Governing Educational Spaces

Knowledge, Teaching, and Learning in Transition

Hans-Georg Kotthoff and
Eleftherios Klerides (Eds.)

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CESE

Governing Educational Spaces

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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.

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PREFACE

This present volume includes a selection of paper contributions, which were given during the 26th Conference of the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE). The Conference was held at the Freiburg University of Education, Germany (June 10-13, 2014), and its theme "Governing Educational Spaces: Knowledge, Teaching, and Learning in Transition" also gave this book its title.

The conference theme attracted more than 240 participants from 42 countries from all parts of the world. The combination of the cutting-edge theme of 'educational governance' with 'educational spaces', one of the classical 'unit ideas' in the field of comparative education proved to be highly attractive for many scholars in the field of comparative education and other related field such as sociology of education, policy studies, political sciences etc. The overwhelming response to our call for papers meant that the Local Conference Organising Committee was not able to include all applications for paper presentations. From the final selection of 200 presented papers, which were delivered in 58 working sessions in Freiburg, the CESE Executive Committee and the editors of this volume chose eight papers and three keynote lectures for this volume.

The realisation and the success of this conference would not have been possible without the strong, committed and continuous support of a whole range of colleagues and institutions, to whom I would like to express my sincere gratitude here.

First of all, I would like to thank Eleftherios Klerides, who not only worked closely with the CESE Executive Committee on the development of the conference theme and coordinated one of the Working Groups (WG), but was also instrumental for the development of the conference website and deeply involved in the preparation of the three CESE Freiburg conference publications.

Secondly, I would like to extend my gratitude to the members of the CESE Executive Committee, who have been instrumental in the planning and organising of the Freiburg CESE conference. As always, the theme(s) of the conference and the working groups were jointly developed by the members of the Executive Committee, who also coordinated and led the Working Groups: Stephen Carney, Vlatka Domovic, Terri Kim, Anselmo Paolone, and Miguel Pereyra. In addition, I would like to thank Robert Cowen, Past President of CESE, who was very supportive throughout the planning process and who thankfully accepted our invitation, without hesitation, to coordinate one the WGs.

For the first time the CESE WG Chairs were supported by 'Local Chairs', who helped co-ordinate the WGs and (co-)chaired numerous WG sessions during the conference. Therefore, a special word of thanks goes to those colleagues, who supported this conference through this important voluntary work: Karin Amos, Sabine Hornberg, Olivier Mentz, Jutta Nikel, Marcelo Parreira do Amaral, Christine Riegel and Imke von Bargen.

In addition, I would like to thank my colleagues at the Department of Education at the University of Education Freiburg and in particular Natascha Hofmann, who made an important contribution to the realisation of the conference. In this context I would also like to mention our students in Freiburg, in particular Pascal Neumann, who made this conference their own and thus contributed significantly to the conference's success.

On a personal level I would like to thank my wife Helen Kotthoff, without whose never-ending support and enthusiasm the conference would not have been possible.

Considerable financial support to the 26th CESE Conference was granted by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation, DFG), by the Rector of the University Freiburg, the Faculty of Education as well as the City of Freiburg.

One of the most important results of successful scientific conferences are publications, which are (hopefully) well received in the scientific community. Therefore I would like to express my gratitude to Teresa Woods-Czich and Helen Kotthoff, who have been responsible for the proofreading of the draft manuscripts for this publication.

Finally, however, I would like to thank all those colleagues, who contributed to the CESE conference in Freiburg and whose contributions made this volume possible.

Freiburg, August 2015

Hans-Georg Kotthoff
President of CESE and Chair of the Freiburg Local Organising Committee

HANS-GEORG KOTTHOFF & ELEFTHERIOS KLERIDES

RESEARCHING GOVERNANCE IN EDUCATION: SYNERGIES AND FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDAS

The governance of education in many countries and regions of the world is currently in transition, challenging histories, remaking subjectivities and shaping possible political futures. The role of transnational actors and commercial interests in reform movements is acknowledged by policy makers and scholars alike. Indeed, the pervasive nature of economic discourses that prioritize certain forms of knowledge, teaching and learning, is changing the very nature of education itself and its potential as a vehicle for societal and personal transformation. However, national and regional economic forces do not act in isolation and must be examined in the broader context of the changing contours of the global cultural economy. Rapid and uneven processes of modernization across Europe and in many other places, for example, in North America, East Asia, North Africa and Latin America, interact increasingly with deterritorialised policy agendas, at a time when local, national and regional identity projects are in flux. These dynamics are at the centre of emerging 'spaces' in education (e.g. 'European educational spaces') in which governance can be viewed as a key field of action in which long-running political efforts to shape and order social life are consolidated, contested and remade. In the emerging educational space, governance is not simply one facet of education but, rather, the new context in which education might be envisaged and realised.

The main aim of this publication is to make visible and to generate synergies between different fields of study and research communities engaged in the analysis of governance in education in order to explore the changing forms and modalities of governance of education in the broadest way possible and thus to deepen and to enrich our understanding of this global phenomenon. This cross-disciplinary, cross-cultural and transnational comparative approach to the study of governance in education, which has been the guiding principle in the preparation of this volume, is reflected in the following decisions.

Firstly, and as indicated by the title of this volume, the publication deliberately chooses to link two intensely debated concepts, which originate from two different fields of study. On the one hand, the concept of 'Educational Governance' has recently gained much attention and is currently not only intensely debated in education, but also in related disciplines and fields such as sociology of education, political sciences and policy studies. On the other hand the concept of 'Educational Spaces' belongs to the well-established 'unit ideas' of comparative education. However, just like other well-established concepts in comparative education, for example 'educational systems', the 'nation-state' and 'educational transfer', the notion of 'space' has recently experienced a shift in meaning. Local, regional,

national and supra-national spaces are changing and new spaces are emerging – for example the 'European Educational Space' or virtual space.

Secondly, the attempt to relate the fields of comparative education and educational governance to each other in this volume, and thus to create synergies between the two fields, is based on the assumption that this process will be mutually beneficial for both fields. Although comparative education and educational governance research do not only share similar research interests (e.g. analyses of international educational policies), but also share, as we hope to make evident in this introduction and volume, similar epistemological assumptions, the findings of these two fields have not yet systematically been brought together. This is even more surprising given the fact that representatives from both fields of study have repeatedly stressed the overlapping research interests of these two fields for many years. For example, for the field of comparative education, Novoa and Yarif-Marshal warned more than 10 years ago, that comparative education studies are in danger of being abused as a "mode of governance" (Novoa & Yarif-Marshal, 2003). More recently, a similar observation was made by Lawn and Ozga (2012), who suggested, that although the generation of student performance data and their use by educational policy-makers is a significant process in itself, this process unfolds its decisive effects only when the student performance data is compared to other sets of student performance data. This continuous comparison, provided for example by the international large scale assessment studies of the OECD, has been identified by Martens (2007) as the 'Comparative Turn' in OECD education policy.

Thirdly, by selecting very diverse and globally distributed scholars in this volume, who bring a wealth of different backgrounds, cultural perspectives and experiences to the theme of educational governance, the chosen contributions allow us to see how similar governance models, modalities and instruments are functioning in different settings. We believe that the field of comparative education is uniquely situated to explore the emerging dynamics of educational governance within changing and newly emerging educational spaces. International and comparative studies on educational governance provide the opportunity to learn more about different local, national or regional educational processes and trajectories, considering them comparatively. In addition, comparative studies allow us to share knowledge about the logics, ideologies and impacts of different techniques and regimes of governance across Europe and beyond, and, finally, to consider the extent to which these phenomena can be conceptualised as part of distinctive national or regional responses to the challenge of global educational governance. Thus, it is hoped that the comparative analyses of varying forms and modalities of educational governance, which have been included in this volume, will lead to new insights or – at least – confirm or challenge traditional assumptions in this field of study.

Fourthly, by selecting contributions from different research communities, often separated by language barriers and epistemological traditions, this publication aims to intensify the mutual perception, communication and cooperation between scholars and researchers from different national and cultural backgrounds. The

intensified mutual perception seems to be particularly urgent and potentially beneficial in the field of educational governance, a field which seems to be characterised by national or regional research communities, apparently working rather independently of each other. This observation can be substantiated with reference to the German-speaking research community on educational governance in Switzerland, Austria and Germany. Although educational governance research in the German speaking countries in Europe is currently very high on the research agenda, it does not have a very high profile in the Anglo-Saxon research community. Similarly, theoretical and empirical results from Anglo-Saxon research on governance in education are not systematically received and utilised in the German-speaking research community. This lack of mutual perception is rather unfortunate, because the two communities could profit from each other, as their main theoretical assumptions, concepts and empirical research results are in many respects different, however also, as the following three observations suggest, complimentary.

International research in educational governance deals primarily with the relationship between the public and the private sphere as well as the relationship between the national and the transnational level (Dale & Robertson, 2009). In contrast to this, in German-speaking areas the focus of educational governance research could be said to be more exclusively directed towards instruments and mechanisms of educational governance and their political use or even utility (Altrichter & Maag Merki, 2015), thus complementing the macro-level analyses of the international research community.

Similarly, with regard to their theoretical and methodological approach to educational governance, the two research communities complement each other. While the German-speaking research community takes its theoretical points of departure and concepts primarily from the legal and administrative fields as well as political and social sciences, international research on educational governance, on the other hand, seems to be much more influenced by perspectives from the sociology of education and power.

Finally, in both the Anglo-Saxon and the German-speaking research communities, the term 'governance' is understood as a reaction to the same phenomena: that is, the failure of political planning in the 1960s and 1970s and the resulting new positioning and balancing between the state, society and the market. However, in international research communities, new forms and modes of educational governance are seen in a closer relationship with developments towards the "Europeanisation of education" (e.g., Ozga & Lingard, 2007; Dale & Robertson, 2009) and the "governance of the European education space" (Grek, 2009, p. 23). This very productive additional dimension has unfortunately not a very high salience in the German-speaking research community.

The main aim of this volume, to identify and create synergies between different fields of study and research communities in order to explore the changing governance of education in the broadest way possible, underpins the selection of papers and the structure of this book, which falls into five sections. While the first section deals explicitly with the role of data, evidence, and accountability in the

governance of education and thus focuses on 'new' forms and modalities of governance, the second section explores these 'new' forms of governance in different institutional settings (i.e. schools, school administration and school inspection). The third and fourth section change the focus of analysis by moving the roles of different professional groupings and actors involved in the governance of education into centre stage. More specifically, the third section analyses the role of teachers, teacher professional development and teacher education, while the fourth section widens the perspective beyond the borders of national education systems by analysing the role of European and global actors such as the EU and the OECD Directorate of Education in the governance of education. The final section is dedicated to the analysis of the impact, which these new regimes and modalities of governance have on research in higher education and the creation of knowledge.

The first section aims to frame, conceptualise and systematise new forms and modalities of governance empirically and theoretically. In the first chapter of this section **Jenny Ozga** focuses on the relationship between knowledge and governing, drawing on recent research on data use and on inspection regimes in Europe. Her research suggests that as governing has become more networked, less bureaucratic, more flexible and interdependent, so too has knowledge changed to more problem-based forms, involving new actors and including developments in data use and in school inspection processes in which comparison is a fundamental principle. Ozga argues that these changes have the effect of reconstituting knowledge as a policy-forming, rather than a policy-informing activity, and that increased reliance on new forms of data tends to displace expertise (as exemplified in the process of inspection in England). Thus data play a key role in governing education through their contribution to the production of 'governing knowledge', and as a consequence the mediating role of professional inspectors is reduced or displaced.

In the second chapter **Christian Maroy** is proposing a typology of new forms of accountability, which have emerged over the last twenty years in the field of education. The typology is based on four dimensions, two of which bear on the properties of policy tools deployed to establish policies (the alignment of instruments and stakes), and two others on the characteristics of regulation theories drawn upon and implicit in the deployment of these instruments (the actor's conception and the conception of the process of regulation). Four types of logic with a varying mix of "rendering of accounts" and "actors assumption of responsibility" are employed: regulation through 'hard' accountability, regulation through neo-bureaucratic accountability, regulation through reflective responsibilisation and accountability, and 'soft' accountability. These ideal-types are reflected in the policies of four European and North American educational systems: Texas, Québec, Scotland and French-speaking Belgium. In his conclusion Maroy discusses the effects, stakes, limits and pitfalls of these accountability policies not only from a functional and instrumental, but also from a critical and political perspective.

The second section focuses on the governance of education in different institutional settings, which are, however, all related to the governance of

schooling and schools. In the first chapter of this section, titled 'Locating governmentality in the spread of educational leadership', **Cathryn Magno** investigates the role of educational leadership in the governance of schooling and schools. According to Magno, educational leadership programs, and policies to support them, have emerged since the turn of the 21st century in many countries where they had never existed before. The purpose of this paper is to question why there is new interest in how schools are governed and how that interest is taking shape across five seemingly disparate country contexts (United States, Switzerland, Azerbaijan, Mongolia and Pakistan). The paper considers the educational leader as a particular subject of 'governmentality' in the current era of global (neoliberal) accountability. Research questions investigate how and why ministry policymakers, school principals, universities, international aid agencies, and non-governmental organizations decide to invest in setting criteria (normative frameworks) for school leadership and establish training for school leaders. The study also investigates leadership practice in schools, in order to see how policy translates into implementation 'on the ground'.

The role of educational leaders in the governance of schooling and schools is taken up by **Judith Hangartner and Carla Jana Svaton**, who research a recent governance reform of public schooling in the canton of Bern, Switzerland. The reform rearranges governance relations on the local level and introduces new procedures of supervision that are informed by an evaluation-based model of steering. In an ethnographic study, based on participant observation in four case studies, the two authors examine local governance practices under new policy conditions and analyse in particular the new supervision practices of cantonal/state inspectors. The ethnographic enquiry of the interactions between the cantonal/state inspectors with headteachers and local school boards' representatives within the new controlling procedures shows how the controlling event is performed in a familiar atmosphere. The practices of control are analysed as a pastoral mode of supervision, in which headteachers are obliged to confess their failings while the inspectors take care of their salvation. Thus, the example of the canton of Bern shows that the evaluation-based governance reform in Switzerland does not simply replace traditional modes of supervision by new managerial rationalities, but is rather subjected to a locally-rooted pastoral governmentality.

The fact that the last chapter in this section also deals with the role of school inspections and inspectors in the governance of schooling and schools reflects the importance that this instrument of governance has recently gained in the German-speaking education systems. In their study on the purpose of school inspections in the German education system **Fabian Dietrich, Martin Heinrich and Maike Lambrecht** analyse the function of school inspections. Within the framework of the official discourse about the so-called 'New Steering' or 'New Governance', school inspections are considered as contributing to quality assurance, quality development and quality improvement in schools in terms of an evidence-based policy. However, based on the findings of their interview study with a Ministry official, the authors argue that within the cyclical model of evaluation-based governance, the control function of school inspections remains latently present,

namely in its standardising and normative form. This normative function of school inspections is achieved through the establishment of a so-called quality framework, which serve as normative criteria for good teaching and good schools and which school actors are advised to adopt as criteria for the judgement of their own practice through so-called self-evaluations.

The third section shifts the focus from the governance of institutional settings to the role of different actors involved in the governance of education. In the first chapter of this section **Stavroula Kontovourki, Eleni Theodorou and Stavroula Philippou** explore some of the techniques how teachers were constructed as professionals in official discourse that framed the educational reform and curriculum change in the Republic of Cyprus between 2004-2013. As these techniques emerged primarily in the official discourse regarding teachers' professional development (PD), rendering PD a key technology of governing, the authors argue that 'governmentalisation of PD' occurred. Drawing on the Foucauldian notions of governmentality, the authors offer a genealogical analysis of teachers' subjectivation as 'autonomous professional pedagogues' to argue that, as official rhetoric was gradually materialised to practice, teachers were re-constituted as docile, self-surveilled, and self-governed subjects. Looking across official documents and regimes of practice, including teachers' PD, the authors thus illustrate how teacher bodies and the teaching body were governed.

In her chapter on 'Governing teacher education through digital media' **Inés Dussel** presents the findings of a recent study that deals with the introduction of ICT in teacher education in four Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay), and which intends to provide more solid arguments on the role of global forces in the reshaping of teacher education. The research project was set to map policy strategies, pedagogical discourses, and relevant actors in ICT policies and practices in teacher education in each country, taking into consideration the local, national, and regional scales as important mediators in policy implementation and technological change. The results of this research contradict the claims of a digital global movement which sweeps away traditions, and argue for a more cautious approach to what is 'new' in the new social geography of teacher education. National educational technology policies, prevailing pedagogical discourses, and institutional and political arrangements, including the deeper level of the institution of schooling, mediate the policy strategies and the uses of digital media in institutions of teacher education.

The fourth section widens the analytical perspective beyond national systems of education by analysing European and global actors and networks of educational governance. In the first chapter of this section **Urška Štremfel** analyses the influence of European educational governance on the development of the Slovenian educational space. The transformation of the Slovenian education system provides an interesting case because it can help to further our understanding of how Western (neoliberal) policies and practices are received at the national level and how these influence the transformation and development of post-socialist education systems. The results of this qualitative study, which is primarily based on document analyses, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with Ministry

officials in Slovenia and representatives from the Directorate General for Education and Culture in Brussels, show that in the ten years since Slovenia joined the EU, Slovenian educational space has been shaped by OMC-driven external monitoring and cross-border comparative technologies. The case study on Slovenia therefore provides important insights into the effectiveness of EU educational governance and its policy-making tools, which seem to have a strong impact on the development of the national educational spaces in the new EU member states.

In the second chapter of this section **Simone Bloem** analyses the transformation of the OECD Directorate for Education into an important and independent global knowledge producer through PISA. According to Bloem's analysis this transformation is mostly caused by the shift of data analysis from external consultants to analysts within the OECD Directorate for Education. The largely descriptive presentation of PISA results in the first cycles has been supplemented by new forms of data analysis since PISA 2009, which can be more easily exploited politically. The study, which draws on knowledge and experiences which the researcher has gained through 'observing participation' in the OECD Directorate for Education and expert interviews with OECD staff members, shows that the performance of data analysis at the OECD and the stronger link of PISA to policy advice is a strategy of the OECD Directorate for Education to increase the political relevance of the study. In this way, the OECD Directorate for Education occupies an increasingly important place within the 'epistemic community' around PISA.

The fifth and final section of this volume is dedicated to the theme of governing research and knowledge and concludes with theoretical reflections on the question, how the governance of knowledge through language affects the field of comparative education. In the first chapter of this final section **Carlo Cappa** analyses the transformations of doctoral studies in Italy during the last thirty years, in the framework of the European educational policy and with reference to trends which can also be detected in other European countries. The Italian university, which is still today the most important place for scholarly research in Italy, is facing a multitude of different or even contradictory demands: on the one hand, the university is receiving social as well as economical requests which have never been so challenging; on the other hand, the vision of scholarly research more closely linked to the traditional Italian university still persists. In his analysis of these tensions and contradictions the author takes three different dimensions into account: the historical dimension, in particular considering the image of scholarly research, which was at the heart of doctoral studies until the last decade; the institutional dimension, examining the different laws that have shaped this cycle of higher education; and the theoretical dimension, regarding the changing idea of knowledge and the profile of research carried out at university. The result of his analysis shows that the present, very pronounced governance of research and doctoral studies is not merely aiming towards the rationalisation and quality promotion of the university system. Instead, as Cappa concludes, through the ever-increasing standardisation and the permanent rise of laws and regulations, the

university is being forced to accept a radical mutation of its original function, which puts its traditional vision clearly at risk.

In the final chapter of this volume, **Donatella Palomba** examines some important issues related to the use of English as lingua franca in the international educational discourse, the exertion of power that this implies, the influence on the conceptualisation of educational issues, and, finally, how the governance of knowledge through language affects the field of comparative education and its developments. While the risks of the predominance of one language of communication (English, in the present historical moment) have been widely investigated, Palomba's study stresses specifically the impact on the nature of the knowledge thus produced, and the influence on the structure itself of the thought, causing a 'loss' of thinking along different lines. The governance of knowledge through language' is illustrated with reference to two very different cases, one drawn from recent Italian cultural history, the other from the history of the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) itself as an academic society. Palomba concludes, not by advocating a return to Babel, but by referring to Umberto Eco's concept of *negotiation* and Barbara Cassin's concept of *comparatif dédié*, which, as Polomba shows in her conclusion, provide promising food for thought for educational comparison.

The wide spectrum of research studies presented in this volume by no means claims that it covers the diverse landscape of 'global educational governance' to its full extent. On the contrary, there are clearly important gaps in our selection of papers, which remain firmly on the future research agenda of studies in governance and which shall be identified here to serve as 'markers for orientation' for further research in this area.

The present volume is clearly short of historical studies on the development of different patterns, forms and modalities of educational governance in the past and over time. Those historical studies are highly relevant because they could, as we have recently argued, "challenge us to consider that some of today's globalizing forms of governing education may not be as new as we think" (Klerides & Kotthoff, 2015, p. 192). The recently published collection of articles on the theme of "Governing educational spaces: historical perspectives", which was also based on papers delivered at the CESE conference in Freiburg, points to the fact that there is "a real life possibility […] that some methods and techniques of transnational or even global governance may have emerged at a particular historical moment in a specific space or place and in the course of time, may have changed their forms and meanings […]" (Klerides & Kotthoff, 2015, pp. 194-195). This 'real life possibility' suggests a highly relevant research agenda, especially for scholars in the field of comparative education, which consists of at least of two items: "first, to investigate globalizing forms of governing education in different historical moments, and second, to explore whether newly-emerged governing technologies in the globalisation moment co-exist with earlier ones, how they are combined, whether they create hybrid governing forms, and what are the effects of hybridization" (Klerides & Kotthoff, 2015, p. 193).

Although this volume and an accompanying special issue on the theme of "Education Systems and New Governance" [*editors' translation*], which is also based on papers presented at the CESE conference in Freiburg (Kotthoff & Rakhkochkine, 2015), present a multitude of empirical studies, which analyse and compare the effects of evidence-based governance strategies and regimes on different levels and actors of various education systems, there is however still a need for further empirical studies. This need arises because one group of actors in particular remains seriously under-researched and these are the teachers. Thus, it does not come as a surprise that research studies on the important question of how the new regimes and modalities of governance in education affect teacher professionalism and the organisation of the teaching-learning process itself are not to be found in this volume. This is a serious gap because, as we know from educational governance literature, the 're-contextualisation' (Fend 2008) of school reforms happens on all levels of the education system and the teacher is probably one of the most important actor in this context. However, interestingly, most studies – including the studies in this volume – which intend to look at the effects of 'new' governance on teachers, stop their analysis at the level of the headteacher, whose presence in the classroom and in the organisation of the teaching-learning process is obviously restricted. Comparative studies on teachers *(not* headteachers or inspectors) on how they deal with changing governance regimes and modalities, could probably tell us a great deal about how different forms and instruments of governance are re-contextualised, resisted, changed and 'hybridised' in different contexts.

Further empirical studies are also necessary because most current studies focus on individual governance instruments (e.g. school inspections or state-wide exit exams) without considering their particular function within their broader system of governance and without analysing empirically the coordination of different actors and levels in that given education system. This leads, according to Altrichter and Maag Merki, to a "very *fragmented image* and understanding of the effects of the analysed governance instruments and possible governance configurations and raises the *problem of generalisability* of singularly identified findings" [*editors' translation*] (Altrichter & Maag Merki, 2010, p. 404). Following Altrichter and Maag Merki's assessment of available governance studies, the generalisability of the current research findings is also quite restricted, because most studies are cross-sectional and rely primarily on the self-assessment of the researched actors. While it is certainly possible to capture the subjective attitudes of individual groups of actors towards 'new' governance modalities and instruments at a given point with the help of semi-structured interviews or questionnaires, the identification of medium and long-term processes and effects necessarily requires longitudinal studies, which observe the effects of 'new' governance mechanisms and instruments over a longer period of time (Altrichter & Maag Merki, 2010, p. 406).

A third gap can be identified with regard to theoretical and conceptual studies, which try to systematically relate the fields of comparative education and educational governance research to each other. As we already pointed out in this introduction, the findings of comparative education and educational governance

research have not yet been systematically brought together, although they share similar research interests as well as epistemological assumptions. These shared assumptions can be exemplified with reference to the importance of 'context'. The highly developed sensitivity for the importance of 'context' for educational reforms does not only belong to the main epistemological assumptions of comparative education, but it is also an important point of departure for educational governance research. Thus, educational governance research is particularly interested in the question, how different mutually interdependent actors 're-contextualise' educational reforms in a multi-level education system and how these processes of 're-contextualisation' (Fend, 2008) lead to intended and unintended effects of governance reforms.

Finally, according to Parreira do Amaral (2015), a "cross-fertilization" of the two fields of study advocated in this volume, could be beneficial for both fields because "Educational Governance provides a suitable analytical framework and differentiated conceptual instruments, which, through the integration of the two research fields, could promote the contemporary research of international education policy" [*editors' translation*] (p. 378). This has, for example, been illustrated by recent studies which have analysed the role of international organisations in 'evidence based governance regimes' (e.g. Grek, 2010, or Bloem in this volume). In addition to these studies, comparative studies on the impact of governance instruments, such as school inspections across six European countries (e.g. Ehren, Altrichter, McNamara, & O'Hara, 2013), show how productive the cooperation of these two fields can be. It is therefore hoped that further research studies of this kind will follow and that this volume will contribute to an intensified 'mutual perception' and thus cooperation of both fields of study.

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Section I

Governing Education: The Role of Data, Evidence, and Accountability

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1. WORKING KNOWLEDGE

Data, Expertise and Inspection in the Governing of Education

INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws on research with a number of colleagues[1] during the last decade that has focused on specific issues (for example the rise of data in education, or the shifting relationship between knowledge and policy) that together offer a way of understanding the changing governing of education in the contemporary context. This long-standing pre-occupation with how education is governed – and how it is used to govern – provides an overarching direction for what is, in effect, a research 'project' in the wider sense of the term, that has attempted, over the years, to achieve the following interconnected objectives:

(i) To investigate education/schooling/learning as a key policy field in Europe, and a site of policy activity of the European Commission. Included in this aim is the attempt to make the education policy field visible to political science as, for the most part, political scientists – including those studying Europeanisation – tend to overlook education, while focusing on traditionally more important policy fields such as trade and defence. The aim of including education in the field of Europeanisation is developed through the use of selected concepts from political science and policy sociology;

(ii) To identify the processes through which the European Education Policy Space (EEPS) is 'made' – with particular attention to the construction of indicators and benchmarks, to practices of standardisation, and the growth of data in making and shaping this policy space;

(iii) Finally, and more recently, to explore and analyse the work of policy actors, mediating and brokering the processes outlined above, and especially those doing 'political work'; i.e. work that: 'both discursively and interactively seeks to change or reproduce institutions by mobilising values' (Smith, 2009, p. 13). This is the element of the 'project' on which this chapter concentrates, and the actors discussed here are Inspectors of Education – understood as a paradigmatic case of actors doing political work in brokering relationships between data-based regulatory instruments and policy.

In pursuing these overarching aims, we have worked with the understanding that new forms of knowledge, especially knowledge expressed in data, may best be understood as 'governing knowledge' and that it has developed in relationship with performance management regimes, alongside decentralisation and deregulation. Data-based knowledge is vital to these regimes, as it enables target-driven steering of outputs and outcomes, across a range of actors – including private providers of

services- accompanied by intensive monitoring of performance. Thus knowledge and information play a pivotal role both in the pervasiveness of new governing relations and processes (through constant collection, monitoring and comparison) and in making new governing forms – which often involve apparent de-regulation – possible.

In this chapter I discuss some of the key ideas that we have developed in this overarching 'project' with a focus on the relationship between governing and knowledge. I first review our approach to changes in governance, and then set out associated changes in knowledge, before considering the ways in which data use has developed during the period of our research. The last section of the chapter attempts to illustrate these ideas through the presentation of selected evidence from recent work on the English inspectorate. The intention here is to show how inspectors, who once had considerable capacity to mediate between data and policy based on their professional expertise, now find their judgements increasingly determined by data-based evidence and by strong framing of their knowledge-based regulatory work. Within the constraints of space of this chapter, it is not possible to offer detailed discussion and illustration of the research that supports these arguments: more detailed reporting of the research can be found in Ozga et al. (2011) and Grek and Lindgren (2015).

GOVERNING KNOWLEDGE

First, I offer a brief account of our approach to changes in governance. We believe that the generally-acknowledged changes in governance and their consequences for relations between the supra/transnational, the national and the local are best understood not as vertical, neatly ordered, nested levels, scales, or tiers, as some multi-level approaches suggest, but rather as a new 'architecture of governance' (Ball, 2006) or as 'assemblages' of apparatuses, personnel and practices (Clarke, 2012). We understand such assemblages to be made up of spaces such as the European Education Policy Space (EEPS) that are dynamic, varied in scope, involving many agents within and across borders and levels, and shaped and reshaped in action. Governing is now the shared concern of different agents and interests, and not just of a single entity – the state. This requires us to think about how governing works on and across categories – nations, levels, sectors, agencies, cultures, and to be attentive to the processes of reworking of these categories in the processes of governing.

The key factor driving changes in governing and knowledge and their relationship is the centrality of widely-distributed knowledge and information (especially information about comparative performance) to the neo-liberal project (Hayek, 1969). In the neo-liberal imaginary, society is organised in networks held together through the flow of comparative knowledge expressed as data: standards, benchmarks and indicators create order in the complex landscape created by adherence to the principle of diversity in provision (so that choice and competition can operate appropriately) that produces an increasingly varied set of activities and institutional arrangements. Public-private hybrids offer education services,

provision is shaped by parental choice and other new public management methods, and this 'systemless system' (Lawn, 2013) requires the production and circulation of apparently objective data – thus making statistical data a key governing device in Europe and beyond (Ozga, Dahler-Larsen, Segerholm, & Simola, 2011; Lawn & Grek, 2013).

Objective, comparative and de-contextualised data become the basis of governing action: these data actively construct policy 'problems', they no longer appear in the external environment but rather are 'called into being' (Stehr, 1994, p. 10) through their statistical representation, from which solutions are (apparently) also derived. As more and more data are produced and combined (Barber, 2014), so that new relationships are revealed, this, along with the increased capacity of data to travel, produce an interdependence between knowledge and governing. As a recent OECD publication puts it: 'the key question posed is: how do governance and knowledge mutually constitute and impact on each other in complex education systems?' (Fazekas & Burns, 2012, p. 6). This quotation also highlights the increasingly active role of transnational agencies such as the European Commission and the OECD in creating apparently coherent policy spaces through horizontal communications and knowledge-based policy instruments that generate and use comparative knowledge and data to govern within and across the national.

The nature of the mutually constitutive relationship of knowledge and governing is indeed the key question, but the political science literature has been slow to move beyond recognition of a shift from 'government' (the practice of politics, policy and administration within the state-form) to 'governance' (understood broadly as co-produced governance by many agents and agencies). The co-production of governance implies increased permeability of states as institutions and a plurality of agencies involved in governing along with a shift from hierarchical, authoritative or bureaucratic forms of social coordination towards the modes of markets and networks.

The governance literature misses the significance of these changes, especially in their creation of a need for data and knowledge-based regulatory instruments (Van Zanten, 2009; Carvahlo, 2012) and for policy actors able to act as mediators or translators of data and broker relationships and outcomes among the complex network of actors now active in policy making. Indeed the mainstream literature retains an institutionalist view of agencies and practices; moreover it typically operates with a 'thin' conception of the social and so tends to ignore or underplay the extent to which new actors and new policy instruments disrupt hierarchical relations and destabilise the 'levels' through which governance is conventionally understood to operate. Rather than assuming the multi-level-ness of governance, we think of the EEPS as operating across borders, in different scales, and – crucially – as shaped and reshaped in action so that 'the object of governance is constructed in the process of governance – whether this object is a space, a group or an institution' (Clarke, 2009, p. 3).

In our previous work (Ozga, Dahler-Larsen, Simola, & Segerholm, 2011), we found support for our emergent analysis in the literature on governmentality as a way of thinking beyond governance, but governmentality has its own inherent

problems: for example, the difficulty of combining attention to the detail and variety of empirical evidence with the 'epochal' analyses of liberal governmentality and the tendency of some analyses to assume the 'success' of governmental projects in practice (Clarke, 2012).

Our focus on data and related changes in knowledge production and use has supported a preference for what John Clarke (2011, p. 5) has called 'the more theoretically agnostic term' *governing*, which captures the complexity, active mediation and translation of governing practices. Governing also avoids the settled and structuralist tendencies of institutionalist-based references of governance and the deterministic undertones of governmentality. So we consider inspection as a *governing* practice, and conceptualise governing as including 'assemblages of apparatuses, processes and practices, rather than only institutions, discourses or strategies' (Clarke, 2011 p. 7).

We take from political science the key idea that governance involves different agents – individuals, groups, organisations – and we thus locate inspection in a web of relationships drawing on different kinds of authority and expertise (or claims to expertise). In the new governing context, actors need to possess or acquire the relevant 'expertise' to govern and their skills in 'governing' are expressed through their capacity to 'translate', mediate or interpret (Newman & Clarke, 2009; Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005; Jacobsson, 2006). As Clarke puts it:

> […] new governance arrangements create the conditions in which new knowledges, skills and roles may flourish – ones that emphasise cross-boundary working. Transacting, translating, mediating and brokering characterise these new ways of working that are central to the forms of governance as partnerships, networks and collaborations. (Clarke, 2008, p. 130)

I return to these forms of expertise and the constraints on them later in the chapter, but before doing so I want to illustrate changes in governing and knowledge, drawing on data from a recent research project[2] that studied changes in governing and associated changes in knowledge in the health and education sectors in eight European countries: Belgium, Hungary, Germany, Romania, France, Norway, Portugal and Scotland. Referencing ideas developed by colleagues in that project, I take knowledge to be socially constructed (Smith-Merry, Freeman, & Sturdy, 2008) and to emerge in close proximity to social, economic and political contexts (Grundmann & Stehr, 2012, p. xiii).

Tables 1 and 2 summarise changes in governance (conceptualised in the knowandpol project as a shift from bureaucracy to post-bureaucracy) and related changes in the nature of knowledge.

Table 1. (From Delvaux & Mangez, 2008)

Bureaucracy	Post-bureaucracy
State-centred	Polycentric
National	Inter, trans, sub, national (Europeanisation)
Main actors: formal policy-makers, professionals, [academics]	A greater diversity of actors
Actors/organisations clearly defined by state and sector	Permeable boundaries, more interdependent
Hierarchical organisation and formal regulation	Hierarchy partially blurred. More involvement of non-formal actors
Action through norms (+ incentives) seeking mainly to change the rules	Action through knowledge (reflexivity) also changes understanding of problems and relations

Government bureaucracies were conventionally based on local, simplified, static and centrally controlled knowledge available only to those who produced and worked with it, but post-bureaucratic networked governing is decentralised, future-oriented, processual, autonomous and fluid (Issakyan, Lawn, Ozga, & Shaik, 2008) and generates similar knowledge forms.

Table 2. (From Delvaux & Mangez, 2008)

Knowledge	Knowledges
Dominant legitimacy of academic knowledge and professional knowledge	Diversity of knowledges. Legitimacy of both scientific knowledge and know-how from experience
Limited number of specific legitimate knowledge holders (professionals, academics)	Diversity of actors producing 'legitimate' knowledge
Disciplinary knowledge Segmented, fragmented, specialised knowledges. Little attempt at transversality and globality. Silos	Policy-oriented K and evidence based policy Future-oriented What(ever) works Whatever solves problem Flexible K, light K, provisional K Usable, readable, auditable, translatable
Relatively slow circulation of knowledge, mainly within closed entities	Intensification and internationalisation of movement of knowledge (and partial opening-up of previously closed entities)

This new form of knowledge, characterised by fluidity, flexibility and rapid transfer, is most easily contained in, and represented by, data. I now turn to a short summary of data use in the governing of education.

GOVERNING BY NUMBERS

Here I focus on data – the rise of data in education was the main focus of the research project 'Fabricating Quality in European Education' from 2006-09. At that time the main concern of the research was to find out where the data were and how they were being constructed. It seemed important to record the sudden and massive increase in data capacity, and to illustrate the grip that a data dream had on the imagination of policy makers in many countries (in this research Denmark, Scotland, England, Sweden and Finland) (Ozga et al., 2011; Ozga, 2009). In the first phase of data growth, it seemed that data were expected to relieve policy makers of the need to make policy – policy could be 'found' in the data – and problems would be simultaneously revealed and solved. This kind of thinking still informs the growth of 'big data'.

In the more recent work exploring the involvement of new actors in governing education, the focus has broadened to include the extent to which commercial interests are working in education. As Martin Lawn puts it:

> Software and data companies are the 'hidden' new managers of the virtual educational landscape. The governing of education systems is increasingly connected to the capacity of data servers, software developments, data-mining & analytics tools. (Lawn, 2013, p. 240)

Our research has also revealed very substantial increases in data capacity – in government organisations, in schools and among individual teachers. This is not just an increase in data volume but in the ways in which data operate in real time to track activity. This development in the capacity of data supports the turn towards responsibilisation as data-based knowledge enables responsible self-government by citizen-consumers (through reforms in health provision, choice-driven education provision, the (self) monitoring of performance) and widespread use of 'self-assessment' to encourage responsibility and autonomy (thus enabling governing at a distance).

Data software 'captures' people (pupils/learners/teachers) and translates them into quantifiable, enumerable, calculable and encodable characteristics; it enables the classification and sorting of people and generates individualisation, personalisation, & differential treatment (Kitchin & Dodge, 2011). Such recording is not new; the monitoring of populations was the basis of government administrative systems and government record keeping, and indeed the monitoring and evaluation of conduct and behaviour have long been key indicators and registers of identity. What is new is the digitization of these records, the possibility of real-time tracking of transactions and the potential to join up transactional data distributed across government sites and functions. New forms of data thus enable a shift from collectivised governing strategies – applied to the 'school population' or to 'ethnic minority pupils' – to individualised, targeted practices that recognise how people move and change and 'keep up' with them. These capacities transform and enable governing practices, but they also generate problems, especially in the

role of mediation and translation of such complex knowledge into actionable knowledge.

KNOWLEDGES AND EXPERTS

There is increased pressure from policy-makers faced with the mass of information available, for clear guidance on policy choices. In Grundmann and Stehr's words, policy makers are looking for:

> […] knowledge that 'includes the policy options that need to be manipulated' […] knowledge that identifies the levers for action. (Grundmann & Stehr, 2012, p. 179)

Thus the nature of knowledge is changed: it is not only that it comes from new sources, and is moving more rapidly, based on large, interconnected data sets that are constantly updated, it also needs to contain guidance on what needs to be done, on 'what works'. At the same time, because so many sources of knowledge and information are widely available, the issue of interpretation becomes paramount. Again, Grundmann and Stehr draw our attention to the tendency to simplify complex knowledge and information in order to arrive at a basis for action, and highlight the role of experts in doing this:

> The rapid growth of experts, advisers and consultants in education arises from the rapid expansion of knowledge/information, this provides opportunities for simplification of the problem of endless competing interpretation in order to provide a basis for action (Grundmann & Stehr, 2012, pp. 20-21).

The need for simplification offers opportunities to particular groups of actors who are positioned at key points of intersection of knowledge production and practical problem-solving. Their work demands skills in translating information into 'practical knowledge', in mediating conflict and brokering interests (Clarke, 2008). There is a growing literature on the influence, interconnections and work of networks of experts (Ball & Junemann, 2012), who promote cognitive consensus that makes political action easier. These experts are:

> […] more than the diffusers of ideas; they develop conceptual knowledge in order to promote educational reforms, drawing on their substantial experience as policy advisers to governments and IOs. (Shiroma, 2014, p. 2)

Moreover:

> […] their attributes as experts and consultants tend to obscure the ideological and political dimension of their activities of knowledge production for policy. (Shiroma, 2014, p. 2)

The ideological dimension of expert guidance or intervention is also obscured by the highly technical language and processes in play in the construction of knowledge-based regulation tools for education. For example, in the construction

of OECD's PISA, as one of our informants illustrates below, there is little opportunity for discussion of alternatives, as the direction is already set. The quotation captures her experience as a policy officer participating in the construction of the PISA tests:

> There's a lot of talking, an awful lot of talking around the table […] I seldom remember any debates on that level. It was more about Andreas Schleicher driving the whole agenda along as a process – very controlled, time controlled and then just people contributing to particular issues of decision making. It was a decision-making forum. (Policy Officer 86)

Discussion of alternatives is also restricted by the focus on technical issues, conducted in technical language which is promoted by those fluent in it as objective, precise, and not open to interpretation:

> The guys in ACER, they have a strong role. They would turn up in these meetings but they would come and talk technical language […] national representatives […], with some exceptions, they would just be sitting, just taking on trust that this was the way to go. There was very limited – in my experience – challenge of anything on the technical side. (Policy officer 86)

COMPARISON AND GOVERNING KNOWLEDGE

The growth of technical expertise and the influence of technical experts is combined with a further feature of governing knowledge – its comparative character. Comparative data are attractive to policy makers because, as Grundmann and Stehr suggest, in current conditions, knowledge claims are most powerful if they are trans-historical and trans-situational, and:

> […] the decline or loss of the context-specificity of a knowledge claim is widely seen as adding to the validity, if not the truthfulness, of the claim. (Grundmann & Stehr, 2012, p. 3)

The de-contextualisation of knowledge – its ability to illustrate apparently shared policy problems and offer transferable, portable solutions – is an essential characteristic of governing knowledge, and comparative knowledge, especially comparative data on performance, is essentially de-contextualised. As Luis Miguel Carvalho has demonstrated, working with data from the knowandpol project, comparison frames knowledge-governing relations through establishing three key principles:

(i) that regular and systematic assessments are truthful practices for the improvement of national education systems;
(ii) that such improvement has to be analysed in relation to the pace of change of other countries;

(iii) that international comparison of student performances develops the quality of national education systems while capturing educational complexity and diversity. (Carvalho, 2012, p. 172)

The principle of comparison is not limited to the international but is also important within the national: as our research reveals, there is increasing use of international comparisons to justify more and more detailed comparisons of schools and head/teachers/learners within the national frame (Grek, 2012).

The possession of comparative knowledge about national system performance enables international organisations to claim objective and accurate understanding of national policy spaces. They are, they claim, not only informed about comparative performance, but about the national as an entity in itself. From a distance the IOs 'see' the national space more clearly than do those working within it:

> […] because when you sit up to your neck in the Scottish system, everything is Scottish. Everything is Scottish. [You feel] This is our system, we defend it as a fortress and all these influences from outside, they should be kept away. By sitting here and making comparative analysis, we identify what is specifically Scottish to the Scottish system. What is it that you should actually defend to keep these roots in national culture and national institutions […] We know it, we have the information, we have this distance that is necessary to do it. And we can compare and find out what is it that shines in the Scottish system. (Senior EU Analyst)

The danger to the scholarly field of comparative education presented by such approaches to comparison was highlighted in 2003 by Antonio Novoa and Tari Yariv-Maschal in their important article 'Comparative research in education: A mode of governance or a historical journey?' in which they attribute the recent growth of comparative education as a field of study to its usefulness in identifying 'problems' that require shared governing solutions:

> The recent popularity of comparative education must be explained through this internationalisation of educational policies, leading to the diffusion of global patterns and flows of knowledge that are assumed to be applicable in various places. (Novoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003, p. 426)

They go on to say that the field faces a choice between acceptance of that role in producing governing knowledge, or an explicit refusal of it. Such a refusal – they suggest – would contribute to its intellectual renewal, through challenging the use of comparison in generating governing knowledge, by developing more sophisticated historical and theoretical references (Novoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003, p. 426). The danger to the field posed by 'experts' and consultants, has increased since 2003, as they proliferate. Consultants and experts combine technical and symbolic elements in practices of comparative knowledge production in such a way as to displace or conceal politics (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2007, p. 6). At the same time, through this process, there is a close alignment of the framing of governing problems with political priorities, so that knowledge production (by

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experts, consultants and, perhaps, comparativists) is drawn into supporting the legitimacy and authority of governing knowledge forms (Fenwick et al., 2013).

In summary, what I suggest here is that these new governing forms, which seek to integrate knowledge production with governing work, and which are preoccupied with enabling 'imposed consensus' (Sassen, 2007) around the 'levers for action,' require different kinds of skills from their key workers, including inspectorates in the field of education, and that the work that inspectorates do may be more fully understood from this perspective. The next section looks in more detail at inspectors in England[3] and their relationship with data, with the intention of highlighting their governing role.

GOVERNING BY INSPECTION

Inspectorates may be understood as epistemic communities (Haas, 1992), with strong claims to expertise: they are positioned as mediators and translators of information, because of their particular and unique positioning in the work of governing. As Clarke (2011) has pointed out, there are three distinctive aspects of inspection as a mode of governing: (i) it is directly observational of sites and practices. That is, in the case of schooling, inspectors are empowered (and required) to enter the world of the school and observe what takes place within it; (ii) it is a form of qualitative evaluation, involving the exercise of judgement rather than only the calculation of statistical regularity/deviation. Judgement is at the core of the activity and thus raises questions about the articulation of knowledge and power and (iii) it is embodied evaluation: the inspector is a distinctive type of agent whose presence is required at the site of inspection and who embodies inspectorial knowledge, judgement and authority.

Inspectors come to these tasks with varying degrees of historically-framed experience and expertise. They bring their expert judgement and 'objective' data into relationship with one another, within more or less prescribed parameters; they are responsible for making knowledge about system performance available for translation into use by policy makers at all levels, and by practitioners; and they are also to a greater or lesser degree engaged in building improvement and knowledge about improvement within and across systems.

The work of inspectors is strongly influenced by the growth of data. In England, the commitment to data use in governing education has been particularly strong (Ozga, 2009), as has been the role of the central government department in monitoring the system. As a senior Department for Education official comments:

> […] it's interesting to reflect on how the work of a central government policy department has evolved… In fact actually we've been developing a concept here in the department which we've called 'the bridge' where we corral all of this data and information and at a glance now across all local authorities in England you can go downstairs and look at a big screen and you can look across all the key performance areas and that's actually across all the social care areas as well as education … So we're doing quite active performance

management of the system and that's quite a powerful tool. (Senior DfE official)

The origin and growth of the data system owes much to the New Labour government's commitment to technology and targets summed up in the 'Transformational Government' strategy (Cabinet Office, 2005). The UK coalition government of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats that took office in 2010 set out an agenda that stressed commitment to data and its distribution and use by citizen-consumers – perhaps especially in schooling:

> We will dismantle the apparatus of central control and bureaucratic compliance. We will instead make direct accountability more meaningful, making much more information about schools available in standardised formats to enable parents and others to assess and compare their performance. […] In future: parents, governors and the public will have access to much more information about every school and how it performs. (DfE, 2010, p. 72)

The development of data resources in England from the early 2000s is not simply a story of increased technical capacity, but connects directly to successive governments' prioritisation of attainment (measured by national tests at fixed intervals in the school career, the results of which are published) and to a determined effort to shift school cultures so that data monitoring and active data use become the driving force of school activity. This is a highly significant development in terms of governing work – as indicated earlier, the possibility of real-time tracking of activity has greatly increased pressure on schools to be actively engaged with their data and to be able to demonstrate their engagement through constant attention to maintaining and updating their various data systems. This state of permanent engagement creates what Thrift and French call an 'automagical' system of regulation in which pupil and teacher values, eligibility and rewards are constantly calculated and re-calculated (Thrift & French, 2002). This constant work of coding places very considerable pressures on schools, on teachers and, indeed, on inspectors in arriving at judgements that are supposed to enable 'levers of action' to be identified and operated.

Some examples from the range of data systems in play in schooling in England help to illustrate this point. There is, for example, a National Pupil Database, a pupil level database which matches pupil and school characteristics data to pupil level attainment. The School Census is the key source of data for individual pupil characteristics. This dataset includes ethnicity, a low-income marker, special education needs (SEN), attendance, exclusions and a history of schools attended. Pupils' Key Stage attainment records can also be accessed. Pupils can be tracked across schools and followed throughout their school careers. It provides a very detailed set of data on school characteristics, and includes details of the peer group (the school-cohort) of any particular child. In addition it is possible to link the data from other related datasets such as those on higher education, neighbourhoods and teachers in schools.

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GOV.UK

Search 🔍

Table 3.

Collection

National pupil database

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
1	Details of all data sources contained within the National Pupil Database, and the academic years for which they are available																			
2																				
3	Data Source	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12	12/13	13/14
4	Census/PLASC [1]							✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5	PRU Census													✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
6	Early Years Census												✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
7	Alternative Provision												✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
8	Early Years Foundation Stage Profile [2]								✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
9	Year 1 Phonics*																		✓	✓	
10	Key Stage 1			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
11	Key Stage 2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
12	Year 7 Progress Tests [3]					✓	✓													
13	Key Stage 3			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
14	Key Stage 4 Awarding Body data					✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
15	Key Stage 4 Achievement & Attainment Tables data [4]							✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
16	Key Stage 5 Awarding Body data						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
17	Key Stage 5 Achievement & Attainment Tables data [5]							✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
18	Individualised Learner Record [6]					✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
19	HESA data																			
20	Children Looked After [7]											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
21	Children In Need [7]														✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
22	PLAMS [8]														✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
23	NCCIS																			

The school data dashboard (http://dashboard.ofsted.gov.uk/index.php) is a data device that constructs comparator schools so that teachers can see how 'similar' schools perform on a range of measures. Each school has its own group of similar schools for each measure on the dashboard. These data are official, in that they come from government and its agencies (in this case Ofsted) but commercial companies are also heavily involved in the collection and dissemination of data – see for example the site 'Schoolfinder,' operated by Research Machines: http://home.rm.com/schoolfinder/

This site provides data on pupil attainment, inspection results, pupil characteristics, teaching staff and the chances of getting a place at a particular school, described as 'the million dollar question.'

The point I wish to stress here is the prevalence of data, and its variety and scope. These data codify the world of the school into sets of rules, procedures, algorithms and databases that work to govern education through their structured and structuring demands on parents (who must make considered choices) pupils, teachers, headteachers – and inspectors. In the next section I look at the framing of inspectorial judgement.

FRAMEWORKS OF JUDGEMENT

There are two basic models of inspection judgement. One is the evidence-based policy model that derives from supposedly objective and neutral judgments. The other model builds on the idea that embodied and encoded expert knowledge (a kind of inspector-connoisseurship or artistry) forms the most appropriate basis for judging schooling (Lindgren, 2014). In the first model, reliability and stability are secured by the quality of instruments and techniques themselves. As Lindgren and Clarke suggest, the judgement is secured by eliminating the effect of the human actor:

> Judgements are based on comparisons based on standards and ideas on a normal distribution. Data are seen as both evidence and the absolute basis for making judgments.

In contrast, inspectors' claims to professionalism stress human qualities:

> The validity of professional judgment, in contrast, is tied to the background, training and, most importantly, the experience of the inspector, and builds on standards that are internalised versions of corporate or collective judgments. (Lindgren & Clarke, 2015)

There is, then, potential tension between embodied evaluation and disembodied, de-contextualised performance data in arriving at a judgement, and this tension may be increased as data come to dominate the inspection event. As one of the contract inspectors (that is an inspector working for one of the three commercial companies that deliver the bulk of school inspection in England) put it:

> I think in England we have too much data and a lot of the inspectors don't really understand it. […] I mean data – you can make it say anything you want it to and it's difficult to refute in an inspection, or to say something different from what the data appear to be saying. (Contract Inspector 14)[4]

A brief background note on the changing nature of inspection is offered here. Indeed, change is a constant in the recent history of inspection in England. Though Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) of Education in England traces its origins to the 1830s, Ofsted is a much newer creation, established in 1992, which came into being because HMI were seen by the modernising governments in the late 1980s and 1990s as elitist, as insufficiently focused on improving school performance, and as vulnerable to producer capture. Ofsted came into existence with the promise that every school (primary and secondary) in England would be inspected within four years, and would then receive repeated inspections. The much-expanded scope of inspection required a change in personnel: HMI were reduced from over 500 to around 300, and the bulk of the work of inspection was sub-contracted. The recruitment of this new inspection force, employed initially by a large number of commercial contractors and, from 2005 by just three – SERCO, TRIBAL and CfBT – required efforts to ensure standardisation and consistency across the system, in the absence of the coherence previously achieved through unwritten rules, professional expertise and social cohesion of HMI.

As a result there was a massive increase in inspection documentation, including inspection frameworks and handbooks – a shift that is also a shift in the governing knowledges that are being mobilised and circulated. There is a move away from judgement based on professional experience and (at least in some cases) subject or pedagogic expertise, to the following of rules constructed elsewhere, and applicable to increasingly varied school types. At the same time, as indicated earlier, data systems are becoming more and more complex.

There were constant changes to inspection frameworks within the period 1992-2010, accompanied by changes in the accompanying handbooks and web-based documentation. Analysis of these key texts (Baxter, 2013; Florez, 2014) reveals quite sharp contradictions in the knowledge claims and their relationship to governing that they contain: there is oscillation between tighter and looser forms of regulation, and an unresolved tension between data use and inspection judgement. The picture is complicated by the entry of commercial, competitive agencies into the field; this means that the frameworks attempt to impose consistency and quality control alongside pressures to minimise costs and maximise profit.

Whatever the requirements of the different frameworks of inspection, the key criteria (pupil attainment levels in relation to national performance targets) continue to dominate. Furthermore, the pre-inspection process ensures that data dominate: inspectors use data to arrive at a baseline evaluation using centralised data banks that provide detailed pupil and class level information over time, on the schools performance against national targets and in relation to comparator schools. This forms the basis of the pre-inspection commentary (PIC) that guides the work of the inspection team.

Before the inspection event the lead inspector must analyse evidence that includes a summary of the school's self-evaluation (if the school chooses to complete one), data from RAISEonline report, the sixth form performance and assessment (PANDA) report, the learner achievement tracker (LAT) and available data about success rates from the school data dashboard and the Level 3 Value Added (L3VA) data. The lead inspector must also consider the previous inspection report, the findings of any recent Ofsted survey and/or monitoring letters and responses from parents on Parent View (Ofsted's online survey available for parents), along with information available on the school's website, which may include a prospectus and other information for parents.

Before the inspection data analysis is required on pupils' attainment in relation to national standards compared with all schools, based on data over the last three years where applicable, noting any evidence of performance significantly above or below national averages; trends of improvement or decline and inspection evidence of current pupils' attainment across year groups using a range of indicators, including where relevant:
– the proportion of pupils attaining particular standards
– capped average points scores
– average points scores
– pupils' attainment in reading and writing
– pupils' attainment in mathematics

The inspection, then, is strongly framed by the pre-inspection procedures, especially the analysis of performance data. The inspection visit is intended to enable a judgement about the quality of education provided in the school, and inspectors are required to assess that quality on the basis of four key areas: the achievement of pupils at the school, the quality of teaching in the school, the behaviour and safety of pupils at the school, the quality of leadership in, and management of, the school. On the basis of this assessment inspectors decide whether the school is 'outstanding' (grade 1), 'good' (grade 2), 'requires improvement' (grade 3-changed from 'satisfactory' in 2011) or 'inadequate' (grade 4).

In addition to the effect of pre-inspection analysis of the data in framing the event, the reporting of the inspection is a powerful framing device. Report writing is very strongly framed and tightly specified, as this quotation illustrates:

An inspector finishes an inspection […] has to write a report the following day. No arguments, that's the timeline set by Ofsted, the commercial timeline that we have to meet. That report is then subject to QA [Quality Assurance] reading. […] So we read the first draft of the report against guidance provided by Ofsted. […] there's a number of musts: *must* be included on this, *must* say this, *must* say that, so the QA reader has a job to cross-check that. Then there is a compliance zone, things that *must, must* be in the report, any of those are missing…that's a bit of a no-no really. Then we have things around the quality of the writing. And we have to meet those five criteria to make sure that the report is published. And essentially within that process the

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> QA is a day […] in the end what inspectors are doing is saying ok well I have
> to follow this rule […] there isn't a rule but I have to follow it. (Contract
> Inspector 012)

To summarise: the basis of claims to authority made by the inspectorate in England has changed since the creation of Ofsted in 1992. The pre-Ofsted HMI mobilized particular social and cultural resources to support their claims to professional authority. To some extent these claims depended on professional status as expert and successful practitioners, as educationalists, and as members of a highly bureaucratic and hierarchical elite that embodied a particular performance of authority. Authority, for pre-Ofsted HMI, was embodied in self-presentation, enacted in its relations with others, and encoded in its invisible, inexplicit assumptions about good practice. As a former senior inspector put it:

> […] it was a certain kind of style I would characterise as militaristic and
> hierarchical. It was driven by the sorts of people who came into the
> inspectorate, certainly in the post-war period I thought it was both very
> powerful as a means of inducting people and giving them a very good
> professional grounding in the business of inspection. (HMI 01)

In terms of governing work, the knowledge basis of these activities was quite inexplicit: knowledge and authority were embodied in the HMI, and strong social and professional coding enabled the inspectorate to govern through a combination of hierarchy and connoisseurship. New governance needs more explicit processes: the increased complexity that follows from the nature of the neo-liberal project requires more explicit knowledge forms that identify the levers for action in complex governing contexts: hence inspectors in England are increasingly regulated, and their governing work is framed – and increasingly dictated – by data.

CONCLUSION

The context of neo-liberalism, consisting as it does of a combination of so-called 'market forces', accompanied by absences (of state responsibility) and enabled through a battery of regulatory instruments and management practices, creates contradictory demands on those political actors who are located at the intersection of governing practices and knowledge/data. These contradictions are sharpened by the increased scope and penetration of data, and by the structural tensions in neo-liberal system design between the fundamental commitment to reducing the role of the state and enabling system and self-regulation through the market, and the need to use state regulation in order to get the market to function 'properly' as a distributor of goods (including 'public' goods). This creates constant pressure for increased regulation and centralisation (for example in England in the centrally-driven push to create different kinds of schools, including Academies and Free Schools). At the same time, the commitment to information as the key to a well-

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functioning market driven society in order to encourage intelligent choice making and rational action creates problems in terms of the management of information: complex performance data do not flow freely and require management at the very least, while the development of real-time data systems that require constant engagement leaves little scope for mediation on the basis of professional authority.

Our research on Ofsted reveals the insecurities experienced by inspectors in the constant revision and expansion that characterise Ofsted's knowledge production from 1992 to the present. It also illustrates the dominance of data as a means of coding the world of schooling and as expressing a dynamic governing logic that both calculates and intervenes in the performance of individuals in schools, including inspectors. These data-based interventions are not generated by the data themselves. Data count because of the authority – or claims to authority – that stand behind them. As Fourcade puts it:

> Behind each set of rational instruments always stands a particular political and economic philosophy, as well as particular social groups. (Fourcade, 2010, p. 571)

Inspectorates throughout Europe are under pressure to defend their position in the face of much-enhanced data production and use (Grek et al, 2013). Professional authority is vulnerable to claims of the greater objectivity of data and the search for transferable practical knowledge that contains the 'levers of action'. Inspectorates may no longer be necessary to governing work, especially where their ceding of authority to data is most evident, as in England, and their capacity to resist political pressure also (and not co-incidentally) reduced.

It is against that background – the rise of data, and its increasingly active role in shaping governing knowledge – that I return to Novoa and Yariv-Maschal's question: is comparative educational research implicated in lending authority to these constant comparisons and thus reducible to a 'mode of governance' (Novoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003, p. 426)? Certainly, there are considerable opportunities for consultancy and policy transfer, based on de-contextualised, data-based knowledge, but perhaps the greater threat to independent enquiry in education comes from the absence of research and scholarship that connects more directly to the wider field of social science enquiry – to political science, policy sociology, and socio-technical studies, for example. Such connections might draw comparativists more directly into analysis of governing, and thus enable interrogation of the governing work that comparison may do. As an earlier but still relevant warning from a leading comparative educator suggests:

> The danger that confronts mankind to-day comes not from the expansion of education but from specialization in some narrow corner of the field of knowledge. The specialist faces the world to-day as the blind man the elephant and fails to see life steadily and see it whole. (Kandel, 1938, p. 29)

NOTES

[1] There are too many to list here, but I owe a particular debt to Luis Miguel Carvahlo, John Clarke, Sotiria Grek, Martin Lawn, Joakim Lindgren, and Eric Mangez.

[2] See www.knowandpol.eu

[3] This chapter concentrates on the case of England, partly because of constraints of space but also because England represents the most developed (some would say extreme) case of data use along with tight specification of inspectorial judgement.

[4] We use role descriptions and numbers to protect the identity of our informants: a lead inspector is someone who has experience of leading an inspection team; informants identified as HMI are members of HM Inspectorate in England; other informants may be contract inspectors (i.e. employed in England by SERCO, TRIBAL or CfBT).

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2. COMPARING ACCOUNTABILITY POLICY TOOLS AND RATIONALES[1]

Various Ways, Various Effects?

INTRODUCTION

For twenty years, educational systems in numerous countries have been establishing national objectives and systems of indicators allowing them to "steer" the system, and to better "regulate" the processes and functioning of schools or governance bodies at the intermediate level. Moreover, procedures to evaluate schools' results, and indirectly teachers' work, are being developed, along with more or less demanding mechanisms for accountability. Thus, the school is increasingly subject to an obligation to produce certain results and performance established under various rubrics: accountability in English-speaking countries, "steering" based on external evaluation in continental Europe, and "results-based management" in Québec. In fact, these labels encompass a diversity of institutional arrangements and tools to establish policies, all part, however, of the same semantic realm, and of the same policy paradigm which considers school as a production system (Maroy & Mangez, 2011). Generically, these policies involve new modes of institutional regulation of educational systems, the principle of which is to steer and control the action on the basis of results (outputs of the production system). Most often they are superimposed on previous mechanisms bearing on "processes", whether based on rules (bureaucratic regulation) or on professional norms (professional regulation) (Maroy, 2012).

We propose to initiate a discussion on the diversity of public action instruments and the institutional arrangements which define and operationalize these policies. Beyond their commonalities, their forms vary considerably, depending on their contexts. Thus, we present the hypothesis that the analysis of public authorities' choice of public action instruments allows us to better discern the variations, significance and socio-political stakes inherent in these accountability policies.

This chapter is comprised of four parts. In the first, we will present characteristics common to accountability policies (AP). Subsequently, based on the academic and institutional literature, we will seek to create a typology of the diversity of institutional arrangements and public action instruments deployed in these policies. This typology is partially based on the configuration of established instruments, but also on differentiated theories of the process of regulation which implicitly or explicitly underlie policy orientations and their instruments. In the

third section, we will present several cases of European (Scottish and Belgian) and North American (Québec and Texan) educational systems which illustrate the types just described. Finally, we will discuss some effects, stakes, limits and pitfalls of these policies not only from a functional and instrumental perspective but also from a critical and political one.

ACCOUNTABILITY POLICIES OR RESULTS-BASED REGULATION

In the 1990s, under the influence of *New Public Management* (NPM) (Hood, 1991), we witnessed a transformative movement of the operational and regulatory modes of public service organizations. In particular, we saw the establishment of means of data collection and analysis at the level of the central government, which means the development of a calculating rationality (Bezes, 2005). In the educational field in particular, the state has become the evaluator and is no longer satisfied with checking that rules are respected or budgets are well adjusted to needs. Instead, it is developing more and more instruments to measure results and compare them to organisational targets and objectives. External evaluations are used with increasing frequency to steer policy, to "regulate" and guide the behaviour of intermediate and local actors (Broadfoot, 2000; Maroy, 2006a; Mons, 2009). This increase in evaluation also goes hand-in-hand with heightened clarification of curriculum and performance standards which must, at least theoretically, underlie the evaluations. Similarly, based on evidence or on the "best practices", standards of professional practices and skills have come to frame the exercise of teaching itself. The measurement of systems' results occupies a prominent position and is added to existing control and evaluation of educational systems' resources and procedures. Thus, it is not merely a question of class size, teacher-student ratios, and resources allocated to the school, but also of student results and performance, as well as that of teachers, establishments, school districts or the educational system as a whole.

   In the Anglo-Saxon world, these policies are labelled "accountability policies" to the extent that this notion has a broader meaning than that of "rendering accounts", to designate instruments to improve the quality of public services. In a limited way indeed, "accountability can be defined as a condition in which individual role holders are liable to review and the application of sanctions if their actions fail to satisfy those with whom they are in an accountability relationship*"* (Kogan, 1988, p. 25). In this sense, the English notion may be translated in French by the notions of *reddition de comptes* (rendering of accounts), *imputabilité* (being held to account) or even *responsabilisation* (assuming responsibility). This is nothing new in the field of education. Nonetheless, starting in the 1990s, under the influence of *New Public Management*, the notion of accountability has taken on a broader meaning and is now used in part to designate different types of mechanisms (both external and internal) for controlling and ensuring quality in public institutions and for making them sensitive to the citizens' demands (such mechanisms may include the market, transparency, trust etc.) (Veselý, 2013, p. 329). According to this definition, accountability may then be understood as a

collection of instruments aiming at the improvement of the quality of public services. It is in this sense that in the case of England, Patricia Broadfoot (2000, p. 44) speaks of *accountability* policies aiming to improve the quality of the English educational system through two principal means: first, the identification and assessment of the educational system's performance in relation to previously determined objectives; and then a "response by educational institutions, thanks to the control mechanism designed to track any gap between objectives and results". Carnoy and Loeb (2002) also speak of accountability policies to refer to policy associated with standards and rendering of accounts for the results of American states, which were developed before or after the federal policy of *No Child left Behind*.[2]

These various "accountability policies" are in fact intended to modify (lightly or deeply) the mix of modes of coordination, orientation and control put in place by the State and the educational authorities in order to orient the behaviours of local actors. In this sense there are policies about the (political) regulation within the education system.[3] More precisely, we call them "regulation by results policies"; they share four common traits, if we examine them as a whole (Maroy, 2013). They simultaneously enact and reinforce a new policy paradigm whereby the school is conceived no longer as an institution, but rather as a "system of production" (Maroy & Mangez, 2011); operational objectives may be expressed in quantifiable data, which, in turn, become the "standards" and "targets" for the system – thus, everything is governed by "numbers" (Rose, 1991; Ozga, 2009); the various evaluation instruments for student testing are central, even though the modalities for implementing and using these evaluation tools may vary greatly as a function of contexts; and a variety of policy tools (contractual, financial, and regulatory) organize the "consequences" of accountability for individual or collective actors at different levels of the system.

These common traits of accountability policies may be coming closer to the principles of NPM, which have had a major influence on public administration reforms (Hood, 1995). However, beyond such commonalities, these policies differ depending on their contexts, the instruments chosen by educational systems to implement them, the conceptions of the actor, and the regulation theories underlying them (Mons & Dupriez, 2010).

ACCOUNTABILITY POLICIES: A TYPOLOGY

Here, we propose a typology of the diversity of institutional arrangements and public action instruments employed in various educational systems. Drawn from a reading of the institutional and academic literature, the typology proposed rests primarily on four dimensions: two bear on the characteristics of policy tools deployed to implement the policies (the degree to which measures are aligned, and the stakes for the actors); and two others bear on the nature of regulation theories employed and implicit in the use of these tools (the conception of the actor inherent in the policy, and the theory of the regulation process involved by the policy tools).

The Constituent Dimensions

Thus our procedure aims to construct a typology of "ideal types" in a Weberian perspective with the intention of making sense of accountability policies, starting with the instruments used to implement them. Therefore this is not a descriptive typology, bringing together a number of similar cases in an inductive fashion according to certain dimensions, even though we will illustrate each of these ideal types with a specific case.[4]

The first dimension of this typology is the degree to which the various regulatory tools are aligned, both with one another and with different levels of the educational system. Thus, there can be more or less alignment of the different component standards (concerning the curriculum, evaluation, performance, skills or educational "best practices") of accountability policies. In this case, they will be able to serve as reference points in the evaluation and orientation of local practices and benchmarks for the "steering" of central educational policies. In contrast, weak alignment involves instruments which are loosely coupled with one another or with the levels of the system. A second dimension, much discussed in the literature, is the nature of consequences associated with measures and tools of *accountability*. Subsequent to the evaluation results, the consequences of a "hard" accountability system (Dupriez & Mons, 2011) or one with "high stakes" (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002: Harris & Herrington, 200) will be considered in terms of incentives and constraints: financial consequences (salary bonuses, etc.), career management (promotion, transfer, firing, etc.), and external reputation (public rankings of schools, etc.), presupposing strategic actors, sensitive to their interests and the context. In "soft" or "reflexive" accountability systems (Dupriez & Mons, 2011) or in other words in those with "low" stakes (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002; Harris & Herrington, 2006; Mons, 2009), the consequences associated with accountability could vary markedly. This would be a matter of enjoining the organization or the professional to confront their results, to use various measures to favour reflexivity about their practices, and beyond this to foster changes in practices, beliefs or identities (Mons & Dupriez, 2011).[5]

Two other dimensions which bear on the theory, often implicit, of regulation underpinning policies[6] are also taken into account. This notion must be understood in a sense close to that of change theory as developed by Muller (2000). Regulation theories are often embedded in the policy tools (PT) which operationalize the policy (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004). Public policies and their instruments are thus seen as carrying a worldview, a particular conception of actors and of social reality on which they intervene, as techniques, means of operating. These policy tools (PT) seek to guide the behaviour of actors in the light of certain finalities of action. The regulation theories are thus not necessarily made explicit in a developed discourse, although this may also be the case.[7]

If we consider regulation as the "process of production of rules and the directing of actors' conduct in a specific social space" (Maroy & Dupriez, 2000, p. 74), the regulation theory in use in policies thus involves, on the one hand, the conception of the actor affected by the regulation and, on the other hand, the external or

internal character of measures or dispositions by which an educational authority seeks to impact a local actor.

Thus regarding the first dimension of these regulation theories, the actors must be considered as moved primarily either by a "rational" or "utilitarian" logic, or by a "reflexive" and socially situated logic. In the former case, it is a question of an actor with a calculating rationality, although this is limited, situated and contingent, as modelized in the rational action theory (Coleman, 1990). The actor is sensitive to constraints which are often external and which may change the direction of their action, given particular interests and preferences. Thus, the teacher could be motivated by salary bonuses, while the establishment could be seen as an organization sensitive to external pressures.[8] In the second case, the actor is conceived as "reflexive" but also as culturally and socially constructed by their past, their education, their organisational or professional position. The actions of individuals (for example, in the school system) are embedded in institutions and influenced by them. They draw on cognitive patterns, acquired habits, and normative models which guide them. Self-interest is not the sole motor of action – "social obligations" also drive action. In other words, action is based on culturally constructed and shared cognitive patterns (Scott, 1995; Spillane, Reiser, & Gomez, 2006). Within this intellectual framework, the improvement and change in practices of the school actors can be conceived as the results of reflection on their practices and results of their action, as an individual or collective learning process (Leithwood, Jantzi & Steinbach, 1995). Regulation, therefore, consists of a series of institutional arrangements favouring this reflexivity and this "situated" learning at an individual or collective level. This conception of the actor may be seen in the choices and content of instruments which serve to operationalize the policy.

The second analytical dimension of the regulation theory in use concerns the very nature of the mediation on which the regulation is based. Drawing inspiration from Boltanski and Chiapello (1999), we may thus situate the institutional arrangements of accountability and assuming responsibility as stemming from their more or less intensive recourse to external devices (*dispositifs externes*) or, conversely, as acting on internal dispositions *(dispositions internes) of the actor* – that is, on the actor's internal cognitive and normative patterns, or in Bourdieu's term the *lasting, acquired schemes of perception, thought and action*. In other words, on the one hand, the theory of policy action makes external measures, whether supporting or controlling the action, key mediating factors in the process of regulation. External measures are the pragmatic supports that tend to condition the orientation of individual or collective conduct from the outside. On the other hand, greater importance is given to the "interiority" of actors, the ethos and internalized dispositions of local actors, as key vectors and mediations in the process of improving school performance (Mangez, 2001). A policy mix would be possible in the form of joint recourse to external measures (for example, high stake external testing for schools) associated with expectations about a change of actors' dispositions (positive attitude toward quality, improvement, self-evaluation, etc.) or practices, in conjunction with these external measures. This would be one issue of

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the so-called "self-evaluation" policy coupling external devices and social control, together having an impact on local actors' cognitive and normative dispositions.

Overall, the policy tools chosen emphasize either formal measures of rendering of accounts, with various material or symbolic stakes for local actors, or policies expecting or favouring the actor's "internal" assumption of responsibility. Moreover, both policy tools could be combined. Thus, here, we return to two dimensions which comprise the notion of accountability in the Anglo-Saxon tradition and appear in its twofold translation in French: on the one hand, *reddition de comptes* (formal "accountability" or rendering of accounts) and, on the other, *responsabilisation* (that is to say, the expectation that the actor should assume his or her responsibility, the assumption of a moral, civic or professional responsibility). (For a discussion of this, see Ranson, 2003.)

Four Approaches to Regulation and Accountability

Thus we present four types of logic underlying the instruments of accountability and the policies established in various educational systems (see Table 1).

1. An approach to regulation through "hard" accountability. Involving serious consequences for the actors, coupling and aligning closely various policy tools, it is based on a conception of the utilitarian and strategic actor, thus one sensitive to external constraints. Regulatory action occurs through measures external to the actors (aligning closely different devices, such as curriculum standards and evaluation standards). This involves a highly developed information and performance evaluation system, associated with a control system: targets for everyone, evaluation of the results ("high" stakes testing of the pupils, and indirectly of schools and teachers); reports to be made by them on their results, (support and control for failing actors related to "high stakes" consequences for them). Regulation occurs through a formal external framework with serious consequences for the main actors (school, teacher, pupil), while there is no a priori attempt to make changes from the inside. Prime examples are Texas and England (Broadfoot, 2000; Ozga, 2009).

2. An approach to regulation through neo-bureaucratic accountability with respect to the results. This stems from a utilitarian conception of the actor, and also emphasizes a regulation based on a close alignment of the various tools and different levels of action. External procedures take the form of control and evaluation measures of results of the action. The stress is on formal accountability to higher authorities, but here the consequences of these external measures are not "high stakes". As with the former approach, the regulation operates through actors' sensitivity to the constraints, resources and incentives which condition their action from the outside, without calling for internal change, thus, without personal beliefs or values being affected. In this sense, the regulatory action remains bureaucratic (Le Galès & Scott, 2008). Furthermore, given the fact that the stakes related to the external measures are not high, some external forms of conformity are practicable.

Regulation is externally imposed through accountability measures, without actors' moral assumption of responsibility being targeted by the policy. The province of Québec's education policy seems close to this approach.

3. A regulation approach through reflective responsibilization and accountability. The consequences are dramatic or moderate for individuals and organizations, and instruments and levels of action remain closely aligned. At the same time, the action of policy regulation does not only occur through external measures but also mobilizes actors' internal dispositions. Thus, this approach is based on various devices framing the end results or means of action (standards with respect to curriculum, evaluation, and skills), but also on sophisticated measures of data production and the evaluation of processes and results of the action. Inspection and control measures remain vigorous, but are also accompanied by support measures. At the same time, cognitive and normative dispositions "internal to the actors" are effectively mobilized in the "self-evaluation" processes, which no longer bear only on the results of the action, but also relate to the processes of change, of learning and of improvement of results. This approach is made clearly visible through accountability measures established in Scotland (Ozga & Grek, 2012), Ontario (Chang, Fisher, & Rubenson, 2007; Jaafar & Anderson, 2007) and even the district of Chicago (Byrk, 2003). Some school councils in Québec are applying this approach in their jurisdiction, thus going beyond the formal expectations of the province policy.

4. A regulation approach through "soft" accountability. For individuals or local organizations, rendering accounts on their results means "low stakes", minor material or social consequences. In addition, the alignment of tools and standards is looser, both between the levels of action and between the instruments themselves. If this situation prevails, it is because regulation theory is based primarily on a conception of local actors, assumed to be reflective and socially inclined (by their ethos, training, and professional socialization) to improve their practices in the direction expected by educational authorities. If regulation operates through the deployment of external measures with the actors (notably evaluation and support), it relies even more on an impact on the actors' perceptions (through the mirror that test results give to each of them). It counts on the dispositions of local school actors to be involved in an exercise of reflection on their practices, stemming from better knowledge through evaluation of their students' results. Furthermore, this reliance on local actors' internalized dispositions can be strengthened by the implementation of actions combining support and control to various degrees. This approach is that favoured in French-speaking Belgium and in France (Mons & Pons, 2006; Mons & Dupriez, 2011; Dutercq & Cuculou, 2013).

Table 1. Four approaches to regulation by results

	Regulation through "hard" accountability	Regulation through neo-bureaucratic accountability	Regulation through reflective responsibilization and accountability	Regulation through "soft" accountability
Stakes of accountability	High	Variable: moderate to low	Moderate	Low
Alignment of tools and levels of action	Major	Major	Major	Moderate to minor
Conception of the actor	Utilitarian	Utilitarian	Reflective and socially situated	Reflective and socially situated
Central mediation for the expected change	External devices (information, evaluation, control, support in case of a problem)	External devices (information, evaluation, control and support)	External devices (information, evaluation, control and support) and actors' dispositions	Actors' dispositions, evaluation and support measures
Emphasis on rendering of accounts/ assumption of responsibility	Accent on the rendering of accounts	Accent on the rendering of accounts	Accent on the assumption of responsibility	Accent on the assumption of responsibility
Examples	Texas, England	Québec	Ontario, Scotland	Belgium, France

THE INSTRUMENTAL APPROACHES OF ACCOUNTABILITY POLICIES:
FOUR EMPIRICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

We will now document and illustrate each of these approaches stemming from accountability policies and tools developed in several educational systems. The following cases are particularly representative of each of the types presented: Texas, Québec, Scotland and French-speaking Belgium.

Regulation through "Hard" Accountability: The Case of Texas

In the 1990s, Texas was the first American educational system to set in place an accountability system with high stakes, a policy driven by Governor Ann Richards (1984 and 1987) and continued by her successor, George W. Bush. This strict accountability (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002) combines state-wide standardized tests at various scholastic levels (3, 8, and 10); the publication of aggregate results for

students, schools and districts; the ranking of schools and districts in the light of these results; and major repercussions for all the actors – districts, school administrators, establishments, and teachers (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002). The *Texas Assessment of Academic Skills* (TAAS), introduced in 1990-1991 as a requirement for graduation, was extended in 1994 to other education levels. It is aligned with curriculum and performance standards established by the *Texas Education Agency*, an agency playing a major role in the Texan accountability system. Tasked with the evaluation of teachers and students, certification of the latter and the definition of standards governing access to the teaching profession, amongst other things, it collects and publishes information on district and school performance, based on student performance in standardized evaluations. In 1993, the TAAS became the centre point of an accountability system with serious ramifications for students, schools and districts. In 1994, school principals in the Houston district started to face major consequences for establishments' performances, a model which spread into other districts in Texas. These consequences include financial incentives, career advancement, and personnel changes as a function of the performance of their establishments (salary bonuses, the recomposition of management personnel in these establishments, and changes or firing of heads of establishments and of teachers).

According to McNeil, Coppola, Radigan and Vasquez Heilig (2008), the system of accountability in Texas is "an extreme form of centralized management with a strict hierarchy in which rules and sanctions are set at the top, with every level of the system accountable to the level above it for measurable performance" (p. 3). It is based on a model of hierarchical control and management: at the heart of the system is the use of statistical data, and the monitoring of teacher, establishment and district performance on the basis of their results. The alignment of all the echelons of the system, with a focus on standardized objectives and actors' accountability at these different action levels, is organized via a collection of external measures, with sanctions playing a major role.

The Texan system may be considered a precursor in terms of high-stakes accountability based on a collection of instruments external to the actors. These include standards, informational and communication instruments, performance contracts, incentives and sanctions. In addition, this system favours the alignment of structures and professional practices stemming from external measures which underpin actors' accountability for the results of their actions. The action theory behind these public action instruments favours a model of homo strategicus/economicus, with a presumption that strategic actors are sensitive to their own interests and to the constraints or resources affecting them. Measures external to actors must encourage them to change pedagogical or managerial practices deemed ineffective. While the emphasis is primarily on the system results, support measures for schools (professional development, and support for managers or teachers) are not a priority in these accountability systems although they are planned for, with the goal of improving the performance of the teachers. Despite the fact that the Texan system plans for both support measures and those measures to exert pressure on the actors, the focus appears to be more on the

presence of external measures exercising pressure on actors in the educational field.

Regulation through Neo-Bureaucratic Accountability: The Case of Québec

In Québec the last fifteen years have been marked by the emergence of a policy referred to as "results-based management" (RBM). With the passing of Law 82 in 2000, this "new public management" was imposed on all governmental departments. In the decade that followed, Law 124 (2002) and Law 88 (2008) introduced RBM to organizations in the school network. A movement of recentralization (Desjardins & Lessard, 2011), along with a strategy of alignment of different layers of the system through mechanisms of contractualization and strategic planning, now connects each level to its superior level (establishments, school boards, and the ministry), integrating the measurable performance indicators and objectives established at the higher level. Quantitative data plays a major role (Mons & Pons, 2006), being drawn upon and invested in heavily by actors in developing strategic planning documents directed towards numerical targets and accountability based on the latter. Thus, school results are now the preferred focus of a formal rendering of accounts. However, the Québec system of results-based regulation does not plan for clear sanctions with respect to the attainment of fixed objectives.[9]

The Québec accountability system in its current form is, therefore, based on various elements: strategic alignment, planning and contractualization, and vertical hierarchical and bureaucratic accountability. It is also based on the local or regional community. Indeed, the new RBM instruments are superimposed on older tools (the establishment's board, and the educational plan), which were not eliminated and had been set up with a very different concern for accountability, which could be characterized, as Leithwood and Earl (2000) suggest, as "community-oriented".[10] Nonetheless, the new instruments tighten higher authorities' control over the results with a *top-down* approach, and tend to downplay/underestimate the horizontal and community accountability relations which preceded them (Brassard, 2009). This leads us to classify the Québec accountability approach as neo-bureaucratic, to the extent that the main instruments in use are "external and vertical measures", implemented to align the lower echelons with the measurable objectives of higher levels. Furthermore, in the law, there are no calls or support for the development of an assumption of responsibility by local actors (notably local management and teachers), which would occur through internal processes (for example, measures of sensitization/information, of training, of support, etc.). This mediation through internal processes is, in fact, left to the discretion of the school boards and is not formally integrated into national policy. The aspect in common with Texas is the action through external measures, but they are different in nature, since in Québec there is no emphasis on serious financial incentives or constraints, whether organizational or professional, but rather on the deployment of tools based on bureaucratic accountability practices in relation to the results. Regulation theory is, therefore, based on a conception of utilitarian actors sensitive

to the external rules and bureaucratic controls designed to encourage them to reposition their action. However, some school councils in Québec could go beyond the formal expectations of the province policy; taking advantage of their relative autonomy, they could adopt an approach close to the next type.[11]

Regulation through Reflective Responsibilization and Accountability: The Case of Scotland

In Scotland, the development of *School Self Evaluation* (SSE), vigorously promoted by the Scottish inspectorate, considerably coloured and distinguished "the policy of standards" which was implemented there. In 1991, the inspectorate strongly recommended the use of school development planning, notably including statistical tools allowing for the evaluation of schools' performances and a comparison by subject within each school, as well as a comparison with national data (MacBeath & Mortimore, 2001, as cited in Croxford, Grek, & Shaik, 2009, p. 182). In 1996, the process (and procedures) of SSE and planning for school development in the light of external standards were formalized with the publication of *How Good is Our School? Self-Evaluation Using Performance Indicators* by the Scottish inspection services (*Scottish Office Education and Industry Department*, SOEID, 1996, as cited in Croxford, Grek, & Shaik, 2009). The SSE was thus governed by restrictive procedures or qualitative and quantitative standards framing the self-evaluation of educational processes and team management of schools, under the responsibility of the headteachers. It is not merely a question of schools being accountable for their results, but also of involving different actors in and around the production of information and knowledge, which could contribute to the attainment of the stated objectives. Development plans are considered mechanisms allowing for the planning of change. They constitute support in terms of school improvement through the deployment of indicators established by superior authorities, in a process of self-evaluation which consequently becomes an element in the practice of teachers, heads of establishments, and school administrators (Ozga & Grek, 2012, p. 44).

This managerial logic based on performance involves monitoring performances at different levels of action in an educational system described as "a national system, locally administered" (Scottish Executive, 1999, as cited in Ozga & Grek, 2012, p. 42). The inspectorate also plays a key role: examination and control of school results and statistics and their processes of self-evaluation, establishment of support measures for the process of self-evaluation and for the improvement of establishments' performances, and support and intervention with school managers and educational teams.

The Scottish system of results-based regulation plans for a range of central instruments: curriculum standards, standardized tests, data base stemming from the analysis of their results, communication tools to publish establishment and intermediate bodies' results. Furthermore instruments have been developed to monitor districts' and schools' performances. Moreover, a strict system of incentives and sanctions, as well as support measures for schools in difficulty,

exists. Support takes the form of interventions by external actors, who must assist establishments in the process of *Self-Evaluation* to improve their performances. Thus inducing actors to assume responsibility occurs through the implementation of both external measures and internal means, since intervention resulting from support measures must allow for an improvement in management practices and educational agents' professional practices. But there is not only a focus on external devices and constraints on local actors. This process is also intended to encourage the learning processes of professionals and administrators, leading to other ways of thinking and acting through internalization of the criteria on which these actors are evaluated (according to their performance). In other words, a self-evaluation process is expected. Therefore, the focus is, on the one hand, on the actors' assumption of responsibility for the results and, on the other hand, on their capacity for reflexivity with respect to their professional practices. One might hypothesize that the action theory underlying the application of these instruments supposes a more reflexive actor, although one sensitive to external incentives.

Regulation through "Soft" Accountability: The Case of French-Speaking Belgium

For fifteen years, in French-speaking Belgium**,** we have witnessed the development of an external evaluation and accountability policy for establishments (Maroy & Mangez, 2011). This encompasses the development of external end-of-year examinations and diagnostic evaluations of students' knowledge; the establishment of "pedagogical markers" in terms of skills to be attained at different levels of education; the homogenization of evaluation frames of reference; and the creation of various transversal pedagogical frames of reference within networks and relative to the skills teachers need to master (Draelants, Dupriez, & Maroy, 2011). Since 2002, external diagnostic tests have been systematically organized for all students of a particular year. These tests both make a contribution to the regulation of the educational system as a whole, and provide information to teachers on the performance of their students, offering them "didactic paths" to employ in the classroom to enhance learning. Moreover, in 2006 a standardized end-of-the-year exam in sixth grade was developed, followed in 2009 by a standardized end-of-the-year external test at the end of the second year of high school.

However, despite the development of these centralized tools (curriculum standards, evaluation frames of reference, and systematic and recurrent external evaluations), the autonomy of educational authorities and establishments remains significant in terms of management and pedagogy, at least formally. As for external evaluations, they are subject to a two-fold monitoring by the system. On the one hand, the results of the external evaluation *may* be used as a tool for "micro-steering" by the school's management; on the other hand, the staff of the inspection service have the vocation to inspect schools, and they have the opportunity to link pedagogical practices to both the legal framework and the expected and observed "performance" level, with regard to competencies defined as pedagogical objectives. In the case of a "perceived deficiency", the inspector must notify the educational authorities concerned, who are then responsible for

ensuring an improvement without, nonetheless, planning sanctions or consequences, either for the organization or the individual actor (Maroy, 2009).

Also in French-speaking Belgium, the "light" regulation system is partially based on setting up curriculum and performance standards and on a relatively well developed measure of standardized evaluations in the pursuit of various ends, related to diagnosis, end-of-year exams, and the steering of the system (Eurydice, 2009). These measures are, nevertheless, not well developed with a system of incentives and sanctions organized through regulatory and legal instruments. In fact, this accountability stems from the postulate that actors in the educational field are encouraged to review and revise their professional practices when confronted with evaluation results. The system is based on an action theory favouring reflexive actors capable of adjusting their professional practice, without the intervention of a system of sanctions or incentives. The external evaluation measures informing the actors of the results of their actions are supposed to operate as external stimuli, provoking a reflection on their action and results. Above all, these are internal measures of local actors (the ethos of teachers and management in their search for success for their students, and their technical skills), which are supposed to favour this reflection and the subsequent improvement of management or educational practices, actions bolstered (in various ways) by support measures or training. Few incentives are envisaged to "mobilize" the actors. Furthermore, the dimension of control and alignment of public action instruments remains relatively weak, because the link between objectives and standards of reference at the central level and local practices is mediated by actors' internal processes more than by external measures.

ACCOUNTABILITY STAKES AND EFFECTS FOR SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

We would now like to establish some links between these policies and their effects and the stakes for school and society. It is difficult to establish a clear consensus among findings and a comprehensive picture of the effects of accountability policies (AP) for many reasons. First, empirical studies are conducted from various theoretical and epistemological perspectives. Secondly, empirical evaluations are often restricted to certain areas: in particular, many comparative studies have been focused on the effect of the "high stakes" accountability systems within the USA, while fewer studies have been developed in "soft accountability" or "reflective accountability" systems. Therefore we can only present some hypotheses.

Moreover, there are two main perspectives on the effects of accountability policies. First of all, there is an *internal* perspective adopting the objectives of these policies as evaluation criteria. School is a kind of production system and research evaluates how far accountability policies reach their objectives: how good are they for better performance, how good are they for greater equity in the school system? Secondly, there is an *external* point of view, put forward by a critical sociology, debating the legitimacy of these policies, their social meaning, the new power relations they favour. These critical researchers question the policies from two angles: first they look at the normative principles behind the policies,

discussing their social acceptability or relevance. Indeed they can challenge the legitimacy of these accountability policies. Secondly, they focus on the relations of power that these new regulations tend to generate or reinforce. In other words, these types of research look at the long term consequences of these policies.

Internal Perspective: Impact on Effectiveness and Equity

There are controversies arising from US studies concerning the effect of various "accountability" tools on pupils' achievement (especially through comparison of "high vs. low stakes" policies). These empirical studies have been conducted through longitudinal or macro-statistics research, often based on the NAEP test (National Assessment of Educational Progress; US) or some state-driven test (i.e., TAAS: Texas Assessment of Academic Skills), or district-driven tests (Chicago, New York). Three major results could be put forward about the efficacy of accountability systems on average achievements of pupils:

1) the introduction of *accountability systems* has a weak influence on the progress of average pupils scores (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002; Figlio & Loeb, 2011);

2) authors are of different opinions on the mechanism of *accountability producing the improvement of the results*. According to the Figlio and Loebb meta analysis (2011), many studies show that progress in the results in math and literacy is related to high stake testing for the pupils; according also to Harris and Herrington (2006), a positive influence could also be related to curriculum standards and the presence of an external end-of-year testing producing high pressure on pupils and low pressure on schools. However for Ravitch (2010) these gains are weak and related to a reduction of the "curricular spectrum" and to a practice that leads to "teaching to the test";

3) the effectiveness seems to be related to the subject (stronger effect in math) and there is no stability of the results over time (Lee, 2008).

Concerning equity, the introduction of high stake accountability policy has a negative effect on equity and often widens the performance gap between various ethnic groups, especially between black and other groups (Hanushek & Raymond, 2005; Harris & Herrington, 2006; Mons, 2013). According to Lee (2008), there is no reduction of the gaps between ethnic or socio-economic groups. According to Mons (2013), however, only the standardized external test has a positive effect on equity.

In the end, we have to emphasize the fact that there are many controversies arising from US studies and that few studies focus on the "unintended" effects of these policies. Few scientific studies have been developed in Europe on the effectiveness of other types of accountability policies, either on pupils' average scores or inequalities. We can observe a slow rise of the average score in various subjects in Scotland (Pisa test), and there is a slow improvement in literacy (Fr Belgium, Pisa scores). But it is impossible to know the exact causes of these developments and to relate them to accountability policies. So it is impossible to compare, from an "effectiveness perspective", the various types of accountability policies presented in this chapter.

The Critical Perspective: Various Effects of AP on Normativity or Power Relations

We turn now to the sociological criticism, the *external* critical appraisals of accountability policies, especially those of hard or high stake accountability. These studies highlight various normative changes that these accountability policies (by and large) favour, normative changes concerning teaching or the curriculum on the one hand, and the school administration on the other.

With regard to the former, let us focus on three main negative effects of AP policies.

– Instrumental reduction of the curriculum taught: as Ravith and others (Mons, 2013) put it, there is a narrowing of the attention of pupils and teachers to the subjects (math, literacy, sciences) actually assessed by external tests. Moreover, there is the reinforcement of a strategic attitude toward schooling, which is illustrated by the development of various forms of "teaching to the test".

– Osborne et al. (2000) also show in English primary schools how the affective/humanistic dimension of teaching/learning relations could be challenged by the search for effectiveness. Socio-affective development could sometimes be made secondary to cognitive objectives.

– Finally, Hargreaves (2003) underlines the loss of creativity and open collective work; there is less room for individual or local curriculum choices; less time for cooperation, due to a unilateral focus on achievements and tests to pass (in Ontario).

With regard to the administration at the school level, Gewirtz (2002) in England and Barrère (2006) in France show that there is a move from "public service" orientation to a "managerial" or a "market" ethos especially, among headteachers and principals.

These critical studies introduce no distinction between various types or rationales of accountability policies. However, we can hypothesize that most of their conclusions are plausible for the first three types of accountability policies, due to the presence of formal mechanisms of the rendering of accounts about results, and due also, to the focus on "cognitive" results that these types share, regardless of their "theory of regulation" or their conception of actor.

The shift in the managerial ethos of principals, the technicist orientation of teaching, even the loss of creativity could appear more prominent in the third type ("reflective responsabilization and accountability") due to the fact that these policies try to change actors from the inside, to adapt them to a new regime of performativity, which is not the case in the "soft accountability" regime on the one hand, or in "hard" and "neo-bureaucratic" type of policies on the other.

Numerous research papers also explore the effects and impacts of AP in terms of power relations between actors or between levels of action. Four types of relations are concerned:

1) One of the reasons for the justification of AP is that they are thought to favour the end of decoupling between teaching practices in the classroom and the devices or formal structures of school organization, which makes policies relatively ineffective (Meyer & Scott, 1983).

- – Some of the literature (Spillane et al., 2006) argues that the new AP are proving decoupling theories to be wrong, and that they contribute to re-coupling teaching practices with the guidelines advocated by "managers" or policy makers.
- – In contrast, other authors insist that AP also produce decoupling and have no effect on teaching practices for two reasons: 1) development of new specialists or services dedicated to the "management of appearances" and the external image of the institution, which tend to produce "artefacts" to respond to formal requests from evaluators (for example, accountability reports). Evaluation reports depend heavily on "self-staging" strategies set up by educational teams to protect themselves against the effects of control. In fact, decoupling between "image management" practices and actual practices in classrooms and schools, according to these authors, persist (Ball, 2003); 2) the manipulation of figures and/or tests as cheating practices, exclusion of weak pupils who could lower the school or class results (Lee, 2010).

2) Uneven symbolic effects depending on the position of the school and its student population: "well-off" schools are more inclined to welcome testing and accountability, than "disadvantaged" schools, who see the standards as out of reach (stigmatising, demoralizing effect) while sometimes the authorities may be more demanding towards them (Hargreaves, 2003).

3) New modes of regulation of the education system are accompanied by the development of increased control of teachers' work, in various direct and indirect forms. This trend is evidenced by the work of Nathalie Mons (2008). She shows, from a database of Eurydice, that in many European educational contexts we see the development of: 1) control in various forms, from the traditional inspection of individual teaching processes, self- evaluation, interviews with the principal, to schools being audited 2) assessment of learning outcomes, contrasting with the traditional assessment of processes.

4) The risk of de-professionalization: professionalization is not just a matter of expertise and mastery over complex and uncertain tasks – it is also the ability of a group to set/negotiate their employment conditions, the content of their work, partially insulated from the pressure of customers/users, or managers (Freidson, 2001). The current balance of power is not benefiting teachers. There is an ongoing loss of power and de-professionalization of teachers, favouring either parents or school managers (Gewirtz, Mahony, Hextall, & Cribb, 2008). There is also a risk of redefinition of professionalism: it is no longer professionalism in the full sense, which involves both autonomy in decision-making and reflection, and also ethical autonomy which may lead to questioning the orientations of policies. At the opposite end of the spectrum, a managerial professionalism is developing: autonomy and expertise are expected on means and processes, while goals and normative orientations of education no longer belong mainly to teachers. Goals are supposed to be a political choice which has been made by policy makers in a democratic way (Ball, 2003; Gewirtz, 2002; Maroy, 2006b).

We can hypothesize that these various trends could be developed unevenly across the different types of AP we have distinguished. For example, the reduction of school decoupling (policy/organisational management vs. classroom/teaching) could be especially true for type I and III but we can expect that school decoupling could still be present in types II and IV. Furthermore, the rise of control over teachers and de-professionalization trends could especially be true for types I and III (more precisely, some managerial forms of teachers' professionalism could be expected in these cases).

CONCLUSION

Results-based regulation policies vary according to contexts, and they deploy diverse public action instruments with specific effects. We have sought to develop a blueprint to understand policies stemming from the instruments deployed and the regulation theories that they incorporate. This has led to our highlighting four approaches to regulation: regulation through "hard" accountability (called "high stakes accountability" in the literature); a neo-bureaucratic approach to accountability; another based both on a "reflective" answerability and formal accountability; and, finally, regulation through "soft" accountability, soft responsibilization (called "low stakes accountability" in the literature). These four ideal-typical approaches have been illustrated in the case of various educational systems in Texas, Québec, Scotland and French-speaking Belgium.

From our perspective, a number of dimensions are inherent in these approaches. First, there is the matter of the alignment between regulatory instruments and that between action levels, and second, there is the nature and importance of the stakes which actors involved in accountability relations face. The other two dimensions take the regulation theories underpinning new accountability policies into consideration. Thus, certain policies rely, above all, on external devices and measures putting external pressure on actors (individual or collective) to be held to account for tangible results. This pressure may be exercised more or less severely, depending on the importance of the stakes associated with these formal devices. This regulation theory relying on external devices goes together with a conception of actors as strategically sensitive to external constraints. Other policies, in contrast, are based primarily on the regulation occurring through and within actors. They may act simply to change the actors' "perception" or cognition, by mirroring to them the results of their action (notably through quantitative and objective data on the knowledge and competencies mastered by their students), so that they reflect self-critically on possible improvements they could make (soft accountability). The regulation theory, nevertheless, may involve changing not only actors' knowledge and perceptions of their results, but also, more profoundly, the beliefs and convictions underlying their routines and professional practices. In this case, the regulatory action may also induce a reworking of professional identities (notably actors' conception of professionalism, their relationship and their power to act on students' success, their conception of their own professional development, of team

work, etc.). The actor is viewed in a more cognitive manner (reflexive actor) but also more "sociologically", as part of, in fact mired in, various forms of routines or institutions. Accountability policies (for example, in Scotland) are led by a theory of regulation which combines the regulatory tools aiming to change the "inner dispositions" of the actor (*régulation par l'intériorité des acteurs*) with external pressure on him or her, supported by external measures (*régulation par l'externalité des dispositifs*). They integrate demand for formal rendering of accounts and actors' internal answerability.

Thus, through the construction of this typology, we have sought to develop a blueprint to understand the regulation theories underlying results-based regulation policies. Our analytical procedure did not intend to offer a comprehensive empirical description of policies applied in various contexts for two reasons. On the one hand, the institutional and academic literature available to document the policies and their instruments is unevenly developed and we cannot document each policy to the same extent; on the other hand, we have mainly stressed the orientations of their formal and central policies. A limitation of our chapter is thus that this description of formal policies has not been enriched by more detailed accounts of their actual implementation by local schools and actors. This means, by way of consequence, that the actual accountability policy in each educational system should not be reduced to the ideal type we have presented. An analysis of the implementation of educational accountability instruments in various contexts should be conducted to complete the picture we have made.

Moreover, the reality of accountability policies is a changing one. As an illustration, we can observe the growing criticism to which "hard" accountability policies are subject, and their evolution towards a more reflective approach of accountability or to *self-evaluation* (Ozga, 2009). The balance between pressure and support seems to be a key element at the heart of the new emerging accountability policies*,* and by extension, their characterization. Thus, Normand and Derouet (2011) defend the idea that in a number of countries (England and New Zealand, for example), approaches to these policies are shifting from a "hard" policy of accountability towards an "*obligation de résultats intelligente*", where the emphasis is increasingly on the process of change as much as on the results. This involves in particular the development of so-called "support" instruments and not only simply "pressure" mechanisms. This means, therefore, that the policies may also evolve as a function of experts and political decision makers, weighing up the undesirable effects or the limitations of the regulation theories underlying established policies.

Moreover, there are also the effective conditions of their implementation, the mediation of actors and organisations which develop them and put them into practice, and the various interpretations or the strategic opposition to which they give rise amongst management or teachers – all of which might form the effective source of the real orientation of these policies in action. Not only might this condition their application, their modifications and effective recontextualization, but it could also affect the conditions of their effectiveness and legitimacy. In

addition, this may ultimately impact their sustainability, their modification or their progressive abandonment.

NOTES

[1] Christian Maroy is a full professor at University of Montreal (UdeM), chair of the CRCEP. Annelise Voisin is a Phd student in education at the CRCEP, UdeM. A first version of this chapter was presented at a symposium organised by Y. Dutercq at the Université de Nantes (June 2013) and has been published in French by *Education comparée* (2014, 11). Many thanks to Cecile Mathou for her comments on this revised and extended version in English. This chapter has been made possible due to a grant (435-2012-0701) from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

[2] We are inclined to speak of new accountability, meaning the relation of accountability (in the limited sense) that these policies favour, for two reasons: on the one hand the object of the accountability becomes wider with the results of the action and is no longer limited to its legality, its means or its orientations. Moreover, the actor to whom one is accountable expands; accountability is no longer simply to the local administrative authorities but also to the state government (in the US case), which demonstrates the rise in the stakes involved. Here, we come back to the article by Maroy and Voisin (2013) which discusses earlier forms of accountability and the shift towards a new accountability at the beginning of the first decade of this century.

[3] Regulation is here to be understood in a broad sense (as in the French term *régulation*, which is broader than the formal regulation in English, translated by *règlementation* in French); we take the view that 'social regulation' denotes multiple, contradictory and sometimes conflicting processes for orienting the behaviours of actors and defining the rules of the game in a social system (Reynaud, 1993; Dupriez & Maroy, 2003; Maroy & Van Zanten, 2009). Political regulation relates to modes of orientation, coordination and control of actors by public authorities. These modes have been objectivized and institutionalized not only in legal mechanisms (in this case, political regulation essentially means formal or statutory regulation) but also, more recently, in incentive, evaluation, emulation and consultation mechanisms (benchmarking, good practices, school clusters). Accountability policies are in this sense examples of political regulation.

[4] As Schnapper (1999, p. 15) effectively demonstrates, for Max Weber "the ideal type is not a description of reality, but an instrument to understand it, a system of abstract relations, a "thought-out table" which must be both abstract and heuristic, and should be used in order to make sense of empirical data and to be confronted with.

[5] It is worth noting that Mons and Dupriez developed this notion of "reflexive accountability" based on the works of Klieme, whose report inspired the policy of "standards" in Germany and in Austria (Klieme et al., 2004, quoted in Mons & Dupriez, 2011) and of the theory of "the mirror effect" developed in France by C. Thélot.

[6] We use here an idea developed by Mons and Dupriez (2011), an idea central to their distinction between "hard" and "reflexive" accountability.

[7] Besides the influence of NPM, the sources of these regulation theories are many, with different inclinations and formal structures, depending on the country and context. Thus, certain actors and networks of experts were able to play a key role in the formulation of these theories. This is the case of the Klieme Report which was the basis for reflection on standards in Germany, Switzerland and Austria (Klieme et al., 2004, quoted in Mons & Dupriez, 2011), of Claude Thélot on the subject of the "mirror effect" in France (Mons, 2009) or even of the role of the inspectorate in the conception of "self-evaluation" in the Scottish case (Ozga & Grek, 2012).

[8] Nonetheless, this conception of a utilitarian actor does not exclude all reflexivity on the part of the actor when, for example, calculating costs and benefits.

[9] The ministry assumes the right to intervene and take authoritative steps if school boards' improvements are deemed insufficient or their improvement plans inadequate. Moreover, with respect to establishments, the means of exerting pressure (changes or sanctions applied to the

management of establishments) and of support (the intervention of pedagogical counsellors within the establishments) are at the discretion of school boards, within the framework of legal measures and collective agreements.

[10] It aims to position the school within the "local community" and to encourage "participation" and the "partnership" of parents and local actors. (Please see Maroy, Mathou, Vaillancourt & Voisin, 2013).

[11] This hypothesis is based on an ongoing comparative research project (NewAGE; see www.crcpe.umontreal.ca) conducted by Maroy and the team of CRCPE.

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Section II

Governing Schooling and Schools

CATHRYN MAGNO

3. LOCATING GOVERNMENTALITY IN THE SPREAD OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 25 years or so, global trends such as site-based management, decentralization, and, more recently, accountability, have brought increasing attention to the school leadership sector. Previously, the focus of national improvement efforts and the interests of international development were located in the teaching sector and/or the structural aspects of schooling (i.e. student enrollments, provision of books, etc.). While some of these efforts brought moderate success to discrete aspects of schooling mostly at the classroom level, scholars meanwhile began to demonstrate the potential contribution of effective educational *leadership* to systemic educational improvement (Brundrett & Dering, 2006; Leithwood & Day, 2007; Hallinger & Heck, 1996; Hargreaves & Fink, 2004; Fullan, 2004; Elmore, 2000), which was previously all but ignored.

New international interest has subsequently awakened around the contribution specialized leader preparation can make. Since the turn of the 21st century, educational leadership preparation programs, and policies to support them, have emerged in countries and regions where they had never existed before (Brundrett & Dering, 2006; Brundrett & Crawford, 2008; Oplatka, 2004). As such, formalized educational leadership, with preparation according to a discrete set of knowledge and skills, is a relatively new phenomenon in most regions around the world. Thus, examination of motivations, actors, institutions, and implementation processes is of critical interest. How and why ministry policymakers, school principals, universities, international aid agencies, and local education-related non-governmental organizations (NGOs) decide to invest in setting criteria (normative frameworks) for school leadership and establishing training for school leaders is currently understudied and therefore central to this inquiry.[1] This chapter questions ostensible convergence of values and beliefs about educational leadership by demonstrating that a common neoliberal policyscape is experienced differently across the cases. A further contribution of this chapter involves a unique analysis of how governmentality (Foucault, 1982) plays out in this sector.

Leadership preparation models are being exported, imported and adapted with little scrutiny, during an era in which a global accountability reform instantiates the need for increased supervision and control in the education sector. Actors and institutions are implicated in creating, enacting and embodying norms and power relations, some explicit and some not. In the leadership arena, examination of these processes is critical as leaders are particularly well placed to represent, participate in, or resist certain forms of governance.

To examine these trends, the chapter will first present the overarching framework of the policyscape (Carney, 2009) and organizing notions of governmentality (Foucault, 1982), and then analyze data collected from five country contexts (United States, Switzerland, Azerbaijan, Pakistan and Mongolia[2]) to consider the ways in which regulatory mechanisms – forms of governmentality – implicitly serve accountability mandates through the leadership preparation process. This chapter is an extension of research conducted and published previously (Magno, 2013). In reflecting on that previous research, and the way that research in the educational leadership arena is generally conceived, it became clear that a deep questioning of school leaders' motivation and instrumentality was missing from that previous analysis and in the literature more generally. Most often, school leadership is described and analyzed in a fairly distant, mechanistic, and technical manner, devoid of complex implications related to power and influence. However, it is critical to explore these elements, since school leaders are positionally unique as school and community figureheads and decision-makers, and, in the case of public schooling, arms of the state.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Two organizing concepts form the foundation for the present analysis: that of the policyscape (Carney, 2009) and that of governmentality (Foucault, 1982). The investigation in this chapter suggests that countries are experiencing global influence which at times seems to coalesce with local interests and is at other times resisted; they are all, whether by choice or by default, implicated in a neoliberal policyscape (Carney, 2009). The policyscape construct allows for the comparison of commonly occurring phenomena across disparate locations by deterritorializing them. In this way, a neoliberal policyscape is considered as it plays out globally – exerting particular pressures – in various spaces, even where the policymaking structures may be very different. Here, those pressures emphasize economics-based values of accountability, efficiency, autonomy and competition (Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008). Importantly, the reasons and the ways in which policy players in different locations or countries participate often differ, demonstrating the complexity of globalization. It is neither "McDonaldization" (Ritzer, 2000) nor cultural isolation: the global and local change processes are occurring simultaneously. Documenting policy adoption processes from inception to practice across several countries reveals a good deal of local interpretation, perspective, and adaptation of competency priorities to the specific country and culture context. The process of policy adoption is affected by specific actors, institutions, processes, and power relations (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004), necessitating inquiry into the particular cultural, social and political constructions and constraints involved. While the policyscape places market force assumptions and values at the center of education reform and thereby allows for comparison of such assumptions and values in diverse country sites, it is important to make comparisons by looking at how they are active globally and locally simultaneously.

Foucault's notion of governmentality (Petersson, Popkewitz, Olsson, & Krejsler, 2013) is utilized as an analytical framework for better understanding agency, resistance, co-optation, and other themes found in the country case study data. Governmentality is an idea linking government ("govern") with modes of thought (mentality). It encompasses management by the state as well as attention to forms of power and subjectification, and it addresses both "governing others" and "governing the self" (Foucault, 1982, 1988). As such, governmentality is not only about state action but includes a range of control techniques that occur at institutional and individual sites. Foucault connects the modern state and modern, autonomous individuals. This is relevant and important because the growth of interest in formalized school management/leadership comes as a *solution* to the "government" problem of increasingly complex and consequential systems of education. In other words, in facing the growing competition within and among education systems, and in light of burgeoning public calls for schools to be accountable to the populace, the governmental response is currently to regulate and promulgate the credentialing of a leader cadre for the efficient and effective governing of schools (with "efficiency" and "effectiveness" defined by such government). We can and must, therefore, question the ways in which leaders, or here we can say "leader-subjects", are constructed to play out global policy schemes, and thereby made governable/self-governable. Leadership credentialing and monitoring/self-monitoring can be thought of as a *social technology* (Hamre, 2013), facilitating the purposeful and active development of leaders to "police" education (and themselves) through their participation in the system.

This chapter considers the ways in which formalized educational leadership policy and preparation, pushed in various geographical spaces by globalization, can be thought of as regulative technologies of governing. It looks at why and how these "regulative technologies" are borrowed across national borders[3] and brings in a fresh analytical perspective – governmentality – in order to delve more deeply into not what leaders do but how we might understand the *techniques of regulation*, *techniques of power* and *technologies of the self*, as they are meant to play out in what Foucault would call the "disciplinary institution" that is the modern school. *Techniques of regulation* can be thought of as organizing space, time and behavior, *techniques of power* are mechanisms that regulate behavior of individuals in society, and *technologies of the self* are practices and strategies by which individuals set rules of conduct for themselves (Foucault, 1982, 1988) through values, beliefs, motivations, and behaviors. Rather than provide answers, this analysis sparks thinking about the very rapid yet quite uncritical "norming" of school leadership as a "regulatory solution" around the world.

METHODS

The research on which this Foucauldian analysis rests originally set out to question why there is new and growing interest in how schools are governed and how that interest is taking shape across five seemingly disparate country contexts. Interviews were conducted with approximately 30 policymakers, faculty/trainers,

and school leaders in each country context, multiple school visits/observations were made, and documents (curricular, policy) in each location were reviewed. Policymakers included government representatives, politicians, academics, and community board members who could provide insight into why certain policy changes were of interest, where they came from, how the policies were/are developed, and where they intend to focus in the future. Faculty and trainers were able to explain how educational leadership training is taking place in terms of content, process and participants; they shared materials, resources and activities used during training. School leaders described school leadership processes first-hand, including the impact of changing leadership structures and approaches, and their own strengths, weaknesses, successes and challenges.

Research questions asked how and why ministry policymakers, school principals, universities, international aid agencies, and local education-related non-governmental organizations (NGOs) decide to invest in setting criteria (normative frameworks) for school leadership and establish training for school leaders. Sub-questions asked how countries' approaches were similar or different across the levels of policy, preparation and practice. Inductive coding and thematic analysis facilitated the identification of patterns of thought and behavior among actors within and across contexts. Themes to be discussed here are: 1) the neoliberal policyscape as producing techniques of regulation, 2) school leadership "push actors" and "push factors" as exemplifying techniques of power, and 3) leadership preparation and practices as instilling and embodying technologies of the self.

THEMATIC DISCUSSION

In this section, the three overarching themes are discussed as an exploration of how notions of governmentality are infused into the educational leadership sector – a sector that is currently undergoing massive transformation globally.[4]

Neoliberal Policyscape as Reifying Techniques of Regulation in Education

The neoliberal policyscape was evident in all five countries. In particular, accountability is taking shape in new policies regulating the organization and management of school leadership. The importance of accountability was mentioned by the majority of interviewees across the cases, legitimizing their comparison and tempting any observer to assume some institutional isomorphism. However, importantly, their understanding of accountability and its purpose differed, calling into question isomorphic convergence. For example, policymakers in Azerbaijan and Mongolia articulated their desire to make school leaders accountable for student success, which they believed would signal their "joining" of the international community. Swiss policymakers, for their part, discussed the need to address changing societal circumstances and increase responsiveness to parents and community members, and in the USA there was interest in keeping American students from "falling behind" students in other countries on international tests. In addition to these myriad interpretations of accountability,

there is evidence of divergence in that different elements, or foci, of the policyscape are stressed in different countries, such as competition in the USA, efficiency in Switzerland, transparency in Azerbaijan and Mongolia and autonomy in Pakistan. These diverse motivations complicate an ostensibly shared neoliberal trend even as it is clear that the trend is impacting decision-making everywhere. As well, the neoliberal trend serves to shape increasing regulation of schooling through new credentialing and evaluation of educational leaders.

Credentialing, Selection and Appointment of School Leaders

The governments in all country contexts set out content areas as well as skills they perceive as needed to perform effectively as a school leader. In the Western countries in the study, highly controlled certification by state agencies is in place to assess knowledge and skills and grant school leaders the credentials needed to serve in leadership positions. As well, there are direct links between the government bodies and the university/training institutions in order to ensure fidelity of training programs to the mandates of the state. In Azerbaijan and Mongolia, school leaders are considered public administrators and do not have to meet any particularly education-oriented criteria. However, there is current discussion within the Ministries of Education in both countries regarding how to implement and restructure the selection and appointment of school leaders, in order to increase quality and transparency. In Azerbaijan, Mongolia and Pakistan, leadership training is still quite ad hoc, but governmental education officials are in the process of delineating criteria (largely modeled after Western standards) against which applicants for school leadership positions may be measured. The intention is to reduce corruption and increase transparency; the state still determines what knowledge and skills are "appropriate" and is the arbiter of judgments regarding who is "in" and who is "out".

Government certification of school leaders, as an example of one particular regulative technique, features prominently in education policy and reform across the five cases under study. Such certification delineates particular knowledge domains, skill sets, educational background and/or practical experience that are required to hold a leadership position in a school, all of which is sanctioned by the state. For example, in Connecticut, leadership preparation programs are governed by Connecticut legislation Sec.10-145d-574 and enacted through the Connecticut State Department of Education (CSDE). Without a state certificate, school leaders may not serve in the public education sector. School leadership standards were established in Connecticut in the late 1990s by the CSDE and are delivered by higher education institutions that have been approved by the CSDE to offer such preparation programming. Government regulation thus occurs in two ways: through institutional accreditation and through individual certification. In Zurich Canton, individuals are credentialed with a certificate of advanced study but the institutional programs are not overseen to the same extent as in the USA. In other countries, there is a movement to increase the amount and type of regulation, echoing the West. Such major innovation in education policy may be

thought of as a keystone of governmentality in which techniques of regulation have been constructed and imposed on the education sector in order to solve perceived educational as well as socio-political problems (Hamre, 2013). "Responsibilization" (Rose, 1999) of school leaders has become necessary under current accountability regimes in which the "government" needs a primary contact (oversight) at the school level to process communication and deliver information both to and from the school. As well, the public is demanding a point person to look to for guidance and interpretation of governmental norms – a person who deciphers for them the ways in which young people should be socialized and prepared to contribute as workers and citizens. They similarly need someone to take responsibility for school and student failure.

Leader and Teacher Evaluation

With the advent of leader preparation and leadership standards in the countries under study, there have also been increased and more rigorous evaluations of school leaders and school systems. There is a clear focus on targets and performativity and little emphasis on voice, authenticity or co-construction of knowledge or aims. In addition, teacher supervision and evaluation is a major job responsibility of school leaders in all countries and reifies the regulatory role of the leader. It occurs similarly, essentially as monitoring, in most countries, and attention tends to be centered on control of the profession through measures based on numbers, resulting in rewards and sanctions (Ball, 2003), rather than in a rich, holistic understanding of the educational process and individualized formative evaluation and support for improvement for school leaders and schools.

   Specific ideas about what school leader conduct is and should be, along with the monitoring of behavior, take on the nature of regulatory power and (potentially) reduce subject power. As it is promoted currently in the West, however, leadership empowers certain members of the education system with the ability to shape and direct the archeology of schools; to this end, school leaders are encouraged to cultivate themselves so they can negotiate the complexities of the education system. It is explained to them that they need certain amounts and types of knowledge and skill to be able to perform adequately. Importantly, aspiring leaders are inculcated with the knowledge and skills sanctioned by governmental agencies, which are founded on particular values and have aims relevant to specific time and space. Across today's neoliberal policyscape, school leaders are trained to make their schools efficient, autonomous, and/or competitive, and they are evaluated/measured by the extent to which they do so by state agencies and third party organizations. In turn, educational leaders are tasked with evaluating teachers in similar ways, using increasingly quantitative measures and applying more market-oriented strategies (i.e., competition, rewards and sanctions, etc.) than formative, clinical supervision. In sum, school leaders have increasingly become guardians of normality, playing out the state as a "regulative idea".

School Leadership "Push Actors" and "Push Factors" as Exemplifying Techniques of Power

Any school reform initiative requires particular stakeholders or "actors" in the setting who push for it in the policy and practice arenas. As well, there are various international and local factors that serve to support or inhibit the reform process. Neoliberal accountability reform was pushed by actors and factors across the country contexts, but the actors have different motivations and the factors are varied. In the United States, for example, impetus for recent changes in educational leadership requirements comes from federal initiatives as well as from local interest in preparing educational leaders who will be accountable to the public through mandates requiring mounting bureaucracy and reporting. Meanwhile, in order to make American students competitive with students in other countries on international assessments, school principals are taught to use instructional and distributed leadership that emphasizes a focus on teaching and learning and time spent in classrooms. This causes a paradoxical "accountability clash", for current school principals feel overwhelmed by trying to meet the demands of "government" as well as perform the instructional leadership practice advocated by researchers. In Switzerland, an accountability push came from proponents of New Public Management who sought to increase efficiency and autonomy of schools. As a value, efficiency resonated with the public and business management-oriented Swiss, and leaders launched standards-driven education reform. Azerbaijan and Mongolia, both in a post-transition (socialist to democratic) stage, are experiencing some of the same accountability push factors – namely the desire to reduce corruption in decision-making and to equip leaders to meet the demands of more autonomous schools, but the push actors are quite different. Along with international consultants and spirited local NGOs which have played catalytic roles in initiating attention to school leadership as a way of increasing transparency and making systemic change, the World Bank and other international aid agencies are setting expectations based on their own organizational value-set. Pakistan, a country facing issues of school enrollment as well as quality of education (unlike the other four countries in which there is nearly universal education attendance), is also very much under the sway of World Bank and European Union aid packages. These come with particular visions of educational leadership via site-based management, or at minimum the devolution of power to the local level as a way to increase accountability and reduce centralized control of education.

As a major global push actor, the World Bank (along with other bi-lateral aid agencies) has been highly influential in guiding and supporting educational leadership policy in developing countries. In the World Bank's own review of several countries' site-based management strategies (Barrera-Osorio et al., 2009), the role of the school leader is mentioned, though no attention is given to the specific competencies needed by the school leader for the strategies to work well. There is an underlying assumption, when advocating for school councils comprised of some combination of principal, teachers, parents, students and community members, that the principal is skilled in leadership, negotiation, management,

cooperation, communication, collaborative decision-making, etc.. As well, there is a secondary assumption that such skills will be rightly premised on Western, democratic principles. However, because in most cases school leaders have received little to no training in leadership or management, it is unrealistic and unreasonable to expect them to take effective leadership roles in facilitating school councils, administering funds transparently, or performing a myriad of duties associated with site-based management. Furthermore, those who are now receiving such training may be functioning in cultural contexts that do not support Western approaches. What clearly emerges from the five cases is that while Western-oriented management strategies are pushed, school leaders are and will continue to be unprepared for administering such globally circulating forms of accountability unless they are prepared in Western ways of knowing, being and behaving. This demonstrates that the spread of certain policies and practices may falter "on the ground" but continue to be supported as a "silenced form of power" (Krejsler, Kofod, & Moos, 2009) based on hidden beliefs and assumptions that Western approaches are effective and desired elsewhere.

In each context, in addition to push actors, there have been "push factors" such as the desire to improve performance on international achievement tests; or the need for international aid to provide education which forces collusion with donor agendas; and/or international collaborations that have sparked changes or shifts in policy and/or practice in the educational leadership arena. Particularly regarding the "development" push factor experienced in Azerbaijan, Mongolia and Pakistan under the influence of international agencies, (powerful) Western imaginaries are being (silently) inscribed in the governing of leadership education outside the West. Through this process, Western "truths" are being received, accepted and taught in non-Western settings, thus exemplifying techniques of (global) power.

Leadership Preparation and Practices as Instilling and Embodying Technologies of the Self

The regulative technique of preparing leaders essentially imbues certain (economics-based) values in school leaders, and emerging preparation programs are opening new space to do so. School leaders are the primary responsibility-holders at the school level and are therefore situated precisely at the accountability nexus between education policy and practice. School leaders are therefore directly affected by and responsible for policy reflections of those free market values. In other words, they are the interpreters of state-level policies that seek to increase control of schooling through a variety of techniques of regulation. Leadership purposes, terminology, programmatic content (i.e. what counts as "knowledge") and evaluation processes regulate and build self-regulation in aspiring and practicing leaders. In other words, they mobilize the leaders to be self-governing (Petersson, Popkewitz, Olsson, & Krejsler, 2013).

Leaders play out neoliberal norms of competition and accountability. Today, leadership is not only about organizing, but largely about sorting, including, and excluding. For example, it is important to note that while national and state

leadership standards are ostensibly about leader quality and (indirectly) about the improvement of schools, they are equally about setting out and maintaining control and discipline. Taking this a step further, school leaders who are tasked with maintaining control and discipline (under the guise of raising student achievement) do so in a competitive environment in which underachievement can mean extinction (i.e. school closure) or global shaming. Course content includes understanding and upholding national standards, and leaders are taught to encourage their students to perform well on national (and international) tests. The stakes are high because the results are not only about improving instruction and documenting achievement; they also serve to sort, rank and punish both students and teachers. The disciplinary technique of leader self-government is clearly masked in objectives for student achievement.

The growing interest in creating leadership "experts" who hold certificates demonstrating their state-approved competency, allows those individuals to claim the knowledge necessary to command the power of governmentality. In this way, education (in this case, the education/preparation of aspiring school leaders) is a technology of power, inscribing the aspiring/current leader in a neoliberal, free-market-value-based economic rationality which is then used to regulate schooling. To not problematize or question the process of inscription of educational leaders would be to take the leadership preparation process as "natural" and necessary. However, leadership standards – in the USA and elsewhere – are generally not challenged or questioned (even if they are, from time to time, revised), and this results in school leaders, in turn, reinforcing and participating in neoliberal practices without necessarily being aware of doing so. Through the preparation process (i.e. learning about leadership practice), individuals take ownership of their *own* leadership goals, but these goals are actually set by the governing authority and are imbued in aspiring leaders in such a way as to make them seem natural. Here we see the "reformation/re-engineering" of the citizen to harmonize with current projects of (neoliberal) state reason.

Interestingly, and possibly serving as evidence of self-regulation, practicing leaders are acting as instruments of government control even if and when they disagree with the governmental mandate. In such instances, leadership could be considered as meeting accountability expectations as defined by others (in particular, the state). For example, in the USA, a school leader who said he disagreed with the tremendous amount of testing imposed on schools and students *also* said: "I will do whatever it takes to improve our school's test scores". In Azerbaijan, a school leader said that although she needs and wants to support teachers and their instruction, she continues to spend her time on bureaucratic mandates, explaining "Administrators are being asked to do more and more technical things, checking off the boxes". By not actively resisting such governmental requirements, individual leaders tend to see and internalize the government's goals and/or interests. Their subjectivity is subverted, they are deeply implicated in the government's technologies of power, and they are actively making choices that further their own interest as members of the state.

The Development of Terminology/Language

The way that the construct of leadership itself is understood can provide interesting input to a discussion of (global) technologies of power. Regarding the two central terms in the educational administration sector, "leadership" and "management", Walker and Dimmock (2000) ask, for example: "as policies such as decentralisation and school-based management spread from Anglo-American systems to become more globalised, what are the implications for 'leadership' and 'management' in the host societies?" (p. 305). The term "management" was used across all the cases in this study to mean essentially the monitoring and oversight of school operations. The concepts of "leadership" and "leader" as differentiated from "management" and "manager" in Western literature have been relatively unknown and unused outside the West until recently. In Switzerland, the school leaders themselves, only about 10 years ago, invented a German language term that connotes a distinctive, more visionary role from the previous "head teacher:" Schulleiter (literally: "school leader"). In Azerbaijan, staff of a non-governmental organization, in collaboration with young Azeris who had returned to Azerbaijan from studying in the West, coined a new Azeri term: liderlik (translating to "leadership"), with one staff member noting that "we need to invent a whole new language to bring these concepts to Azerbaijan!" The language itself is becoming a technology of power, used to demarcate privilege and association with the West and Western practices.

If Anglo-American influences on globalization and on the educational leadership field continue to dominate, it is very probable that meanings and styles of leadership will converge. Importantly, Anglo-American scholars, consultants, and agencies have the advantage of an English mother tongue, which is rapidly becoming accepted as the global language and thereby wields global cultural power and influence. As well, Western "push actors", scholars, and practitioners have the resources to support knowledge dissemination at levels that actors from other country contexts do not. As policy actors travel, and carry with them certain English-based, Western conceptions of "leadership", this term might – as in Switzerland and Azerbaijan – creep into local language and be absorbed. Unless locally-derived conceptions of leadership are articulated and published,[5] it will be difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle indigenous conceptions from those imbued with Western values and connotations, and cultural specificity could be reduced, if not lost.

Travelling Leadership Preparation Content

An examination of leadership training content, to the extent possible given the availability/non-availability of documents, leads to the conclusion that there is, in fact, extensive overlap of content topics covered across the country contexts. This is likely the case because of the global circulation of knowledge that is moving across information highways and embodied in traveling consultants. Notably, however, the path of the knowledge is not actually "circular", but rather

unidirectional, flowing outward from Anglo-American contexts toward everywhere else. As noted by Dimmock and Walker, the Anglo-American foundation on which most literature in the field of educational leadership is based is essentially ethnocentric; "those generating the theory make little attempt to bound or limit their work geographically or culturally… [and do not take] into account important cultural differences of power and authority relations" (Dimmock & Walker, 2000, p. 304). Across the case studies, there is a strong and nearly exclusive reliance on Anglo-American literature in the area of leadership. This is undoubtedly because of both the long history of thought and publication in the West in the area of leadership, and because the ideas are carried around the world by "international (Western) experts" and non-Western local experts who have spent time in the West.

From the data collected, it is apparent that Western policymakers, faculty members, and practitioners feel little effect of – and in many instances were not even aware of – the outward spread of knowledge in the leadership area. Two points are worth stressing here. First, the norming of leadership based on Western values is (mistakenly) seen as coming from "scientific research" and "experts", and is treated as value-neutral expertise. Second, the lack of consciousness, on the part of Westerners especially, regarding the uncritical spread of concepts, theory and "best practice", suggests a deeply internalized and unquestioned *regulation of ideas*.

The design and delivery of leadership preparation programs or training sessions can be considered technologies of power as well, for they clearly have aims and objectives that align with what are considered by the state to be important topics and necessary competencies. Judgment for determining importance and necessity takes place outside the classroom or training seminar. By the time they enter the educational space, topics and approaches to leadership may be discussed and debated, but foundational concepts and fundamental premises are generally accepted. In this way, aspiring school leaders are unaware that their notions of leadership and school improvement mechanisms are not based on fact but involve *received truths*. Such truths have seeped into the culture and are no longer questioned. In receiving the truths and subsequently practicing and further disseminating them, school leaders take part in the reproduction of power. Particularly because of their positional power, school leaders have the respect of the other members of the school and larger community. As they model the way forward (Kouzes, Posner, & Peters, 2002), their embodied truths are further reinforced and replicated.

We might question, in particular, how the West (especially Anglo-American West) has fed certain notions, strategies and virtues related to leadership education. In the case of Zurich (Switzerland), the most widely read textbook in educational leadership was written by a Swiss professor of business management who had spent four years on sabbatical in the United States. He explained that his text relied mainly on American theory and references, but that he included enough German sources (albeit non-academic sources) to render the text socially and culturally acceptable to the Swiss students. Essentially, he indigenized American theory to

the Swiss context in such a way that students see the text as Swiss and do not realize they are internalizing American "norms" and "rationality". This suggests an expansive technology of power and pushes against the notion of institutional isomorphism or convergence.

The content shift in educational leadership preparation programs from management (i.e., maintaining the status quo) to leadership (i.e., establishing a strategic vision and moving the organization toward it), seen in all five cases, has demanded that the leader be seen as a "learning subject" of a certain kind – in this case, visioning, seeking change, collaborating, etc. Whether this leadership approach is seen as positive or negative is not especially relevant here. Rather, it is important to note that it is taught in such a way as to generate a "paradigm shift" in aspiring leaders' thinking, making them self-governing according to state-sanctioned norms. This is accepted as a natural phenomenon in the leadership arena, but it is instead quite purposeful – *not* a naturally occurring phenomenon. The purpose in preparation programs is to develop a "new normal" in the leadership sector, in which leaders play out a certain *intended* rationality in practice. Pedagogy – or, in this case, androgogy – in leadership preparation programs establishes mechanisms (behaviors, dispositions) to encourage and enable self-government of individual leaders and, in turn, their schools. It promotes the internalization of certain rules of conduct (Martins, 2013) so that leaders run schools in particular ways to achieve particular neoliberal goals.

As such, leadership preparation is about shaping the leadership personality/self so that leaders self-identify according to certain notions of how such a "leader-subject" is constituted. They become self-monitoring and self-controlling by assessing themselves and reflecting on the ways in which they are upholding visionary leadership. Their skills sets and reflective practice end up constituting *technologies of the self* (Foucault, 1988).

CONCLUSION

Calls for school improvement, greater accountability, shared governance, and parental choice have escalated within and outside schools, while the complexity in schooling has increased (Levine, 2005). As well, in a current global climate where the emphasis is on student performance, school leaders are held accountable for the quality of teaching and for how much learners learn in a way that they never have been before (Leithwood & Riehl, 2003). Against this backdrop, the literature has been nearly silent regarding the role of educational leaders and the ways in which they are implicated – consciously or not – in the neoliberal policyscape spanning the globe. Even more, there has been no analysis of the ways in which educational leadership policy and preparation elaborate a particularly potent form of governmentality – particularly potent, that is, because school leaders have positional power to exponentially inscribe values, beliefs, behaviors and norms across school and community settings in ways that other educational actors (teachers, students, parents) do not. This chapter recognizes that until 10-20 years ago, school leaders acted primarily as monitors of the status quo in schools; now

they are begin transformed (via formal preparation programs) into much more dynamic and visionary actors and in this way must – consciously or unconsciously – embody government reform in new and deeper ways.

Built on the premise that a neoliberal, market-based policyscape is informing global education reform in government decision-making spaces around the world, this chapter argues that school leaders are now tasked with translating many of these values/trends at the school level, and are, for the first time, being prepared to do so in emerging educational leadership programs. The contribution of the chapter is to consider how this preparation and its underlying value system seems to be "natural" and therefore goes unquestioned. It suggests that educational leadership preparation is enabling self-governing individuals and that more inquiry is needed into the ways in which this is happening, similarly and differently, across country contexts.

In the research analyzed above, it is clear that policy in the educational leadership sector is spreading (being borrowed and adapted) unidirectionally from the West outward. Further questions consequently arise, such as: what are the consequences when this traveling reform process is taken as natural rather than intentional, if it is not presented as such? As well, in considering the global spread of Western leadership concepts, we should ask how Western imaginaries intertwine with notions of leadership education (its structure, categories, elements, standards, quality mechanisms, etc.) to elaborate on how the West is thereby, in turn, "made" (Said, 1978). The policies and preparation content do not travel by themselves; they require actors and institutions through which ideas are mediated. How should we address the possibility that when Western international "experts" (or Western*ized* "experts" or adherents) bring ideas eastward, this process of spread itself becomes a defense and regulation of the ideas and in this way can become reinscribed in the West and hyper-normed?

Comparativists can play an important role in questioning and raising awareness around this phenomenon that is spreading rapidly and widely with little to no attention or critique. The field of comparative education allows for the analysis of policy import and export, policy adaptation, and the ways in which policy borrowing can construct and reconstruct the "West" as well as how it can serve the West by nurturing *governmentalies* at home and abroad, through technologies of power and technologies of the self. The notion of governmentality as representing a de-centering of power and the intention that people will actively self-govern fits neatly with the values underlying neoliberalism, making attention to the current policyscape critical, especially for those in leadership positions.

This chapter has sought to examine the ways in which the spread of educational leadership worldwide concretizes the technologies of power and self in reifying neoliberal values and goals. It is important to remember as well the complexities of culture, agency and resistance. In other words, such resistance does occur and indigenous forms of knowledge and self-regulation do exist, albeit quietly and as yet understudied and under-understood. Here, it is sufficient to note that given their positional power, school leaders are perhaps best located to challenge, and possibly change, the power/knowledge relations and technology of domination that exist in

schools. The chapter thus concludes with a call for more research into both governmentality and its implications in the educational leadership sector, as well as into the ways in which resistance takes shape to affect the proliferation of certain – wanted or unwanted – regulatory ideas.

NOTES

[1] In this chapter, the term "school leader" refers to the school principal or director. In some cases, the assistant principal or deputy director may be mentioned or included. While there are discernible trends, supported by literature, that argue for including many actors in a school as part of its leadership structure, this research focuses on the "school leader" as the person with the positional title who functions as the primary leader of a school. "Policy" refers to macro-level or system-level policy rather than policy at the school level.

[2] The research followed a qualitative comparative case study design in which the case was defined as the leadership policy and implementation framework in each country; boundaries were based on equivalent governmental oversight/reach. In the United States, policy and implementation of educational leadership regulations occur at the state level and the State of Connecticut was therefore the "case" in that country. In Switzerland, the case was the canton of Zurich. In Azerbaijan and Mongolia, the case was the nation, as policymaking is still quite centralized, and in Pakistan, policymaking has devolved to the provincial level and two provinces comprised the Pakistani case: Punjab and Sindh.

[3] The theories around policy borrowing, lending, transfer, adaptation, etc. are rich and plentiful (see, for example, Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, and Ochs & Phillips, 2004); they are not elaborated here as the current analysis focuses on aspects of governmentality rather than on the borrowing process itself.

[4] For full description and explanation of findings and case studies, see Magno (2013).

[5] Publication of non-Western scholars in either the Western or non-Western, non-Anglophone world is extremely limited and poses a major global challenge. Until non-Western scholarship is promoted, authenticity of voice from non-Western academics and practitioners will be obscured by Western authors and publishers. As a result, indigenous theory and belief will continue to be suppressed and their proliferation will continue to be discouraged.

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4. THE PASTORAL SUPERVISION OF GLOBALISED SELF-TECHNOLOGIES

This chapter analyses the rationalities by which the state supervises public schools in a Swiss canton. It is concerned with the "global/national/local mesh" of contemporary government in education (Singh, Kenway, & Apple 2005, p. 9). Current school reforms spreading throughout Switzerland belatedly echo globalised policies focussing on standards, performance testing, evaluation, managerialist organisation and accountability. In the Canton of Bern, a series of governance reforms have reconfigured the supervision of teachers by cantonal inspectors into a meta-control of local, evaluation-based self-steering in recent years. Basing our work on ethnographic research, we analyse the new practices of school supervision as they unfold in the interaction between cantonal inspectors, headteachers and local school authorities. Drawing on Foucault's (1979) concept of governmentality, we analyse these interactions as a juncture between technologies of domination and technologies of the self. Our findings suggest that the technologies of self-steering that we observed in ethnographic fieldwork and detected in the policy documents are subjected to a pastoral rationality, which is enacted in the supervision by cantonal inspectors. With reference to Foucault's (1994) pastoral power, this particular shape of governmentality is inspired by the metaphor of the shepherd-priest's care for the life and salvation of his flock.

Many scholars comparing globalisation processes of education critically differentiate world culture theory's thesis of education convergence (Meyer & Ramirez, 2000), pointing to creative interpretations and adaptations or even resistances against globalised imperatives (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Steiner-Khamsi & Waldow, 2012). Nevertheless, it remains a challenge to appropriately capture the contradictory twists of globalisation as a "dynamic phenomenon expressed in particular histories and political configurations" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. x): The twin term "borrowing and lending" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004) implies an asymmetrical exchange relation between lender and borrower in which the receiver cannot fully appropriate the loan that has to be returned to the lender (cf. Mauss, 1954). Similarly, the notion of policy "transfer" (Rappleye, 2012) refers to the transmission of recipes between givers and receivers; whereas the trope of "travelling" policies (Ozga, 2006) points to the privilege of moving in largely unconstrained ways, with only ephemeral immersion in local conditions (Clifford, 1997). Such metaphors conjure up an unambiguous imagination of policy in motion and are reminiscent of the legacy of diffusion theories in German-Austrian Ethnology, which explained culture change as the diffusion of material traits. Similarly to the early twentieth century approaches, these terms evoke a linear migration of intellectual properties from advanced to underdeveloped places. The

juxtaposition of "imagined" globalisation versus "real" reform pressures (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p. 4) seems to acknowledge only reluctantly the working of the imaginary in every policy (Taussig, 1997) – for example the enticing, imaginative potency which saturates notions such as "quality", "efficiency", "knowledge society" or the mesmerising "necessity to adapt to global conditions". The term "transition" – put forward in the title of the 2014 CESE conference addressing contemporary transnationalised governance changes – denotes in cybernetics a uniform shift from one state to a predefined other (Ashby, 1957). Similarly, international donor agencies applied the term to the disintegrating socialist countries under reform in the early 1990s, promising a rapid transition to a prosperous future of a western-type market economy and democratic society (Hann, 2002). The diversity of identities, economic performances and political conditions that have since emerged in the former Soviet Bloc sent the prophecy into oblivion but did not discredit economic transit-ology itself or diminish the popularity of the term.

POLICYSCAPES, GLOBAL ASSEMBLAGES, GOVERNMENTALITY

Turning away from essentialising notions of global policies as stable properties, and looking for approaches which account for the fluidity of reforms intersecting with a dynamic context, Appadurai's (1996) conception of -*scapes* provides a starting point: global flows are configured by overlapping dimensions – as ethno-, media-, techno, finance- and ideo-*scapes*. These *scapes* are as imaginative as they are material and produce a complex, disjunctive and unpredictable cultural order. Drawing on Appadurai's *ideoscapes*, (Carney, 2009, p. 79) proposes the notion of education *policyscapes* to engage with the spread of globalised education reforms: policyscapes are "transnational in character and have at their core a particular constellation of visions, values, and ideology. The rise of advanced liberal ideologies in education is writ large and is being negotiated across educational sites, albeit differently in various locations".

Tsing (2000, p. 337) criticises the preference for the circulation of people, money and ideologies inherent in Appadurai's and other social science globalisms (such as Kearney, 1996; Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994; Hannerz, 1996) and points to the ignorance of the "social conditions that allow or encourage that flow". In particular, she problematises the widespread perception of the local as "stopping point of global forces": based on a dichotomy of the global as the transcending of place versus the local making of place, this view interprets diversity as local resistance against global "forces" (Tsing, 2000, p. 339). In contrast, Tsing (2005, p. 3) argues for analysing global forces themselves as congeries of local/global interactions. To reterritorialise global connections, Collier and Ong (2005) suggest the concept "global assemblage" to catch the "unstable constellation shaped by interacting global forms and situated political regimes" (Ong, 2007, p. 5): "As a composite concept, the term 'global assemblage' suggests inherent tensions: global implies broadly encompassing, seamless, and mobile; assemblage implies heterogeneous, contingent, unstable, partial, and situated" (Collier & Ong, 2005,

p. 12). The term bypasses structural analysis and predetermined outcomes but produces "an oblique point of entry into the asymmetrical unfolding of emerging milieus" (Ong, 2007, p. 5). Within this framework, it becomes the task of fieldwork analysis to trace how transnational flows of globalised policies are "articulated in specific situations – or territorialized in assemblages" (Collier & Ong, 2005, p. 4).

We approach the governance of public schools in Switzerland as an assemblage that is reconfigured by flows of globalised reforms such as school-based management, evaluation-based school development or new accountability procedures. From the perspective of the studies of governmentality in the wake of Foucault (1979), this global policyscape belongs to the wider trend of neoliberal governmentality (Simons, 2002). Studies of governmentality sound out the "strategies of governing people and governing ourselves" (Masschelein et al, 2007, p. 6). They focus on how present-day neoliberal governmentality deploys indirect techniques of leading and controlling individuals by subjecting them as responsible, entrepreneurial and economic-rational free individuals (Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991; Bröckling, Krasmann, & Lemke, 2011). This "technology of the self" (Foucault, 1988) can be found in the contemporary pedagogical trends fostering the self-learning pupil, as well as in the policies strengthening self-managing schools. However, as Carney (2012, p. 347) criticizes, studies of governmentality tend to universalise and totalise neoliberal subjectivation. Lemke (2012, pp. 87-90) points to the implicit teleological attributions of many governmentality studies, which assume a continuous succession of closed forms of government leading from disciplinary mechanisms towards rational technologies based on the "power of freedom" (Rose, 1999). In contrast, in Foucault's conception, "self-technologies are integrated into structures of coercion and domination" (Foucault, 1993, p. 203). Furthermore, Lemke questions the tendency inherent in governmentality studies to view programs as coherent entities. Instead, he calls for analysing "assemblages, amalgams and hybrids" of neoliberal subjectivation and disciplinary forms of government: such an approach acknowledges contradictions within programs, "viewing them not as signs of their failure, but as the very condition of their existence" (Lemke, 2012, p. 92).

Our analysis traces the conglomerate of disciplinary rationalities and self-steering technologies which form the particular contours of school governmentality in the Canton of Bern. It is based on a three-year ethnographic research project on the governance of compulsory schooling. During fieldwork we attended meetings of municipal school boards, exchanges between school headteachers, teachers' conferences as well as the interactions between local school actors and the cantonal inspectors. The locales are four unremarkable suburban villages and small towns in the predominantly rural Canton (state) of Bern in Switzerland.[1] Our question is how the cantonal inspectors handle the self-steering imperatives and how the rationality of local self-steering is integrated into cantonal supervision. In contrast to Rose and Miller (2010, p. 275), who declare that they are not interested in "how social life *really* was" (emphasis in the original), we are, beyond the analysis of the logic that the new regulations purport, particularly interested in the social practices

they generate. We argue that in practice the inspector's supervision departs far from the logic of neoliberal governmentality that can be detected in the reforms as such. The discussion starts by locating the present-day changes within the context of recent governance trends in Switzerland and by outlining the cornerstones of reforms in the Canton of Bern.

LOCATING SCHOOL GOVERNANCE REFORMS IN SWITZERLAND…

Under the Swiss federal political conditions, the cantons still hold the authority over primary and secondary education, although intercantonal agreements are gaining increasing importance (Manz, 2012). Contemporary school reforms throughout the country have to be analysed in relation to global policyscapes, which include the modernisation of public administration as well as standards-based teaching and testing regimes within education. Amidst competing moves towards regionalisation and centralisation within the national arena of education politics, international policies such as PISA-standards and OECD recommendations were invoked in particular by the intercantonal assembly of education ministers to initiate the harmonisation of cantonal conditions; although this harmonisation in turn provokes countertrends of political resistance and the drifting apart of cantonal reforms (Criblez, 2008; Osterwalder & Weber, 2004).[2] Moreover, PISA was important in preparing the way for the rationality of standards and testing, which spread both in political and pedagogical areas, and for the construction of a national monitoring system (Bieber & Martens, 2011). Far beyond PISA, the governance reforms addressed in this chapter can be traced to the 1990s' wave of modernising the bureaucratic state by means of "New Public Management" (NPM), which was applied amid great publicity to education (Hangartner & Svaton, 2013). The promotion of NPM as a recipe for enhancing education quality merged the concern for efficiency with the new focus on schools as organisations which can be developed to meet the demands of a globalised economy (Buschor, 1997; Dubs, 1996; Rolff, 1993; Bellmann, 2014). In the meantime, however, school reforms are no longer subsumed under the label NPM, which has recently gone into a tailspin: despite its huge impact on the governmental technologies that reshape the state into a service provider and citizens into customers, the term has, together with its novelty, also lost its credibility. Two decades after the beginning of the debate in the Canton of Bern, the government declared that the NPM reform did not meet expectations. It stated that neither the parliament nor the government were steered by performance indicators but by traditional democratic instruments, and it announced, similar to developments in other cantons, the downsizing of the reform.[3] Although the political career of the term is declining, NPM's basic goals and government technologies have been kept; in particular, the idea that state activities need to be reduced, which Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) identified as an "NPM core-goal", is gaining ground all over the country.

… AND IN THE CANTON OF BERN

NPM-induced school governance reforms have at their core the introduction of headteachers and the successive strengthening of their position: starting from the responsibility for organisation and administration, headteachers in the Canton of Bern now in fact hire teachers and supervise their practices.[4] However, the introduction of the "self-managed school" (which is called *geleitete Schule* in the German-speaking part of Switzerland) reaches far beyond the school as an organisation, as it alters governance relations between cantonal and municipal authorities, as well as governmental rationalities and technologies. Local school boards were made to transfer many of their former duties to the professional school leaders and in turn acquired a vaguely defined "strategic" leadership, which largely acts as a euphemism for their disempowerment (Hangartner & Svaton, 2014). The reorganisation extended the municipalities' steering responsibility and organisational freedom, which widely resulted in the board's subordination to the council. The governance reform thus implies a shift from the earlier democratic logic of public supervision as a counterweight to state control to a concern with leadership and guidance (Criblez, 1992; Hangartner & Svaton, 2015a). The revision of the school law in 2008 encoded the on-going changes of local governance relations, introduced a new rhetoric of self-guiding, using terms like "(self-)steering", "(self-)evaluation", "measurement of results", "quality assurance", or "reporting" and "controlling", and defined new procedures of cantonal school supervision analysed below.[5]

However, the last two decades of reform initiatives do not form a linear path of increasing rationalisation towards a globalised neoliberal governmentality put into force by self-steering subjects, as predicted by governmentality studies. Instead, the changes follow an erratic trajectory: initial reform aspirations were reduced and occasionally inverted – with partly far-reaching and unintended consequences. The particular pathway of reforms reflects the ministry's negotiations with schools and municipalities, experiences in pilot experiments, as well as critical stances against the reform goals within the ministry itself and the changing personal inclinations of successive ministers. The ambiguities can be detected in central NPM-reform policies such as reward for performance, output testing, evaluations or devolution: although the Ministry of Education initially prepared the legal base for the introduction of performance pay for teachers (Schmid, 1999), it has given up this goal and now stresses the importance of a steady salary increase to keep good teachers motivated and in their positions.[6] The aversion against output testing and school rankings within the ministry is publicly known. Instead of testing-regimes, the ministry implemented evaluation-based procedures for improving school quality, which focus on schools' self-evaluations under the supervision of local school boards and cantonal inspectors. Additionally, the revised school law facilitated the setting up of a mandatory external evaluation, which was intended for gradual introduction, initially through a voluntary evaluation service. In the meantime however, the reservations against standardised evaluations have grown not only among teachers but also among politicians and among civil servants in the

ministry itself.[7] The school evaluation unit, which was established at the teacher training college, met with opposition from schools, school boards as well as cantonal inspectors and was closed down only three years after its launch. Moreover, the cantonal funding of a standardised computer tool to encourage school self-evaluations was discarded by the cantonal parliament at the end of the pilot period in 2012, despite its positive evaluation (Siegel & Wyler, 2012). Decentralisation also remains an ambiguous and incomplete undertaking: the ministry has been promising more autonomy to schools and municipalities since the 1990s and has in the meantime indeed augmented municipal responsibility for school finances and quality management – however, without widening the local actors' room for manoeuvre (Hangartner & Svaton, 2015b). On the reform trajectory, the accompanying rhetoric moved from a concern with autonomy to the idiom of self-steering and leadership – while it remains blurry whether the subject of self-steering is the school or the municipality.

PASTORAL MODE OF SUPERVISION

In the following section, we discuss the new process called "controlling", by means of which cantonal inspectors supervise local self-steering. The inspectors are a traditional institution as old as the public school itself. Until the 2008 governance reform, school inspectors were responsible for the pedagogical supervision of individual teachers, while local volunteer school boards acted as general executive authorities. As a consequence of increasing responsibilities delegated to headteachers, the 2008 governance revision also changed the inspectors' mission: they no longer control individual teachers but are now responsible for the supervision of municipal and school's self-steering (Erziehungsdirektion des Kantons Bern, 2010). This new accountability process is called "controlling" and is organised in a three-year cycle with one major examination and two yearly meetings in between. According to the ministry's explanations in the administrative guidelines, the meaning of the German neologism is not limited to control and inspection but encompasses a set of leadership instruments such as planning, goal setting and steering (Erziehungsdirektion des Kantons Bern, 2010, p. 25).

The inspection procedure serves as a focal point for studying governmentality. This occasion gathers together inspectors, school boards or council members and headteachers, all representatives of the main governing corporations, in personal interaction. Participating in these meetings during our fieldwork allowed us to witness the enactment of the hierarchical relationship. Our observations of how inspectors intervened and how local actors gave account of their self-steering activities and the inconsistencies we encountered in these interactions built the starting point for us to conceptualise the particular interlocking of disciplinary and self-technologies. During our fieldwork, we participated in every municipality in the main "controlling" interview as well as in a meeting in the previous or following year. Thus we either followed the preparation or the post-processing of the main interview and in this way observed the supervision as a process. Yet our

insights into the relationship between cantonal inspectors and local school leaders were not restricted to these meetings scheduled in the "controlling" cycle. We followed the meetings in which the inspectors and local actors negotiated the resources of instruction. Furthermore, we attended social events organised by the inspectorate or the ministry for schools and local school authorities. Beyond the observation of interactions in situ, we received local actors' reports on consultations with the inspectors to solve specific problems and their comments on new cantonal regulations.

The following ethnographic vignette gives an insight into the opening of one of these main "controlling" interviews, which took place in a lower secondary school of a provincial town. As in the other controlling interactions we attended during fieldwork, the conversation mainly evolved between the school inspector and the headteacher. The municipal council member responsible for education, who presides over the school board, as well as the senior headteacher, who leads the municipal educational department, join the conversation. This interaction marked the beginning of our fieldwork in this site. The analysis is interested in how governmentality and relations of authority are performed in this interaction.

After the headteacher has removed the empty lunch plates and served coffee, the inspector opens the official part of the conversation by thanking her for the extensive documentation. Then he starts with a review of the visits in four lessons during the morning and first characterises the observed lessons as "good teaching", adding that, with regard to goal orientation, self-organised learning and working techniques, the lessons were "very diverse". One teacher used "purely goal-oriented" instruction, two others at least mentioned objectives, and in the fourth lesson goals were completely missing. He then asks the headteacher whether the lessons are representative of the "state of the school". "Yes", she answers with a despondent voice and explains that she deliberately chose these teachers to show that their stages of development differ and that she understands it as her duty "to push them forward". She ends her statement with "My job is challenging because the teachers are so heterogeneous. I also have the impression that we have a good level of instruction, but not an excellent one". The school board president now points out that she has not seen any students' team-work and asks how instruction can be individualised if students are not encouraged to work with each other. The headteacher admits that the teachers at her school apply open learning arrangements less frequently than those in the primary school, but that such methods are used occasionally. The senior headteacher adds that the primary school is "very open" in contrast to the secondary school which offers "more resistance". The headteacher replies that discipline and classroom management are highly valued at her school and that the teachers are not very courageous about letting the noise level in the classroom rise. The inspector responds that the point is not major transformations but that small strategies could have a big effect in altering the observed "ping-pong" instruction, and he wonders why teachers do not develop such ideas on their own. He then

concludes: "We have seen small beginnings in a strictly conservative framework. The school's spirit of innovation is not high. The aim of the controlling is to give advice on how to stimulate these teachers to become more innovative".

In this conversation the headteacher is both host and examinee. In contradiction to the regulation, the municipal authorities do not give any account to the inspector; the council member positions herself as part of the supervision, and the senior headteacher comments on the school from a comparative perspective. The conversation produces, by several steps of translation, the truth on "the state of the school": it starts by a general appreciation of the observed instruction practices, which is step by step deconstructed by differentiating between teachers, by focussing on techniques that were missing and a dualistic comparison with the primary school to end with a broadside against the school and its teachers. With reference to brief insights of around twenty minutes in four teaching lessons, this interaction produces "the school" as a unified body and equates it with the personality of its teachers as "conservative", "non-compliant" and "non-innovative". The discussion contains a brief moment of differentiation of the observed instruction practices (by the inspector) and of the teachers' "development stage" (by the headteacher). The inspector's question whether the morning's insights represented the "state of the school" initiates the turn to a homogenising critique, despite the headteacher's attempts to bring in the diversity of teachers. The evaluative criteria such as goal-orientation, self-organised learning, or individualised teaching are tossed as catchwords into the discussion, and rather than serving to assess the observed instruction, they evoke the imagery of "innovative teaching" and self-organised learners against which the observed instruction is devalued, without other criteria being considering. The remark that even small strategies could improve instruction seems to sympathetically qualify the new demands at first sight, yet the double-edged message implies that the teachers in this school do not implement even small changes and thus reinforces the general degradation.

The performance of authority and obedience in this examination, reinforced on a nonverbal level by generous gestures of the inspector and a remorseful tone in the answers of the headteacher, points to Foucault's concept of pastoral power. The notion is informed by the priest-shepherd's guidance of the souls of his flock, which is analysed by Foucault as a technique of individualising and totalising subjectivation (Lemke, 2001). Pastoral power demands the constant self-examination of the individual and the obligation to confess to the priest (Blake, 1999, p. 80). This mode of power is based on a power-knowledge of the people's souls and "innermost secrets" (Foucault, 1994, p. 214): "[i]t implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it". Foucault identified in the pastor's care for the salvation of his entrusted individuals in Medieval Christianity one intrinsic root of contemporary governmentality techniques. The concept of pastoral power points to the historical roots of school inspection in the Canton Bern: in the first decades after the release from church authority in the early 1830s, the new public

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schools were still mainly inspected by pastors (Rothen, 2013, pp. 28-29). In his review of the bygone pastoral authority, one of the later professional cantonal inspectors characterised it as "paternalistic"; due to a lack of regulations, every commissioner was free to rule his district as he pleased (Egger, 1879, pp. 60-61). However, confession as a technology of power is also found in present-day education (Fejes & Nicoll, 2015). We transfer the notion of pastoral power into the present-day secular context and use it as inspiration to make sense of the observed supervision practices.

At the beginning of the cited conversation, the examining authorities make their judgements. Nevertheless, the headteacher's contribution is crucial for the production of truth: she is asked to prove that the observations are an appropriate assessment and she acknowledges the judgements, and later on agrees, albeit with attempts to differentiate and to explain, with all the criticisms. The headteacher's confessions authorise the impressions of the inspector and the council, and are thus the constitutive condition for the production of the discursive truth on this school and its teachers. Similar to a religious self-condemnation, the enforced confession constitutes a practice of mortification, which performs the headteacher's obedience to the pastoral authority. The inspector enacts himself as the authority who recognises the personal character of the school's actors and whose mission it is to lead them to an innovative future. The goal of the supervision, as it is disclosed in the last sentence, is not merely to change the instructional practice but, going much further, it aims at altering the very character of the teachers. The examination, with its ritualised humiliation, can be interpreted with Turner (1969) as a rite of passage, which finally sanctions the status of the headteacher. By the pastoral technologies of confession and mortification, the inspector advises and authorises the headteacher to resume the charge for this mission. The headteacher is produced as a small alter ego of the inspectoral authority, who inherits the responsibility to push the development of the teachers forward.

The conversation is enacted as an evaluation of short visits in classes. However, later during the fieldwork we realised that the inspector had a long-standing relationship with the school both as a former teacher and as an inspector over several years. The personal relationship with the school probably encouraged the inspectoral judgements and shaped the conversation and thus constitutes the backbone of the pastoral relationship.

THE INTEGRATION OF SELF-TECHNOLOGIES INTO THE
PASTORAL GOVERNMENTALITY

With the last sentence cited in the vignette above, "The aim of the controlling is to give input on how to stimulate these teachers to become more innovative", the inspector addresses the central problem of neoliberal governmentality, that is "how to administer people for self-mastery" (Ong, 2007, p. 4). In the following section, we discuss how the policyscape of evaluation-based steering with its rationality of self-governing is articulated with the pastoral governmentality detected in the interaction above. First, we briefly outline the relationship as it is circumscribed by

the ministerial guidelines, then we analyse the controlling form and how it integrates self-steering instruments, and last, we analyse an instance from other controlling interviews, to give the argument more empirical depth.

The new guidelines for inspectoral supervision are communicated to the local actors in a document with the long-winded title "reporting of the municipalities and controlling by the regional school inspectorates, implementation aid for municipalities and headteachers" (Erziehungsdirektion des Kantons Bern, 2010). The document describes the process and the duties of local actors in general and includes a questionnaire which serves as a base for the reporting. In the introduction, there is an explanation of the new self-steering responsibility by the municipalities, which includes the inspection of school quality and the initiation of its improvement as well as the reporting to the cantonal authorities. The document mentions that the cantonal supervision is based on local self-steering, without clearly delimiting the boundaries between local self-steering and inspectoral supervision. The description of the inspectors' duties is dominated by the rhetoric of "consulting", formulating the inspectoral tasks as "giving advice, when needed", or "proposing measures". Yet the wording implicitly also points to enforcement, for example when the document states that the inspectors "secure cantonal quality standards" or that they "intervene, if necessary". The regulations thus leave it open to interpretation whether inspectors are to review the formalities of the self-steering process and to render support or whether they are to actively direct school development.

The reporting form comprises a questionnaire for the school to self-assess the implementation of cantonal reforms and the development of the school and instruction practices. Furthermore it demands a documentation of the self-evaluations conducted and measures taken. In preparation for the main "controlling" interview, the headteachers have to fill out the questionnaire and to file pedagogical and organisational concepts and self-evaluations to the inspector. In the observed first three-year cycle, the questionnaire inquired whether the requested concepts for ICT, day care facilities or students' career choice had been implemented. Furthermore, it inquired about the evaluation and feedback practice of the school and of teachers. The new procedure made the use of a "school programme" as a self-steering instrument obligatory. It is a planning tool to define targets and indicators to measure their achievements.[8] The ministry does not guide local actors with an explicit quality definition and standards for school development. Through the kind of questions asked, the questionnaire only implicitly reveals the ministry's expectations: the question concerning school development in the first cycle focused on self-evaluation of instruction practices, the cooperation of teachers and a shared pedagogical commitment, and the idea of self-organised, active learning. With the demand to self-assess the implementation of cantonal requirements and their practices between "excellent" and "poor", the questionnaire translates cantonal expectations into self-declarations. These self-declarations constitute a rationalised, objectified form of confession, which is related to the self-steering governmentality of the evaluation-based policyscape. The instructions neither define standards to be achieved by local quality

management, nor do they delineate the limits of inspectoral supervision or mention instruments for sanctions. Thus the administrative regulations subordinate local self-steering to a supervision endowed with the encompassing authority of the state.

Even though the inspectors (in three out of four cases) sequenced the interview according to the recording form, they did, (with the exception of the interview discussed below) only implicitly refer to the self-declarations of the headteachers. Instead of seriously considering the self-declarations as data, the inspectors reproduced them as personal confessions in the conversation. Remember the interaction discussed above, in which the overall assessment of the school was not based on the school's self-evaluation in the reporting form, but on the basis of the personal insights of the inspector. Thus we identify in the observed interactions an integration of the self-steering technologies into a pastoral governmentality.

To specify the articulation of the pastoral and self-steering rationalities, we discuss fragments of another "controlling" interview. Again, we look at the beginning of the formal interview to analyse the specific contour of the pastoral logic it deploys. Then we discuss how this examination handles the self-steering instruments included in the reporting form. In this case of a small municipality with four school buildings, the inspector did not examine each school separately, as in the example discussed above, but supervised the municipal school organisation as a whole. This reflects the efforts of the municipal school leaders to unite its schools. The interaction mainly evolved between the inspector and the senior headteacher, while the council member responsible for education as well as the two headteachers leading the small comprehensive schools in rural hamlets supported the report of the senior headteacher.

> The inspector starts the conversation by inviting the participants to express their feelings and motivation towards the "controlling". After the local actors have reported on current professional preoccupations in turn, the inspector comments on his visits in classes during the morning. He enthusiastically praises the "competency of the school", shows himself impressed by the "fire" and involvement of the teachers and the "outstanding diversity" of teaching practices. "In some ways", he adds, "this school is also my school. You can be proud". Then, the inspector turns to the reporting form, thanks everybody for the filled-in forms and the documentation and asks how they got along with the form and whether they had not felt "over controlled". The senior headteacher answers that if one had done the homework, the filling in of the form did not take much time, and that it was in her own interest to know where to take action.

With this opening, the inspector embeds the overall assessment of the school in a joint meta-reflection on the examination procedure. By expressing concern about the feelings of the examinees and by asking whether the local actors do not feel "over controlled", the inspector shows not only a generous understanding for the situation of the examinees, but he objectifies the examination, so as to jointly review it from outside. The participants, including the council member, lay open

their professional worries, thus recontextualising the question into the common relationship to their inspector, who in turn enacts pastoral care for his entrusted subjects. The review of the class visits, even though its judgement is far removed from the assessment in the example above, similarly takes the personal insight of the inspector as the basis on which to assess the quality of the school in general. The fact that the inspector calls it "his school" shows that his judgement and his insight are not restricted to this single visit. After the inspector has closely accompanied the school reorganisation with his advice and supervision for several years, he identifies with the school by appropriating it as "his" school. The examination is put at arm's length as a quasi-external necessity, while the relationship between the inspector and the school is characterised by care, personal commitment and pride. Despite this performance of care and identification this inspector subsequently thoroughly worked through the form, conscientiously controlled the implementation of the ministerial regulations and rigorously checked the application of concepts. In the process, the inspector mentioned the self-assessments of the local actors and commented on them or inquired on the subject, and when not satisfied with the answers given, ordered measures to be taken. Below, we look at how this inspector handled the subject of self-evaluation:

> Having arrived at the point "Insights from testing results and evaluations of the municipality/school and measures taken", the inspectors reads out the headteacher's remark that the school had not yet developed a standardised evaluation practice. The inspector asks: "Are you really seeking to establish a standardised evaluation practice?", emphasizing the words "establish" and "standardised". The school board president points to the evaluation tool provided by the ministry, which the school might use in future, while the senior headteacher remembers that the inspector had agreed to postpone this project at the last meeting. She adds that it might be interesting to evaluate the first joint school programme of the municipality. The inspector comments that "It would be worthwhile adapting it to the cantonal controlling", without explaining the remark and thereafter leaves the subject and returns to the subject of evaluations when discussing the questions concerning school development. Looking at the reporting form, he discloses that several questions on the feedback culture within the school are marked as deficient and comments that he understands why, as the school has other priorities. The inspector passes over to general comment on the standardised self-evaluation tool for schools: he criticises that schools upload the survey on a server, which then spits out a statistic that does not reflect what really is at stake in the schools. He proposes to generously skip over these items on the reporting form and promises that the ministry will not prescribe this focus so specifically in the next "controlling" cycle, adding the remark "that the researcher knows that it is not just me who says that".

This conversation takes place only a few weeks after the cantonal parliament has cancelled the further funding of the school evaluation tool. When the inspector first brings up the subject of evaluation, the local actors are obviously not aware of his

critical position; the senior headteacher, supported by the council member, explains their neglect and approaches evaluations as a possible next step in school development. Although the inspector does not yet disclose his personal opinion, he recommends "adapting" the evaluation of the school programme to the up-coming "controlling" cycle. Thus, he asks for the subordination of the school programme and its evaluation as self-steering instruments to the targets to be defined by the ministry in the next supervision cycle. Addressing the subject of evaluation the second time, the inspector openly distances himself from a dominant subject of the reporting form in that period. By announcing that this focus will be abandoned by the ministry, the inspector legitimises his position. The legitimation is not directed towards the local actors, who had declared evaluation an interesting option, but towards the researcher from the teacher training college, whose colleagues have positively evaluated the tool. With this announcement, the inspector discloses that evaluations are a controversial issue within the ministry and that the critical stances have gained prevalence, not only on the political level but also within the administration. The inspector argues that the standardised questionnaire could not detect the real problems in schools. His formulation evokes the school's subjugation to the authority of a technical procedure, implicitly invoking his own personalised guidance, which in contrast is able to recognise the school's real concerns.

This interaction accentuates the integration of self-steering technologies into disciplinary control. This inspector discussed the self-assessments of the reporting form in detail, thus paying credit to the objectified and standardised mode of confession. However, the questionnaire is not only a self-steering tool but at the same time constitutes an instrument of control by means of which the inspector seriously examined the self-steering of local actors. In contrast, he took a stance against standardised evaluations and cleared the local actors of their negative self-assessment of not having built up an evaluation culture. While being critical of self-steering technologies, he nevertheless used them to subject local actors to disciplinary control and pastoral care.

The "controlling" interview which assembles school leaders, municipal and cantonal representatives constitutes the juncture between technologies of domination and self-steering. The ministerial rhetoric, the instruments and the focus of the controlling form all point to the policyscape of self-steering governmentality. In view of the absence of standards to measure school quality, the questionnaire moulds the goals of the ministry into self-declarations of the headteachers. Thus, the standardised confessions of the questionnaire translate the goals set by the ministry into a self-steering rationality, which "guides school development in the desired direction" (Abteilung Schulaufsicht, 2013, p. 3). The interview integrates self-activating technologies such as schools' self-evaluations and school programmes into a pastoral governmentality. In this interaction, the rationalised and objectified confessional technology of the evaluation-based policyscape is reiterated by a personalised pastoral confession. Together, the two distinct technologies of confession foster dutiful subjectivities, which are rewarded with lenient understanding and generous support by pastoral supervision. The

pastoral guidance undermines the municipal self-steering responsibility introduced by the government reform. Although the law appoints the municipalities as accountable to the cantonal authorities, the inspectors address the headteachers in the first instance, integrating the municipal representatives as negligible participants, who either assist the inspectors in their supervision or support the headteachers in rendering their account. It comes as no surprise that the ministry has abandoned the earlier promise of increased municipal self-steering in the meantime. The headteacher as an intermediary between teachers, municipal authorities and cantonal inspectors becomes the mediator between technologies of domination and self-steering. Identified with "the school", the headteacher is adressed as a self-steering subject, who as supervisor of the school's teachers transmits the inconsistent technologies of guiding that are delegated to her by the controlling procedure.

CONCLUSION

These ethnographic glimpses into the conversations by which cantonal inspectors formally supervise public schools in a Swiss canton point to global issues. The insights raise the question of how to conceptualise the global-local nexus within education reforms. Obviously, the example bears witness to the global policyscape transforming school organisation by managerial logic and self-steering technologies. Yet the global policyscape is moulded into particular local contours. In the example of the Canton of Bern discussed here, the governance reforms since the propagation of New Public Management twenty years ago do not form a straight transition from bureaucratic government to a neoliberal governmentality. Instead, the transformations reveal a haphazard pattern of reforms moving back and forth, resulting in a bewildering entanglement of rationalities. We argue that the assemblage subjects the evaluation-based policyscape with its self-steering technologies to a locally-rooted pastoral governmentality. Municipalities and headteachers are instructed to develop their schools on the basis of continuing evaluation and the use of self-steering instruments. When governing local self-steering however, state inspectors enact an authority similar to the priest-shepherd who generously takes care of the individual needs of his flock. Their pastoral guidance is based on their professional experience as former teachers, their intimate insights into the schools' individual needs, long-lasting relationships with local actors, and the enactment of personalised confessions in the interaction. Thus, the intrinsic freedom inherent in self-guiding technologies, which comprises the risk of unexpected local developments diverging from the ministry's goals, is constrained by pastoral guidance.

What has this study with its insight into school supervision in a small country to tell to the global field of comparative education? We propose that it is worth studying not only policies but also the way they are put into practice. If we had focussed only on the new policy instruments, we would have found ample evidence of the introduction of self-steering technologies pointing to the global policyscape. It was only by observing the everyday interactions between inspectors and local

school representatives that we could identify the amalgam of technologies by which the state governs local schools. Furthermore, we suggest looking beyond a dualistic conception of a coherent (global) policy and external (local) resistance to it, and instead tracing the contradictions and inconsistencies within a policy itself. Lastly, we propose approaching global policyscapes as both global and local phenomena. Local elites grasp global policy flows to legitimate their positions in political arenas and integrate selectively chosen policies into their governing technologies. Such assemblages territorialise global flows and mould them to a particular governing culture.

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NOTES

[1]   The chosen field sites contrast two relatively small municipalities (with less than 3,000 inhabitants) representing half the populace with two relatively "big" municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, school organisation in the selected municipalities differs with respect to the extent of hierarchy and integration into the municipal administration (Hangartner & Svaton, 2015a). During a fieldwork period of one and a half years we attended between fifty and seventy governance interactions in each site.

[2]   To give just an obvious example of diverging trajectories: Despite their commitment to harmonise the conditions of elementary schooling, some cantons now intend to change their policy replacing French with English as first foreign language.

[3]   Official media information by the cantonal administration; 5 July 2011. http://www.be.ch/portal/de/index/mediencenter/medienmitteilungen/suche.meldungNeu.html/portal/de/meldungen/archiv/archiv8/mm_9883 (accessed 12.08.2014).

[4]   The compulsory schooling law assigns the responsibility for hiring teachers to the municipal school boards, although it allows the delegation to the headteachers, which has largely happened in recent years.

[5]   Volksschulgesetz des Kantons Bern; updated version is available at: https://www.sta.be.ch/belex/d/4/432_210.html (accessed 12.8.2014).

[6]   See: http://www.fin.be.ch/fin/de/index/direktion/ueber-die-direktion/aktuell.meldungNeu.onemeldungonly.portalnavrrcsubeleme_1.html/portal/de/meldungen/mm/2013/12/20131204_1332_kurzinformation_ausdemregierungsrat (accessed 13.8.2014).

[7]   The political opposition to school evaluations is also increasing in other German-speaking cantons such as Zürich or Luzern.

[8]   The "school programme" in a German-speaking context is not to be confused with the curricula, which is defined by state authorities. The planning tool for school development was introduced in the context of propagation of the self-managed school.

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5. WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF SCHOOL INSPECTIONS?

Functional Determination of School Inspections beyond Control[1]

External school evaluations, also referred to as "school inspections",[2] belong to those few instruments of governance used by educational policy during the last few years, which were at least temporarily introduced in all German states (cf. Bos, Holtappels. & Rösner, 2006; Bos, Dedering, Holtappels, Müller, & Rösner, 2007; Döbert, Rürup, & Dedering, 2008). This seems especially remarkable both against the background of the federal structure of the German educational system and considering that educational political issues in particular are traditionally used for party political profiling and demarcation. It indicates that there is broad agreement over this new steering instrument, and that its purpose is "unquestionable".

Proceeding from this assumption one might conclude that school inspections are a coherent and convincing answer to a major problem in educational policy. The question of "why", i.e. the purpose of school inspections, which is the focus of this contribution, thus would already be answered. From a practical point of view, the identification of a problem, a deficiency or a deficit in the education system may seem to be the starting point for a functional justification of a reform measure in school policy. Consequently the "unquestionableness" and the legitimacy of a reform are measured in particular according to how plausibly this reform promises to treat the problem effectively and as efficiently as possible.

But this idea is questioned from the perspective of organizational theory, for example with reference to the "garbage can model" (cf. Cohen, March, & Osen, 1971), which emphasizes the contingency of intraorganizational decision-making. The study by Tillmann et al. (2008) on the ministerial handling of the PISA results in Germany points in a similar direction; it shows that the numerous and in some instances far-reaching political reactions and reform measures were in no way preceded by a differentiated reception of the PISA results, from which the search for adequate reform measures through an analysis of problems could have been derived. Thus PISA 2000 had an enormous impact in Germany, but not – as defined by the objectives of an evidence-based policy – via the generation of control knowledge, which could have substantiated the decisions on necessary reform measures.

We argue in this contribution that the reasons for school inspections in Germany also do not conform to this practical legitimation logic, conceived as linear and rationalistic. On the contrary, different forms of argument and functional determinations appear to be competing with one another. This does not point to a "construction fault" but rather, in an analytical sense, to a reasonable

implementation and function logic of this steering instrument. The plausibility of this central thesis will be developed in our contribution in two steps: Our first step will be to examine the programmatic presentation of school inspections and the discussion in educational science about this topic; in the process we will identify patterns of legitimation which are not only competing but even appear contradictory, seen from an evaluation perspective: on the one hand, school inspections are interpreted as an answer to the crisis of school supervision and are thus construed as control instruments, and yet on the other hand, a development function is ascribed to them. In our second step, we will reconstruct an example of the interpretation of school inspection by a Ministry official who was in charge of the introduction of school inspections in a German state; using this example we will show that the implementation of this steering instrument is characterized precisely by the figure of conflicting functional determinations and hence by the question of "why" or rather "what for". At the same time, we will work out a functional determination beyond the contradiction of control and development function, which allows interpreting school inspections simultaneously as an answer to the "crisis of school supervision" and as a "development tool" for schools.

FUNCTIONS OF SCHOOL INSPECTIONS FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF EVALUATION THEORY, EDUCATION SCIENCE AND PROGRAMMATICS

School inspections are seen as a mode of external evaluation in Germany. Primarily, evaluations serve as assessments of projects, programs, or organizations: "Evaluation incorporates value judgments" (House & Howe, 1999, p. 5). But decisive for the function of evaluations is the question as to what the use of the obtained results is. Stockmann and Meyer (2010, p. 73) distinguish four different functions of evaluations:
– winning of *insights*;
– initiating of *development and learning processes*;
– exercising of *control*;
– *legitimation* for the implementation of measures, projects, and programs.
According to the authors, these functions are indeed interconnected, but in the case of concrete evaluation projects the specification of a "priority function" is necessary (cf. ibid, p. 75). Klieme goes even a step further: Following Kromrey he describes three evaluation paradigms, taking them as separate evaluation logics, which *must* not be intermingled (cf. Klieme, 2005, pp. 43-45). According to the paradigm of *research*, evaluations are interested in quasi-clarification. They are oriented towards epistemological interests and try to influence the object of evaluation as little as possible. According to the paradigm of *development*, the evaluation is intended to induce measures for improvement, i.e. the object of evaluation is to be "improved". According to the paradigm of *legitimation and control*, accountability comes to the fore; in this case, the evaluation is intended to induce a socially desired behavior according to external specifications: "Here, the decision to implement an evaluation is already an attempt to influence the behavior of all those involved as strongly as possible. A socially desired behavior, which

according to the paradigm of research should be excluded as far as possible , is the underlying program of the paradigm of legitimation and control" (Klieme, 2005, p. 45). According to Klieme it is necessary with regard to concrete evaluation projects to decide on one of the paradigms, in order to avoid conflicts of aims and so as not to endanger the implementation of the evaluation:

> As soon as several purposes are intended to be served by the evaluation simultaneously (e.g. control and development), it becomes difficult to consider the complexity of the existing forces and claims in a design adequately. (…) Contradictory purposes can endanger the success of evaluations in the end; that is why it seems important to recognize the functional entitlement and autonomy of all three paradigms. (ibid., p. 44)

Thus the necessity of the functional positioning of evaluation projects can be derived from evaluation theory. The question is now where the German school inspections locate themselves and where they can be located. With regard to the "historical" formation context of the German school inspections, the introduction of external school evaluations in Germany is associated with the following aspects in the education discourse:

- a "crisis of school supervision" (Maritzen, 2008, p. 88) subsequent to the TIMSS and PISA results, which were perceived as disastrous in Germany;
- *the extended autonomy of individual schools*, i.e. school inspections as a re-centralizing measure of educational policy are quasi the "reverse" of the de-centralizing strategy of "school autonomy" (cf. Maritzen, 2008, p. 87);
- the general idea of an evidence-based governance of the school system (cf. Van Ackeren et al., 2011), in the context of which external school evaluations are conceived – among other measures – as a quasi-scientific procedure in order to gain "governance knowledge" for the educational policy, the educational administration and the schools (cf. Altrichter & Heinrich, 2006).

Against this background and according to the international school inspection discourse (cf. Husfeldt, 2011, p. 262), external school evaluations in Germany could relatively readily be allocated to the paradigm of control and legitimation described by Klieme; especially the first two aspects - namely the "crisis of school supervision" and "school inspections as a re-centralizing tool in the context of school autonomy" - point in this direction. Thus a relatively distinct functional determination of school inspections in Germany may be given, which corresponds to the everyday idea of a linear relationship between a problem and a solution described above: Against the background of a crisis of school supervision, an extended school autonomy and an evidence-based governance of the school system could be legitimated as recentralization measures in education politics, which are to serve as evidence-based control of partly autonomous schools. In the programmatic descriptions of school inspection models, i.e. in the official documents which are used for the communication of the procedures, especially to the schools, such a distinct functional determination cannot be found, however. This will be illustrated below on the basis of two German school inspections.

For a long time the Lower Saxon school inspection was regarded as the most "control-oriented" school inspection system, as it implemented the instrument of follow-up inspection, i.e. a timely review of underperforming schools, which have become subject to certain conditions (cf. Niedersächsische Schulinspektion, August 2010). Against this background it is interesting how the objective of this instrument is formulated in the official statement:

> The main purpose of conducting school inspections in Lower Saxony is to give grounded information, suggestions and impulses for an improvement of the educational work at school. It addresses individual schools as well as school authorities. The focus is on the question of how the quality of schools and education can be improved. The accountability and control functions are subordinated. (Niedersächsische Schulinspektion, n.d.)

Two aspects are especially striking: first of all a twofold function is attributed to school inspections – contrary to Klieme's evaluation theoretical suggestions; the instrument is to assume both control and development functions and thus mingles two different evaluation paradigms. However, the control function is subordinated to the development function. This is the case although the formation context of the German school inspection suggests a control orientation of the instrument, and although the Lower Saxon procedure model, in comparison with the other federal states, corresponds most closely with this control orientation. In other states the emphasis on the development orientation, contrary to expectations, is highlighted more strongly in the official statements. For example, the control function does not appear at all in the target definition of the external evaluation in Baden-Wuerttemberg from 2009:

> The external evaluation fulfills the function of giving the schools external, criteria-based feedback with regard to the 'the school as a system', independent of the school supervision. It is planned long-term with intervals of five years. The external evaluation can be seen as a service of the educational system; with its neutral 'view from outside', it offers a systematic analysis of the organization, the operations and the measures of the school. In this way it is not the individuals but the school as an overall system that is viewed. Revealing the strengths and the areas for improvement, the external evaluation gives impulses for quality development. Thus each school receives additional governance knowledge for its systematic quality development. (Landesinstitut für Schulentwicklung, October 2009, p. 12)

The external evaluation is here entirely in the service of intra-school quality development.[3] With regard to the educational and programmatic, functional ascriptions to school inspection as a whole, the non-linear justification logic for the implementation of the "new" steering instrument school inspection, postulated in the introduction, seems to occur on this level; instead of accounting for it with the deficit of school control, which had become obvious in view of the results of international large scale assessments, the instrument is attributed in a programmatic perspective both with a control and a development function. However, the control

function is minimized or not dealt with. On the basis of a review of the conceptions of different German inspection models, Maritzen (2006) also comes to the conclusion that school inspections in Germany are mainly characterized by a "functional mix" (p. 9).

With regard to the programmatic descriptions of school inspection, a distinct functional determination by which both the diagnosis and the solution of a problem are linearly connected does not exist. Maritzen offers two explanations for this: first of all the function mix indicates conceptual uncertainties, according to him, and thus it is difficult to define distinctive features of external school evaluations and to distinguish this tool from other steering instruments of educational policy in the framework of an evidence- resp. evaluation-based governance of the school system, or from other governance actors:

> This mixture of functions can be taken as a hint that there are still considerable uncertainties with regard to the aims of school inspections at the moment. It is typical of this situation that the same aims are applied to several further measures of quality and standards assurance. It seems to be difficult to describe the aims, functions and benefits of school inspections in a differentiated manner, to distinguish them conceptually, and to specify them among other methods. (Maritzen, 2006, p. 9)

But this argumentation seems to be in need of explanation itself; the question is then why a steering instrument is introduced without anyone knowing the purpose it should serve. The second interpretation the author offers seems to be more plausible from the point of view of daily routine and to be more obvious. Here Maritzen interprets the programmatic ambiguity of the steering instrument of school inspection as a political and administrative implementation strategy: "The vaguer the objectives stay, the bigger is the probability that projects posing as innovative are accepted" (Maritzen 2006, p. 9). In this reading, the functional ambiguity on the programmatic level, in combination with the overemphasis on the rather "soft" functions, is profoundly functional with regard to the acceptance of the instrument by school actors. The goals defined in the context of the official descriptions of the school inspection models are then not "real" goals, but the expression of a conscious strategic attitude of the responsible steering actors.

But possibly the functions and paradigms that are described in evaluation theory fall short with regard to the case of the German school inspections. Thus in the education discourse a further function of school inspections is mentioned, which seems to run across the functions described in evaluation theory and which is called the *normative function* by Burkard (2005). This function is based on a cross-school concept of quality that is conveyed in the context of school inspections by quality tableaux:

> Inspections are oriented towards a cross-school concept of quality, which is –
> if needed – specified within the frame of the inspection plan by standards,
> criteria, or optionally by universally applicable indicators to judge the quality
> of schools. At this level, the evaluation has a steering effect on the

educational work by transporting these standards and ideas of quality. The quality frame, which is taken as a basis by the external evaluations, can be used not only in the run-up to the inspections, but also as orientation for the continuous internal quality development of schools, e.g. for the conception of internal evaluations. (Burkard, 2005, pp. 89-90)

Unlike with the control and legitimation paradigm, the focus here is not control of compliance with given norms and standards *by* the school inspection, but the introduction of new norms and standards *qua* school inspection:[4] School inspection is based on ideas of good schools and of good teaching, which are formulated in so-called quality frameworks and which have to be recognized as mandatory and be adopted by the school actors in the course of the procedure. The normative function thus points to an effect logic of school inspections, which works independently of a control or development-oriented use of the inspection *results*. To sum up: in the perspectives presented above, different functional determinations of school inspections are given (reaction to the crisis of school supervision vs. impulse for school development), each of which has plausibility. An overall view of the perspectives, however, reveals contradictions which cast the functional determinations into doubt again and which provoke the question anew: What is the purpose of school inspections?

WHAT'S THE PURPOSE OF EVALUATIONS? RECONSTRUCTION OF AN INTERVIEW WITH A MINISTRY OFFICIAL

In the following section, on the basis of the interpretation of school inspections by a Ministry official who is responsible for school inspections, we will show that the question "why" informed the introduction of this steering instrument right from the beginning. The reconstruction of passages from the interview with this actor aims at the elaboration of a functional determination that, so that the contradiction of the divergent functional determinations appears in a different light.

The results presented have been arrived at by means of the reconstructive method of Objective Hermeneutics (Oevermann, 2000; Wernet, 2009). This method is based on an extensive, sequential interpretation of texts. Its goal is the reconstruction of latent meaning structures, i.e., those contents of texts which lie beyond the subjectively intended meaning of statements and which the producers of the texts are not necessarily conscious of.[5]

The reconstruction of this approach is based on some short extracts from an interview with an actor working in the administration of a German state, B.[6] In the context of the opening question of the interview after the first encounter with external evaluations, B. focuses straight away on the under-determination of the new instrument of governance described above:

Well, evaluation, erm (…) my first (…) notice of external evaluation (…) was actually the question external evaluation what for? What's the purpose? Erm (…) and in the end these were the first decisions which had to be made in this state (…).

At this point, the retrospective description of the first confrontation with the implementation of external evaluations can only be made in broad outlines and, as measured by the chosen sequence-analytical method, only in an extremely abbreviated form.

It can be recognized immediately that the vagueness of the instrument, resulting from the ambiguous determination of its function, is reproduced in the speaker's perception in a pronounced form. In the question "What for" a decided doubt about the meaningfulness of external evaluations is expressed, too: The insertion "actually" marks a questioning of the meaning, according to the phrase: *What is the point of that?* At the same time, it becomes obvious that B. feels compelled to answer the question about the meaning productively, to a certain extent neglecting his doubts about the meaningfulness: There he comes to the first decisions, which "had to be made in this state". Characterizing these decisions as "the first" ones, the necessarily connected preceding decision, i.e. to implement the external evaluation, is blanked out. The implementation of the external evaluation is thus conceptualized as a fact not to be challenged.

This brings B. into an ambivalent situation: He cannot, in consideration of his doubts about the meaning of the undertaking, withdraw to the position of a bureaucrat merely executing the demands, confining himself to the execution of administrative directives. Instead, he has to grapple with the question of the purpose, in a constellation excluding a negative answer to the question. The external evaluation must be queried with regard to whether it makes any sense but at the same time it must not be questioned.

The highly binding character of the question "What for" sharpens these circumstances: B. does not say that *he had to give thought to the question "What for"*. But a decision was required, which had to be "rendered" – analogously to a judicial decision. This points to an increased duty to state reasons, which accompanies the introduction of external evaluations and refers to a decided legitimation need. In the end, B.'s task seems to be to satisfy the legitimation need. Let us have a look at an extract from the further statements in order to see how B. meets this demand:

> erm, so we have actually (…) distanced ourselves very explicitly from inspections, and we have said that we really want an (…) external evaluation for the schools, with feedback to be owned by the schools and which ought to help the schools (…) to develop further.

Firstly, it proves true that the Ministry official does not distance himself from the external evaluation, in contrast to the doubts mentioned above. Instead there is a clear positioning, which requires an appropriate identification with the new instrument of governance. This identification is located along a continuum, which ranges from "inspections" at one end to "feedback to be owned by the schools" at the other. In this context, there must obviously be a special emphasis on the rejection of the inspection model. The rejection points to a corresponding distrust, against which B. is operating here, as the inserted "very explicitly" indicated, along with the word "really", used shortly afterwards. A certain reasonableness of this

distrust is insinuated by the word "actually", introducing and relativizing the statement. This indicates that the very explicit distancing was not so explicit in the end.

What is it fundamentally all about? As can be seen from the depiction of the feedback model, it differs profoundly from the inspection model, with regard to the ownership rights of the results. The feedback is to be owned by the schools. In contrast, the term "inspection" points to a control function – at least by associating "high stake models" like the school inspections in England. Here, the controlling authority has ownership of the results. The results thus serve the assessing institution, not the assessed.

In the case of the feedback model, the assessment character is omitted for the schools. By stating the intent to establish this model, B. announces to the actors concerned that an external evaluation will be without control or assessment character.

Beyond the question of how far this fundamental decision can really be found consistently in the conception of the external evaluation, it can be seen that the decision about the purpose of the external evaluation, and thus about its dominating function, is justified with the acceptance by those actors, and they are obviously decisive from the perspective of the administration. An external evaluation which has no control character faces few objections here. But it seems to be debatable at the same time to what extent this conception will meet opposition from other groups of actors. As we will see below, the explicit positioning in the programmatics of the external evaluation, which was co-developed by B., is opposed to the interests of the school authorities:

> the school authorities erm (…) were indeed (…) not very convinced of this proceeding with regard to school evaluations, but they preferred actually (…) this administrative approach from their point of interest. Erm, now they have landed on this level because of their involvement in the evaluation, the external evaluation, they have of course still an administrative interest, naturally with regard to their function (…) but they can also see which potentials for the schools result from, erm, (…) the evaluation itself, even in the run-up to the evaluation (…) erm, and there is also (…) a certain constraint behind it (…) to give thought to it, erm (…) such as 'What am I actually doing at my school? As a principal. How do I actually develop quality here? What are actually my records and my goals?'

In B.'s perception, the problem of contradictory functions depicted above reproduces itself as a conflict of interests between actors of the school authorities and actors at school. While the acceptance of the latter is to be won through promoting the feedback model and clearly repudiating the control function, the school authorities appear to want to use the external evaluation as a new instrument of control, as defined by the assumption about the crisis of the school supervision. For our context, it is interesting how B. meets this interest: On the one hand, the feedback model deprives the school authorities of the option to use the external evaluation for controlling the schools they are responsible for. On the other hand

they are promised that the evaluations will develop a control function beyond the evaluation results: The confrontation of the principals with the fact of being evaluated alone might initiate school development processes. B. ascribes a great reliability to this control impact, connecting the situation of an upcoming external evaluation with a "constraint" to "give thought to it". The external evaluation constrains the principal to consider: "What am I actually doing at my school?" and: "How do I actually develop quality here?" Thus, it induces a behavior which the principals are not explicitly urged to adopt. This "constraint" as desired and predictable control impact emerges independently of the evaluation results – and thus independently of the concrete answers to the question "What for?", which are so vital for B. The result is that the impact lying in the interest of the school authorities and the assurance for the schools that they will have ownership of the evaluation results are compatible. To put it simply: because of the reliable control impact of the evaluation there is no need for the kind of control the results might serve, from the perspective of the school authorities. Precisely because the issue of control via evaluation is broached to the schools – primarily to the principals – and because the reassurances depicted above refer to this issue and thus enforce the focus, the control impact which is claimed in regard to the school authorities may operate.

With regard to the objective, i.e. the principals' expected and hoped for behavior in preparation for the external evaluation, the parallels to B.'s own dealings with the external evaluation strike one immediately: Firstly, the outward framing converges. Just like B., principals are confronted with the external evaluation, whether they like it or not. This confrontation leads them to recapitulate *what they will actually do at their school and what goals they have*. As a positive development, the evaluation leads an individual principal – just like B. – to work on the question "What for?" Thus, the logic of adaptation reproduces itself insofar as the principal can obviously dismiss the question about goals, induced by the external evaluation, as little as B. can dismiss the question about the meaning of the external evaluation. At the same time, principals cannot just let the external evaluation wash over them. Rather, it constrains them to reflect and define the goals of their school. It becomes obvious that B. makes the structural logic of his own administrative practice, which is, for its part, contextualized by a specific tension between the impotence of decision-making and accountability, a benchmark of success for the practice of principals and furthermore a successful model for school development. Without appearing with a personally motivated programmatic or a personal credo at any point, his reference to the situation transports latently – and thus perhaps especially potently – a specific administrative strategy with regard to school practice. In order to function, this transmission must at least not appear as a function of the external evaluation to the actors at school.

FUNCTIONAL DETERMINATION OF SCHOOL INSPECTION BEYOND CONTROL

This look at the educational science discussion and at the programmatic descriptions of school inspections has clearly revealed that the boom of this

steering instrument, which has only recently been implemented in Germany, is by no means based on an unambiguous functional determination. From the perspective of evaluation theory, the statement of the function mix (Maritzen, 2006) and especially the conception of school inspections as an answer to the crisis of school supervision on the on hand, and as a development tool on the other, indicate both questionableness and inconsistency. In the programmatic descriptions these flaws are dealt with by an emphasis on the development function. This can also be found in the reconstructed reference of a Ministry official, who also rejects the implementation of school inspection as a control instrument. This smoothing strategy conflicts with Maritzen's approach to interpreting the functional ambiguity as an implementation strategy, at least with regard to the establishing of sufficient acceptance among the school actors. Modifying this idea of a strategic justification of the ambiguity one could only argue that the emphasis on the development function conceals a factual element of control. The criticism would then be that a factual use of inspection as a control instrument is concealed. The case reconstruction suggests an alternative interpretation, which allows one to "read" school inspections both as an answer to the "crisis of school supervision" and as a development instrument. While school inspection is intended to serve school development on the manifest level, which is ensured by the transfer of the entitlement of ownership to the schools, the same steering instrument serves the school supervision on a latent level. The structural logic of this steering function, however, corresponds less to that of control (underpinned by sanctions) than to the normative function identified by Burkard (2005): As stated above, this functional determination differs from the functions dealt with otherwise, as it does not refer to the results of the inspection. Burkard regards, rather, the establishment of a quality framework – as normative criteria for good teaching and good schools – as a function of school inspection. Making these criteria the basis for the external evaluation, the school actors are advised to adopt them as criteria for the judgment of their own practice. With regard to this consideration, the functional determination which becomes visible in the case reconstruction accentuates the special form of B's reference to his own practice: From the Ministry official's point of view, the school inspection forces the school principals to deal with their school and with the question of its development in a certain way. This is characterized by a reflection on development goals, which necessitates an explication of these goals and which then becomes the starting point for the implementation of a kind of quality development. This program can be regarded as an answer to the "crisis of school supervision", since it initiates intra-school development without resorting to traditional and administrative measures like regulatory provisions and control, which in the meantime are questionable. At the same time, these intra-school developments assume a shape that becomes visible for the school supervision, since goals and concepts are formulated and explicated in the form of systematized quality development. As revealed in the reconstruction by the homology between the Ministry official's reference to school inspection and the constructed reaction of the principals, a better connectivity between both the administrative and the intra-school logic of action is established in this manner.

Interpreted this way, school inspections are an answer to the "crisis of school supervision", since they have no control function and thus do not reproduce the old forms of bureaucratic steering that have come into crisis. Against this background, the emphasis on the development function, which automatically raises suspicion that a school inspection actually serves as control, proves to be highly functional with regard to implementation. Precisely because the question of whether school inspections are conducive to control or to development is discussed, not least in educational science debates, the elaborated normative function can be effective, especially as it does not appear manifestly.

NOTES

[1] We would like to thank Sylvia Schütze for translating our text into comprehensible English.

[2] The labeling of this governance tool varies in the German states and also in the scientific discussion. In this chapter, the terms "school inspection" and "external school evaluation" are used synonymously.

[3] It is interesting that meanwhile the originally "control oriented" model in Lower Saxony has been abandoned in favor of a "discourse oriented" model, which abstains from a follow-up inspection (Hoffmeister, Homeier, & Till 2013).

[4] This idea has already been suggested by Klieme's paradigm of evaluative control and legitimation; nevertheless it seems to be reasonable to us to discriminate more distinctly between control function and normative function, precisely because they follow different logics.

[5] For a detailed description of the procedure and a methodological rationale, see Dietrich (2014).

[6] The empirical material originates from more than 120 interviews conducted for the cooperative research project "School Inspection as Governance Incentive for School Development" (funding code 01JG1001A-D) and for the follow-up-survey 'Functions of School Inspections: the Generating of Knowledge, Knowledge-based School Development and Legitimation' (funding codes 01JG1304A-B), both funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). All names were anonymized in the context of the study. In order to protect the interviewee, both the naming of the federal state and a more precise description of the Ministry official's position were dispensed with.

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Section III

Governing Teachers and Teacher Education

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6. GOVERNING TEACHERS

*Professional Development and Curriculum Reform in the
Republic of Cyprus*

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we examine official policy discourse and practices that were formed during the recent curriculum reform effort (initiated in 2004) in the Republic of Cyprus to trace how teachers were governed in this period (2004-2013). Drawing on the Foucauldian notion of governmentality, we explore some of the techniques of governing and self-governing that were put in place at the introduction and for the implementation of new curricula. As these techniques emerged primarily in the official discourse regarding teachers' professional development (PD) over the early years of introduction and implementation (2010-2013), rendering PD a key technology of governing, we argue that a 'governmentalisation of PD' occurred, making it a matter of both governance and self-governance. More particularly, the state challenged notions of teachers as technocrats and public servants and reconstituted them as self-directed "professionals" responsible for their PD. At the same time, working centrally though from a distance, it controlled their time, space, and PD content as well as PD at the school level through new experts. This way the state remained central – yet less visible. As similar shifts have been observed across national contexts (e.g. Priestley, Minty, & Eager, 2014; Simons & Kelchtermans, 2008; Stickney, 2012), we utilise the case of Cyprus to discuss PD, in the context of curriculum reform, as a governing technology towards curriculum implementation.

We draw on governmentality studies to unpack the political rationalities of the reform, as evidenced not only in policy documents produced during the decade (what Stenson [2005] called 'discursive governmentality'), but also on the more concrete 'art of governing', i.e. through the practices described and enacted during the reform, and the social relations in which these documents were produced and embedded. McKee (2009, p. 3) notes the need for a focus on both "the *discursive field* in which the exercise of power is rationalised – that is, the space in which the problem of government is identified and solutions proposed; and the actual *interventionist practices* as manifest in specific programmes and techniques in which both individuals and groups are governed according to these aforementioned rationalities" (Lemke, 2001). A narrow focus on the discursive approach indeed ignores the 'messiness of realpolitiks', assumes as well as reinforces a top-down conceptualisation of power, and ignores the fact that governmental programmes

and strategies are themselves internally contradictory, in motion, and capable of change (McKee, 2009). Choosing to view the educational reform as such a governmental programme, and the curriculum reform and related PD as such a governmental strategy, is thus enabled through Foucault's notion of 'govenmentality' and his position that 'the exercise of power is a "conduct of conducts" and a management of possibilities' – a governing instantiated in the structuring of possible fields of action of others (Foucault, 1982/2001, p. 341). A governmentality perspective enables us to understand the 'art of governing', then, as encompassing any deliberate and calculated regulation of human conduct towards particular ends. It also allows us to avoid a narrow focus on the study of the institutions or the political power of the state and to ascribe a more comprehensive meaning of governing along a 'continuum' from 'governing the self' to 'governing others' (Lemke, 2001), from 'addressing problems of self-control through private acts of self-governance to regulating the conduct of other individuals or groups' (Lemke, 2000, p. 7).

Foucault (1977/2001, 1978/2001) suggested that governing entails the governance of both populations and individuals, given that different techniques are utilised to control and direct "the very fact of life" and to facilitate the 'incorporation' of power by individuals themselves. His governmentality lectures thus focused on how individualising technologies, central to the formation of subjectivities, and totalising technologies, targeting populations as large collectivities, are in interplay (Amos, 2010), arguing that centralised governance and self-governing intertwine. This, according to Lemke (2001), makes it impossible to study technologies of power without an analysis of the underpinning political rationalities, or, as Bevir (2010) put it, without 'the study of the mentalities of rule in which power is rationalized, the policies and technologies through which these mentalities get translated into organized practices, and so the production of the subjectivities associated with these technologies' (pp. 438-439; see also Gillies, 2008). From a governmentality perspective, therefore, the constitution of the subject has been linked to the formation of the state, since technologies of the self have been linked to technologies of domination, and indeed formed *alongside* technologies of domination (such as discipline), so that to fulfill the ends of government, subjects are created to self-regulate rather than merely obey (Rose et al., 2006), even investing and finding pleasure in their self-discipline (Raby & Domitrek, 2007).

In this study, we utilised a governmentality perspective to trace how teachers were governed through technologies of domination and of self-governance during the reform and especially during the introduction and initial phases of curriculum implementation, by analysing both official documents produced over the past ten years (2004-2013) as well as particular practices concerning teachers' PD described in them. Data sources for the analysis included official policy texts that described and contributed to the realisation of the educational reform and curriculum change, as well as other official documents that described supporting practices. These included the PD of primary school teachers, the emphases and goals of different school years, and the annual guidelines for the functioning of

schools. They were collected according to the year of their publication and significance for delineating the notion of teachers as 'autonomous professional pedagogues[1]'. Multiple readings of the documents, which focused not only on discourse but also on related practices, aimed at unpacking the political rationalities that rendered PD for curriculum change a key technology of governing teachers as professionals who were to be governed and self-governed.

The analysis was also guided by the notions of technologies and techniques; though the terms were used by Foucault interchangeably, we have used technologies as a broader term encompassing a number of techniques. Below, we thus focused on three techniques which have proved most relevant to our analysis as, in their assembling and simultaneous unfolding, they rendered PD a technology of governing. Namely, these three techniques were: the management of time, space, and PD content; PD decentralisation at the level of the school unit through the classification of teachers; and the framing of PD as self-development. Though interrelated, the first two have been analysed as technologies of domination, and the third as a technology of the self. The identification of these techniques and technologies is in accordance with other analyses of social practices and institutions that rested on a governmentality perspective, where the meticulous regulation of time, disciplining of space, the coordination of people's actions and their classification into sub-groups/classes were found to be key for increasing efficiency and also for warranting individuals' control by others (e.g. Jardine, 2010). As some of these sub-groups/classes in our analysis were found as expected by the state to govern teachers through PD *in lieu* of the state, we further drew on governance literature discussing the decentralization of the state, especially Karlsen's (2000) notion of 'decentralised centralism'. This points towards the delegation of tasks and responsibilities by the state, but does not involve a real shift of power. Such a shift occurs, he argued, with decentralization as devolution and involves the transmission of authority and real responsibility from central to local bodies. Finally, as this delegation referred not only to schools, but also to each and every teacher, since their PD was construed as self-development, we accounted for this technique as an example of responsibilisation (as a technology of self-governance; Rose et al., 2006), through which teachers were made into particular types of professional subjects and were (self)governed as individually responsible for their own PD – yet by centrally-defined notions of teacher professionalism.

TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM, PD AND (SELF)GOVERNING

The material effects of the governing of teachers through definitions of their professionalism are evident in studies of both policy texts and teachers' experiences of policy reforms across national contexts. Analyzing a governmental mandate for teachers to report students' overall achievement in Alberta, Canada, and a decree to govern teacher education in Flanders, Belgium, Brooks (2009) and Simons and Kelchtermans (2008) respectively conclude that such practices change teachers' professionalism by reframing their autonomy and constraining their freedom. As Brooks (2009) points out, teachers are free to choose as long as they

stay within the confines of the policy; and, as Simons and Kelchtermans (2008) maintain, teachers' freedom and responsibility to teach, based on their own knowledge and expertise, is replaced by normative ideals of responsiveness, flexibility within given boundaries, and effectiveness defined against externally imposed standards.

Critiques on the discourse of teachers' accountability (e.g. Beck, 2008; Day & Sachs, 2004; Hargreaves, 2010), as well as recent discussions on the introduction of professional standards for teachers (e.g. Bourke & Lidstone, 2014) also conclude that teachers are currently re/de-professionalised and reconstituted primarily as responsive, compliant and adaptive professionals (Sachs, 2001; Vongalis-Macrow, 2007; Wilkins, 2010). The prioritisation of teachers' compliance and adaptability may be further understood as governing from a distance (e.g. Beck, 2008). This is a type of governing that depends not only on overt signs of control, including the greater observation and supervision of teachers (e.g. Stickney, 2012), but also on the ways teachers' constrained freedom becomes both the effect and the instrument of power, while their compliance renders them intelligible as subjects and thus becomes desirable (Brooks, 2009; Leaton & Whitty, 2010).

The notion of teacher compliance also features in analyses of forms of PD through a disciplinary or a governmentality perspective (Hodge & Harris, 2012; Simons & Kelchtermans 2008). For example, in his analysis of how education reforms may be seen in terms of power relations within a form of governance, Stickney (2006) discusses PD as a mechanism for pushing teachers to conform to 'new reform' by simply having them believe in its value without subjecting it to processes of inquiry. Given that teachers are expected to conform to educational change, often portrayed as a 'paradigm shift in education', by 'suspending reason and deliberation of evidence' (p. 332) and by taking a leap of faith, PD operates as a mechanism through which this expectation is promoted and facilitated. Following this mentality, PD, then, becomes a mechanism of control which fails to allow for teachers' critical reflection in relation to the epistemological foundations of the reform itself. It also fails to allow for the kinds of (teacher) subjectivities (*and* notions of teacher professionalism and, therefore, teacher autonomy) that are promoted through particular PD practices (see also Simons & Kelchtermans, 2008).

TEACHERS AS PROFESSIONALS IN THE GREEK-CYPRIOT CONTEXT

Teachers in the Republic of Cyprus have been traditionally regarded as public servants, implementers of decisions taken by others, and/or technocrats. According to Persianis (2010), teachers have been denoted as such since 1929 when the title of public servants was first accorded to them in recognition of their expertise whilst simultaneously subjecting them to the then British colonial government. Teachers' submission to a centralised government, especially in regard to curriculum planning and decision-making, was furthered through the Law for Elementary Education first passed in 1959 and later reinforced through the unofficial

consolidation of the Regulations on the Functioning of Public Elementary Schools (2008-2012). These regulations explicitly state that the curriculum and timetables are defined by the decision of the Council of Ministers following the recommendation of the MoEC. While it is also mentioned that the school principal is responsible for overseeing the implementation of approved curricula, no reference is included in regard to teachers' engagement with the curriculum apart from their responsibility to teach at a grade level assigned to them by the school principal.

Over the years, teachers continued to be governed in a centralised educational system through a multiplicity of techniques that affirmed the central position of the state through the identification of the MoEC as its policy-making, administrative, and (educational) law enforcing body (Kyriakides & Campbell, 2003; Pashiardis, 2004). In this system, control over teachers has/had been exerted through the prescription and provision by the Ministry of curricula, materials, and PD, as well as through the regulation of teacher appointments, secondments, transfers, promotions and disciplining by Ministry services and commissions (e.g. Pashiardis, 2004). Such techniques, combined with the regular distribution by the Ministry of yearly objectives, guidelines, and numerous circulars on different matters, have governed the minutiae of teachers' professional lives and narrowed their autonomy over teaching, the curriculum and in the broader educational system.

Similarly, PD has traditionally been formed as a state-initiated, centralised practice that has usually taken the form of 'experts' delivering information at 'off-site' meetings (Karagiorgi & Lymbouridou, 2009) and has taken little consideration of individual and school needs, being 'supply-driven' rather than demand-oriented (Karagiorgi & Symeou, 2006, p. 53; see also Karagiorgi & Symeou, 2007; Nicolaidou, 2010). With much of official PD taking the form of optional seminars organised and offered primarily by the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute, for most teachers in Cyprus PD is identified with participation in workshops, held mostly outside school time and aiming at informing them of topics determined as relevant and important by others (Karagiorgi & Symeou, 2007).

Teachers have reported exactly such techniques as sources of job dissatisfaction, especially the centralization as manifested through their evaluation and promotion processes (e.g. Zembylas & Papanastasiou, 2006). However, they have also been found to have been influenced by official policy discourse and school inspectors, especially during periods of curriculum change (Kyriakides, 1997). And they have failed to see themselves as leaders, since they perceived the systemic structures of their context as being in opposition to their own potential (Nicolaidou, 2010). In underlining the importance of centrally-organised seminars, teachers actually recognised the state – rather than themselves – as responsible for their development. This is a finding that Karagiorgi (2012) attributed to the positioning of teachers as civil servants in a highly centralised system, unable to view themselves as autonomous professionals.

It was thus quite different to teachers' historical experience that their narrowed autonomy was officially castigated by the state through its Educational Reform Committee (ERC), whose Report was published in 2004 to launch the

comprehensive reform of the Greek-Cypriot educational system. In this Report, it was stated that 'the Cypriot educator is not considered, confronted or rewarded as an autonomous or relatively autonomous professional-pedagogue (professional), but rather as a public "servant/officer", as an implementer of decisions made by others, as a technocrat educator' (MoEC, 2004a, p. 16; the word 'professional' in parenthesis appears in English in the original Greek quote). Compared to the past, this seemingly constituted a rhetorical and discursive rupture; yet, as we argue in this chapter, it has served as a façade for technologies of domination *and* of self-governance, both assembled to materialise the proclaimed broader state vision of the educational reform for a democratic and humane education for all.

Strategies to realise this vision culminated in the review and/or development of new subject-area curricula, which were introduced in 2010 and have been gradually implemented since 2011. The introduction (2010-2011) and gradual implementation of those curricula (2011-2013) was supported by different practices overseen by the centrally appointed Committee for the Promotion of Curricula, with PD being central in this process. Given its centrality, we understood PD as a key technology of governing the teaching body *during* and *for* the curriculum reform, and we focused in this study on some of the techniques through which teachers were thereby governed and self-governed towards change.

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TEACHERS' GOVERNING AND SELF-GOVERNING THROUGH
PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

</div>

The analysis presented in this section provides evidence of the ways official discourse and policy practices constituted teachers as subjects who were governed and were expected to be self-governed. PD here can be seen as a key technology of governing since, in the context of the reform, PD was presented as one of the cornerstones of the successful implementation of the reform, and as essential for the realization of the ideal of the 'professional pedagogue'. As stated in the ERC Report, 'teacher education and PD is one of the crucial parameters that greatly affect the efficiency of an educational system' (MoEC, 2004a, p. 91). By focusing on PD as a technology of governing, we examined the rationalities that undergirded PD policies and practices in order to understand how these operated in ways which came to guide teachers' actions along particular lines and towards particular ends. We thus identified both technologies of domination and technologies of the self and discuss the former through two techniques of governing: the management of time, space and PD content; and the decentralisation of PD at the level of the school unit through new experts. We end our analysis by discussing the latter (technologies of the self) through the technique of PD as self-development.

Managing Time, Space, and PD Content

In official discourse and practice the technique of managing PD content and teachers in time and space ensured that the MoEC, through domination, reached all teachers *across geographical locations at the same time*. This was realised initially

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through mass seminars organised by the MoEC (December 2010-January 2011) and later through centralised, mass and selective in-service training. For this to happen, the teaching professional body was summoned through the bringing together of teachers' individual bodies at the same working time (during school time) and place (in specific schools without students, in all districts) to gain knowledge of the new curricula. The geographical and temporal coverage of PD was ensured through repeated circulars with elaborate instructions on teachers' attendance of the initial informative sessions and later PD practices (e.g. Αρ. Φακ.: 7.1.02.7.2.1, 10.12.2010[2]; Αρ. Φακ.: ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 10.12.2010). In regard to the former, a sort of rotating program was adopted to manage time during three PD-designated days, whereby schools were organised in 32 groups which were further divided into two groups of 16 schools, each latter group receiving a certain part of the programme. This allowed the rotation of inspectors, academics, and ministry officials/representatives who led PD from one group of schools to the other across the three-day program (Αρ. Φακ.: ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 10.12.2010). That this constituted part of the technologies of governing as domination is confirmed by the fact that the provision of PD during those designated days had been approved by the Council of Ministers following the MoEC's submission of a proposal that PD was to be offered during official school time (Αρ. Φακ.: 7.1.02.7.2.1, 10.11.2010). As the MoEC managed time and thereby controlled teachers' conduct, it was simultaneously itself governed by an administrative body that was positioned higher up the hierarchical ladder of the state apparatus.

Fragmentation of school knowledge into distinct subject areas became the focus of PD content and operated as a component of the managing technique in the governing of teachers. This was achieved by using school knowledge as a criterion for structuring and grouping teachers, by providing PD seminars according to the subject area, with some being offered to all teachers and others on a selective basis (Αρ. Φακ. ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 26.10.2010; Αρ. Φακ. ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 10.12.2010), and by delineating separate implementation plans per subject area (MoEC, 2011a). From a governmentality perspective, such knowledge fragmentation was deployed to control what counted as valued knowledge and who counted as its legitimate holder, with implications as to what constituted professional learning, for whom and for what purpose, in turn with significant ramifications for the kinds of professional subjectivities that could possibly emerge in this context.

Managing time, space and PD content as a governing technique ensued also in later phases of PD provision, with the addition of PD-designated days over the three years of the new curricula introduction and gradual implementation, and with the guideline that in-service training would combine centralised with decentralised school-based PD (e.g. Αρ. Φακ. ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 06.11.2012). For this purpose, the 'Educator's Two-Day' was established (again, with the approval of the Council of Ministers – Αρ. Φακ.: Π.Ι. 7.7.09.16/ 7.1.02.7.2.1, 31.7.2012) to denote the designation of two days in the first week of September for teachers' PD: one for centralised in-service training and one for school-based PD, in accordance with teachers' interests and needs. As stated in a circular providing guidelines for the Educator's Two-Day, 'school administration [διεύθυνση] in collaboration with the

associated inspector w[ould] organise a PD program for their personnel [i.e., teachers] (presentations of articles or prepared/ready presentations on *the new syllabi for the different subject-areas, the philosophy of the new curricula*, the adoption of good practices for the improvement of the educational practice, etc.)' (Αρ. Φακ. Π.Ι. 7.7.09.16/ 7.1.02.7.2.1, 31.7.2012; emphasis added). Once again, this practice re-affirmed the centralised state apparatus that governed teachers' time by re-configuring school time as time without students yet for the education of teachers. This operated on a dual plane: it opened up the possibility of principals and teachers actively engaging in decision-making regarding their PD at the school level, while simultaneously constituting them as bodies who were governed and self-governed in terms of how the content of their training was to be linked to centrally-decided emphases and principles of the new curricula.

The rendering of the school unit as the focus of state attention (see section below) appears consistent with a commitment to decentralise and democratise education by devolving more power to school units through the school principals (MoEC, 2004a). Yet rather than leaders of a 'decentralised' centre who exercised leadership in assessing and responding to the school unit's particular needs, principals became managers, *in lieu* of the state, of a teaching body who needed to be governed so as to be aligned with centralised forms of knowledge (i.e. the new curriculum) and who became governable through the management of PD time, space and content. As indicated in the above mentioned circular providing guidelines for the Educator's Two-Day (Αρ. Φακ. Π.Ι. 7.7.09.16/ 7.1.02.7.2.1, 31.7.2012), principals were reminded that materials for such school-based PD practices were available on the websites of the Office of Primary Education and of the Pedagogical Institute. Positioned in this way, the principal functioned as the link between the state and teachers' bodies, given that the responsibility for teachers' PD was diffused and distributed to a governable body/population at the school level, yet through centralised practices. These included the distribution of decisions made and knowledge valued by those at the top of the hierarchical ladder, through circulars and websites/teaching material depositories. This was achieved as the state delegated tasks rather than devolved power to the school unit and passed on increased responsibilities to principals: namely, to operate as links between teachers and official services/officers; to oversee the implementation of PD schedules and the implementation of new curricula; and to select which teachers from their school staff would attend the various PD seminars (e.g. Αρ. Φακ.: ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 08.10.2010). The simultaneous unfolding of centralised and decentralised (at the school level) PD practices in ways that governed teachers' space, time and knowledge, as has been unpacked in this section, was simultaneously accompanied by the creation of a hierarchy of experts. These were charged with channeling central state demands through supporting PD at the level of the school unit. It is to this technique that we turn in the section which follows.

PD for/at the School Unit through New Experts

A second technique of governing teachers so that they were aligned with the new curriculum was the decentralisation of PD practices at the level of the school, not only through the principals, but also as facilitated by the re-classification of teachers – some were rendered more expert than others, and thus higher in the hierarchy of the state apparatus. This can be seen through the MoEC's encouragement, even at the outset of the reform, of the 'implementation of PD programs in the context of the school unit, with the utilisation of capable and qualified school teachers' (MoEC, 2004a, p. 177), as well as of 'the establishment of a [school-based] Pedagogical Counsellor, who will be responsible for the diagnosis of the educator's training [επιμορφωτικές] needs and for his (sic) guidance with the purpose of his (sic) professional improvement and advancement' (MoEC, 2007, p. 21). Hence, providing PD for and at the level of the school unit relied on the summoning of *some* teachers from the teaching body as better experts/qualified than the rest.

Along a similar rationality, two new in-service bodies were established by the state in 2010 to provide teachers with additional supportive mechanisms for the implementation of the new curricula (Information Bulletin, MoEC, 2010, p.16; repeated also in MoEC, 2011a; MoEC, 2011b). These two new bodies were: firstly, the Committee for the Promotion of Curricula, which coordinated all actions associated with the new curricula (in-service training, development of online material depositories, etc.); and, secondly, several subject-area support groups expected to work under this Committee. These support groups were comprised of a school inspector, who acted as the link between one subject-area group and the rest of the inspectorial body, and, yet again, *some* teachers seconded from the rest of the teaching body (i.e. from 'practicing' teachers in schools) to work under Ministry services as subject-area supporters. The groups collaborated with academics and others involved in PD to prepare teaching material depositories, guides for teachers, timetables for the introduction of new curricula and the in-service training of the rest of the teachers (MoEC, 2011b).

The experts assigned with the task of guiding teachers were identified from within the teaching body itself and were constituted as more knowledgeable than others. However, not unconditionally: MoEC directives, for instance, required a) that subject-area supporters first undergo training (by whom exactly remains unsaid) (MoEC, 2010), b) that teachers called at the initial subject-area training (Phase 3) meet predetermined criteria explicitly communicated to them through official language/circular (Αρ. Φακ.: ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 08.10.2010); c) that teachers participating in the pilot implementation take part first in preparatory seminars and collaborate with their inspectors and supporters to design teaching on the basis of new curricula (Αρ. Φακ.: ΠΙ 7.7.09.16., 9.3.2011; Αρ. Φακ.: ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 09.05.2011).

The above practices operated as a classification mechanism which contributed to the internal compartmentalisation and hierarchisation of the teaching body: the teacher who participated in initial in-service training in selected subject areas and

who was commissioned to act as a proxy trainer to educate others on the particular subject area (Phase 3 of initial in-service training [MoEC, 2010]); teachers who were seconded as subject-area supporters; teachers who participated in the small-scale piloting of new curricula; and later, teachers seconded as subject-area counsellors. The creation of these multiple experts seemingly serves to transfer PD at the level of the school unit by zooming in on the individual circumstances, needs, and potential of the members of the school community as part of a broader mission to democratise education and devolve power to teachers. Yet PD decentralisation at the level of the school unit, as has been argued already for principals, could be seen as a governing technique through which the presence of the state is obscured yet consolidated through the mobilisation of an array of agents who *in lieu* of the state steer teachers, at the local school level, to adapt to the central demands of the educational reform more efficiently. Hence, using a governmentality lens, such PD decentralisation and the provision of support by *some* identified expert-teachers becomes a mechanism for diffusing the regulation of teachers' conduct.

Governing the Self: Learning to Become the 'Autonomous Professional'

As mentioned in the brief presentation of the context, teacher professionalism was connected to the broader philosophical orientation and vision of the educational reform to establish democratic and humane education for all. At the outset of the educational reform, as captured in the ECR Report (MoEC, 2004a) and the Manifesto (MoEC, 2004b), teachers' construction as professionals was organically linked to their participation in decision-making processes and their professional autonomy. This is evident in the following excerpts, which call for the reform of institutional governance practices to gradually achieve decentralisation and professional autonomy, through:

> [a D]emocratic educational system, where the educator (elementary school teacher, secondary school teacher) participates in decision-making processes, is recognised and is treated as a "professional pedagogue" with relative autonomy in curriculum development and teaching at the microlevel of the school unit and the classroom. (MoEC, 2004a, p. 20)

And

> The delegation of more initiatives to educators for issues relating to teaching, curriculum development and evaluation is in accordance with the tendency for a relative autonomy of the pedagogue. This is also referred to as a move toward the professionalisation of teachers. (MoEC, 2004a, p. 99)

Aspects of this vision of teacher professionalism reappeared in texts which circulated during the implementation phase of the reform. At some point this vision became linked to performativity via references to quality and effective teaching and in co-existence with practices which aimed at restricting teachers' autonomy, as discussed above. For example, in the Information Brochure on New Curricula

2010-2011, distributed during the introduction period of the new curricula, it was emphasised that the new official curriculum 'allow[ed] the teacher to take the initiatives and make the pedagogical interventions which [we]re needed for quality and effective teaching' (MoEC, 2010b, p. 14). 'Taking the initiative' was further interpreted as flexibility in selecting and managing the subject matter, given that in many subject areas teachers were encouraged to move away from the use of a single school textbook, which was previously required by the state-monopoly policy. The following excerpt from the Introduction to New Curricula (MoEC, 2010a) is telling:

> A heavily loaded curriculum program restricts the pedagogical role of the teacher, who rushes through the coverage of subject matter without being able to exercise his (sic) pedagogical autonomy over differentiated instruction and teaching that facilitates learning for all students. Instead, an abbreviated [συνοπτικό] curriculum program supports the approach of classrooms as life-workshops and allows the teacher to take initiatives and develop instructional interventions needed for quality and effective teaching. (p. 15)

In light of the above, it becomes significant for a governmentality approach to turn the gaze onto the individual in an effort to understand the techniques employed to make people (often, want to) govern themselves in particular ways and towards particular ends. In the case of this reform, the conceptualisation of PD as (also) 'self-education,' 'self-development,' and 'self-improvement' (MoEC, 2004a, p. 114; 2004b, pp. 15-16) may be seen as a technique of self-governing (within technologies of the self), aimed at constituting the 'professional pedagogue' as a self-regulating teacher-subject. At the beginning of the reform, the envisioned new professional pedagogue was now explicitly to be seen as responsible, along with the state, for pursuing continuous PD:

> It is the position of the Committee that the educator needs continual professional support, development and familiarisation with more recent research results and theoretical trends. The responsibility for such development is shared between the person and the state. A systematic program of periodic development needs to be developed to cover all educators. Part of it could be compulsory (in the sense that it will constitute a requisite for one's promotion/ professional career), while another part may be voluntary, offered to those who wish it. (MoEC, 2004a, p. 112)

Hence, according to the new vision of teacher professionalism, the professional pedagogue was no longer to be treated as a civil servant executing orders, but a professional with a vested interest, and responsibility, in his/her continuous self-development. At first glance, sharing responsibility for professional learning between teachers and the state might be read as an effort to (re-)professionalise teachers. However, from a governmentality perspective, professional learning framed in this sense might be seen as a proxy for demands to increase efficiency in teaching through the responsibilisation of the individual and the consolidation of the presence of the state from a distance as it both retains and claims a vested

interest to ensure quality in teaching. As seen in the School Year Objectives and School Year Guidelines, around the time that the educational reform was launched and immediately afterwards (2005-2007), the pedagogical role of teachers was emphasised as one which included teachers' familiarisation with 'contemporary' teaching methods to facilitate and mediate students' autonomous learning (e.g. Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.05.18, 23.08.2005; Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.05.19, 18.07.2006). At the same time teachers were expected to contribute to the Quality Improvement of Education [Ποιοτική Αναβάθμιση της Εκπαίδευσης] by differentiating their teaching methods, familiarising themselves with and utilising information technologies, and participating in relevant PD programs (Αρ. Φακ. 7.11.09/02, 16.08.2005).

Further, the MoEC (2004a) recommended 'the active participation of educators in the design of in-service training' (p. 98). This rendered PD as a shared responsibility between teachers and the state and enveloped it in a rhetoric of democratisation, which however constituted the 'professional pedagogue' as a self-governing subject in the service of the collective good and the efficiency of the system. Suggestions that PD should take place during school staff meetings as well as during teachers' personal time through regular visits to the MoEC website to locate the new curricula and supporting material (guidelines, circulars, teaching materials, etc.) may be seen as responsibilisation efforts. These efforts intersected with ministerial attempts to manage time and space at a distance, by constituting the new curricula as part of the everyday functioning of schools and individuals, and even of the relatively autonomous everyday life of teachers beyond formal working time. This was done through encouraging teachers to attend, in their own free time, non-mandatory PD seminars, traditionally offered by the Pedagogical Institute. The seminars were gradually adjusted to include a number of topics linked to the implementation of the new curricula (e.g. ME01.012: 'The use of technology in the teaching of English as per the new curriculum'; or, ΔΔ01.009: 'Self development and empowerment: Mind, consciousness and emotion in the new curriculum of health education'; Αρ. Φακ.: 7.7.02, 04.01.2011; Αρ. Φακ.: 7.7.02, 05.01.2012).

Following the same rationality of self-development as self-governing, in the presentation of the philosophy of PD seminars (MoEC, 2011b), the teachers are summoned to *familiarise* themselves with the new curricula and '*embrace*' [εγκολπωθούν] their philosophy. The strength of the literal meaning (to put something in one's arms, to hold under one's armpit) and metaphorical meaning of 'embracing' [εγκολπώνομαι] (to completely endorse something, to gladly accept) is worth considering further, given that it connotes not only one's abiding by an externally imposed directive, but also an affectionate move and emotionally-loaded acceptance of that directive. In the case of our analysis, teachers were thus asked to willingly adopt the new philosophy and utilise it to re-configure their pedagogical practice. Similar references appeared in the documents circulating at the outset of curriculum change, including for instance, 1) the circular describing the mass information sessions of 2010-2011, where it was specified that teachers would be *informed* by ministry officials on the philosophy of the new curricula and timetables, and could *familiarise* themselves with selected curricula (Αρ. Φακ.: ΠΙ

7.7.09.16, 10.12.2010); 2) the MoEC's annual objectives for the school year 2010-2011 (Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.5.23, 23.08.2010), where teachers' *acquaintance* and *familiarisation* [γνωριμία και εξοικείωση] with the new curricula was set as one of the annual goals; and 3) a teacher's guide for the management of new curricula and timetables (MoEC, 2011a), where the delineation of steps for managing these [i.e. new curricula and timetables] revealed that teachers' *study* of the curriculum frameworks and relevant subject-area syllabi should precede any teaching. Thus, this new knowledge was to be inscribed on the teacher body and was to shape it to the extent that it was subsequently materialised in their teaching practice. The establishment, especially for the purposes of implementing the New Curricula, of an online material repository [τράπεζα υλικού] and its identification as one of the two pillars of successful curriculum implementation, also served this end. As indicated in the Information Brochure, the depository was to ensure that available and newly-produced material would adhere to the principles and content of the new curricula (MoEC, 2010b, p. 16), and teachers were reminded of its existence and need to utilise it at different points of the reform (e.g. Αρ. Φακ.: Π.Ι. 7.7.09.16/ 7.1.02.7.2.1, 31.7.2012).

Teachers' familiarisation with the new curricula remained a central goal and a means to ensure the success of implementation through both centralising and decentralising strategies: the in-service centralised training offered by the MoEC through the Pedagogical Institute, alongside decentralised professional (self)development through provision of support at the school level (Αρ. Φακ. ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 26.09.2011, Αρ. Φακ. ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 06.11.2012) and the introduction of new PD practices, including the collection by the MoEC of teachers' reported PD needs at the end of the 2011-2012 year (Π.Ι. 7.4.01.37, 06.06. 2012; Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.02.7.6, 20.11.2012) and the 'Educator's Two-Day' mentioned in an earlier section. Thus, the teaching body was rendered 'autonomous' to construct their knowledge of curriculum and their approach in teaching, yet they were allowed to do so within confines that were set and monitored by others and which the teachers themselves were expected to willingly embrace (Raby & Domitrek, 2007). This understanding of PD, as well as the emphasis on autonomy-within-confines on which the governing and self-governing of teachers' bodies relied, is also evident in a circular (Αρ. Φακ. ΠΙ 7.7.09.16, 06.11.2012) where the very concept of professional autonomy re-surfaced after a long period of non-reference/absence. In this document, which aimed to re-emphasise significant dimensions and parameters of the curriculum change process, it was clarified that the emphasis (and responsibility) shifted from covering the subject matter to achieving goals and processes, 'allowing the educator to exercise his (sic) pedagogical autonomy for the design of differentiated instruction and of teaching that ensures that all students learn. In the context of this pedagogical autonomy and deriving *responsibility*, each teacher's different pace in reaching the expected goals and achieving the desired learning outcomes, *in accord with the new curricula*, is respected' (Emphasis added). The exercise of professional autonomy as the responsibility to stay within boundaries firmly drawn by the new curricula (the same learning outcomes and expected goals for all students) literally reduces autonomy to a matter of 'pace', of

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tempo. Thus, in what seems to complete a vicious circle of governing, time yet again emerges as being at the heart of the (self-)governing of teachers, in their classroom time while they are teaching, not just in terms of PD.

DISCUSSION

Noting the emergence of the 'autonomous professional-pedagogue' in official discourse in 2004, we discussed in this chapter how PD operated as a technology of governing that collectively dominated the teaching body/teacher bodies and created an autonomous professional pedagogue as a self-governing subject, as a 'professional' whose responsibility was to ensure that their expertise and knowledge was in line with political rationalities regarding their role, PD and the curriculum. By attempting a close look at this decade of reform (2004-2013) through a governmentality approach, we sought to understand the relationship between teachers and the (modern) state, rather than take it for granted, even in a context where the state has traditionally been unchallenged in its nature as highly centralised and hierarchised. We have demonstrated what a governmentality analysis seeks to highlight: that less direct government does not necessarily entail less governing, but rather that 'centralising tendencies continue to coexist alongside decentred modes of neo-liberal governance', the effect of which being an inherent tension of 'centrifugal' and 'centripetal' forces (Stenson, 1998, cited in McKee, 2009, p. 22).

In this study, the techniques of the management of space, time and PD content as well as the technique of delegating PD to the school unit through new experts, ensured that, as in a disciplinary society

> everyone needs to be in a predictable place, at a predictable time, doing predictable things. Individuals need to accept centralized monitoring and control, and must learn to act with little or no independent initiative. Who can communicate, and what they may talk about, must also be prescribed in order to be controlled. (Jardine, 2010, p. 73)

At the same time, however, PD became the responsibility of each and every teacher, reaching the individual, shaping their subjectivities so as 'to produce the ends of government' (Rose et al., 2006, p. 89). Drawing together these three techniques, the chapter points towards PD as a technology (in the context of this reform) of neoliberal governmentality, as has been argued for other forms of education, training and learning (e.g. Hodge & Harris, 2012; Simons & Masschelein, 2008). Hence, this analysis of both policy texts and practices helps understand how teacher bodies and the teaching body were/was systematically constituted as similar yet different from before: not as a technocrat conforming to a central state, but as an informed subject whose actions are compliant with the conduct set by others (especially the state) in regard to their professional role and responsibilities. Such dispersals, along with the establishment of accountability systems, have been critiqued as neoliberal mechanisms of control that rely on the responsibilisation of individual subjects. They thus shift the responsibility for

social goods, including the education of the student body, from the state to the rational actor who can assess different alternatives, yet always within predetermined confines (Ball, 2013; Lemke, 2001). Despite the absence in Cyprus of overt systems of accountability, performativity or school effectiveness through attainment data or external inspections as have been exemplified elsewhere (e.g. Brooks, 2009; Ball, 1999), teacher professionalism remains an open question: in the context of this reform, teachers were constituted as autonomous professionals only to the extent that their 'autonomy' was performed within the confines set by the state (see also Day & Sachs, 2004; Wilkins, 2010). We further need to consider these findings against the background of Cyprus where a rhetoric of standards, benchmarking and effectiveness, present since 1997 but somewhat inconspicuous until recent years, has been lately rekindled following the publication of Cyprus's (poor) results in TIMSS and PISA and two reports by the World Bank (Klerides & Philippou, 2015).

Finally, and relatedly, a governmentality analysis is not reduced to a matter of contrasting policy and practice, of looking for the unsuccessful implementation of the former or the failure of the latter to fulfill the former. Instead, it attempts to bridge dualisms such as policy and practice, structure and agency, by acknowledging the inherent tensions, gaps and antinomies in the formation of each and the subsequent impossibility of the presence of a single rationality which determines fields of action. It also points to the impossibility of predicting how subjects will act, arguing that there are ruptures or tensions stemming from oscillations between political rationalities and from actors' interpretations, which create openings for the exercise of the individual's freedom to act in various ways (Rose et al, 2006). From this perspective, policy is not a linear process within which teachers follow a fixed mandate, but is rather made and remade, re-interpreted, and resisted (Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992). We address this matter in an ongoing longitudinal qualitative inquiry, which explores primary teachers' positioning and sense of professionalism since 2010 and the multiple ways in which teachers themselves engaged with, were subjectivated to, as well as resisted the policies and practices analysed in this chapter (see, e.g. Philippou, Kontovourki, & Theodorou, 2014, 2015).

CONCLUSION

To conclude, we have argued that a 'governmentalisation of PD' occurred through the case of an educational reform where attempts in official discourse to re-constitute teachers/public servants/technocrats as autonomous professional-pedagogues entailed not less governing, but rather governing which both totalised the teaching body and individualised teachers' bodies while veering between centralisation and individualisation. The analysis thus illustrated how power is exercised not only through a central agency/agent, but *at the same time* through the governed subjects: they are both the focus and the instrument of power, indicative of the multiple forces that contributed to the governance and self-governance of teachers as professionals *during* and *for* the curriculum reform. The three

techniques of teacher governing (and self-governing) through PD discussed in this chapter have particular effects in the constitution of teachers as professionals and of teacher professionalism, as teacher bodies became sites on which to inscribe the reform agenda. One may then wonder about the possibilities of reform and the conditions under which (and by whom) this is recognised as successful. One may also wonder about what kind of PD is appropriate for this kind of professional, and about what autonomy means in the context of the professionalism discourse, if we perceive the fields of actions of the individuals as defined by others through governing. Asking such questions, exposing the political rationalities of PD and its notion of professionalism and discussing multiple/alternative conceptualisations of professionalism hence constitutes an imperative for us as academics/teacher educators who are interested in re-constituting the political rationalities that shape the governing of the teaching body and the self-governing of teachers' bodies.

NOTES

[1] These documents were published between January 2004 and February 2013 and included: the official report of the Educational Reform Committee (hereafter, ECR Report; MoEC, 2004a); an abbreviated version of that report, titled the *Manifesto of Formative Educational Reform* (hereafter, the Manifesto; MoEC, 2004b); the *Strategic Planning for Education* (MoEC, 2007); the preamble and conceptual framework for the design of new curricula (hereafter, the *Preamble*; MoEC, 2008); the introductory sections of curriculum texts distributed to schools in 2010 (hereafter, Introduction to New Curricula; MoEC, 2010a); an information brochure, addressed to teachers and principals and distributed during the massive PD seminars in December 2010 and January 2011 (MoEC, 2010b); circulars sent to schools over the period 2010-2013 to guide teachers' PD and in-service training; the material used in PD practices organised by the MoEC; the yearly goals and guidelines provided to schools by the MoEC at the beginning of each school year (2005-2013), and the Regulations on Elementary Education (introduced as a law in 1959 and amended in 2008).

[2] References to ministerial circulars and announcements are marked by Αρ. Φακ. X.XX.XX to denote the serial number of official documents in thematically-organised folders, followed by the date on which a particular document was signed and distributed.

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7. GOVERNING TEACHER EDUCATION THROUGH DIGITAL MEDIA

A Comparative Perspective on Policy Scales and Translations

THE NEW SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF TEACHER EDUCATION: FRAMING THE PROBLEM

Over the last few years, a new social geography[1] has emerged in teacher education, related to changing regimes of assessment and governance that have shifted the balance from universities to schools and further education programs and that rely on new technologies and knowledge relations.

In this new social geography, digital technologies appear to play a significant role. Digital media are not only urging a renewal in content and methods, but have also opened the way for new actors (transnational learning companies, virtual universities, and practitioners' forums) and new forms (among them, the much-publicized Massive Online Open Courseware or MOOCs) that seem to bypass the hierarchies of knowledge and systems of accreditation of national states, and that emerge as new authorized voices and communities of practice in the education of teachers. These movements appear to be in close relation to what Castells has described as 'the network society' (Castells, 2000), one in which nation-states, traditional politics, and traditional knowledge are all being profoundly and irreversibly transmogrified.[2]

These new actors and forms in teacher education can be seen in the trajectories of teachers who were interviewed as part of a research project on the use of digital media by teachers and students in Mexico and Argentina.[3] Laura, a 39-year- old English teacher in a private secondary school in Mexico City, considers herself a 'techie', is digitally fluent and enthusiastic about the introduction of ICT in her teaching. Born into a family that had to go into exile to Mexico from Uruguay in the mid-70s, she still keeps her connections with the Southern Cone alive. She not only travels frequently and follows what is going on with the use of digital media in Uruguay and Argentina, but also takes online courses offered by these governments on their public websites. (Here, her dual citizenship is helpful, as only nationals are allowed to take them). She has so far taken eight short-term courses (mainly eight-week workshops, over three years) and regards them as the most useful training she has received. She belongs to several online communities of teachers, many of them run by private telecom companies, and brings knowledge and policy guidelines back and forth from Mexico and the southern countries, but also from teachers from IberoAmerica (basically Spain) participating in these online communities.

Nazario, a 43-year-old history teacher in the same school, graduated from a public university in Mexico and is planning to continue his education with an MA program in history. He is also very enthusiastic about digital technologies and likes to try out different ideas and resources. He comes from a low-income background and is aware of the effort that it has taken to become a secondary school teacher in his family. He gets his ideas and resources from the same online communities of teachers that Laura draws on, but also has developed a 'skill' searching for good resources in the Internet. He uses Google and YouTube as his main search engines, disregarding most specialized websites; but he also follows some teachers and blogs that he finds useful, many of them from Spain. He selects videos and animations for teaching history; he has tried out videogames such as "Age of Empires", as a skilled player himself, but felt awkward when students asked him to have Genghis Khan fight the Mayan Empire, or begged him to allow those playing as Napoleon to finally win the war and not be confined to St Helena ('we're tired of always losing'). After these incidents, he stopped using videogames for good. Asked if the use of history videos and animations made in Spain had ever produced a conflict because of their version of some historical events, for example the 'discovery and conquest' of America or their version of the Bourbonic rulers, Nazario answered that he had not been aware of any tension. He is mainly concerned about whether the resources have the technical and visual quality to capture and hold his students' attention.

Both teachers are employed in a private school in Mexico City where teacher education is regarded and promoted as on-going professional development. These teachers have access to technological and pedagogical advice from technicians or experts from their subject areas, and meet at least monthly with other colleagues from their departments. Ideas and resources circulate, get tried out by a group of teachers, and get discarded if they don't work well. Their criteria for 'what works' in educational technology is that it has to help students perform better in standardized tests and that it has to catch their attention and engage them in classroom work. Nazario is more concerned than Laura about them remaining disciplined, but nonetheless privileges classroom activism (which he equates with keeping active, being attentive and engaged) and a particular version of what is good practice.

These examples might not be representative of what goes on in most Latin American schools, which are generally under-resourced and understaffed, and where 'trying out' ideas might be much more difficult due to the various constraints of bureaucracy, difficult working conditions and political pressures (Ezpeleta, 2004; Tenti Fanfani, 2005).They are nonetheless indicative of how digital media is bringing new players and knowledge into the practice of teachers and how they are mobilizing old and new conceptions of what good teaching or good learning is.

However, is this the whole story? What do these close-ups tell us about, larger processes that involve other actors and scales? Does the picture viewed from afar, with a longer timeframe, or seen from below or above, look the same? My claim is that the extent to which these global and local forces are reshaping teacher

education, or even educational systems, is something that needs to be subjected to serious research. This research should go beyond the triumphant rhetoric and also beyond the doomed-to-failure narratives. It could take a closer look at the localities in which changes are being effected, and follow teachers like Laura and Nazario to understand how ideas and people circulate, and the new pathways, new media, new connectors and connections that are visible in these trajectories.

But the question remains: have the old frontiers vanished? In Laura and Nazario's pathways, national systems and even national affiliations and educational priorities seem indeed to be relevant in what they take and what they leave out in their teaching. Also, where are the old institutions and ways of governance placed in this new landscape? Is the initial, university training irrelevant to the uses teachers make of digital media? While seemingly obscured by the brightness and auratic quality of the new, do old teacher education institutions still shine in some other aspects of teachers' lifelong education?

To tackle these questions, I will move from the histories of individual teachers to a panoramic study on teacher education in South America, which provides another lens through which to view some of these issues on a different scale, also necessary for the understanding of these changing terrains of teacher education. In making this shift, I am attempting to bridge the distance between 'big stories' and 'small stories', as described by Mehta (2009) and Riaño (2000). I am fully aware that panoramas are not the 'whole picture' but the production of a picture whose coherence might be its main flaw (Latour, 2005, p. 187). In this mapping, I follow Latour's considerations that panoramas, even in their weak and preliminary vision of the social, are useful because they put together a heterogeneous heap. But Latour also warns researchers not to forget that panoramas are 'pictures', that is, depictions which need to be questioned as to how, when, by whom, for whom, they have been produced (Latour, 2005, p. 187). It can also be said that panoramas raise new questions about the logic of aggregation and the way in which some things are put to the front and some others to the back, as Mol and Law say when talking about complexity (Law & Mol, 2002). They can cast new light on the stories and trajectories of Laura, Nazario and others, bring different scales and actors to the fore, thus comparing available options and pathways effectively taken.

This broader study was set up to do an analysis of the introduction of ICT in teacher education in four Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay), with a special concern about the pedagogical use of ICT.[4] The research was commissioned by MERCOSUR's educational office -MERCOSUR being the inter-state union of several South American countries.[5] Within this union, there is an educational office (Sector Educativo MERCOSUR – SEM) that has played a similar role to that of the European Space of Higher Education, in terms of the regulation of educational credentials, mobility of students and professors, and promotion of a regional identity (Leandro Silva, 2014, p. 20). It is noteworthy that in the strategic plan for 2011-2015, special attention is paid to teacher education through the creation of a Regional Coordinating Commission for Teacher Education, which has among its priorities developing training courses for teacher educators in Portuguese and Spanish and producing studies on curricular

and regulatory frameworks in the different countries.[6] The research that this chapter refers to was part of this set of studies.[7]

The fact that it was a commissioned research project is significant both for the discursive arena that the study was intended to engage with (Yates, 2004) and also for its involvement with a politically radical agenda, such as the one taken by most governments in the region in the past ten years. Egalitarianism, democratic participation and entitlement, pedagogical innovation, state-centered policies instead of market-driven strategies, are some of the traits that make the region an interesting laboratory for radical politics at this time (see McGuirk, 2014).

The comparative study of MERCOSUR's teacher education sought to map policy strategies, pedagogical discourses, and relevant actors in ICT in teacher education in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, taking into consideration the local, national, and regional scales as important mediators. The study was carried out by a group of researchers in the four countries, and will have a second phase starting February 2015. This will consist of a comparative ethnography of two teacher education institutions in each country. The fact that MERCOSUR is commissioning a comparative ethnography of teacher education institutions is evidence of the differences in patterns of governance, data production and data use in different regions of the world: the 'neoliberal' agenda of testing and performance indicators does not reign everywhere, or at least not in the same way.[8] The research surveyed available data sources and also produced data[9] through in-depth interviews with public officers in charge of pre-service and in-service teacher education, private institutions, universities, and private companies in the four countries. One of its recommendations was to start a new information system that fills in the lacunae in statistics and data, which has so far made comparing a difficult task.

In the following sections I would like to focus on two main issues. First, I would like to discuss some methodological issues about panoramas and mappings in comparative education, and the particular decisions taken in this study; second, I would like to put forward some ideas about governance and teacher education in South America while presenting some of the findings of the study. Finally, I will make some concluding remarks about what these arguments tell us about the new social geographies brought about by digital media.

ON PANORAMAS AND TRANSLATIONS AS USEFUL TOOLS FOR COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

In comparative studies, there is always the question of method. How is one to make a comparative study of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, close neighbours but still completely different in their sizes and structures? In Table 1, some figures are presented on the size and structure of the systems, and the presence of IT in society and in schools.

Table 1. Basic data of the education system and ICT penetration in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay

	Brazil	*Argentina*	*Uruguay*	*Paraguay*
Total number of teachers*	2,317,959 (2012)	894,462 (2004)	41,319 (2007)	96,482 (2007)
Total number of students in basic education	53,028,928 (2013)	10,280,289 (2013)	676,000 (2009)	1,596,653 (2007)
Number of teacher students or trainees	586,651 (2012)	475,271 (2013)	20,271 (2009)	2,669 (2010)
Number of TE institutions	988 universities, 1801 courses (since 1996, exclusively at university)	1,286 (75 universities, 680 public and 531 private tertiary institutions)	32 (tertiary institutions)	47 (tertiary institutions)
% public institutions in TE	14.5% institutions but 34% of total courses	65%	95%	42% Tertiary 15% University
% of Internet connection per household	45.4% (WEF 2013)	47.5% (WEF 2013)	48.4% (WEF 2013)	22.4% (WEF 2013)
IT program for schools – year launched and scope	PROUCA – 2007 – 300 public schools – 150,000 laptops from the Brazilian firm Positivo-IBM Classmate	Conectar Igualdad – 2010 – all secondary, TE and special needs institutions 4,000,000 laptops, Classmate assembled in China and Argentina	Plan Ceibal – 2007 – OLPC- all public system and some private schools – 600,000 laptops and 15,000 tablets	Paraguay Educa- 2010- OLPC pilot – Public-Private Partnership 10,000 laptops in 2 districts

Source: Dussel (2013); WEF, World Statistics 2013.
*The number of teachers is misleading, as some countries (Argentina and Brazil) count persons in census, but Paraguay counts teaching posts –two or three of which can be held by the same person.

   As can be seen in these figures, Brazil and Argentina are the larger countries in the region, yet they diverge significantly in the size and structure of their teacher institutions. For example, while Brazil has undoubtedly one of the largest educational systems in the world, with over 50 million students overall, it has a relatively smaller teacher education subsystem, delivered basically through universities, most of them private. Argentina has, on the other hand, a

disproportionately large teacher education subsystem, with 1,286 teacher education institutions that have around 500,000 teacher education students (a number that is almost half of the teachers who are in service). The reason for this disproportion is that teacher education institutions offer one of the major opportunities for continuing higher education, both because of its low requirements and its ubiquity throughout the country. Not surprisingly, the dropout rate is notoriously high; for example, in 2011 there were only 45.970 graduates from tertiary-level teacher education institutions (Birgin, 2014). On the other hand, the two smallest countries in the study, Uruguay and Paraguay, are also significantly different. While Paraguay has more institutions (47 to 32), these receive only 10% of the students that their Uruguayan counterparts do.

Another dimension that was considered in the study was the penetration of ICT technologies in the country, and also the presence and coverage of ICT programs in education. In this respect, Argentina and Uruguay appear far ahead in terms of equipment and access to digital technologies because of their national programs for digital inclusion, launched in 2010 and 2006 respectively, which have distributed digital equipment to most students in the country. Brazil is somewhat behind in terms of IT policies for education, but most of its progress is related to private, household, or local governments' initiatives, and because of this scattered and fragmented aspect, it is difficult to aggregate figures for access to equipment in schools. Paraguay, on the other hand, is far below the region's average, and while there were attempts at implementing OLPC policies during Fernando Lugo's government (2008-2012), these were suddenly interrupted when he was controversially removed from office.

The fact that the terrain is so heterogeneous, and the sizes so different, made the comparison quite a challenge. One important dimension that was considered was the political structure of the system: in Brazil, the universities that are in charge of teacher education can be federal, state, district or private, and their quality and status do not depend exclusively on this distinction, whereas in Uruguay the system is centralized and largely public; in Argentina and Paraguay, public and private coexist, with a stronger bias towards the public system and state regulation in Argentina. There are other differences in terms of governance. Paraguay, where there are largely only rhetorical claims and isolated and discontinuous actions, stands in contrast to Uruguay, which has a centralized organization, with periodic and public publishing of data about the system's performance. Brazil and Argentina, the biggest systems in the region, share the protagonism of the nation-state, but have different institutional structures and arrangements, for example in the 'municipalization' of education (decentralized government and finance through local districts) in the case of Brazil, and also divergent pedagogical traditions that lead the actions in different directions.

But the methodological challenges raised other questions, related to the politics and the ethics of comparison, and also to the placing of MERCOSUR on a global map. If the comparison itself builds a panorama, the question is: what kind of panorama? Who constructs this mapping and for what audience? Postcolonial critic Gayatri Spivak warned against the power position "of a comparer, a charter of

influences, who supposedly occupies a place above the [linguistic] traditions to be compared" (Spivak, 2012, p. 472). Yet if a panorama is indeed to be produced, the questions of distance and of perspective remain, as both are needed to represent and chart a given situation. Comparison might avoid this imperialistic position of the 'above' and the 'superior' and 'omniscient gaze'[10] if it thinks of itself as a translation, as Spivak (2012) and also Robert Cowen (2009) have said. Comparison is thus an active practice, one that finds and creates relations; it becomes a matter of distance and also of close-ups, of intimacy. Spivak says that, "[i]n order to do distant reading, one must be an excellent close reader" (Spivak, 2012, p. 443), because, as she says, "translation is the most intimate act of reading. Thus translation comes to inhabit the new politics of comparativism as reading itself, in the broadest possible sense" (Spivak, 2012, p. 472).

A related yet somewhat different set of concerns emerged with the consideration of the changing relationships between the nation, the local and the global. One of the methodological problems that emerged was whether, in this international comparison of MERCOSUR countries and the transnational forces that shape ICT in the region and elsewhere, one should get rid of 'methodological nationalism' (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013) and abandon the 'national container'. Or whether one should try to rescale comparative analysis, as Cowen (2009) and Lingard & Rawolle (2011) have argued, introducing transnational forces, but still studying the ways in which nation-states are relocated on this new map. 'National containers' such as the one presented in Table 1 are still powerful organizers of charts and maps; yet a closer reading finds other connections and aggregations within and across nations.

One example of this was the fact that most countries in our study created new agencies at the federal level over the past few years, which subsequently changed the relationships between actors. In Argentina, the creation of the National Institute for Teacher Education, responsible for policies and also a significant distributor of grants and support to teacher education institutions, recentralized and reorganized the field of teacher education (Ros, 2013). In Brazil and in Uruguay, the creation of powerful IT agencies for education, parallel to the ministries of education (PROINFO in Brazil, LATU-Ceibal in Uruguay), changed the relationships between teacher education institutions and IT policies (Báez, 2013; Mendes, 2013). These new agents reorganized the balance between the national and the local, with greater intervention from federal states – though the actors in these agencies were different: engineers in Uruguay's case, educators in Argentina and Brazil. Thus, it can be said that the 'national' or 'federal' scale says little if one does not analyze how and by whom this scale is produced, and which forms it takes.

But 'the nation' is not the only container that needs to be unpacked. It is also necessary to discuss theories of globalization that see it as a process of continuous flow, "placeless, distanceless and borderless" (Brennen, 2011, p. 123). In contrast with this view, the study conceived of globalization as a "reterritorialized space, with multiple institutional levels that are not necessarily clustered around a single predominant center of gravity" (Brennen, 2011, p. 127). Globalization is more "the name of a puzzle" than a "coherent and cohesive interpretation of social space"

(Cowen, 2014, p. 290). Borders and barriers have to be retraced and rewritten in these new landscapes, and while they might be less visible, their operations have to be acknowledged and registered. For example, localities such as the ones that bound Laura and Nazario's teaching practices, including their pedagogical beliefs about what works and why it works, are important mediators in what and how they read and harvest resources, and how they connect to different 'mediascapes' or 'technoscapes' (Appadurai, 1996). In a brilliant metaphor, anthropologist Jan Nespor says that "it would be a mistake to emphasize the fluidity of the world without *noting that it flows at times in very deeply worn channels*" (Nespor, 1994, p. 15, my emphasis).

Comparative research, thus, has to pay simultaneous attention to flows and worn channels. Nation-states might be declining, but they are nonetheless important actors in some networks, at least in left-leaning South American countries where state initiatives still have the clout to mobilize resources and agendas. In the study, it was clear that an important drive in the introduction of ICT came through national state policies, either of equipment distribution or teacher training. Most of all, those that had the strongest impact were the national programs of Uruguay and Argentina to distribute laptops to all students and teachers in the educational system, and particularly in teacher education institutions: the presence of the artifacts (ie. netbooks) constituted a phenomenal pressure to include ICT. An example of this is the Uruguayan case: one year after the Plan Ceibal (an OLPC program, see Table 1) was introduced in 2007, there was a curricular reform in teacher education and the subject of IT disappeared. In 2010, they rushed to bring it back into the curriculum, due to the social demands of making relevant use of laptops already available in classrooms (Báez, 2013).

So while it can be said that national systems of education are threatened by non-nationally-based forces, especially those of the global knowledge economy (Dale & Robertson, 2009) and of global transnational edu-business (Bhanji, 2008, 2012; Lingard et al., 2014), I would like to claim that we need to think more locally about nations and also about transnational business in particular localities. Thus we can understanding not only how they have been and are being shaped by international forces, but also how they have 'packed' and aggregated people and institutions in particular ways, and which links and connections have been important in those particular arrangements.

These considerations take me to the third and final point of this section, a further methodological and conceptual basis of this research. As the informed reader knows, the notion of arrangement or assemblage comes from Actor-Network-Theory. A central concept of ANT theory is assemblage, the organization of disparate artifacts and subjects. Latour claims that "whenever you wish to define an entity (an agent, an actant, an actor[11]) you have to deploy its attributes, that is, its network" (Latour, 2010, p. 4). One cannot answer what something is without looking at the network in which it is inscribed, the set of relations that defines its attributes. ANT theory is concerned with the connections, the associations, the translations and transformations between actors.

I find this framework particularly useful for studying how things "morph as they move", how there are processes of transfer, translation and transformation in educational phenomena (Cowen, 2009). The ANT method calls for a myopic, oligoptic (not panoptic) view, a closer look at the how, the when, the minutiae of the connections that make up social change. Once one has traced these connections and their "tracers" (all connections leave a trace, however faint or difficult to see), its modes, its mediators, then one can scale up, but only if the connections show that movement. It is through tracing these actions that one can decide whether a connection was effectively made to another set of practices that can then be called the global or the national level. But one does not place one set within another, like Russian dolls. The nation is not necessarily contained in the transnational, or the local in the national: as we have seen in the first stories. They come together in multifarious ways in one teacher's ideas and practices. It is not a question of zooming in, but of understanding how the scales have been produced. It depends on perspective, and on keeping an archive of the travels and mobilization of things. The global becomes important to the local, as far as it is brought up and mobilized by some actors, and becomes another object in that network whose effects cannot be taken for granted.

Even if close, intimate readings are required, panoramas are also welcome in ANT theory, as illustrated earlier in Bruno Latour's reflections on these figures. In fact, Latour says that 'there is no shortage of multiplicity in today's social theory' (2005, p. 190), advising that we should abandon the comfortable position of merely pointing out the complexity of the social without moving any further. In ANT theory, there is no giving up of an understanding of complex social processes, but nor there is a search for a vertical, single rationality or a unifying trend. This is something that was valuable for our study. Analyzing education from an ANT perspective does not imply separating the realm of design and practice, but means understanding the different registers that organize educational practices on different scales.

There is a point at which my analysis departs from ANT: the fluidity of the network, which goes back to a point already made in relation to the 'deeply worn channels' mentioned by Jan Nespor. Viewed from the centre of the network, it appears seamless and equally connected; viewed from the margins, the worn channels become much more visible. This is also the site of postcolonial difference, of an ex-centric perspective on distance and power. One example of this kind of approach is Sylvia Sellers-García's (2014) study of the colonial archive in Guatemala in the 17th to early 19th centuries. She follows the traveling of documents from the Guatemala Audience to Mexico City and then to Spain, and proves that some cases took nine years to resolve, much longer than commodities that travelled much faster.

Thus, what does 'distance' and 'fluidity' mean? Sellers-García studied the language of the documents and of the colonial officers in the metropolis and in Guatemala. Why was Guatemala a distant place for the Spanish centre, yet for the Guatemalans Spain was not? Why were pejorative connotations attached in some cases, and not in others? What does this concept of distance say, not about the

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periphery, but about the whole Empire? What kind of 'governing-at-a-distance' was this? These are important questions that still find echoes in contemporary comparative research. The author concludes that space does not define distance on its own. Bargaining power, bureaucratic or administrative significance, population size, importance to the flow of information, importance to the traffic of commerce, and levels of ecclesiastical influence, were all qualities relied upon to determine centrality in the colonial world (Sellers-García, 2014, p. 3). As historians Lyman Johnson and Susan Socolow say, there is an "apparent change in the position of what constitutes center and what periphery resulting from a change in the viewer's position" (quoted in Sellers-García, p. 4). Sellers-García suggests that research has to get rid of the pejorative connotation of periphery and approach it materially: what did it mean to live in the margins of the empire? How were things mobilized in the empire, and how were they felt in different places? But she also claims that the concept of the periphery should be used not to point to its (neglected, denied) importance, but for what it says about the broader conceptions in the Spanish Empire.

The network, then, has a history, and has flows and worn channels, chains of distribution, connectors firmly established. It has to be traced and registered, studied in its minutiae, deployed in its translations and transfers. Teacher education, and particularly digital media in teacher education, can be fruitfully studied if one keeps in mind that it is a terrain yet to be mapped, a network yet to be charted.

GOVERNANCE OF TEACHER EDUCATION AND ICT IN MERCOSUR COUNTRIES: MAPPING THE TRANSLATIONS

I would like to engage now with the issue of governance, a common thread of this book. While governing-at-a-distance has been experienced for many years in colonial countries, there is today a new parlance of governing-at-a-distance that has been brought about by recent changes and that implies self-monitoring and steering by objectives and not procedures. It is, then, a different kind of distance, one that implies a calculating self and a self-managed individual.

As Kotthoff and Maag Merki have argued, for the German and Nordic tradition governance means the result of a paradigm shift, "[f]rom the linear steering of a single actor to the interactive collective action of different groups of actors" (Kotthoff & Maag Merki, 2012, p. 115). It is aligned with a post-bureaucratic system such as the one described by Christian Maroy (2008). In the literature, there is also a reference to global governance, for example in the case of the OECD, which through PISA has become an organization that today acts as "diagnostician, judge and policy advisor to the world's school systems" (Meyer & Benavot, 2013, p. 10).

Yet the role of these new governance institutions is differently enacted and felt in the margins of Imperium. It is, as said before, necessary to perform a close reading that implies a translation in order for comparisons to be effected. For example, the transnational corporations have divergent policies in different

countries: Microsoft agreed to donate (that is, give for free) the license of Office and other software to the South African government (Bhanji, 2012) and to give it for 3dls a piece to the Argentinean one, thus acknowledging that its business model in these margins, where piracy and illegal activities are predominant, will be a different one than in the central countries. The extent to which impoverished countries are considered part of a 'global education market' or a subsidiary margin whose effects might be measured in other terms (either as acts of corporate responsibility or as ways of achieving other lucrative contracts with the nation-state) is something that needs to be carefully studied.[12]

Something similar can be said about the OECD, standardized testing, and new management. Significantly, PISA and the OECD have not been important in the region. For example, teacher education in Brazil was moved to the university level in 1996, and since then there have been discussions and attempts to have a national entry exam to the teaching profession, as a way of regulating it and also putting pressure on the teacher education programs to improve their quality. But the pressure has worked in many ways, one of the most important ones being the money and political clout mobilized by federal programs. In the case of ICT, this resulted in enormous quantities of resources to equip institutions with labs and promote pedagogical 'labs' as networks of support between universities and schools (Mendes, 2013). Also, standardized states in some districts such as Rio de Janeiro were used to differentiate teachers' salaries in order to promote higher standards; however, soon after children's tests were instituted, their grading was given to the same teachers that would be evaluated on their performance. Some call it the 'tropicalization' of evaluation, others claim that it was a victory of the teachers and a recognition of their professional capacity to judge by themselves; the results seem ambivalent and the effects are the manipulation of results and an increased concern with performance rather than with the improvement of teaching or learning (Cerdeira & Almeida, 2013). At any rate, the way in which standardized tests operate in this context is quite different than what PISA or the OECD dictates and assumes.

Another significant difference in the way in which governance is played out in the MERCOSUR countries is the role of the nation state not only as regulator and judge, but also as provider and guarantor of the common good. In the case of Uruguay and Argentina, and to a certain extent also in Brazil, the central statements of educational and social policy, particularly regarding the introduction of ICT in education, have been those of social inclusion. Social inclusion here does not refer to special needs but to the need to level an unequal playing field through the intervention of the State (Dussel, Ferrante, & Sefton-Green, 2013). There is almost no presence of the global jargon on individualism, liberal freedom, and economic competitiveness: maybe this is related to a common assumption that, for social inclusion to happen, many more elements are needed that exceed what technology offers, or maybe this is related to a certain skepticism about individual change promoting larger transformations (see Martuccelli, 2010). There is general consensus around the idea of a welfare State that has to provide equal opportunities, and that most social chances are played inside that field and not

outside it. This state-centeredness is linked to a Latin American left-leaning climate that has renewed the political leadership in most of the region's countries, which has brought a remarkable change in political rhetoric and strategies from the 1990s neoliberal jargon to the popular, nationalistic or neo-populist rhetoric in the 2000s (Weyland et al., 2010).

However, this does not mean that the notion of governance should be disposed of. One way in which it is useful to think about what is happening with teacher education currently is that universities, and moreover tertiary education institutions such as teacher education institutes, are feeling the pressure to stop "being bureaucratic institutions to become self-managed organizations" (Kehm, 2012, p. 13). According to Barbara Kehm, this step includes new forms of management that require new hierarchies, project development and a defined identity. For teacher education institutions, this has meant the pressure to cease being bureaucratic institutions under centralized control and to adjust to the university model: publish, do research, and join professional networks with universities and schools. In the Uruguayan and Argentinean case, this is present in the discussion of creating pedagogical universities that are called on to play a central role in this academic transformation of teacher education (Birgin, 2014). In Paraguay, there were similar discussions in 2009, when after a devastating report on the state of teacher education many private institutions were closed, and an institutional redesign was set in place, later to be interrupted by the removal from office of Fernando Lugo (Toranzos, 2013).

In relation to governance in teacher education regarding digital media, another factor must be mentioned: it is the role played by transnational corporations, as mentioned before. The emergence of international platforms, some of which claim to have as many as 250,000 users in Latin America, suggests the importance of considering these transnational forces in teacher education. Examples are: Khan Academy (whose translation into Spanish was paid by the Slim Foundation, belonging to Carlos Slim, telecom Mexican tycoon), Coursera, Peers in Learning from Microsoft, the Learning Curve from Pearson, and other Latin American initiatives such as Docentes Innovadores (Microsoft and then a PPP with OEI and Foro 21) and El Vivero from Fundación Telefónica, But it is noteworthy that in the region, there are other important players: intergovernmental organizations such as OEI (Organization of IberoAmerican States), FLACSO (Latin American School for the Social Sciences), CLACSO (Latin American Council for the Social Sciences) and the educational office of MERCOSUR bring an international perspective to the field – yet without the for-profit logic of edu-business and with policies aligned to the political priorities of the governments. In this context, the trans- or inter-national is mobilized by different actors with different strategies.

The presence of transnational corporations, was in fact quite difficult to map throughout the study, as most of the data came from self-reporting (which is used as a marketing tool). Another difficulty arises from the fact that their presence tends to remain somewhat shadowy, in view of the nationalist and state-centered rhetoric of the current governments. The exception is Paraguay, where partnerships between the private and the public sector are common, particularly due to political

instability: in the interviews carried out with different stakeholders, the private sector appeared as a more reliable and technically apt actor than state officers, whose continuity in the job is unstable (particularly, the NGOs Paideia and Paraguay Educa) (Toranzos, 2013). In this case, the private sector comprises mostly telecom and media companies, and also Negroponte's initiative on OLPC, which was implemented in one school district and on a limited base. In the case of Brazil, there have been some large public-private partnerships with Positivo, a Brazilian edubusiness that is now listed on the Sao Paulo stock exchange and that produces computers, software, textbooks, and a complete curriculum package for primary and secondary schools (see Adriao et al, 2009, for a revision of its origins). Positivo has an Institute for Teacher Education and has sought partnerships with private universities. In the case of Argentina, the participation of Intel and Microsoft was important in the early years of Conectar Igualdad (the 1:1 program of massive distribution of equipments, see Table 1), both as consultants and as providers of services, but has given ground to more participation of the different state agencies. In Uruguay, the implementation is controlled almost exclusively by the state, and there are community networks that provide technical support and connectivity – but it is basically organized by the state (Báez, 2013). It can be said, then, that the presence of edu-business recognizes some transnational actors but also national and local ones that are not seen in other parts of the world. These national companies depend on the business they do with the state and school districts, and in that respect there are confluences between their interest and those of the state and state officers, confluences that might lead to corruption –as in many parts of the world.

An interesting feature of these transnational digital corporations is that they are also present through the users, and this is something that is more difficult to chart and thus has been even less studied. Even if governance makes room for different constituencies, which are generally organized as actors with a given representation, digital media has some specificity that would have to be considered. It is not just a matter of regulating autonomous agents, as Barbara Kehm says; the challenge is to deal with powerful transnational corporations, more powerful than most states in the region, and also with public demands that aggregate themselves as collective wills which are not always distinguishable from those of the corporation. This is seen today in Facebook, Google, or YouTube users, where the interests of the business and of the users might conflate at points, and where users might find it difficult to articulate a common voice that can be distinguished from the voices of the owners of the platforms (van Dijck, 2013). With regard to the professional development courses offered by the private sector, specific surveys would have to be conducted to understand their magnitude and penetration. But generally speaking, users' associations seem to be less powerful and visible than in central countries.

One distinctive feature that emerged in our panorama is that digital media is already present in teacher education institutions, either through specific TE programs, through equipment or through training. In Table 2, some of the findings

are presented, and the lacunae in the data are also shown, due in particular to the heterogeneous structure and extent of teacher education in each country.

Table 2. ICT in teacher education in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay

	Brazil	*Argentina*	*Uruguay*	*Paraguay*
Number of in-service, graduate programs on ICT for TE	Unknown, several	Unknown, several. Centralized federal program reached over 120,000 teachers NGOs and OEI: over 100,000 teachers	4 New compulsory program for all teachers (2013)	9
State agents in charge of equipment and teacher training	PROINFO – PNTE (2008)	Conectar Igualdad/ANSES INFD	CEIBAL/LATU CFE (2010)	Secretary for Technology
% of public teacher education institutions with digital technologies	Unknown, but most have labs with at least 10 computers per institution	100-85% of public institutions with 1:1 program	100%	Unknown
Weekly hours of IT in TE curriculum	Unknown, but 58% of programs include IT as a curricular subject and 37% as optional course	3 + optional courses	3	Unknown
Teachers' self-report of training in ICT	52%	66%	100%	48%

Source: Dussel (2013).

As said before, the nation states have been responsible to a significant degree for the introduction of digital media, particularly of the massive equipment programs developed since 2007 in Uruguay and since 2010 in Argentina. But the network of actors that this sets in motion is far broader than what the programs directly mobilize: it involves support technicians, software developers, teacher training institutions, edu-companies that provide instructional material or consultants. Also, it is relevant to note that the state agents are different in the four cases, and some of them (such as PROINFO in Brazil, CEIBAL/LATU in Uruguay or Conectar

Igualdad in Argentina) were created exclusively for these programs and suddenly became very powerful, in many cases directly linked to the President's office due to its political importance and visibility. There is a risk that rivalry and conflict over responsibilities will arise between these new agencies and the traditional ministries of education and training agents. This has in fact already been experienced in some of these countries.

Another noteworthy trait is that, in this new social geography of teacher education, the governments of Uruguay and Argentina have chosen to become big players themselves, and have organized training courses that are directly implemented by state agencies. In the case of Uruguay, there is a new, compulsory program on ICT for teachers, organized by the Council for Teacher Education in association with the University of Cambridge. In the case of Argentina, the INFD (National Institute for Teacher Education) offers a voluntary graduate diploma in ICT which lasts two years, with over 50 curricular subjects, and which has so far been taken by 110,000 teachers (almost a third of secondary school teachers). Brazil, for its part, has chosen to play a softer role, through monopolizing the accreditation of courses and also via federal funding, promoting innovation programs, curricular changes, and research consortia between universities and schools. Again, Paraguay stands apart, due to the political instability of its recent history and to the fact that most of its initiatives have not been implemented for lack of financial or political support.

The study shows that there are traditions and actors in the national space in these four Latin American countries that are reorganizing and relocating themselves in relation to new actors and traditions. These new actors might be transnational, national, or local, but they interact in a complex web of interactions, and in those interactions get transformed. The social geographies of teacher education in South America are not the same as in North America, even if the actors appear to be the same, in the case of some of the transnational corporations. This might be another 'peacock banality' of comparative education, as Robert Cowen ironically puts it (2009). Yet mapping the how, the when, the how many, the with whom, helps to deploy the notion that ideas and artifacts 'morph as they move', and gives a more precise shape to that morphing within different traditions and politics.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I would like to close this chapter by going back to the trajectories of Laura and Nazario, and bringing in another fragment of an interview with a teacher from Buenos Aires, Argentina, held in 2011 (see note 3).

The Argentinean case is comparable to that of the Mexican teachers in his training, yet the pedagogical guidelines and sensibilities are significantly different. Julián is a 43-year-old philosophy teacher, who is also in charge of a new ICT program in a public secondary school in Buenos Aires. This school had the tradition of an elite, exclusive public institution attended by the wealthy families of the barrio, but in recent years, and due to the flight of upper-middle classes to private schooling, the school population has suddenly changed to students from the

nearby shantytown (*villa miseria*). Besides being an elementary school teacher, Julián got his BA in Philosophy from a public university, speaks fluent German and English, and often attends teacher education courses run by the government of the city and the federal state. The one he values the most is a 2-year-long public course on the Didactics of Mathematics, which he reports helped him think about teaching in a different way. He has a wide network of colleagues to whom he refers when he needs help with his teaching. He is an active participant in the school assembly and faculty. The question of capturing students' attention is not so central for Julián; he is mostly concerned about what his students can and cannot do with language, as he sees that they read and write like his former 4th grade students. These students feel that they are not up to academic work. He organizes writing blogs; he connects students with writers and players; he makes them write songs and poems; he uses Facebook; and he tries hard to engage them in reading and discussing excerpts from the writings of major thinkers, for example from Michel Onfray's 'Anti-manual of philosophy'. He does not give up on teaching difficult content and intellectual dispositions, or on getting his students to master some of the philosophical ways of arguing, however difficult and distant this all might seem, given their present conditions of life, and finds that ICT can be an ally in that direction. His concerns are not far removed from the egalitarian claims of national policies in Argentina, and in many respects echo libertarian and progressive pedagogies such as Freire's, Jacques Rancière's and others that have been influential in Latin America.[13]

How to read Julián's story along with Laura and Nazario's? All three cases seem to be cosmopolitan selves that are being trained in the use of digital media by a flow of actors and platforms that intersect with their working space, a given school in the city of Mexico or in Buenos Aires. But when the perspective is larger and another time frame is taken, the flow seems to follow through some worn channels, as Nespor said. Even if we resist methodological nationalism and try to unpack what is inside the nation, its data and agents, and its traditions, the differences that emerge between their languages, questions and concerns are significant. These differences give eloquent testimony of channels that run deeper and that have organized teacher education and educational practices more broadly. The networks that are being mobilized might share some of the actors, but the purposes and the direction in which they move is significantly divergent. Distances, as Sellers-García pointed out, might not be measured in miles or kilometers, and might not be experienced alike by all actors of the network. Nor might they necessarily be related to the speed of the connections in digital times; there are other 'speeders', bolts and knots that expedite some connections and act as obstacles for others.

These differences question the claims of a digital universal experience that sweeps away traditions and tears down the boundaries of schools and nation states. It also challenges the notion of a 'digital tsunami' that floods everything in equal ways (Davidenkoff, 2014). In the panoramic study, but also in the trajectories of individual teachers, what appears is that pedagogical traditions, political affiliations or modes of allegiance to the collective, institutional cultures, economic actors, are

forces that mediate the way in which ICT is being introduced in teacher education, and that produce particular connections. Whether we conceive of these as contexts of reception (Beech, 2009) or as local networks whose limits have to be explored and established anew, the issue of context, singularity and specificity emerges yet again as relevant in comparative education, as it has been since the times of Sadler (Cowen, 2014).

Finally, this study makes me argue for a more cautious approach to what is 'new' in the new social geography of teacher education. For example, the presence of national educational technology policies such as massive one-computer-per-child programs in some of the countries studied is a relevant factor for changes in teacher education. It brings new players and new logics for interaction; artifacts become more important, engineers and technicians get a new voice, and software opens new paths for pedagogical action. But the prevailing pedagogical discourses and institutional and political arrangements are still important mediators of the strategies and uses of digital media valued in teacher education institutions. 'Pro-equity', social justice or egalitarian claims organize policies and mobilize knowledge and actors towards some goals in these countries, in new ways that, however, might not be equally present in other regions of the world.[14]

All these mediations show that there are several processes of translation and adaptation of digital media in teacher education, and that the new social geography of teacher education is being configured not only or not exclusively at the global or the national level. It takes place in a complex interplay of scales, actors, and strategies, an interplay and a multiplicity that needs to be taken into account when discussing the governance of teacher education. I have intended not to stay content with pointing out the multiplicity; in my panoramic comparison, I have tried to put together a heterogeneous heap, as Latour (2005) calls it. But much work remains to be done in order to get a 'big picture', which will never be a 'full picture', of what is going on with ICT in teacher education. I close with another statement by Gayatri Spivak: "I have learned the hard way how dangerous it is to confuse the limits of one's knowledge with the limits of what can be known, a common problem in the academy" (Spivak, 2012, p. 453). My knowledge, and probably our knowledge as comparativists, is limited, but that does not mean that it is not possible to know, if not better, at least in different ways.

NOTES

[1] The notion of a 'social geography' of teacher education was argued by Andy Hargreaves in 1995. He defined it as the "regimes of articulation across space", including the marginalization of teacher education in higher education, its de-institutionalization from the university space, and its encapsulation in professional development schools (Hargreaves, 1995, p. 7).

[2] For a broad critique of this rationale, see Gamarnikow (2009).

[3] The research deals with the introduction of digital media in secondary schools in the city of Mexico, and is being developed at the Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas of CINVESTAV, Mexico. I also draw on previous research done at the Universidad Pedagógica de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 2011 and 2012, with my colleagues Patricia Ferrante, Delia González and Julieta Montero.

4   The study was based at the Organization for Iberoamerican States (OEI) in Buenos Aires, and the team leaders for each country were Cecilia Ros (Argentina), Geovana Mendes Lunardi (Brazil), Mónica Báez (Uruguay) and Lilia Toranzos (Paraguay). I acted as regional coordinator of the research and author of the comparative study. I am indebted to my colleagues for many of the findings and discussions we shared, which I value highly. The study was published by Editorial Teseo in Buenos Aires (Dussel, 2015). Unfortunately, in this text I will not be able to do justice to the extent and depth of the findings of the study, but only to make some references to points that are significant to discussions on governance and digital media in teacher education. I refer to the coming publication for a complete overview of the study.

5   MERCOSUR is a pan-regional organization that was founded in 1991 and that, like the European Union, aims at promoting free trade and movement among the state members (Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Venezuela, which joined in 2006). Bolivia is also in the process of joining the union. Chile, Colombia, Perú, Ecuador and Surinam are associated states (www.mercosur.int) (retrieved August 12th 2014).

6   First Meeting of the Commission in 2011, MERCOSUR/RME/CCR/CRCFD, Acta 01/11, available at: http://edu.MERCOSUR.int/es-ES/component/jdownloads/finish/278-2011/221-MERCOSUR-rme-ccr-crcfd-i-n-01-11.html (retrieved on August 12th 2014).

7   The study was commissioned by PASEM (Proyecto de Apoyo al Sector Educativo MERCOSUR), a special program that has been focusing on teacher education for the last three years, with partial support from the European Union.

8   I use 'neoliberalism' with some reluctance, as it has become a 'catchword' for blaming external forces for social wrongs. In some accounts, neoliberalism looks like "dead effects imposed on an innocent world" (Stewart, 2007, p. 1). This does not mean that the forces that are named by catchwords such as neoliberalism "are not real and literally present", as Stewart says, but I agree with Stewart that we need to take a more differentiated view of them in order to understand how they work.

9   In this data production, as much as in the survey on available data, we were aware that there is no such thing as 'raw data' but that it is always constructed within particular sets of epistemologies and knowledge technologies (Gitelman, 2013).

10 This 'gaze' has been historicized by Jeanne Haffner (2013), who wrote a fascinating study of the 'aerial view' made possible by the development of aviation and its impact on the social sciences of the first half of the 20th century.

11 An actor is a "moving target of a vast array of entities swarming towards it" (Latour, 2005, p. 46). The fact that the metaphor of the actor comes from theatre suggests similar problems for social theory and for the scenic arts. "It is never clear who and what is acting when we act, since an actor on stage is never alone in acting" (p. 46). A consideration of the effects of audience reactions, lightning, prompter, script, individual players etc. presents us with a "thick imbroglio".

12 Burrell's study of cybercafés in Ghana is such a study, although from the point of view of users (Burrell, 2012). Bhanji (2008, 2012) has significant studies on transnational edu-business in Africa. To my knowledge, there is no such study of their presence and business model in Latin American countries.

13 On the 'Rancièrian' inspiration of recent Argentinean educational policy, see the doctoral research by Cintia Indarramendi (2015).

14 Another significant mediator at the local level, which I have not mentioned in the chapter, is the structure of schooling itself, which conflicts with the practices and protocols of use brought by digital media; this explains why the promises of ubiquitous learning and interest-driven participation clash with time schedules, curricular priorities, and rules of evaluation in teacher education institutions, in far more ways than the hypothesis of 'resistance of the old school grammar' can acknowledge.

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Section IV

European and Global Networks of Educational Governance

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8. EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SLOVENIAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE

INTRODUCTION

In the field of education, the global convergence on educational discourses that direct domestic reforms has been increasingly discussed in the last two decades from the perspective of different social sciences (particularly the political and educational sciences). One of the important fields of such discussions is Europeanisation research, which attempts to determine how governance structures and processes at the European Union (EU) level influence the development of national educational spaces (e.g. Dale & Robertson, 2012).

EU educational policy-making tools drive change and advance various EU educational agendas. Such tools have undergone a complete transformation since 2000. For example, a new mode of governance – the open method of coordination (OMC) – was introduced to reach common EU strategic goals in educational policy, under which member states want to maintain their sovereignty over their national educational systems. The new policy-making tools featured in the OMC framework include the regular monitoring, comparison and reporting of educational systems, evaluation by peers (peer review process) and large-scale international comparative assessment studies. These tools are based primarily on knowledge and expertise, and through interaction they constitute a new mode of EU governance. The tools work as governance devices by directing national systems closer to European and global frameworks and practices through negotiation, co-option, cross-comparison and competition (Ioannidou, 2007; Ozga, 2008; Altrichter, 2010; Grek, 2010). These rich sources of educational research support member states in conceiving and implementing their educational policies and practices. Through such efforts, these resources influence national educational policies. Accordingly, evidence-based education is regarded as the driver of reform in national educational systems.

Although the subject is a contested issue in educational and political science research,[1] scholars (e.g. Zeitlin, 2009; Chakroun, 2010; Alexiadou & Lange, 2013) agree that empirical evidence in this field remains deficient, especially if we take into consideration new (non-western) EU member states. By explaining how, in the ten years since Slovenia joined the EU, Slovenian educational space can be regarded as being shaped by OMC-driven external monitoring and cross-border comparative technologies, this chapter addresses an important open question of

educational and political science research, namely how European educational governance and its policy-making tools influence the development of the national educational spaces in new EU member states.

The current study primarily aims to explicate the influence of European educational governance on the national educational space of Slovenia. The study aims to offer new insights into how EU-level processes have contributed towards Slovenia increasingly perceiving itself as being aligned with EU agendas as regards which educational changes are important and necessary. A case study on Slovenia is an interesting undertaking because it helps us ascertain how already-formed western (neoliberal) policies and practices are received at the national level and how these influence the transformation and development of the post-socialist educational system (Halász, 2003). We address the research question within a theoretical framework that presents a combination of the postulates of the political and educational sciences regarding the concept of a new mode of governance. Specifically, these postulates regard such governance as outcome-oriented governance, governance of comparisons, governance of problems and governance of knowledge. This chapter therefore considers governance from both a normative and an analytical perspective. From the normative perspective, the object of the study is European educational governance, its structure and processes. From the governance analytical perspective, this chaper uses a complex multi-level framework of analysis that explains the conditions under which the OMC (as a new mode of European educational governance) encourages member states to achieve EU educational goals (Hupe & Hill, 2006; Altrichter, 2010; Ioannidou, 2010).

This chapter originates primarily from policy studies, which are recognised as important meso-level theories for explaining Europeanisation and the influence of soft law on member states. Vidovich (2013, as cited in Alexiadou, 2014, p. 129) states that 'it is useful to use a variety of theoretical paradigms in a process of eclecticism that potentially offers more comprehensive insights into dynamic policy processes than single theories alone'.[2] Thus we contribute additional insights from the sociology of education to provide a better understanding of the role that scientific knowledge plays in contemporary EU educational governance; we also offer insights from comparative education to shed light on how the use of neoliberal discourses and globalised practices has contributed to new modes of regulating educational policy, with real effects on policy and practice in national systems of education (Lingard & Rawolle, 2011; Dale & Robertson, 2012). The need for the intersection of different academic fields (especially policy studies and comparative education) to exploit intellectual cross-fertilisation is also emphasised by Steiner-Khamsi (2012, pp. 3-4). The author indicates that 'interaction between the two fields is mutually beneficial, and helps to compensate for some of the conceptual shortcomings of research traditions in each'. The current research therefore facilitates the creation of debates on governance in comparative education that are more receptive to theories concerning the policy process.

This study is qualitatively oriented and draws on theoretical and empirical evidence. To address the research question, we employed the following methods: (a) an analysis of relevant literature and secondary sources (a comprehensive

review of the academic literature on the OMC as a new mode of EU governance); (b) an analysis of formal documents and legal sources at the EU and national levels (an analysis of Slovenian educational legislation, EU official documents in the field of educational policy, non-official documents, press releases, newspaper articles and speeches); (c) an examination of the data collected through several in-depth semi-structured social science interviews [semi-structured interviews conducted from 2008 to 2012 with relevant officials in the Slovenian Ministry of Education and Sport (9 interviews), the Slovenian Permanent Representation in Brussels (1 interview) and the Directorate General for Education and Culture in Brussels (10 interviews)]; (d) stakeholder meetings (two stakeholder meetings organised by the Centre for Political Science Research at the University of Ljubljana about the reception of EU and international educational agendas in Slovenian educational policy); (e) observation by participation (participant observations of two peer-learning activities at the EU level and 10 regional seminars for improving reading literacy in Slovenia); (f) questionnaire distribution [mailed questionnaires that were sent to Slovenian educational experts who are also active at the EU/international level (n = 22), educational policy makers (n = 8), and stakeholders (headmasters) (n = 91)]; and (g) an analysis of already-existing statistical data (results of international comparative assessment studies). These methods were used in the in-depth case study on the reception of a particular EU educational benchmark (e.g. reducing the number of low achievers in reading, math and science) in Slovenian educational space in the past decade.

The first section of this chapter is a review of theoretical considerations and empirical evidence on the development of European educational governance since the launch of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000. In the second section, we focus on theoretical considerations about the influence of the OMC on member states. Special attention is given to the peculiarities of the two-way process between the EU and new (post-socialist) member states. The third section deals with empirical evidence regarding the development of Slovenian educational space in the first decade of Slovenia's EU membership, and focuses on the influence of the OMC on this development. Finally, the main findings are synthesised to serve as bases for the presentation of our views regarding the widening and deepening of the European educational space since 2000. Such widening and deepening is regarded as a result of different factors with respect to the formation of EU educational governance and in relation to different motives of the European Commission and member states in using scientific evidence to establish cooperation.

EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE FROM 2000 ONWARDS

Throughout the development of the European educational space, the principle of subsidiarity was used for a very long period because member states were unwilling to acknowledge the political power of the EU and its influence on a field that is key to the national identity and culture of individual member states.[3] A turning point in relation to the reinforcement of cooperation is the Lisbon Strategy, in which education is, for the first time, recognised as a prerequisite to improving the

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efficiency of the EU. Due to the nature of education as a policy field over which member states endeavour to maintain sovereignty, and due to a simultaneous awareness of the significance of education in achieving strategic EU goals, the OMC was defined as a new mode of governance by means of the Lisbon Strategy.[4] The OMC is based on the mechanisms of *soft law*; that is, the jurisdictions of the EU are limited to fostering cooperation amongst member states. The OMC's declarative purpose indicates that this method is a means of achieving greater convergence in pursuing common European objectives and establishing a unified European educational space (Hingel, 2001; Nòvoa & Lawn, 2002; Alexiadou, 2007; Pépin, 2007; Walkenhorst, 2008).

With its apparent objectivity and neutrality (and consequently the pronounced role of experts and expertise), the OMC directs member states towards achieving common EU goals in the field of education, generally stated in the Lisbon and EU 2020 strategies and more specifically in the Education and Training 2010 (E&T 2010) and 2020 (E&T 2020) work programmes. Although these goals are not scientifically substantiated and are politically formulated, they are thoroughly operationalised and quantified by indicators and benchmarks that seemingly produce neutrality and thus enable a unique mode of governance. E&T 2010 identifies 5 benchmarks and 16 indicators, whereas E&T 2020 identifies 2 headline benchmarks and 4 other benchmarks. Indicators and benchmarks (also developed on the basis of the findings of international comparative assessment studies)[5] enable the assessment and comparison of the performance of member states in achieving common (political) EU goals *(output-oriented governance)*. Grek (2009) believes that within *output-oriented governance*, data and their management play a key role. Data enable governance through goal setting, whereby participant output is directed towards achieving goals. Upon publishing, these data serve as the instruments of encouragement and judgement of participants in terms of their output. They thus simultaneously represent the control of context and the autonomy of the actors operating within the context in relation to how they will achieve their goals. This is a system of discipline based on the judgement and classification of participants in achieving (jointly defined) goals. Ozga (2003) argues that in the field of education, output-oriented governance has become the key instrument for improving educational systems, i.e. improving student outcomes and increasing the responsibility of individual participants for the outcomes.

Nevertheless, data alone on a specific context are insufficient. Knowledge about member state performance must be contextualised in relation to other systems. The effect of the OMC is therefore based on the fear of being below average, which is all the greater given the increasing competitiveness in the globalised world *(governance by comparisons)*. Comparisons (commonly shown as an international spectacle of achievement or underachievement on comparative performance scales) strengthen participants' mutual responsibility for achieving common goals, legitimise political actions and thus create a new mode of governance. They mostly encompass a rationalistic approach to policy making, within which (assessed) participants are implicitly under pressure to arrive as close as possible to what is considered 'the best' in accordance with special criteria within a certain context of

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comparisons. In this regard, the leading assumption is that the most efficient (rationalist approach) and the most suitable (constructivist approach) decisions are adopted on the basis of objective data (March & Olsen, 1998). These objective data guarantee the comparability of educational systems and enable member states to identify and eliminate the shortcomings of their educational systems on the basis of mutual comparisons. According to Šenberga (2005, p. 15), international comparisons exert positive pressure on national political actors, thereby resulting in policy improvements at the national level. Some other scholars (e.g. Nòvoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003) point out that in this respect, governance by comparison not only creates convergence (of goals and outcomes), but may also lead to uniformity in activity and thinking. Radaelli (2003), Haverland (2009) and Lange and Alexiadou (2010) indicate that countries' over-reliance on the objectivity of international comparisons provides room for the political influence of international institutions. International comparative achievement scales hence exert double pressure on EU member states, inducing in them a sense of their own (un)competitiveness compared with the performance of other members states and the feeling of ineffectiveness resulting from (non)achievement of common goals. Thus the member states can be directed towards achieving the strategic goals of the EU (Alexiadou, 2007; Ioannidou, 2007).

Whenever member states perceive a policy-related problem based on their ranking on an international comparative achievement scale, they find that the most efficient models for problem resolution have often already been developed at the EU level *(governance of problems)*. From the perspective of social constructivists, the formulation of transnational policies represents a *governance of problems*. Transnational policy makers hail from different countries and differ in terms of experiences, values, norms and beliefs. Common cooperation is possible only if they achieve a common understanding of the necessity of joint cooperation (Paster, 2005). In such an understanding, the essential process is the joint identification of a problem, which is a prerequisite to joint response and cooperation (Hoppe, 2011, p. 50). As far as transnational problem resolution is concerned, governance therefore pertains to a situation in which a group of countries recognise a common policy problem and unite their efforts in resolving this problem. This definition is supported by evidence from a collectively developed policy model that deals with the issue in question. Alexiadou (2014) illustrates the occurrence of this phenomenon in country-specific recommendations, which embark on explicit guidance on the nature and type of reforms needed in individual member states. Therefore, the European Commission not only helps member states identify policy problems, but also provides specific recommendations for their resolution in each member state. Under this approach, then, the OMC is seen as a way of gradually solving national problems by shifting problem-solving capacity from the national to the supranational level (see also Alexiadou, 2014, p. 128). Nóvoa (2002, p. 145) argues that the 'expert discourses' (in the European educational space) that emerge from the Commission tend to homogenise 'problems' and 'solutions' and create the illusion of a common agenda.
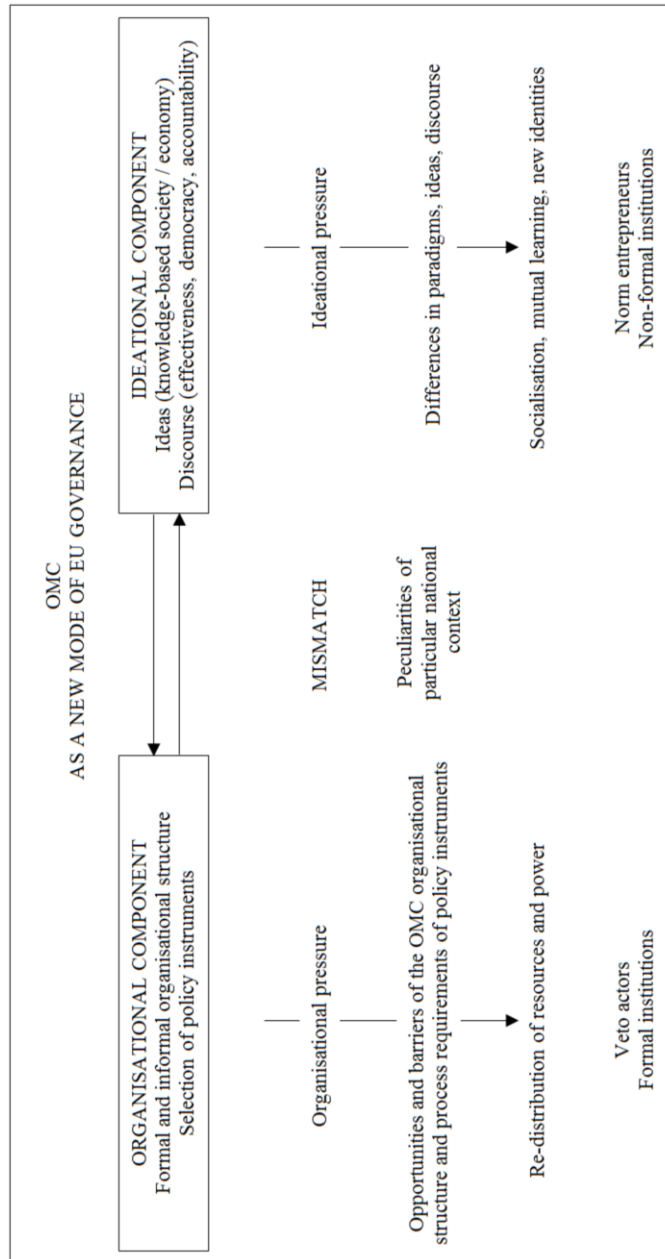
Expectations regarding the transparency and public responsibility of European institutions become increasingly high within the context of the increasing democratic deficit in the EU. To satisfy these expectations, (objective) knowledge is used as support for the legitimacy and authority of the social and political processes in the EU (Ozga, 2011, p. 220). Political technologies disguise how power works by taking political problems and recasting them in the apparently neutral and objective language of science (Ozga et al., 2011, p. 93). Accordingly, the new mode of governance in the EU is often understood as a governance of knowledge. Such management of knowledge enables the widening and deepening of the European educational space. It enables the reinforcement of European cooperation in the field of education in the direction that the EU is aiming whilst its member states comply and endeavour to maintain their competitiveness in a knowledge-based economy (see also Tsarouhas, 2009). As a case in point, the post-socialist states regard such compliance as necessary to establish the congruency of their educational systems with EU western values and standards.

INFLUENCE OF NEW MODES OF GOVERNANCE ON NEW (POST-SOCIALIST) MEMBER STATES

As evident from the previous section, although cooperation amongst member states in the field of education is non-mandatory, the OMC instruments contain a number of drivers that steer member states towards acting in the agreed-upon direction. If member states fail to achieve the agreed-upon objectives, the EU exerts (can exert) informal pressure on them through the instruments of the soft law mentioned above. Understandably, member states respond differentially to this pressure (Borrás & Radaelli, 2011; Alexiadou & Lange, 2013). Furthermore, given the absence of any legally-binding norms, these responses increasingly depend on their institutional structures, political cultures, relationships amongst actors involved and the results that the member states achieve in pursuing agreed-upon EU objectives (Borrás & Radaelli, 2011; Alexiadou & Lange, 2013). This also means that within the OMC, member states are not passive recipients of EU policies. They engage in a complex process of selective adoption of policy measures that suit particular purposes, formulate various aspects of policy often in tension with other member states and possibly reject the elements of policy that do not align with national priorities or timelines (Alexiadou, 2007, p. 2). These observations also hold for the reception of data generated at the European level; that is, these data can be applied to different extents in the attempt to govern national education (Ozga et al., 2011, p. 90).[6]

Although each member state is characterised by country-specific peculiarities in the educational system, some clusters of countries share commonalities that can, to some extent, determine similarities in the manner in which they accept soft law. Researchers (e.g. Alexiadou & Lange, 2013) agree that from this perspective, new member states are particularly interesting objects of investigation. Silova (2009, p. 295) argues that a special group of new member states, i.e. post-socialist member

Figure 1. OMC influence on new (post-socialist) member states

**OMC
AS A NEW MODE OF EU GOVERNANCE**

ORGANISATIONAL COMPONENT
Formal and informal organisational structure
Selection of policy instruments

IDEATIONAL COMPONENT
Ideas (knowledge-based society / economy)
Discourse (effectiveness, democracy, accountability)

MISMATCH

Peculiarities of
particular national
context

Organisational pressure

Ideational pressure

Opportunities and barriers of the OMC organisational
structure and process requirements of policy instruments

Differences in paradigms, ideas, discourse

Re-distribution of resources and power

Socialisation, mutual learning, new identities

Veto actors
Formal institutions

Norm entrepreneurs
Non-formal institutions

states, 'share several educational characteristics, as reflected in a number of educational legacies inherited from the socialist regime and a proclaimed aspiration to embrace Western educational values'. Europeanisation in these states is therefore understood as post-socialist modernisation and as the path towards the completion of transition.

The OMC's influence on national educational spaces can be understood as a combination of ideational and organisational pressures that stimulate member states to adapt their own ideas and organisational structures in order to attain common EU goals (Börzel & Risse, 2000; Leuze et al., 2008; Borrás & Radaelli, 2011). Adapting national policies and administrative practices to EU decision making, changes national decision making and institutional arrangements. The EU's influence in the educational field is intended to be visible not only in structural and policy changes, but also in the internalisation of European values and policy paradigms at the national level and in the way political debates and identities change.

The key idea in ideational pressure is a knowledge-based society/economy. This concept also covers the discourse on normative beliefs about an appropriate institutional framework that enables a goal or idea to be achieved and a causal belief regarding how governance works and affects the achievement of goals (through accountability, transparency, evidence-based policy making). Organisational pressures refer to the institutional opportunities and constraints imposed by specific forms of governance structures and the procedural requirements of applied policy instruments (Bórras & Radaelli, 2011).

With reference to ideological pressures, Silova (2012, p. 236) states that policy rhetoric has become remarkably similar across post-socialist countries, signalling a move from socialist educational policies to more western-oriented ones. The policy makers in these countries have focused (at least rhetorically) on a set of policy reforms[7] that symbolise the adoption of western educational values. The important question that arises from these issues is how this new rhetoric has been embodied in the actual policies of these states.

Silova (2002, p. 100) explains that a 'complex interaction between "new" and "old" education structures reveals a disjunction between semantic and structural developments in education reform'. The author adds (ibid., p. 101) that post-socialist educational space represents a semantic construction of the New Europe. On the one hand, the 'borrowing' of western European discourses is used as a symbol of re-territorialising many post-socialist countries to the western European educational space. On the other hand, 'an abstract of universalism of western European educational discourses results in the hybridity of discursive practices wherever the latter transnationally disseminated discourse interact with the constraints imposed by the post-socialist structural, institutional legacies'.

We can then assume that although new (post-socialist) EU member states are very receptive to western ideas (ideational pressure), they are also confronted with institutional difficulties in translating these ideas into a national context because of institutional and organisational constraints (organisational pressure). The next section illustrates these assumptions in the context of Slovenia.

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EVIDENCE ON THE RECEPTION OF THE NEW MODES OF
GOVERNANCE IN SLOVENIA

The educational system in present-day Slovenia is characterised by a long history.[8] A turning point in its development occurred in the 1990s, following Slovenia's independence in 1991. Slovenia introduced new legislation designed to regulate the entire educational system, from pre-school to university education (1993-1996). Since then, legislation that regulates the management, organisation and financing of education has undergone many changes. These changes relate to specific issues and have been, at least to a limited extent, subject to conformity with the requirements of Slovenia's membership in the EU (Ministry of Education and Sport, 2007). The Slovenian White paper on education (1995) as well Slovenian researchers report that from Slovenia's independence onwards, Europe has been seen as a very important reference in reforming the Slovenian educational system (Štrajn, 2004, pp. 51-54). Kodelja (2007, p. 40) claims that the reform of the Slovenian educational system took place in line with the common European heritage of political, cultural and moral values. Pluško (2004, p. 62) adds that the entry of Slovenia into the EU helped the country clarify some conceptual questions about the educational system and articulate the direction of its future educational priorities. Barle Lakota (2005) finds that in these reform processes, there were almost mythical expectations of the EU, while critical views were entirely lacking. Blokker (2005, p. 504) confirms the assumptions that in post-socialist countries, the West has been presented unquestioningly as the embodiment of progress, providing 'the normative affirmation of the Western modernity project'.

The Ministry of Education and Sport (2005, p. 3) states that 'adaptation to the European Education Area has been a demanding task, since some of Slovenia's national standards were previously different from those in the EU'. When Slovenia became a full member of the EU in 2004, the Slovenian educational system was already fairly well developed, with some targets and indicators already matching or exceeding EU averages.[9] The successful attainment of EU benchmarks and the compliant incorporation of EU agendas in the national space were recognised in interviews in 2010 by European Commission representatives, evaluating Slovenia as 'a good pupil' in the educational policy field (Štremfel, 2013). This interesting recognition can be explained with the data discussed in the following paragraphs.

The significance of comparisons between the performance of Slovenian students and that of students from other EU member states is highlighted in the updated national legislation and in newly adopted strategic documents in the field of education (e.g. the 2006 National Strategy for Development of Literacy, 2007 Lifelong Learning Strategy, the 2011 White Paper on Education). These documents indicate that the reference for the desired performance of Slovenian students is the performance observed in most developed EU member states.[10] Under the influence of European integration processes, some terms (e.g. *key competencies*,[11] *literacy*, etc.) have expanded in meaning within Slovenian educational space. The main actor in the revision of the curricula, the National Education Institute (2011), indicated that the new curricula introduced various types of literacy and key

competences in accordance with the European reference framework of key competences. The adoption of European discourse in Slovenia can be seen from the activities and results of the project 'The Influence of the Concept and Strategy for Lifelong Learning on Professional Terminology in Education and Training'. In the framework of this project, a guide to Slovenian terminology in the field of lifelong learning was published (Educational Research Institute, 2008).

Attempts to achieve previously stated national strategic goals and consequently common EU educational goals have also been evident in the establishment of the national interministerial body E&T 2010, responsible for translating EU educational agenda into national educational space, and increasing involvement of Slovenian policy makers, experts and practitioners in working groups and peer learning activities at the EU level. All these ideational and institutional adoptions to the European educational space have been regularly reported to the European Commission by means of providing statistical data for quantitative progress reports and the drawing up of national qualitative progress reports, explaining Slovenian progress towards attaining common EU goals.

The representation of Slovenian education as a successful system was marred by the 2009 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) reading literacy results that were published at the end of 2010. The results revealed that for the first time since Slovenia's participation in international comparative assessment studies, the performance of Slovenian students was below the EU and OECD average. These results have drawn considerable attention to Slovenian educational space. A number of events (conferences, panel discussions and regional seminars) were organised, discussing below average results and a number of new projects introduced, identifying the problem and developing new approaches for improving level of reading literacy of Slovenian students (Štremfel, 2013). Such responses can be explained by Silova (2012, p. 237), who argues that 'in post-socialist states any deviation from the Western "norm" was immediately reflected in the emerging narratives of "crisis", "danger" and "decline"'.

The strong response helped us identify and explain the overall reception of OMC processes in Slovenian educational space. The in-depth case study (Štremfel, 2013) reveals the following findings:

a) Slovenian actors inadequately understand OMC processes and respond to them mainly when below-average results are achieved. For example, 89% of stakeholders participating in the case study responded that they were not familiar with OMC instruments and 79% said they were not familiar with the E&T 2010 / E&T 2020. But the majority are aware of international comparative assessment studies (66%) and of the Slovenian results in attaining the common EU indicators and benchmarks (68%). These figures give evidence of the importance of external monitoring and cross-border technologies in European educational governance. Additionally, it is even more interesting that only 45% of the stakeholders said they were aware of long-, medium- and short-term EU goals, but 79% of them agreed with the statement 'I feel accountable for attaining these goals'. This corresponds with theoretical assumptions of output-oriented governance, which stresses the importance of individual accountability

as an important mechanism for attaining common agreed goals. Slovenian actors (policy makers and experts) believe that the results of international comparative assessment studies allow identification of national policy problems when it comes to Slovenia's below-average results. This corresponds with theoretical assumptions of governance of problems. However, Slovenian actors are not aware of the existence and influence of EU policy solutions to the identified national policy problems. We argue that relatively poor knowledge about the advantages and disadvantages of OMC processes amongst key actors in Slovenia has hindered the exploitation of the full potential of the OMC for the development of the national educational system on the one hand, and more intentional and selective reception of EU agendas on the other. This contention confirms theoretical assumptions that the new mode of EU governance operates at a distance and with its latent pressures it directs actors towards achieving common EU goals, often without their consciousness of the process.

b) Slovenian actors (policy makers, experts, headmasters) trust the objectivity and neutrality of experts and expert knowledge operating at the EU level. For example, 100% of policy makers, 96% of experts and 84% of stakeholders participating in the case study responded that they trust in the expertise and objectivity of researchers and other experts involved in the design and implementation of international comparative assessment studies at the EU level. The same is true for national experts, who are perceived as the most important actors in the transfer of EU agendas in the national educational space. For example, 88% of policy makers, 91% of experts and 96% of stakeholders participating in the case study agreed that researchers and other experts are the most important actors in these processes. According to the observations of the participating actors, experts in communicating the results of international comparative assessment studies in Slovenia mainly point out Slovenia's ranking on international comparative achievement scales and focus on the explanations of good or poor performance of the participating countries (by means of findings of scientific and expert research conducted in the field of education). In this context, Porter (1995, p. 45) thinks the question should be raised whether 'the numbers are accepted as valid'. The author also maintains that here, "technologies of trust" operate because of the role of experts in the construction of statistical indicators, the measures succeed by giving direction to the very activities that are being measured'. This contention is in accordance with theoretical assumptions of the governance of knowledge.

c) The below-average PISA 2009 results (see theoretical assumptions of the governance of comparisons) and the consequent non-attainment of specific EU benchmarks (see theoretical assumptions of output oriented governance) have exerted institutional and ideational pressures on Slovenia's national educational space. The ideational pressures can be recognised in the desired comparability with the EU standards and performance of most developed EU states. Institutional adaptation to the new form of EU governance in Slovenian educational space was limited. First, the National interministerial body E&T 2010 has never really played a prominent role in national educational policy-

making processes. Second, according to Kodelja (2005, p. 221), this limitation is reflected by the fact that despite the perceived increase in participation in international comparative assessment studies, Slovenia continues to grapple with an inadequately developed institutional structure for processing and interpreting the data from these studies. The case study reveals that this deficiency has also resulted in the misinterpretation and use of the data for politically motivated changes instead of for the evidence-based reform of the educational system. For example, 63% of policy makers, 81% of experts and 84% of stakeholders participating in the case study agreed with the statement 'International comparative assessment studies in Slovenia are often used as an argument for politically motivated changes in the field of education'. In accordance with the theoretical assumption of the governance of problems, increasing participation in international comparative assessment studies enables a wider identification of the weaknesses and shortcomings of a national educational system. However, inadequately developed institutional structures for processing and interpreting data are poor pathways for developing country-specific solutions to perceived policy problems and open the door to the solutions developed at the EU level. We therefore argue that weak institutional arrangements at the national level have enabled EU agendas to flow into Slovenia's national educational space in the form of ideational pressures.

This evidence supports Radaelli's (2003) theoretical assumptions that in the new mode of governance, a common understanding of policy problems and solutions presents a new mode of convergence. Although this convergence is non-institutional and non-binding, it is cognitive and normative in nature. We also argue that the absence of clear institutional arrangements at the national level has enabled EU agendas to penetrate into Slovenian educational space without any concrete national strategy and key actors' awareness. It seems that some important research discussions (e.g. Medveš, 2008), which pointed out the importance of the selective reception of international and EU educational agenda in Slovenian national space, have never been seriously taken into consideration by national policy actors.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to discuss comprehensively the relative receptiveness of national system(s) to the effects of the OMC as a new mode of educational governance in Europe. The case study results show that the use of EU educational policy-making tools has exerted institutional and ideational pressures on Slovenian educational space, and that Slovenia has neither selectively adopted nor rejected the EU's pressures on the development of the national educational space during the first decade of EU membership (2004-2014). These findings are elucidated as follows.

The success of the new mode of EU governance is based on the ability to develop a definition of legitimate or intelligent and suitable policies, and of the common public good. This definition process is based on inclusive and deliberate

policy making. However, developing non-contradictory and homogeneous definitions of the public good (and objectives) has also become unattainable in modern societies, given the expansive social, political and economic diversity within the EU (Borrás & Conzelmann, 2007). By contrast, analyses (e.g. Cort, 2010) indicate that satisfying common EU goals is attainable, because these goals are substantiated with expert data. Directing key actors towards achieving common goals on the basis of expert knowledge has become a unique mode of governance (*governance of knowledge*) in the EU. This approach has enabled the gradual penetration of European agendas into national educational spaces, typically without the identification of national actors. Expert knowledge is therefore used not only to arrive at the scientifically proven goal of a knowledge-based economy, but also to influence member states' traditions, deepen cooperation and encourage convergence amongst the national educational spaces of member states. The non-selective adoption of European agendas slowly but efficiently limits the sovereignty of member states in developing and implementing their national educational policies, as well in becoming more convergent with the EU. In the use of expert knowledge in the European educational space, the interpretative and neopragmatist form of (neoliberal, author's note) *making sense together* prevails over the neopositivist and critically rationalistic forms of *speaking truth to power* (Hoppe, 2011, p. 55). We suggest that more selective reception and use of expert data, which can be acquired at different levels of the OMC process, can guarantee the preservation of special national characteristics and the quality of educational systems, the prevention of uncritical acceptance by the member states of the OMC's neo-liberal assumptions (Grek, 2008) and the circulation of educational discourses that sets post-socialist educational space on a predetermined journey towards the West, progress and modernity (Silova, 2012, p. 242). This awareness enables a suitable balance between maximising the potential of the OMC (currently lacking in Slovenia) and avoiding blind adherence to expert data (which stems from the OMC process).

In this chapter European educational governance has been studied from the theoretical approaches of policy studies, the sociology of education, and comparative education. With its empirical findings, this chapter confirms how important and useful it is to use a variety of theoretical approaches to offer more comprehensive insights into the dynamic of policy processes. Furthermore, it confirms how the theoretical approaches used have proved to be complementary in researching the impact of the OMC on the national educational space. Thus the combination of the applied theoretical approaches and concepts can be assessed as a suitable choice. The limitation of the theoretical framework used, however, relates to the problem of causality. This problem, in a period of complex cooperation among the member states in the field of education at the supranational level and a growing number of increasingly complex data in the field of education, is proving to be a key challenge, not only in the field of political science (e.g. Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2011), but also in education sciences (e.g. Morrison, 2009).

Ozga et al. (2011, p. 45) claim that '[c]ertain kinds of expert educational knowledge flow across Europe, shaping educational systems and discourses; however, it flows asymmetrically as it is "hollowed" out by local traditions'. The current work highlights the importance of re-capturing these pluralities, discontinuities and uncertainties through the critical study of the OMC reception in Slovenia as a new (post-socialist) member state; this re-appraisal provides new insights into comparative education (Silova, 2012, p. 230). All member states, to a certain extent, experience pressure; thus, revisiting these issues also provides important insights into the formulation of how the EU encourages, and even demands, certain kinds of activities that are necessary for the effective governance of education (Lawn & Segerholm, 2011, p. 45).

NOTES

[1] Given that the OMC works on the basis of soft law and voluntary cooperation amongst member states, it has stimulated academic discussions on the way it influences member states' policies and practices on the one hand and questioned its potential for reaching common EU goals in the European educational space on the other.

[2] In this perspective, we can also discuss the triangulation of theories. Triangulation enables the interpretation and support of data with the use of more than one theoretical approach. This approach facilitates better understanding of a studied phenomenon (Mathison, 1988).

[3] The history of European cooperation in the field of education dates back almost 50 years. For a more detailed review of this history, see Hingel (2001), Antunes (2006) and Pépin (2007).

[4] In the Lisbon Presidency, the conclusions (European Council, 2000) stated are as follows: 'The implementation of the strategic goal ['to become the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world by 2010', author's note] will be facilitated by applying a new open method of coordination as the means of spreading best practice and achieving greater convergence towards the main EU goals. This method, which is designed to help member states to progressively develop their own policies, involves:

   a) fixing guidelines for the Union, combined with specific timetables for achieving the goals that they set in the short, medium and long terms;

   b) establishing, where appropriate, quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks against the best in the world, tailored to the needs of different member states and sectors as a means of comparing best practice;

   c) translating these European guidelines into national and regional policies by setting specific targets and adopting measures, taking into account national and regional differences;

   d) periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review organised as mutual learning processes.

[5] A concrete example of this is the benchmark developed on the basis of PISA data. Reducing the percentage of students who fail to achieve the basic level of literacy in PISA is one of the five benchmarks in E&T 2010. The benchmark is to decrease this percentage by 20% in comparison with the levels in 2000, indicating that the 2010 percentage should not have exceeded 17.04%. In E&T 2020, the benchmark is stated as follows: 'The percentage of 15-year-olds who fail to achieve basic levels of reading, maths and science literacy ought to be under 15%'.

[6] At the same time, the automatic adoption of EU policies should not be taken for granted. The flexibility and non-obligatory nature of the OMC can lead member states to waive its application.

[7] Examples include student-centred learning, the introduction of curriculum standards, the decentralisation of educational finance and governance and standardisation of student assessments.

[8] According to Lajh and Štremfel (2012), the educational policy of Slovenia can be divided into four phases: imperialistic, supervised, sovereign and globalised.

[9] Exceeding the EU averages was significant for the indicators and benchmarks related to equity and social cohesion (e.g. number of early school leavers) - which can be understood as the positive heritage of the socialist system.

[10] For more detailed descriptions, see Štremfel (2013).

[11] The Ministry of Education, Science and Sport (2009) emphasises that key competencies are to be introduced into Slovenian educational space by measures adopted at the national and school levels. The essential measure at the national level is related mostly to the adoption of new curricula, extensive teacher training, teachers' cooperation with other key actors in the field and the development of new teaching materials.

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9. THE OECD DIRECTORATE FOR EDUCATION AS AN INDEPENDENT KNOWLEDGE PRODUCER THROUGH PISA

INTRODUCTION

The *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA) attracts global attention from politics, media and science as no other international comparative assessment does. The co-ordinator of PISA is the *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD), an international governmental organisation that follows the principle of evidence-based policy advice to advise its member states. Through the PISA assessment, which includes not only the 34 members states of the Organisation, but an almost equally large number of so-called partner countries and economies, the Organisation intends to contribute to more quality, effectivity and efficiency of national education systems worldwide.

The OECD Directorate for Education is an important actor in shaping the interpretation and use of PISA data. It co-ordinates the implementation and further development of the assessment, treats and analyses data and draws policy-related conclusions on this basis. Since the first publication of PISA results in 2001, it has produced a growing number of reports and other dissemination materials in relation to PISA. OECD analysts and managers diffuse PISA results and policy-related conclusions at conferences and events with stakeholders from politics, educational practice and educational research throughout the world.

Yet the OECD Directorate for Education as an independent knowledge producer with a specific thematic orientation, interpretation and diffusion of PISA results has rarely been the focus of scholarly research (Bloem, 2013, 2015; Sellar &Lingard, 2013). This is where this chapter comes in. It retraces the transformation of the OECD Directorate for Education into an important and independent knowledge producer through PISA. This is notably attributable to the shift of data analysis from external consultants to OECD analysts, and the extension and introduction of new forms of data analysis that can be more easily exploited politically. In particular, the chapter highlights how the knowledge production of PISA at the OECD Directorate for Education has undergone a politicisation insofar as PISA has increasingly been exploited to provoke changes in politics and educational practice. Drawing on OECD expert interviews, we put forward and discuss reasons for the strengthened link of PISA to policy advice. This research intends to contribute to a further understanding of the emergence of supranational organisations as policy actors in the arena of educational governance.

The next section presents theoretical considerations for examining the OECD's knowledge production with PISA. The third section briefly describes the OECD

Directorate for Education and the methodological approaches of this empirical study. The fourth section presents the results organised into three subsections. The chapter concludes with a summary and a reflection on the OECD's role in the arena of global educational governance.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A valuable theoretical approach to analysing the OECD's knowledge production through PISA is the Global Governance research. Studies in this research field examine international organisations' role in the global governance arena as active agents with their own "bureaucracies" (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004, p. 156), their own "institutional dynamics" and "agendas" (Nagel et al., 2010, p. 6). The OECD in particular is often described as an international "think tank" whose value is "largely epistemic, in that it is a source of policy ideas that spread throughout its membership and beyond" (Carroll & Kellow, 2011, p. 4). The OECD is attributed with having an expert culture which is crucial to its strength and influence on global policies, in the light of the fact that it possesses no legally binding measures with which to influence national politics (cf. Martens & Jakobi, 2010, p. 14). Porter and Webb (2007, p. 1) point out that, although the OECD is often perceived as a "highly technical research organization", the knowledge it produces is not just a "summation of data and lessons from the past, but a guide to future directions in the reproduction of development of the practices that shape an increasingly harmonized global political and economic system".

The OECD is ascribed a central role within the arena of global educational governance. The collection of comparative education statistics under the coordination of the OECD from the 1990s onwards and the introduction of PISA in 1997 in particular were major events that contributed to the rise of the OECD in the increasingly globalised field of education (Jakobi & Martens, 2010). The powerful position of the OECD as a result of the introduction of PISA has been stressed by various scholars (Kamens, 2013; Meyer & Benavot, 2013; Münch, 2009). In particular, the OECD Secretariat was described as the "world ministry of education" (Meyer, 2011, cited in Kamens, 2012, p. 123), which acts as an "arbiter of global education governance, simultaneously acting as diagnostician, judge and policy advisor to the worlds' school systems" (Meyer & Benavot, 2013, p. 10).

Only few studies have examined the activities of the OECD in the field of education, among them the work of Martens (2007), Jakobi and Martens (2010), Sellar and Lingard (2013) and Bloem (2013, 2015). Martens (2007) observed that the OECD adopted a scientific empirical approach to policy advice in the 1990s when it turned to a systematic comparison of countries' performance and policies on the basis of quantitative education data. Jakobi and Martens (2010) illustrate with the example of the OECD's indicator programme in the 1970s and the life-long learning programme of the 1990s how the OECD strengthened data production and data analysis over this timeframe. Quantitative data have since been used systematically for international comparisons and exploited for national evaluations. Sellar and Lingard (2013) show how the OECD has been able to

increase its impact on the educational policy discourse as part of the extension of PISA, since its introduction in 2000. The authors point to an extension of PISA in regard to scale, scope and the explanatory power of the assessment, notably by the introduction of new testing domains, the growing number of participating countries and the increasing use of secondary data analysis. Bloem (2013) also showed that the OECD has extended the performance of secondary analysis of PISA. She outlined how analytical activities have increasingly been carried out by analysts of the Directorate for Education which aims, among other things, to increase the policy relevance of PISA. This development is part of a growing politicisation of OECD knowledge production and is further examined in this chapter. In a recent contribution she describes how the OECD Directorate for Education uses the results of secondary data analysis to draw conclusions on policies, despite the fact that no causal claims can be made using PISA data (Bloem, 2015). The focus of this chapter is on the reasons for the stronger role of PISA as a policy advisor.

This study is based on the premise that numbers alone do not provide information content: only by data treatment, and descriptive and relational data analysis, are numbers transformed into knowledge. The production of numbers requires a first translation process from qualities into quantities (for example, educational performance into PISA performance score points, or students' family background into the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status), a process called "commensuration" (Espeland & Stevens, 2008). In a second step, quantities are retranslated into qualities by data analysis, interpretation and communication. This process of retranslation is neither natural nor arbitrary, but a social process that takes place in a specific context and implies specific knowledge, theories, ideologies, values, techniques, expertise and/or know-how. International organisations like the OECD are important knowledge producers that carry out retranslation processes. The use of and the reference to PISA data by the OECD Directorate for Education for its education discourse – the translation of data into policy recommendations (the retranslation of quantities into qualities) – is a difficult undertaking and one that is interesting for a sociological study.

The activities and reasoning of the OECD Directorate for Education on the basis of PISA are at the intersection of science and politics. In this regard Haas' notion of "epistemic communities" is a useful concept to examine the OECD's knowledge production through PISA, as it reflects exactly this intermediate position where the knowledge production of international organisations is located. According to Haas, (1992, p. 3) an epistemic community is defined as a "network of professionals with recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area". Nation states consult international organisations because they provide advice on how to act, offer a framework for collaboration and exchange, and help to define national interests. They do so by providing explanations for specific processes, events or phenomena and relate them causally to other processes, events or phenomena (ibid., p. 2). For example, explanations on how the national economy and education interact and conclusions on how a nation's wealth can be boosted by investments in education. The knowledge production of epistemic communities is based on the "application

of considerable scientific or technical expertise". Yet due to their close link to policy, the activities of epistemic communities remain a "policy enterprise". Members of epistemic communities possess "shared causal beliefs" with regard to problem perception and future visions as well as "shared notions of validity", that is, "internally defined criteria for weighting and validating knowledge in the domain of their expertise" (ibid., p. 3).

In this chapter the OECD Directorate for Education is considered as an important member of the epistemic community that has formed around PISA. Other members of this community are, for instance, national representatives of the PISA Governing Board (PGB), scientists from a variety of disciplines in the PISA expert and technical advisory groups, and employees of firms and research institutes that constitute the PISA Consortium and national educational researchers.

We investigate the hypothesis that the OECD Directorate for Education has taken over a central position within this epistemic community around PISA by shifting the analytical activities of PISA increasingly to OECD analysts. Moreover, over the most recent PISA cycles the Directorate for Education has adopted new forms of knowledge production in order to increase the policy relevance of PISA. Thus the conception of PISA as a political enterprise is further enhanced as the Directorate has reinforced its policy advice on the basis of empirical research. We argue that this development can be understood as a growing politicisation of the OECD's knowledge production. We show this empirically, using different qualitative approaches as described in more detail in the following section.

THE OECD DIRECTORATE FOR EDUCATION AS AN OBJECT OF STUDY AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The OECD Directorate for Education is one of the twelve directorates of the OECD Secretariat based in Paris. Four divisions within the Directorate work on various topics in relation to education, among them early childhood education, adult and school education, higher education, equity in education, learning outcomes and their importance for social and economic development, or innovation and knowledge management. Around 140 people work in the Directorate, including analysts with different functions and job levels, statisticians and support staff, consultants, interns and staff sent by national education ministries. The PISA team, a subdivision of the division for early childhood and school, organises the implementation of the assessment and carries out various activities related to PISA. These activities take place under the responsibility of the PGB. Besides organisational tasks, the PISA team analyses the international PISA database and produces publications and other dissemination materials.

This study draws on knowledge and experiences which the researcher has gained through "observing participation" (Soulé, 2007) in the OECD Directorate for Education. "Observing participation" means the use of an existing role in order to conduct research in a familiar environment. In observing participation the researcher takes the position of an insider, while in participant observation the researcher instead maintains the role of an outsider. For both methods the aim is to

gain profound insider understanding and knowledge (Brewer, 2002, in Soulé, 2007, p. 130). The researcher used the insider role in the context of her employment at the Directorate for Education to gain knowledge about the ways in which knowledge is processed with PISA data. Through daily interaction over a four-year period from January 2010 to December 2013 the researcher became familiar with working practices and workplace organisation.

In addition, through semi-structured interviews with OECD analysts, managers and consultants, knowledge was gained of how data are treated, analysed, interpreted and communicated, as well as of rules, strategies and visions that underlie the knowledge production process. In particular, interviews were conducted with middle-level and first-line managers of different divisions within the Directorate, analysts of the PISA team and experts from the scientific field who conduct consulting work for the OECD in relation to PISA. This chapter draws on a selection of 13 out of 30 expert interviews that were conducted in the context of Bloem's (2014) PhD thesis. It is to be noted that views and opinions expressed by the experts do not necessarily reflect the official views of the organisation. In order to guarantee the anonymity of the interviewees their professional position is not specified and gender neutral language is used. All interview passages are cited in English; for those interviews that were conducted in French or German the original quotations are provided in footnotes.

THE OECD DIRECTORATE FOR EDUCATION AS AN INDEPENDENT AND INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT KNOWLEDGE PRODUCER WITH PISA

The Shift of Analytical Activities with PISA to the OECD Directorate for Education

The OECD publishes various reports and other dissemination materials based on PISA data. One of the main activities of the Directorate for Education is the drawing up of the PISA initial reports, which are published in the year following the data collection. In addition, the OECD publishes PISA thematic reports. Thematic reports cover specific topics in more detail: for example, students' motivation and attitudes towards learning and schooling, school factors related to education quality and equity, gender differences and the performance of immigrant students.

Thematic reports on the basis of PISA 2000 and 2003 data were, as a rule, drafted by external consultants. Only the publication process (editing, formatting, etc.) was carried out under the responsibility of the OECD Secretariat. For the past few years thematic reports have been entirely drawn up by analysts of the PISA team, who dealt with topic identification, data analysis and report writing. A shift of the analytical activities of PISA to the OECD Directorate for Education has taken place, a shift which strengthens the role of the OECD Secretariat within the epistemic community around PISA and is part of the stronger linkage of PISA to policy advice at the OECD.

The external consultants who conducted the data analysis and drafted the early thematic reports were in most cases academics at various research institutes and

universities, carrying out this work as a second job. The outsourcing of the drafting of thematic reports repeatedly caused problems time and again from the point of view of the OECD. Deadlines were sometimes not met, as consultants were primarily involved in other activities and could only devote some of their time to the completion of consultant work. According to OECD experts, the fact that consultants usually did not work in Paris created an impediment to communication with the OECD Secretariat, which had specific expectations concerning the design and content of the reports. But most importantly and related to the above mentioned point, reports were written on the basis of data analysis that was correct empirically, but not always suitable for policy consultations. Some of these reports not deemed relevant for policy have not been published at all or only belatedly, as they required considerable reworking (Interview #15).

Since the 2006 cycle, thematic reports have mainly been conducted by analysts of the Directorate for Education in order to be able to monitor the publication process better (Interview #9; Interview #15; Interview #22). In particular, the shift of data analysis and report drafting from external consultants to OECD analysts was intended to increase the political relevance of thematic reports. OECD experts explain this transfer with the argument that OECD analysts often know better which themes are particularly relevant to policy and how to draw conclusions relevant to policy makers.[1]

The transfer of the whole production process of thematic reports, including topic identification, data analysis and drafting allows OECD analysts to conduct preliminary analysis which ensures that results are statistically significant and can thus be interpreted in a meaningful way. An OECD expert explains:

> Before we didn't do much pre-analysis. A lot analysis or some thematic reports that sounded really interesting ended up not really successful. So recently, only few years, we do analysis more in-house now so that can we, if it's not an external contractor, it's easier for us to check if it works, very preliminary analysis, and then see if we can get a result that is interpretable or not and then we bring it to the PGB and then ask the PGB to approve to further develop and whether it's interesting or not. (Interview #9)

Performing preliminary analysis by OECD analysts in the Directorate is thus intended to guarantee the relevance of PISA thematic reports. It can be expected that through such preliminary analysis the OECD Directorate for Education will increase its influence on the use of PISA, as the Directorate can already present some "interesting" results to the PGB. This in turn increases the likelihood that the proposals of the Directorate will be considered relevant and will be developed into thematic reports.

As an expert noted, the development of analytical capacities and knowledge within the Directorate for Education is a further reason for the transfer of data analysis from external consultants to OECD analysts. In this way the analysts' analytical skills and areas of expertise are strengthened and extended. Moreover, other staff members in the PISA team and in the Directorate benefit through in-house analysis, as the internal peer reviews which are carried out within the

Directorate for Education enable analysts from the PISA team, but also other staff members within the Directorate, to be better informed about the analysis and they can more easily diffuse the results to the stakeholder groups with which they interact. It is to be noted that institutional capacity building strengthens the "expert culture" of the OECD, which plays an important role for the legitimation of the organisation as a knowledge producer on the basis of its data sets.

The shift of analytical activities from external scientific actors to OECD analysts was accompanied by an increase in the number of analysts in the PISA team. In the first PISA cycle the PISA team was limited to three analysts and statisticians, who were mainly responsible for managerial tasks (Interview #4). Today, the PISA team consists of about ten analysts and statisticians as well as five assistants. In this way, the OECD Directorate for Education has already gained quantitatively in importance within the epistemic community around PISA.

In this context it should also be emphasised that the number and scope of PISA reports and dissemination materials have grown steadily since the first PISA cycle which, of course, can only be coped with by more staff members in the PISA team. For instance, initial reports are no any longer published in one volume as in the first two cycles (two volumes in PISA 2006, one of which contained only data), but in five or six volumes since PISA 2009. In addition to the PISA 2012 initial reports, an overview brochure was published, summarising the main results of the different volumes (OECD, 2014b). Another example is the "PISA in Focus" series introduced in 2010, "concise monthly education policy-oriented notes designed to describe a PISA topic",[2] or the "Strong Performers and Successful Reformers" series which we will look at in more detail below.

Through the transfer of analytical activities to the OECD Directorate for Education, as described above, this body has become the centre of the epistemic community around PISA, not only in the symbolic sense *where the threads of PISA run together*, but as an important knowledge producer. The shift of analytical activities from external scientific actors to OECD analysts can be understood as a decoupling of the knowledge production of PISA from the scientific field. This development is an important element of the politicisation of the knowledge production of PISA in the OECD Directorate for Education.

PISA Data: From Description to Policy Analysis

In the first PISA cycles the presentation of results in the PISA initial reports was mainly descriptive and political recommendations on the basis of these results were not deduced. Since PISA 2009, however, data analysis has been more strongly linked to policy advice by new forms of data analysis and the introduction of new publication formats and dissemination materials. Descriptive analysis is still a central part of PISA initial reports, but it has been increasingly complemented by "policy analysis" in the language of analysts and managers in the OECD Directorate for Education. Policy analysis relates performance and equity outcomes to educational practices as measured by PISA in order to draw policy conclusions,

give policy recommendations and to identify and promote "best practice". One expert explains:

> Our role from the beginning was to try to analyse the data. But we should distinguish between one way, which is very simple, you just describe the data and even if you go into relationships you just provide results for these, you describe how they differ, but you don't interpret them. And the second level is policy analysis, when you try to conclude about policies. For example you don't only say that there is inequality in countries, or that performance is higher or lower in some countries, but you try to interpret these and you try to give some advice about policies. This was completely absent in the first rounds 2000/2003. Obviously in 2000 there was nothing about that and 2003 there were maybe few others but not many. And in 2006 we did it [policy analysis] the first time. (Interview #6)

In particular, policy analysis refers to two new forms of data analysis, between-system analysis and the identification and promotion of best practices. Between-system analysis allows for fairly generalised statements about the relationship between specific system characteristics or policies and performance or equity (see Bloem, 2013). Volume 4 of the PISA 2009 and PISA 2012 initial reports "What Makes Schools Successful? Resources, Policies and Practices" comprises such analysis (OECD, 2010, 2013a). For example, between-system analysis shows that school systems with a higher level of school autonomy tend to show higher performance levels (OECD, 2013a, pp. 50ff.), or that school systems with a low level of grade repetition tend to be more equal (ibid., pp. 34f.). Results of such analysis can be understood as the preferred educational models of the OECD. Policy conclusions are drawn on this basis, notably that introducing policies that increase school autonomy, in combination with accountability policies, or reducing grade-repetition rates are potentially effective measures to achieve higher school performance and more equity. System analysis is considered particularly politically relevant as system characteristics are considered more easily alterable by political action. Student characteristics, like students' motivation to learn or attitudes are considered hard to change by political action and are thus not in the centre of interest at the OECD (Interview #19).

Another form of data analysis, on the basis of which the OECD intends to link PISA to policy advice more strongly, is the identification and promotion of best practices. Educational practices, policies and reform trajectories of national education systems are described and associated with high system performance or high equity in PISA or improvements on those scales. The description of national policies and practices uses qualitatively obtained knowledge in the form of interview material with national education experts.

In particular the "Strong Performers and Successful Reformers" series applies this research approach. Introduced in 2010, these reports contain evaluations of national educational systems on the basis of PISA data. Reform trajectories of high-performing systems are presented and associated with PISA results. So far reports for Mexico, Japan, Korea and two reports for the USA presenting national

PISA results have been published. Also part of this series are national reviews of educational policies in the Canary Islands, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.

In addition, in collaboration with the Pearson Foundation, the OECD produced a video series which shows policies and practices of successful education systems that have improved rapidly in PISA over time. These videos are intended to "transmit ideas and stimulate debate" as stated on the website where videos are available.[3] Altogether twelve videos were produced, showing school practices and policies from various countries and regions, among them the Flemish region in Belgium, Japan, Korea, Ontario, the Netherlands, Shanghai, Singapore, Finland, Poland, Germany, Portugal and Brazil. For example, the video of the Flemish region points highlights the schools' high degree of autonomy in combination with the pedagogical advisory service and government inspectors. It is an example of the conclusions drawn from the results of between-system analysis, notably that high school autonomy in combination with accountability measures could have positive effects on schools' performance.

The PISA 2012 initial reports now also contain best practices examples which are presented in text boxes. Specific practices and reform policies of twelve countries are associated with improvements in PISA results (OECD, 2013a, pp. 48f., 81ff., 108f., 145f.; 2014a, pp. 76, 122ff., 188ff., 238; 2013b, pp. 54ff., 76ff.; 2013c, pp. 81ff., 104ff.).

Strengthening the link of PISA to policy advice is a strategic decision on the part of the OECD Directorate for Education, which is justified by the demand of different stakeholder groups for data-based conclusions relevant for politics and practice:

> I think it's a very conscious decision of the part of the Secretariat. I think in many instances some countries have not been particularly happy about this approach. They would have favoured more a very simple – this is what students are doing, just the benchmarks, but not PISA as a tool for policy change. I think the success of PISA actually depends quite fundamentally on this, because there is a demand from different stakeholders, there is demand from the media, the parents, the teachers to know what is happening. And that is a need that TIMSS or PIRLS for example haven't fulfilled, but PISA actually has done that and I wouldn't call it inevitable, because it wouldn't have happened if the Secretariat hadn't been kind of according to that. But it is actually also a way to make sure that the very basic and important messages come across more widely. (Interview #19)

The expression "tool for policy change" stands for the use of PISA as a means to derive policy messages which have an impact on the education policy-making process and thus initiate policy change. Such an understanding follows a technocratic understanding of the policy-making process, according to which scientific knowledge derived from data analysis leads to political action in line with the conclusions drawn on the basis of scientific findings.

The shift from a purely descriptive presentation of PISA results to policy advice on the basis of PISA can be interpreted as a shift from a "decisionist model" to a

more "technocratic model" of political expertise. In the "decisionist model" scientific research and politics are separated and the integration of scientific knowledge is undertaken by politicians themselves. In the "technocratic model", scientists undertake the political interpretation. (Weingart, 1999). In the early years of PISA, a decisionist political expertise model was followed in the Organisation, as the knowledge production was mainly descriptive and only few or no policy conclusions were drawn. Today, the Organisation follows a more "technocratic model" of policy expertise, as through the analysis of PISA data, analysts draw policy-relevant conclusions and offer policy solutions. This way, PISA presents an instrument for political guidance, or in the language of PISA analysts and mangers, a tool for policy change.

The rationale behind strengthening the link of PISA to policy advice is to ensure the political relevance of the PISA assessment in the long-term. As already mentioned in the citation above, the derivation of policy recommendations on the basis of PISA data is being increasingly demanded by the different stakeholder groups. It should be noted that the OECD in recent years has begun to take stakeholders other than national policy makers into consideration e.g. the media, school principals, and teachers and parents. This has happened in particular through the introduction of new publication formats and dissemination materials like a PISA thematic report especially for parents (OECD, 2012) or the „PISA in Focus" series and high presence in the social media (Interview #4, Interview #25).

Another expert describes the transition from a largely descriptive to a more interpretative presentation of results as a logical consequence of the changing interests of policy makers. According to the expert, while participating countries were initially first and foremost interested in international comparison, they now like to gain a better understanding of the relationships between performance and equity, and specific policies and practices, and to learn about policies and practices in other countries.

> I think in the beginning what interested countries the most was to see their position in the ranking and now, little by little, the interest has shifted towards a bit more interesting in-depth analysis. PISA is not only a ranking table but also permits people to see the impact of specific education policies on the results and also to see and understand what other countries are doing.[4] (Interview #15)

As performance results only provide little new knowledge from cycle to cycle – changes within the country rankings from cycle to cycle are only minor – PISA must evolve. An expert reflects on this aspect as follows:

> If you look at PISA, it is so established now in a way, […] so the question is: Unless results change drastically for countries, how many more cycles are we going to have where PISA results continue to be so interesting and relevant and sexy that countries are still paying so much attention? I think we still have several cycles but I think there is a concern that says, there are only so many times countries can see themselves more or less in the same place. And

> then it becomes like paying taxes – you do it because you have to do [...]
> there is the challenge to PISA to continue to evolve, to stay relevant, because
> now it is starting to come into kind, I don't want to say in the touch-off but it
> is at a point, now in 2009, where PISA is kind of ripened. It doesn't mean
> that it is completely done, but I think there is this challenge of how to keep it
> relevant. How to keep PISA evolving so that it is continues to be relevant, it
> continues to be cutting-edge? (Interview #13)

While the legitimation of the assessment in the first cycles was based on the collection of comparative data on education systems' performance, it is now the policy advice on the basis of PISA that ensures its legitimation. This, at least, is the perspective of the OECD, considering that the OECD draws criticism with this approach from some participating countries (Interview #6, Interview #19, Interview #20).

Generally, the PBG that decides about the activities performed by the Directorate for Education must agree to a stronger link of PISA to policy advice.

> And I think it was also, in the beginning, countries were very sceptical about
> this and some still are. They don't really want to allow us to analyze the data
> for many reasons, while other countries want that more and more. But
> everybody understands just collecting the data, having another round of
> PISA, makes no sense if you don't make attempts to analyze and try to
> understand what policies are behind the data. So I think, this is changing, and
> in the future we will have more emphasis on analysis and policy advice.
> (Interview #6)

The stronger link of PISA to political advice made by the OECD Directorate for Education is not only justified by the growing interest of various stakeholder groups, but also by enhanced datasets over time. As thematic blocks in the context questionnaires have changed and new testing disciplines have been added over the assessment cycles, PISA now covers a wide range of contextual and performance data, which also extends the range of possible data analysis. In addition, the availability of data of different PISA cycles permits the study of changes over time. A historical perspective is a precondition for relating educational reforms to PISA results.

> It was a mixture. One cannot pinpoint this to one or another point
> specifically. You need more than a single result in order to be able to make a
> claim or conclusion. So at least two to three PISA cycles were necessary. Six
> to nine years passed and the countries trusted the material more and more in
> the meantime, could analyse and read it better. And so one thing led to the
> next. [...] A sound data collection is necessary before you shift to policy
> advice. And this was actually carried out, step by step. And the PISA based
> country reviews that are produced now or the "Strong Performers and
> Successful Reformers", all this is based on sound data and can retrace the
> development in countries. And this has been the development, political
> advice does not stand at the start – it's the other way around.[5] (Interview #18)

Experts also point out that PISA became a recognised and stable instrument that gained high credibility and could be attached to policy advice as a consequence (Interview #4; Interview #18). An expert also stresses the high "methodological and conceptual quality" of PISA, which legitimises policy advice on the basis of PISA (Interview #16). Even if this is also the case for other international student assessments, but not for all OECD education data collections, standard errors are available for PISA, which allow experts to calculate the statistical significance of observed relationships. Empirical validity tests strengthen or support interpretations and contribute to the validation of the data-driven policy recommendations of the OECD.

According to one expert, the shift from the co-ordination of the data collection and descriptive provision of results to the use of PISA for policy advice by the OECD Directorate for Education is a practice that is observed in the Organisation in general. Projects within the Organisation often start with data collection while policy advice on the basis of this data and the exchange of experiences of countries comes at a later stage (Interview #6). The OECD's role and mandate is to advise its member countries. If data were only collected but not analysed and used for policy advice this mandate could not be complied with.

One expert notes that PISA is a political project which first and foremost serves political interests. Data analysis must thus be oriented towards providing policy advice on the basis of results.

> PISA is a policy instrument for improvement and to facilitate collaboration and dialogue between countries, so in a sense, that's where it fits nicely within the OECD sort of mandate and mantra. But it's purely a policy exercise that is based on science. So there is a foundation that is scientific, but that's definitely its main purpose or main focus. But you know, there are scientific methods that are applied to PISA in various stages of the development of the project and in the analysis of the results at the end of the day it's a policy endeavour. […] PISA is done for – it is a tool for policy. So it's for policy using scientific methods, but the main drive is a policy drive, not a scientific drive. (Interview #20)

The PISA assessment is a politically initiated project and PISA research is characterised by a highly practical orientation. In this context the role of the OECD Directorate for Education as the centre of the epistemic community around PISA manifests itself. The knowledge production of the Directorate is political in nature, but follows scientific standards in the widest sense. The positioning between science and politics characterises the activities and reasoning of epistemic communities and finds its expression also in the way the OECD Directorate for Education uses PISA.

This chapter cannot conclude without a critical discussion about the use of PISA for policy advice. The first point concerns the scientific quality of policy recommendations on the basis of PISA data analysis. Due to the fact that PISA is a cross-sectional study it is not possible to identify cause and effect and thus impossible to make causal claims about observed relationships between school

system characteristics or specific practices or policies and PISA performance. In other words, it cannot be shown empirically that specific policies, practices or student or school characteristics explain observed higher performance levels or more equity. The OECD points out this restriction repeatedly in the PISA reports and uses formulations that do not claim observed relationships to be causal, neither for the results of between-system analysis nor for the promotion of best practices (OECD, 2013b, pp. 31, 83; 2014a, p. 26). However, since policy recommendations on the basis of such analysis are provided, causal claims are made indirectly. Bloem discussed these issues in other contributions (see Bloem, 2013, 2015).

The increased policy advice based on PISA and the formulation of political recommendations is seen critically not only by some member countries, but also by some experts within the OECD Directorate for Education, in particular as far as concrete national policy advice is concerned. According to some experts, the OECD lacks the profound knowledge of the function and constitution of national education systems necessary to give concrete political recommendations to governments. The national policy-making process is highly complex and multilayered and cannot be fully captured by an international organisation such as the OECD. The contribution of the OECD, as illustrated in the following citation, is seen in the provision of information and knowledge that can enrich and stimulate national debates and call into question national values and opinions. According to this expert, the OECD is of particular importance in this regard, as politics and educational politics in particular are much more value-driven than generally assumed.

> I mean the OECD has a very technocratic approach to policy side, it is not so much about values, but a question of empirics and evidence apart from having some values for I suppose, of equal opportunity or whatever. […] and all these claims about the good things of school autonomy are based on the analysis of PISA whereas there are other reasons for doing things, other rationales. People may decide to not to care about equity. We may disagree with that, but that is something you can do. I think we tend to forget how value driven policy tends to be. Which is not to say, it's not actually sensible for an organization like the OECD to have a technocratic approach, and well, to say, you know, this is where analysis tends to point. That it helps challenge people's values – not even their values, but their interpretation of those values and what's going on. It challenges people and this is probably the value of the kind of work we do. It can help challenge people's presuppositions or assumptions on how the world operates and get them to think a bit more clearly about what they are doing. I think it does this more than it provides people with solutions. But this is a particular personal view and I don't know if it is shared by other people. (Interview #24)

Other experts also stress the importance of considering the national and local context in the data analysis and of stepping back from the idea that national or local practices can be transferred from one place to the other, without taking into consideration the regions' or countries' specific conditions (Interview #1;

Interview #2; Interview #5). The fairly general results of between-system analysis and best practices examples should thus serve as idea givers that inspire the local or national policy-making process, rather than as "recipes for success" (Interview #9). However, as such findings and best practices represent globally preferred educational models, there is a risk that they could have a leverage effect in politics or are perceived as a means for some countries to catch up quickly.

There is some evidence from empirical research that the OECD actually represents a "promotor of convergence" (Martens & Jakobi, 2010, p. 1) in international education policies by providing and promoting global models for the design and structure of education systems. Quoting the example of educational reforms in Switzerland, Germany, New Zealand, the United States and Great Britain, the authors in the volume "Transformation of Education Policy" edited by Martens, Nagel, Windzio and Weymann (2010) could show that PISA led to educational reforms in those countries whose guidelines and principals did not comply with educational models promoted by the OECD. In particular Germany's and Switzerland's current reforms were aimed at compensating perceived divergences and conflicts between traditional national guidelines and those of international organisations (Bieber, 2010; Niemann, 2010). As a result of the stronger link of PISA to policy advice it can be assumed that the OECD promotes and reinforces convergence of national educational policies.

CONCLUSION

This chapter described the transformation of the OECD Directorate for Education into an important and independent knowledge producer through PISA. The stronger link of PISA to policy advice since PISA 2009, together with the shift of analytical activities from scientific external actors to the OECD, can be understood as a growing politicisation of the knowledge production through PISA. It was shown that the OECD Secretariat abstained from drawing policy recommendations from PISA results and limited itself to a mainly descriptive presentation of results in the first PISA cycles. Starting with PISA 2006 and particularly pursued from PISA 2009 onwards, the OECD adopted an approach that strengthened the link of PISA to policy advice. This was accompanied by new forms of knowledge production, notably between-system analysis and the combination of PISA results with qualitative information obtained through expert interviews used to identify and promote best practice.

The stronger link of PISA to policy advice is a strategy of the OECD Directorate for Education. This highlights the way in which the Directorate, as the centre of an epistemic community around PISA, exercises considerable influence on the orientation and extension of the assessment. This strategy is justified and legitimised by different factors and changes: the demand for PISA to evolve in order to remain politically relevant, the increasing establishment of the assessments as a credible instrument to measure and compare education policy internationally, and the extension of the PISA database, including new options for analysis. By linking PISA to policy advice, the OECD Directorate for Education follows its

institutional mandate to provide policy advice based on evidence. It goes further than simply collecting comparative information on national education systems, where the initial function and role of PISA was originally seen.

By shifting analytical activities from scientific consultants to OECD analysts and the exploitation of PISA data for policy advice, the OECD Directorate for Education has taken over a more important role in the epistemic community around PISA. Thus the OECD is becoming an ever more important player within the arena of global governance in education. Its educational discourse is gaining visibility and thus increasing its potential influence on education policies globally.

A further interesting research question is how the changed activities and reasoning of the OECD Directorate for Education, as shown here, augment the OECD's global influence in international education policies. Research on how the OECD's policy recommendations are perceived and used in policy and practice could provide valuable insights in this regard.

NOTES

[1]   As an example of analysis that may be interesting from a scientific point of view, but may not be considered politically relevant, an expert mentions analysis on the influence of the socio-economic profile of schools on students' performance. A comparison of performance differences between students in socially disadvantaged schools, mixed and socially advantaged schools can show that it is advantageous for students in disadvantaged schools to attend mixed or socially advantaged schools, whereas an economically advantaged student's performance does not degrade in social-economically mixed schools. Analysis results thus show that mixed schools are most beneficial for all students, independent of their socio-economic background. However, this result may attract low interest from policy makers because it is difficult to change the distribution of students to schools on the basis of their socio-economic origin. Analysis must thus not only demonstrate specific aspects empirically, but has to go beyond those results: for example, by illustrating contexts and conditions under which socio-economically advantaged students may attend mixed or disadvantaged schools and achieve high performance or by illustrating examples of countries where policies to mix students socially at schools were successful (Interview #5).

[2]   www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/pisainfocus.htm

[3]   http://www.pearsonfoundation.org/oecd/

[4]   Je pense, au début, ce qui intéressait énormément les pays, c'était de voir à quel niveau ils étaient classés et maintenant, petit à petit, cet intérêt a glissé vers des analyses un peu plus profondes et un peu plus intéressantes. PISA n'est pas seulement un classement mais permet de voir l'impact de certaines politiques d'éducation sur les résultats et de voir et comprendre aussi ce que font d'autres pays.

[5]   Das war eine Mischung. Das kann man nicht auf den einen oder anderen Punkt ganz spezifisch zuspitzen. Sie brauchen auch mehr als ein einmaliges Ergebnis um eine Aussage machen zu können. Insofern waren da mindestens zwei bis drei PISA-Zyklen nötig. Damit hatten sie schon 6 bis 9 Jahre gewonnen und die Länder hatten inzwischen auch mehr und mehr Vertrauen zu dem Material, konnten es auch besser selbst auswerten und lesen. Und so kommt dann das Eine zum Anderen. […] Man braucht erst eine solide Datensammlung bevor man auch zur politischen Beratung übergehen kann. Und das wurde hier auch tatsächlich Schritt für Schritt befolgt. Und die PISA based Country Reviews, die jetzt erstellt wurden, oder „Strong Performers and Successful Reformers", all dies basiert auf festen Daten und kann eben auch aufzeichnen, wie die Entwicklung in den Ländern war. Und das ist hier die Entwicklung gewesen, da steht nicht die politische Beratung als erstes Moment da, sondern andersherum.

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Section V

Governing Research and Knowledge

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10. DOCTORAL STUDIES IN ITALY

Old Cultural Traditions and New Governing Pressures

> *Governance is a powerful siren song.*
> Robert Cowen (2014)

INTRODUCTION

Analyzing the governance of Italian higher education with particular reference to doctoral studies means trying to understand the transformations of a cycle that is intimately linked with the very idea of research and, therefore, of the university itself (Palomba, 2012).

Nowadays, the relationship between the doctorate and governance is evident, in academic publications as well as in institutional documents. An outstanding example is the latest report on the Italian university made by the National Agency for the Evaluation of University and Research Institutes (ANVUR), which clearly stresses this link, connecting the evaluation of the doctorate with the wider framework of the new governance of higher education systems (ANVUR, 2014, pp. 332-361).

At this particular moment, all these topics are closely connected to the theme of university and research governance, which in turn is strongly conditioned by the aims of market-framed management, a topic that is widely studied in the field of comparative education (Bok, 2003; Newman, Couturier, & Scurry, 2004; Levy, 2006; Salerno, 2007; Brown, 2008). And it is indeed the reform process of the third cycle of higher education that shows most clearly the weaknesses and the thorny problems of the present governance model, now disseminated worldwide and accepted, with some variations, at national level.

After highlighting such issues regarding the governance model, this essay will concentrate on the implications of the latter with respect to two aspects of the university - the institutional one and the epistemological one. Then a suggestion will be offered that I consider necessary to safeguard the crucial role of higher education in our knowledge society.

It has to be stressed that the English term governance is also largely used in Italian academic reflections about the recent trends in higher education; this linguistic choice, far from being a neutral one, is actually connected with a specific approach. Tullio De Mauro has clearly underlined this aspect, illustrating the acceptance of this English term in the Italian context, and the emphasis on its derivation from the industrial world (De Mauro, 2006, p. 41).

The shift in the vocabulary used for thinking about the university and the role of knowledge in civic life is a sensitive question, and one that has a dramatic impact on the discourse and its concepts. This dynamic is not a new one. In the history of Europe, we find numerous moments in which the change of language has transformed the rules of the game. The beautiful, vibrant city of Freiburg offers a relevant example, closely linked to the crucial issue of governance. It is well known that this city underwent the alternating and often painful vicissitudes that have marked the complex history of our Old Continent. At the beginning of the XVI century, Freiburg's decision to remain Roman Catholic made it the haven where Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus spent his last years (1529-1536), composing his book on the exegesis of the Letters and Ecclesiastes (Erasmus Roterodamus, 1533).

In this work, De sarcienda Ecclesiae concordia, printed in Leipzig (1533) and in Basel (1534), Erasmus tried once again, as he had attempted in his other famous book Querela pacis (1517), to strengthen the unity of the church of the church by discussing the differences between Catholics and Protestants over the crucial role of the doctrine of justification.

This book was an important step towards the change in the language that was later to be widely used in European political life from the beginning of the XVII century, when congresses of ambassadors – laymen – succeeded to the former mainly ecclesiastical councils.[1]

Like the Querela pacis of 1517, therefore, the De Sarcienda Ecclesiae, while depicting a dramatic mirror of its times, also contains an auspicium for the long and often rough road taken by Europe through the centuries: a true "obstacle race", which however eventually led to the precious prize of more than fifty years of peaceful integration in our time. This outcome is rooted in a complex process of achievement and refinement of noble ideals such as humanitas, urbanitas and civilitas, the cornerstones of a Europe that, before being a Europe of the Nations, is a Europe of the Spirit (Steiner, 2004; Reimen, 2009).

A NEW KEY ROLE FOR DOCTORAL STUDIES IN ITALY

In Italy, the doctorate is nowadays increasingly and decidedly being positioned on the international and European horizon, both by politics (MIUR, 2013a; MIUR, 2013b; MIUR, 2014; ANVUR, 2014a, pp. 286-285; ANVUR, 2014b) and by scholars (Avveduto & Cipollone, 1998; Palomba & Cappa, 2012; Vittorio & Cerri, 2013). Those in favour of the transformation process and those contesting it find it necessary to make continual reference to documents issued by international organizations or parties of the European Union, including those produced for the European Higher Education Area – EHEA – and for the European Research Area – ERA. The intent to align Italy's research governance with European dynamics is clearly apparent in the recent draft of the National Research Plan (MIUR, 2014c). This document, published in January 2014, links the National framework closely to Horizon 2020 in the process schedule; it shifts the timeframe from the usual three years to the seven of the European programme, and adopts a vision of governance

firmly rooted in an axis built on keywords such as: research management, innovation, smart specialisation, time to grant. The search for overall control of research in order to enhance its products, as outlined in Horizon 2020 should be pointed out, and is worth a quotation: "Completion of the European Research Area (ERA) is urgently needed to avoid costly overlaps and unnecessary duplication of activities. It entails building a genuine single market for knowledge, research and innovation, enabling researchers, research institutions and businesses to circulate, compete and co-operate across borders" (European Commission, 2011, p. 12).

In the last two years the doctorate has been the subject of lively debate in Italy for a number of reasons that will be briefly recounted here. First, there are contingent reasons, among which is the latest law that has fundamentally redesigned higher education (MIUR, 2010a). Art. 19 of this law added important new elements to the doctorate; these modifications, however, not only had immediate repercussions but also set off wide-ranging discussions. Their full implementation required a specific decree, issued in February 2013, with measures carried out after additional regulations only in the first few months of this year (MIUR, 2013a). Over this period, four education ministers followed one upon the other: Maria Stella Gelmini (8 May 2008 to 16 November 2011), Francesco Profumo (16 November 2011 to 28 April 2013), Maria Chiara Carrozza (28 April 2013 to 22 February 2014) and Stefania Giannini (22 February 2014 till now). Despite the different political affiliations of the ministers, there has been surprising continuity in their policies on this subject although not without some oscillations throughout the years. In addition, the current topicality of this cycle of higher education is enhanced by the crucial role of accreditation given to the National Agency for the Evaluation of University and Research Institutes (ANVUR).

Together with these reasons of a more contingent nature, current attention afforded to the doctorate also derives from structural aspects of higher education in Italy. The first aspect is the relatively recent institution of the doctorate itself: the first cycle dates back exactly thirty years, and during this period, doctoral studies have undergone three profound transformations, highlighting a number of problematic issues present in the Italian university system. The second aspect is connected to the recent implementation of the Bologna Process at this academic level: although Italy has adapted the first two cycles to the Bologna Process precepts since 1999, albeit with specific national traits (Roverselli, 2008; Palomba, 2008), up to 2011 the governance of the doctorate was in fact modified relatively little. The third aspect concerns governance in a wider sense and the demands addressed to higher education at a particular economic moment: despite the insistence on an increase in the number of doctoral graduates, we have in fact seen a continual decrease in the funding available. This has made the radical re-organization required by the more recent legislative measures even more difficult (ANVUR, 2014, pp. 156-192) and has favoured "an evaluation based on performance (D'Ascanio, 2014) and value for money". This approach is in line with the so-called audit society (Power, 1999) and it delineates a specific role for the State (Neave, 2009).

In this framework, the central role of governance of the Italian university and research, driven by supranational tendencies and discourses, strongly influenced by principles largely deriving from New Public Management's rhetoric, encounters the doctorate reform process. At present in Italy, the aspects of the New Public Management's approach adopted – with all its manifest contradictions and defects – and the reform process at large both share the continued reference to and the use of the European context as an inspiration and the standard to be met.

In fact, the reform movements of the doctorate in Italy have always coincided with important redefinitions of the university as a whole. Generally speaking, in recent history, we can see three periods with different characters and affected by diverse influences: the first, from 1980, when the doctorate was created, until 1997; the second from 1998 until 2010; and the third from 2011 onwards. Using a comparative approach, Reale and Potì drew attention to the link between governance and doctoral study reforms in Italy, in their recent essay published in 2009 entitled *Italy: Local Policy Legacy and Moving to an 'In Between' Configuration* (Reale & Potì, 2009, pp. 98-100). The essay takes the reforms up to 2005 into account.

A SLOW BUT RADICAL TRANSFORMATION

For a better understanding of the transformation in this cycle of higher education, we propose here an approach which focuses on four key elements; their evolution clearly shows the pressures exerted on the doctorate in little more than thirty years and enables us to reflect on the unsatisfactory answers provided.

The first element to consider is the idea of research as the basis of doctoral studies. The "research doctorate" was set up in Italy through the Decree of the President of the Republic on July 11th, 1980, n. 382 (DPR, 1980). This decree affected not only the doctorate, but also created the figure of the university "researcher" (Masia, 1981). The two are closely connected: with some slight variations, they constituted the basis the basis of the first eighteen years' of the doctorate. It was at that time the highest attestation of the ability to carry out scholarly research independently and correctly. The research was required to be specific (to a sector or a discipline) and original, and thus represented the first step towards a university career.

Right from the start the title awarded after the completion of doctoral studies was "research doctor", to distinguish it from the title of "doctor", which in Italy is awarded at the "laurea" level. In more ways than one, in the 1980 law, the nature of the doctorate was formed by the adoption of some features of the "laurea" from the Italian tradition, especially the originality of the research (Palomba, 2008; Cappa, 2012, pp. 132-137). The setting up of the doctorate was also an occasion for postponing the start of research-based activity to the doctoral level, thus simplifying the thesis to be written for the previous cycle, in a situation in which the increase of student numbers and the changing of several features of the traditional university made it difficult to keep the nature and quality of the old "tesi di laurea". This is one reason for adopting the term "dottorato di ricerca".

Thus, at this early stage, the doctorate is presented as an in-depth scholarly work, disconnected from any specific didactic path but centred on research results and on the candidate's demonstration of their own aptitude for research, with the term "research" specified as the production of specific and original knowledge. A tremendous change occurred with the reform set up by the Education Minister Berlinguer (Law 210, 1998; D.M., 1999). It may be said that since this reform there have been two coexisting possible visions of the doctorate, one tending more towards the creation of an original product of research through the relationship with a supervisor, and the other regarding doctoral studies as training for research, with the emphasis on methodology and learning techniques (Cappa, 2012; Bonetta, 2011; Lombardinilo, 2014, pp. 287-301; Vittorio & Cerri, 2013, pp. 47-61). As evidence of this change: in no part of the document is there ever any mention of the originality of the research; but rather, it is stated that: "The training of the research doctor […] has the purpose of attaining the necessary skills to carry out highly qualified research" (D.M., 1999, Art. 4.1). This change in policy is further enhanced by the stress placed on the importance of the teaching part of the training for the qualification. This idea of research is present also in the more recent decree from 2013, with an emphasis on the link with the European Higher Education Area and the European Research Area (MIUR, 2103a, Art. 1.3). In any case, this latest decree is more focused on shaping a new governance of doctoral studies than on providing an overall concept of research.

The second element is the value of the doctoral qualification: from the early period in which the "research doctor" qualification was reserved for use only within academic research, we observe an evolution that takes place in two different stages. The first corresponds to Berlinguer's reform in which the doctorate is seen as a qualification to be held valid also outside the university. In this regard, there are many suggestions for a closer relationship between the university and the world of work, including the possibility of coming to an agreement on doctoral programmes with parties outside the university. The second, in keeping with the recommendations of Salzburg I and II (Bologna Seminar, 2005; EUA, 2010) and of numerous documents produced by EUA (2005, 2007a, 2007b) and of the more recent Principles for Innovative Doctoral Training (European Commission, 2011), in the last decade, the doctorate has come to be regarded as an instrument of innovation and an answer to the pressing questions of the wavering and ambiguous knowledge society of the Lisbon Strategy and the wide Europe2020 project (European Council, 2000; European Commission, 2010). It is important to point out that in Italy the doctoral student is not an early stage researcher but a student, without a salary but with – and in some specific cases without – a scholarship (Vittorio & Cerri, 2013, pp. 89-92).

Closely linked to this, there is a third important element: the definition of the doctorate as the third cycle of higher education. Whereas initially the doctorate was a first step towards an academic career, the expression "third cycle", already employed in Berlinguer's reform, was adopted in the Italian Qualifications Framework for the Higher Education only in 2010 (MIUR, 2010b). It was adopted in keeping with the Bergen Communiqué (Bologna Process, 2005) and, once again,

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in order to match the aspirations of the European Union's new research governance. This governance is based on the principles of the New Public Management with its emphasis on quality, transparency, employability, and mobility as stressed for the doctorate in the Bucharest Communiqué (Bologna Process, 2012). This aspect also has an impact on the timeframe of the doctorate: whereas it was previously defined by the Ministry only in terms of the minimum time necessary, stipulated as a full-time three-year course, now this has become the fixed maximum limit of only three years, without any distinction regarding the type of research carried out.

The fourth element concerns the evaluation of all doctoral programmes in their planning stage by each Italian university. Obviously, this element is also linked to the adoption of the new governance and again proposes a type of ex ante control, already tested for the first two cycles. After a first period in which there was only the Osservatorio for the evaluation of universities, this was transformed into a National Committee for the Evaluation of Universities (CNVSU), a technical body attached to the ministry in charge of the evaluation of the higher education system. This Committee set up evaluation procedures that became compulsory for universities. Internally, each university established a Nucleo di Valutazione (NUV), both for overall performance assessment as well as for supplying data, information and analysis to the CNVSU.

Although incorporating several of this Committee's recommendations, until ten years ago – unlike with the first two cycles – "government steering of doctoral courses was characterized by a high level of deregulation, which left universities and the academic community more room for manoeuvre than did funding policies" (Reale & Potì, 2009, p. 100).

The scenario has changed dramatically in the last few years; indeed recent regulations laid down by ANVUR on February 2014 (ANVUR, 2014b) adopted the recommendations present in numerous European documents, in particular for tutorship and a so-called "supportive environment for a rich research experience". These regulations, however, merely focus on quality assurance, with some references to Quality Project in Doctoral Education, ARDE project by EUA (Byrne, Jørgensen, & Loukkola, 2013). This set of rules established by ANVUR is extremely complicated, and is based on a previous evaluation of the quality of professors' and researchers' scientific production. This document cannot be explained here in detail, for its wealth of technical subtleties makes it impossible to itemize. However, at least three points should be highlighted: first, this procedure is so muddled and intricate as to have required numerous further adjustments. The second point is the extent of negative reactions from all the actors involved in doctoral studies, among others the last two ministers, the Italian National University Council (CUN), the Accademia dei Lincei, and many scholars. The third and most relevant point is the absolute lack of any form of differentiation in these new rules: the irrational neglect of the diversity between fields of study and the underestimation of the rich plurality within doctoral studies are sad proof of the blindness and hubris of this managerial approach.

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NEW GOVERNANCE: BETWEEN HEGEMONY AND ARROGANCE

In the last part of my essay, in order to highlight the consequences for the university and, more in general, for education, I would like to propose some reflections on this form of governance, clearly shown by these recent transformations of doctoral studies in Italy.

The question of governance of the university in Italy is very complex. On the one hand, many aspects belong to the New Public Management pattern (as defined, among others, by Clark, 1983; Olsen, 1988; Van Vughl, 1989; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; McLaughlin, Osborne, & Ferlie, 2002; Amaral, Meek, & Larsen, 2003; Amaral, 2008; Ferlie, Musselin, & Andresani, 2009; Pollit & Bouckaert, 2011; Regini, 2011). These aspects are: institutional autonomy; new competitive funding mechanisms especially for research; assessment of the quality of research and teaching; efficiency and value for money; sophisticated and advanced initiatives for measuring performance; multilevel decision procedure; the careful concentration of funds in the highest performing institutions and strong management inside universities. On the other hand, within this framework of a shift from a continental model to a new pattern, in Italian universities there is hybrid governance, with a legal frame of reference rigorously centralised in the hands of the state; the mission of Italian universities is identical for all the institutions and the legal value of academic qualifications persists and is the same for all universities. Moreover, unlike other cases, for example Denmark in Carney's (2006) analysis, university boards are not composed of a majority of members external to the university but are still made up mainly of internal staff and students.

This situation is evidence of a powerful supranational rhetoric that fosters governance reform as a no-alternative issue on the political agenda of states, an outcome of the pressure of international agencies such as the World Bank, the OECD and the European Union. However, the result is not a new set of permanent, stable arrangements but a flexible form of institutional isomorphism; this is due to differences at the local level, but also to the very nature of the New Public Management itself, plastic to the point of "amoebic-ness".

To understand the gaps behind transformations at the national level, this condition makes the analysis of Ramirez's "loose couples" essential (Ramirez, 2012). For instance, if we assume that higher education governance implies affecting the behaviour of university academic staff (Maassen, 1996), in the case of Italy we can detect a shift from a soft power supported by supranational and national discourses, which is ineffective for a real change in doctoral studies, to a hard power structured around a socio-cybernetic system, according to Campbell's theorization (Campbell & Carayannis, 2013). This is marked by a shift from symbols to numbers, as stated incisively by Sotiria Grek (2008).

Nowadays, the policies of this governance, a multifaceted concept recently widely studied by Schriewer (2006), Zajda and Rust (2009), Tröhler (2011) and Jones (2013) among others, do not affect only the external and internal relations of the university, but its epistemological dimension too. According to Cowen (2000,

pp. 95-97), in a market-framed university both these aspects are profoundly challenged by governance. The insistence on knowledge – marketable, measurable, immediately useful and ready for the new, exciting single market of Horizon2020 – has immediate effects on scholars' activities which do not have a direct economic impact or clear relevance in the framework fixed by this approach. This mechanism operates in the field of comparative education as well. The question is a very problematic one: as highlighted recently by Karin Amos (2012), globalization and the diffusion of new patterns are pushing research in the field of education toward a technical discipline (Marginson, Murphy, & Peters, 2009). This situation may be full of fresh possibilities, but it carries the risk of marginalizing the theoretical approach belonging to a specific tradition, with its capacity for in-depth querying of reality and the human world. We cannot only bow to the political agenda and its priority; it is absolutely necessary to question it, its reasons and also its results (Tröhler, 2011, p. 100).

If we are trapped by current siren songs and, as Robert Cowen said, "governance is a powerful siren song" (2014, p. 10), it may be hard to maintain the richness that is at the core of comparative education, a field of "distinct branches of comparative and international studies in education and their underlying problématiques" (Schriewer, 2014, p. 84). Moreover, the same risk is threatening the doctorate, a cycle of higher education in which teaching and research, the transmission of culture and its new elaborations, are closely interwoven; this risk is more acute because the new governance's strong impact on knowledge derives not only from its deep needs but also from its iconoclastic spirit towards the ideals that animate teaching and research in universities. In fact, managerialism is above all a set of ideologically-based directions on how an institution should be and operate (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). It is a new set of values, based on the assumptions of the Public Choice Theory, largely derived from private sector management techniques.

Naturally, the new governance promotes its own principles while at the same time invalidating the previous ones by substituting or weakening them. Academic freedom, a concept closely related to the Humboldtian idea of the university and in some aspects always problematic, is now nullified (Cowen, 2000, pp. 93-96; Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005, p. 38). What is more, the specific power of the ideals of free speculative inquiry, of "heresy", disagreement, critique, defined by Steiner as the "thresholds of truth" (Steiner, 2013, p. 26), the wealth of a plurality of approaches and of the variety of the epistemological tools of each discipline, all these features are being stifled by a supremacy of the market-framed vision of knowledge, an ideal very active also in the so-called university of research (Neave, Blückert, & Nybom, 2006).

Over the centuries, the identity of the university has been characterized by two variables: its social role and the framework of knowledge within which it was to be found at any given moment. In the tension between these two focal points, the space for academic freedom has fluctuated. The Pope as well as the Emperor, the rulers of the Signorie as well as the kings or the nation states, have always had different demands on universities; at the same time, the struggle for hegemony

between disciplines has been a permanent feature. In our times, the concept of unity sustaining the possibility itself of universitas, the core idea of this institution for many centuries, has been further transformed: new university governance could be an answer to the recent radical modifications of the knowledge society and research (Waquet, 2008, pp. 285-293). Nevertheless, the impact of a vision of higher education rooted in the framework established by the market – even if it is the new "single market" for knowledge – is a situation that presents unprecedented power and speed.

In analyzing the consequences of the present situation for the doctorate in Italy, therefore, we certainly cannot pursue a vision of the university that has now waned, since that would mean both failing to understand the radical upheavals in higher education and failing to respond appropriately to the requirements facing today's university. At the same time, however, we must highlight a dangerous paradox inherent in the most common approach to research governance in higher education: on one hand, there is the need for greater flexibility and an institutional structure that is less rigid, so as to face up to the growing complexity of our time (Morin, 2011, pp. 145-168), and on the other hand, there is an ongoing homogenization of the approach to the questions that are to be answered through research itself. An approach reducing the meanings embodied in knowledge to mere merchandise (Dalmasso, 2013, p. 10) risks not only curbing and belittling research but also impoverishing reality and how it is considered, impeding the university from responding adequately to the times. The paradox, therefore, is that a view centered on marketing should be so severely limiting and "idealized", thus offering an ineffective regulatory vision of the university. The university might then find itself bereft of that "safeguarded space to ask its own questions, including critical ones, to define its own performance against international criteria, and to resist suggestions that its best service to society is to be at the service of governments" (Cowen, 2000, p. 103).

CONCLUSION

This essay started with the consideration that transformations of the doctorate are intimately linked with the very idea of research and, therefore, of the university itself. Nowadays, the higher education landscape is deeply influenced by the pressures of a strong supranational and national rhetoric demanding a radical reform based on a market-framed vision of knowledge. Do these powerful pressures invalidate the first assumption? Not at all, but they show undoubtedly the need for intense reflection about the tension between the historical development of the university as an institution and the different ideals that have marked the ever-changing profile of higher education over the centuries.

The history of university has made it very clear that the choice and the promotion of a specific vision of knowledge, and then of a specific ideal of research, can be only an individual option among a number of different possibilities and not an aseptic and impersonal claim to have the Right and Undisputable Idea of the University. If we think that some ideals of knowledge

closely connected with a rich vision of the human being (Cappa, 2014) can still represent the best resource for our society, we must support them and fight for them. However, even if this important and complex heritage should pass away, the university will not die, but will still survive in other forms and with a different face, well-accepted by numerous stakeholders. The last eight centuries of our civilization have shown distinctly that "universities have a power of survival which is quite astonishing" (Steiner, 2013, p. 26). But we must remember that the first idea of universitas and the comforting ideal of knowledge as a whole – the latter still alive in its numerous transformations in the Humboldtian model – disappeared long before the advent of the New Public Management (Piovani, 2000 [1969[1]]). Science's acquisitions, changing relations with the State, the form and role of the State itself, democratization of higher education, all these elements require a rethinking of knowledge. The varying nature of the university, always linked to the social transformations and the different blueprints that have shaped its profile throughout history, belie all nostalgic claims to a supposed Golden Age. However, an uncritical acceptance of the principles set up by the new form of governance, now widely diffused, cannot be based on these considerations. This is not because these principles represent a break with the previous tradition, but because they project an image of education which is unsuited to enabling the university to give its best service to each person and to society. The hegemony of a market-driven set of principles, like any hegemony, could destroy the fragile harmony between different disciplines, a plurality and an indispensable conversation that are achievements of our culture and that are still crucial for a rich cultivation of the mind. This ideal, however, has not always been the very core of the university, because the vision of education through research as cultivation of the mind belongs to the ideals of a liberal education; an ideal of education not born inside the university but adopted at a specific historical moment in which this inclusion was permitted for reasons that were not only scholarly and epistemological.

It is not possible (nor advisable) to go back to a previous vision of knowledge and of the university, but we must ask ourselves whether it is necessary to confine outside higher education – or even to erase – a tradition which, with its heritage of tolerance, justice, fairness and critical thinking, has been the cornerstone of a vision of the human being that has represented the very root of our Europe of the Spirit. Or should we not ask whether this tradition, with a novel role shaped by the new historical framework, could still embody the best choice for facing the challenges of our complex society. In this difficult period of complete disenchantment, we could read John Henry Newman's words, in his approach intended for Protestants, as addressed to all of us: "Our sole resource is to have what we have; 'Knowledge is our 'power' and nothing else; we are the anxious cultivators of a rugged soil" (Newman, 2010 [1852[1]], p. 10).

NOTE

[1] Marc Fumaroli: "Aux conciles à prédominance ecclésiastique ont succédé, à partir du XVIIe siècle, les congrès d'ambassadeurs laïques, chargés de mettre fin à un conflit armé. Et au langage de

technique de la théologie scolastique propre aux conciles fit alors place le langage souple et subtil de la diplomatie, dérivé de la rhétorique humaniste et pratiqué par des négociateurs qui en connaissaient les ressources et des experts qui connaissaient les détours et les surprises" (Fumaroli, 2010, p. 93).

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11. GOVERNING KNOWLEDGE THROUGH LANGUAGE?

Some Challenges for Comparative Education

INTRODUCTION

The chapter examines some issues related to the use of English as *lingua franca*[1] in the international educational discourse, the exertion of power that this implies, the influence on the conceptualisation of educational issues, and will then consider ow this affects specifically the field of comparative education and its developments.

Sensitivity to linguistic pluralism, and knowledge of several languages as professional requirements for comparativists, have been promoted, and in a sense embodied, by the early generations of comparativists who wrote in English. In fact, most of them were "notably trans-national, either as émigré scholars or with immigrant family backgrounds" (Kim, 2014). As such, they personally experienced some of the problematic issues that we address here, and it is certainly not far-fetched to hypothesize that their comparative disposition itself came from their life experience. Even in a changing context, the sensitivity for plurilinguism in comparative education has survived in some instances, as we will see below in at least one example. However, especially over the last few decades, a different trend has grown stronger – towards the predominance of one language of communication. This trend has swept over academic life and research all over the world, and has not spared the domain of education, nor of comparative education, which is directly questioned by it.

The risks of one language of communication predominating (English, in the present historical moment) have been widely investigated, with varying degrees of criticism or acceptance (Phillipson, 2009; Van Parijs, 2011). Here, we intend to stress specifically the impact on the nature of the knowledge that is thus produced, and the influence on the structure of the thought itself, causing a "loss" of thinking along different lines. This poses specific questions to comparative education, which is concerned with "the interplay of international political, cultural and economic hierarchies with domestic politics and forms of social power" (Cowen, 2012, p. 20). We wish to address this interplay, including the linguistic aspect, not taking it for granted, but promoting an intellectual, political and cultural awareness of its implications.

The question that we wish to ask is therefore how the use of language influences our way of thinking and our ability as comparativists, i.e. people who professionally should pay attention and study the different faces of "education", not only in its realisation, but also in its conceptualisation.

In doing this, we have to confront the obvious paradox of discussing such a theme in English, and by a non-native English speaker. The paradox can be faced by considering "Babel" not as a curse, but as an "opportunity" in the strong sense of the term: a road with difficult stretches, but perhaps an attempt to negotiate it will prove worthwhile.

The chapter presents a critical elaboration starting from the linguistic and conceptual dynamics that can be found in literary and philosophical translation and the related theory, and concludes by outlining some prospects which may be promising for educational comparison, using the concepts of negotiation (Eco, 2003) and of *comparatif dédié* (Cassin, 2010).

HEGEMONY AND EQUITY

As an essential premise, we must refer, however briefly, to a first range of relevant issues that have already been the object of a good number of studies: that is, the ways in which academics all over the world are pressed into speaking and publishing in English, and to what extent this affects them – us, I should say – as regards personal investment in terms of labour, time and expense; an investment necessary for non-native speakers to master English more or less adequately to be audible in international debate. From the very start, this places them at a disadvantage compared to native speakers for a number of reasons, and indeed affects not only individuals but also higher education and research institutions, which in the different countries are increasingly forced to measure their potential "attractiveness" and "excellence" also by their capacity to work with English, whether in teaching or in research.

So evident is this unfair playing field and handicap that a scholar such as Philippe Van Parijs judges it necessary to rectify the situation by the English-speaking countries setting in place some countermeasure in the form of financial support, since their inhabitants and institutions hardly deserve such a head start merely because their mother tongue is English. And it has to be noted that Van Parijs is actually in favour of the spread of English as the *lingua franca*, as he calls it, to facilitate international communications involving progressively more and more people, in line with an "inclusive" tendency which places such considerations within a wider picture of sensitivity towards social justice.[2]

Yet the problem is not simply economic, however important that aspect may be; it goes further than that, touching upon the very essence of academic work. Mastering the vehicular language enables researchers and academics to frequent international debate, which entails taking part in exchange and research networks, associations, meetings and conferences, but, perhaps more importantly, it also means having access to well-known "accredited" publishing houses and journals.[3] This fact has a strong impact on the academic nature of such writing, regarding both the topics chosen and the literature consulted – and increasingly on methodologies and approaches, directing authors towards those most likely to be accepted; so much so that, as we know, the "right" way to write and pose issues is

of late the topic of seminars for young researchers, often organized by the same journals to which they supposedly wish to offer their essays.[4]

As Philip Altbach puts it

The English language dominates science, scholarship, and instruction as never before. […] The power of English-language scientific and scholarly journals means that the research paradigms and scholarly interests of the journal editors, editorial board members, and indeed the majority of readers control journals and to a large extent research agendas and methodologies in most disciplines. Scholars in other parts of the world must conform to the interests of the prestigious journals if they wish their work to be published in them. […] These publications are almost the only ones internationally circulated. (Altbach, 2013, pp. 1, 3)

One of the most obvious negative effects of all this concerns the *corpus* of the authors of reference, who are indeed mainly authors writing in English, although perhaps coming from other countries, or who are at least translated into English (and at times are known mainly through "readers"). The contribution of other thinkers is thus effectively kept away from the mainstream circulation of ideas at international level; one outcome of this is that only what is accessible in English is legitimised, while, on the other hand, the overall cultural offer is impoverished.

This is a crucial point, on which a considerable volume of literature already exists. In particular, the intellectual and cultural impoverishment that all this implies has been reported and studied by a number of scholars, both English speakers and those of different mother tongues. Opinions, of course, vary. Some authors, including Van Parijs himself, hold that the progressive acquisition of a *lingua franca* – English today, as it were – by an ever-increasing number of people tends to favour greater social justice among people and among nations. Others, such as Robert Phillipson, not only forcefully denounce the "linguistic imperialism" so ostentatiously visible (Phillipson, 1992, 2009), but they also take issue with the very notion of a *lingua franca*. Such a notion evokes a language that is somehow "free" from particular influences, assuming a concept of language as an instrument at least partially neutral. Such an idea is rejected by Phillipson who goes as far as to propose the term "lingua frankensteinia" for English, or even – borrowing an expression from John Swales – "Tyrannosaura", "linguicide" on par with those national languages imposed from above by states in order to "eliminate the linguistic diversity and favour monolingualism" (Phillipson, 2009, p. 149).

A non-Anglophone such as Claude Hagège has for his own part decidedly opposed a purely instrumental, communicative concept of language ("Language is also a way of thinking, a way of seeing the world, a culture"); he stresses how "the language structures the thought processes of an individual", and as a consequence how "imposing one's language imposes one's way of thinking (Hagège, 2012b). Occasionally, in following Hagège's line of thought, one is led to believe that his pleading for diversity, so strongly linked to a fervid defence of French cultural identity, implies not only the defence of diversity, but also his desire to promote French-speaking as such – at least in part returning French to its role as the central

language in international relations, held for several centuries and now to a great extent lost. In spite of this, many of his arguments are cogent, stoutly underlining the limiting effect that the prevalence of a language imposes on the utterance of thought, and denouncing the risk that a single language will lead to a single thought[5]; in other words, in the terminology we are using here, that we will arrive at governing thinking and knowledge through language.

But there is a further crucial aspect to be considered that concerns comparativists perhaps more than all the other scholars. When the phenomenon of the world dominance of the English language is analysed, which language is referred to? Certainly not Shakespeare's, nor one of the many "Englishes" alive in the world today. We are, in fact, speaking of what is, to a great extent, one specific tool of communication, with specific features and limits, that "official English of the European Community and of scientific conferences, which certainly has a practical use, but is scarcely a language" (Cassin, 2014). While in one sense this "constructed language" stands as an "International Auxiliary Language", it can in no way be called "neutral" as an IAL often claims to be; indeed, it tends to convey a world vision and hegemony as well, although with features not always similar to those that vehicular languages had in the past. We know how complex and controversial the question of communication among different linguistic and cultural universes is, and how much the question of scholarly communication has troubled the history of this same communication, even within an environment, such as the European one, that can claim a common cultural background. Especially since seeing "the retreat of Latin as the international language – a medium that had the advantage of belonging to no particular nation, though owned by an international elite of academics and intellectuals" (Tonkin, 2008)[6] – the vehicular languages that have superseded one another have, unsurprisingly, followed the variations in political dominance across different times and places, while the search for a language that belongs to no particular country has indeed produced interesting results, but these have never become sufficiently widespread to be really meaningful.

Throughout history, therefore, linguistic hegemony comes mainly from the political hegemony of one or more countries, and cultural hegemony tends (historically and sociologically) to follow – it is no coincidence that efforts to create languages such as Esperanto are also connected to hopes of "linguistic democracy".[7] However, in the case of this English "which is scarcely a language", rather than reflecting the cultural identity of English-speaking nations, it really constitutes that "New planetspeak of the International Expert Discourse" of which Antonio Nóvoa speaks when he analyses it specifically in reference to the socio-political area and underlines the connection with the governing practices adopted at various levels, particularly within Europe (Nóvoa, 2002).

The point that mainly interests us here is the influence that this planetspeak has on our way of thinking, the relation with what I wish to call the "governance of the mind", and above all how such issues question us as comparativists.

In fact, even before considering what influence the systematic adoption of a language other than one's own in scholarly communication has in favouring the

development of a way of thinking, we have to face the even more dramatic aspect of the *loss of thought* that this implies. The impoverishment of scientific language in less common tongues internationally is occasionally reported, highlighting, among other things, how this may lead to a sort of downgrading of the different mother tongues in academic circles. However, another aspect may be more relevant – and less evident: the impoverishment of thought itself, impeded in its development by being constrained within a mode of expression less spontaneous and not fully mastered, instead of being open to enrichment through the dynamics of exchange.

A subtle analysis of this is already to be found in a text dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, in which the Italian writer and language scholar, Alessandro Manzoni, describes what happens in a cultured conversation among three people – an Italian, a German and a Spaniard – talking in what was then the international language of communication, French.

> Under such conditions, and many others similar that the reader may for himself imagine, [the three speakers] say the things they say: those they suppress and would have said had each one of them spoken in his native tongue, and to people of the same language, God only knows, He who knows the contingencies: they themselves know it not or know it in part, because not only do we speak but we think in words, and they, knowing they were to speak in French, and therefore attempting to think in French, that is in what French they know, the mind had frequently to constrain itself within that field; and full many a thing that they would have said in their native tongue, for this tongue itself would have suggested it to them, would have furnished it to them, such things did not even come to mind. Human ingenuity, indeed, can often glimpse beyond what it can accomplish; but often it cuts, let us say, according to its cloth, and equates to its capacity, and to its instrument, not only endeavours, not only wishes, but concepts as well.[8]

It is then a clear impoverishment of the depth not only of communication, but also of the production of culture when this happens; it is this aspect that should be the main concern for those who have the development of thought at heart. Furthermore, in a situation such as that described by Manzoni, at least theoretically the three speakers face approximately the same levels of difficulty with respect to the language they use. But if a French native speaker were to join the conversation, then a further problem would arise, in that an inequality in mastery of the language would alter interpersonal communications, even if – indeed, even more so if – the native speaker should voluntarily confine his linguistic production in order to simplify it.

The use of a vehicular language, therefore, implies a delicate dynamic between its communicative capacity and its influence on thought, possibly encouraging certain developments and limiting others in a subtle yet nonetheless real power game.

In the international picture we have sketched above, this complex relationship between governance by language and governance of the mind poses specific

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queries and challenges for comparative education, which, as recalled before, should be able to deal with "the interplay of international political, cultural and economic hierarchies with domestic politics and forms of social power" (Cowen, 2012, p. 20).[9] It is not a question of finding "solutions", but of encouraging intellectual, political and cultural awareness of the situation and its implications, without taking it for granted in a prospect bereft of alternatives.

Each possible prospect presents as many risks as opportunities, to use an expression maybe too frequently adopted, but one that is however pertinent here. The prevalence of a language and its widest possible diffusion may offer a communications potential that could be seen as favouring greater justice,[10] while at the same time conceding an inequality of power that risks making thought arid and basically inequitable. On the other hand, while plurality in itself is obviously enriching, plurality of languages confronts both practical and theoretical problems regarding the ability to communicate among different linguistic-cultural universes, thus putting in question the same enrichment it should favour.

To illustrate this topic, and the relative "risks and opportunities", I will take two examples: the first relates to the impact of "planetspeak" in Italy, with particular reference to the use in Italian educational discourse of the term "education" in its English form, the meaning it carries and the influence it may have on thinking about education in Italy. The second example refers to the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) itself, to its tradition of utilising different languages, and to the theoretical and conceptual significance of this tradition. From this example, I will move on towards the last part of the chapter, to discuss the relations between translation, negotiation and comparison, in an attempt to outline a possible theoretical prospect.

EDUCATION/*EDUCAZIONE*

For many years now, the use of the English term "education" in discourse relating to educational policies and quality has become common in Italy. Initially, it appeared mainly in economic and professional circles, but is now becoming more and more popular with scholars and researchers as well. The *Confindustria* (General Confederation of Italian Industry), for example, has a section on "Education" (English term used); similarly, the *Associazione TreeLLLe* (the three 'Ls' stand for LifeLongLearning), founded in 2001, defines itself as a "think tank" with the aim of enhancing the quality of "education" – again, the English term is used. One may wonder why this term was chosen, whether it is based on a particular vision of educational facts and in what relation it stands towards the Italian term "educazione". We must point out that in the Italian educational debate on the subject, the terminology issue and its conceptual implications are anything but irrelevant, and have given rise to profound reflections on the semantic differences between terms such as *educazione, istruzione* and *formazione,* the interpretations of which in fact respond to widely different concepts both political and philosophical (Vertecchi, 2002; Cambi, 2005). The growing use of the English

term would seem to indicate the intention to take a shortcut with regard to such subtleties, but actually it carries with it a vision that is anything but neutral.

In a recent article in an academic journal whose main field of interest is "education", there is a phrase that helps to understand the concept in question: "*L'ampio campo dell'*education*: scuola, università, apprendimento e trasformazioni del lavoro*" (The wide field of "education": school, university, learning and the changing world of work). This phrase avoids using one of the controversial Italian terms pinpointed in the above-mentioned debate, and at once indicates what is meant by the English term while attributing to it a somewhat curious semantic extension that curtails the meaning of this English word and brings it in line with the education system and its relations with the world of work, excluding the wider implications and aspects of education itself.

This, firstly, does not do justice to English itself as a "real" language, ignoring the polysemy of the word and therefore excluding its many possible meanings; and secondly, it carries substantial risks with respect to the Italian discourse on the education issue, which has such a rich tradition of analysis of its different nuances, in all its historical, philosophic and conceptual complexity. Such a narrowing down of meaning emphasises the education system and its relations with the world of work, thus indicating the influence of a specific international discourse that perceives "education" in this light.[11]

My concern is that, little by little, the cultural hegemony of the international discourse "smuggled" through English as "planetspeak", together with the assonance between "education" and "*educazione*", will make this restricted meaning percolate, so to speak, into the concept itself of "*educazione*", obscuring its original wider range of meaning. A first sign may be seen in the adoption into Italian not of the English term "education" alone, but also that of "overeducation": if we consider the profound significance of the Italian term "*educazione*", there is not, indeed there cannot possibly be, an "overeducated" person, as this would indicate a personality that is "too" mature, developed, harmonious, cultured. But the very fact of the use of the term "overeducation" itself indicates the narrowed meaning attributed to it, which in fact expresses overqualification in relation to work.[12]

This can be considered one among several alarming examples of "governance by language". Yet, no sooner is this reported, in English by an author who is not English mother-tongue, than we once more come up against the paradox mentioned at the beginning, and with the difficult relationship between the need to communicate and equity in interlinguistic relations. So, the question arises how this problematic issue can be confronted.

Joining Manzoni and Gramsci in highlighting both the cultural and the political value of the use of a language – in our case of a vehicular language – does not mean denying the need to communicate; rather, it means underlining the need to be profoundly aware of the problem, the need for something which in today's terminology I would call an intercultural awareness of the issue. This does not, of course, imply choosing one communication language over another; obviously that would simply shift the issue without touching the heart of the problem. However,

against the argument that "there is no alternative" – now so commonly used in certain contexts as to be familiar under the acronym TINA – we might argue that certain alternatives can at least be explored.

AGAINST TINA

This leads us to the second example, taken from the tradition of CESE itself, which offers a prospect that links with possible present-day "alternatives".

"Once upon a time", CESE used to have the themes and rubrics of its Conferences in at least two languages, English and French, and sometimes in German, its third official language. This, of course, can easily be read as a hegemony shared by two or three powerful languages, and not "diversity" at all. But what is really important is the process through which this came about. The themes and the rubrics of the Working Groups of each Conference were not simply translated after they had been decided in a monolingual discussion: rather, they were discussed in the CESE Board, which always comprised members from different countries, and they would take into account the shades of meanings in different languages. This meant that an extremely significant cultural interaction was going on that opened the way to a subtle play of comparison and conceptual elaboration, confronting at the same time the incommensurability of some concepts and the need to find common features not only in the two or three linguistic universes concerned, but also in a wider "European" understanding.

In the CESE Conference that took place in 1992 in Dijon, the Italian scholar Aldo Visalberghi started his keynote address with an analysis which referred exactly to this issue, examining the two versions – English and French – of the title of the Conference,[13] highlighting the similarities and the semantic differences in them, and even in the notion itself of "keynote address", and significantly, using himself both languages in his speech.

Mesdames, messieurs,

bien que mon français soit moins bon que mon anglais, qui est déjà loin d'être parfait, je suivrai la coutume des réunions de la CESE en commençant dans la langue du pays hôte, pour remercier très vivement les organisateurs, ainsi que le Comité directeur de la CESE et son Président. Ils ont bien voulu me faire l'honneur de m'inviter à donner l'un des trois brefs discours d'ouverture sur le thème général, un 'key-note address'. Cela me conduit à un problème, non des moindres parmi ceux que je voulais traiter: les différentes langues possèdent toutes des termes difficiles à traduire. Il n'existe pas, à ma connaissance, en français (ou même en italien) d'expression tout à fait équivalente pour l'anglais 'keynote address'.

Si nous comparons par ailleurs la formulation en français et en anglais du thème général du Congrès ('Conference' en anglais) nous découvrons des différences non sans intérêt. Les termes qui se réfèrent au domaine éducatif ont en général dans les diverses langues des différences sémantiques importantes, même s'ils ont la même racine latine ou s'ils ont été transposés

d'une langue à l'autre. Le pluriel français 'formations' correspond ainsi à l'union des deux termes anglais 'education and training'; le terme français 'points de vue' au terme anglais 'approaches'. Ces différences s'expliquent peut-être par le fait que les anglophones préfèrent les modèles opératoires, dynamiques, aux modèles visuels et statiques. Par ailleurs, les termes allemands 'Erziehung' et 'Bildung', qui ne sont pas, eux, d'origine latine, ne correspondent pas exactement il me semble aux termes français 'éducation' et 'formation', ni aux termes italiens 'educazione' e 'formazione'. Et assurément 'Bildung' ne peut être traduit par 'training'.

Toutefois, je n'ai pas la compétence requise pour soutenir un discours de linguistique comparée. J'ai seulement voulu saisir l'occasion de souligner que les obstacles linguistiques posent très probablement des difficultés considérables dans le discours pédagogique, plus encore que dans d'autres domaines. Now I go on speaking in English …. (Visalberghi, 1993, p. 27)[14]

I will not go further into Visalberghi's analysis in his key address, the text of which can be found in the Proceedings of Dijon Conference (Cacouault & Orivel, 1993).

The point that I want to stress here is that the mere opening to "non-unicity", so to speak, opens the way to thinking, and creates a space for multiplicity. It is not by chance that the issue has been raised in a Conference of the Comparative Education Society in Europe: if on one hand the recognition of "non-unicity" is at the basis of the comparison, on the other the European context is especially appropriate as a starting point for this reflection, as a "space" crossed by many languages, struggling to find a way to interact and communicate, acknowledging a common cultural background without surrendering to univocality, to "governance by a language", or rather by a "non-language", as hinted by French linguist and philosopher Barbara Cassin.

Cassin (2004) edited a *Dictionnaire des Intraduisibles*, firstly published in French; the *Dictionnaire* has been recently translated into English, producing a fascinating whirlpool with regard to the themes we are addressing here, as can be seen among others in Emily Apter's (2014) discussion of the task of "translating the untranslatable", in the Preface to the English version.

From the start, Cassin links the language issue to the European one: "One of the most urgent problems posed by the existence of Europe is that of languages. We may envisage two kinds of solution. We could choose a dominant language in which exchanges will take place from now on, a globalized Anglo-American. Or we could gamble on the retention of many languages, making clear on every occasion the meaning and the interest of the differences – the only way of really facilitating communication between languages and cultures. […] The *Dictionary of Untranslatables* belongs to this second perspective. But it looks to the future rather than to the past. It is not tied to a retrospective and reified Europe […] defined by an accumulation and juxtaposition of legacies that would only reinforce particularities, but to a Europe in progress, fully active, *energeia* rather than *Ergon*, which explores divisions, tensions, transfers, appropriations, contradictions, in order to construct better versions of itself" (Cassin, 2014, pp. xvii, xix).

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Although the European context has, without question, specific features making these considerations particularly apt, the argument, I think, can go further, beyond the case of Europe as such. We should not only take into account the multiplicity of language areas existing[15]; we should also consider the wider system of dynamics reflected in the language field, and specifically, from our vantage point, question in detail our ability as comparativists, our ability to understand, as in the passage above, the "meaning and interest of differences" as well as "divisions, tensions, transfers, appropriations, contradictions".

These words echo with particular force a number of the constants in comparative education studies, from the problem of the context to that of transfer, and they particularly evoke the dynamics of Robert Cowen's "Three Ts" – transfer, translation and transformation – and their crucial role in the theory of comparative education (Cowen, 2010).

The tensions we speak of are also linked to the multiple meanings of the term "translation", which are separate albeit they do have something in common. Here, the focus is on linguistic and in particular interlinguistic translation:[16] this is a study area having a wealth of research and highly specialised analyses, although with some rather curious flaws. Such studies in fact focus for the most part on issues relating to poetic and literary translations, or on philosophical works, or else they deal with the so-called "technical" fields (in which, to my surprise, juridical matters are occasionally included), but they are less present in the fields of social sciences *lato sensu*; yet in this sector there is perhaps an even greater need for study and attention to any possible errors and misunderstandings, since social science terminology slips so easily into common sense, influencing and directing opinion and the way of thinking. This is true to a greater degree as regards education, as Visalberghi noted at the end of the above-quoted piece; and maybe yet more so for comparative education if, as Alexander observes, "the language of education contains few universals, and educational conversation across cultures is riddled with pitfalls for the unwary" (Alexander, 2008, p. 97).

So I would like to conclude this chapter by returning to the initial question: "how the use of language affects our way of thinking and doing comparative education", and offering a number of directions in which to move, examining if and to what extent they may prove useful for a better understanding of this nexus.

This is a research track not yet deeply explored. I wish to follow it up here by proposing a short reflection about the link between translation and comparison, using a number of the theoretical frameworks elaborated on translation, and highlighting how, through the notion of negotiation, the link takes on clearer outlines that also help to throw light on what we might call the intellectual and professional ethics of the comparative education scholar.

In Umberto Eco's (2003) well-known expression and the title of one of his books, translating means saying "almost the same thing": the "almost" is insurmountable, and the only way to confront it is to follow a "procedure in the spirit of negotiation" – unless one finds a "perfect language" or it proves possible to build a "rational language" enabling us to find a *tertium comparationis* capable of constituting an irrefutable criterion (Eco, 2003, pp. 345-347; cf. also Eco, 1993).

Yet again, comparison seems central to an analysis based on the problems of translatability, through a notion – *tertium comparationis* – that has long bedevilled studies on comparative education. Eco argues against the possibility of its fruitful use in the theory and practice of translation; he shows the internal contradictions it risks, and pronounces himself to be decidedly in favour of a procedure that allows a "negotiation of the most acceptable solution", which comes about in fact not by trying to find the "Third Man", but through the comparison of differing linguistic organizations (Eco, 2003, pp. 350-351).

According to such an approach, translation can only be a negotiation – between languages, among meanings, among styles; and the negotiation is based on comparison: again, between languages, among meanings, among cultures, and evidently among *solutions*, attempting on each occasion to find the best for each specific case and context.

Barbara Cassin (2010) expresses a similar concept, stating that translating always entails making the best possible choice: not for an absolute "good", but for that which is considered the best for a certain purpose, in a specific context (the one that is "the best for" … "*le meilleur pour*" …). She links this to a more general relativist conception which does not, however, exclude responsibility for evaluating the "best" time by time, in line with a position she names *comparatif dédié*. Starting from issues connected to interpretation and translation, therefore, we once more touch upon one of the fundamental aspects for comparativists: the need for awareness of the implications of any given choice, and therefore of all the responsibility, intellectual as well as practical, to be accepted by comparativists beyond their "professional relativism".

A scholar of philology and classical philosophy, Cassin finds the roots of this *comparatif dédié* in one of the most beautiful passages of Greek philosophy, in that *Theaetetus* where Plato has Protagoras speak through Socrates.

> For I [166d] declare that the truth is as I have written, and that each of us is a measure of existence and of non-existence. Yet one man may be a thousand times better than another in proportion as things are and appear different to him. And I am far from saying that wisdom and the wise man have no existence; but I say that the wise man is he who makes the evils which appear and are to a man, into goods which are and appear to him …. As in education, a change of state has to be effected, and the sophist accomplishes by words the change which the physician works by the aid of drugs … these which the inexperienced call true, I maintain to be only better, and not truer than others. … [167e] And in this way one man is wiser than another; and yet no one thinks falsely, and you, whether you will or not, must endure to be a measure.[17]

This is the passage where we find the famous principle "man is the measure of all things", forever linked to the name of Protagoras: an argument mainly addressing the political life of the *polis*, within which the "best for" takes on its full significance. And it is within this same framework of civilised cohabitation in

human society that the argument also meets certain basic problems of comparative education.

In a recent paper, Robert Cowen shows in a limpid analysis "the ways in which the epistemology of the field of study (academic comparative education) is always embedded in the politics of both domestic educational reform and international political relations – to the point where research in the field, manifestly increasingly 'objective' is also de facto increasingly 'political'" (Cowen, 2014, p. 282). And Cowen himself had long before posed the problem of the comparativist's responsibility, both intellectual and ethical – a typically Socratic issue – by pondering upon the nature and limits, if any, of "professional relativism". "When should it [comparative education] judge, and on what criteria?" (Cowen, 2009, p. 962). How can we combine the relativism intrinsic in comparative studies with the ethical-political responsibility of assuming a specific position in academic as well as in applied comparative education?

According to the argument of the *comparatif dédié*, which we accept here, this responsibility cannot be resolved except by asking again and again what is "best for" the ethical-political aim agreed upon and shared in any given situation. The decision is, of course, based on what one knows, a knowledge inevitably mediated, *inter alia*, by language and linguistic competence, whether we are speaking of documentary sources, papers or direct experience. And this linguistic mediation influences both the theoretical interpretation and any acts of applied comparative education, such as consultancies and the like, each in turn subjected to various types of negotiation. It is here that the comparison–negotiation–translation chain reappears from a conceptual point of view, and the term "translation" in its multiple meanings takes on a new heuristic wealth, recalling both the spatial transfer of policies with the inevitable modifications it implies and the transposition of concepts from one language to another, or, following Eco, between two differing linguistic organisations.

While not forgetting that many classical authors of comparative education considered linguistic competence an indispensable professional requirement, we do not wish to state here that comparativists must necessarily be polyglots, but rather that they must be actors and authors aware of their own positioning and its implications, from a language point of view among others.

Retracing what has been said up to now, the point is to recognize that the linguistic issue is linked to hegemony both in politics and in thought, and therefore a comparative education that does not take this into account is not only incomplete, but also risks being used as a tool for cultural hegemony, albeit at times unknowingly (I am thinking of certain radical-type papers that do not even seem to suspect the existence of academic worlds beyond English language communication …). The use of one single communication language as a *lingua franca* allegedly "free" from specific influences, is similar to that assumed neutrality in the use of numbers still at times invoked by politicians and agencies, but certainly no longer acceptable within mature comparative reflection (Goldstein & Moss, 2014); both are close to that idea of now being in possession of a successful "science of transfer" which, again in Cowen's words, "ignores almost all of the complex

thinking in the field of 'academic comparative education' of the last 100 years" (Cowen, 2014, p. 282).

Coming into contact with plurality is never simple; however, years and years of discussions on the topic ought at least to have made us aware of the "wealth in diversity" and, hence, willing to consider "Babel" – non-unicity – not just as a curse, but an opportunity for wider reflection and understanding. And this should be done, I believe, even at the cost of defying the paradox, as is done in this text: its author, not an English native speaker herself, in developing her argument finds herself right in the middle of the question she is trying to analyse, feeling at the same time the blessing of being able to interact intellectually with colleagues from a plurality of backgrounds and the curse of not being able to express her meaning fully, due to the differences and peculiarities of languages. No "solution", but again a possible path, to be found in mediation and negotiation, looking for a ground of a possible mutual understanding, being aware of the limits as well as of the richness of any communication, and also with the help of a native speaker friend, fluent in Italian, who agreed to discuss every doubt and every nuance, in a lively exchange and inter-linguistic questioning.

So, we come back yet again to the words of Protagoras in the *Thaeteetus*, the words that Plato makes him utter in the voice of Socrates, indicating both the fundamental role of dialogue and questioning, while also outlining a crystalline definition of the intellectual ethics which – in spite of everything – should distinguish scholarship even today:

> This is my argument, which you, Socrates, may, if you please, overthrow by an opposite argument, or if you like you may put questions to me (no intelligent person will object to the method of questions, − quite the reverse). [167e] But I must beg you to put fair questions: for there is great inconsistency in saying that you have a zeal for virtue, and then always behaving unfairly in argument (*Theaetetus*, 166d-167e).

NOTES

1 It may be worthwhile to clarify from the start the respective meanings of the terms "lingua franca", "vehicular language" and "International Auxiliary Language", that will be used in the chapter. In the literature, the terms sometimes overlap, but the concepts they refer to do not necessarily coincide. "The original 'lingua franca' was a tongue actually called Lingua Franca (or Sabir) that was employed for commerce in the Mediterranean area during the Middle Ages. Now extinct, it had Italian as its base with an admixture of words from Spanish, French, Greek, and Arabic. The designation 'Lingua Franca' [language of the Franks] came about because the Arabs in the medieval period used to refer to Western Europeans in general as 'Franks'" (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th ed., 2014. *Encyclopedia.com.* 10 May 2015, http://www.encyclopedia.com). Today, a wider meaning of the term is well established, as "any language serving as a medium between different peoples" (The Concise Oxford Dictionary). In this sense, "lingua franca" can be considered a synonym of "vehicular language", i.e. a medium of communication between peoples of different languages. However, the term of "lingua franca" brings with it a suggestion of "freedom" and neutrality not always well justified – especially when it applies to a natural language, as we are discussing here, and as will be illustrated in the chapter. The acknowledgement of this aspect has

brought about efforts to construct, especially from the beginning of the XX Century onwards, "new" languages, with the specific purpose of allowing communication on an equal footing: the "International Auxiliary Languages (IALs), of which Esperanto is the best known, but by no means the only example.

2 Van Parijs, however, does not believe that linguistic diversity is particularly valuable; he sees it rather in conjunction with linguistic justice. "(This paper) … argues (a) that linguistic diversity, by itself, cannot plausibly be regarded as a good, all things considered, especially because of its negative impact on the prospects for economic solidarity; (b) that the erosion of local linguistic diversity should therefore be witnessed with equanimity; but (c) that territorial linguistic diversity will nonetheless need preserving as the by-product of a concern for the equal dignity of the identities closely associated with native languages" (Van Parijs, 2007). This point seems to be almost a contradiction regarding the role of linguistic identity, as implied by the author himself in the title of the paper ("Linguistic diversity as curse and as by-product"); however, this is not the right place to enter more deeply into this discussion.

3 See the charming advertisement of a very well known printing house: "Get read! Publish with us!"

4 The conventional rules of reference, citation and bibliography are also standardised in a restricted number of models out of tune with many cultural traditions. This may appear to be simply a formality; and obviously satisfies practical aims. However it actually follows criteria connected to specific approaches. A particularly relevant case is the use of footnotes: in certain traditions, including the Italian, they often serve not only as an addition or supplement but almost as a counterpoint to the text, while in many international publications, journals especially, authors are requested to restrict their use as much as possible or to do away with them altogether. Apart from the inequality in relations among the different academic cultures, one may wonder how such standardisations can be in line with the incessant call for "creativity".

5 See Hagège (2012a, 2012b).

6 We must bear this in mind to remind us that the Latin so often mentioned in discussions on the *lingua franca* is in fact a case apart: although it originated as a natural language, when it became the communication language of scholars it was no longer the language of a single country. We also know how its use was in many ways connected to the Church of Rome's dominance; it is not quite superfluous to recall to what degree the linguistic challenge was in reality a challenge both religious and political.

7 The relation between the language question and cultural hegemony was well expressed by Antonio Gramsci: "Each time the language question appears in any way, it brings in its wake another series of issues (…) the preparation and expansion of the ruling class, the need to establish closer and more secure relations between the ruling groups and the popular-national masses, that is to reorganise cultural hegemony" (*Quaderni dal carcere,* Quaderno 29, § 3).

8 Alessandro Manzoni, *Della lingua italiana*, a cura di L.Poma e A. Stella, in *Tutte le opere di Alessandro Manzoni*, a cura di A.Chiari e F. Ghisalberti, V, *Scritti linguistici e letterari*, 1, Milano, Mondadori, 1974, cited in Marazzini (2013, pp. 17-18):

> Con tali condizioni, e con tante altre consimili che il lettore può immaginar da sé, [i tre interlocutori] dicono le cose che dicono: quelle che tacciono e che avrebbero dette, se ognuno di loro avesse parlato nella sua lingua nativa, e con gente di quella lingua medesima, Dio lo sa, il quale sa i contingibili: essi medesimi non lo sanno se non in parte, perché non solo si parla, ma si pensa con parole, e sapendo essi di avere a parlare in francese, e studiandosi perciò di pensare in francese, cioè in quel tanto di francese che sanno, la mente ha dovuto restringersi sovente in quel campo; e molte e molte cose che avrebber dette parlando nella loro lingua nativa, perché questa lingua medesima gliele avrebbe suggerite, somministrate, non sono loro pur venute in mente. Ché l'ingegno umano scorge, è vero, assai volte al di là di quel che può fare; ma assai volte anche taglia, per così dire, secondo il panno, e ragguaglia al potere, e al mezzo, non solo i tentativi, non solo i desideri, ma i concetti eziandio.

9   This is a crucial feature of Cowen's concept of "academic comparative education", i.e. "a field of study based in universities", distinguished from "consultancy comparative education" or comparative education by agencies such as OECD or the World Bank (*Ibidem*). I would venture to say that, from the vantage point of "governance by language", academic comparative education might also wish to question itself about its impact on world policy.

10   Phillip Van Parijs, mentioned above, holds that the "adoption and spreading [of a *lingua franca*] creates and expands a transnational *demos*, by facilitating direct communication, live or online, without the cumbersome and expensive mediation of interpretation and translation. It enables not only the rich and the powerful, but also the poor and the powerless to communicate, debate, network, cooperate, lobby, demonstrated effectively across borders. This common *demos*…is a precondition for the effective pursuit of justice, and this fact provides the second fundamental reason why people committed to egalitarian global justice should not only welcome the spread of English as a *lingua franca* but see it as their duty to contribute to this spread in Europe and throughout the world" (Van Parijs 2011, p. 31).

11   The journal – *Scuola Democratica*, a very well-known and authoritative one in the field of sociology and education – after publishing the article with the sentence quoted above (*Presentazione*, 2012) agreed to open a debate on the subject, in which some of the issues discussed here were introduced (Palomba, 2014).

12   "The concept of over-education first appeared in economics in the seventies as a concern regarding the excess of schooling attained by young Americans with respect to labor market demand. The first works on over-education come from Richard Freeman's 'The Overeducated American' (Freeman, 1976)" (Kucel, 2011, p. 125). To my knowledge, the first book with the term "overeducation" in its title appeared in 1981 (Rumberger, 1981).

13   The titles were, respectively, "L'évaluation des formations: points de vue comparatistes", and "Evaluation of education and training: comparative approaches".

14   Visalberghi (1993, p. 27):

> Although my French is less good than my English, and that is already far from being perfect, I shall follow the tradition of the CESE meetings by starting in the language of the host country, heartily thanking the organisers and the Executive Committee of the CESE and its President. They did me the honour of inviting me to give one of the three short opening speeches on the general theme, a 'key-note address'. This poses a problem for me, not the least among those I wish to deal with: the different languages all possess terms that are difficult to translate. As far as I know, in French (and in Italian) there is no expression exactly equivalent for the English 'key-note address'.
>
> If first of all we compare the formulation in French and in English of the general topic of the Congress ('Conference' in English), we discover certain differences of no little interest. The terms referring to the educational field generally have important semantic differences, whether they have the same Latin root or whether they have shifted from one language to the other. The French plural 'formations' corresponds to the combination of the two English terms 'education and training'; the French term 'points de vue' to the English term 'approaches'. These differences are perhaps explained by the fact that English-speakers prefer operative, dynamic models to visual, static models. However, the German terms 'Erziehung' and 'Bildung', which are not themselves derived from Latin, do not seem to me to correspond exactly to the French terms 'education' and 'formation', nor to the Italian terms 'educazione' and 'formazione'. And 'Bildung' certainly cannot be translated by 'training'. However, I do not possess the competence necessary to discourse on comparative linguistics. I simply wished to take the opportunity to underline the fact that linguistic obstacles very probably pose considerable difficulties in the pedagogical discourse, to a greater degree than in other fields. Now I go on speaking in English.

15   In any case, the *Dictionnaire*'s translations already tend in this direction, including an Arab version as well as several European language versions.

[16] It is hardly necessary to recall that interlinguistic translation is only one of the possible typologies, besides which we should mention at least the intralinguistic and intersemiotic ones, in line with Jakobson's classic tripartition.

[17] Cassin quotes the passage in French. Here, we refer to the English version of *Theaetetus* by Benjamin Jowett.

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