from it. In the last section, the adoption of the Global Emerging Model and harmonization and differentiation processes will be considered. In particular, I shall analyse how the strong influence of evaluation, increasing in proportion to the growing relevance of performance, has affected such dynamics in order to illustrate the specific meanings and particular functions of the visibility imperative. To represent educational space, both global and local, the network image (Castells, 2000) will be taken as the appropriate heuristic instrument to symbolize the plurality of actors, the complexity of relationships and the asymmetry in the degrees and levels of influence.

PERFORMATIVITY AS HEGEMONY

A reflection on performativity and its effects must take into account the theory of Jean François Lyotard, whose name is associated with this concept and whose thinking is an almost unanimous reference point for scholars who have in recent times contributed compilations and in–depth investigations. Although best known through *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, it would be restrictive to associate Lyotard's idea of performativity only to that work of 1979 or to the acknowledgement of the delegitimization of knowledge, rather than seeing it as throwing light on the results of the hegemonic role of a technicist criterion in the heterogeneity of the social fabric and the scientific community. It is Lyotard himself, in fact, who clarifies this connection when he says: «It is impossible to know what the state of knowledge is – in other words, the problems its development and distribution are facing today – without knowing something of the society within which it is situated» (Lyotard, 1984, [1979], p. 13).

Thus, Lyotard uses the word 'performativity' to denounce not only the effect on knowledge produced by adopting efficacy as an evaluation criterion, but also the domestication of the *clouds of sociality* (Lyotard, 1984 [1979], p. XXIV) to achieve the best input/output ratio. With the demise of the great narratives and the proven impossibility of continuing to believe in them, the social fabric breaks up into numerous linguistic games, each with its own rules, whose plausibility cannot be but local and ratified by a contract among the players (Wittgenstein, 1953; Lyotard, 1984). Heterogeneity and singularity, the features Lyotard takes to define a decorous post–modernity, are nullified by techno–instrumental rationality on the basis of which each part targets the optimization of the system and the enhancement of power. Lyotard expresses this logic in the following words:

> the heterogeneity (…) of the genres of discourses (stakes) finds a universal
> idiom, the economic genre, a universal criterion, success (having gained time),
> a universal judge, the strongest (i.e. the most credible) currency, which is the
> one best able to give and therefore receive time. (Lyotard, 1988, [1983], p. 176).

Use of the technicist criterion is therefore justified within an economic discourse that seeks continuous innovation and a management of time aiming to maintain high levels of development and acceleration in the production and exchange of goods. The subordination to this imperative rests on the will to determine the whole, controlling each variable, and on stringent planning to govern the indeterminate. Performativity, as the condition and outcome of the emerging postmodern condition (Lyotard, 1984) or, in a social–economic framework, of transition towards post–industrial society (Bell, 1973), assumes and is based on the way to deal with and control time, endorsing the passage from project to programme (Lyotard, 1991, [1988], p. 68). It is in particular the difference between these two terms that indicates on the one hand the disappearance of any teleological value since «it is one thing to project human emancipation, and another to programme the future as such» (Lyotard, 1991, [1988],

p. 68), and on the other, the annulment of present time and the pervasiveness of accelerated development which the same instrumental logic obeys (Lyotard, 1991, [1988], p. 122).

Like other linguistic games with which it is *on a par* (Lyotard, 1984, [1979], p. 40) and having lost any possibility of autolegitimation, knowledge also is nullified in its singularity, since it is absorbed by the technicist–economic discourse. Evaluated through the utility criterion so that «what I say has more truth than what you say, since I can "do more" (gain more time, go further) with what I say than you can with what you say» (Lyotard, 1993, [1986], p. 63), knowledge is altered both in the conditions of scientific reason and in its transmission and production since it must be standardized and made operational in order to be exchanged. Thus, new balances of power derive from such delegitimation and from the subsequent commercialization of knowledge: as teaching and research are subordinated to the logic of the best performance and the university loses its *function of speculative legitimation* (Lyotard, 1984, [1979], p. 39), so the state sees its own authority diminished through the effect of economic imperatives.

It is therefore this *generalized spirit of performativity* (Lyotard, 1984, [1979], p. 45) to endorse the condition of terror that Lyotard denounces as much in the condition of knowledge as in the forms taken by the social bond: the presence of a single idiom not only determines the impossibility of finding connections among language games, it also decrees their annihilation by condemning them to silence. The loss of heterogeneity and the failure to recognize singularity produce the imbalance in power that favours whoever decides *the conditions of truth* (Lyotard, 1984, [1979], p. 29) and the fields of knowledge that best respond to the requirements of productivity and applicability. The action of performativity is thus linked to its spread and the dynamics of power championing it and arising from it: such elements are the starting points from which we can analyse the predominance accorded to the idea of performance and the concurrent demand for visibility.

CONSTRUCTING TO COMMUNICATE: VISIBILITY IN THE AUDIT SOCIETY

More than three decades have gone by since Lyotard's first works on this issue, during which period a radicalization of certain dynamics found in his pages has occurred. The insistence on evaluation, the role claimed for rankings, the pursuit of uniformity among approaches, the dominance of specific fields of discipline to the detriment of others are all elements that seem to hem in any real reciprocal facing of different types of knowledge, too frequently suffocated by quantitative criteria, and far removed from their traditions and epistemological specificities.

This clearly influences current thought on the meaning of performativity and the incidence of its effects, where attention is resolutely turned to the re–formulation of the performance concept, underlining the importance of acknowledging such a change in order to understand what has been defined – in recognizing different features that have, however, a vital common denominator – as audit society (Power,

1997), audit culture (Strathern, 2000) or performative society (Ball, 2003; 2006). Quite apart from the names proposed, all scholars agree in reporting both the spread of the performance concept through differing sectors and the multiple dimensions that, taken together, go to define the meanings. On this point, Jon McKenzie highlights the permeability among the different institutional ambits and the resulting penetration of discourses and procedures by which «financial models have intruded into the arts and the university, while paradigms of cultural performance have transformed management strategies» (McKenzie, 2004, p. 58). If, therefore, the term performance is used to indicate the production of social, cultural and economic activities, so its evaluation includes a range of dimensions to take into account, such as cost, quality, and reliability, on which to calibrate action in order to establish the best result for the coordinates offered by a certain context.

The social and political construction of the audit society cannot be separated from the incidence of those discourses that have attributed validity to procedures evaluating performance so making the audit an institutionalized area of knowledge (Power, 1994; 1997). If Lyotard believed performativity to be founded on the *positivist "philosophy" of efficiency* (Lyotard, 1984, [1979], p. 54), i.e. on the determinability of all things to achieve the best performance, so influential scholars, while starting out from different theoretical premises, examine the predominance and assimilation of performance and audit concepts within the framework of the changes that have led to a new style of management. An incisive definition of this has been put forward, from varying viewpoints, by a number of scholars, among whom we find: Michel Foucault (1991) who positions its emergence within a specific economic policy, *neo–liberal governmentality*; Marilyn Strathern (2000) who uses the expression *global phenomenon*; and John Meyer, more sensitive to the international dimension with *popular discourses* (2005).

In the Eighties the increased flexibility of productive processes, consumer consumption and work organization (Harvey, 1990; Drucker, 1994), together with the need to reduce public spending, acted as a lever to justify and introduce a new form of management, aiming primarily to attribute greater autonomy and responsibility to organizations, in order to be able thereafter to claim «the challenge of "working better and costing less", of maximizing outputs and minimizing inputs, the challenge of efficiency» (McKenzie, 2001, p. 56). At the root of this management is the idea of being able to govern complex phenomena through the standardization and universality of solutions. John Meyer clarifies this point:

> The managerialist discourse (…) is universal in its claim, and does not parade the parochial and local. It applies to all sorts of organized activity, and tends to be abstracted from the technical details of any specific activity. And it can be applied essentially anywhere (Meyer, 2005, p. 135).

This premise gave rise to «normative and mimetic modes of isomorphism» (Drori, 2006, p. 91) among organizations of the public and private sectors making the adoption of *performance standards* natural and necessary, i.e., «evaluative criteria

agreed upon and recognized by members of a particular community and designed to be applicable across a wide variety of contexts» (McKenzie, 2001, p. 108). However, above all, being founded on the *neutral language of science* (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p. 196), it served to transform a political discourse into an essentially technical issue. Socio–economic changes and a specific view of the nature of organizations thus led to a wide use of managerial approaches, regulation processes and, in the Nineties, to the re–elaboration of the idea of *governance* based on two key concepts: accountability and transparency. If on the one hand these terms translate the needs addressed to public service suppliers, on the other they authorize a shift towards the regulation of contracts and the application of the verification known as value for money or pay for performance. Presented within the rhetoric of transparency, the *economic citizenship* of the so–called clients (Jones and Dugdale, 2001, p. 35) and as a strategy targeting quality promotion, value for money defines performance in terms of economy, efficiency and effectiveness and demands that results be communicated and made visible (Power, 1994; 1997; 2004; Jang, 2006). According to Michael Power, at this stage we see the word audit migrate from the financial context to other sectors, and also its association with other terms such as performance, efficiency, quality control, transparency; and we also see the outline of «a particular style of formalized accountability» typical of the audit society (Power, 1997, p. 4). Far from being merely a technical issue, the audit is also a cultural issue, in that it expresses the idea of being able to handle risk and control complex dynamics by means of verifications and evaluations (Ewald, 1991; Power, 1994; 1997). In this framework, the performative value of those discourses may be viewed and debated, discourses that have justified audit, presenting it as a *universal panacea* (Power, 1994, p. 21), seeing it as measure to create the conditions for greater responsibility and openness. If on the one hand compliance with procedures requires sharing the ideas and aims on which they are based, on the other the audit includes program and policy aims to be realized through factual elements, i.e. «an operational bedrock for audit practices, a body of knowledge (…) codified and formalized» (Power, 1997, pp. 6–7). Making performance communicable and visible means, and imposes, implementing criteria of effectiveness and efficiency, adopting certain standards upon which comparisons may be made, bringing feedback operations to the fore as a means «for calculating the relation of inputs and outputs, for evaluating whether performance is "on target" (…) and for making changes to improve organizational efficiency» (McKenzie, 2001, p. 73).

The relation welding together the rhetorics of measurability, verificability and communicability can be analyzed at a number of levels: the first level concerns the role of the environment and the need to make this *auditable* (Power, 1994; 1997) both by defining performance, standardizing it and making it visible, and by encouraging processes to conform with specified criteria. Regarding this point, reflection on the possibility of such an outcome leads us towards the second level of analysis: how much «these policy technologies have the capacity to reshape in their own image the organization they monitor» (Shore and Wright, 1999, p. 570)

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through the condition of *permanent visibility* (Ball, 2006, p. 693), determined by performance monitoring and the publication of results. In this picture, performance acquires a symbolic value in so far that it matches a certain organizational model and the assimilation of a certain idea of quality and excellence. Under the *tell and show* imperative (Edwards and Usher, 2000, p. 93.) therefore, verifications may see their primary function altered so that their «technical efficacy is less significant than their role in the production of organizational legitimacy» (Power, 1997, p. 14), to the point where they become a means for organizations to construct and manage their own image. The same calls for transparency, moreover, highlight the contradictions of the audit society in that performance communication is not open to debate either with the procedures implemented or with their outcome. Given the trust placed in them, such checks thus tend to safeguard their own existence and become *Rituals of Verification* (Power, 1997).

Lastly, the third level of analysis of audit society rhetoric can be presented through the following question: «who decides what knowledge is, and who knows what needs to be decided?» (Lyotard, 1984, [1979], p. 9); in other words, what actors are involved, what are their roles and the dynamics of power that take shape? Plotting out space, therefore, to examine «the institutional sites» (Foucault, 2002, [1969], p. 56) that have legitimized political discourses tending to place performance centre–stage, reshapes visibility as transparency*, re–elaborates* concepts once so distant one from the other and *places* them within the same «discursive field» (Foucault, 2002, [1969], p. 70).

It must be stressed that all scholars who have dealt with audit agree in noting that its spread must be seen against the background of the changes arising at global level concerning both the role of the state and the role of supranational bodies. McKenzie gives us an excellent example of this, claiming that performance «must be understood as an emergent formation of postmodern power and post–disciplinary knowledge» (McKenzie, 2008, p. 30), thus at the same time outlining the fundamental contrast to the disciplinary training described by Foucault (1979): while the latter was carried forward within the ambits of each specific institution, performativity – not connected to any one single context – is a globally widespread phenomenon. While on the one hand these features serve to explain the size of what McKenzie calls audit culture, on the other its incidence rate is linked to the action of a complex network of national and supranational bodies (McKenzie, 2001; 2004). Many scholars have highlighted the influence of supranational bodies such as the OCDE, UNESCO or the World Bank. These are also defined as carriers, to indicate «not a passive role as propagator but involvement in the process of institutionalization and diffusion of ideas. Carriers encourage, support, transport, and transform ideas while raising them into the social conscience». (Sahlin–Andersson and Engwall, 2002, p. 9–10; Drori, 2006, p. 101–102).

Therefore, institutional legitimacy has been accorded to discourses and ideas, thus granting them *materiality* (Foucault, 2002, [1969], p. 114) not only through setting up a series of international organizations to deal specifically with them (among which

TI, Transparency International, promoted by the World Bank), but also through the exercise of that "teaching role" assigned to the same supranational organizations. From their acknowledged position as experts they have set out to construct standards and encourage their implementation at national level, presenting them as essential, effective and objective instruments. In this regard, we must consider the intentional use of a language based on a «formulaic approach (…) with econocentric and neoliberal tones» (Drori, 2006, p. 105), the expression of a reductive approach and with the re–formulation and association from the economic angle of terms such as competitiveness, administration, efficiency, transparency, client, to describe and link up directions and aims.

The state's altered role can be summed up by the expression "steering at a distance", which refers to deregulation policies arising under neoliberalism that have led to the setting up of national Agencies to function as 'hubs', frequently complicated and of high impact, between the central administration and the institutions involved. Reflection on this «fragmented policy arena, permeated by transnational networks as well as domestic agencies and forces» (Rizvi and Lingard, 2009, p. 443) is a complex, highly–structured theoretical issue: despite agreement on the need to re–think the idea of power, opinions diverge on the degree of influence exerted by states, what weight to attribute to historical, cultural and socio–economic facts and, in more general terms, as regards the new dynamics emerging as a result of such alterations (Fukuyama, 1992; Ohmae, 1995; Sassen, 1999; Delanty, 2000).

One of the basic elements and perhaps a key factor for interpreting the heterogeneous and widespread phenomenon that is the audit society is the relationship linking performance and visibility; yet its advent and the forms it takes must be seen within a network of forces, discourses and actors. It would, however, be wrong to think that its spread includes homogeneity and that differences and variations should be excluded from those fields in which the logic of evaluation has found fertile ground and application. In the following pages, I shall propose a way to analyse to what degree, how, and by what channels this logic has permeated through European educational systems, what features it presents, and how it may be connected to the scenarios that appear to be taking shape in the global higher education landscape.

BETWEEN DEMAND AND STRATEGY: VISIBILITY IN EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS

The dynamics described on previous pages have developed over years of profound changes in the economic, social and cultural sectors. Among these changes are a shift towards a global economy, the connection between techno–scientific innovation and economic growth, the spread of information thanks to computer technology and the resulting increase in users. These transformations, which define the so–called 'knowledge society'(Stehr, 1994), have imposed new interpretations of space and time categories: the former re–elaborated in the light of widening markets and the flows of ideas and discourses together with the presence of new political figures

whose influence lies not only within national frontiers; the latter altered by the loss of a progressive, linear concept and by the consequent acceleration in instantaneity and the ephemeral (Lyotard, 1984; 1991; 1993; Harvey, 1990, Jameson, 1991). This complex, evolving picture has meant that higher education systems have had to carry out a careful on–going examination of their own identity, of what *educated identity* means today, and of their relationships with the whole of society. In particular, recognition of their teaching and research role has been accompanied by the request, propounded as a necessity, to modernize their own organizational functions and accept new ways of producing knowledge in order to be active in the discourse pertaining to the Knowledge Economy. The latter is founded on two basic claims: knowledge and its applications as the boosters of economic development and innovation, and competitiveness as the key condition of a society presented as undergoing constant change. Promoted and supported at national and supranational levels, it is the subject of a more or less critical reflection between those who see in it the university debased to an instrument of the economy and a looming threat for those disciplines that lack immediate applicative outcomes, and the others who see in it the sign of an inevitable mutation to which universities have to adapt, taking on a new garb, opening outwards and responding to the challenges of the present. The educational scenario, meanwhile, presents an altered profile due to the entry of new agents into the dialogue with the national dimension, the diversification of the student population, and the transit of educational ideas and practices which, according to a number of scholars, envisage global patterns (Meyer, 2007). The complexity of these processes is demonstrated by their incidence on thought in the field of comparative education: the re–elaboration of "unit ideas", the need to explain processes of isomorphic change without dimming the historical dimension or diminishing the variability found at local level, the re–formulation of the idea of power and the questioning of any clear dividing line between centre and periphery. These are some of the issues that indicate the need to debate concepts arising in a different historical–social conditions and within a disciplinary tradition – inescapable cultural baggage – that is the starting point from which to view comparative education not simply as a field of study, but also as a means to read complexity (Schriewer, 2003; Cowen, 2009; Palomba, 2011).

The issues described here furnish a frame within which to place and read the relationship between performativity and visibility: if the construction, evaluation and communication of performance may provide orientation to move through the processes of harmonization and internationalization and to identify the answers of the university systems, the meanings and the aims of such operations in these dynamics must be recognized.

In this regard, the promotion in 2000 of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) within the Lisbon Strategy represented the institutionalization of «a mode of governance based on setting common objectives, establishing indicators and benchmarks for comparing best practices and performance, and translating the common objectives into national and regional policies» (Gornitzka, 2007, p. 155).

This harmonization process envisages the use of standards and indicators to render operational, compare and show research produced in universities as the basis on which to construct the European Research Area, so that European educational systems become competitive actors in an international scientific system boasting numerous branches and many new figures. Placed among the strategic aims, this method may be fully understood when it is analyzed within the Lisbon Strategy's specific view of education and society. This Strategy adopts, supports and communicates a socio–economic model founded on knowledge while specifying the role of teaching and research as practical policy areas within the discourse on the Knowledge Economy (Gornitzka et. al., 2007; Pasias and Roussakis, 2009). In particular, it highlights a type of knowledge featuring a trans–disciplinary approach, a specialization in respect of contexts of use and results of interest to industry and founded on management centring on internationalization. The efficiency of education systems, formulated in economic terms, is linked to their degree of competitiveness, entrepreneurial ability and strategic vision, an element necessary for the identification and support of those research fields most likely to ensure a return on investments and most responsive to the demand for innovation. (European Council, 2000; European Commission, 2000). While recognizing the central position of the Lisbon Strategy, the latter should be considered as a hub within discourses which, while ratifying the construction and measurement of knowledge, are part of «transversally interwoven communications networks that, at international level, function as decisive mechanisms for the discursive crystallization, social acceptance and cultural institutionalization of "world cultural blueprints"» (Schriewer, 2008, pp. 247–248).

The policy project of making European university systems *auditable*, in Power's words, comes from the joint action of supranational bodies such as the OECD, the EU and the World Bank; using a rhetoric founded on a lack of alternatives, these bodies have transmitted and spread a specific vision of contemporary society, education and knowledge, the changes which universities are bound to make, and the most effective and universally valid solutions. If the introduction of techniques for the measurement of performance presented in the Lisbon Strategy «coincides with the discourse on control, evaluation and performativity of education and training systems, emanating from international organisations such as the World Bank, the OECD and the International Monetary Fund» (Pasias and Roussakis, 2009, p. 492), so the quantitative, standardized approach can be seen as a common tendency, the expression of a technical rationale that risks reducing political debate on educational issues to a sterile relationship of input/output (Rizvi and Lingard, 2009).

It is significant that the analysis of the instrumental–economic prospect feeds upon Lyotard and Habermas's thinking: the contrast between incredulity and incompleteness finds a point of convergence and a common critical outlook towards the dangers deriving from exasperated technicism. In this, as we saw in the first few pages, the French philosopher perceived «"calculation" (…), the inevitable measurability of spaces and times» (Lyotard, 1991, [1988], p. 111), including those of thought, reflection and education; Habermas stressed the suffocation of

communicative action in social life and the loss of any ethical and political dimension following upon an uncritical adoption of «technocratic consciousness» (Habermas, 1974, [1963], p. 254).

Furthermore, joint actions such as the World Education Indicators (WEI) project carried out by OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO, have promoted the construction of indicators; apart from a veil of objectivity and impartiality, this issue is subject to balances of power in that these same Organizations, particularly the OECD, consider themselves and are considered "*scientific experts*" (Beech, 2009, p. 345), even perpetuating that status through the publication of documents and guidelines. Within this picture, state functions are well defined by Guy Neave, who associates the rise of the evaluative state with the central position reserved to operational efficiency, i.e., the optimization of distribution and of the use of financial resources, which have become «under the canons of neo–liberalism (…) the essential credo, the singular, central purpose and objective (…) the main lever that opened the way to root and branch "re–engineering" of the higher education system *in toto*» (Neave, 2009, p. 555). The incidence of market rules, the introduction of value for money and conditional financing, and the transition from legal to evaluatory homogeneity after the introduction of audit and assessment procedures, have accompanied the modernization of university systems; most importantly, however, they have not left university identity intact. On this subject, Robert Cowen claims:

> The market–framed university must deliver marketable, saleable, pragmatically useful knowledge. The market–framed university exists within a knowledge–market and it must respond to the demands of its clients and customers (e. g. students; research funders). The knowledge production of the university must also be measurable – otherwise performance cannot be judged (Cowen, 2000, p. 95).

The premises at the root of evaluation and research cannot, therefore, be separated from the call on universities to undertake *a change of culture* (European Commission, 2005, p. 35): the introduction of competitive principles as conditions to maintain standards of excellence, together with the request for accountability in exchange for the flexibility and autonomy granted, have opened the way for transparency rhetoric. Within harmonization processes, this has had two main purposes: to legitimize evaluation operated by external figures in the name of an assumed objectivity, and to respond to the «to tell and show people what you do» imperative (Edwards and Usher, 2000, p, 93), in other words to make visible to the different stakeholders the multiple performances that define the idea of quality and excellence. In effect it is not only knowledge that has to be measured, but also the ability to attract private funding and to set up collaborations with the industrial sector; both indicate correspondence to a certain model of university. The suffocating grip of quantitative criteria, the uncritical *trust in numbers* and the emphasis on output to the detriment of processes are, in the opinion of many scholars, signs of a risky reductionism and causes of the decrease in diversity and intellectual vivacity in research contents and approaches.

Concerning this, Damian Ruth speaks of «monoculture on the intellectual landscape» (Ruth, 2010, p. 141) to indicate a qualitative and quantitative pauperization to be seen as a form of political control on the part of *privileged actors* who decide «what is worth examining and what the criteria are for validating knowledge» (Ruth, 2010, p. 142); likewise Richard Edwards and Robin Usher, with his expression *economy of the same*, denounce a levelling of contextual, methodological and epistemological differences deriving from the use of common standards (Edwards and Usher, 2000, p. 82; Usher, 2006, p. 281).

If convergence and harmonization are shown to be essential steps towards the constitution of the European Research Area, documents in line with the Lisbon Strategy focus more on competitiveness and show a progressive change indicating the construction of common standards and criteria as the first essential operation in setting up a differentiation procedure among universities and a specialization process as to their tasks. Yet this step cannot be regarded as a natural evolution, since «while initial standardisation may be a matter of necessity, subsequent differentiation is a matter of political choice» (Weymans, 2009, p. 573). European recommendations in fact point to a picture where competitiveness is considered not only a socio–economic feature but also a condition to be created and maintained among universities, since it is the lever with which their excellence is guaranteed and enhanced (Amaral, 2008). The distribution of funding on a competitive basis is therefore a governing mechanism within a governance that targets the use of performance–measuring techniques to implement political will to finance universities «more for what they do than for what they are» (CEC, 2006, p. 7). The *hierarchical regime* (Zha, 2009, p. 463), enhanced by differentiation, finds its meaning and perpetuation in the visibility imperative: visibility is in fact the premise to map areas of importance, spheres of influence, connections and disparity of power in the global and local educational space. The effects of competitiveness and differentiation, however, involve the interrelationship between organizations and environment, the incidence of contextual characteristics, the definition of agency and the scope of action these may have towards global trends (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002). Such issues reveal a variety of positions among those who view the competition for reduced funding as the cause of a notable uniformity due to the similarity of responses from the institutions (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983), and those who stress interdependence and an analysis that does not treat the environment as an *objective reality* (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978, p. 72) but considers how it is perceived by organizations, and hence what conduct and strategies emerge from that perception, and how internal power dynamics may counterbalance external pressures acting at local and global levels. Under such theoretical disparities, a common reading seems to emerge regarding the socio–economic situation in which universities find themselves operating: widespread competitiveness not constrained within national frontiers, the political will to make performance measurable, visible and communicable, and strategies of differentiation and specialization to enhance efficiency.

Faced with such factors, a subset of universities has adopted the Emerging Global Model, whose features «are rooted in the American experience of the past four decades» (Mohrman et al., 2008, p. 6). Apart from the denominations used – World–Class Universities (Huisman, 2008), Super Research University (Mohrman et al., 2008), where the disparity in names underlines the ambiguity of such definitions – the universities adopting this model all target particular specializations in applicative and technological research and the constitution of networks with similar universities and organizations, whether or not governmental, so as to be in a position to carry forward projects having the greatest impact internationally. This balance between competition and collaboration seems to look towards new forms of knowledge production, where the degree of competitiveness depends on «an environment of alliances (…) where there is constant pressure to innovate» (Gibbons et al., 1994, p. 112); yet it is also – and above all – a targeted strategy to emphasize the international dimension of their identity, enlarge their own intellectual capital and increase the numbers of those who are witnesses to the knowledge produced. It therefore seems possible to identify a particular direction in the relationship between performance and visibility: to the demand is added the targeted search for visibility by means of the production of a specific type of knowledge having a particular *sign value* (Edwards and Usher, 2000, p. 80) and the consequent construction and communication of an international image and reputation. In this context, the expression "world–class movement" (Mok and Wei, 2008) indicates the breadth of their influence as models to emulate and the political determination to set up super–research universities towards which to direct financial resources, a strategy common to very different contexts, among which are Europe, Asia and Japan (Altbach, 2004; Weingart and Maasen, 2007; Deem et al., 2008; Ishikawa, 2009).

The significance and weight of such prestige can, however, be fully understood considering the high positions they hold as to rankings and how rankings confirm and enhance their status and, more generally, create «a hierarchy of institutional performance» (Marginson, 2009, p. 4), wherein universities are systems in competition, and quality and excellence are voided and translated into *bits of information*, to use an expression dear to Lyotard (Lyotard, 1984; 1991). Furthermore, the existing polarization between low and high positions amplifies the differences among university systems, reducing the likelihood of achieving financing and weakening diversity in disciplinary fields and the change in research paradigms. The impact of ranking, highlighted by the growing attention received from the political and academic world, rests on their performative value: acting as «external representational systems», not only do they contribute to shaping the image of the institutions evaluated and communicating that image at international level, but they may also be seen as «a source of reputational risk» (Power et al., 2009, p. 302). As illustrated above, if the use of evaluations expresses a way of dealing with uncertainty and reputation becomes a man–made risk, then a reformulation of the concept of reputation materializes: it becomes an asset and responsibility of the institutions which must be able to construct and manage it according to specified

parameters in order to exploit it and be recognized as "good" organizations. At the same time, «the growth of external metrics and evaluation platforms in the university field demonstrates how institutional reputation is socially constructed over time by the multiple efforts to make it measurable, visible and auditable» (Power et al., 2009, p. 314). Naturally, availability of financing and the construction of reputation show a self–reinforcing process in which the former is an essential condition of the latter, while the institutions receiving funds gain status and see their own reputation further enhanced.

The privileged status of the world–class universities in what has been called the reputation race (van Vught, 2008, p. 168), and their assimilation as *ideal types*, however favoured by ranking and the search for constant visibility, cannot be studied separately from the historical conditions of each institution and from political choices and priorities. Likewise, it would be misleading, to say the least, to think that all institutions are influenced in the same way and to the same extent by such models, since that would mean detracting dynamics and forces from specific contextual factors. The difficulties and complexities of these analyses are made evident in the various readings proposed by scholars: some denounce *dependency culture* effects which mean that countries considered peripheral (Altbach, 1987; Deem et al., 2008) have to take in western models in order to be able to respond to the internationalization of research; others, however, point to the policy of East Asian countries directed at «building centres in peripheries» (Lo, 2011, p. 209), and prefer to speak of self–determination and to adopt the soft power perspective (Nye, 2004) to indicate the appeal of world–class universities.

It appears reasonable to claim that the relationship between performativity and visibility may be an effective key to explain a number of the dynamics found in educational systems; at the same time, the effects and meanings of such a relation can be fully understood by detailed investigation of the elements and factors belonging to the space in which it takes place. This may indeed seem to reiterate the multivocal nature of these concepts, yet it highlights to what degree their study may prove a further means to re–formulate the ideas of context, agent and power, essential elements to decipher the complexity characterizing the present educational landscape.

CONCLUSIONS

Looking back over the way we have come along these pages, performativity appears as a complex, widespread phenomenon which acts significantly in a certain type of society in which quantification and control are ways to deal with time, manage uncertainty and merge diversity into universally valid solutions. The lack, or at least the weakness, of alternatives to such tendencies would appear to explain the reductionism afflicting both the idea of knowledge, suffocating some disciplinary fields more than others, and the plurality of social life. In this regard, it is significant that performance itself, internally entrapped by pre–established

criteria and parameters, has seen its generative potential impoverished. Although presented under the protective wing of communication, visibility shows nothing further than a passive responsibility, without opening up prospects of confrontation and argumentation.

In university systems, the reigning request for measurable, visible performance has been implemented by means of techniques for the evaluation of research, techniques that have activated political choices and strategies within a discourse founded on taken–for–granted *deductive rationalities* (Cowen, 2007). The result seems to be an imbalance in which applicability, as ever a trigger for human ingenuity, is becoming the only language to translate the idea of knowledge, and technical language, sheltering evaluation from criticism, makes it the "natural" remedy in the creation of quality and excellence. These two terms are meanwhile abused by a rhetoric that in using such concepts has made them tenuous, depriving them of their historical meanings. Operating on the crossroads between dynamics and relationships of power, universities are acknowledged as protagonists in a situation defined as an emergency but only as long as they strictly adhere to a script that proposes one model as the only effective solution while requiring a change of identity. This push towards adaptation, however, seems to produce a consolidation of hierarchies and differentiations: universities respond from different standpoints, each of which features specific forces and resources that influence its range of action and its chance of creating that condition of over–exposure which is apparently becoming more and more of a focal point.

Faced with this picture, many have sounded the alarm. Such alarm cannot however shelter behind sterile opposition but must be based on cogent reflection springing from within the academic world. Without any attempt to avoid an intense reconsideration of the university profile, this reflection must propose alternatives that take into account the complexity of our present scenario.

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AFFILIATIONS

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SECTION III

TRANSNATIONAL EDUCATION AND COLONIAL APPROACH

SABINE HORNBERG

TRANSNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL SPACES

Border–Transcending Dimensions in Education

Dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a great honour for me to be here and I would like to thank the Rector Magnificus of the University of Salamanca, Professor Hernández, and the President of the Comparative Education Society in Europe, Professor Pereyra, for the invitation to give this lecture. This XXV Conference of the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) is entitled: "Empires, Post–coloniality, and Interculturality: Comparative Education between Past, Post, and Present –The World in Europe, Europe in the World –".

The University of Salamanca, one of the oldest Universities in Europe, truly provides a formidable setting for exchanging inspiring ideas and thoughts on educational matters referring to this conference´s topics and occupying the international community dedicated to education that go beyond the national scope. In the following I will try to add to this challenging task by spelling out some thoughts on developments in education worldwide that have been characterized as "innovative answers" to internationalization and globalization, and manifest themselves in "new ideas and models emerging transnationally, i.e., beyond national and cultural boundaries and outside of international organizations or scientific communities or crosswise to them" (Adick, 2009, p. 286). In order to be able to identify and analyse such developments, which could also be characterized as border–transcending dimensions in education, I suggest turning to the concept of 'Transnational Educational Spaces' that has of late been put forward in the German speaking educational science by Adick (2005, 2009) and Hornberg (2009, 2010). I will outline the major assumptions underlying this concept and in a second step illustrate a case of transnational educational spaces in the worldwide general education system by turning to the International Baccalaureate Organization and educational offers it provides for. I will conclude my lecture[1] by pointing to rewarding research issues going beyond the aforementioned realm and research desiderata.

TRANSNATIONAL SPACES

When referring to matters going beyond the national scope and often with reference to globalization the term 'transnational' is quite frequently used for quite different phenomena, for example in architecture, history, or social science. In political science it

has been applied since the 1960`s. Among those, who have for many years now worked with the term 'transnational' and 'transnational spaces', offering helpful definitions and further leading work, are the social scientists Ludger Pries and Thomas Faist who both refer to phenomena of transnational and social developments in terms of "transmigration" (Pries, 2001, p. 9). Following Pries (2001), this kind of migration represents "a modern type of a nomadic way of life [that gives rise to] transnational social spaces," or to "transnational spaces," as Faist (2000) puts it. Such spaces can extend across nations or continents and are constituted through the transmigrants' conduct of life. Under the umbrella of the transnational spaces approach, migration is no longer understood "as a singular or two–fold changeover between two sites (areas of origin and arrival), but as a genuine component of definitely continuous biographies" (Pries, 2001, p. 49.)

Although Faist (2000, p. 14) emphasizes the fact that states are not always identical to nation states, their national territories, and governments, both he (2000, p. 13) and Pries (2001, p. 18) pay heed to a discourse initiated at the beginning of the 1990's as a result of ethnographic research by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc–Szanton (1992). The first contours of a transnational perspective on migration appeared in the course of their focusing on as yet unconsidered "social areas" created by migrants who link the nation of their origin with the nation of their residence (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc–Szanton, 1997, p. 81). However, Faist and Pries substitute the term "social area" for the term "space," with Pries (2001, p. 53) defining this expression as follows:

> We programmatically suggest, understanding *transnational social spaces* as a kind of pluri–local "interrelations" (Elias, 1986). Thus, *transnational social spaces* are relatively stable condensed configurations of social daily routines, symbolism and artefacts, allocated on various sites or spread between multiple extended areas. *Transnational social spaces* emerge together with transmigrants (and transnational companies); both determine each other.

In this context, the term space is not used in a conventional physical meaning, as in the sense of a location (e.g., town or country), but in the sense of relatively stable, national borders exceeding relationships between protagonists. Both Faist and Pries pick up on the term social spaces according to the sense introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (1982, 1985). The concept of transnational spaces put forward here allows us to recognize the transnational relationships that exist alongside the government level (Faist, 2000, p. 14; Kleger, 1997, pp. 288–292), namely, those that have accompanying consequences for national actions and organizations (the systemic level) and for autonomous individuals (the social–life level). Participation in transnational processes is possible without the geographic mobility of people, such as via internet, provided that, within the context of such communication processes; social closeness develops despite geographic distance. Transnational spaces are characterized by a certain density and steadiness; not all migration processes lead to the emergence of transnational spaces. This perspective on migration is included in the conceptualization of transnational educational spaces that follows.

TRANSNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL SPACES

In the German–language educational science literature, only a few articles have taken up the concept of transnational spaces (Gogolin & Pries, 2004). Adick (2005, pp. 262–266) conceptualizes transnational educational spaces by linking three previously separate but parallel discourses (Adick, 2005): socialization in transnational spaces, transnational convergences in education, and transnational education.

Socialization in transnational spaces refers to the approaches spelled out by Faist and Pries that were developed against the background of a sociological perspective on migration. Educational science studies located in that sub–area would, for example, consider the question of to what extent multilingualism serves as a resource for transmigrants and/or transnational networks (Fürstenau, 2004).

The term *transnational convergences in education* is represented through worldwide isomorphic developments in education. Such developments have been outlined over the past forty years with reference to the world polity approach by John W. Meyer and his colleagues at Stanford University (Meyer, Ramirez & Boli, 1977; Meyer & Ramirez, 2000). The central feature and particular strength of their works is the linking of theory and empiricism, which is reflected in numerous macro–analytical analyses of empirical phenomena, including those on global developments in education (Benavot, Chea, Kamens, Meyer & Wong, 1991; Meyer, Kamens & Benavot, 1992). The best–known publications of the Stanford scholars are their works on the "mass education" principle, initially enforced in Central Europe, and subsequently throughout the world, in the period from 1870 to 1980 (Boli & Ramirez, 1986; Boli, Ramirez & Meyer, 1985; Ramirez & Meyer, 1980). Today all nations worldwide have – at least in programmatic form – state–run school systems, predominantly financed through public funding, with compulsory school attendance implemented at different times between 1850 and 1950 (Ramirez & Boli–Bennett, 1982).

Furthermore, the organizational structures of the school systems worldwide show similar features, namely the state–run administration of education, the professional training of teachers, and an education system differentiated in terms of various levels of education and educational institutions. These education systems typically award governmentally authorised credentials in terms of certificates confirming school performance (Adick, 1992, pp. 17–124; Inkeles & Sirowy, 1983, pp. 303–333; Ramirez & Boli–Bennett, 1982). In 1992, the Stanford scholars (Meyer, Kamens & Benavot, 1992) also presented data showing that since 1945 all nations worldwide have adopted a global basic curriculum in primary education, mostly lasting for six years, comprising lessons in one or more national languages, mathematics, science and social sciences, art, and physical and religious education. Worldwide, similar amounts of time are dedicated to these subjects. From their data, Meyer et al. (1992) conclude that, since 1945, a global basic curriculum has developed at primary school level, where national and/or regional specifics are considered less important, at least in terms of separately accounted subjects. The Stanford scholars refer to these

empirical findings as isomorphic structures in education worldwide, having evolved in the course of the change from Western pre–modern societies to modern societies.

Transnational convergences such as those identified by Meyer et al. are, at the same time, a prerequisite for and the result of transnational educational spaces. This is because participation in transnational educational spaces relies, to a certain extent, on the connectivity and translatability of educational processes, learning experiences, curricula contents, certificates, and competencies (Adick, 2005, p. 263).

The third term of interest here, *transnational education,* takes into account the economic dimension of education. This term encompasses learning opportunities such as distance (on–line) courses, which are offered, in addition to other provision, by internationally operating educational organizations such as technical colleges, universities, and private service providers. UNESCO and the Council of Europe refer to such offerings as *transnational* learning opportunities. Weber (2004) classifies them as one of the most advanced forms of deregulation in tertiary education. In January 2002, UNESCO and the Council of Europe drafted a *Code of Good Practice for the Provision of Transnational Education*. The code defined transnational education as follows:

> All types of higher education study programme, or set of course study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. Such programmes may belong to the educational system of a state different from the state in which it operates, or may operate independently of any national system. (Adam, 2001, p. 5)

According to this definition, transnational education takes place only in tertiary education. However, a conception of this term that expands on that provided by UNESCO and the Council of Europe means that we can also take into account developments in the field of general education. But before so doing, we have to also ask, if transnational organizations can be identified, having the potential to act alongside and/or below the nation–state level. Adick (2008, p. 184) has put forward "definitions of terms and a proposal for a typology" of "transnational educational organizations in transnational education spheres", where she empirically identifies four types of transnational organizations (ibid., pp. 184–193):

1. Transnational educational enterprises
2. Transnational educational organizations in distinct educational systems
3. Transnational educational organizations in the field of migration, and
4. Transnational educational organizations specialised in advocacy

The first type of a transnational organization identified here: *Transnational educational enterprises* is characterised by the fact that these organizations invest in education and offer their commodity: 'education' on the world market. Such organizations work in the interest of their stakeholders, they always combine their learning opportunities with economic interests; that is to say, they are profit–oriented. In contrast to Transnational

educational enterprises *Transnational educational organizations in the field of migration* do not first and foremost pursue economic interests, but aim at establishing offers of assistance and support for migrants in the field of education. These offers can be added to the national learning opportunities in the school system, such as Koranic schools, or can replace state schools, as do private Islamic schools (ibid., p. 189). Other than the latter *Transnational educational organizations specialised in advocacy* provide education across borders with reference to general Human Rights – here, the right to education (ibid., p. 192). A typical feature of such organizations is that, as a rule, based in so–called industrialised countries, they lobby for education in so–called third–world countries, for example by supporting the building of schools, the participation in educational programmes, and so on.

Of special interest here is the second type of transnational educational organizations: the *transnational educational organizations in distinct education systems*. Transnational educational organizations of this type do not provide or sell their educational offers outside a given system, but within it. Empirical examples of such organizations are the Lufthansa School of Business, the first Corporate University established in Germany in 1998, and educational organizations working in the field of international schools and international educational programmes such as the International Schools Association or the International Baccalaureate Organization. It is to the latter that I shall now turn to in order to illustrate my argument by an empirical example of transnational educational spaces in general educational systems.

A CASE OF TRANSNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL SPACES: THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE

Since World War II we have seen an international educational market unfolding in general education that is complemented by a ramified network of educational organizations. Among these are the International Schools Association (ISA), the International Schools Service, the European Council of International Schools (ECIS), and the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO), to name but a few of the most influential ones. The range of services provided by these organizations includes:

> Organization, counselling and certification of schools, for example as IB World Schools, Organization and running of congresses for schools and teaching staff, supporting of placement of teachers in schools, Organization and implementation of teacher training, Development and provision of curricula and teaching and learning materials for schools and students, Collection of students´ data and certification of students´ achievement.

Thus, these educational organizations provide services for the international educational market which in public general education systems are incumbent upon the state. The European Council of International Schools (ECIS), for example, organises twice–yearly congresses worldwide where representatives of international

schools and potential teachers of such schools meet; where educational publishers exhibit their teaching and learning material, and teacher training courses are held. Among the manifold providers to this education market, one organization stands out because of the distinct educational offers it provides for: the International Baccalaureate Organization, a non–profit educational foundation founded in 1968 in Geneva. In line with her mission statement and in its own words (http://www.ibo. org/mission/index.cfm): The International Baccalaureate aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who can help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect. To this end the organization works with schools, governments and international organizations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment.

Today, there are more than 900,000 IB students in over 140 countries, attending one of the three programmes the International Baccalaureate Organization offers for students aged 3 to 19; these programmes are (http://www.ibo.org/mission/index. cfm):

The Primary Years Programme, for students aged 3 – 12 "focuses on the development of the whole child as an inquirer, both in the classroom and in the world outside."

The IB Middle Years Programme for students aged 11 – 16 "provides a framework of academic challenge that encourages students to embrace and understand the connections between traditional subjects and the real world, and become critical and reflective thinkers."

The IB Diploma Programme for students aged 16 – 19 is normally taught over two years and offers examinations leading to the International Baccalaureate, a university entrance diploma, recognised by a growing number of universities worldwide.

In view of the Diploma Programme, the International Baccalaureate Organization claims the following:

Life in the 21st century, in an interconnected, globalized world, requires critical–thinking skills and a sense of international–mindedness, something that International Baccalaureate® (IB) Diploma Programme students come to know and understand (ibid).

The IB and IB Programmes are characterised by international conceptions of educational reform, international education and its advancement in intercultural education and global learning, as well as by a constructivist understanding of teaching and learning (Hornberg, 2010, pp. 147–163). From the outset, the International Baccalaureate and IB programmes were offered by private schools, labelled 'international schools, but today over half of the schools offering them are state schools (http://www.ibo.org/history/). The IB and IB Programmes are genuine and distinct programmes under the authority of the International Baccalaureate

Organization – they have not developed out of a national education system, such as the International General Certificate of Education O–Level, provided by the University of Cambridge.

Looking at the history of the International Baccalaureate and the three programmes we find that other than is usually the case in national education systems, in 1968, with the International Baccalaureate and the IB Diploma Programme, first the university entrance certificate and upper grade programme were designed and became available. It took more than twenty years, before, in 1992, the IB Middle Years Programme, and, in 1997, the IB Primary Years Programme also came into force. All three programmes are offered in English, French and Spanish; the IB Middle Years Programme is also provided in Mandarin, with a German version currently being tested. The IB and IB Programmes as well as all other services, offered by the International Baccalaureate Organization, such as the recognition of a school as an IB World School, the marking of tests and so forth, involve fees which the consumer of such offers has to pay for privately.

Some statistical data may provide a first impression of the spread of IB schools and programmes. In 1975, that is after seven years in existence, only 30 schools with 1,217 candidates worldwide had registered for the IB Diploma Programme; 35 years later, in 2010, this number had increased to 104.999 students attending 1,740 schools (cf. IB, 2010, p. 16). The main gains have occurred since the beginning of the new millennium. The International Baccalaureate Organization includes schools offering the IB Diploma programme according to world regions, distinguishing the following three regions, of which individual branches are in charge: the region of Latin America, North America and the Caribbean, the Asian–Pacific region and the region of Africa, Europe and the Middle East. In 2010 altogether 2.155 schools (100 %) worldwide offered the IB Diploma Programme. 1.115 of these schools (51,28 %), i.e., more than half of them, were located in the region of Latin America, North America and the Caribbean; 733 schools (34,01 %) were located in the region of Africa, Europe and the Middle East, and 307 schools (14,25 %) in the Asian–Pacific region (ibid, p. 7). English is the dominant working language used in class: in 2010 of all schools offering the IB Diploma Programme 88.26 % taught in English, 10.49 % in Spanish and 1.25 % in French (ibid, p. 6). The dominance of English as the working language in class has for many decades been a topic among teachers at international schools and of IB programmes, causing much controversial discussion. From the data presented here it is clear that the consumers of the IB Diploma Programme prefer an English speaking classroom, presumably because they expect to better adapt to a new environment after relocating or a higher compatibility when it comes to becoming accepted at any university worldwide. It is thus a factor that might also be crucial for somewhat sedentary families when picking such an educational offer.

From the data available on the IB´s homepage it is possible to retrieve for each country the names and addresses of schools according to the IB programmes they offer, although it is not indicated there, whether a school is a private or a state

school. To obtain valid information about this issue it is necessary either to turn to the International Baccalaureate for this information and pay for it or to turn directly to the schools listed. In 2010 I asked respective schools in Germany about their legal status since I had observed that the number of schools with such an offer had increased noticeably since the new millennium. This is astonishing because the private school sector in Germany is far from that prevalent in Anglo–Saxon countries: in the school year 2008/2009 there were only 3,057 private schools registered in general education that were attended by almost 700,000 students; these were 7.7% of the roughly 9 million students in the general education system (Weiß, 2011). The IB and IB curricula have been offered for a couple of decades in Germany, although up to the new millennium almost exclusively by international private schools. Since then, however, state schools have also entered the arena with this offer.

Among the 44 schools in Germany offering the IB and/or IB programmes in 2010, 64% were international private schools and 36% state schools, with the latter offering the IB and/or IB curricula in addition to their national curricula and university entrance certificate. How are these curricula allocated to the schools? The most frequent offer in German schools is the IB Diploma Programme; there is no other offer than this at state schools. In private schools we find the IB Primary Years Programme quite often, whereas the IB Middle Years Programme is not that widespread. This might also be attributed to the fact that until 2012 it was not possible in Germany to gain an IB–related General Certificate of Secondary Education.

I suppose assume and have tried to outline that the International Baccalaureate organization and the educational programmes and offers it provides for such contingencies as the authorization of a school as an IB world school, teacher trainings, and so forth, fulfil the requirements for this organization to be categorized as a transnational educational organization in distinct educational systems. These educational systems I assume with reference to the term transnational education can be characterized as transnational educational spaces, presenting border–transcending dimensions in education. While these transnational educational spaces were predominantly deployed in the private school sector, the need to become engaged with them was perhaps not so demanding, but its growing appearance in state school systems worldwide should be of our concern.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

To date, the International Baccalaureate 'only' serves about a million students in 141 countries. But as an alternative to national curricula and certificates authorized by the state it obviously comes into sight for a steadily growing number of students and schools, especially since the dawn of the new millennium. The International Baccalaureate organization is responding to and at the same time supporting this process by expanding educational services and educational programmes exhibiting

an international orientation, satisfying the criterion of international compatibility and, moreover, having the great advantage of being able to attend to only parts of such curricula – as with a modular system. This, the data presented suggest, gives rise to their attraction also for state schools, even though the consumers of such offers, schools and students, have to pay for these educational offers in some way privately. This raises questions hitherto not dealt with empirically:

What makes such offers attractive for schools, parents and students? Is it a profit of distinction and competitive advantage on the national and international educational market? Do state schools offer the IB and IB programmes solely in addition to their curricula and the certificates they provide for or as a substitute for these? Will national admission qualifications lose their value with students in state schools opting for transnational certificates instead of state certificates? And how does it affect the inner structure of a state school if transnational educational offers are implemented? What will the consequences be in the medium and long run for the single school and the ensemble of schools of one town or region? What stances do the states take in this process? How much of their influence might they forfeit and transfer to transnational educational organizations? Such and further points wait to be systematically and empirically investigated – the concept of transnational educational spaces offers a frame for the analysis of border –transcending dimensions in education.

NOTES

[1] Parts of this lecture are, with minor changes, based on Hornberg (2009, 2012a, b).

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THE INTERPLAY OF "POSTS" IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Post–Socialism and Post–Colonialism after the Cold War

> *The most sublime image that emerged in the political upheavals of the last years. .. was undoubtedly the unique picture from the time of the violent overthrow of Ceauşsescu in Romania: the rebels waving the national flag with the red star, the Communist symbol, cut out, so that instead of the symbol standing for the organizing principle of the national life, there was nothing but a hole in its center. It is difficult to imagine a more salient index of the 'open' character of a historical situation 'in its becoming'. .. of that intermediate phase when the former Master–Signifier, although it has already lost the hegemonic power, has not yet been replaced by the new one... The enthusiasm which carried them was literally the enthusiasm over this hole, not yet hegemonized by any positive ideological project; all ideological appropriations (from the nationalistic to the liberal–democratic) entered the stage afterwards and endeavored to 'kidnap' the process which originally was not their own.*
>
> —Slavoj Žižek (1993), *Tarrying with the Negative*

The enthusiasm over the openness of post–socialist transformations in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union was powerful, but short–lived. Perhaps momentarily, it was associated with "modernity's final bankruptcy as an intellectual and political project," holding the promise of new forms of social and political organization (Outhwaite & Ray, 2005, p. 99). For many, the "miracle year, 1989" (Latour, 1993) represented not only the acknowledgement of different historical pasts but also the possibility of new futures – whether alternative socialisms, capitalisms, or other utopias. Yet, this historical "hole" – and the radically open futures it symbolized – became quickly filled with new ideological projects. Increasingly, the "post–" in "post–socialism" came to be associated with the rejection of the preceding political order and the valorization of the transition "from plan to market," including its logic of deregulation, privatization, and liberalization. At least rhetorically, capitalism became "the only game in town," while the second world was hastily proclaimed "non–existent" and "almost nowhere at all"[1].

Notwithstanding the proliferation of claims about the "closure of the second world" (Marcianiak, 2009, p. 174), a growing body of research on post–socialism is

a powerful reminder that "socialism is not dead" and that the post–socialist region continues to defy and evade Western neoliberal ideologies (Silova, 2010; Silova, 2011). In this context, research on post–socialist transformations has intersected with post–colonial studies, challenging dominant meta–narratives – ranging from globalization to capitalism and neoliberalism – and revealing ambivalences, contradictions, and uncertainties inherent in post–socialist transformation processes. Similar to post–colonial studies, post–socialism has come to signify a critical standpoint: "critical of the socialist past and of possible socialist futures; critical of the present as neoliberal verities about transition, markets, and democracy were being imposed upon former socialist spaces; and critical of the possibilities for knowledge as shaped by Cold War institutions" (Chari & Verdery, 2009, p. 11). In a way, research on post–socialist transformations has joined "a larger group of 'post' philosophies reflecting the uncertainties of our age" (Sakwa, 1999, p. 125).

This chapter examines emerging efforts of bringing the categories of post–socialism and post–colonialism together – what Chari & Verdery (2009) call "thinking between the posts" – and discusses their relevance for comparative education. By locating the discussion of the "posts" in the context of globalization, the chapter aims to interrogate the politics of knowledge production after the Cold War and reassert the place of difference and divergence in debates about education and globalization. In particular, the chapter outlines common epistemological foundations between post–colonial and post–socialist research, including questioning historically generated geopolitical partitions of the world (or the so–called "three worlds' ideology") and critically interrogating globalization meta–narratives in order to offer an alternative account of complex reconfigurations of educational spaces in the globalization context. By joining forces, I argue, research on post–socialism and post–colonialism has the potential to collectively challenge the established frameworks of Western modernity and critically interrogate dominant globalization frameworks.

Although such a collective statement is critical, it is equally important to acknowledge the geopolitical diversity of the region and the variety of socialist and post–socialist experiences among different countries of Southeast/Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I will use the term "post–socialism" as a broad discursive category to examine the social construction of Southeast/Central Europe vis–a–vis the West after the fall of the socialist bloc. Approaching "post–socialism" from a single analytical perspective would thus allow us to draw parallels between post–socialism and post–colonialism, highlighting the ways in which conceptualizations of East and West are mutually constituted (Owczarzak, 2009). Furthermore, this approach would also open an opportunity to examine post–socialism as a part of broader phenomenon of globalization and, perhaps, as a challenge to (neo) liberal globalization.

While drawing primarily on an extensive literature review, the main arguments in this chapter also stem from my personal experience with socialism, post–socialism, and post–colonialism. I was born and raised in Soviet Latvia and witnessed Soviet colonialism first–hand as a school student during the Soviet period. After the collapse

of the Soviet Union in 1991, I experienced "post–socialism" as a university student, academic, and professional in such diverse post–Soviet contexts as the Baltics, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Belarus. I also studied in the United States at the time when post–Soviet republics were receiving most of their Western development aid. At some points of my academic and professional life, I was on the receiving end of Western educational reforms when I worked as a teacher educator in Latvia and a professor in Kazakhstan. At other points, I was a facilitator of educational policy borrowing in the post–socialist region when I worked as a consultant for Western NGOs and international development agencies in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Repeatedly, I found myself in a boundary zone where global, national, and sub–national imperatives have constantly collided and become (re)negotiated. In this chapter, I draw on some of these experiences in the context of broader literature on post–socialism and post–colonialism in order to reflect on the interplay of "posts" in comparative education.

KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AFTER THE COLD WAR

Regions are invented by political actors as a political programme, they are not simply waiting to be discovered.

(Newman, 2001, p. 58).

In *What was Socialism and What Comes Next?,* Verdery (1996) convincingly argues that the Cold War was "a form of knowledge and a cognitive organization of the world" (p. 330). It shaped mutual perceptions and research practices in far–reaching ways, laying down "coordinates of a conceptual geography grounded in East vs. West and having implications for the further divide between North and South" (Verdery, 1996, p. 330). These coordinates were primarily based on dichotomies – such as capitalism/socialism, religious/atheistic, imperialist/liberationist, or good/ evil – that affected both public perceptions and academic research. While capturing the confrontational nature of the Cold War discourses, these dichotomies also revealed how "Cold War definitions of the self, nationhood, and state were shaped by reference to a dangerous 'other'" – either within or outside the homeland (Folly, 2000, p. 508).

Even though the Cold War is over, these dichotomies – and the conceptual geography partitioning the world into East vs. West (and North vs. South) – perpetuated into the post–Cold War era. For many academics from post–socialist countries that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet empire, the intellectual critique did not exclusively focus on analyzing the former relationships between the colonizer and the colonized (Bhabha, 1994; Memmi, 1965) or interrogating the effects of the Russian colonial culture on newly independent societies. Rather, it revolved around national identity questions vis–a–vis the West, especially Western Europe or the United States. As Chioni Moore (2001) observed, "post–colonial desire from Riga to Almaty fixate[d]

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not on the fallen master Russia but on the glittering Euromerican MTV–and–Coca–Cola beast that broke it" (p. 118). In other words, the East vs. West dichotomies not only outlived the Cold War, but also assumed new characteristics in the post–Cold War context, wherein the former socialist bloc has emerged as the West's "other." Finally independent from the influence of the Russian empire, the newly independent states of former Soviet Union thus found themselves to be a part of the new imperial project – that of Western (European) democracy and market– economy.

Scholars analyzing post–socialist transformations through the post–colonial lens have drawn on Said's (1978) concept of orientalism to explore representations of the region as the West's "other." Said (1978) defined orientalism as the interplay of three interdependent concepts, including an academic field of study, a discourse based on distinctions between "the Orient" and "the Occident," and "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 2–3). This multi–dimensional conceptualization allows us to see both the dominance of Western conceptual paradigms in constructing representations about the non–Western "other" as well as the presence of self–orientalizing patterns in academic scholarship within the post–socialist education space itself. Drawing on the concept of orientalism, the sections below examine three dominant themes that shape research on post–socialist education transformations, including the narratives of (1) crisis, (2) the "return to Europe," and (3) the project–driven nature of the post–socialist transformations (or what I refer to as "project societies"). These narratives are not mutually exclusive and often circulate simultaneously, revealing the multidimensional politics of knowledge production in the context of globalization.

LIVING IN "CRISIS"

While focusing on post–socialist geopolitical transformations, it is important to acknowledge that the narratives of "crisis" and "danger" provided the main lens through which the countries behind the Iron Curtain were knowable to Europeans and North Americans during the Cold War and earlier (Heathershaw and Megoran, 2011)[2]. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, however, the narratives of "crisis," "danger," and "decline" have spread beyond the politics and the concerns over the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In part, these narratives were triggered by harsh post–socialist realities associated with "political muddling, weakened state institutions, nascent civil societies, and downward spiraling socioeconomic decline" (Bain, 2010, p. 40). Approximately one third of all countries in the region experienced armed conflicts throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, further intensifying the devastating effects of the "transition"[3]. Is it not surprising, perhaps, that the rhetoric of "crisis" found its way into academic and policy discourses as clearly reflected in the titles of reports that discursively construct the region as rife with conflict and danger: *So What Did Collapse in 1991? Reflections on Revolution Betrayed* (Jacobsen, 1998), *Incubators of Conflict: Central Asia's Localized Poverty and Social Unrest* (International Crisis Group, 2001)*, Failed Transition, Bleak Future?*

(Peimani, 2002), *Central Asia: A Gathering Storm?* (Rumer, 2002), *Kyrgyzstan: A Faltering State* (International Crisis Group, 2005), *Uzbekistan: Stagnation and Uncertainty* (International Crisis Group, 2007), *Tajikistan: On the Road to Failure* (International Crisis Group, 2009), *Central Asia: Decay and Decline* (International Crisis Group, 2011), or *Balkan Volatility: The Deepening Crisis in European Super–Periphery* (Bartlett, 2013).

In the area of education, the effects of the post–socialist transitions brought their own "crisis," which was primarily associated with the rapidly declining funding for education, decreasing student populations in the context of the broader demographic crisis (especially in the Baltic republics), HIV/AIDS epidemic among youth, the declining status of the teaching profession (Eklof & Seregny, 2005; Silova, 2009; Niyozov, 2004), and growing socioeconomic stratification of society through education (Lisovskaya & Karpov, 2001; Bodine, 2005). Notwithstanding a relative stabilization of the post–socialist societies in the late 1990s and 2000s, the narrative of "crisis" has persisted as education sector reviews and research studies continued to point out the alarming statistics, including falling expenditures, declining literacy rates, decreasing enrollment, rising student dropout, deteriorating capital infrastructure, outdated textbooks, stagnated curricula, and a shrinking number of qualified teachers. Many studies concluded that educational systems had become less equitable and more corrupt (Hallak & Poisson, 2007; Heyneman, Anderson & Nuraliyeva, 2008; Johnson, 2008).

The theme of "crisis" proliferated in all genres of education literature, including policy reports, education sector reviews, ethnographies, qualitative case–studies, and quantitative cross–national comparisons. International academics, experts, and agencies have insisted almost unanimously that education systems in the region (especially in Central Asia and the Caucasus) were approaching a "crisis situation," highlighting the urgency of immediate reforms through research studies and reports with such titles as *A Generation at Risk: Children in the Central Asian Republics of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan* (Asian Development Bank 1998), *Youth in Central Asia: Losing the New Generation* (International Crisis Group 2003), *Education and Fragility in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (UNESCO IIEP, 2010), *Public Spending on Education in the CIS–7 Countries: The Hidden Crisis* (World Bank, 2003a), among many others. Commenting on education in Central Asia and Azerbaijan, for example, Johnson (2004) concluded that public education systems were reaching a "tipping point," a point at which institutional and professional capacity drain away so that education systems are no longer capable of regenerating themselves:

> The public or secular educational systems in Azerbaijan and post–Soviet Central Asia are clearly failing, particularly in the poorest regions and for the most disadvantaged elements of the population.... the situation — while perhaps salvageable — is rapidly approaching the "tipping point" of systemic failure, especially in the poorest nations such as the Kyrgyz Republic (or Kyrgyzstan) and Tajikistan. (p. 7)

Similarly, Rust (1992) described the "chaos" surrounding post–socialist education reforms in Czech Republic, Germany, and Poland:

> Today, the teaching staffs of schools are unstable, school programs are going through chaotic transitions, acceptable teaching materials are unavailable, and old norms of defining appropriate behavior and values have disappeared. Add to this the fact that there has been a psychic breakdown on the part of the young people – who sense instability, who are unable to cope with the new freedoms given to them, who are aware of the spiraling unemployment rate, who live in an environment where both parents and teachers appear to be in a state dislocation and high anxiety – and one may have some sense of the problems with which schools must cope. (p. 387)

Although the perception of "crisis" has been at least partially rooted in post–socialist transformation realities, it has also been actively constructed by Western scholars and policymakers. In Central Asia, for example, the discourses of "crisis" and "danger" were primarily associated with potential Islamic extremism and terrorism in the context of the "war on terror" and repeatedly reported by international agencies despite the lack of evidence to support such claims. In 2005, *Central Asian Survey*[4] devoted an entire special issue of the journal to examining "the discourses of danger" in Central Asia, pointing to the tendency of "the researchers, the development agencies, the experts" to discursively construct the region as rife with conflict and danger (Thompson & Heathershaw, 2005, p. 4). Drawing on critical theories in international relations (Campbell, 1992), the editors argued that the "danger" is not an objective condition; rather, it is inherently subjective and historically constructed. In Campbell's (1992) words, "danger is in effect an interpretation. Danger bears no essential, necessary or unproblematic relation to the action or event from which it is said to derive" (p. 1). Looking from a variety of research foci – for example, small arms proliferation or trafficking of narcotics, arms, and humans – the contributors to the special issue acknowledged the permanent presence of the discourses of "danger" and "crisis" in the region, but they also highlighted the lack of empirical evidence for claims made about danger by various international development agencies. Collectively, they argued that "danger" was in fact discursively constructed.

The outcomes of such particular discursive constructions of the post–socialist region as being in "crisis," "danger," and "decline" are multiple and varied. In contrast to the Cold War period, the discourses of "crisis" in the post–socialist context are no longer exclusively used by (Western) outsiders to understand the region, but they have also become internalized by the post–socialist subjects themselves. For example, Bain (2010) explains how some educational policy experts use the narratives of "crisis" and "decline" for domestic consumption to purposefully exaggerate crisis in order "to reach newspaper headlines, stir public opinion, and influence national policy–makers" (p. 40). Similarly, local educators may invoke the discourses of "crisis" to secure funding for their schools from non–governmental organizations (NGOs) and international development agencies. For example,

Barsegian (2000) describes how Armenian teachers selectively invoked the image of "starving Armenians" for sometimes local, sometimes foreign audiences:

> After returning from a research trip in Armenia, Nora Dudwick described to me the differences between group self–representations in a public forum and individual self–representations that emerged after the public meeting. She had attended a meeting at a school at which teachers, feeling they were particularly badly paid, discussed whether to go on strike. During the meeting, they described their everyday difficulties: ridiculously low salaries that left them unable to afford heat in winter, buy decent clothes, or even maintain adequate nutrition for themselves and their families. They spoke movingly of standing in front of their pupils to teach while almost fainting from hunger. After the meeting, when Dudwick chatted informally with the teachers, they took pains to assure her that in fact, they were well able to provide their households with food, and they stressed their ability to cope and survive. They had adjusted their collective public performance, with its political goal, to the image of starving Armenians, while privately and in interaction with a foreigner they readjusted individual images to show themselves as resourceful and fully capable of hospitality (p. 126).

This example illustrates how "crisis" becomes normalized and used creatively by local educators to deal with the post–socialist realities. Reflecting on the state of "permanent crisis" in post–Soviet Russia, Shevchenko (2009) argues that the narratives of "crisis" have become routinized in the post–socialist space by providing a broader framework for "forming alliances, building a sense of community, and maintaining moral boundaries" among post–socialist subjects (p. 174). Similarly, Bain (2010) describes various ways of coping with everyday crisis such as "laugh–at–it" and "laugh through tears" mechanisms as reflected in educational folklore, where, for example, the drastic shortage of funding for education is captured as "new freedom, freedom from financing" and the constraints in innovation presented as "necessity is the mother of invention"[5] (p. 40). In a sense, "crisis" becomes a worldview, providing a new framework for dealing with post–socialist change in both public and private spheres of life.

While shaping everyday lives and experiences of people in the post–socialist region, the routinization of crisis has broader implications as well. It is a powerful mechanism through which the post–socialist region becomes embedded in (Western) public consciousness as a place of insecurity, uncertainty, conflict, crisis, and even danger. Writing about the discourses of "danger" in Central Asia, Heathershaw and Megoran (2011) argue that the region is thus "written into global space as the object of multiple and intersecting formal, practical and popular geopolitical discourses which imagine and inscribe it as a particular locus of danger" (p. 589). Notwithstanding the variations of the orientalist theme within the region – what Bakic–Hayden (1995) calls "nesting orientalisms"[6] – the post–socialist region is generally portrayed as a place incapable of independently overcoming the "crisis" and therefore in need of "rescue" and "reform" from the West.

RETURNING TO (OR CATCHING UP WITH) EUROPE

The orientalizing narratives of "crisis," "danger," and "decline" have highlighted the dominance of binary conceptual frameworks used to understand post–socialist change (Silova, 2010). In comparative education, the emerging rhetoric of "crisis" has meant that education needs to be normalized (or reformed) against the prevailing Western models. In this context, the West has been uncritically presented (and sometimes accepted) as the embodiment of progress, providing "the normative affirmation of the Western modernity project" in academic terms (Blokker, 2005, p. 504). For example, the enlargement process of the European Union has been understood as an "external anchor" for Eastern European societies, implying the end of the post–socialist "transition" and offering specific steps to move away from the socialist past (Blokker, 2005, p. 504). Similarly, the joining of the Bologna process has signified the "modernization" of the higher educational systems for the post–socialist policymakers, realigning "old" systems with the "new" European standards. In other words, association with Europe (and the West more broadly) has had a "powerful legitimizing and mobilizing effect" for post–socialist reforms (Bechev, 2006, p. 8).

By referencing both the past and the future of education at the same time, policy documents and research studies focusing on post–socialist education transformations have tended to reject everything "old" (or Soviet) and embrace everything "new" (or Western). Based on an analysis of education policy documents in post–Soviet Ukraine, for example, Fimyar (2010) explains how education policy documents make use of "traditional binary oppositions such as authoritarian/humanistic, state/civil society, industrial/information–technological [knowledge] society, national nihilism/ self–identification, monopoly/decentralization, and totalitarian/democratization to emphasize the differences between the communist and neoliberal systems of rule and approaches to government" (p. 82). In this context, the "old" system has been characterized by "authoritarian pedagogy," a "totalitarian state," and a system of "state governance," which needs to be eradicated in order to become truly "modern." Similarly, Ozolina's (2010) study of accountability reforms in post–Soviet Latvia illustrates that the term "Soviet" has carried connotations of the outdated, the undesirable, or simply the "old," which could potentially "threaten the 'Westernization' of Latvia" (p. 573)[7].

Such dichotomous representations of the post–socialist education transformations have not been limited to particular countries, but have rather been attributed to the whole post–socialist region of Southeast/Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. For example, Perry's (2003) analysis of 220 policy documents and research studies in 13 countries[8] of the post–socialist region reveals that most documents portray post–socialist education systems as inferior to Western ones. She explains that policy documents present the West as "tolerant, efficient, active, developed, organized, and democratic, and the East as intolerant, corrupt, passive, underdeveloped, chaotic, and undemocratic" (Perry, 2009, p. 177). As such, these binary constructions reorient the post–socialist education space within the post–Cold War East/West conceptual map,

contributing to the perception of the region's marginality vis–a–vis Europe and the West:

> The logic of progression embedded in such "maps" builds upon oppositions between communist and neoliberal systems of rule. Conceptual binaries, which present two poles in the map of transition, give the actors a sense of direction and infuse a readily digested meaning into the process of educational reformation. (p. 82)

Reliance on these binary frameworks reveals a very particular way of conceptualizing post–socialist transformations and social change more broadly, treating non–Western societies as residual and portraying "Western societies as the seat of historical change and the apex of social development" (Outhwaite and Ray, 2005, p. 201; Silova, 2010). Within this logic, the post–socialist region emerges as "in between" east and west, while the direction of education reforms becomes inevitably linked to Europe and the West. As Fimyar (2010) notes, the idea of "catching up with Europe" (or "returning to Europe," depending the country in question)[9] becomes "a grand purpose of national development projects and a mantra of political and policymaking discourses" (p. 65). Whether faithfully implementing education reforms or simply speaking "the language of the new allies" (Silova, 2004), these narratives reaffirm a predetermined, Western–oriented future of education reform in the post–socialist region. This logic is clearly demonstrated in Tibbits's (1994) optimistic predictions about post–socialist education transformations, where democracy, human rights, and the rule of law are exclusively associated with the West:

> As Central and East European countries roll unevenly forward, the hope is that there will be ever–increasing evidence of democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights, and that educational reform efforts will enable classrooms to reflect this... perhaps in the long run, such successes will provide classrooms flying further West with fresh insight about education for democracy and human rights. (p. 11)

Using such catchphrases as "democracy" and "human rights," many Western scholars have thus been able to avoid post–colonial charges of imperial imposition and domination in the academic field. According to Perry (2003), "democracy then becomes the vehicle by which many Western scholars assert their schooling is superior" to that in the post–socialist countries (p. 159). Meanwhile, the Western concepts of "democracy" and "market economy" are presented as the only viable options for post–socialist education reforms, while alternatives are largely overlooked. The binary constructions of East versus West have thus constrained possibilities for imagining any other futures. As Bain (201) convincingly argues, this logic marginalizes local innovative capacities and restricts educators in the region to following narrow Western reform pathways: "follow others' footsteps, fall into similar traps, and transplant remedies and solutions developed in other contexts, cultures, and traditions in their historical sequence, no matter how inadequate these could be" (p. 50).

BUILDING "PROJECT SOCIETIES"

As the preceding discussion illustrates, the underpinning binary of East versus West has firmly "inscribed its logic onto educational reforms of the region" (Griffith & Millei, 2013a, p. 14), while producing ready–made templates for education reform in the post–socialist region. This logic is, perhaps, most visible in the emergence of the "post–socialist education reform package" across the region – a set of globally "travelling" policy reforms symbolizing the adoption of Western education values. In some cases, this reform "package" has been imposed through the structural adjustment policies introduced by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. In other cases, however, it was voluntarily borrowed by policymakers in the former socialist state out of fear of ''falling behind'' internationally (Steiner–Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006, p. 189). Reflecting global neoliberal imaginary, the reform "package" includes such policies as student–centered learning, introduction of curriculum standards, decentralization of educational finance and governance, privatization of higher education, standardization of student assessment, liberalization of textbook publishing, and many others (Silova & Steiner–Khamsi, 2008)[10]. Although the features of this "post–socialist education reform package" vary from place to place, they do exist (at least discursively) in most countries of the region.

The emergence of the new education reform "package" has been accompanied by the arrival of international experts, projects, and loans to expedite the reform process. Backed by "scientific" quantitative data from empirically validated studies and cross–national student achievement studies (e.g., PISA and TIMSS), international transfer of (Western) "expert" knowledge has become instrumental in solving national educational problems. Typically, the transfer of knowledge has been facilitated through "projects" – initiated either by international financial institutions, bilateral and multilateral organizations, international or local NGOs – quickly becoming the panacea for solving all problems in the post–socialist context. Sampson (2003) refers to the proliferation of projects in terms of the formation of "project societies," which involved a unidirectional traffic of resources, people, and ideologies from West to East/South (p. 313). He argues that resources, people, and ideas do not simply "flow" – "they are sent, directed, channeled, manipulated, managed, rejected, monitored, and transformed on their journey eastward by the myriad of middlemen at the sources, on the way, and in the local context" (p. 316). In other words, projects are not just about the movement of resources; they are, in fact, about control over the future direction of post–socialist transformations.

Meanwhile, many international agencies present Western "solutions" to educational problems as scientifically proven and value free. Elliott and Tudge (2007) highlight this dynamic in their discussion about the "pervasive influence of western ideas and practices" in Russian education the 1990s and 2000s:

Despite a long history of high educational standards, largely superior to those in many Anglo–US contexts, it was not long before Russian schools and universities were playing host to teachers, academics and assorted education

consultants from the US and Western Europe, all eagerly promulgating their theories and practices in respect of educational reform. In addition to small–scale partnerships, western–inspired reforms were also advocated by major international bodies such as the World Bank, the Soros Foundation, the British Council, the Carnegie Foundation and the United States Agency for International Development... Such initiatives, often presented by international aid agencies as value–free, technical approaches applicable to any context, in actuality reflect a particular political worldview in which democratic pedagogy, learner–centredness, and individual autonomy are seen as necessary prerequisites for full participation in a capitalist society (p. 98).

While contributing to the global dissemination of neoliberal ideology, the emergence of the "project societies" in the post–socialist region has inadvertently reinforced the power of international "experts," enabling them to speak for those who supposedly lack expert knowledge to independently determine their own futures (Silova and Brehm, 2013). For example, numerous country reports and research studies produced by Western "experts" have explicitly identified the lack of local capacity in formulating policies or implementing reforms. Whether commenting on education reforms in Latvia, Albania, Kosovo, or Tajikistan, the verdict has been the same: local policymakers and educators are incapable of independently initiating education reforms. A cursory examination of regional and national reports by OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) and the World Bank clearly illustrates this point:

[In Kosovo], there is a lack of professional capacity in, and strategic vision of, curriculum reform. (OECD, 2003, p. 337)

[In Albania], there is a lack of knowledge and skills to aid the reform in the governance of education. (OECD, 2003, p. 52)

[In Albania], there is a lack a meaningful educational research and policy development capacity important for improving the quality of teacher education. (OECD, 2003, p. 67)

[In Bosnia and Herzegovina], policy leadership capacity, i.e. policy development, legislative work, performance monitoring and evaluation, and information management is lagging behind development elsewhere. (OECD, 2003, p. 161)

[In Latvia] the OECD team is concerned that the MoES [Ministry of Education and Science] is seriously challenged in its capacity to accomplish its current legal mandate. The MoED is not well positioned to make the transition to the more strategic leadership role that is required to move education forward. (OECD, 2001, pp. 168–169)

> [In Tajikistan], management and planning capacity in the MOE [Ministry of Education] remains very limited for supporting tasks such as policy development, long–term planning, monitoring and evaluation system, and the assessment of the performance of the education system and reforms undertaken. (World Bank, 2003b, p. 5)

Rather than pointing to the challenges of post–socialist transformations, these reports incapacitate local efforts to engage in education reform. These reports explicitly position post–socialist policymakers and educators as passive, ignorant, and incapable of meaningful thought and action. They also lack critical reflection on the donors' policies, external financial flows, and coordination that push ministries in confusing and sometimes contradictory directions through various political conditionalities and completing mandates. By implication, the "know–how" rests with the Western "experts" who are readily available to offer (and profit from) technical assistance and facilitate the spread of "best practices" across the vast array of countries in the post–socialist region. Generating particular epistemological "rationalities," such research contributes to the production of educational knowledge that not only attempts to explain education phenomena but also constructs "norms" embedded in education theories, policies and practices. In this context, as Escobar (1998) explains, "the forms of power that have appeared act not so much by repression as by normalization; not by ignorance but by controlled knowledge; not by humanitarian concern but by the bureaucratization of social action" (p. 92). As an example of knowledge/power in operation, education reform – and the multitude of projects designed to facilitate it – can be understood as a "disciplinary technology," that is as an important tool for "managing crisis" in the non–Western world (Tikly, 1999, 2001; Samoff, 1994). In other words, these new forms of power set the contours – and the limits – of possible trajectories of post–socialist transformations.

More broadly, these dominant discourses also imply that "the core can learn little from the periphery, so that local knowledge and experience from CEE [Central and Eastern Europe] is irrelevant" (Domanski, 2004, p. 378). This process of marginalization sidelines work produced in the post–socialist region or by non–Western researchers. Such work is often perceived as add–on case–studies, which are used to either interpret or affirm existing Western theoretical frameworks, rather than to contest them. What we see is a hierarchically organized set of ideas and knowledge, which is based on the belief that Western theories are valid in another country until proved otherwise, while "other theories are seen as limited, parochial, and only local" (Stenning & Horschelmann, 2008, p. 315). In addition to silencing the multitude of local voices, these results in the ongoing (and uninterrupted) process of collapsing difference and divergence found in the post–socialist experiences into the universalizing accounts of educational convergence.

CONCLUSIONS: THE INTERPLAY OF "POSTS" IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

The questions raised by the examination of post–socialism through the lens of post–colonialism have important implications for comparative education. First and foremost, they reveal that "versions of orientalism" continue to operate in both Western and Eastern European epistemologies (Cernikova, 2012) – whether in anthropology, sociology, political science, or comparative education. In fact, some scholars suggest that the concept of post–socialism itself could be perceived as an "orientalizing" category through which western scholars have constructed post–socialist Eastern Europe and Central Asia. As Cervinkova (2012) explains, post–socialism is "essentially a western concept that grew out of the Cold War tradition of studies of socialism in the Soviet Empire by west scholars" and gained momentum in the context of cultural hegemony following the political, economic, and ideological defeat of socialist regimes in Southeast/Central Europe and the former Soviet Union:

> The Cold War had its victors and losers; communism had lost, and the defeat of its political regime shifted into the historical disintegration of people's work and life worlds under communism. Caught in the tumult of changes that condemned the past and celebrated the future, we bought post–socialism together with neo–liberalism and other western products. (p. 159)

From this critical perspective, academic scholarship and policy research on post–socialist transformations has undoubtedly contributed to the project of epistemological dominance, setting the terms through which post–socialist countries, people, and their experiences have been defined. As this chapter illustrates, this epistemological dominance becomes clearly visible in the discursive practices through which the West constructs the post–socialist region in both real and imagined terms. Building on binary constructions, the post–socialist region emerges as "monolithic," "undemocratic," "chaotic," "dangerous," and "unable to change" (Buchowski, 2006; Owczarzak, 2009). At the same time, the West is positioned as a model for emulation, bringing "hope," "progress," and "salvation" to the post–socialist region. As Lindblad and Popkewitz (2004) explain, these modern narratives of "salvation" invoke "social obligation to rescue those who have fallen outside the narratives of progress" (pp. xx–xxi). For post–socialist schools and societies, the promise of "salvation" is thus primarily associated with abandoning the socialist past and embracing the Western future – one project at a time.

In comparative education, the study of post–socialist education transformations has largely focused on tracing the complicated trajectories of global (or Western) reforms (such as outcomes–based education, privatization, decentralization, child–friendly schools, etc.) as well as broader concepts circulating internationally (such as education for democracy, equality or civil society) in post–socialist contexts. While effectively disrupting the notion of a "linear" transition, such studies nevertheless privilege the global (and the West) by identifying a "global" reform and tracing its

complicated trajectory locally (Silova, 2012). Even if the focus is on the "local" visions of education, it is always compared – whether implicitly or explicitly – against the global, further strengthening the established conceptual binaries. We end up, in Cowen's words (1996: 167), "reading the wrong world" – a world governed by Western (neo) liberal rationalities – while further stabilizing dominant education models as valid, compelling, and meaningful in comparative education research. The emphasis on the dominant ideas and ideologies makes what is outside the global (or the West) impossible to imagine, producing political and theoretical effects of closure (Silova, 2012). As Mehta (2009) observes, "there is the erasure of voices as stories struggle to become part of a dominating discourse and the loss, or translated versions of those stories as they become part of the visible discourse" (p. 1193).

It is at this juncture that post–socialist research converges with the agenda of post–colonial studies. As Chari and Verdery (2009) explain, post–socialism has come to signify a critical standpoint similar to that post–colonialism: "critical of the present as neoliberal verities about transition, markets, and democracy were being imposed upon former socialist spaces; and critical of the possibilities for knowledge as shaped by Cold War institutions" (p. 11). Notwithstanding differences between the "posts," both post–socialism and post–colonialism focus on periods of major political change (whether the collapse of the socialist bloc or the granting of independence from colonial power) and both "posts" critically interrogate the complex outcomes of these dramatic changes forced on those who underwent them as they become "something other than socialist or other than colonized" (Chari & Verdery, 2009, p. 11). In other words, both "posts" provide political, cultural, and epistemological "emancipatory inspiration" aiming to disrupt global capitalism, while envisioning alternative futures (Cernikova, 2012, p. 159; see also Stenning & Horschelmann, 2008; Chari & Verdery, 2009; Owczarzak, 2009; among others). In Žižek's (2009) words,

> What if today's global capitalism, precisely insofar it is "world–less," involving a constant disruption of all fixed order, opens up the space for a revolution which will break the vicious cycle of revolt and its reinscription, which will, in other words, no longer follow the patterns of an eventful explosion followed by a return to normality, but will instead assume a *"new ordering" against the global capitalist disorder*? (p. 130, emphasis in the original)

Collectively, thus, post–socialism and post–colonialism offer a powerful challenge – perhaps of a revolutionary potential – to dominant narratives of (neo) liberal globalization. As Chari and Verdery (2009) suggest, the interplay of "posts" enables us to make comparisons and connections between different forms of imperialism across time and space, thus offering a better understanding of contemporary forms of global imperialism in the post–Cold War context. It also inspires "action as counter–cultural and counter–hegemonic movements critiquing inequalities and advancing more just and egalitarian alternatives" (Griffith & Millei, 2013b, p. 163). With their emphasis on contradictions and complexities, the interplay of "posts" not only

further complicates our understanding of ongoing reconfigurations of educational spaces in a global context, but also opens opportunities for us to engage in theorizing globalization and its effects on education in refreshingly new ways.

NOTES

[1] For example, see Ella Shohat and Robert Stam's (1994) argument that the Second World is "now non–existent" (p. 26), Zygmund Bauman's (1997) claim that the Second World is "no more" (p. 51), Michael Hart and Antonio Negri's (2000) statement that the Second World is "almost nowhere at all" (p. xiii).

[2] For an interesting historical discussion about the narratives of "danger" in Central Asia see Heathershaw and Megoran (2011).

[3] Following the collapse of the socialist bloc, armed conflicts broke out in the Caucasus (including Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1988–94 and Georgia in 1990–94), in Central Asia (including in the Ferghana Valley in 1989–1991 and Tajikistan in 1992–93), the former Soviet republics (including the northern Caucasus of the Russian Federation in 1992–2001 and Moldova in 1992), and the former Yugoslav republic (including former Yugoslavia in 1991–95, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1997–99, and FYR Macedonia in 2001).

[4] *Central Asian Survey* is a peer reviewed, multidisciplinary journal concerned with the history, politics, cultures, religions and economies of the Central Asian and Caucasian regions).

[5] Russian proverb is "голь на выдумки хитра" [gol' na vydumki khitra], which is literally translated as "hunger is clever at thinking things up."

[6] Bakic–Hayden (1995) argues that the countries of Eastern Europe are fully aware of their own image in the "West" and play off "Eastness" against Europeanness, where Central Asia appears as more "East" or "other" than Eastern Europe or the Balkans.

[7] At the same time, however, there is also "the traditional, the intimate" – often associated with Soviet experiences – that continues to form the sense of national identity and hence cannot be easily dismissed simply as "old," further complicating our understanding of post–socialist transformation processes (Ozolina, 2010, p. 590).

[8] Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia.

[9] For example, the ideas of "returning to Europe" dominated the education policy space of Eastern/ Central European countries in the early 1990s and 2000s, especially in the context of the EU accession. In the non–EU accession countries, however, the rhetoric has focused on the idea of "catching up with Europe."

[10] The features of ''the post–socialist education reform package'' are unique in that they combine (1) elements common to any low–income, developing country that implements the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) recommended by the international financial institutions (e.g., decentralization and privatization), (2) education reform aspects specific to the entire former socialist region (e.g., market–driven textbook provision, increased educational choice, standardized assessment systems), and (3) country– or region–specific components (e.g., conflict resolution in the former Yugoslavia and gender equity reforms in Central Asia). (Silova & Steiner–Khamsi, 2008, pp. 19–22).

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CHILDHOOD AND POWER

Transnational and National Discourses on the Regulation of Policies for Early Childhood Education in Brazil

INTRODUCTION

This study aims at analysing the formation of the field of discursivity in favour of social participation and the influence of discourses produced by social and political organizations. These discourses form part of an educational debate on Early Childhood Education Policies in Brazil, both as formulated by international organizations and public institutions of the State.

It is relevant to note the interdependence and complexity of the web of connections which have been established among the producers in their sharing of discourses and joining up of discursivity fields, which include aspects ranging from the diffusion and interchange of social participation proposals to political induction, prescription and regulation in the national curriculum.

Each of these producers has its own specificities, especially when articulating regulations for the participation of subjects. These organizations work as partners, but in different ways. They share experiences, but sometimes they assume a different position in the management of the social participation of children. Two forms of regulation are evident: policies of inclusion–exclusion in terms of educational opportunities and the access of children to education, and policies of management practices towards promoting childhood and family freedom.

In the case of childhood freedom, it is with the belief that education can contribute to development. This idea is supported by arguments in defence of autonomous, active, participative, self–responsible subjects gifted with participative capabilities.

POLITICS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL REGULATION

But what sort of thing is a human,
What lies behind the name?
A geography?
A metaphysical being?
A fable without a sign to undermine it?
How can a person be human?

When the world disappears?
Carlos Drummond de Andrade
Speculations on the word human

With this epigraph, the Brazilian poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade reminds us of the concomitance of the two dimensions of the human individual: that of a metaphysical being, logical, with ethical values, symbols, morals, and religion; and that of the socio–historical dimension of the individual as a social being who constantly recreates and transforms the societies where he/she lives and acts.

The poet invites us to reflect on the human configuration that articulates and interpenetrates the individual human being who perceives and feels the other before "him/herself", constructing and being constructed as a person, with an individuality, a unique and unrepeatable identity and a subject, located in a time, historically in a geography, family, nation, world, a world of meanings and symbols, a world comprising culture and history. That is to say: two different worlds of collective life: a political world, with institutions and social and cultural practices natural to a political society with nation–states, governments, and political systems; and a social world, with cultural institutions and practices natural to civil society, in families, communities and associations with moral and cultural traditions.

Today, we would add a third diverse world, that of an industrial culture, of globalization, of the market, and of the media, including television, radio, films, theatre, music and literature. This is a world of tensions as to the way in which children are assuming these practices, social values that are ever more dependent on symbolic and economic systems of production and the reproduction of social and cultural life in this globalized world. Reflection based on policies that are formulated for early childhood education requires us to make an overview of children's education and culture and how the culture of consumption, technology, communication and the speed of information interact, since they are designed for children as mere spectators or targets and not as subjects who can produce culture.

Indeed, this role of cultural production and the way this integrates the culture of material and symbolic consumerism sets the tone of the debate about the development of intercultural pedagogies in and for infancy, as well as the role of technology and the speed of information, which views children as simple spectators, objects and not productive subjects of culture.

If on the one hand the epigraph suggests reflections related to how human knowledge arises from the interrelations between actions, signs, meanings, and the socio–cultural environment, on the other hand it helps us understand that human activities do not exist in a vacuum, but that they are historical processes constructed with an intentional participation of subjects within specific socio–cultural practices. Owing to this social nature, these processes are reciprocal and require reference to the various economic, political and cultural contexts where they are found. To illustrate, let us refer to Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, for whom

There would be no human action if there were no objective reality; no world to be the "not I" of the person and to challenge them; just as there would be no human action if humankind were not a "project" if he or she were not able to transcend himself or herself, if one were not able to perceive reality and understand it in order to transform it. (Freire, 1987, p. 40).

In selecting the fragment from the poem by Drummond, we show that we also intend to focus on a group of metaphors: the geography of the (historical) subject, sign, representation, and world, in the sense of problematizing the chosen theme of this article. At the same time we wish to understand the fields of discourse favourable to social participation under the influence of discourses produced by political–social forces as part of the wider educational debate –of international organizations and official national institutions– in the formulation of policy content concerning early childhood education in Brazil.

These discourses, whose statements institutionalize social participation as a discursive formation which names, profiles, transforms, and modifies the objects of knowledge, power and being, which have been being constituted over the past few decades, to transform child subjects plainly visible to others, persons and institutions, and to themselves. To make them subjects endowed with the competency for participation. As a consequence, techniques of government will exercise the art of governing actions, strategies and rules connected with knowledge and power.

A detailed analysis of the discourses and discursive practices present in early childhood educational policy incorporated in transnational[1] and national fields of discourse is a complex task. It leads us back to two central principles of the objective–oriented theory of activity (Vygostsky, 1988; Leontiev, 1972) and the choice of these as the driving force of this presentation.

We believe that these principles form the epistemological basis for an understanding of the social and cognitive dimension of human development. They are basic to perceiving how social actors participate, interpret, reinterpret, appropriate knowledge, skills and values whose fundamental value consists in solving the problems which society presents; enabling action in distinct spheres – social, interpersonal and professional– in order to understand, analyse, interpret, and intervene in social, cultural, economic and political reality.

These two principles may be summarized as follows: (1) knowledge is something produced and appropriated by means of individual social and cultural practices; (2) knowledge systems, beliefs, social relations among people, subjectivities, and meanings are constructed through actions mediated by signs –symbolic and non–symbolic; discursive and extra – discursive – and through social interactions (Porto, 2009).

These principles synthesize and inspire two important ideas for our reflection. The first has to do with the social actors and agents of policies formulated for early childhood education. Families, teachers, pedagogical coordinators and the child are all producers of culture. Children are capable of establishing dialogues with

other children, with adults, and with other cultures and to interpret and understand their world and ways of being with multiple interactions. The second idea is that educational policies are in themselves discursive texts. Materialised in discourses and discursive practices, they are statements rendering infant subjects into abstractions, subjective experiences, individual and collective skills changing them into political rationalities that end up inscribing them as aims and wishes of the powers. As objects of the power/knowledge/being, child subjects are governed, shaped and regulated by corporate political practices in children education reforms. Therefore, they are changed into a device of govern mentality: that is, a set of knowledge, institutions, procedures, analyses, reflections, and tactics, a very specific complex form of power, according to Foucault (1993; 2003).

The thinking of Norman Fairclough (2001; 2009) helps to clarify the relationship between the constructive and constitutive effects of discourse, understanding this as a form of the use of language as well as a social practice. With respect to the constructive aspects of language functions – identity, relational, and ideational – these correspond respectively to the ways in which social identities are established through discourse, how social relations among the participants in discourse are represented and negotiated, and the ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities, and relations. These are the reasons that have led the author to affirm that discourse contributes, in the first place, to the construction of "[...] 'social identities' and 'subject positions' for 'social subjects' and the types of 'self' [...]."(Fairclough, 2001, p.91). Secondly, discourse contributes to constructing the social relations between people. And third, discourse contributes to the construction of knowledge and belief systems.

With respect to specific kinds of discourse, these vary relative to the particular function of the social domain or institutional setting in which they are found, which confers them their constitutional social character. In agreement with Foucault about the concept of the discursive formation of objects, subjects and concepts, Fairclough states:

> Discourse contributes to the constitution of all those dimensions of social structure which directly or indirectly shape and constrain it: its own norms and conventions, as well as the relations, identities and the institutions which lie behind them. Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91).

Another important notion when seeking references for the analysis of educational policy is that of spaces of discursive constitution and construction through social participation. In our study, these places are the generators of normative and prescriptive rules that govern policy discourse on the national and transnational planes.

Thus, we seek to analyse and describe these spaces as regards how they characterize formulations, in the form of statements that explain possible positions

of the subject. That is, which signalize in the sense attributed to it by Foucault, to "[...] determine what is the position which each individual can and should occupy in order to be its subject" (Foucault, 2002, p. 109). That is, statements fix the subjects – both those who produce them and those to whom they are directed –. Spaces out of and within which each subject attains his/her identity (Maingueneau, 1997). Space as an instance of enunciation, as a social topography of the subject who inscribes him/herself there, occupying a space or being caught up in the net and by the discursive trauma that emerges from it.

We may speculate that discourse is not traversed by one unique subject, but through its dispersion. It is in this dispersion that the variety of possible positions occurs that can be occupied by the subject within the discourse, so that "[...] different modes of statements expressing the subject's spreading, instead of his/her synthetic or unifying role." (Foucault, 2002, p. 61).

We can use this to describe the dispersion of discursive occurrences and how they are manifested in discontinuous planes, in the fields of discursivity investigated, as a function of status, of locations and positions that it may occupy and from which the subjects may speak, to other subjects – international organizations –, examples of prescription and policy making and their councils and scientific associations, among other examples that influence educational policy. The discourse is thus, a "[...] field of regulation for various subjective positions", and, at the same time, "an exterior space where a network of distinct places can be developed" (op. cit., p. 62).

Thus, spaces are instances of enunciated subjectivity that have two faces: they turn the subject into the subject of his/her discourse, and, at the same time, subject him/her. While they submit the enunciator to their rules, they at the same time legitimize him/her to say what he/she says, attributing to the speaker an authority linked institutionally to the location (Maingueneau, 1997; Charaudeau and Maingueneau, 2004).

Accordingly, we attempt to identify fields of presence and coexistence, constituted and retaken in different events, in relation to early childhood education, the community involvement in policies and programmes for child education, and received discourse for learning and developing participative skills. We presuppose that it is possible to verify how they coexist, how they share these discussions within the discursive happenings of the fields investigated, and how they produce specific discursive formations of political culture, epistemological culture and pedagogical culture. That is to say, we admit that it is possible in this way to analyse the discursive statements and contents in the interplay of their appearances and their dispersals.

These relationships allow us to explore the existence or not of commonalities among the fields of discursivity, how they share or do not share feelings, objects of knowledge, organization of the models they use with infant education, where they touch, where they part, and where they exclude each other.

An analysis of the simultaneity and dispersion of statements, of their discursive functioning – common or disputed – which make up the field of power/knowledge

and render infant subjects aware of the forms of social administration in the historical moments and movements of political educational reform.

It is along this line that in this article we seek to delineate the prevalent meanings that have been produced, confirmed, and negotiated during the course of the debate on the formulation and regulation of infant/early childhood education in Brazil. Emphasis will be placed on those that have been incorporated in policies set at specific historical periods by the Ministry of Education and by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization).

FROM GLOBALISED POLICIES TO LOCAL PARTICULARITIES: FILTERING THE DISCOURSE

There is a debate on the issue of transnational educational policies and national government responses to these in terms of local, contextual and cultural particularities.

This debate has been gaining strength since the 1990s and is fed by strong empirical evidence when new models of educational governance come into play, including international organizations as social actors with specific perspectives. These include UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), the OECD (The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and the World Bank.

External international influences are deeply involved in national policies, whose diverse mechanisms of globalization in the field of education may appear as the externalization of knowledge, whether this is by standardization, diffusion, transmission of educational models from the recurring examples of international situations reinterpreted in the light of cultural and historical lines and transformed into local structural reforms (Schriewer, 2001), or by the imposition of rules tied to specific international financial instruments of cooperation (Dale, 1999). That is, international technical and financial cooperation organizations play an important role in the forms of regulation and management of educational policies, since their influences extend from the standardization of educational goals to be followed to the implementation of actions and the evaluation of results and even to the construction of a network of common or reciprocal references among the nations, which result in transnational semantics constituted from world society, which, according to Schriewer (2001) turns into a form of mandate, vague but present, and not without conflict. It can be appreciated, however, that these institutions have taken on enormous challenges.

When we consider Cochran's model (1997) for the analysis of early childhood policies, we can see that in the interdependence between the macro system and the mediating policies, ideologies and local cultures, the latter come to operate as "filters" that serve to weed out the policy alternatives and programs incompatible with them. These alternatives are reinterpreted and updated under pressure from contemporary problems.

In the pertinent literature, the 'filter' metaphor helps to clarify the relations between the global and the specifics of the context of local educational policies, revealing that despite their modernity appearing as a new type of global civilization, this does not imply that the phenomenon of globalization is a synonym for the adoption of uniform world standards of meaning and educational organization. These "filters" serve as a system of purification that comes into effect according to the specific needs of national educational systems and local regions. In their own way, they capture and select the intentions of the international environment and bring and use them, mostly, as a function of the occasions and needs of the internal reflections of a particular system (Schriewer, 2004).

For Dale (2002), national filters modify, mitigate, interpret, resist, configure and accommodate to the external pressures exercised on nation–states and national societies. For that author, ideological filters function as regulators, molding national policies and eliciting a determined political effect so that local systems organize their priorities to make themselves more competitive. Through this mechanism, international competition becomes the dominant criterion for national policies.

Competition, the new category adopted as the propulsion towards modernity, demands competencies and ways of appropriating knowledge in order to access contemporary cultural codes. Thus, education is an important tool since it is the principal channel for access to knowledge and to technological development, requisites for reaching a greater competitively in world markets.

To understand the process of global diffusion, transmission and local reception of educational experiences and traditions as particular contexts in areas of reflection on the reform of educational policies, we must look at the concepts of internationalization and internationality discussed by Schriewer (2004). The centre of this debate discusses whether the internationalisation of discourses about education would shape the adoption of an international ideology or whether it would be a systemic reflection with national and cultural particularities. The main tensions with respect to this may be interpreted as on–going controversies between the investigators who favour theoretical discourse crystallized in the paradigm of a world system (Meyer and Ramírez, 2002) and those who distance themselves from it by suggesting another reading for education systems to apply educational global models, while they do not reject the world system theories (Luhmann and Schorr, 2000). In fact, despite admitting the idea of modernization as a process which leads to a new type of global civilization, these authors base their arguments on concepts of auto reference, on reflexivity and externalization to explain, although not exclusively, the adoption of State models and educative policies as products of contextualized reflection – starting with the internal needs of the educational systems themselves –.

Externalisations adopted as a resource to the international scene and the concept of internationality indicate worldviews or references taken through national or cultural lenses in tune with their specific situations and needs that were reread according to local cultural and historical lines and changed into structural reforms. In other words,

externalisations are seen as a way of drawing to instances of international situations and theoretical traditions that seek to emphasise their significance for educational policy or legitimating ideologies. They emerge from the need to reread and update the normative and theoretical content of these traditions towards the pressure of contemporary problems.

Regarding the ways of externalisation, described above, we should also consider the ability of international organisations such as UNESCO, for instance, to change the so–called successful experiences that developed countries undertake within valid international references and render these countries reference societies. Externalizations, as a resource for world experience, require the elaboration of arguments (starting from the research) relevant for educational policies and practices. This becomes possible because of the space which published reports produced by experts occupy in the area of General Conferences, a strategy used to legitimize the discourse of educational transnationality and at the same time to publicize the idea of social cohesion based on a group of projects common to all nations. This trend is evident in the well–known UNESCO report for the 21st century, which alludes to democratic participation and social cohesion with reference to two experiences: the "Cooperation between the community and a school in East Harlem: an initiative crowned with success (New York)" (Schiewer, 2001, p. 57); and "Construct and enable civil society: a project carried out in Hungary" (id., p. 61). The President of the commission justified actions at the international level to try to find satisfactory solutions to world problems thus:

> [...] because if the industrialized countries can help the developing countries through their successful experiences, their techniques and financial and material means, they can, on their part, learn from these ways of cultural heritage transmission, ways of the socialization of children, and, fundamentally, cultures and ways of being different (Schiewer, 2001, p. 30–31).

By participating in this movement, both international governmental and non–governmental organizations cover an extensive range of research activities, of development and documentation in the educational domain, an example of which happened with the World Bank, UNESCO and other agencies of the United Nations, just to cite the most influential. A broad variety of international associations specialized in research, administration, and educational development exist, whose *specialists* work as collaborators in pedagogical fields, educational programs, and in the economics and development of education (Schriewer, 2001). They have at their disposal a rich network made up of communication tools – specialized journals, textbooks, collections, periodicals, conferences, colloquia, and national and international seminars, among others –, which owing to their productive power, of their legitimacy, and of the international distribution and circulation of their discourse, end up acquiring a status of knowledge and exercising global influence.

Identified as "internationalizing forces", this dense network of international communication and cooperation has been establishing patterns of intervention

on a global scale, both in the field of economic development and education, and has influenced the policies of many countries, in particular Brazilian educational policy, and particularly with respect to the policies and practices of early childhood education (Rosemberg, 2002; Porto, 2009).

Among the principal discursive events (Foucault, 1995) that constitute and reinforce them are the world educative programs of Faure (1972); the United Nation Convention on the Rights of Children (November, 1989); the World Conference on Education for All, celebrated in Jomtien, Tailand (1990); the World Summit on Children (1990); the New Delhi Conference (1993); The Report for UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century (1999) and its Latin American correspondent, the 21st Century Agenda, organized by PNUD (United Nations Program for Development); the Dakar Conference (2000) and, most recently, the document Education for All by the year 2022.

It could still be said that influences are exercised chiefly through devices defining the variability of effects by which globalisation affects the content, procedures, and results of the elaboration and development of national policies. Trying to explain the relationship between global economic change and the changes in educational policies and practices, Roger Dale (1999) has identified several external mechanisms that influence national policies: (i) loans; (ii) teaching and learning with other formal systems of educational organization and planning; (iii) harmonization – which operates by means of a collective accord, an example of which is provided by the Treaty on European Union (1992), which introduced a new situation, conferring on the population a transnational European identity and the Euro as a single currency; (iv) dissemination – most present in the activities of the OECD; (v) standardization, for example the scientific policy adopted by UNESCO; (vi) installation of interdependence – a mechanism most strongly related to the NGOs, and, finally, (vii) imposition – compulsory measures such as those imposed on education by the World Bank.

The variety of mechanisms shows that globalization cannot be reduced merely to the imposition of a unified policy on all countries. Neither can it be seen as a homogeneous process with a socio–economic nature. With respect to this, we can note different forms of regionalization, for example what happened in Europe, in Asia and in America.

In the next section, we raise the question of the nature and extension of these international forces in early childhood education policy in Brazil in recent times. To accomplish this, we shall demonstrate parts of a group of statements in their enunciative function and discursive practices – of control, transformation and reproduction of discourses in favour of social participation – including the principal discursive events, and in particular those in which UNESCO has a been a protagonist in its role as the part of the United Nations specialized in working with education. We shall show how this discourse has been recontextualized and incorporated by official organs responsible for the regulation of the national curriculum for early childhood education – the Ministry of Education – MEC.

Early childhood education has been the object of constant discussion in Brazil, perhaps the most debated social question in the past five decades. The first discussions in this period addressed the issue of elitism, particularly the exclusion of the poor and non–whites. Expansion of access for different social levels was claimed, while their protection and particularly their conception was characterised by a care–giving vision. At the same time, however, its curricular content was considered separate from other critical questions of the country and objects of systematic contestation – some views of a philosophical –pedagogical character which, for many years, were hegemonic in Brazilian educational thought – which is conventionally called a pedagogy of content, of literacy, of actions integrating care and education, or educational caring, of the holistic formation of the child, of curricula or policies which apparently were concerned with cognitive development, or with education as human formation.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AS FORM OF REGULATING EDUCATIVE OPPORTUNITIES

In this study it was possible to identify the meaning given to the three principles on which the 1970's and early 1980's predominant discursive grammar was founded, based on the discursive formula of 'expansion, low cost and community action', which would give rise to mass pre–school attendance and would legitimate the discourse for an 'alternative' model that began to coexist with the international agencies' discursivity and the field of educational policy in the 1970's.

This model expressed the form of attendance projects adopted by Ceape (1972–1977) and Proape (1977–1982); later the 1982 National Programme extended it as a national policy. The programme introduced a new format for social policies, which combined low levels of public spending, community participation, and use of the community's own empty sites. This was similar to projects developed in the People's Republic of China and in Senegal, reported in the *Faure Report* as simplified prototypes for satisfying a need that were cheaper than those of kindergartens and conventional pre–schools. Our analysis shows that these ideas of the 'alternative' model there seems to be a form of coexistence – statements already formulated in other discursive spaces, concretized by repetition, in discourse dispersed with controlled regularity.

Constancy and enunciative regularity are visible in the World Declaration of Education for All (1990), the Delors Report (1990) and in the World Summit for Children (1990), for instance in their discourses for the family and community–based low cost model considered the appropriate method of intervention. The World Bank (2002) has recently categorically reaffirmed the supposed internationality of the model by suggesting an expansion of universal access to pre–school for poor children, which revived the Proape model with the support of mothers and the community, an alternative to the low cost of public service offers developed in the 1970s.

Associated with this 'expansion, low cost and community action' is another discursive formation appearing about the same time – that of early childhood education as an investment in future human capital – linked to the discourse associating investment in early childhood to society's future economic productivity, as the World Bank has explained.

Discourse acquires a new shape that points to a chain of relationships which involve the improvement of schools, children's mental and physical abilities and skills, and the chance of improved women's participation in the labour market.

This discursive formation states that development in early childhood works against poverty, because investing in pre–school allows future human capital to be constructed; starting school earlier implies eliminating student drop–out and failure, thus improving schools. It sustains economy–based discourse and a compensatory vision for education, a vision that is linked to cultural shortage theories whose discourse concerns compensating cultural deficits and the development of poor children. Focusing on poverty, it reinforces the vision that educational investment in pre–school children through compensatory education may solve problems of poverty, social restraint, school drop–out and failure, the earlier start of formal schooling.

In fact, new forms of inclusion were introduced in the educational discourse characterising participation in educational opportunities through models in tune with a compensatory vision and the idea of low public investment and community commitment. These discourses appear in the field of international discursivity as intrinsic opposition, departing from the UNESCO discourse, which has been establishing early children's rights for education in nursery schools and kindergartens since the 1970s.

We may read this apparent contradiction as being a revelation that discourses may be in a relation of complementarity (diffraction of discourse) in as much as the two may coexist in the field of international discursivity: the conventional school model and the low–cost alternative one. Therefore, the analysis about the spreading and distribution of statements concerning social participation highlights the influence of international agencies, particularly UNESCO, in the formation of Brazilian educational policies. It is worth noting that at this historical moment Brazilian academic and scientific production criticised and broke with the national policy discursive homogeneity associated with international organs. In fact, we can identify a discourse characterized by criticism of the identity and persistence of the compensatory model of low public investment, community–based, the latter both a generic and abstract term according to criticism, and of the forms of intervention by the World Bank in the educational policies, and in particular, in early childhood education policies (Vieira, 1999; Rosemberg, 1999; 2002; Porto, 2009).

We have also found commonalities in transnational discourse and national educational policy concerning some ideas constituting common aspects for the organisation of international systems and which are expressed in statements: equal rights; democracy; early childhood education as children's and their family's rights; the citizen's participation in the management of public affairs; expansion of

compulsory education; primary education as the first step in permanent education or life–long learning; the informal nature of traditional educational structures; the irrelevance of the classic distinction between formal, non–formal, informal and in–school and outside–school education, to mention only some of the hegemonic statements in the production, spread and transmission of specific educational models. This is because the political texts are action texts and the responses to these texts have real consequences, in the words of Ball, Bowe & Gold (1992), since, while apparently consensual, policies confront realities and other policies circulating in practice contexts.

Episodes extracted from the *corpus documental* [body of documents] exemplify the formation of transnational discourses governing the construction of children's abilities. That is, they reveal forms of social administration of the child that policies of Brazilian early childhood education have come to include.

For example, the formation of citizens with civic and social competencies to think [judge for themselves], given the dangers, the contractions and injustices of the contemporary world marked by technological revolution, is an idea that has been going around the international area for more than four decades: the formation of a "new man" who can understand the global consequences of individual behaviours, to rank priorities, and to assume the solidarities which make up the destiny of the species" (Faure, 1973, p.32). This "new man" will need the competency to know how "to establish equilibrium between the extended capacity of understanding and power, and its counterpart, the power of affective and moral character (id. 1973, p.45).

In effect, 'Uniting *Homo sapiens* and *Homo faber* is not enough; such a man must also feel in harmony with himself and with others: *Homo concors*'. (ibid, sic)

This same discursive content is in the Declaration of Education for All (1990), and appears in a singular way: not by what is said, but rather because of its return, which, while it falls within the notion of significance and similarity since it is part of a strategy giving common features to each action, is different, wider and more detailed. It appears minutely, according to descriptions also found in the Delors Report (1990), in the form of four pillars of education: learning to know; learning to do; learning to live together; and learning to be. The latter was already in the Faure Report, so it appears again, and since it belongs to the same discursive formation, it became, together with the others, part of the four pillars of education. These pillars are the principles to guide the individual to face the 'storms' of the complex contemporary world and shape the bases for learning and abilities for the future to come. Regarding critical skills, The *Delors Report* explains that 'from infancy to adulthood [education] should forge a critical ability in the student allowing him/her freethinking and autonomous action (1999, p. 63)'. Education, and particularly teachers, has an important role in the 'construction of the ability to think autonomously, an indispensable condition for those who will participate in public life' (Delors, op.cit. p.34). Students will be asked about this ability to become citizens and must 'balance the exercise of individual rights, based on public liberties,

with the practice of duties and responsibility towards others and the communities they belong to' (ibid).

The process of understanding the world, the person rendering him/herself as a subject making history, should go through all schooling levels, beginning with early childhood education, seeking to develop in the human, in the process of learning to be, "autonomy and the spirit of initiative, even a taste for challenging" (id. p. 100). Democratic education as a "preparation for the real exercise of democracy" is also emphasised (Faure, 1973, p.172).

These competencies help to construct the argument of education as a factor of liberation, as stated in *Faure* when the Commission defined it, inspired by Paulo Freire, as contrasted with education for domestication and as an act of understanding and a means of action allowing the change of reality. The Faure Commission also drew on foreign experiences based on the pedagogisation of the active subject: those developed in the Northeast of Brazil and later in Chile with the Freire method of literacy; Freire's 'concept of conscientisation'; the 'active school' of the Swiss Adolphe Ferrière; the 'self–education' of the Italian Maria Montessori; the 'Teamwork' of the American John Dewey; the 'active method' of the Belgian Ovide Decroly and the 'new school' movement of Celestin Freinet, to mention just a few.

With this reflection we suggest that by legitimating these ideas and concepts, UNESCO uses ways of internationalisation to form and spread discursive homogeneities about transnational education models that are rendered in mandates when it gives priorities and suggests and legitimates modes of local education policies when it embraces legal and epistemological educational options for national and local policies. From our point of view, the convergence of discourses, the sharing of meanings, the objects of discourse, concepts, and educational system models cannot be understood as a copy. Each national or cultural context, according to its needs and specific situations, rereads and updates the normative theoretical content of its traditions towards the pressure of contemporary problems, in tune with their own local cultural and historical perspectives.

PARTICIPATION AS A PRACTICE OF THE LIBERTY OF THE CHILD AND THE FAMILY: WAYS OF REGULATING INFANT SUBJECTIVITIES

Studies in the literature show the meanings we give to the policy of spaces of discursivity: institutional spaces where the child, family and community are seen, stirred, theorised, and regulated once they have received invented social practices from diverse discursive modes, which come together and embrace a movement, ranging from aspirations of public powers to children's individual abilities, skills and personal and subjective attitudes.

As is known, the management by public powers of children's freedoms goes back to mass schooling, a discursive formation that introduces the notion that education for all is the cure for educational problems and social injustice. The Conference on Education for All (a discursive event which reintroduces the significance and priority

of universal basic education as the basis for learning and life–long human growth into the world of social and academic discussion) takes up again the education for all. And its guiding statement – fulfilling the basic needs of learning – is now the will to govern others, by others, and him/her by him/herself; that is, it becomes a passage and point of arrival for policies.

This kind of statement in pedagogical discourse is in the form of instrumental contents essential for learning – reading, writing, calculation and problem solving – and in the basic contents of learning – knowledge, skills and attitudes – abilities and conditions that are necessary for the formation and development of the educational subject who incarnates modern ideals: participation, liberty and autonomy.

This statement has helped to change educational and school paradigms, a turn in the effective discourses underlying the model of school expansion centred on disciplines, skills and behavioural goals. This change has introduced new pillars for education: to understand, to know how to do, to know how to live together and with others, and to know how to be; and along with them, the discourse of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and competence. The discourse has changed and new values have been given to education: more specifically, to learning and teaching, with emphasis on competence and learning, foundations that will sustain the formation of the 1990s' competitive school discourse.

These ways of exercising power are also introduced to form citizens, as ways of adhering to the realities extending from economic relations to the conduct of particular individuals having particular skills and characteristics that make them different. New *regimes of truth* have been created by knowledge of subjectivity, ways of saying things about other human beings, rules of what can be said and about those who are subjected to them (Rose; 1998).

Presented as pillars of education in the Delors Report, the abilities of knowing, doing, living together and with others, and how to live converge with the discourse of the National Curricular Reference for Children's Education (RCNEI) in Brazil): learn to know, learn to do, learn to live together and learn to be.

This is a specific grammar which characterises the discourse that is institutionalised as a general policy of truth, to use a Foucauldian term, materialised in a set of general objectives: 'positive image of self', 'self–esteem', 'articulation of interests and points of view', 'transforming agent', 'extension of social relationships', 'encouragement of diversity'.

> So that children can manage their own actions and judgements according to other principles rather than obedience, and so that they can have a notion of the significance of reciprocity and cooperation in a society that suggests to meet the common good, it is necessary that they exercise self–government and enjoy gradual independence to act, with conditions to make decisions, taking part in the establishment of rules and sanctions (RCNEI, v. 2, p. 15).

According to Foucault, self–experiences are basic for shaping the subject, and they are 'historically constructed' (Larrosa, 1994, p. 43). Knowledge about the subject,

practices of regulation and ways of subjectivity run through them. Statements such as those that follow render visibility for these issues: 'It is necessary to provide opportunities for children to direct their own actions" (RCNEI, v. 2, p.15).

> Ideas of liberty and autonomy substantiate the National Curricular References statements, which were introduced as tools enabling the exercise of citizenship or at least favouring the "integral development of children's identities" (RCNEI, v. 1, p. 5).

This discourse tries to construct a new world *ethos* identified with human rights and the spreading of feelings of responsibility and international solidarity that emphasises the ethical and moral values of society towards the process of globalisation. As a producer and spreader of this discursivity, UNESCO has assumed the role of spokesman with nations, taking on itself the challenge of giving a human face to globalisation given its ability in educational, scientific, cultural and communication matters.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

As a final reflection, we can say there is still much to be questioned. As we have argued, macro – and microsystems in interdependent relationships produce and spread discourses shaped by a system of ideas, knowledge domains, power relations, regulations for a multiplicity of local, regional, national and transnational situations which, in some way, help to shape individual action and participation. This passage, from the education and cultural level of policy formulation to contexts of production of the discursive text and discursive practices, involves the notion of representation. And so it receives influence, dislocation, treaties, alliances, pacts and negotiations and agreements among positions, not always consensual, which emerge from the situation and new meanings and senses are generated.

In brief, we should clarify the implications of these reflections for new challenges for Qualitative Research in the Social Sciences and Education, and in particular in Comparative Education, pointing out a question we have considered disturbing: how can the pedagogical practices arising in schools escape from the standardisation that seeks to homogenise them on a plane where there are so many complexities and asymmetries?

As with the 'linguistic turn', a term designating the predominance of language over thought and a way of making a distinction between old and modern philosophy, another division between the modern and contemporary, we might suggest – drawing on Habermas who adopted this terminology speaking of 'epistemological', 'linguistic' and 'linguistic–pragmatic turn'– we are facing a new 'turn', the 'discursive' one. Then, we would be before new rationalisations, new shapes at the level of discourse and discursive practices on the local, regional and transnational scale. Accordingly, which way should Comparative Education go? From the level of ideas, processes of uniformisation or homogeneities and heterogeneities that are in constant tension,

to the discourse level and discursive practices and discourse in linked networks? Or are we seeking new ways of analysis and approach in times of cultural globalisation facing an economic crisis at local, regional and transnational scale?

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NOTE

[1]   The term transnational is used in the sense attributed it by Cortesão and Stoer (2001) when describing the educational phenomenon as transcending the limits of the nation–state. This approximates the concept of transnational cultural environment as world polity with the intention of a universal validity, as propose by Schriewer (2001).

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TRANSLATING HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The Question of Vernacular Degrees in Postwar Malaya[1]

This paper analyses the decision of British academic advisors to deny vernacular university degrees in post–war Malaya. As a case study, this decision was important as one element in the first systematic effort to build up higher education in the British Empire. This new imperial effort defined university development as "an inescapable corollary of any policy which aims at the achievement of Colonial self–government" (Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, 1945, p. 11; hereinafter "Asquith")[2]. As a component of decolonization, new higher education institutions were to empower local peoples to the greatest possible extent. Affirming local cultures by supporting advanced learning through local languages, when justifiable, was therefore an important tenet of this effort. However, this road was not taken in Malaya–a decision which would later lead to considerable local confusion and consternation.

To explain this rejection of vernacular degrees in Malaya, this paper employs the analytical lens of translation. 'Translation' pinpoints an intermediate stage involving the "re–interpretation of educational ideas which routinely occurs with the transfer in space," after they have been moved but before they assume a fully localized form (Cowen, 2006). In this case, translation entailed re–interpreting broad imperial guidelines for university development to justify rejecting, in Malaya, the option of vernacular degrees that the guidelines had offered. These guidelines had been predetermined by a wartime commission, convened under Lord Cyril Asquith, who created a blueprint for higher education for the projected postwar empire. However, Asquith's commission had formulated its ideas based mainly on African conditions; many Asian territories, including Malaya, had then been under Japanese control. The guidelines were therefore first transferred to re–occupied Malaya by dispatching a team of British academic advisers, under the leadership of Sir Alexander Carr–Saunders. Armed with Asquith's guidelines, Carr–Saunders was tasked with translating Asquith for Malaya (Commission on University Education in Malaya, 1948, p. ix; hereinafter "Carr–Saunders").

The resulting translation included the rejection of Malayan vernacular degrees, a conclusion which would engender considerable local dissatisfaction and resistance. This outcome was somewhat paradoxical, since Carr–Saunders' Commission explicitly praised the cultural achievements of various local groups and the academic

achievements of existing institutions. It even recommended the immediate creation of a new university – unusual under Asquith's general framework – by combining two well–established local colleges (Carr–Saunders, p. 5)[3]. Nonetheless, the proposals for this projected university became a site for contesting the comparative worth of colonial cultures and languages. Given this, many questions arise regarding Asquith's portability and Carr–Saunders' logic. Were Asquith's principles regarding local languages and cultures applicable to Malaya? How, and how far, did local factors and local actors influence the translation? How did the meaning of Asquith change where multiple local groups and languages – in this case, Malay, Chinese, and Tamil – had to be negotiated? How did colonial cultures with long–standing educational heritages interpret British concepts of higher education development? What does the Malayan case reveal about the transfer of a broad imperial vision to local settings, and about the forging of a British educational legacy in a decolonizing world?

Casting the denial of vernacular degrees as an issue of translation reveals how the compulsion to translate created contortions of meaning. Examining the process, product, and implications of the re–interpretive act also explains why, in applying a general educational blueprint to the Malayan locale, cultural and socio–political factors came to overshadow academic ones. Though the resulting translation was shaped significantly by local issues, the difficulty of juggling between the three local groups led to asymmetrical evaluations of culture and language. When combined with the multiplicity of goals embedded within Asquith's vision, the proposals for the new university became increasingly convoluted. Consequently, an educational effort aimed towards eventual political freedom, ironically imposing new limits on Malaya's local populations.

This paper unravels the problems embedded in Carr–Saunders' rejection of vernacular degrees. It shows first how the translation process both employed and ignored the relevant Asquith principles on language and culture. It explains the ambiguities and irrelevancies of those principles, which were reflected by a recommendation by Carr–Saunders that did not translate directly from it or cohere as a whole. Second, it demonstrates how the translation product applied an unrelated Asquith principle to the issue of vernacular degrees. It reveals why instead of adhering to academic evaluations of the three local languages and cultures Carr–Saunders chose to highlight a political tenet of socio–cultural equality. The concluding section analyses how the implications of this disjointed translation, while elevating the Malay, entailed threat and insult to the other cultural groups. It argues that, although aiming to produce social cohesion and parity, the translation actually created new hierarchies and new causes for dissatisfaction and disunity.

TRANSLATION'S PROCESS: AMBIGUITY REGARDING LANGUAGE

The process of translation in the matter of vernacular degrees should have been straightforward and simple. Asquith gave guidelines targeted exactly at this issue,

and defined standards by which to evaluate the suitability of languages for university instruction. The Carr–Saunders verdict against vernacular degrees suggests that the team either understood Asquith's principle only partially or was unsure how to re–interpret it for Malaya. This section demonstrates how the application of Asquith standards yielded a multi–tiered cultural picture, and why this picture did not match the decision to deny all vernacular degrees. It reveals how Asquith's categories, which seemed clear enough on paper, were in fact very vague and inadequate as regards Malayan complexities. Finally, it posits that a contextual disjuncture – between the imperial principles from which they were translating and the Malayan locale for which they were translating – made the translation task tortuous, even impossible.

The Carr–Saunders rejection of vernacular degrees entailed two decisions: a dismissal of an Asquith possibility, and a denial of a local proposal. When the commission toured Malaya and met with various concerned groups, some Malayan Chinese had suggested to the Carr–Saunders Commission that a university degree course be created "for which knowledge of spoken English would not be needed" (Carr–Saunders, p. 16). Such a suggestion was not surprising, as the Asquith guidelines had offered both the option to implement vernacular degrees and a way to decide if they should be. The guidelines specifically pinpointed aspects within the heritage of a language which would qualify it for university usage:

> In some of the areas with which we are concerned, the mother–tongue of students will be a well–established language with a long history, assured standards and a wealth of literature. In some cases it may be the medium of at least part of the instruction. There should be no difficulty in such instances in planning suitable courses of university study leading, it may be, even to an honours degree. (Asquith, 1945, p. 91)

However, the Carr–Saunders Commission rejected vernacular degrees in any of the three local languages on the grounds of unpreparedness. It enunciated obstacles such as the need for a separate set of entrance examinations for each language and for a sufficiently broad disciplinary range of coursework. More importantly, it claimed that some academic disciplines could not be properly taught in the local vernaculars. Specifically, Carr–Saunders asserted that "it would be out of the question to provide courses in economics, science, or medicine for student with no spoken English" (p. 16). Based on these combined factors, the Commission announced that English should be the principal medium of instruction in the proposed university and that present obstacles "prohibit[ed] the institution of a vernacular degree" (p. 16).

The refusal of Asquith's vernacular degree option meant denying not only the Chinese proposal but also, implicitly, rebuffing the Tamil and Malay groups. Carr–Saunders' denial of a Malay vernacular degree did seem to follow Asquith's logic. Its assessment of existing Malay scholarly and educational resources certainly gave reason to doubt whether Malay could qualify as a university medium–of–instruction, according to Asquith's criteria. Most Malay schools provided only four years of primary education and were government–run, with the result that "education in the

vernacular has not reached beyond the primary level" (Carr–Saunders, pp. 131, 41). The Commission reported on numerous aspects of the Malay heritage that highlighted its inadequacies in terms of a sufficient written literary foundation. It asserted that "classical Malay literature is limited," with much "unwritten folk–tales and items of folk–lore" (p. 41). Furthermore, the authentic roots of Malay culture were difficult to determine: the literature that does exist "is largely borrowed from Indian, Persian, Javanese and Arabic sources," and many of the works published in Malay more recently came from neighbouring Java and were considered by the Commission to be "of little merit" (pp. 41, 42). Tracing Malay history was also problematic because of the lack of sources: according to the Commission, "documentary material for Malayan history, so far as it exists at all, is to be found mostly in other countries" (p. 46).

Although the denial of Malay–medium degrees is understandable in Asquith's terms of cultural evaluation, the rejection of Chinese and Tamil degrees is less so. The Commission expressed great confidence in the Chinese and Tamil cultural heritages. Its report described Tamil as "a rich and virile language with a large and interesting literature giving access to an ancient and still thriving culture" (p. 43). The Chinese were described as having a "traditional veneration for learning" and a "rich tradition of learning and literature" (p. 42). The Commission also observed that these two cultural groups had already set up considerable resources and institutions locally to facilitate study in their own languages at an advanced level. It determined that Tamil research capabilities were considerable, and observed that the Chinese had already established a large number of Chinese schools themselves (pp. 43, 42, 131–132).

Given the Commission's assessment of the cultural groups according to those criteria–with the Chinese and Tamils described as matching Asquith's concept of "well established language" while the Malay did not–it would seem that Chinese and Tamil could each qualify as a university medium–of–instruction. Curiously, Carr–Saunders' report does not draw this conclusion. However, while not granting any vernacular degrees, it also neglected to specify any deficiencies in these languages which would disqualify them for university degree status. In fact, in the section explaining the rejection of vernacular degrees, the individual languages in question are not mentioned. Furthermore, the report does not connect the evaluations of each language to the matter of vernacular degrees. These evaluations are found in a different section entirely, though the description of each cultural group was given exactly in Asquith's terms of longevity of cultural tradition and depth of the literature available.

The Carr–Saunders translation of Asquith's justifications for vernacular degrees seems disconnected from the specific rejection of degrees in each of the three languages in Malaya. More broadly, the translation and its explanation left other questions unanswered. Its general charges of local unpreparedness might justify why English should be a primary medium–of–instruction but would not necessitate that it be the only one. In fact, the description of science subjects as those which could

not be taught to students with "no spoken English" opened the possibility that those subjects could be taught through a combination of languages—for instance, using a vernacular language as the base, supplemented by English for specialty terminology or language–specific scholarship. The report does not explain why certain subjects could only be taught in English; in subsequent sections addressing relevant fields such as medical education, language goes unmentioned. The reasons for asserting English as the medium–of–instruction, and the rejection of all vernacular degrees, remained vague.

This vagueness may have resulted from the extreme ambiguity within Asquith itself. Asquith had not named the particular languages it deemed to be qualified for full vernacular degrees. Nor had it delineated any criteria to judge whether a language should be wholly, or only partially, the medium–of–instruction. The phrases describing a "well established language" beg for greater specificity: how long is "a long history," how much is a "wealth of literature"? The problem is further confused by the fact that the few relevant sentences come under the sub–section heading "The study of well–established vernacular languages"; this suggests that vernacular degrees were to be confined to those focusing on the languages themselves. Such a reading is supported by Asquith's final summary section, where the capsule of the above section reads: "In some cases the mother tongue of students is a well–established language with its own literature, which can be adopted as a suitable subject for study as part of a degree course" (p. 114). Strangely, this summary statement mentions local languages only as a "subject of study," not at all in terms of medium–of–instruction–though that was the topic of the section it claimed to be summarizing. Taken together, the Asquith principles on this subject are at best highly inexact, and at worst outright befuddling.

More to the point, the translation encountered obstacles because Asquith's recommendations did not speak to Malayan realities–especially regarding Malay itself. While the Commission's description of Malay seemed to fall short of Asquith's "well established language," neither were there any other guidelines appropriate to its level of development. "The study of other vernacular languages" is the only other relevant section, following directly after "The study of well–established vernacular languages." This organization creates a dichotomy of "well established" vs. "other" languages. The delineation of "other," however, specified that "the spoken language will not yet have taken, or will only just have begun to take a literary form" (p. 91). Here too Asquith does not name which languages it has in mind, but does state that this description would apply to "most parts of Africa." Malay, according to the Commission's description, is not undeveloped to this degree; yet nor could it be classified as a "well established language." Instead, Malay seems to fall somewhere in the vast range between "wealth of literature" and "will not yet have taken, or will only just have begun to take a literary form." With neither imperial category of "well established" nor "other" able to account for Malay, the translation of Asquith is obscured.

Asquith's vagueness, even inapplicability, on this issue of medium–of–instruction meant that Carr–Saunders was forced to exercise considerable creativity in applying the imperial framework to the Malayan case. In fact, its translation of Asquith is uncertain to the extent that it did not cite the relevant Asquith principle explicitly in its language evaluations: the criteria it uses to describe the three languages are in Asquith terms, but they are not quoted as such. This makes the connection between Asquith and Carr–Saunders–and, consequently, the transfer of the imperial vision to the colony–amorphous. In a way, it is not surprising that the Asquith principles, mainly based on African conditions, would become much messier when translated to Malaya. In a colony where institutions of higher learning already existed, the written language and literature of some local cultural groups were long – established, and an indigenous culture existed whose developmental stage was difficult to classify – for such a combination of circumstances, Asquith offered only the barest of suggestions. In consequence, the Commission was left to both follow and ignore the Asquith guidelines, to go beyond translation to extrapolation.

This extrapolation highlighted the limits of translation as a process of reasoning and policy recommendation. What seemed to be clear guidelines on colonial languages and vernacular degrees became blurry and disjunct when translating from a generalized framework to a particular locale, especially one where the complexity of the language situation far exceeded what the imperial vision had foreseen. In re–interpreting Asquith in such an inexact fashion, Carr–Saunders revealed the broad imperial blueprint to be both inadequate for Malaya and also fundamentally flawed.

TRANSLATION'S PRODUCT: RESHUFFLING PRINCIPLES AND PRIORITIES

Vernacular degrees constituted only one of a broad set of educational issues, both as outlined by Asquith and as translated by Carr–Saunders. The translation product, an extensive report published in 1948, gave a range of recommendations for the proposed university, from departmental organization to financing, which were to reflect other Asquith principles. Looking beyond its rejection of vernacular degrees reveals priorities unrelated to language evaluation but which seem to inform about the vernacular degree decision. This section shows how the translation product appeared to equalize the three cultural groups, but in fact placed them in a hierarchy of educational significance. It demonstrates that the proposed departmental structure and missions, vis–à–vis the different groups, elevated socio–political concerns above academic ones. Finally, it reveals how the translation product reshuffled the Asquith guidelines, appropriating an unrelated political principle to answer the question of vernacular degrees.

Although the Commission rejected the option of vernacular degrees, its departmental proposal affirmed the three local groups by recommending limited use of their languages. In the proposed new university, each cultural group would be given its own department for the advanced study of its language and literature, where courses could be taught in the relevant language. The formation of these departments

would symbolically serve as "recognition of almost every student's own language" (Carr–Saunders, p. 44). The scope of the departments would not be comprehensive: although labeled Chinese Studies, Malay Studies, and Tamil Studies, their work was to be limited to the fields of language and literature. The report specifically advocated that all other disciplinary subjects be "taught in English by the relevant departments," including those concerning the three local cultures, where the requisite expertise would be housed (pp. 44, 16). Courses such as Chinese history and South Indian geography would be taught in the history and geography departments and not in Chinese and Tamil Studies. The use of the local languages would be confined to the purview of language and literature, and within the departments dedicated to such affairs.

The proposal to teach the language and literature of each group in its own language, within its respective department, appeared to equalize them. However, other recommendations for the three departments indicated a prioritization of Malay Studies. The Commission had been charged with determining whether Chairs should be established for Malay and Chinese Studies (Carr–Saunders, p. ix). It decided to recommend chairs for both, while suggesting that, for Tamil Studies, "at present a senior lectureship or a lectureship…would suffice" (p. 43). While the report does not explain this latter decision, it is not surprising given that that cultural group constituted the smallest proportion of the three; in contrast, the Chinese were defined as a "large and important section of the population" and were then approximately equal in number to the Malay (p. 42). These recommendations for academic leadership cast Chinese and Malay Studies as institutionally equal, while giving Tamil Studies a lesser status.

The proposed plans for each department further revealed the prioritization of Malay. The recommended research agenda for Malay Studies was detailed and extensive. The Commission gave particular attention to the Malay language, asserting that "it is used by many millions of people and must be recognized as one of the world's cultural languages" (Carr–Saunders, p. 41). It highlighted the need for scholarly examination of the language, stating that "the study of its correct use might serve to raise the dignity of a language which is known to its cosmopolitan population only in its 'bazaar' form" (p. 41). The report further noted that "the existing dictionaries require revision to keep pace with a changing and growing language," and pointed out that the literary foundation of the culture could be expanded by the "proper editing" of various texts and the "publication of works still in manuscript form" (p. 41). Such a research program could not make Malay an Asquith–defined "well established language with a long history," but it could mold Malay into one of "assured standards and a wealth of literature."

In contrast, the Commission did not formulate detailed recommendations for the Departments of Chinese and Tamil Studies. Possible research foci were not even mentioned for Tamil; Carr–Saunders noted only that its department "should include the whole range of Dravidian culture and South Indian history" (p. 43). For Chinese Studies, the directions were almost entirely open–ended, asserting that its scholars

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"should be encouraged to engage in research, related to whatever may be their own particular interests in the general field of Chinese Studies" (p. 42). The only further guidance given was to localize the field, to study "the dialects used locally and such Chinese literature as there may be which has particular relevance to the Chinese in Malaya" (p. 42). By the Commission's own evaluation, Chinese and Tamil were already "well established" languages; accordingly, minimal attention was given to defining their developmental objectives.

This disparate treatment of the three departments also extended to their articulated missions. Carr–Saunders' Commission assigned social goals to the Departments in addition to academic ones. Its recommendations for Malay Studies were focused on nurturing the cultural identity of the local population. It insisted that Malay Studies be given "a prominent place" so that the new university could serve as "a rallying point for Malay culture" and "give Malays pride in their cultural heritage" (Carr–Saunders, p. 42). Departmental teaching should "inspire Malay youth with...a better appreciation of the language which...is an attractive expression of the genius of the race" (p. 41). In contrast, the purpose of the Chinese and Tamil Studies Departments was practical only: to prevent students from leaving Malaya for Indian, Ceylonese, or Chinese universities to pursue advanced studies within their native cultural heritages (pp. 42–43). However, no matter how those departments were developed in Malaya, similar ones could be found elsewhere in Asia. The Malay Studies Department, in contrast, would be the sole centre for Malay research, a unique achievement of British imperial guidance. This difference added to those already apparent in the departmental missions: for Malay, to give institutional voice to a highly insufficient written heritage, while for Chinese and Tamil, merely to extend the institutions of long–standing traditions; for Malay, to create cultural pride, whereas for the others, only to sustain it.

The Commission treated the three groups differently precisely because of the differing levels of their educational heritages. In raising the status of Malay Studies beyond what would be academically appropriate, the Commission meant to bring it to parity with Chinese and Tamil Studies. The intention was not, in fact, to reward each according to its existing achievement, as Asquith had outlined. Rather, it was to use the new university as a tool by which to achieve educational equalization, to capture "the best brains in all parts of the country and in all racial communities…no matter what their home language" (Carr–Saunders, p. 17). Carr–Saunders asserted that the causes of heritage divergence between the three groups were "due not to inherent intellectual characteristics of the races but to the operation of economic and social factors" (p. 18). Given this, the university should give Malays preferential treatment in order to overcome past imbalances. Social equalization thus emerges as a central purpose at the heart of the translation.

Such an emphasis did not depart from Asquith's overall framework. In fact, Carr–Saunders' recommendations on departments and medium–of–instruction were based on an Asquith principle—but on one wholly unrelated to the academic evaluation

of language and culture. Instead, it is this political precept which, it seems, is being appropriated for the vernacular degree question:

> It is the university which should offer the best means of counteracting the influence of racial differences and sectional rivalries which impede the formation of political institutions on a national basis. (Asquith, 10).

Although Carr–Saunders' report does not cite this Asquith principle as justification for its proposals, he did prioritize it in the author's own thinking: he later commented that the new Malayan university could "serve a valuable political purpose…by becoming an object of pride and loyalty which would knit together the diverse races of the country" (qtd. in Stockwell, 2008, p. 1166)[4]. This championing of cross–cultural cohesion for the purpose of political unity makes sense of the equal denial of all vernacular degrees. The disproportionate status given to the Malay suggests that it was really this political concern that undergirded the university language recommendations.

With such socio–political aims as a backdrop, the elevation of English as medium–of–instruction acquires social and symbolic meaning. English is required, not only for academic reasons, but to serve as a social binder. The Carr–Saunders logic weds language to its social surroundings: "it seems to us both desirable and inevitable, in view of Malay's history and present social condition, that the University of Malaya should be an English–speaking university and not a polyglot university" (p. 17). This suggestion could be seen as a reading upwards of what already existed in the lower schools system, where English–medium schools were the only ones which children of different cultural groups attended together (Tan, 1997, p. 304). A similar method was also tried in Cyprus, where the British wanted multiethnic English–medium schools to stimulate cross–cultural integration and to encourage Cypriots to replace their orientation towards Greece or Turkey with a local identity (Persianis, 1996, pp. 56–58). The Carr–Saunders English–medium decision entailed an attempt at social reconstruction through casting the proposed university as being beyond sectional competition. In further granting English the right to channel the teaching and research of all local cultures, English assumes a necessary role as a social savior: English would serve as the common ground, albeit a foreign one, through which the different cultural groups could meet.

Carr–Saunders' translation, as a product encompassing many different recommendations, gave social cohesion and parity a degree of importance that surpassed other considerations. Its academically illogical translation of Asquith –acknowledging that Malay is far behind Chinese or Tamil, yet elevating it to an institutional status equal to Chinese and higher than Tamil– seemed to result from the pervasiveness of the problem of disparate cultural groups, which made it impossible to form academic judgments independent of ethnic overtones. Analyzing Carr–Saunders' translation as a complete product reveals the motives for transposing Asquith principles across unrelated subjects, thereby achieving a political end through educational means.

TRANSLATION'S IMPLICATIONS: EMBEDDED AMBIVALENT MEANINGS

Carr–Saunders' translation for Malaya, as both process and product, created layers of embedded meanings. The multi–faceted implications and logical disjunctures invited problematic comparisons and opened new forms of ambivalence. This section shows that, while appearing to successfully localize Asquith, the translation created an environment in which cultural groups could easily feel threatened and insulted. It explains how such negative inferences could run both horizontally, between the local groups, and vertically, between the colonized and the colonizer. Finally, it analyses how competing cultural prides, between local advanced cultures and a foreign imperial culture was implied by the translation – and, before that, by the ambivalences of Asquith itself –.

The Carr–Saunders translation of Asquith to Malaya was successful in that it fulfilled its given task: it re–interpreted a general framework for a specific locale by taking local factors into account. Although it rejected a local proposal for vernacular degrees, its reasons were based on local realities. The Commission studied the conditions, educational motivations, and cultural feelings of all three ethnic groups; its report was full of details about the resources and conditions of each. In this sense, it did localize Asquith's principles, albeit in an unclear and disjointed manner; its recommendations cannot be said to result from ignorance of the locale. In this process, the Carr–Saunders Commission emphasized the ethnic imbalances in Malaya and the particular difficulties faced by the Malays. The translation of Asquith to Malaya transferred both the principles of cross–ethnic harmony and of academic evaluation of language, but privileged the former over the latter.

In other ways, however, the translation notably failed to encompass the high degree of complexity in the local cultural landscape. While the Commission demonstrated a heightened sensitivity to the Malays, nothing in its report indicates a preview of what the Chinese and Tamils might feel about its proposals. It did not anticipate, and therefore made no provisions for, any sense of cultural threat or cultural insult that might ensue. Sir Raymond Priestley, an Asquith Commission member sent the previous year to survey Malaya, had already suggested that "this particular issue is not going to be settled on principles contained in the Asquith Report" (Extract from Dr. Priestley's diary, p. 3). In particular, he had highlighted the Governor's argument that the Asquith ideal of small residential colleges would mean that many qualified Chinese and Indians would be shut out; he had warned that "any attempt to safeguard the Malay element of the population will make this situation worse because it will make the under–privileged element predominantly Indian and Chinese" (Extract, p. 7). However, the Carr–Saunders Commission demonstrated no such awareness that the equal treatment of unequal groups could create new grounds for dissatisfaction and strife.

Because of this, the Carr–Saunders translation represented a potential threat to the cultural heritages of the Chinese and Tamils. Some locals feared that vernacular schooling would not be supported at any level, given the report's recommendation

that, "as a long–range prospect of educational policy, instruction in all schools after the elementary stage…should be given in English" so that all groups could equally feed into the English–medium university (p. 17). The Chinese were especially unhappy about the university medium–of–instruction policy; they believed it would lead to the exclusion of a majority of students from Chinese–medium secondary schools unless their English standard was high enough to qualify them for admission (Wong, 2000, p. 68). To ensure the higher education of its youth, the Chinese community founded its own Chinese–medium university in Singapore within five years of the report's publication, declaring that this action was necessary to prevent cultural extinction:

> If we do not take steps to preserve our culture now, 10 years from now we may find that the education of our people will be on shaky ground. Twenty or 30 years from now our language or literature may perish. In 40 or 50 years perhaps we shall no longer call ourselves Chinese. (qtd. in Wilson, 1978, p. 93).

Beyond cultural threat, the translation implied the possibility of cultural insult. Any proposal which gave Chinese and Malay equal institutional status could only affront the far–advanced Chinese culture. Other academic advisors would later observe: "To most Chinese in Malaya, Malayanization is anathema, in view of the absence of a culture, or even a society which can as yet be called Malayan" (qtd. in Purcell, 1953, p. 72). That Carr–Saunders offered the Chinese nothing more than the other local cultural groups and that Chinese Studies would be cordoned off into a single department where even related cultural and historical subjects must pass through the prism of the English language before they could be studied or researched could certainly be read as an ultimatum in cultural denigration and disenfranchisement.

The implications of cultural insult were not confined to a comparative evaluation between the local cultural groups. The imposition of English as medium–of–instruction appeared to be a blanket assertion of British cultural superiority. Although unexplained, the specification that English was absolutely necessary to teach modern scientific subjects was not difficult to read as an unstated judgment of vernacular insufficiency. The comments of British academic advisors in Hong Kong on this subject a few years later lend credence to such a reading. They wrote that, although in Hong Kong "people have a more advanced cultural background than the peoples of most other Colonies," they believed that "much time must undoubtedly elapse before [Chinese] can be adapted to meet all modern requirements fully" (Hong Kong Committee on Higher Education, 1953, pp. 1, 27). They asserted that Chinese could not be used to teach science subjects because "the Chinese have come late to the study of Western Science, and their progress has been further retarded by the difficulty of adapting their language to modern needs" (p. 29). Carr–Saunders confirmed this view in his follow–up trip to Hong Kong, stating that the "proposal to teach modern knowledge in Chinese, though reasonable enough, would be extraordinarily difficult to carry out…. The course given in Chinese would be a different course and by

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our standards an inferior one" (Notes on Sir Alexander Carr–Saunders' Views)[5]. Although his Malayan report had not disparaged Chinese learning in this explicit fashion, it would be reasonable to suppose that similar assumptions were behind his verdict against vernacular degrees there.

A determination of local cultural inferiority vis–à–vis higher education was not universally rejected in the colonies. For instance, some African intellectuals were themselves against incorporating African Studies into their new higher education institutions: they feared this would lower the institutions' standards, given that African written documents and organized scholarship were limited (Ashby, 1966, p. 247). However, those peoples that felt their own educational, linguistic, and cultural heritages to be at least as rich as that of the British often resisted the foreign one being imposed on them. Greek Cypriots, believers in ancient Greece as the fount of all western civilization, resisted British attempts to promote English, regarding this as an unwelcome distancing from their rich Hellenic roots (Persianis, 2003, p. 354). In Hong Kong, many Chinese scholars roundly rejected British judgments on the value of their educational heritage, declaring forcefully that "China has its own educational ideals and traditions, fully as ancient and as well tried as those of the west" (Priestley, 1958, p. 28).

Asquith's inadequacy in terms of vernacular degree guidelines was pronounced for those peoples boasting a high degree of cultural and educational achievement. The translation of Asquith to Malaya highlighted, even exacerbated, these inadequacies. The combination of two directions of cultural comparison – laterally, between the cultural groups in Malaya, and vertically, vis–à–vis the imperial translators – created considerable space for cultural controversy. The sense of cultural threat was doubled in that not only were vernacular degrees denied but English was imposed. For the Chinese, Carr–Saunders' failure to appropriately acknowledge their language achievements directly conflicted with their own inherited discourse of comparative cultural evaluation. Certainly it could be argued that the Chinese, historically, were themselves experts at comparing the relative worth of cultures and languages–that their traditional system of tributary states, combined with their sense of cultural centrality, meant that they had long been engaged in a mental exercise not at all unlike the one being thrust on them by the British, and with a similar result: we are superior on the basis of our cultural, literary, scholarly, and educational prowess. To now be on the receiving end of such comparisons, and with a negative conclusion – this not only added insult to injury, but also pitted Chinese cultural pride against a British imperial one –.

Such an outcome of duelling prides was embedded within Asquith's vision. Asquith had defined colonial universities in a two–pronged fashion:

> Universities serve the double purpose of refining and maintaining all that is best in local traditions and cultures and at the same time of providing a means whereby those brought up in the influence of these traditions and cultures may enter on a footing of equality into the world–wide community of intellect. (Asquith, pp. 10–11).

This mission outlined the British role as a paternalistic one, guiding and improving colonial traditions. At the same time, it advocated the premise that all cultures contain elements of value which should be preserved. This two–sided outlook meant that the creation of universities, as a precursor to self–government, implied an ironic outcome: the twin goals of political independence and cultural affirmation could become grounds for disputing the comparative worth of colonial and imperial cultures.

The Asquith formulation was thus an ambivalent one: its double–edged mission, whereby colonial cultures were simultaneously affirmed and condescended to, established a fundamental tension. This tension, translated to the Malayan context, created new hierarchies – among the local groups, and between the local groups and the imperial translators – despite the goal of achieving equality and independence. In transferring to Malaya the ambivalence and tensions within the Asquith principles, the Carr–Saunders translation set the stage for an explosion of intermingled imposed and indigenous forces.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: IMPERIALISM AND TRANSLATION

As an example of colonial thinking and behavior, this translation appears to be one of imperialist imposition. Although local peoples were studied and consulted in the process, their suggestions were not followed and their interests were not evenly pursued. The mixed meanings embedded within the denial of vernacular degrees invited the retort that a new English–medium university was simply another symbol of colonial control. The British, in fact, were aiming to extend their influence as far and as long as possible: the imposition of English–medium education in British colonies had a long history in this (Whitehead, 1995); in the postwar period, it became even more important to stamp British influence onto the development of higher education institutions so that, after decolonization, they would remain within the British orbit, bound by what Asquith called "the ties of academic fraternity" (qtd. in Ashby, 1966, p. 224). As described later by Sir Eric Ashby (1966), the Asquith plan assumed that the British educational heritage should be the model for its colonies: "If we were going to export universities to our overseas dependencies they would of course be British universities, just as the cars we export there are British cars. As with cars, so with universities" (p. 224). Promoting English in Malaya could be one means to holding it within the British sphere of influence (Colonial Office, 1945, Malaya Long–term Policy Directives). The proposal to create an English–fluent and English–friendly identity through university education was thus eminently logical under an imperial framework.

To regard the denial of vernacular degrees merely as an act of cultural imperialism, however, would be to oversimplify[6]. Although paternalistically assuming that the transfer of Asquith's principles was both possible and desirable, Carr–Saunders did re–prioritize them considerably in light of Malayan dynamics – even to the extent of reshuffling them so that they no longer matched their paired originals[7]–. In fact, the

post–war proposal aimed explicitly to overcome past neglect of racial disharmony and actively connect disparate cultural groups[8]. Nonetheless, the vision for a new university was fundamentally ambivalent in that no local group was granted agency as regards its own educational future, but each was given an institutional outlet to advance itself to an unprecedented degree. The bestowal of these new privileges juxtaposed cultural empowerment and cultural condescension. It was this contradictory hybrid that opened new avenues of confusion and dissatisfaction. Such a result reveals the extent to which the re–interpretive act of translation is multi–faceted, not single–tracked: it is certainly possible to highly localize in one direction while failing to localize in another. Carr–Saunders not only promoted one local group over the others, but also elevated socio–political goals over the academic realities of those same groups. This selective lopsided localization – whereby achieving cultural parity between groups became more important than extending commensurate cultural affirmation to each group – led to multiple and conflicting layers of meaning for the proposed university.

That localization can backfire, inserting new problems into an already–complex landscape, reveals a real difficulty in translating under the rubric of empire. Despite the intention to create universities that would buttress political independence, localization could not escape the fundamental imperial premise that external powers should determine what constituted desirable local goals. Under the post–war decolonizing framework, translation became further complicated by the fact that Asquith's overarching principles were themselves a mixed compilation: they consisted of British metropolitan attitudes, on the one hand, and hypotheses based on colonial sites vastly different from those to which they were transferred, on the other. This combination meant, almost inevitably, that re–interpreting the grand imperial vision would fold in on itself: it transferred an aggregate whole while mismatching the component parts; it transported ambiguities while circumventing core content. Extracting the re–interpretive step for analysis reveals that it was the act of translation itself that foisted interpretive categories and processes onto Malaya – or, conversely, inserted Malaya into interpretative categories and processes – that were fundamentally unsuitable. The compulsion to translate despite this reality confined the translation's scope and contorted its purpose, constructing road blocks that prevented a more nuanced understanding of the local landscape. In so doing, it became another ambiguous piece in the puzzle of educational experiments in a British empire on the wane.

NOTES

[1] The author thanks colleagues Eleftherios Klerides and Mark Hampton for their insightful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

[2] The Asquith program is treated extensively by Carr–Saunders (1961) and Maxwell (1980).

[3] The Commission determined that Raffles College and King Edward VII College of Medicine were already operating at standards comparable to those of British universities (Carr–Saunders, p.5) and recognized throughout the Empire (Stockwell, 2008, p.1154), and that it was reasonable to bypass the

preparatory "university college" stage that Asquith had outlined as the usual stepping stone en route to full university status.

[4] In his 1961 account of Asquith's work in his *New Universities Overseas*, Carr–Saunders does not mention linguistic heritage or medium–of–instruction but does emphasize Asquith's "counteracting the influence of racial differences and sectional rivalries" as central to colonial preparation for self–government.

[5] The dynamics of the Hong Kong situation have been analysed by Chou (2012).

[6] In analysing British colonial settings, scholars such as Whitehead (1995) and Sweeting and Vickers (2007) have tempered the overarching assertions of aggressive imposition of imperial culture through education made by Edward Said, Martin Conroy, and Alastair Pennycook by highlighting complexity, ambiguity, and local input in educational policy.

[7] Beech (2006) has highlighted assumptions regarding the desirability and possibility of transfer by both imperial agents and critics of imperialism.

[8] Watson (1993) has argued that British pre–war educational policies furthered ethnic divisions. The failure of the new university to become a truly national one has been documented by Stockwell (2008). Broader implications of the transfer of academic concepts and structures have been analysed by Kim (2001).

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SECTION IV

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
COMPARATIVE DIMENSIONS

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FINNISH, JAPANESE AND TURKISH PRE–SERVICE TEACHERS' INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

The Impact of Pre–Service Teachers' Culture, Personal Experiences, and Education

INTRODUCTION

Diversity, as everywhere, poses challenges to Finnish, Japanese and Turkish educational systems, which are fairly different from each other in both cultural and educational aspects. There is no doubt that issues of diversity may be one of the biggest challenges to education and teacher education today (Delpit, 1995; Nieto, 2006). In spite of the growing number of immigrant students in schools all over the world, research evidence shows that teachers usually lack the information, skills and sometimes motivation necessary to cope successfully in culturally heterogeneous classes (e.g. Taylor and Sobel, 2001). However, teachers' intercultural competence is one of the most important factors that facilitate quality education for all students.

Cultures of socialization are very effective conditioners of one's mind. Thus teachers' personal beliefs have developed very early – often before education. Consequently, many prejudices established in childhood (Tajfel, 1981) are quite resistant to change. Teachers' own identities play an important role in their professional practices, and teacher education has often failed to sufficiently motivate students to examine their own histories, self–concepts and attitudes or ideas about diversity (Cochran–Smith, 2003). This preliminary study investigates Finnish, Japanese and Turkish pre–service teachers' intercultural competence and its relationship to their culture, experiences, and personal and professional identity.

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Teachers' professional identity is rather a complex concept. The personal, professional, and cultural elements of a teacher's identity are interconnected and continually reconstructed through historical, cultural, sociological, and psychological influences (Cooper & Olson, 1996). Not only do teacher training and teaching experience shape a teacher's professional identity but also the personal and professional identities developed through one's life's processes, as teachers interact, have social and work experiences, and learn how their identities help to shape their professional identity (Beijard, Verloop, & Verment, 2000). In this respect, identity is a moving intersection

of inner and outer forces. Past events and experiences in the personal life of teachers, such as early childhood experiences, significant others, and teacher role models, are intimately linked to their professional role (e.g. Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996). Together they form a personal cognitive interpretation framework for the professional conduct of teachers (Kelchtermans, 1994; Beijaard et al., 2004). When discussing multicultural encounters at school, teachers should become more conscious of their own positions and how their life experiences may influence a given situation. Thus intercultural professionalism would require teachers to be willing to reflect upon any conflicts they have encountered and consider how their ideas, likes, dislikes, and fears affect their interpretations of their students (e.g. Li & Li, 2005; Talib, 2005).

Cultural Concepts of Self and Identity

The concepts of self and identity are often used interchangeably in the literature on teacher education (Day et al. 2006). On one hand, identity can be defined as who or what someone is, the various meanings people attach to themselves, or the meanings attributed by others (Beijaard, 1995, p. 282). Identity affects the self as identity is also the publicly presented self. According to Markus & Kitayama (1991, 1998), individual and collective culture has a great effect on the individual's concept of the self. They theorize that in Western cultures, such as in Finland, individuals tend to be independent and self–contained. Their inner attributes are the most significant in regulating behaviour (Markus & Kitayama, 1998). On the other hand, there are societies in which people feel that they are more connected and less differentiated from others. Such an "interdependent self" is found, for example, in Japan, China, South America and, in this case, also Turkey. Cultural heritage and personal frameworks are transferred and reinforced through institutions such as the family, the school, and society.

   People shape their emotional experiences within their culture, through their upbringing and in their relationships with the people around them (e.g. Nias, 1996). In collectivist cultures, childrearing emphasizes conformity, obedience, security, and reliability whereas in individualist cultures, childrearing emphasizes independence, exploration, and self–reliance (Triandis, 2001). In a global and mediated world, however, the identities are more fluid than fixed. Young people have more repertoires available to shape their identities than ever before. However, they can create their identities from the options made available by their culture and social environment (Appiah, 1994).

Self–Esteem and Self–Enhancement

People evaluate their own self–worth (self–esteem) as to what extent they view themselves being good, competent and decent. Kelchtermans (2007) sees that teachers' professional identities consist of five inter–related parts: self–image, self–esteem, job–motivation, task perception, and future perspective. In our paper we

are looking at pre–service teachers' self–esteem, which could be understood as the evolution of the professional self in interaction with others.

Cultural difference in self–esteem and self–enhancement has been the subject of a great deal of research and controversy (Brown, 2008; Brown et al., 2009; Heine, 2003; Muramoto, 2003). According to research (e.g. Heine, Lehman, Markus and Kitayama, 1999) self–enhancement is not a universal and absolute feature of the human psyche but a tendency among individuals from an independent cultural context. Muramoto (2003) also claims that in a collective society, such as Japan, individuals use an indirect self–enhancement process in which in–group members mutually protect and enhance each other's self–esteem. In other words, they enhance their self–esteem through the eyes of others, because the mutual interdependent relationship is dominant. Modesty, one of the guiding cultural norms among Japanese, affects behaviour and thinking. The Japanese tend to take a negative view of those who regard themselves in too high esteem (Brown, 2008).

INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

The term intercultural competence is associated with global, international or multicultural education and culturally relevant or responsive education (Banks & Banks, 2004; Gay, 2000). Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman (2003) define the term "intercultural sensitivity" as one's ability to notice and experience cultural differences whereas the term "intercultural competence" refers to the cognitive and behavioural skills that an individual uses when dealing with cultural differences. Educators need a more complex understanding of intercultural interactions and skills to negotiate between cultures, as well as engaging in debates on identity, identity politics, transitional societies, and globalization (Coulby, 2006). In this respect, teachers' intercultural competence can be understood as an enlarged understanding of oneself and different realities as well as a critical approach to their work (Talib, 2005).

Usually, teachers or pre–service teachers from the mainstream culture never have to question or criticize their positionality. According to Merryfield (2000) most teachers of colour have a dual consciousness due to having experienced discrimination and the status of being an outsider, whereas only those White middle–class teachers who have lioved outside their country are effective at teaching for diversity. Living in another culture does not automatically make a person intercultural. In the cultural learning process the authentic relationships are important for teachers to learn from each other (Allport, 1979; Hosoya and Talib, 2010).

Bennett & Bennett (2004, pp.147–165) have developed a theory which explains the cognitive development that people go through when living in different cultural environments. In the ethnocentric stage of the intercultural process (there are levels of denial, defence and minimisation) people experience their own culture as central to their reality. At the denial level, people are ignorant, indifferent to or neglectful of cultural differences. At the defence level, people evaluate differences negatively.

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At the minimisation level, people recognise cultural differences superficially. In the ethno relative stage, (acceptance, adaptation and integration levels) people experience their own culture in the context of other cultures. People develop from recognizing and appreciating cultural differences in order to be able to employ alternative ways of thinking and frames of references and, finally, people internalize more than one cultural worldview into their own. After reaching this stage, such individuals have the greatest flexibility in solving intercultural conflict and are open to complex realities (Endicott, Bock, and Narvaez, 2003).

TEACHING CULTURES IN FINLAND, JAPAN AND TURKEY

In Japan and Finland teachers enjoy high respect among the general public. In Turkey this has not been the case. Because of the low socio–economic status, heavy workload, lack of opportunities to improve professional knowledge and lack of job security of teachers, highly qualified students in Turkey do not usually prefer the teaching profession. (Sahin and Deniz, 2006). However, changes in the Turkish economy have created an increasing need for qualified teachers. There are ten departments in Faculties of Education that train teachers for primary, secondary and high schools. These departments train teachers for different subject areas and class levels. Only graduates who have finished four–year programs other than that from the Faculties of Education can apply for post–graduate teacher education programs.

In Finland, large numbers of applicants and the great popularity of teaching make it possible to provide enough competent teachers for schools. Primary and secondary teachers graduate from a five–year Master's degree program. The popularity of teaching also means that those who apply for teacher education are highly motivated. Finnish teachers are vested with a considerable degree of decision–making authority as concerns school policy, management and the choice of textbooks. On the other hand, in Japan teachers have many more students in their classes and much less independence in teaching matters than in Finland.

In Japan an open certificate system allows students to consider whether or not they wish to become teachers in a secondary school. These students do not need to major in education whereas primary school teachers must major in education at a university. The guiding sentiment among Japanese teachers is effectiveness: teachers must be able to make the students learn and gain the required competences. Most teachers tend to teach in a traditional manner and depend on well–rehearsed ways of teaching, and they are not very eager to try out new ways of teaching.

Interestingly, in all three countries teachers share similar tendencies towards conservative and somewhat authoritarian ways of teaching, even though it is not emphasised in Finnish and Turkish teacher education institutes (Yoshida, 2005; Simola, 2005; Sahin and Deniz, 2006).

METHOD

Participants

The participants consisted of teacher education students: 162 (M: 22, F: 140) from Finland, 192 (M: 65, F: 122, not known: 5) from Japan, and 162 (M: 29, F: 133) from Turkey. The students were in their first, second or third year of teacher education.

Procedure

There were 92 items based on different theories. They were classified into 3 dimensions A) intercultural sensitivity and experience of differences (25 questions), B) pre–service teachers' personal and professional identity (42 questions), and C) critical and intercultural education and reflection (25 questions). These were further divided into specific areas. The first group of questions inquired about (A1) ethno–centric stage (denial, defence and minimization); and (A2) ethno–relative stage (acceptance, adaptation and integration). The second group of questions inquired about (B1) self–conception and self–esteem, (B2) discipline–oriented and conservative attitude, and (B3) inter–relational attitude (social relationships at school). The last group of questions inquired about (C1) attitude with mission awareness (the teacher's personal collegial reflection) and (C2) socially responsible attitude (critical pedagogy). There were also 28 questions dealing with background variables. The questionnaire of the study was presented to the students in Japanese, Finnish, Turkish, and English to ensure that the translations would be as accurate as possible. The questions were randomly ordered on the questionnaire sheet. Respondents were asked to rate items concerning their attitudes and beliefs across a 5–point Likert–type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

A comparative descriptive method was used in this study. We attempt to analyse different perspectives of pre–service teachers' intercultural competences in three different countries and the relationship to their culture, experiences, and personal and professional identity.

Measures and Analysis

All the data were analysed using SPSS Version 14. First, descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) were calculated and analysed. Cronbach's alpha (a measure of item coherence) for selected items was calculated to see if an acceptable alpha was obtained for the chosen items. Cronback's alpha for the total data was. 825 after eliminating non–significant variables. The statistical dependence between the background variables and the scores on the scales was examined using one–way analysis of variance (ANOVA). Pearson correlations were also computed among the dimensions. The results of the qualitative study exhibited factor loadings between. 72 and. 88. The reliability of the scales afforded an alpha of. 82.

RESULTS

Part I. General Comparison

In this research there are three components of intercultural compentence; intercultural sensitiveness and experiences of differences, appropriate personal and professional identity, and sufficient critical international education and teacher reflection. The three dimensions are divided into 7 sets of areas. Each item is shown in the table below (Table 1).

   Intercultural competence is the sum of these attitudes. All of mean scores show significant differences among pre–service teachers in Finland, Japan, and Turkey.

Table 1. Intercultural competence among pre–service teachers

	Finland	*Japan*	*Turkey*
A1. Ethnocentric attitude	2.29***	2.67***	3.51***
A2. Ethno–relative attitude	3.76***	3.47***	3.70***
B1. Self–esteem	3.88***	3.12***	3.30***
B2. Conservative and discipline–oriented attitude	3.63***	3.60***	3.25***
B3. Inter–relational attitude	4.38***	3.82***	4.25***
C1. Mission awareness	4.41***	4.01***	4.20***
C2. Social responsibility	3.97***	3.65***	4.13***

*** p<.001, **=.001, *p<.050

Although it is difficult to determine which group of pre–service teachers has the highest intercultural competence, our observation suggests that Finnish pre–service teachers have the highest intercultural competence, while the Japanese group seems to have the lowest score on such competence.

   When we look at the association of variables, some of these attitudes show correlations and the trend is slightly different in the three countries. According to our analysis, among Finnish pre–service teachers those who have a high ethnocentric attitude tend to have a high inter–relational attitude. Those who have a high ethno–relative attitude tend to have a high conservative and inter–relational attitude or vice versa among Finnish pre–service teachers. Among Japanese cohorts, those who have high self–esteem and high inter–relational attitudes tend to have high ethno–relative attitudes. These two attitudes should be emphasized in education so that they can have an ethno–relative attitude in Japan. Regarding Turkish cohorts, interestingly there is a correlation between an ethnocentric and an ethno–relative attitude; those who are ethnocentric are also ethno–relative. This trend will be further examined more precisely. Those who are inter–relational can be both ethnocentric and ethno–

relative, but an ethno–relative tendency is stronger. Those who have high self–esteem and those with a more conservative attitude also tend to have an ethno–relative attitude or vice versa. High self–esteem is correlated with a conservative attitude and inter–relational attitude. The association is stronger between self–esteem and inter–relational attitude.

Among all of the above, the ethno–relative attitude may be the one core value that includes intercultural competence. Let us consider that self–esteem, conservative attitude, and inter–relational attitude are independent variables that predict an ethno–relative attitude; pre–service teachers among the three countries show different characteristics predicting an ethno–relative attitude.

The data also show that there are some significant correlations among the expected independent variables (B1, B2, and B3). In the case of Finnish pre–service teachers, there is a strong correlation (.615) among these independent variables, and these explain. 379 of the ethno–relative attitude of Finnish pre–service teachers. Our statistical model indicates that self–esteem does not affect the ethno–relative attitude significantly. However, a conservative attitude and inter–relational attitude have a significant effect on the ethno–relative attitude among Finnish pre–service teachers. In the case of Japanese pre–service teachers, the data show that there is a strong correlation (.631) among the independent variables and these explain. 398 of the ethno–relative attitude. According to the data, the model indicates that all variables –self–esteem, conservative attitude, and inter–relational attitude– have a significant effect in explaining the ethno–relative attitude, and inter–relational attitude has the strongest effect in shaping the ethno–relative attitude. Among Turkish cohorts, there is a strong correlation (.701) among the independent variables (B1, B2, B3) and these explain. 492 of the ethno–relative attitude. The model indicates that a conservative attitude does not affect the ethno–relative attitude significantly. However, self–esteem and inter–relational attitude do have a significant effect on the ethno–relative attitude.

We expected that personal and professional identity, including self–esteem, conservative attitude, and inter–relational attitude, would have an impact on the intercultural competence of pre–service teachers. However, as far as we can see the relationship is partial and depends on where the pre–service teachers are studying. This may mean that pre–service teachers' cultural and social background or the content of teacher education influence their attitude more so than these independent variables.

Part II. Descriptive Comparison

A. Intercultural sensitivities and experiences of differences

A1. Ethnocentric attitude. According to Table 1, Turkish students have the highest ethnocentric attitude among pre–service teachers in the three countries (M=3.51). They show the highest scores in all of the 6 items that show differences. They have

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a strong anti–immigration attitude. The following three items are highest among Turkish pre–service teachers, and both Finnish and Japanese students have similar low means. The possible reason for this attitude among Turkish pre–service teachers is that they accept many immigrants from Arabic, African, and east European countries.

The data shows that Turkish pre–service teachers have the highest ethnocentric attitude among the three countries studied. Although Turkey has a more diversified society than Finland and Japan, the environment does not necessarily decrease the ethnocentric attitude detected in this study. The respondents of this questionnaire were university students who had had access to higher education, and hence they might attribute their success to their efforts and hard work. Consequently they may loathe those who do not seem to try by all means to climb up the social ladder. The fact there is high economic disparity and consequently in the access to education in both Turkey and Japan, according to OECD research, this might have an impact on peoples' attitudes in these two countries. Turkey is 29th in the Gini index among 30 OECD member countries in mid 2000s, and Japan is 20th, whereas Finland is 7th. This shows that Turkey and Japan have more income inequality than does Finland. The access to higher education is usually in accordance with this tendency.

A2. Ethno–relative attitude. There are 13 items in this group, and the following 4 show significant differences among pre–service teachers in the three countries. One item, "I cannot tolerate insecure situations". Should be marked low in order to be ethno–relative. After reversing this item, the mean scores for ethno–relative attitude is highest among Finnish students; second highest among Turkish students, and lowest among Japanese students (Finnish M=3.76, Turkish M=3.70, Japanese M=3.46), and these are significantly different (Table 1). Highly educated people are usually open to change and can look at things objectively, with multiple viewpoints. This is the case of Turkish pre–service teachers. However, we see some inconsistent tendencies among them since they also show the highest means on ethnocentric attitude. This is probably because they have conflicting values inside themselves. They are idealistic to some extent as regards those students who will lead society in the future but, in contrast, they might not be able to accept those who do not try hard or who do not share the same values as they do. When the percentage of those who advance to higher education is limited, privileged people might show such a tendency.

In a homogeneous country like Japan, people's life styles are quite similar and it is hard for people to accept different behaviour and ways of living. People in such a highly context cultural have an invisible code about how to behave or react, and it is not easy for newcomers to become members of the society. Although some have knowledge that people are equal and that we need to get along with those with different backgrounds, they tend to be prejudiced against such people, especially when they do not have personal contacts with them.

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Finland is also a homogeneous country, but, being a member of the EU, people have more chances to meet and associate with those from different cultural backgrounds including business workers, students, and immigrants. With such experiences and individualistic characteristics of society, it is easier for them to accept the differences.

B. Pre–service teachers' personal and professional identity

B1. Self–conception and Self–esteem.   Self–esteem influences whether a person can accept differences in a positive way without being defensive. There are 12 items that are related to self–esteem. According to Table 1, Finnish pre–service teachers have the highest mean (M= 3.88), followed by the Turkish (M=3.30) and Japanese (M=3.12) ones, and these differences are considered to be significantly different.

The data show that Japanese pre–service teachers are more pessimistic about the future and tend to worry a lot. This might be due to their low self–esteem. Japanese pre–service teachers constantly show low scores on items related to self–esteem. In Japanese school education, students are often told to recognize their weak points and get rid of them. Such reflection is emphasized on a daily basis. They may unconsciously feel that they are constantly being forced to change themselves and, therefore, they cling to the way they are. They seem to be afraid of changing the way they are. Since they are used to being told what to do, they seem to feel more comfortable when they get definite answers. Moreover, they need to pass a competitive teacher appointment exam in each district if they wish to be a teacher. There are still many unknown factors they need to worry about with respect to their future careers.

By contrast, Finnish pre–service teachers tend to have higher self–esteem, partly because they have already overcome a highly competitive entrance exam in order to major in education. They study hard before getting to university and are fairly sure about getting a teaching job in the future. Therefore, it is natural for them to feel self–confident.

Turkish pre–service teachers do not seem to challenge new things, although they do want to attain something. They scored high on the item "I am always the last person to try out the new things." and "I always want to be the first in everything." This suggests that there is competition within their society and therefore that they tend to consider it better not to trust anyone. There is high competition in order to become a teacher, as is also the case in Japan. Students must pass the national entrance examination to enter an education college. After they have completed their program, they need to pass another national competitive examination.

B2. Discipline–oriented and Conservative Attitude.   According to Table 1, contrary to our expectation Finnish pre–service teachers have the highest mean on this item (M=3.63), followed by their Japanese (M=3.60), and Turkish (M=3.24) counterparts. Turkish pre–service teachers show the least conservative attitude among the three groups. There are 15 items that are related to conservatism and a discipline–oriented

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attitude. Seven items point to significant differences among pre–service teachers in the three countries. The items "People are born equal" and "I think women should be as liberal as men"; need to be reversed to be considered conservative, and so too the item "I tend to be critical about many things in my society."

As far as conservatism is concerned, in the questions dealing with the characteristics of a collective society, Japanese students understandably score high. In a collective society, human relationships are considered to be important (Hofstede, 2009). Authoritarian attitudes within families are often associated with a sense of caring and hence physical punishment among families is often justified. On the other hand, in an individual society people tend to value rules highly to maintain order (Markus & Kitayama, 1998). There is an item such as "I get upset when someone breaks the rules" demonstrates such characteristics. Both Turkish and Finnish pre–service teachers score higher on this item than their Japanese cohorts. There is one item "most of time I get upset when someone does things differently," for which Turkish students score much higher than the other two. It seems that Turkish students have more definite values. The low score among the Japanese students on this item may indicate "indifference to others" among Japanese youth. The low score among Japanese students on the item "people are born equal," actually reflects how Japanese youth feels about society today. Obviously, the disparity in wealth in Japanese society has recently become prominent, and this society seems to be reproduced. Japanese youth do not feel they are enjoying equality in society. Considering the fact that there is inequality of income in Turkey, the higher score among Turkish students is different from what we expected. In a society with the characteristics of unequal distribution of wealth, it is expected that people will try to avoid risk and become conservative. In fact, Japanese students score high on the question dealing with conservatism. As mentioned before, it is rare to encounter refugees in Japanese society, and, it is quite difficult to feel empathy towards them. In Turkey, the number of refugees from neighbouring countries is increasing. Finnish students may no longer feel sympathy for refugees because they have seen that refugees are doing relatively well thanks to Finnish social welfare. The fact that Turkish students want strong leaders might come from the admiration for the founder of the Republic of Turkey. Turkish pre–service teachers (mostly women) also consider that "women should be as liberated (see above) as men." On the other hand, Japanese cohorts do not consider such an idea; instead, they might consider it better to take share in each gender role.

In terms of conservatism in teaching, Finnish and Turkish pre–service teachers seem to value responsibility in the profession and tend to accept authoritarian attitudes in pursuing their duties as teachers. On the other hand, Japanese teachers are losing their say in schools. Some parents with higher education no longer respect teachers. Authoritarian attitudes may offer a target of attack from such parents and, instead of teaching teachers are struggling to keep peace with their students in classroom.

Japanese pre–service teachers' less authoritarian attitudes might come from such a background.

B3. Inter–relational attitude (social relationships at school). According to Table 1, Finnish pre–service teachers have the highest score on inter–relational attitude (M=4.38), followed by Turkish (M=4.25), and Japanese (3.60) students. There are 15 items dealing with this attitude and 4 of them show a significant difference among the three countries. Finnish pre–service teachers value communication and mutual relationship the most.

Evidently, Japanese pre–service teachers have weaker communication skills because they do not speak many foreign languages, and they also self–report that they are not good at expressing themselves. Finns are eager to learn and use foreign languages. Although Finns are considered to be shy, Finnish students are open to meeting new people, and female students, in particular, are more open than males. Japanese people are reluctant to show their feelings and emotions; they are expected to stay calm in any situation. Likewise, Finnish pre–service teachers expect students to increase their communication skills for intercultural awareness and understanding. Surprisingly, they scored lower on the question "students are allowed to express their views about the topic being taught." This may be because Finnish teachers attempt to maintain the order in the classroom and discourage free discussion. In contrast, Japanese teachers might prefer a more casual and informal class setting, as compared to the past. Turkish pre–service teachers also have a liberal attitude, like their Japanese cohorts.

As far as teacher–student relationships are concerned, Finnish pre–service teachers value respect and equality, but at the same time they draw a clear line between their private life and occupational lives. Turkish cohorts follow a similar trend. In contrast, Japanese teachers are usually expected to devote themselves to education at every moment. Dedicated teachers are considered to be good teachers.

Turkish pre–service teachers have an attitude that lies somewhere between those of the Finnish and Japanese cohorts.

C. Critical Intercultural Education and Teacher Reflection

C1. Attitude with mission awareness (personal collegial reflection). Table 1 shows that Finnish pre–service teachers show the highest attitude with mission awareness (M=4.42), followed by their Turkish (4.20), and Japanese counterparts (4.01), and the values are significantly different among the three countries. There are 12 items that deal with attitude with mission awareness, and only one item reveals significant differences among pre–service teachers in the three countries.

The overall tendency of Finnish pre–service teachers is evident. It appears that pre–service teachers in Finland are eager to be better teachers. They consider it a necessary reflection of themselves as individuals and as professionals. They seem to

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understand that being a better teacher does not only mean accumulating knowledge about the subject they are going to teach; it includes controlling their emotions, acquiring extensive knowledge of the world and society, and using appropriate methods. Turkish pre–service teachers have a tendency similar to that of the Finnish cohorts, but they give less consideration to the students' background. Japanese pre–service teachers encourage students to find their strong points and emphasize academic success less. It seems they have given up on improving their students' academic ability. They might consider it difficult to fill in the gap of abilities among students while recognizing the fact that academic success does not guarantee a better life. It seems that in Japan there is a more emotional tie between teachers and students, and such a tie is more important than learning to be a good teacher and using critical thinking.

C2. Socially responsible attitude (critical pedagogy).   This set of items on a socially responsible attitude is a basis for critical pedagogy. It may be seen that Turkish pre–service teachers consider the need to be agents of reform in society and that they need to act as models in society. Knowing that there is inequality in society and that there is a limit of what schools can do, they attempt to make efforts to improve their students' lives through school education. Finnish pre–service teachers also have a similar attitude to their Turkish cohorts, but they are more realistic. They recognize that they have their own limitations as teachers and that that chances in life are not necessarily the same for all students. They know that they have prejudices, and they do recognize that they need to be aware of these in order to be good teachers. Here again, "equality" seems to be important among Finnish pre–service teachers. However, they are not too idealistic about educational attainment. They know that everybody does not necessarily have a fair chance at succeeding in school. They are aware of the variance in ability and seem to accept the diverse reality in society. Finnish pre–service teachers, who encounter more immigrants more often than their Japanese cohorts, feel the necessity to deal with cultures issues in the classroom. In Turkey, ethnic minorities and refugees exist, but it does not seem that the teaching of different cultures is as important as in Finland.

   Turkish and Japanese pre–service teachers consider that students' social/ethnic backgrounds have an effect on their academic success, and this score is much higher among Turkish pre–service teachers. This again demonstrates that they recognize "inequality" in their societies.

CONCLUSIONS

We have compared the intercultural competence among pre–service teachers in 3 different countries, Finland, Japan and Turkey. The social and cultural characteristics of these countries are different. Finland emphasizes equality in the society, and public expenditure on education is much higher than in Japan and Turkey. Finnish people are aware of the reality that they need to accept immigrants and educate them to be

good members of society. The characteristics of Japanese society are still collective and homogeneous, although there is a slight tendency toward diversity. Turkey is highly developed among Muslim countries, but economic and social disparity is as severe as in the case of Japan. Pre–service teachers in these countries show a significant difference in all 7 elements of intercultural competence.

In this chapter we have attempted to examine the impact of pre–service teachers' personal and professional identity (self–esteem, conservative attitude, inter–relational attitude) on their intercultural competence. However, we have found that personal and professional identities only partially influence intercultural competence, and the patterns of impact are different in all three countries. This means that culture and social environment have an impact on pre–service teachers' intercultural competence. Inter–relational attitude has a significant impact on Finnish pre–service teachers' ethno–relative attitudes. Even when they are conservative and discipline–oriented, they tend to have an ethno–relative attitude. In the case of Japanese cohorts, those with an inter–relational attitude tend to have a higher ethno–relative attitude and higher self–esteem or vice versa. Turkish cohorts show complex associations among the variables; they tend to have a higher ethno–relative attitude when they have higher self–esteem, a higher inter–relational attitude, and a higher conservative and discipline–oriented attitude. Upon considering a good teacher education program for coping with diversity, these findings are helpful. Interaction with people from different backgrounds will be an essential experience for those who are hoping to be teachers, together with communications skills, including those in foreign languages. This is especially important among Japanese pre–service teachers. Increasing the opportunity to enhance their self–esteem is also helpful both in Japan and Turkey. We need more in–depth investigations to determine the mechanism of impact of their culture, experiences, and personal and professional identity on pre–service teachers' intercultural competence.

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ELENI THEODOROU

CONSTRUCTING THE 'OTHER'

Politics and Policies of Intercultural Education in Cyprus

INTRODUCTION

Intercultural education has only recently featured in official state rhetoric, mainly as a result of the sudden rise in immigration and the country's accession into the European Union. Expanding on previous work on mapping intercultural education policy in Cyprus during the years 1997–2009 (Theodorou, in press), this paper explores the way non–indigenous students are being discursively constructed through official policy documents produced and disseminated by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) with the purpose of establishing and communicating intercultural education policies at primary school level in Cyprus[1]. The aim is to critically examine and interrogate the different conceptualizations of difference and the implications they have for the positionings of non–majority students and the formation of policy practices that directly affect their school lives and beyond. To do so, I focus on policy documents as texts or constellations of meanings constructed through particular language choices. If 'language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language' as Fairclough (2003, p. 2) suggests, discourse analysis may be seen as a form of analysis which along with other methods, may provide valuable insights as to the nature and processes of formation of power/knowledge configurations.

This paper focuses on the construction of subjectivities through discursive representations in policy texts and deconstructs these by means of critically examining choices and use of names and process of naming. By naming, I refer to the two–fold process of subjectivation and subjection through which in the process of naming the person who is being named is both rendered a subject, i.e. acquires a social position, *while simultaneously* being subjugated to the subject who names (Butler, 1997) (I will return to this later). Policy texts become important sites of naming; they are discursive practices in which particular language choices circulate, confront and influence one and another, and in the process of doing so, constitute different subjectivities. It is true that there has been much debate as to what constitutes policy, where policy ends and practice starts (Raab, 1994) and what differentiates (or not) education policy sociology from other forms of policy analysis (Troyna, 1994). Let me state from the outset that I operate from the assumption that policies are not

a static *fait accompli*, but are rather open–ended textual interventions which pose constraints even as they are subject to interpretation by their readers (Ball, 1993). As such "the enactment of texts relies on aspects such as commitment, understanding, capability, resources, practical limitations, cooperation and (importantly) intertextual compatibility" (Ball, 1993, pp. 12–13), or put differently: local context. That said however, policies matter not only because they may pose certain limits on particular courses of action or open up possibilities for others, but also because policies are also discourses which produce certain regimes of 'truth' and are immersed in relations of power (Ball, 1993, p.14). The power to form social identities and positions, however, should not be taken to mean that discourses are necessarily characterized by internal coherence, logic or any given particular structure (Luke, 2002); rather, as Foucault cautions us, discourses circulate and as they do they acquire a life of their own, taken up by social actors who may deploy them in ways unanticipated or unforeseen by its historical authors (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983).

Rendering Subjects

The task of critically interrogating discourses emerges as a *sine qua non* of the contemporary world, not only owing to their productive and formative powers but also because the effects of discourse are increasingly more profound in a textually mediated world (Fairclough, 1999), in the context of *semiotic economies* "where language, text and discourse become the principal mode of social relations, civic and political life, economic behavior and activity, where means of production and modes of information become intertwined in analytically complex ways" (Luke, 2002, p. 98)

In such a textually–mediated world representations increasingly assume the ability to shape people's lives, affecting the way people see themselves, the way they see others, as well as the way in which they engage with them, putting the politics of representation at the heart of identity politics and struggles. Regarding this, Fairclough (1999, p. 275) says of this:

> [P]eople's lives are increasingly shaped by representations which are produced elsewhere. Representations of the world they live in, the activities they are involved in, their relationships with each other, and even who they are and how they (should) see themselves. The politics of representation becomes increasingly important: whose representations are these? Who gains what from them? Which social relations do they draw people into? What are their ideological effects, and what alternative representations are there?

Representations are inescapably linked to webs of power, the latter assuming different modes and effects depending on the position and the relationship of the social actors involved (Foucault, 1983). Given the importance of text, broadly conceived, in today's globalized world, and the social effects of the language deployed in and through it, Fairclough (1999) calls for the raising of critical language awareness

as a condition for enhancing democratic participation and disrupting relations of domination. Effectively grounded in critical discourse analysis, critical language awareness is necessary for enabling the interrogation of existing representations, the formulation of alternate ones, and the investigation of the way these shape social practice.

Situated in the work of discourse analysts (Luke, 2002; Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2005) and drawing on theorizations of identity politics, the current endeavor aims at deconstructing the taken–for–grandness of ideas, concepts and constructs that float in different policy texts and come to formulate particular discursive subjects and subjectivities, in turn conceptualized as performed and (re)negotiated amidst non–egalitarian social relations (see Butler, 1995, 1997; Foucault, 1983; Youdell, 2006a). In speaking of certain *types* of students, in naming them in one way and not another, the policy texts under examination create different notions and gradations of difference from the Greek–Cypriot norm that act to place students in particular categories which in turn hold implications for the kind of social relationships implied and the social positionings conferred therein. This venture is, therefore, an excavation of the business of naming politics in the Greek–Cypriot education system that rests upon looking at how the language used in official texts has subjectivating effects, in the Foucauldian sense, both rendering a subject (subjectivation) and subjecting that subject to relations of power (subjection). According to Foucault (1983), discourse has the twofold capacity to subjugate a person, to confine him/her, as it concurrently renders him/her a subject, constructing a social location for him/her. He says of this productive power of discourse as the power to simultaneously constitute and constrain, but not determine, a subject:

> This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word *subject*: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self–knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to (p. 212).

This is similar to what Butler (1997) writes of Althusser's notion of interpellation: 'One is, as it were, brought into social location and time through being named' (p. 29), hence '[t]he act of recognition becomes an act of constitution: the address animates the subject into existence' (p. 25). Naming does not, however, occur in a historical vacuum; in fact, the power of a name is linked to its historical course and the meanings it has garnered through recurrent appropriation and reappropriation. Hence, Butler (1997) cautions us that thinking of/about names requires taking into consideration not merely the immediate context wherein a name is uttered and the meanings it invokes and assumes but also the history and historicity of those meanings, by augmenting one's analysis with the incorporation of a temporal

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dimension: names have a past and this past is carried over and raised in the present, even if silently.

> Clearly, injurious names have a history, one that is invoked and reconsolidated at the moment of utterance, but not explicitly told. This is not simply a history of how they have been used, in what contexts and for what purposes; it is the way such histories are installed and arrested in and by the name. The name thus has a *historicity*, which might be understood as the history that has become internal to a name, has come to constitute the contemporary meaning of a name: the sedimentation of its usages as they have become part of the very name, a sedimentation, a repetition that congeals, that gives the name its force' (p. 36).

However, Butler departs from the Althusserian notion of subjection when she remarks that the presence of the subject, the appropriation of a name, or the awareness of being named are not necessary preconditions for the subject constitution to have social effects, to be 'efficacious'. In fact, it cannot be otherwise given that every speech act exceeds (the control of) the person who has performed it. She suggests: 'One need not know about or register a way of being constituted for that constitution to work in an efficacious way. For the measure of that constitution is not to be found in a reflexive appropriation of that constitution, but, rather, in a chain of signification that exceeds the circuit of self–knowledge. The time of discourse is not the time of the subject.' (Butler, 1997, p. 31). Thus, revising Althusser's view of interpellation Butler (1997) proposes that processes of subjectivation are not dependent upon a relationship between an addressee and an addressed, as 'The subject need not always turn around in order to be constituted as a subject, and the discourse that inaugurates the subject need not take the form of a voice at all.' (p. 31), thus speaking to the efficacy of written or reproduced language to constitute subjects (p. 32).

It is important at this point to note that Butler emphasizes, as does Foucault, that such subjectivating processes should not be seen as deterministic–constraining yes, but not dictating the subject's actions in any absolute or inescapable way. To further explore this argument Butler (1997) deploys the notion of 'discursive agency' (p. 16) to speak of the possibility of disruption latent in each citational utterance, in each discursive re/production: in effect, it is always possible for the constituted subject, as a social actor, to interrupt a particular discourse and provide what she calls a 'critical response' (p.19). Such conceptualizations of performative politics have been usefully applied in ethnographic work (see for example Youdell, 2003, 2006b; Kitching, 2011) and may also equally allow suitably for the interpretation of subjectivating effects through discourse appearing in textual data where the possibility for a reflexive appropriation or response to naming on behalf of a subject is not there.

It is these theoretical tools that I apply to the task of analysis to which I shall turn after a brief sketch out of the Greek Cypriot educational context and the methods employed. I conclude with a discussion of the implications of the study's findings.

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Diversity and Education in Cyprus: What Does It Look Like?

Cyprus is a small member–state of the EU with a history of nationalism and protracted conflict between its two constitutional communities, the Greek– Cypriot majority, and the Turkish–Cypriot minority. Following the 1960s intercommunal violence, the 1974 Turkish invasion resulted in the division of the island and the forced transfer of Greek Cypriot population from the North to the South, and the Turkish Cypriot population from the South to the North. Other indigenous minorities living on the island are Armenians, Maronites, and Latins, labeled as religious groups in the Constitution. Although it has long been a multicultural country, Cyprus has had a very recent experience with immigration which first started in the 1990s and was marked by the arrival of many permanent immigrants, mostly from the former Soviet Union. Unsurprisingly, this has led to the presence of a growing number of culturally diverse students in public school classrooms. In fact, according to recent reports by the Statistical Services of the Republic (2010) the top countries of origin among non–Greek Cypriot students in public primary schools are Georgia, Greece, UK, Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, Syria, Ukraine and Iran. The largest group among non–indigenous students is formed by children of Greek Pontian[2] origin (Statistical Services of the Republic of Cyprus, 2010). The student population enrolled in public primary schools is comprised of the Greek–Cypriot Greek–Orthodox majority and an approximate 12% of non–Cypriots who on the side of mainstream teaching are also offered remedial lessons in Greek as the main measure of intercultural education policy (more on this later). In the absence of any law for intercultural education, the MoEC claims to formulate intercultural education policy on the basis of Constitutional provisions, the acquis communautaire, decisions by General Attorney's Office and international practice (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19/2, 7.4.2005[3]).

Intercultural education in Cyprus constitutes a relatively new phenomenon. All in all, it appears that the MoEC has been unable thus far to deal with the nature and the repercussions of social and educational change in ways beneficial to all students (Panayiotopoulos & Nicolaidou, 2007), not least owing to the stubborn denial of historical multiculturalism on behalf of the State (Gregoriou, 2004). Research has shown the prevalence of Eurocentric and ethnocentric perceptions among Greek Cypriot students towards particular ethnic out–groups (Philippou, 2009; Philippou & Theodorou, 2013) as well as xenophobic attitudes towards their immigrant classmates (Theodorou, 2008; Zembylas & Lesta, 2011; Zembylas, Michaelidou, & Afantitou–Lambrianou, 2010). Similar phenomena of racist attitudes have also been recorded in relation to indigenous minority groups, and especially the Turkish Cypriots, due to their association with Turkishness, which post 1974 has been constructed as the perennial other in public and educational discourse (Ioannidou, 2004; Spyrou, 2002). Meanwhile, research has indicated the existence of difference– blind attitudes and tokenist perceptions of multiculturalism among Greek Cypriot teachers (Theodorou, 2011;Papamichael, 2008) supported by a curriculum[4] which has been criticized for perpetuating ethno– and religious–centrism (Educational

Reform Committee, 2004), especially so through History teaching (cf. Papadakis, 2008).

The formulation of intercultural education policy in Cyprus begins with sporadic efforts on behalf of the MoEC to introduce remedial teaching in Greek as a Second Language (GSL) for non–Cypriot students (then labeled as 'foreign–language' students) in 1997 (Council of Ministries, Decision no. 46201, 11.6.1997) and climaxes in intensity and frequency after 2007 with the reinvigoration of the educational reform (Theodorou, in press). During these last 15 years, many gaps, vacillations, tensions and contradictions have appeared between various notions and ideas found throughout and within policy texts as well as between policy aims and practices, testifying to the non–linear nature of this course. I have examined the historical trajectory of intercultural educational policies elsewhere (Theodorou, in press) and other colleagues have also illuminated hidden meanings and constructs regarding notions of diversity and culture underlying such policies (Zembylas, 2010). To provide a background for the current study, let me briefly outline what I see as the three major phases of this trajectory, albeit with somewhat overlapping and blurry boundaries, based on the kind of policies and practices promoted and on predominant conceptualizations of immigrant populations in (education) policy texts. The first phase spans between (the years leading up to) 1997, when the first preoccupation with diversity appears in official texts, and 2001 where, at the backdrop of a complete absence of any policy framework on the issue, there emerge only sporadic measures and practices, concentrated mainly on mainstream teaching and remedial lessons in GSL. The second phase extends between the years 2001–2005 and is marked by the initial effort to form a set of policies which, however, are riddled with assimilative undertones behind the dominating rhetoric of pre–existing homogeneity. Since 2006 intercultural education policy has entered a new phase largely impacted by the intensification of the educational reform and Cyprus's accession into the EU in 2004. During this time a significant move can be appreciated towards the adoption of intercultural education rhetoric, encapsulated in the motto adopted by the MoEC for the creation of a 'democratic and humanistic school' (MoEC, 2008a, pp. 5–6).

METHODS

The purpose of this study was to investigate and interrogate the notions and meanings associated with the presence of non–indigenous[5] students in the Greek–Cypriot public education system, looking in particular at naming processes and the kind of subject positions created by/in policy texts for non–indigenous students. Document analysis drawing on multiple readings of the text was executed, focusing in particular on the construction of subjectivities of minority students through official discourse. Specifically, thematic and content analysis was employed, influenced by critical discourse analysis theory and techniques (CDA), with the aim of deconstructing ideas in relation to 'difference' and deciphering meanings associated with the

positionings of non–majority students in the classroom by looking at the semantic (i.e. meanings between words and expressions), grammatical (i.e. meanings between 'morphemes' in words and words in phrases), and vocabulary relations (patterns of combinations of words) of the text in reference to names and words used to describe non–indigenous students (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 36–37)[6].

As discussed before, language matters not only because it reflects social practice but primarily because it is a constituent element of it. Hence, critical discourse analysis may be seen as "'oscillating' between a focus on specific texts and a focus on what [Fairclough] call[s] the 'order of discourse', the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3) with the aim to investigate the relationship between "discourse and society, between the micropolitics of everyday texts and the macropolitical landscape of ideological forces and power relations, capital exchange, and material historical conditions"(Luke, 2002, p.100). Applying these to the current task, by looking at the situated meanings circulated within and between policy texts, one is able to probe the kinds of discursive positionings constructed of/for minority students and highlight relations of domination and subjugation.

The data used for this study consist of archival material that has been published and/or circulated by the MoEC in relation to intercultural education during the years 1997–2012, 1997 being the year when related policies first appear in the MoEC's archive. In particular, such documents include internal mail correspondence between and within services of the public sector, such as for instance between the MoEC and the Ministry of Finance or the Planning Bureau; mail correspondence between the MoEC and external agents, such as schools, private organizations, individuals, teachers' unions, research institutions; circulars sent to schools with the purpose of communicating the official policy on intercultural education as well as instructions and objectives for the various school years; decisions made by the Council of Ministers in relation to the intercultural education practices and policies most commonly submitted for consideration by the MoEC; official reports on the matter compiled by a number of agents such as the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute, the MoEC, and the Authority against Racism and Discrimination; statistical data on the attendance records of non–Cypriot students; and landmark documents during the educational reform era such as the Strategic Planning for Education (2007) and the Policy Document for Intercultural Education (2008) approved by the Council of Ministers.

FINDINGS

Producing Difference: Who Are the 'Others'?

The term used to refer to non–majority students which, upon its introduction in 2001 (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1, 12.10.2001) dominates by reappearing in virtually all

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policy texts and which has also infiltrated the discourse used by social actors at the level of everyday life at school is 'other–language' students. This category is in fact so ubiquitous that when taking closer looks at the text, it was striking to notice for the first time the plethora of names circulating within as well as through the various formal texts produced within the period under examination. More than a dozen labels may be spotted, appearing in various policy documents in no particular temporal order, with the possible exception of the 'foreign–language students' category which was officially abandoned by the MoEC in 2001 and was replaced with 'other–language students' (I will return to this point later). In the interest of space, I merely cite a singular reference for each of the terms since they all recur in multiple documents and many times concurrently within one. It is worth noting at this point that nearly half of the categories identified co–appear in the landmark text of Strategic Planning for Education (2007), the text deemed as the official launch of the vision of the educational reform currently underway. Hence, even though the terms presented below are also encountered elsewhere, indicating the co–current appearance of most in a significant policy text is telling of the processes of discursive subjectivation and hierarchization mediated in/by the text. The names employed to refer to non–majority students in the policy documents examined are the following:

1. repatriates/Greek repatriates from countries of former Soviet Union (Παλιννοσ τούντες/Παλιννοστούντες Έλληνες από χώρες της πρώην Σοβιετικής Ένωσης)[7] (MoEC, 2007, p. 69)
2. co–ethnics/Greek Pontian co–ethnics (Ομογενείς/Ομογενείς Ελληνοπόντιοι) (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/3., 29.10.2002, p.1)
3. children of returnees and repatriates (παιδιά επαναπατρισθέντων και παλιννοστούντων) (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.17.10/7, 20.9.2011, p. 1)
4. alien students (Αλλοδαποί μαθητές) (MoEC, 2007, p. 73)
5. alien workers (Αλλοδαποί εργάτες) (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/3., 29.10.2002, p.1)
6. economic immigrants (Οικονομικοί μετανάστες) (MoEC, 2007, p. 69)
7. immigrants (Μετανάστες) (MoEC, 2007, p. 69)
8. students from third countries (μαθητές από τρίτες χώρες) (MoEC, n.d., p. 19)
9. students with [a] different culture and language (μαθητές με διαφορετική κουλτούρα και γλώσσα) (MoEC, n.d., p. 10)
10. students who do not speak Greek as their native language (Μαθητές που δεν έχουν την ελληνική ως μητρική γλώσσα) (MoEC, 2007, p. 60)
11. other–language students/newcomer other–language students (Αλλόγλωσσοι/νε οεισερχόμενοι αλλόγλωσσοι) (MoEC, 2007, p. 69)
12. foreign–language students (Ξενόγλωσσοι μαθητές) (Council of Ministries, Decision no. 46201, 11.6.1997)
13. students from vulnerable socioeconomic groups of the population (Μαθητές από ευπαθείς κοινωνικο–οικονομικές ομάδες του πληθυσμού) (MoEC, 2007, p. 60)

14. hosted students (φιλοξενούμενοι μαθητές) (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ.7.1.05.20, 28.8.2007); and

15. classmates who come from other countries (συμμαθητές και συμμαθήτριες που κατάγονται από άλλες χώρες) (MoEC, 2008a, pp. 3–4)

As I shall demonstrate below, this multiplicity of names operates to establish a plurality of otherness which is internally hierarchized but also hierarchizing, thus contributing quite effectively to the sedimentation of the dominance of the (Greek Cypriot) norm through the creation of 'difference'. Such processes of naming construct desirable and non–desirable, tolerable and non–tolerable, good and bad non–majority–student–subjects who for the purposes of analysis may be grouped in three broader categories, 'the tolerable others', 'the deficit others', and 'the problematic others'.

The Tolerable 'Others'

Repatriates/Greek repatriates from countries of former Soviet Union, *Co–ethnics/ Greek Pontian co–ethnics* and *Children of returnees and repatriates* are all names which etymologically suggest the idea of nation or homeland. Looking at the grammatical relations of text (Fairclough, 2003), the word 'repatriate', in Greek *παλιννοστούντας*, is comprised of the morpheme νόστος which means 'homecoming, returning to one's homeland'; the word 'returnees', in Greek *επαναπατρισθέντας* contains the morpheme πατρίδα, meaning 'homeland'; and finally the word 'co– ethnics', in Greek *ομογενείς*, literally means 'of the same genus/family/breed/ race [γένος]'. It is obvious, thus, that all of the three names employed to speak of a particular group of students make direct or indirect reference to the idea of an ethnic in–group which renders the so inscribed students as nationed–student– subjects (I follow Youdell, 2006b on this and ensuing similar characterizations), who as such are set apart from those subsequently and simultaneously positioned as the less tolerable 'others', thereby creating an internal hierarchy of otherness. The deployment of the particular language choices, which are often accompanied by the word 'Greek' or 'Greek Pontian', constitute part of a discourse of ethnic purity which encourages, sustains and feeds into essentialized constructions of nationhood and of ethnonational identity as the result of common biological origin maintained through the (supposedly) uninterrupted course of the (Greek) nation through time (Gkotovos, 2003). By appealing to the nation as a historically decontextualized self–contained kinship–based (genus–γένος) unit situated within the borders of the nation–state (homeland–πατρίδα), immigration for this particular group of students is re–signified not as an infiltration (or intrusion—see the 'problematic others' section below) of foreigners, the other–language ones, but rather as a journey of pilgrimage to the home country, the return of fellow compatriots. Notice the subjectivating effects achieved by the contrast of the nationed–student–subjects and the internally otherized non–tolerable–student–subjects through the choice of words and their

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sequence in the text as they appear in a circular sent by the MoEC(2011) regarding the provision of free afternoon lessons in Greek for non–Greek speaking children:

> With regard to the above issue we inform you that the Continuous Education Centers [Επιμορφωτικά Κέντρα] of the Ministry of Education and Culture organize every year afternoon lessons for learning Greek for children of returnees, repatriates and **other other–language children** (Αρ. Φακ. 7.17.10/7, 20.9.2011, p. 1, emphasis in the original).

Students classified as repatriates and returnees are thereby (discursively) inscribed with a particular version of 'self' which serves to downplay notions of a foreign 'other' by minimizing the perceived cultural distance from the Greek–Cypriot majority, itself nevertheless managing to remain, even in absentia, at the pinnacle of the ethnicity/race hierarchy, being rendered the criterion for determining 'tolerability'. As a result, the less certain nationed–student–subjects are perceived to deviate from the majority, the more tolerable–student–subjects they become.

The Deficit 'Others'

Perhaps unsurprisingly given the prevalence of remedial teaching in GSL as a measure of cultural inclusion, language emerges as a significant means of classification and the marker of difference *par excellence* evident in the use of names: 'students who do not speak Greek as their native language'; 'other–language students/ newcomer other language students'; foreign–language students; and 'students with [a] different culture and language'. In a 2001 public announcement, the MoEC stated that it had abandoned the term 'foreign–language students', originally used to refer to immigrant/non–Greek speaking students in 1997 (Council of Ministers, Decision no. 46201, 11.6.1997), in favor of the term 'other–language students' as a sign of cultural sensitivity (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1, 12.10.2001). Despite this, however, the term 'foreign–language' students still resurfaces in more recent policy texts alongside other terms, such as 'alien' students (for instance, MoEC, Αρ. Φακ.7.1.05.20, 28.8.2007). Unlike the terms bi– or pluri–lingual, both 'other– language' and 'foreign–language', serve to silence students' cultural and linguistic background by drawing attention to the subjects' 'deviance' from the cultural and linguistic norm (Zembylas, 2010). Hence, the use of the morphemes 'other– 'and 'foreign– 'in 'foreign–language' and 'other–language' respectively demarcates boundaries of in– and out–group membership, normalizes language as a divisive device, and encapsulates Greek language and Greek Cypriotness as the unequivocal norm.

In the first and quite extensive circular sent to schools on the issue of intercultural education, the MoEC(2002) describes the gist of its policy as follows:

> The axis of every effort of the MoEC is the **smooth integration of these** [other–language] **children in the Cypriot educational system and not**

their assimilation. Within this framework, it is a basic aim to **offer remedial and differentiated programs for teaching the Greek language** to the children of repatriates and aliens for more effective communication with their environment and **smooth integration in the society** [κοινωνικόσύνολο] (Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/3, 29.10.2002, p.1, emphasis in the original).

According to the policy enforced by the MoEC, non–Greek speaking students are placed in mainstream classrooms, usually in a grade lower than what their age would prescribe, from which they are withdrawn in small groups or individually for a (limited) number of (teaching) hours per week with the purpose of having language support in Greek. The lesson content falls within the discretion of the remedial teacher who has at his/her disposal different book series imported from Greece designed for non–native Greek speakers or Greeks of the diaspora. Non–Greek speaking students may be 'beginners' and 'non–beginners' (αρχάριοικαιμη αρχάριοι[8]) (Programming Office, Γ.Π. 70/2001, 30.7.2002), based on their level of familiarity with the Greek language and are entitled to remedial teaching in Greek for a maximum of two years, a period deemed insufficient according to research on second language learning and which, by default, places bilingual students at a disadvantage (Coelho, 2007). The decision for providing a second year of remedial teaching follows the student progress evaluation conducted by the assessment team responsible, comprised of the classroom teacher, the school head teacher, the inspector of the school, and the educational psychologist who examine each case separately. The exclusion of the student and his/her family is conspicuous in light of their lack of participation in the assessment procedures and when juxtaposed with the presence of an educational psychologist in the assessment team–an indication and a reflection of processes of pathologization of bi/multilingualism undergirding deficit understandings of language diversity as an impediment to successful social inclusion and academic success.

Hence, the emphasis placed on the need for 'these children' to 'integrate' via the acquisition of communication skills alludes to the tacit desire to 'fix' the deficient subject, to cast him/her in ways which fit the 'appropriate' mold, cultivating the tacit impression that (Greek) language (or the lack thereof), and, by extension, the properties of the individual are the answer to social issues of inclusion (see also Kitching, 2010 for a similar argument in the context of Ireland). In spite of the proclaimed rejection of assimilation, the reduction of phenomena of social marginalization and discrimination to a matter of individual adaptation, and the identification of multicultural education as second language instruction invisibilize the works of structures of social inequality and place responsibility for inclusion on the culturally diverse individual who is rendered inferior but malleable, and therefore potentially tolerable, upon adaptation to the norm. This discourse of deficiency is intertwined with discourses of pathologization and risk, evident in the way language is deployed to classify bilingual children in different levels of

language proficiency, presumably for purposes of offering better instruction, tailored to students' individual needs:

> The whole assessment procedure is expected to facilitate the language instruction of other–language children who, **depending on the degree of knowledge and possession of the Greek language and the duration of their presence in Cyprus**, could be placed accordingly to the following **two basic levels***:*

- **First level**: This concerns the other–language children who are characterized by complete linguistic inadequacy or/and language problems and have recently moved to Cyprus.
- **Second level**: Concerns other–language children who can communicate to some degree by using Greek, but have not conquered the basic grammar and syntax structures, [and] as a result language ability is assessed as inadequate to the degree that the use of specially designed instructional material is needed, adapted to their abilities and needs. These are children living in Cyprus for more than a year, without, of course, having this time period function in any absolute or general way.

(It is noted that except for the other–language children who may be included in the first and second level of language awareness, there are **also children who are characterized as other–language, without however presenting any language issues or having the need to follow a special language program**) (MoEC, Aρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/3, 29.10.2002, pp. 5–6, emphasis in the original).

Note the use of phrases such as 'language problems' and 'linguistic inadequacy' and how these work deflect from and cancel out the cultural and language capital of the families of these children, casting bilingualism as a problem of/inside 'other–language' children, rather than as a source of enrichment whose benefits extend to not only bilingual children but also the school community, the responsibility for which falls on the school to cultivate and cherish. Such discursive shifts of geographies of responsibility from the majority to the (minority) individual (and the family) are achieved through the employment of a culture of poverty discourse regarding immigrant underperformance which places the blame on students' 'family problems', 'psychological/emotional/psychomotor problems', and immigrant parental indifference (e.g. MoEC, Aρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/6, 6.9.2004;MoEC, Aρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/7, 8.7.2005;MoEC, Aρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/9, 20.7.2007).

The Problematic 'Others'

The largest and final category of subjects constructed through the official rhetoric on intercultural education consists of the 'problematic others', the categories of students and their families either perceived as being at–risk or being a source of risk, classified as 'alien students', 'alien workers', 'economic immigrants', 'immigrants',

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'students from third countries', 'classmates who come from other countries', 'hosted students'; and 'students from vulnerable socioeconomic groups of the population'. The following is an excerpt from the first circular on intercultural education, encapsulating the philosophy of the MoEC's(2002) policies which is repeatedly stated in other documents as well (e.g. MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1, 3.11.2001; MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/3, 15.10.2002; MoEC, 2008b; http://www.moec.gov.cy/dde/diapolitismiki.html.):

> It is known that over the last years Cyprus, in addition to its serious political problem, rests at the turmoil of serious socioeconomic changes. Over the last decade, Cypriot society, which has until recently had a relatively homogeneous composition of an essentially Greek Orthodox population is intensely experiencing the consequences of the mass arrival of alien workers and co–ethnic Greek Pontians from the countries of the former USSR. Among these consequences is the continuous rise in the number of other–language children who attend our schools. […]The axis of every effort of the MoEC is the **smooth integration of these** [other–language] **children in the Cypriot educational system and not their assimilation**. Within this framework, it is a basic aim to **offer remedial and differentiated programs for teaching the Greek language** to the children of repatriates and aliens for more effective communication with their environment and **smooth integration in the society** [κοινωνικόσύνολο]. Meanwhile, a broader and permanent pursuit of the MoEC is the protection of freedoms and rights of all the members of the Cypriot society from any racist discriminations and tendencies for social exclusion (Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/3, 29.10. 2002, p.1, emphasis in the original).

Within this (discursive) context, intercultural education is presented as imposed, framed as the solution to the problem (Taylor, 2004) created by the (disruptive) population movement, in turn implied to be part and parcel of today's globalized neoliberal world. Instead of being adopted as a pedagogical approach on the virtue of democratic values, child–centered educational practice, and the promise of social transformation (see McDonough, 2008), intercultural education is herein portrayed as the means to 'deal' with the least tolerable: the (more) 'problematic others'. A close examination of the semantic relations in the text makes it clear that through the summoning of the political problem and the deployment of a risk discourse invoked by utterances such as 'mass arrival', 'consequences', 'turmoil' and 'serious socioeconomic changes', the presence of immigrants in Cyprus is (mis)construed as the culprit for problems facing the educational system and society at large. Framed as an imminent threat to social cohesion and stability by way of corroding the (perceived) pre–existing ethnic and religious homogeneity (Bryan, 2010) with unspecified consequences, the rhetoric of influx, alongside the evoked memory of the Turkish invasion, conjure up emotive reactions of fear which lead immigrant students to be seen as threatening–subjects–in–need–of–integration and indigenous students (and by implication, the majority of society) as subjects–under–threat–in–

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need–of–protection. The mobilization of the notion of a predating homogeneity[9] intensifies the subjectivating potency of this discourse as it denies the historical multiculturalism of Cyprus (Gregoriou, 2004) and tacitly perceives homogeneity as intrinsically more desirable than heterogeneity (Zembylas, 2010), thus acting to place immigrant students as both pathological (a threat) and pathologized(a problem) subjects.

> The subjectivating effects of such discourse are noted by Lentin and Titley (2012) when speaking of the crisis of multiculturalism in Europe: Culturally unassimilated, ideologically unassimilable and transnationally implicated in disloyalty, the 'racial politics of the War on Terror' (Pitcher, 2009: 7) has produced 'intolerable subjects'. Their presence, legitimacy and, frequently, rights depend on satisfying a mass of cultural preconditions which involve the imposition of prohibitions: on forms of dress, religious symbols, marriage partners and 'unacceptable behaviours' (McGhee, 2008). They also involve performative compulsions to allegiance through citizenship, loyalty and integration tests and ceremonies. Thus Badiou's insistence on 'one world' is in part a reaction to a new 'politics of recognition' in Europe: the requirement to be recognized as 'deserving', 'moderate' and 'integrated' – or at least as not dis–integrated and dis–integrating. (p. 124)

In the case in hand, the 'problem' of integrating the deviant–subjects is being framed as solved with a model of intercultural education which remains conclusively monocultural and monolingual, paying lip–service to antiracist education, evading the interrogation of existing structures of inequality and discrimination, and overlooking the role of the majority. Hence, the proclaimed rejection of assimilation and the emphasis placed on the value of integration are conceptualized as primarily adaptive on the part of immigrant students and inapplicable or irrelevant to the children of the majority. The notion that intercultural education, whatever form it may take, concerns only minority and/or immigrant students, not the students of the majority, constitutes a frequent misperception vehemently criticized by intercultural education theorists (Parekh, 1997). The disregard for the role of the majority in maintaining power imbalances and contributing to their reversal is further encouraged in the text above by reference to immigrants as 'workers'. Positioning immigrants (merely or primarily) as a work force posits a particular subjectivation that hinders their conceptualization as citizens and thereby diverts from broader issues related to democratic participation, equality, and human and civil rights. In her analysis of multicultural education policy in Ireland, Bryan (2010) explains:

> I characterise it as a corporate–style multiculturalism that formulates the contribution of migrants almost exclusively in terms of their labour, and the resulting economic benefits they offer the nation. I suggest that it is a weak version of multiculturalism which directly or indirectly invites certain 'foreigners' to call Ireland 'home', so long as they are seen to advance the

national interest, while implicitly constructing those who are deemed illegitimate and undeserving of the nation's self–perceived generosity as 'Other' (p. 254).

In a similar vein, the more recent, even though periodic, mobilization of the rhetoric of 'hospitality' in MoEC policy documents (i.e. 'hosted students') functions to delegitimize the presence of immigrant students on equal footing with indigenous students, given the inherent power imbalance in the relationship between host and guest, as the former always retains the privilege to evict and the latter is persistently reminded of his/her temporariness (Pitt–Rivers, 1977):

> Our schools, in particular, host notable numbers of foreign–language and alien students, who are being called upon to live in the Cypriot cultural environment without forsaking their cultural heritage. The indigenous students and teachers of course have an obligation to bring to the forefront and enrich our culture, to offer foreign students the capacity for them to learn its [our culture's] essential [ουσιαστικά] elements, so that they can understand us and live comfortably on our island. However, at the same time they need to have the sensitivity to offer the hosted students the possibilities and opportunities to present facets of their own culture (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ.7.1.05.20, 28.8.2007, pp. 1–2).

One of the first things that stand out in the excerpt above is the way the text acts to classify students as insiders and outsiders through the citational deployment of the categories 'us' and 'them' (i.e. 'our schools', 'their culture', 'our culture' etc.). In doing so, the text succeeds in actually *producing* differences: constructing the foreign–even–if–exotic–other–subject who needs to obediently –and with a sense of gratitude– submit to hierarchical relations of power. Although the word 'tolerance' is not mentioned in this passage, the text is nonetheless replete with ingredients of the tolerance ideology (i.e. 'sensitivity', 'present facets', 'without forsaking') grounded upon and also sustaining essentialized understandings of culture as a 'thing' to own and showcase. Folklore multiculturalism, echoed in celebratory approaches to diversity, naively evades the real issues of unequal access to power and privilege between minority and majority groups and positions the majority as "the 'valuer', or celebrator of difference" while conditioning the acceptance of minorities upon the perceived value of their (commoditized) culture, and their ability to 'contribute' to the 'host' culture (Bryan, 2010, p.255). The implications for those for whom the usefulness of their 'commodity' is questioned, or (worse) rejected, are ravaging:

> From this vantage point, the relationship between those who do the embracing and those who are embraced is dependent on the self–perceived altruism or generosity of the 'host' (our perception that minority groups are indeed worthy of our generosity), and a corresponding supplication of minorities (Burchell 2001). This logic is premised on a partial or conditional acceptance (so long as they have something to offer us), which also produces unacceptable 'others' who have nothing to offer (Reay et al. 2007). The power relationship implied

> in the logic of interculturalism is therefore such that those who are not seen to be making a contribution are implicitly positioned as being undeserving of this self–perceived generosity (Bryan, 2010, p. 255)

The impression of adopting a multicultural approach is often achieved with the mobilization of catchy slogans and buzzwords such as 'equality' and 'respect'. Critical theorists have long warned of the new faces of racism which often deceptively appear in the form of a de–racialized discourse, which has allowed the jettisoning of 'race', and therefore of the obligation to deal with its negative corollaries, using the pretext of 'difference' or 'culture', which conflates 'race' and 'ethnicity' with 'culture' (Park,2005). Gillborn (1997) cautions against this when he writes:

> Although successive Conservative reforms have superficially removed 'race' from the language of education reform, the deeper issues have remained a central and volatile presence in the debates. Often, the issues have been smuggled in by the use of what Barry Troyna termed 'proxy concepts' (Troyna, 1993; p. 28). Hence, a concern with 'tradition', 'heritage', 'language' and 'way of life' operates as a code for 'race'. Policy–makers still directly address racialised (and racist) issues but do so through a deracialised discourse that trades on *culture,* not *'race'.* (p. 352).

Additionally, 'culture' emerges as a signifier of differences to be found only among minorities, immigrants and refugees, which in turn suggests the existence of a 'culture–less' majority and in doing so elides its privilege and inscribes the minority as lacking. Park (2005, p. 22) writes: "Against the blank, white backdrop of the "culture–free" mainstream, the "cultured" Others are made visible in sharp relief, and this visibility – a sign of separateness and differentiation from the standard – are inscriptions of marginality. Embedded in the conceptualization of culture as difference, in other words, is that of difference conceptualized as deficiency". To exemplify this, notice how the last sentences of the last two excerpts from the policy documents cited above effectively work together linguistically to deracialize and depoliticize intercultural education discourse by substituting 'race' for reified notions of 'culture':

> Meanwhile, a broader and more permanent pursuit of the MoEC is the protection of the freedoms and rights of all the members of Cypriot society from any racist discriminations and tendencies towards social exclusion (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.19.1/3, 29/10/2002, p.1., emphasis in the original).

> and:

> At the same time, though, they [indigenous students and teachers] need to have the sensitivity to offer the hosted students the possibilities and opportunities to present facets of their own culture (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ.7.1.05.20, 28.8.2007, pp. 1–2).

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The jettisoning of 'race' in this textual context is accomplished by the mobilization of the ideology of tolerance and commoditized notions of culture which render the non–majority students potentially tolerable subjects provided they (successfully) trade on 'their culture', by carefully picking what cultural elements to reveal to the majority and by adopting what the majority dictates.

DISCUSSION

This chapter is an effort to investigate how policy texts operate to discursively construct student subjectivities through the example of intercultural education policy in Cyprus. Through paying attention to grammatical, semantic and vocabulary relations in the text (Fairclough, 2003), situated meanings associated with particular naming choices were explored in terms of how they work to position students in certain ways and not others and in relation to the kinds of subject positions they subsequently inscribe. Discourse analysis may be particularly useful in disentangling racist and oppressive discourses which currently may receive new forms elusively masked under the mobilization of an abstract liberal ideology of equality (Bonilla–Silva, 2006). The case of Cyprus presents an example of how the state may appear (or pretend?) to adopt intercultural education rhetoric while at the same time produce, reproduce and mobilize exclusionary discourses that generate particular student subjectivities based on perceptions of 'tolerability' postulated by the majority. The analysis of education policy texts issued over the years 1997–2012 has revealed a plurality of otherness that spans a continuum of perceptions of deviation and deviance, which creates and purports hierarchical relations of power both among the different categories of 'others' and between 'others' and the majority. The various names used to refer to non–indigenous students may be grouped in three different categories: *the tolerable 'others'* which encompass students of repatriate and returnee families who are discursively constructed as being ethnically affiliated to the Greek Cypriot norm and as such as more tolerable than others perceived as completely foreign; *the deficit 'others',* which comprise those categories of students whose lack of knowledge of the Greek language positions them as in need of remedial teaching and whose linguistic and cultural background is effectively being silenced; and the third and final category, the *problematic 'others'*, which include all those students who are being constructed as a threat to social cohesion due to their having 'an excess of (their) culture' (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p. 127) that needs to be regulated by means of 'integration' into the norm.

The construction of these subjectivities is aided by the deployment of various ideological and discursive elements that co–exist within and across the policy texts and interact, influence and/or contradict one another: a) the discourse of pre–existing ethnic and religious homogeneity, rooted in nationalistic constructions of the state, functions to negate indigenous multiculturalism and pathologize the presence of immigrants as the root of educational and social stability problems; b) the conceptualization of bilingualism as a deficit founded upon reified and

deficit constructions of culture (Park, 2005) supports an instrumental approach to intercultural education that emphasizes the acquisition of Greek, leaving little space for addressing broader issues of social and educational inequality and exclusion; c) finally, narrow conceptualizations of intercultural education materialized in difference–blind expressions of multiculturalism position the majority as culture–less, mask the latter's role in perpetuating power imbalances, racial and other inequalities, and promote assimilative practices that occlude the cultural and language background of minority students.

Furthermore, discursive practices that construct student–subjects solely along the axis of perceived cultural distance from the majority ignore the existence of other forms of diversity which may operate as markers of differentiation and identification as well as devices of oppression, such as religion, sexual orientation, physical ability, 'race', social class, and gender, thereby leaving them unchallenged. Evidently, names and naming choices have implications for the way teachers and other stakeholders interpret and implement policy in relation to what is conceived as beneficial to, tolerable and required of the minority and the majority as well as with regard to which kind of student subjectivities are being constructed and what forms of exclusions, abjections, subjugations and omissions transpire in the process.

As namings are taken up and (re)appropriated by the various social subjects, questions of discursive agency (Butler, 1997) inevitably arise: what do these names mean to the teachers, the majority students, and importantly to the minority students? How are they being used, reused and mobilized in the context of social relations within the school; with what effects and for whom? What kinds of openings are there for providing 'critical responses' (Butler, 1997, p. 19) to 'injurious names' (Butler, 1997, p. 36); how and under what circumstances can these opportunities be created, and how might they be taken up successfully?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

[1] The study refers to the Greek–Cypriot context and education system which are under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Cyprus.

[2] According to the Statistical Services of the Republic, "Greeks of Pontus are usually Georgians and Russians of Greek origin and passport". These data are provided to the Statistical Services by primary school principals who, according to the Statistical Services, are in a position from what they know about the students to "distinguish between Greek students (Greeks– Greeks of Mainland Greece and Greeks of Pontus)". (Personal communication, Statistical Services, 26 February 2008).

[3] I have kept the prefix 'Αρ. Φακ.' in MoEC documents in the original language (Greek) for purposes of citation as it constitutes part of the document identification.

[4] This comment and the critique cited refer to the curriculum that has been used in schools until the school year 2010–2011. Since 2004, the State has initiated a comprehensive educational reform for all

levels of mandatory education, which has led to the design of new curricula for all disciplinary areas taught in public schools. The year 2011–2012 has been declared the year of full–scale implementation of these new curricula and as such they have officially replaced the ones previously in use.

5   I focus solely on names and namings which refer to non–Cypriot students, not Turkish Cypriots, Maronites, Armenians and Latins. I recognize that, due to the protracted ethnic and political conflict and the historical context, especially the former's presence in policy texts constitutes a politically laden act which warrants a separate examination on its own and which, however, falls beyond the scope of this analysis.

6   A note to acknowledge the differences in the theoretical underpinnings of CDA and poststructural thought. Nonetheless, I take 'critical' to signify the focus on politics and power relations formulated through/in language and in that sense I see critical discourse analysis as a useful device for interrogating such relations of domination rather than referring to critical theory alone.

7   The first time each term is introduced, the original Greek phrase or label is also provided as encountered in the text.

8   "For purposes of supporting the instruction of other–language students these will be distinguished in the following two categories (or levels): **"beginner students":** who are defined as the students who received remedial teaching for the first time **"non–beginners":** who will be defined as the students who have already received remedial [teaching] for at least one school year". (Programming Office, Γ.Π. 70/2001, 30.7.2002, Appendix 1, p.1).

9   There is a notable shift in this rhetoric more recently, especially in relation to Turkish Cypriots, for example in the 2007–2008 school year objectives (MoEC, Αρ. Φακ.7.1.05.20, 28.8.2007), which recognize for the first time Cyprus's historical multiculturalism in the formal educational discourse. However, with the exception of the Turkish Cypriots, no other indigenous ethnocultural minorities (Armenians, Latins and Maronites and Roma) are mentioned. This silences their historical presence in Cyprus and gives the impression of homogeneity within the two constitutionally defined communities, Greek–Cypriots and Turkish–Cypriots. Nevertheless, in spite of this shift, the discourse of pre–existing homogeneity still reappears in more recent online documents on the MoEC's website http://www.moec.gov.cy/dde/diapolitismiki.html

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