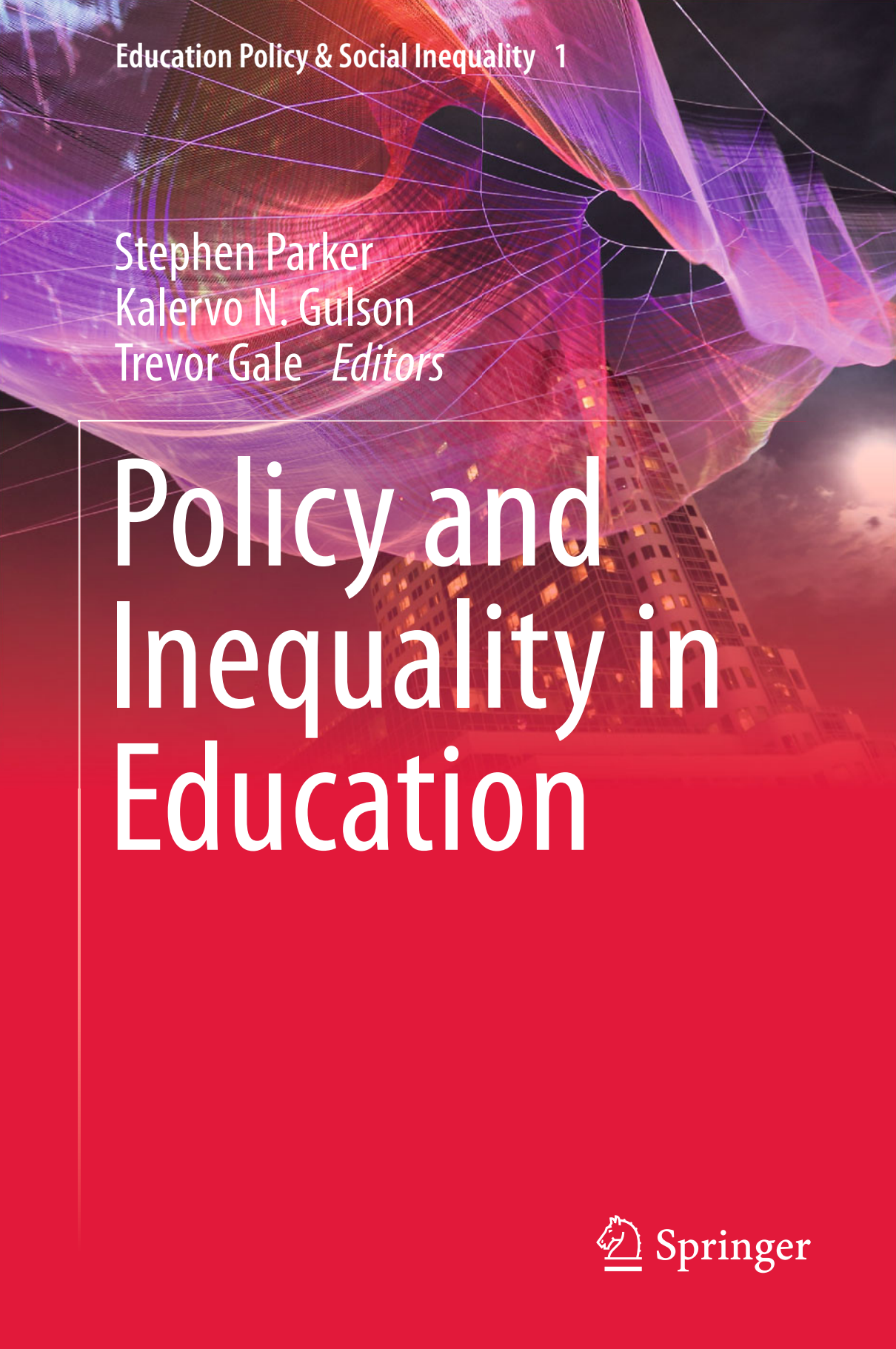
Education Policy & Social Inequality 1
Stephen Parker
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Policy and Inequality in Education
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Education Policy & Social Inequality

Volume 1

Series editors

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This series publishes monographs and edited collections that investigate relations between education policy and social inequality. Submissions that provoke new and generative ways of thinking about and acting on relations between education policy and social inequality are particularly invited from early career, emerging and established scholars.

While education policy has often been understood as having a normative function and is proposed as the solution to social inequality, the series is interested in how education policy frames, creates and at times exacerbates social inequality. It adopts a critical orientation, encompassing (1) innovative and interdisciplinary theoretical and conceptual studies—including but not exclusively drawing on sociology, cultural studies, social and cultural geography, history—and (2) original empirical work that examines a range of educational contexts, including early years education, vocational and further education, informal education, K-12 schooling and higher education.

The series sees critique and policy studies as having a transformative function. It publishes books that seek to re-articulate policy discourses, the realm of research, or which posit (1) new dimensions to understanding the role of education policy in connection with enduring social problems and (2) the amelioration of social inequality in ways that challenge the possibility of equity in the liberal democratic state, as well as in other forms of governance and government.

Education Policy and Social Inequality is co-edited by Professor Trevor Gale and A/Professor Kalervo N. Gulson.

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Contents

Chapter 1
Introduction to Policy and Inequality in Education

Stephen Parker, Kalervo N. Gulson and Trevor Gale

Abstract This chapter provides a brief introduction to *Policy and Inequality in Education:* an edited collection authored by members of the editorial panel of the new book series: *Education Policy and Social Inequality*. The chapter sets the scene for both the book and the series. It draws particular attention to the book's different international and empirical foci and suggests that in many cases, where the study of social inequality is the focus, education policy is often held in abeyance, and vice versa. The chapter also draws attention to the ways in which inequality can be reproduced both in educational settings and through education policy and practice.

This collection introduces the Springer book series *Education Policy and Social Inequality*. The chapters canvass, though not exhaust, possible themes to be taken up in the series and advance the series' broader agenda to provoke generative ways of thinking about, and acting on, relations between education policy and social inequality (albeit the series is not constrained by the issues raised in this book).

While education policy has often been understood as having a normative function and a necessary part of delivering solutions to social inequality, the series is interested in how education policy frames, creates and, at times, exacerbates social inequality. The series adopts a critical orientation, encompassing: (1) innovative and interdisciplinary theoretical and conceptual studies—including but not exclusively drawing on sociology, cultural studies, social and cultural geography, history; and, (2) original empirical work that examines a range of educational contexts, including early years education, vocational and further education, informal education, K-12 schooling and higher education.

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As editors of the series, we see critique and policy studies as having a possible transformative function. We are interested in approaches that seek to re-articulate policy discourses, the realm of research, or which posit: (1) new dimensions to understanding the role of education policy in connection with enduring social problems; and, (2) the amelioration of social inequality in ways that challenge the possibility of equity in the liberal democratic state, as well as in other forms of governance and government.

The chapters in this particular book, the first in the series, take a varied approach to policy and policy studies, which reflect continuing concerns with the role of the state, and with the micropolitics of practice (e.g. Simons et al. 2009). The chapters also cover a variety of conceptual frameworks, theoretical tools, and empirical contexts.

Some take to task the acts of policy and the micropolitics around the production and enactment of policy. Braun focuses on a performative education policy and its effects on teachers, while attempting to reinvigorate 'voice' based policy work and new forms of relationality as social justice work. Fataar and Feldmann focus on professional learning communities in South African schooling and the link to a national policy, explored through a focus on one teacher. In a similar way to Braun, there is an emphasis here on the ways the national policy becomes reinterpreted, and through concepts from Bourdieu such as 'learning through the body', provides certain types of available action in schools.

Some chapters are interested in the limits of policy. If we were to take an approach to policy studies that paralleled science studies (e.g. Latour 1999), we might see that some authors in the collection aim to break open the black box of policy—to put 'reality' back into policy. Thus, Pillow uses Afrofuturism theorizing to examine how data matters in policy formation, and why reimagining data can mean different types of policy possibilities and futures. Gulson and Webb look at the connections between postgenomics and education policy, with a focus on authority, epistemology and policy knowledge. Their chapter examines what policy analysis means when the subjects and objects of policy are part of new biological rationalities, informed by epigenetics and neuroscience.

Other chapters explore how education policy is informed by different types of knowledge, impacted by particular absences, or changed through modifying previously held premises. Leonardo and Singh introduce the work of Franz Fanon to highlight how education and education policy lacks substantive and sustained engagement with colonialism and violence. Leonardo and Singh posit that a 'decolonial education' and 'new humanism' could inform, and transform, policy. Lubienski identifies the ways the premise of equality in education has been transformed from one focused on access and opportunity, to one in which equality is about the right to choose a quality school. Lubienski argues that this shift is the outcome of incentive or market based policies that have shifted conceptions of equality, to the extent that choice is framed as a new civil rights movement.

What many of the chapters highlight is that while there are global interconnections of both policy making and responses, the nation-state continues to matter in education policy. In this vein, Alexadiou highlights the role of public policy, and the extent to which education policy acts in a complementary way to national agenda setting policies, specifically the 'social right of equality'. What is notable

about this chapter is its connection to law, something that is often inferred in discussions of education policy but not often explicated. Van Zanten looks at policies concerning widening participation in higher education in France and the effect on different types of institutions, including elite universities. The chapter emphasises how these policies can change relations between institutions and reorient where justice in higher education is done.

Two of the chapters attempt to reconceptualise the role of policy and justice. Gale, Molla and Parker focus on recent popular work by Thomas Piketty and Danny Dorling, and education policy's possible role in ameliorating disadvantage, especially in higher education. This chapter adds to debates about distributive justice by contributing new conceptions of recognition around epistemology and agency. Olssen takes to task critiques of neoliberalism, and attempts to engage with the often politically fraught question of the extent to which neoliberal orthodoxies are compatible with policies promoting equity and social justice. The chapter argues that neoliberalism is unlikely to survive, and as such what sort of policy settlement will follow, what sort of social justice might this be, and what policy arenas will be impacted.

Authors in the book also canvass a variety of ways in which social inequality is enacted both *in* (i.e. within) and *through* (i.e. reproduction; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) education systems and structures (Gale and Molla 2015). Just as social justice can be enhanced via: (1) the benefits wrought through participation in quality education; and, (2) the just treatment of students within classrooms, so too can these be avenues for re/producing inequality and social *in*justice.

In this sense, social inequality is thought to operate *within* education in the ways that staff, students, teachers, academics, and so on, are treated within their institutions by their employers, managers, colleagues, etc. This can include overt/covert behaviour, but also in the form of institutional cultures as well as pedagogy and curriculum. Social inequality enacted *through* education speaks to the ways in which education systems re/produce advantage and disadvantage. This may take the form of stratified access to education (Gale et al.; van Zanten), political and rhetorical discourses of free 'choice' in education (Lubienski), historical racial prejudices that exclude certain groups and which position them as inferior and less able (Leonardo and Singh; Alexiadou).

Braun in her chapter illustrates the stark realities facing UK teachers in stridently managerial regimes in academy schools. Excessively high workloads, forced compliance with the school's values, and being required to act in ways at odds with their ethical impulses, are some of the ways in which these teachers are arguably denied social justice in their workplace, with the implication being that this adversely affects the pupils in their care. Similarly, Olssen's depiction of the neoliberal university illustrates how institutional practices can threaten social equity agendas.

Fataar and Feldman's account of Johan—a South African school teacher whose relatively privileged background put him at odds with values and lifeworlds of his students—provides another example of how inequality can be either reproduced or ameliorated by the practice *in* education. For Johan, extensive engagement in a professional learning community enabled him to change his teaching practices and

ultimately transform his pedagogical habitus such that he was more disposed to teaching in socially just ways (cf. Mills 2013).

Pillow's intriguing chapter reveals how policy and policy actors can unwittingly marginalise the people they are ostensibly seeking to help: Expectant and Parenting Youth (EPY). Pillow argues that a priori assumptions by policy actors about what counts as 'data' that informs policy, leads to deficit discourses about EPY that ignore their own voices and experiences and does little to ameliorate their disadvantage. In this way, social inequality is reproduced *through* policy, but also *within* the policy process.

The more overt ways in which education can maintain social inequality are addressed in Gale et al.'s chapter, which outlines the nefarious effects of dominant and at times common sense discourses of meritocracy and elitism. The prevalence of such values in modern western nations, the chapter argues, has essentially kept people from lower socioeconomic orders 'in their place' using academic achievement and merit as justification. This has ensured that social mobility through education has been minimised. Lubienski similarly illustrates how access to schooling can be mitigated through appeals to 'choice', which effectively ignores the socioeconomic contexts in which parents are or are not able to choose which schools to send their children.

Gulson and Webb's chapter explores the scenario wherein new developments in life sciences become new authorities that inform policy making in the "postgenomic age". Such biological rationalities, the authors argue, have the potential to reduce socio-cultural effects such as scholastic achievement, and group identity to biological/genetic categories that re/produce social dis/advantage.

The collection, then, begins with broad accounts of social inequality and policy and their intersection from Gale, Molla and Parker, then Gulson and Webb. Olssen's chapter continues with a wider, general discussion of the effects of neoliberalism but introduces higher education in the UK as an empirical case exemplar. The focus on higher education is extended with Van Zanten's analysis of widening participation policies among elite French universities. Race and ethnicity are addressed in the following three chapters, with Leonardo and Singh's exploration of coloniality in education, Alexiadou's discussion of Roma children in Europe, and Pillow's treatment of the experiences of school-aged black parents in the United States. The final three chapters focus more directly on schooling, as Lubienski dissects the representation of school 'choice', while Braun, and Fataar and Feldman explore issues of teachers' work in starkly different contexts (academy schools in London, and South Africa). The contrast between the last two chapters illustrates how different contextual influences can shape teachers' agency and their capacities to address the needs of their students.

Inevitably, some chapters appear more explicit about their focus on either policy or inequalities. Indeed, in making the connection between policy and social inequality, problematising one can often mean holding the other as stable. These remain in tension in the collection across the chapters, but we hope will provide some provocations for thinking about what is required both conceptually and in practice to connect addressing social inequality and education policy, something that we hope may come to characterise this series.

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Chapter 2
The Illusion of Meritocracy and the Audacity of Elitism: Expanding the Evaluative Space in Education

Trevor Gale, Tebeje Molla and Stephen Parker

Abstract In the global context of increasing inequalities between advantaged and disadvantaged social groups, the role of education in achieving social justice has taken on new importance. In this chapter we consider two widely acclaimed books on social inequality, namely: Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-first Century* (2014) and Daniel Dorling's *Injustice: Why Inequality Persists* (2010). We specifically focus on how the authors relate problems of social inequality with educational disadvantage, naming the relation in terms of meritocracy and elitism. We suggest that in the main, Piketty and Dorling hold to distributive accounts of educational disadvantage and to an income/wealth-based evaluation of social inequality. We also argue that the informational basis of Piketty's and Dorling's evaluation excludes an appreciation of social justice as 'recognition' and thus excludes the importance of 'epistemological equity' and of 'agency freedom' in pursuing social justice in educational contexts, particularly in higher education. It is through these two foci on recognitive justice that we augment Piketty's and Dorling's distributive account.

2.1 Introduction

Economic and social inequalities in western nations and across the globe are now the new reality. In 2014, the richest 85 people in the world were as wealthy as the combined wealth of the poorest half of the world's total population (Oxfam 2014a, b). In the USA and Germany, 1% of the population owned 37% and 33%, respectively,

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of their nation's wealth (Vermeulen 2014). While in the UK, the poorest 20% of the population was as wealthy as the nation's richest five families. These are growing disparities, even if at different paces in different nations. For example, in 2003–2004 Australia's wealthiest 20% of the population held 59% of the nation's wealth; by 2011–2012 this had increased to 61% (ABS 2013).

These large and growing disparities in wealth distribution have sparked renewed interest among scholars from a range of fields, and by some politicians and policymakers, in questions of economic, social and educational inequality. Indeed, relations of inequality are an enduring interest among researchers, including those with interests in education (e.g. Connell 1992; Macpherson et al. 2014; Thomson 2002). Since at least the 1970s critical sociologists of education have argued that education systems are responsible for the reproduction of social and economic disadvantage (e.g. see Apple 1979, now into its third edition; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Willis 1977). From this perspective, educational institutions are seen to reproduce inequality by not recognizing differences in linguistic and cultural competences (i.e. cultural capital) among students (cf. Bourdieu 1986) or at least not equally valuing these differences. The argument proceeds that rather than acknowledging the role that education systems play in re/producing inequality, popular accounts of inequality represent some people—specifically, the dominant in society—as more deserving than others. This is informed either by an *illusion* that their perceived effort and hard work contributes to their privilege (meritocracy), or by the more *audacious* claim that they are inherently more able and superior and thus deserve the advantages already awarded to them (elitism). According to critical scholars, both of these claims represent strategies of the elite, aimed at protecting and enhancing inequality and thus naturalizing the status quo.

In examining these issues of inequality, we take as our focus two popular books recently published on the subject, namely Daniel Dorling's *Injustice: Why social inequalities persist* (2010), and Thomas Piketty's (2014) *Capital in the Twenty-first Century*. Both are best sellers and among a growing list of popular books on related matters. Indeed, social and economic inequality has become 'the next big thing' in the social sciences and the focus of much popular debate and research, particularly in Europe and in the USA. So prolific is the field, we could have easily expanded our list to include: *Does the richness of the few benefit us all?* (2013) by Bauman; *The Spirit Level* (2009) by Wilkinson and Pickett; *The Price of Inequality* (2012) by Stiglitz; and *The Cost of Inequality* (2012) by Lansey. However, Dorling's and Piketty's texts are unique in this list because they give a direct and in-depth account of relations between economic and social inequality, even if educational disadvantage receives a relatively minor role in this. The collective work of Piketty and Dorling illustrates how inequality is understood in terms of *access* to education—who gets into what education institutions and how inequality is often justified in terms of meritocracy and elitism.

In the opening sections of this chapter we outline Piketty's overall position on social inequality and the role that meritocracy plays in perpetuating it. We follow this with Dorling's account of economic and social inequality and elitism. Both

authors illustrate how the illusion of meritocracy and the audacity of elitism have significant effects on access to higher education (HE), particularly among students from disadvantaged backgrounds. In taking HE as an example, we illustrate and affirm the usefulness of Piketty's and Dorling's complementary accounts for doing education policy analysis. We extend our analysis in the second section of the chapter where we highlight two overlooked ways of thinking beyond issues of unequal access to HE that are implicit in widening participation policies and reinforced by Piketty's and Dorling's analysis. That is, we highlight the deficiencies of a purely access agenda in achieving equity (based on distributive accounts of social justice), arguing for 'epistemological equity' and 'agency freedom' as overlooked dimensions of inequality, which raise questions of *access to what* and *for whose purposes?* In doing so we advocate a broader view of social justice that includes recognitive provisions to tackle cultural injustice in the public sphere, including educational institutions (Fraser 2008). More often than not, distributive accounts of social justice tend to obscure injustices associated with cultural 'misrecognition' or 'hierarchies of status'. As Fraser argues, "On the view of justice as participatory parity, overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction" (2008, p. 405).

2.2 Meritocracy and Elitism

The idea of meritocracy is generally regarded as a positive and fair approach to distributing resources and attributing achievement and status. It is based on the notion that "individuals get ahead and earn rewards in direct proportion to their individual efforts and abilities" (McNamee and Miller 2009, p. 2). Or more calculatingly, "Intelligence and effort together make up merit (I + E = M)" (Young 1965 [1958], p. 94). Meritocracy thus derives its legitimacy from a common sense assumption that rewards are earned through hard work, and those who do not work hard enough deserve lesser rewards. Yet for some, meritocracy is purely a 'myth' (Mills and Gale 2010) and illusory: it has "the veneer of equality while simultaneously *masking the real advantages and disadvantages* that have been differentially distributed across a society" (Lim 2016, p. 161; emphasis added).

In contrast, elitism as a concept does not always garner the same common sense legitimacy. Instead, it evokes a sense of injustice and hostility that a small minority should lay claim to privilege and distinction based solely on who they are. Nevertheless, elitist beliefs persist in many forms that do not always amount to direct claims of special treatment. For example, as Dorling asserts, elitism is given voice through mechanisms and technologies such as IQ tests and standardized student achievement tests (such as PISA). The role of elitist beliefs in maintaining material, social and educational inequality is evident in the very ways in which merit is actualized. It does not simply rely on overt claims of superiority based on existing privilege.

These are the debates and arguments that Piketty and Dorling take up in their respective analyses of social and economic inequality. Piketty's argument is that the illusory nature of merit impedes progress towards equality while hiding behind the rhetoric of egalitarian ideals. For Dorling, elitist beliefs similarly undermine attempts at achieving social justice and play out in measurement technologies that label some people able and most as not. In the following passages we detail Piketty and Dorling's respective positions on these matters, and illustrate how their critiques can be used to explain how meritocracy and elitism contribute to unequal access to higher education.

2.2.1 Piketty: The Illusion of Meritocracy

French economist Thomas Piketty argues in *Capital in the Twenty-first Century* (2014) that inequalities in wealth accumulation and income distribution in advanced economies have increased in the last two centuries. In fact, from the early 1980s, with the ascendancy of a neoliberal political economy, the gap has widened substantially. For Piketty, meritocracy plays a key role in creating and maintaining this gap. The historic emergence of democratic societies has led to the view that achievement and advantage ought to be the result of one's own abilities and effort rather than derived from kinship, royalty or inheritance. On face value, this "meritocratic hope", as Piketty puts it (2014, p. 361), seems fairer and more just than previous epochs, which awarded status and advantage on the basis of birthright. The apparent fairness of meritocracy is in the perception that it designates "certain individuals as 'winners' and to reward them all the more generously if they seem to have been selected on the *basis of their intrinsic merits rather than birth or background*" (Piketty 2014, p. 334; emphasis added). In this sense, the emergence of meritocracy can be seen to emanate from the historical decline of hierarchical societies and the shift from honour to dignity and universal recognition as a basis for distributing social goods (Taylor 1994).

Yet, while meritocracy seems to herald a more democratic, egalitarian society in which individuals can achieve social mobility through ability and effort, it also functions as a justification for social inequalities. Piketty writes that meritocracy plays:

> a very crucial role in modern society, for a simple reason: in a democracy, the professed equality of rights of all citizens contrasts sharply with the very real inequality of living conditions, and in order to overcome this contradiction it is vital to make sure that social inequalities derive from rational and universal principles rather than arbitrary contingencies. Inequalities must therefore be just and useful to all, at least in the realm of discourse and as far as possible in reality as well. (2014, p. 361)

In other words, the very discourse that buoys meritocracy as a more just way of distributing social goods also legitimizes disadvantage. For if material wealth, increased social standing and achievement are the product of one's abilities and

effort, then those who are poor and marginalized must be so because of a lack of these. Inequality is thus rationalized. Piketty's main concern is that meritocracy is being used as a disguise for socio-economic privileges, including access to quality education. That is, long-standing inequalities and the growing distance between the rich and the poor are 'misrecognised' (cf. Bourdieu 1984) as the result of merit being earned rather than the outcome of inherent unequal social arrangements. The meritocratic argument seems to justify social inequality (originating from human capital inequality) as a function of the supply and demand of skills, mediated by the education system and the labour market.

The myth of meritocracy is evident in what Piketty refers to as "hypermeritocratic society" (p. 265) or the "new meritocratic order" (p. 378) whereby perceived merit and apparent productivity are used to disguise the privilege of dominant social groups, exemplified in high salaries and bonuses being paid for senior managers. Piketty writes that "the most ardent meritocratic beliefs are often invoked to justify very large wage inequalities, which are said to be more justified than inequalities due to inheritance" (2014, p. 356). In other words, meritocratic discourse is employed primarily to justify the 'position of the winners' in society.

Whereas educational spending still "amplifies inequalities of social origin", unequal access to HE is justified on the basis of merit (Piketty 2014, p. 418). Piketty illustrates how the illusion of meritocracy has affected access to HE, arguing that it is mediated more by socio-economic background than by merit. For example, in many OECD nations students from privileged social backgrounds are disproportionately represented in prestigious schools and colleges. In countries such as the U. S., "parents' income has become an almost perfect predictor of university access" (p. 416). In the U.S., with an average income of around $US450,000 in 2014, parents of Harvard University students correspond to the top 2% of the USA income hierarchy. In France, the average income of parents of Sciences Po students in 2014 is around €90,000, which corresponds to the top 10% of the French income hierarchy (Piketty 2014). Students from underprivileged social backgrounds could not afford the high cost of tuition in elite educational institutions. Piketty's argument is that if selection was based on merit, as is held in official meritocratic discourses, the distribution of students in the income hierarchy would be much broader.

This trend in turn results in a hierarchy of qualifications that eventually reinforces the social hierarchy. As a result, the social mobility that might be thought to come as a result of meritocracy is not evident. More equal access to HE based on ability rather than existing social position should lead to a more even distribution of income and accumulated wealth. However, in Piketty's account this has not historically been the case in OECD economies. He concludes that "there is no evidence that education has really increased intergenerational mobility" (2014, pp. 288–289). Rather, it might have decreased:

> the intergenerational correlation of education and earned incomes, which measures the reproduction of the skill hierarchy over time, shows no trend toward greater mobility over the long run, and in recent years mobility may even have decreased. (Piketty 2014, p. 484)

In effect, the meritocratic system is underpinned by a self-fulfilling prophecy. Piketty stresses: "defining the meaning of inequality and justifying the position of the winners is a matter of vital importance [in meritocratic claims], and one can expect to see all sorts of misrepresentations of the facts in service of the cause" (2014, p. 487).

2.2.2 *Dorling: The Audacity of Elitism*

Like Piketty, human geographer Daniel Dorling's research focuses on the growing economic inequality of the world. Of his books in this field (e.g. 2010, 2014), only one (*Injustice*) includes a focus on education—albeit largely confined to one chapter. In that chapter Dorling addresses the belief that *elitism is efficient*, which he suggests is one of the five main beliefs that uphold inequality.[1] Although he does not explicitly elaborate on this, Dorling does argue that long-standing views among the elite function to perpetuate social inequalities in general and in educational inequalities in particular. Elitism is assumed to be efficient because, as Bauman (2013, p. 22) summarizes, "the good of the many can be enhanced only by promoting abilities which relatively few, by definition, solely possess". Unlike arguments in favour of meritocracy, which are premised on a seemingly plausible rationale, elitism rests on a more *audacious* assertion that the advantage of a minority is a result of their inherent superior intelligence.[2] "Elitism in education", Bauman notes, "can be considered a new injustice" (p. 34).

Dorling's central argument is that elitism is alive and well in modern western societies, such as those of the UK, the US and Australia. He maintains that although there were significant inroads made in the fight against inequality in the wake of World War II, since the 1970s governments have eroded these advances, often systematically and deliberately. That this coincided with the rise of Thatcherism and Reaganomics is not lost on Dorling. In Dorling's account, the economic uncertainty of the early 1970s combined with increasing equality in advanced societies—through, inter alia, improved access to education, the protection afforded by the welfare state, greater income equality, and civil rights—left the socially privileged feeling vulnerable and insecure:

> the early 1970 s were a disconcerting time if you were affluent. Inflation was high; if you were well off enough to have savings then those savings were being eroded. People began to realise that their children were not going to be as cushioned as they were by so much relative wealth, by going to different schools. When politicians said that they were going to eradicate the evil of ignorance by educating all children in Britain, or that they were going

[1]The other four beliefs are: (1) exclusion is necessary, (2) prejudice is natural, (3) greed is good and (4) despair is inevitable (Dorling 2010).

[2]See Gillborn (2016) and Gulson and Webb (this volume) for an outline and critique of the use and misuse of biological and other sciences to justify inequality on the basis of assumed genetic intelligence.

> to have a 'Great Society' in the US, they did not mention that this would reduce the apparent advantages of some children. Equal rights for black children, a level playing field for poor children—these can be seen as threats as more compete in a race where proportionately fewer and fewer can win. (Dorling 2010, p. 61)

Thus the (re)emergence of elitism is arguably a strategy of the privileged to preserve their privilege in response to increased education for social groups who had previously been largely uneducated. Left unchecked, education has the potential to 'rob' the elite of their 'rights' or, more accurately, what they regard as their rightful position in society, and thus needs to be 'managed'.

Dorling argues that these elitist beliefs are evident in the OECD's national testing regime PISA (an assessment of school students' performance and achievement, comparable across nations). The research literature critiquing the rise of such testing is voluminous and growing (e.g. Goldstein 2004; Gorur 2011, 2015; Grek 2009; Sellar and Lingard 2013; Serder and Ideland 2016). However, Dorling's critique is a fairly simple one: standardized test results—and IQ tests before them—are surreptitiously normalized to fit a bell curve in which only a small proportion of students can be categorised as high achievers:

> when calibrating the results (adjusting the scores before release), [the OECD] '… assumed that students have been sampled from a multivariate normal distribution'. Given this assumption, almost no matter how the students had 'performed', the curves in [the data] would have been bell shaped. The data were made to fit the curve. (2010, p. 47)

The result is that only 2% of students are classified as having 'advanced' knowledge and skills; with 11% described as having 'developed' ability, 26% 'effective', 27% 'simple', 21% with 'barely' any ability, 11% 'limited' and 2% with 'none'. In Dorling's account this distribution of skills and abilities does not reflect the realities of children, their families, schools or communities. Rather it is a *perception* of ability constructed by international testing regimes that use these rankings to "propagate elitist beliefs" (Dorling 2010, p. 40).

Clearly, in this scheme only a small proportion of young people are able to achieve scores sufficient to progress to higher education, with the rest variously categorized as 'failures'. According to Dorling, the high achievers are lauded as being the best and the brightest and awarded the spoils of high status, including the distinction of having a university education. He notes that "[u]nder elitism education is less about learning and *more about dividing people*, sorting out the supposed wheat from the chaff and conferring high status upon a minority" (2010, p. 35; emphasis added). In advanced economies, this has resulted in what Dorling refers to as "educational apartheid" (p. 26) in which "particular groups are increasingly seen as 'not fit' for advanced education, as being limited in their abilities, as requiring less of an education than the supposedly more gifted and talented" (Dorling 2010, p. 33). Yet these testing regimes are arguably inherently biased towards some—those who come from a background similar to those who devise the tests (i.e. in Bourdieu's terms, they have high quantities of the dominant cultural capital), and those who are coached in doing well in them. Those from disadvantaged backgrounds and those with cultural capital that differs from the

dominant are less able to achieve in these tests and are ultimately labelled as less capable or even incapable and sometimes unworthy of further education (including HE). Belief in the inherent superiority of some is woven into the structures of education, which shapes who is regarded as able or qualified to go onto further study. It functions as a gatekeeper for higher education: "Increased elitism might tolerate raising the school leaving age to 18, but it is not commensurate with providing more education for all after that" (Dorling 2010, p. 57).

2.3 Widening the Evaluative Space of Inequality

In their analyses both Dorling (2010) and Piketty (2014) show the extent of stratification in access to education and its implication for persistence of social inequality. A significant proportion of people from disadvantaged backgrounds receive only the minimum amount of education required by law, while those who go on to higher education tend to attend lower status institutions and receive educational qualifications that have lower economic returns. Those from more elite backgrounds are more likely to attend university in the first place and are enrolled at elite institutions and in high-earning disciplines that maintain and advance their positional advantage (Marginson 2006). That is, the authors' primary focus is on elitism and unequal *access* to education (Dorling) and the ideology of meritocracy and differential wage *income* after graduation (Piketty). However, we argue that this explanation of inequalities is too narrow and should be widened to address two questions in relation to HE, namely: *access to what* and *for whose purposes*? The first question speaks to issues of epistemological equity; the second to agency freedom: what students are able to do and to be in terms of what courses they may choose and what lives they may pursue in the future. We expand on each of these in turn by drawing on recent debates in the field from Dei (2008). Connell (2007) and Sen (2009) among others. Our responses to these questions also propose repurposing both the content and social function of higher education in ways that erode the structural basis of elitist and meritocratic forces that reproduce inequality. Our responses also entail a move towards recognitive forms of social justice that seek to realign the terms of recognition of marginalized groups (Fraser 1995; Gale and Densmore 2000; Taylor 1994).

2.3.1 Epistemological Equity: Access to What?

We take our inspiration here from two main sources: (1) scholarship into the importance of including and embedding Indigenous knowledges in education curriculum (e.g. Dei 2008, 2010; Semali and Kincheloe 1999; Ocholla 2007; Seth 2007); and (2) Connell's (2006, 2007) argument for a 'southern theory' that eschews the dominant voices in social theory (e.g. Bourdieu and Giddens) on the

grounds that they are remnants of a colonial past and no longer relevant, and for replacing them with indigenously derived theory that is more germane to contexts. Both of these bodies of literature draw attention—either directly or indirectly—to the exclusionary nature of knowledge and ways of knowing embedded in higher education curriculum and pedagogy. Both illustrate that Eurocentric knowledge dominates the academy and valorises traditional disciplinary knowledge and techniques of knowledge production (mostly notably 'scientific' methods and knowledges). Excluded from the curricular and the pedagogic practices of many HE institutions in the 'global north' are indigenous knowledges, as well as those from other marginalized and minority groups such as women and working class groups (Connell 2006; Gale 2013).

Scholars such as Connell and Dei argue for counterhegemonic stances that problematize existing hierarchies of knowledge and knowledge production. They question the forms of knowledges that are valued and devalued in education, and highlight how curriculum and pedagogy might be transformed to encompass the diverse experiences and knowledges of marginalized populations (Dei 2008). Connell calls attention to the "centre–periphery relations in the realm of knowledge" (2008, p. viii) and argues for a 'southern' theory that disrupts the hegemony of the 'metropole' of knowledge in the global north. 'Northern' and 'southern' are used by Connell:

> … not to name a sharply bounded category of states or societies, but to emphasise relations—authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony, partnership, sponsorship, appropriation—between intellectuals and institutions in the metropole and those in the world periphery. (Connell 2007, pp. viii-ix)

Epistemological equity amounts to a southern theory of higher education (Gale 2013), which involves the inclusion of 'southern' or marginalized perspectives, theories, knowledges and epistemologies into the very heart of education systems, not as a simple add-on that leaves dominant, elite knowledge structures intact.

The development of a southern theory of student equity in higher education remains a relatively new horizon of social justice. It responds to potential criticisms—aligned with elitist beliefs about who should go to HE—that equity is anathema to excellence in at least two respects. First, on *educational* grounds, there is evidence to suggest that a more diverse student body has benefits for all, including for "majority students who have previously lacked significant direct exposure to minorities" (Milem 2003, pp. 131–132). Diversity within the student population also leads to "greater relative gains in critical and active thinking … greater intellectual engagement and academic motivation … [and] greater relative gains in intellectual and social self-concept" (Milem 2003, p. 142) for all students. Thus Milem makes the more general claim that creating space for and valuing "diversity in colleges and universities is not only a matter of social justice but also a matter of *promoting educational excellence*" (Milem 2003, p. 126; emphasis added).

This leads to our second point about the *epistemological* contribution of equity to excellence: that higher education currently excludes certain forms of knowledge

and ways of knowing—including those from Indigenous people and from 'working class' backgrounds—and thus is inherently partial and distorted (cf. Harding 1992). To valorise existing disciplinary knowledge at the expense of less 'scientific' or more 'subjective' ways of knowing from beyond the periphery of knowledge production is to provide a diminished higher education. For example, inclusion of under-represented cultural groups needs to be complemented with the recognition of their knowledge and ways of knowing. In much the same way that scholars argue for the connection between school students' lifeworlds and their classrooms through a funds of knowledge approach (e.g. Moll et al. 1992; Zipin 2009), we argue for a transformation of HE curriculum that encompasses these 'peripheral' knowledges and of the pedagogies through which they are encountered.

Third, epistemological equity is necessarily a *political* project in that it 'speaks truth to power'. The inclusion in HE curriculum and pedagogy of previously discounted knowledges disrupts dominant power relations that dictate what counts as valid knowledge in society. It is also part of changing the terms of recognition of the disadvantaged in society by the privileged and elite (Appadurai 2004; Gale and Parker 2015; Taylor 1994), lending wider legitimacy to the values, worldviews and ways of knowing of marginalized communities. In other words, epistemological equity entails a reconfiguration of "the conditions within which the norms that frame our social lives are negotiated" (Gale and Parker 2015, p. 92) and has the potential to upset the foundations of advantage and privilege.[3]

Epistemological equity, then, moves the focus of educational inequity beyond access (who gets in) to a more inclusive education in terms of what students have access to (access to what) and towards wider concerns of recognition and social justice.

2.3.2 *Agency Freedom: Access for Whose Purposes?*

Our second augmentation to Dorling and Piketty's focus on access to education and on its use value, is derived from the question: what can people do and be with their education. As noted in Dorling's (2010) and Piketty's (2014) account of persisting inequalities, meritocratic discourses and elitist assumptions underpin unequal access to education and stagnant social mobility in many OECD economies. It is also evident that the instrumentalist view of education values knowledge and skills primarily for national *economic productivity*, and improved *economic return* to the individual.

[3]Taylor (1994, p. 26) goes further to argue that recognition is a "vital human need", while Appadurai (2004, p. 62) urges that it is an "ethical obligation to extend a sort of moral cognizance to persons who shared worldviews deeply different from our own". These are sentiments we would agree with, although they perhaps take us away from the main argument at hand.

However, beyond inequalities in access and income, the link between educational disadvantage and social inequality can be expressed in the form of unequal capacity to exercise one's agency. Here we draw on the work of Amartya Sen (1992, 1999, 2009) to suggest that education—particularly higher education—needs to be reoriented to encompass the substantive freedoms, or real opportunities, that students have to pursue lives they have reason to value. For Sen, capabilities are "a person's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being" and represent the "alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be" (Sen 1993, p. 30). The capabilities approach places the emphasis on the freedoms to choose rather than the particular choices themselves. Hence, in assessing whether or not unequal access to education contributes to social inequality, the focus should be on how *capabilities* can be enacted both *for* and *through* education (Gale and Molla 2015). In other words, a capabilities approach to equity in (higher) education shifts the focus away from issues of equality in access and participation towards the freedoms and opportunities that people are able enjoy in terms of (a) choosing to select an education that they have reason to value (agency *for* education), and (b) the kinds of lives they are able to pursue once they have obtained a qualification (agency *through* education) (Gale and Molla 2015).

Agency for education means putting students at the centre of the pedagogic process, as is envisaged in the tradition of critical pedagogy. Fostering the agency freedom of students necessitates a learning process that encourages students to problematize taken for granted assumptions underpinning curricular representations, teachers' work and students' experiences; and enables them to take and defend positions on issues that matter most in their societies (Giroux 1992). As Paulo Freire (2000) argued, consciousness raising involves "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (p. 35). The learning experiences are designed and enacted in a way that students become self-conscious about their values and assumptions and what effects these might have in society. Widening access to education can be seen as a way of granting 'freedom from' constraints, but only 'freedom to' do and be as one wishes confers genuine opportunity, which is critical "because it relates to individual interpretations of what is possible, salient and relevant" (Talbot 1993 p. 83).

Agency through education highlights the role of education in building active and informed citizens. Beyond instrumental purposes of education construed by the state, a freedom-based assessment of equity in education emphasizes real opportunities people have to be able to convert the resources they have into achievements they value. It is concerned with enabling people to live a life they regard as worth living. Seen from a capability approach, social inequality is not merely lack of income or access to opportunities but it is *deprivation of agency freedom*. That is, in judging a person's advantage, one needs to focus on equality as measured by what the individual is able to be and do (Sen 2009) rather than the amount of resources he/she possesses (as resources are only means for a valuable life). Nonetheless, the prevailing logic of the neoliberal imaginary (Rizvi and Lingard 2010) envisages the modern knowledge worker as a compliant subject contributing to the goals and

aspirations of a government competing in the global economy.[4] In contrast, a freedom-based assessment of educational opportunities underscores people's ability to choose what they do with their lives rather than have them pre-decided and prescribed by government. It emphasizes the ability of people to exercise their rights to make choices and the power to act in light of their choices (Gale and Molla 2015). In the context of the emerging 'hypermeritocratic society' (Piketty 2014), agency freedom as an educational goal is a necessity, not an option. Without informed citizens who can effectively engage in public debate, critically assess their situation and act to change it, the flourishing of democratic political values remains at risk.

A capabilities approach to understanding inequity in education also expands how in/equality is understood. For Dorling and Piketty (as well as in contemporary political thought generally) the effects of educational inequality are narrowly measured in economic terms. However, educational disadvantage does not just diminish people's material resources. More importantly, it inhibits their agency to pursue valuable doings and beings. A capability-based evaluation of educational disadvantage is instrumental in problematizing how people's freedom to be well educated is constrained or denied as a member of particular social groups defined by socio-economic status, gender, rurality, or cultural background. Educational injustice is thus a form of deprivation of *substantive freedom* that constitutes people's well-being and potential to flourish. In this sense, a capability-based approach draws attention to social in/justices by emphasizing human agency and freedom over human capital and economic outcomes. Framing the lack of agency freedom as a key aspect of social inequality deepens our understanding of the relationship between educational disadvantage and the reproduction of social inequality. The focus is on how educational disadvantage might diminish people's capabilities to live flourishing lives they have reason to value.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have argued that meritocracy and elitism are key in reproducing inequality in education and in particular in restricting access to higher education. Piketty's account is that the hope in meritocracy to solve inequalities in education is misplaced; it is an illusion, a cover for the elite. Similarly, Dorling shows that inequalities in education are also perpetuated by the audacity of the elite: the naked belief (and associated practices) that it is their natural right to public resources that

[4]For example, the previous Australian Labor Government's (2007–2013) now defunct white paper, *Australia in Asian Century*, which specified the skills and 'capabilities' (in the broader, more literal sense of the term) required for "all Australians [to] raise our productivity performance and enable all Australians to participate and contribute in the Asian century" (Australian Government 2012, p. 161; see also Gale and Molla, 2015).

secure their elite positions. Both highlight the extent of the inequalities in OECD nations derived from such meritocracy and elitism.

However, current framings of relations between education disadvantage and rising social inequality—such as those illustrated by Piketty and Dorling—do not offer a full account of their interaction. For example, the focus on *access* to HE leaves untroubled questions of what it is that people are accessing—in terms of curriculum and pedagogy—and the purposes to which education is put. We have argued that a better understanding of the relations between education and social inequality requires a broadening of what we understand by equality and equity. Rather than focusing exclusively on rates of access to HE, we argue for the need to consider what kind of HE students access, in terms that go beyond debates about 'quality' or 'excellence'.

A more equitable higher education is one that incorporates a range of otherwise excluded epistemologies, knowledges, ways of knowing into the curriculum and pedagogy of HE practice. A more equitable higher education also involves reimagining what purpose it can serve in contemporary times. Rather than merely educating people to feed the needs of the knowledge economy and to enhance a nation's competitive global edge, as meritocratic discourse and elitist assumptions suggest, HE can and should also function to enhance people's substantive freedom, or capabilities. Without this expanded appreciation for the nature of social justice, even resolving the problems of access to and instrumental value of education that Dorling and Piketty identify will not in themselves deliver a socially just education.

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Chapter 3
Emerging Biological Rationalities for Policy: (Molecular) Biopolitics and the New Authorities in Education

Kalervo N. Gulson and P. Taylor Webb

Abstract This chapters poses two interrelated questions: (1) What do we assume policy can do, when it is informed and constituted by biological rationalities of the postgenomic age and new biosocial governance?; and (2) what are the implications of new biological rationalities for the constitution of education policy, and its varied practices of use and analysis? The chapter provides an overview of education policy as a form of biopolitics, including the connection between education and eugenics. The chapter moves to a discussion of molecular biopolitics and illustrates how this field alters conceptions of education policy as a site of population management to an emerging site that focuses on dismantling and remaking of the 'body'. In this sense, a new bio-edu-policy will continue to manage populations but it will now manage designed, enhanced and optimized populations in efforts to govern more efficiently. We conclude by speculating on what kinds of future policy subjects, and new forms of policy authority, are imagined and created by an education policy informed by new biological rationalities.

Contemporary societies are constituted by and contend with new forms of biological and neurological thinking as part of what is broadly known as the postgenomic age, as the time after the human genome was completely sequenced (Meloni 2016). Fields such as epigenetics and neuroscience have entered popular discourse (Carey 2012; Doidge 2007). These fields challenge ideas of genetic determinism and the non-plastic brain, and openly argue that "biological life can be purposely *directed*" (Mansfield and Guthman 2015, p. 12).

Postgenomic fields like epigenetics and areas of neuroscience, such molecular neurobiology, proffer entirely novel areas for investigation between the biological, social and political. While historically and consciously separated, the social

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sciences have begun to focus on contributions from emerging areas of the life sciences (Mansfield and Guthman 2015; Pickersgill 2013; Pykett 2015; Rose 2013). Biosocial explanations of phenomenon are becoming prevalent in the public policy arena, specifically as "biosocial justifications for governmental intervention" (Pykett and Disney 2015). This combination of academic study and policy-use produce an emerging set of implications concerning, for example, citizenship, subjectivity and policy-making, and the desired introjections or "implementations" of biosocial solutions to problems previously considered to be entirely social in nature (Pickersgill 2013; Pykett 2015; Rose 2013).

While biological rationalities are evident in the prominence of psychology in education policy (see Webb and Gulson 2015a), in this chapter, we map how the life sciences, those that are focused on the study of living things and often seen in contradistinction to the social sciences, are providing new reference points for education policy. We are interested specifically in how biology has become intertwined with regulation and governmental practices through biopolitics. Our approach is to work from a notion of biopolitics that looks:

> to embrace all the specific strategies and contestations over problematizations of collective human vitality, morbidity and mortality; over the forms of knowledge, regimes of authority and practices of intervention that are desirable, legitimate and efficacious. (Rabinow and Rose 2006, p. 197)

Our contention is not simply that education policy is already a form of biopolitics (Ball et al. 2012; Webb and Gulson 2015a; Lather 2006), but that there are new considerations necessary for education policy with the shift in biopolitics from the idea of a coherent 'body' to the molecular (see Rose 2007). In this chapter, we argue that new biological rationalities have materially altered education policy to not only be responsible for the intervention in the external conditions of educational provision—in the form of curriculum, pedagogy, testing and so forth—for the myriad purposes of nation building and economic development, but education policy has also assumed responsibility for imagining, legitimating and constituting different forms of life.

We argue that new biological rationalities are emerging forms of authority (see also, Baker 2015) for education policy to extend its applications; that is, the ways in which knowledge that is part of, and debated within, the life sciences might impact on how we think about education policy (for a discussion of new biosocialities in education see Youdell 2016). 'Bio-edu-policy' reshapes the conditions of possibility for what we think education policy is, and what it can do, particularly in the production of 'new' bodies and their subsequent arrangement and ordering. This chapter will not make normative judgements about whether biology should be a rationality for education policy. Rather, we approach the connection of biology to policy as a problematization. A problematization is a form of analysis that identifies "how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) became a problem" (Foucault 1983 cited by Ball 2013, p. 28).

As such, in this chapter we ask two interrelated questions: (1) What do we assume policy can do, when it is informed and constituted by biological rationalities

of the postgenomic age and new biosocial governance?; and (2) what are the implications of new biological rationalities for the constitution of education policy, and its varied practices of use and analysis? In order to answer these questions, we first provide an overview of education policy as a form of biopolitics. We outline how education has long been associated with various forms of biological rationality, notably forms of eugenics. Next, we discuss molecular biopolitics and illustrate how this particular field dramatically alters conceptions of education policy as a site of population management to an emerging site encompassing the dismantling and remaking of the 'body'. In this sense, bio-edu-policy will continue to manage populations but it will now manage designed, enhanced, and optimized populations in efforts to govern more efficiently. We provide an example of new biological rationalities in education policy in the relationship between neuroscience and policy. We conclude by looking at the implications of molecular biopolitics as a form of 'governing the future' (Rose and Abi-Rached 2013), and speculate on what kinds of future policy subjects are imagined and created by an education policy informed by new biological rationalities. Finally, we speculate upon how power will be exercised within the new arrangements of 'bio-edu-policy', raising questions about 'new' authorities in education, including how policy subjects and objects will be grafted onto existing governmental and organizational arrangements.

3.1 Education Policy and/as Biopolitics

The connection of biology to education policy is not new. Rather, eugenics as a future oriented form of evaluative logic (Levine and Bashford 2010, p. 3) is particularly salient for education that is similarly informed by a future oriented and evaluative logic. This type of eugenic logic identifies "[s]ome human life [is] of more value—to the state, the nation, the race, future generations—than other human life…" (Levine and Bashford 2010, pp. 3–4). Francis Galton coined the term eugenics in 1888 (Gould 1996), and 'old eugenics' was concerned with 'quality control' of populations, not just an increase in numbers, and was tied to projects of nationalism (Baker 2002). Old eugenics captured folk-beliefs in the determinism of intelligence, and the link to the utopic visions for the improvement of the human 'race', and through these imaginings, old eugenics developed 'hard' practices (genocide and sterilization) and 'soft' practices (segregation, education, better baby competitions) that constituted part of state governance (Chitty 2007; Mottier 2010). Segregated schools and different forms of sterilization for students with disabilities are examples of these practices.

The view that eugenics simply 'went away' after the Holocaust, and into the latter half of twentieth century, has been vigorously contested (see Bashford 2010). What is posited in the twenty-first century is the *new eugenics* or what Duster (2003) called the 'backdoor to eugenics' embodied in a variety of practices and the onto-epistemological assumptions which reignite the everyday dividing, sorting, tracking, tiering and classifying practices of primary and secondary schooling in

new ways (Baker 2002; Gillborn 2010). There are key connections between education policy and eugenics in the development of mass education and pervading contemporary practices, including intelligence testing to assess the 'ability levels' of a population, apportioning different potentials to different racialized groups and designing educational experiences and funding based on these assumptions (Chitty 2007; Lowe 1998; Oakes and Lipton 2004). These assumptions become congruent within contemporary schooling, which is premised on the normalization of standardization and separation (Au 2011).[1]

3.1.1 Education, Policy and Biopolitical Governance

The role of biology in education reflects the pervasiveness of biology in thinking about political behaviour in the twentieth century (e.g. see Meloni 2016). Lemke notes that the term 'biopolitics' is over 100 years old, with multiple interpretations and definitions, especially in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. He notes that one of the dominant strains of early thinking about biopolitics was the characterization of the state as organicist, such as the National Socialism of Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, where "only a politics that orients itself towards biological laws and takes them as a guideline … [could] count as legitimate and commensurate with reality" (Lemke 2011, p. 10).

In the United States, one related strain of biopolitics was focused on the links between policy and 'biopoliticians' who "use biological concepts and research methods in order to investigate the causes and forms of political behaviour" (Lemke 2011, p. 15). This strain emerged in the 1960s, and became formalized through the Association for Politics and Life Sciences (APLS), and became an official part of the American Political Science Association in 1985. While it lost its status as a special interest group in the association in 1995 due to lack of membership, a journal *Politics and the Life Sciences*, founded in 1982, continues today. Lemke suggests the idea of biopolitics characterized by the APLS was formed around a critique of social science for lacking a connection to biology and paying too much credence to cultural factors.[2] The approach was characterized by three interrelated aspects:

1. an assumption that biology causes political behaviour, and that cultural factors play little role;
2. an aim to explain 'observable' behaviour, and create 'rational policies' that are consistent with biological understandings; and,

[1]Thanks to Bernadette Baker and David Gillborn who co-authored some of this section for a symposium at the *American Educational Research Association* annual meeting, April, 2016.

[2]We can perhaps see the parallels with the critique of language, and the attempts to create a discursive and material approach (e.g. MacLure 2013), in the recent move to new materialisms in the social sciences (see Coole and Frost 2010).

3. the belief that political behaviour is observable from the outside. This idea provides the underpinning for an evolutionary basis for hierarchies, rather than hierarchy as a social phenomenon (Lemke 2011, pp. 16–17).

The approaches of the APLS resonate with arguments in education about child development and the relationship of IQ to educational progress. An important role was played by educational psychologists in the early twentieth century, namely Lewis Terman, Henry Goddard and Edward Thorndike, who were informed by eugenic ideas about human difference, and introduced and consolidated these ideas within the formal structure of schooling (Stoskopf 2002). The assumptions about testing and potential were premised on intelligence as fixed, and hence as a predictor of life chances.

Additionally, there was a correspondence between what was being proposed in IQ tests and new kinds of organizational reform. The introduction of scientific management, or 'Taylorism' with its focus on workflows and efficiencies, and the concomitant role of the 'efficiency expert', into industrial models of schooling, was aimed at targeting and shaping students in schools for their likely 'productive' place in the world, while ensuring more effective educational practices (Stoskopf 2002). Stoskopf argues that Terman "saw a natural fit between an industrial model and his eugenic-inspired work with testing" (Stoskopf 2002, p. 128). This included the development of learning tracks predicated on the idea that tests could determine potential. Stoskopf contends that while eugenics waned as a focus in the 1930s, "the use of standardized IQ tests and the accompanying hereditarian beliefs behind the tests did not go away so easily" (Stoskopf 2002, p. 131), including notions of academic tracking.

3.1.2 Education Policy as Biopolitical Management

The logics of the APLS, IQ testing, scientific management, and academic tracking are examples of how political science and education policy have relied on notions of biopolitics. Education policy, in this conception of biopolitics, is positioned in ways that use, borrow, and/or employ ideas from biology and develop different management strategies based on biological precepts. In this sense, education policy is a legislative means to implement the so-called 'natural order'. Metaphorically speaking, education policy operates as the 'host' to a variety of biopolitical fantasies desired to be introjected into schools and schooling. Of course, these examples also indicate how education policy functions as a kind of 'attenuated' or 'conjugate' vaccine for a variety of different societal and schooling 'problems'. For over 100 years education policy has steadfastly remained the delivery mechanism, through mass education, for biological ideas pertaining to managing populations. Ball et al. (2012) links education policy to biopolitics explicitly, eliminating the gap between so-called policy 'development' and its 'implementation'. Education policy *is* simply a variety of mechanisms to control bodies. That is, as Ball notes, contemporary education policy:

> is a locus of activity in the myriad of mechanisms of security, which focus on the management of the population and its 'naturalness', although marked by recurrences—productivity, blood, normality, classification/exclusion, and welfare—and their interplay. (Ball 2013, pp. 65–66)

Ball's work explicitly frames a history of education policy as biopolitics. Like much contemporary work on biopolitics, Ball tends to work with Foucault's ideas on biopolitics as "the entry of phenomena peculiar to the life of the human species into the order of knowledge and power, into the sphere of political techniques" (Foucault 1990, pp. 141–2). According to Lemke, Foucault's "notion of biopolitics refers to the emergence of a specific political knowledge and new disciplines such as statistics, demography, epidemiology, and biology" (Lemke 2011, p. 5). These disciplines make it possible to analyze processes of life on the level of populations and to "govern individuals and collectives by practices of correction, exclusion, normalization, disciplining, therapeutics, and optimization" (Lemke 2011, p. 5). While Foucault's work on biopolitics was not highly developed, Rose (2007) argues that the idea of biopolitics overlaps the management of populations with the governing of bodies and conduct.

Similarly, Ball suggests that "[t]he regulatory (biopower) and the disciplinary operate at different levels, what we might roughly call policy and practice, but which are closely interrelated at many points" (Ball 2013, p. 82). Ball posits that biological truths and power are inexorably connected to the practices of education, in a "moral-scientific nexus" (p. 86) and there remains in the contemporary practices of education an idea that there is a "psychology of limits, either hereditary or developmental" (Ball 2013, p. 98), reflected in streaming of classes, and ability tracking. This particular nexus, then, conflates previous conceptions of education policy that relied upon distinct notions of 'development' and 'implementation'. Education policy is able to function as a 'moral-scientific nexus' entreating and constituting the 'naturalness' of populations. For example, Gillborn (2016) identifies the attraction of hereditarian views in UK education policy and observes that those views that "portray human ability as significantly—sometimes overwhelmingly—determined by fixed genetic factors retain enormous political and popular appeal" (p. 18), especially for policy makers who are attempting to grapple with allocation of resources, provision of differentiated schooling systems, and pathways to secondary and tertiary education. Yet, the continuation of genetic determinism, inherent in the hereditarian ideas, is occurring simultaneously with challenges to the idea of limits in recent work and thinking in the life sciences (Meloni 2016), the latter characterized by Rose (2007) as 'molecular' biopolitics.

3.2 Molecular Biopolitics and Reconfiguring Policy

We are interested in the idea of 'molecular' biopolitics in the postgenomic age, where techniques and theoretical work in the life sciences have emerged following the sequencing of the human genome. Rose (2007) argues that the new forms of

biopolitics shift from the biological, as the 'macro' body, to the study of molecularization, where "[vital politics] is itself being reconfigured by a profound 'molecularization' of styles of biomedical thought, judgement, and intervention" (Rose 2007, p. 11). Rose proposes that a "molecular biopolitics" has shifted from the focus on the molar or complete body, or "visible, tangible body", to a vision of life that is "understood, and acted upon" at the molecular level (Rose 2007, pp. 11–12). A molecular biopolitics means that intervention is not on the external or behavioural aspects of the body, but rather, is *in* the body, "on its organic substance, which is now perceived as malleable, contestable and improvable" (Lemke 2011, p. 101). The new forms of biomedicine replace traditional biological interventions or desires that acted on the body. Lemke proposes that this is what distinguishes contemporary biopolitics from Foucault's ideas:

> Foucault's concept of biopolitics remains bound to the notion of an integral body. His analyses of disciplinary technologies which are directed at the body, in order to form and fragment it, are based on the idea of a closed and delimited body. By contrast, biotechnology and biomedicine allow for the body's dismantling and recombination to an extent that Foucault did not anticipate. (Lemke 2011, p. 94)

This is a crucial point, that molecularization has the capacity to not only dismantle bodies, but to rebuild them. This idea of molecularization and rebuilding bodies has resonance with Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) framing of every politics as both a macro and micropolitics, that was combined through the "molecularization of agency" (de Freitis and Sinclair 2015, p. 7). For de Freitis and Sinclair, following Deleuze and Guattari, this means that the 'micro-injections and infiltrations' that characterise the molecularization of agency:

> break through the skin and reorganize the bounded body according to new forces and new desires. The human body becomes a recombinant subject, engaged in distributed decision-making and network forms of becoming. (de Freitis and Sinclair 2015, p. 7)

This idea of the recombinant subject inherent in molecular biopolitics has very interesting implications for notions of intervention and policy.

3.2.1 Intervention and Education Policy

The idea of intervention and the new molecular biopolitics offers policy analysis, practices and processes new forms of evidence and authority. This is redolent of the aims of the 'policy sciences' that emerged in the 1950s (Lerner and Laswell 1951) and referred to public policy providing 'scientific' solutions to the problems of the state. Fay (1975, p. 14 cited in Ball 1995, p. 258) describes policy science as a:

> set of procedures which enables one to determine the technically best course of action to adopt in order to implement a decision or achieve a goal. Here the policy scientist doesn't merely clarify the possible outcomes of certain course of action, he [sic] actually chooses the most efficient course of action in terms of available scientific information.

If the assumptions of the policy sciences were, at heart, about managing the public through replicable and defensible methods that would be devoid of political machinations, molecular biopolitics provides new knowledge to inform the "technically best course of action" (ibid.). This provides a contemporary resurgence to the policy sciences that have been criticized and reworked over the past 30 years. The key critique of the policy sciences was premised on notions that prediction and intervention were always subject to the vagaries of politics and human agency (Webb and Gulson 2015b). Policy aims to manage the public by directing them in particular ways, and depends for legitimacy on being able to both "[offer] an imagined future state of affairs, but in articulating desired change always [offer] an account somewhat more simplified than the actual realities of practice" (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 5).

Predictability is a seductive idea for education policy makers. A scientific basis for predictability underpins the rise of what Gillborn (2016) calls 'new geneism', where the work of behavioural geneticists such as Robert Plomin was referenced by an adviser to the UK Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove. What is compellingly seductive about Plomin's work is the possibility that genetics could be used for resource allocation across an education system, determined in part on the basis of a student's genes.[3] As Asbury and Plomin (2013) outlined:

> One way of helping each and every child to fulfil their academic potential is to harness the lessons of genetic research… It's time for educationalists and policy makers to sit down with geneticists to apply these findings to educational practice. It will make for better schools, thriving children, and, in the long run, a more fulfilled and effective population. That's what we want schools and education to achieve isn't it? (pp. 3–4 cited by Gillborn 2016, p. 8)

This type of invocation promises certainty that the problems, and solutions, of educational achievement and inequality lie in a refrain of genetic determinism. Yet, this is precisely the contradiction at the heart of new biological rationalities—it is the tension between certainty in the search for ever more reduced understandings of the 'human' around both differentiation and normalization, and the constitution the human as infinitely plastic, optimizable and future oriented.

Molecular biopolitics provides a different type of pathway from genetic determinism, to policy predictability. This is to dispense with estimating and inducing specific behaviours and practices based on policy, and instead, create and optimize specific traits that adhere to preferred practices.

Rose (2007) refers to the capacity to recombine the body, or the recombinant body, as part of the expansion of "technologies of optimization" (p. 16). These technologies, such as modifying and recombining the human genome, are part of the expanded biopolitics that Rose outlines where the boundaries of "treatment, correction, and enhancement can no longer be sustained. The ways in which they

[3]Plomin's work has been heavily critiqued for both its inherent contradictions between genetic determinism and caveats about this determinism, and for its thinly veiled support of new forms of eugenics and racism. See Dorling (2015), Gillborn (2016).

are to be redrawn shapes the new territory of molecular biopolitics" (Rose 2007, p. 17). What the optimization aspect of contemporary biopolitics generates is the disputed territory of what and who is considered 'optimal': "these technologies embody disputed visions of what, in individual and or collective life, may indeed be an optimal state" (Rose 2007, p. 6). This focus on optimization has been most evident in the field of environmental epigenetics.

3.2.2 *Environmental Epigenetics and the Policies of New Eugenics*

Environmental epigenetics falls into what Meloni calls 'soft heredity' ideas, that broadly encompass "the idea that early-life developmental factors have an influence not only on adult life but also, potentially, on the next generation(s)" (p. 3). In contradistinction to genetic determinism, epigenetics proposes that genetic makeup is plastic. The plasticity of socio-natural life, therefore, leaves life open to environmental intervention from physical, social, behavioural factors that can lead to 'improvement' or even 'optimization'. Epigenetics encapsulates two different meanings for the same phenomena. Carey (2012) outlines that epigenetics describes, firstly, "[w]henever two genetically identical individuals are non-identical in same way we can measure" (p. 6); and, secondly, there is a molecular level definition of "epigenetics … as the set of modifications to our genetic material that change the ways the genes are switched on or off, but which don't alter the genes [DNA] themselves" (p. 7).

The central notion of plasticity can provide a reinvigoration of non-deterministic biological underpinning for new equity arguments, "whereby epigenetics provides a chain of connections between what used to be qualified as social and natural inequality, leading to a reformulation of these contested boundaries" (Loi et al. 2013, p. 143). For example, the focus on environmental exposures and biological effects can support justice movements against toxic chemicals. Additionally, it can be seen that it "undermines the genetically determinist notions that underpin modern race and racism" (Mansfield and Guthman 2015, p. 4). Plasticity suggests that there is a way of connecting biological traits to equality of opportunity but the idea of plasticity is also what makes it pernicious. Intervention and 'improvement' may be premised on normalization, especially around ideas of race, "where abnormality and normality—deciding what counts as improvement is embedded in normalization" (Mansfield and Guthman 2015, p. 5). It is for this reason that epigenetics has been identified as the science of new eugenics (Mansfield and Guthman 2015).

Additionally, there is a temporality to this change, for as Rose and Abi-Rached argue, a molecular biopolitics has shifted governance from the present to the future:

> It would not be too much of an exaggeration to say that we have moved from the risk management of almost everything to a general regime of futurity. The future now presents us neither with ignorance nor with fate, but with probabilities, possibilities, a spectrum of uncertainties, and the potential for the unseen and unexpected and the untoward. In the face

> of such futures, authorities have now the obligation, not merely to 'govern the present' but to 'govern the future.' (Rose and Abi-Rached 2013, p. 14)

If policy sciences desired prediction, then contemporary biopolitics provides something new in the form of a predictibly uncertain 'governing the future'. Epigenetics is an attractive arena for policy makers, as there are environmental aspects that can therefore be the object of governance, making socio-biological life a possible arena for social policy intervention (Meloni and Testa 2014).

What is accentuated in epigenetics and 'governing the future', and we would note is a refrain of the necessarily future orientation of the eugenic movements (Levine and Bashford 2010), are the idealized scenarios (i.e., 'targets', preferred policy imaginations, utopias) that animate subsequent bodily reformations in order to partake or gain an edge in the proposed future(s). Biomedicine provides new forms of plasticity that will allow for prediction (but not determinism), optimization and intervention. What epigenetics provides is the potential for an optimized future. This may concern minimizing risk, but at the level of the body in association with whatever utopic future is proposed.

We can speculate that epigenetics can be seamlessly imbricated with the contemporary education policy landscape in that parental choice is no longer relegated to just schools, programmes, and curricula, but to the in vitro body itself. Choice, for example, is simply able to be downloaded onto parents' design options in vitro, likely to correspond to whatever educational programme or path is estimable and deemed beneficial.

Education policy, therefore, is amendable to postgenomic thought and judgements for the idea of choice and self-responsibilization are normalized parts of most education systems. The focus on the molecular biopolitics means that there are new types of intervention and optimization that become part of the constitution of life—this is what Rose (2007) calls the 'politics of life itself'. These new forms of molecular biopolitics are becoming evident in early childhood education, and the historical continuity of interventions at the level of the parent, especially in the arena of neuroscience and policy.

3.3 The 'Neurofication'[4] of Education Policy?

Our aim here in this section is not to identify the variegated aspects that constitute neuroscience, nor the debates within the field, but rather to focus on how neuroscience has become constituted in the public and policy imaginaries as 'brain' science (Broer and Pickersgill 2015; Pykett 2015). One key aspect of this new imaginary lies in the ostensive capacity to observe the 'mind'. Pykett has argued that what we are seeing is the dominance of 'brain culture' where the 'social'

[4]The phrase 'neurofication of policy' is from Edwards et al. (http://discoversociety.org/2014/01/06/policy-briefing-the-biologisation-of-poverty-policy-and-practice-in-early-years-intervention/).

aspects of neuroscience are becoming a form of scientific authority in social and political life, and "are increasingly shaping our relationship to ourselves, the world and to each other, in ways that are manifest in policy and practice" (Pykett 2015, p. 8). Pickersgill (2013) has termed the changing notions of identity and expertise through neuroscientific research as the 'social life of the brain', and claims that neuroscience is reshaping "the boundaries between taken-for-granted ontological distinctions regarding 'biology' and 'society'" (Pickersgill 2013, p. 4).

Broer and Pickersgill (2015a) outline two key ways in which the use of neuroscience has become evident in social policy. The first is the type of work that makes a normative claim about neuroscience and identifies how social policy has overstated or misrepresented these claims (i.e., it focuses on the idea of 'misuse' of science, that leaves the premise of neuroscience unchallenged). We might characterise this as the amplification and exaggeration of scientific knowledge, and as Broer and Pickersgill (2015a) note, this leaves the assumptions of the 'science' unexamined—it is the accurate application of knowledge that matters. The second type of work looks at what types of new forms of knowledge and subjectivity are being formed by the introduction of neuroscience into governing. For example, Pykett (2015), following Rose and Abi-Rached (2013), describes the 'cultivation of a neuromolecular gaze' which has taken hold especially in popular culture through the idea of 'neural plasticity', in books such as the *The brain that changes itself* (Doidge 2007) and the idea of the brain as a new site for fitness training, through online platforms like 'Lumosity'.

The combination of these two approaches to the use of neuroscience in policy has resulted in what Pykett calls 'governing through the brain', where what were social policy problems are now constituted as 'biosocial' problems, that are "rooted in the molecular biology, chemistry and physiology of the brain, and solvable only by the corresponding production of the biosocial subject and by the subjectification of the figure of the 'neurocitizen'" (Pykett 2015, p. 8). This is part of a new behavioural tranche of policy directions, and policy units and think tanks in the UK and other countries have built on the idea of being able to 'nudge' people into different types of behaviours and, hence, outcomes (Pykett 2015). It is the continuity of the history of early interventions aimed at the most disadvantaged, with the difference that while disadvantage is still seen as a problem of the family unit, or deficits in the family unit, it is located in the brain, and hence "the solution to poverty is to make people smarter—children of the poor can then think themselves out of their predicament" (Edwards et al. 2015, p. 184).

3.4 Neuroscience and Education Policy

The 'biomedicalized' child is a desirable subject for "the promissory potential of neuroscience" where "neurologic narratives can be located within popular media and self-help books, as well as within policy documents and scientific literature on development" (Pickersgill 2013, p. 329). Education is an attractive site for the

introduction of neuroscience due to its role in both ameliorating and producing difference. It is fertile ground for neuro 'training in the aims of citizenship and development of human capital, with a focus on efficiency and outcomes.

In the research arena, the field of 'educational neuroscience' has investigated neural processes related to learning, but that span cognition to behavioural problems, using "techniques and technologies of neuroscience (e.g. functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), electroencephalography (EEG)) in studies of learning processes" (Pykett and Disney 2015, p. 8). Neuroscience promises increased knowledge about how the brain 'works' and hence how learning happens, and about why different learners learn differently (Pykett and Disney 2015, p. 1). The evidence of neuroscience, thus, provides new molecular rationalities for education policy makers and practitioners. The reconfiguration of life as an arena for intervention depends on new techniques of visualization—such as ultrasounds and electroencephalogram (EEG) scans—that digitalize life. One example of such techniques is fMRI, a technique of brain imaging that "reconstruct(s) an apparent mimetic realism at the molecular level through the use of algorithms that manipulate digital information" (Rose 2007, p. 14).

Neuroscience has been growing as an influence in education—known variously as brain and mind studies, brain-based learning and neuroeducation—since the 1990s, finding a compelling reception with the ideas of enhancement providing powerful tropes in education around self-responsibility and self-regulation in learning and behaviour. One prominent example is Carol Dweck's work on 'growth mindset'. It is here that the performativity of education converges with neuroscience, with its focus on "*how students learn* rather than *what they learn*" (Hardiman 2012, cited by Pykett 2015, p. 112). Pykett proposes that, in an environment of new forms of international comparison for education, and "global economic comparative advantage", "[i]t is these conditions that make neuroeducation such an attractive prospect for educators operating within a discursive framework in which there is a repeated promise to improve, accelerate, enhance and increase the quantity of learning" (Pykett 2015, p. 113). In this way neuroscience has made its way into the global policy discourses concerning education, such as in the work of the OECD (see critique in Baker 2015). Similarly, Millei and Joronein (2016) note, in their work on early childhood policy in Australia, that: "A particular kind of futurity emerges here—one, where environment and optimal brain architecture and brain-based learning can lead to the betterment of society via economic competitiveness" (p. 395). This indicates the ways in which across education sectors, postgenomic thought is able to reinforce and supplement existing policy frames.

3.5 Conclusions: The New Authorities of 'Bio-Edu Policy'

The connection of biology to the social, and particularly, to the political is not new. The history of mass education is the history of the intertwining of biology with sociology and politics. Rather than be caught up in a reluctance to engage with what

is emerging in the life science, while we have mapped out some of what we think are concerns in the way postgenomic knowledges and judgements are making their way into education policy, we do want to try and contribute to what Rose calls for, as:

> An affirmative relationship is one that seeks to identify and work with those arguments that recognize, in whatever small way, the need for a new and non-reductionist biology of human beings and other organisms in their milieu, and which can thus be brought into conversation with the evidence, concepts and forms of analysis developed in the social and human sciences. (Rose 2013, p. 24)

The argument of this chapter is that new biological rationalities in the postgenomic age have reconfigured the terrain of education policy and policy analysis. This is not to claim that new biological rationalities are inherently different in the impact on the fields of policy and practice, from other forms of knowledge and expertise mobilized in education such as those from educational psychology. Rather, as Youdell (2016) proposes, we need a new form of analysis in education around a 'critical biosociality'. Our interest in this last section is to think about how postgenomic rationalities are reshaping of two aspects: one, who is the object of policy, whom are policy subjects?; and, two, who become the new authorities of biopolitical futurity that education policy objects and subjects traverse?

3.5.1 The Objects and Subjects of Bio-Edu-Policy

If we imagine that policy is collective intervention, the biopolitics of the population, then a molecular biopolitics is one that challenges and perhaps reinforces ideas around the categories identified and mobilized around intervention and optimization. Rabinow (1992) suggests the links between the social and biological will lead to novel ideas of biosociality, where we will have reconfigured understandings of the social and cultural through new biological categories, such that genetic categories will become identity categories. Hence, rather than describing oneself in relation to a cultural group, gender and so forth, there will be descriptions based on the genetic and bioscientific terminology transformed into the vernacular, and layered onto, and reconfiguring existing rationalities of difference such as race and gender. Rabinow's idea is that these will create new forms of biosociality around, for example:

> the chromosome 17, locus 16, 256, site 654, 376 allele variant with a gauanine substitution. These groups will have medical specialists, laboratories, narratives, traditions, and heavy panoply of pastoral keepers to help them experience, share, intervene in, and 'understand' their fate. (Rabinow 1992, p. 244)

That is, new biological rationalities change the terrain of advocacy, decisions about recognition and distribution, and we will enter the realm of where the current social categories of policy will not make sense, and will be conflated through multiplicities of 'macro' and molecular categories. Rabinow (1992) argues that "these older cultural classifications will be joined by a vast array of new ones, which will cross-cut, partially supersede and eventually redefine the older categories in ways that are well

worth monitoring" (p. 244). While there are possibilities in this new form of biosociality, which may provide new ways of arguing for justice (for overview of debates see Mansfield and Guthman 2015; Youdell 2016), there are also the postgenomic age is a 'dangerous' terrain that emerges when applying incomplete/developing knowledge (e.g. epigenetics) to remaking bodies. A double move of both subordination and control of the very registers of inducement—a quintessential form of policy governance in which the social sciences are merged with the natural sciences that powerfully taps into the desires to belong and identify in the kinds of destinies and biosocial communities that Rabinow mentioned above. We posit that these categories may become imbricated in a new policy ontology, where individuals are simply produced *in* policy, as objects of policy, instead of inducing behaviour and practice *through* policy as subjects of policy.

3.5.2 *New Authorities of Biopolitical Futurity*

New pastoral keepers and specialists contribute to the final aspect we want to cover. We must consider how the targets of policy change, how a politics of access, of opportunity, of recognition, are radically changed through new forms of interventions, and by new forms of authority that are introduced into the decision-making realm. Who, therefore, become the new authorities for policy, and policy analysis?

We might see this as part of the combination of what Rose (2007) calls "biological ethopolitics—the politics of how we should conduct ourselves appropriately in relation to ourselves, and in our responsibilities for the future—forms the milieu within which novel forms of authority are taking place" (p. 27). These authorities are what Rose identifies as 'experts in life itself' and it moves the idea of the professional in some fields, such as education, into other arenas, such that people like teachers and social workers are no longer central, rather that there is an extension of laboratory expertise, for example to counsellors of all kinds (genetic counsellors and so forth). As Baker proposes:

> In the name of the personal, the individual, the tailored, and the idiosyncratic that neuro research is meant to represent a totalized rendition of Being eventuates in which knowledge of educational processes is ultimately reduced to the authority of biology. (Baker 2015, p. 188)

In social policy (Broer and Pickersgill 2015a) and education policy (Gillborn 2016) these ideas combine amplification, but also the ostensive misunderstanding, of biological ideas adopted as policy recommendations and circulating as new (educational) truths. Perhaps this is one of the problems with these new forms of authority; that they make new claims that are seemingly beyond reproach. That is, the new 'evidence base' is seen as incontrovertible as part of the new authorities of governing the future, where the molecular, while not determinant, is nonetheless imbued with particular accepted rationalities of truth about how 'learning' and 'teaching' 'really' work, and about who has the most rigor and evidence. Policy analysis that is

informed, or done, by these new authorities seems likely to be in the vein of the policy sciences, where analysis is 'for policy', in the sense that it is undertaken with the aim of 'improving' policy development (Gordon et al. 1977).

In the example of neuroscience, Edwards et al. suggest that "[n]euroscience… has not necessarily been called upon for its actual explanatory capacity, but for its persuasive value" (Edwards et al. 2015, p. 175). Ideas like optimization and intervention are relative terms, only applicable within an already existing state of affairs. In this sense, bio-edu-policy is not as interested in deterritorializing existing states of affairs, for instance, schools; rather, bio-edu-policy requires the disciplining techniques of schools to optimize bodies for the existing social and stratified ontologies. This is the terrain that Millei and Jorenen (2016) identify as "*cruel* policies" in early childhood, where a "hopeful ethos" of intervention is countered by the idea that "some children's brain potential are lost already" (p. 400). Indeed, bio-edu-policy operates relative to existing social ontologies and current biological understandings and circulates and circumscribes arrangements of both. Biopolitical futurity is a circular imagination, perhaps spiral, where uncertainty is managed in relation to rectifying plastic bodies against a backdrop of transcendent desires regarding an unknown tomorrow, but trapped by the immanence of historical and eugenical attempts at the same. Bio-edu-policy is able to perpetuate itself within biopolitical futurity as both the achievement of the previously failed histories of eugenics in education and the, now, realized promise of a 'successful' future through 'nature'. While the new biological rationalities provide myriad of contributions to important ways of understanding not only the object and subject of policy as necessarily biosocial, we might also caution that the tensions between the normative and the plastic in molecular biopolitics gives policy a new kind of almost totally autocratic force.[5] This force encourages and underpins reductionist explanations that suit new forms of instrumentality in education, and leads to a hollowing of the conditions of possibility for understanding education outside of these rationalities.

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[5]Thanks to Andrew Murphie for this phrasing.

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Chapter 4
Neoliberalism and Beyond: The Possibilities of a Social Justice Agenda?

Mark Olssen

Abstract The paper will start with a short account of neoliberalism where I will survey the arguments offered in support of neoliberal reforms made initially by James Buchanan and the Public Choice School. Many scholars, especially those coming from a poststructuralist or post-Marxist position, see neoliberalism, as Troeger (2014, p. 1) has put it, "as a kind of bogeyman-placeholder for all that is wrong with the predominant political and economic system in the West". In this paper I intend to ask whether some of the criticisms made of the old welfare state by neoliberals like Buchanan were not justified, and then seek to offer a more nuanced account assessing both the costs and benefits of neoliberal policies and strategies as they affect both higher education and society. Specifically, I will ask to what extent neoliberal orthodoxies are compatible with policies promoting equity and social justice? And what sort of social justice might this be? The extent to which neoliberal strategies are themselves adaptable, are undergoing change, have differential effects in relation to different policy arenas, or can be rendered congruent with social justice agendas, are the broader general questions I will then seek to address. In order to do this, I will initially present a survey of a number of key policy domains within the higher education field to be able to ascertain which specific policy areas contribute to increased inequality and frustrate social equity. This will underscore an important point that while at one level neoliberalism constitutes a general policy framework, its individual technologies must be seen to act variably and with different effects, not all of which are necessarily negative, in relation to different issues and domains. Indeed, I will argue that it is at least conceivable that a progressively orientated social democratic government could utilise some supply-side policy agendas and technologies to good effect. As an overarching policy framework, however, I will argue that neoliberalism as the agenda of free market economics is not likely to survive due to the very shortcomings that are now in the second decade of the twenty-first century becoming evident. By way of conclusion

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then, I will ask briefly what lies beyond neoliberalism as a broad policy framework? Is there a new settlement on the horizon?

Many scholars, especially those coming from a poststructuralist or post-Marxist position, see neoliberalism "as a kind of bogeyman-placeholder for all that is wrong with the predominant political and economic system in the West" (Troeger 2014, p. 1). In this paper I intend to offer a more nuanced account assessing both the costs and benefits of neoliberal policies and strategies as they affect both higher education and society. Specifically, I will ask to what extent neoliberal orthodoxies are compatible with policies promoting equity and social justice? And what sort of social justice might this be? The extent to which neoliberal strategies are themselves adaptable, are undergoing change, have differential effects in relation to different policy arenas, or can be rendered congruent with social justice agendas, are the broader general questions I will then seek to address. In order to do this, I will initially present a survey of a number of key policy domains within the higher education field in order to ascertain which specific policy areas contribute to increased inequality and frustrate social equity. This will underscore an important point that while at one level neoliberalism constitutes a general policy framework, its individual technologies must be seen to act variably and with different effects, not all of which are necessarily negative, in relation to different issues and domains. Finally, to conclude, I will ask briefly what lies beyond neoliberalism as a broad policy framework. Is there a new settlement on the horizon?

4.1 Neoliberalism and the Public Good

The paper will start with a short account of neoliberalism where I will survey the arguments offered in support of neoliberal reforms made initially by James Buchanan and the Public Choice School. The changes to higher education inaugurated in Britain in the 1980s as a result of the election of Thatcher's Conservative government, ushered in a sea-change in how the public sector was to be managed, and of the role of government in relation to public spending. The broad faith in Keynesian demand management was replaced by a range of new economic, financial and administrative perspectives whose central common assumptions can be seen as constituted by a particular strain of liberal thought referred to most often as 'neoliberalism'. The central defining characteristic of this new liberalism was based on an application of the logic and rules of market competition to the public sector.

One central feature of neoliberalism is an attack on the idea of the public good, an idea which characterised the era of the welfare state. The public good constituted an 'end-state' political conception, in Nozick's (1974) sense, in that it posited 'end-state values' which both states and citizens ought to pursue. Equality was one such value. Nozick took the view that the state had no business pursuing 'end-state'

values at all. To do so was to interfere with the liberty of the citizens. Based upon the Lockean conception of property rights and natural or negative liberty, Nozick contributed to a dismantling the public good conception so central to the welfare state and dissolved it into individualised preferences by self-owning and self-governing subjects. The only function of the state in such a theory was the enforcement and protection of the negative rights of the citizenry through ensuring the sanctity of contracts, as well as keeping the peace and looking after defence. Positive rights and actions to such goods as higher education or equality were outside the legitimate sphere of state action at all.

The initial criticism of the public good can be seen as developing in American social sciences in the first half of the twentieth century, in the work of Schumpeter (1976) [1943], who linked the concept of the good to the classical doctrine of democracy. Schumpeter identified the pre-Enlightenment philosophy of democracy as "that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realises the common good by making the people decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will" (1976, p. 250). As such, the common good functions as "the obvious beacon light of policy which is always simple to define and which every normal person can be made to see by means of rational argument" (p. 250). Schumpeter opposed this idea. First, he denied any notion of "a uniquely determined common good that all people could agree on or be made to agree on through the force of rational argument". Second, he appealed to the fact that "some people may want things other than the common good" as well as "to the much more fundamental fact that to different individuals and groups the common good is bound to mean different things" (p. 251). Third, that even if a general good, such as the utilitarian good of maximising pleasure, could be agreed upon, essential conflicts (such as whether 'socialism' or 'capitalism' should prevail, or over the limits and nature of 'health') would be left unresolved (pp. 251–252).

In the second half of the century, Schumpeter set the scene for economic theorists, such as Henry Calvert Simons, father of the Chicago School of economics,[1] and Kenneth Arrow, originator of Social Choice theory, and later influenced James Buchanan and the 'new right'.[2] While the Chicago School initiated a major resurgence of free market economics, the major effect of Arrow's work was to challenge all conceptions of collective politics. As Sen (2002, p. 330) reports, Arrow had been asked by Olaf Helmer, a logician at the Rand Corporation, who was interested in applying game theory to international relations: "In what sense could collectivities be said to have utility functions?" Arrow determined that no satisfactory method for aggregating a multiplicity of orderings into one single ordering existed. Hence, there was "a difficulty in the concept of social welfare"

[1]See Simons (1948).

[2]In my account of neoliberalism here, I have deliberately accorded several US institutionalists, such as Joseph Schumpeter and Kenneth Arrow (elsewhere also, John Nash and others), a central role although I am aware that many standards accounts of neoliberalism (Marginson 1997, 1999; Marginson and Considine 2000; Harvey 2007, and others) do not even mention them.

(Arrow 1950). The outcome was a PhD that formulated the General Possibility Theorem, which was a modification of the old paradox of voting. As Sen (2002, p. 262) notes, this theorem was "an oddly optimistic name for what is more commonly—and more revealingly—called Arrow's 'impossibility theorem,' in that it describes that it is impossible to devise an integrated social preference for diverse individual preferences". Arrow's claim was that a unified coherent social welfare function, expressing a single value, such as a public good, could not be expressed from the disaggregated preferences of individuals, without dictatorially discounting some at the expense of others. As Arrow (1951, p. 24) states,

> If we exclude the possibility of interpersonal comparisons of utility, then the only method of passing from individual tastes to social preferences which will be satisfactory and which will be defined for a wide range of sets of individual orderings are either imposed or dictatorial.

For Sen (p. 343), such work has relevance "in the context of political thought in which aggregative notions are used, such as the 'general will' or the 'common good' or the 'social imperative'". What became apparent to Buchanan was that "these political ideas require[d] re-examination in the light of Arrow's results" (p. 343). Two of Buchanan's articles published in 1954 reveal the major influence of Arrow's work in his conception of and attack upon the notion of public interest (see Buchanan 1954a, b). Under conditions of optimal social choice, which included all, individual rankings of states of affairs, or preferences, could not be calculated in terms of a single value, like stability, or be Pareto optimal, unless conditions of dictatorship were presumed to operate.

The attack on the notion of the public good went hand in hand with new theories of institutional and organisational behaviour, and new models of public service. As founder of the school of Public Choice, Buchanan advocated the application of economic theories to public-sector institutions in the interest of making public organisations subject to the similar costs and benefits as operate in the private sector.[3] Collective entities such as the 'public good' were held not to exist because they were reducible to individual experiences. As with classical economics, self-interest was fundamental to Buchanan's new theory. Such an approach he characterised as 'methodological individualism'. Buchanan acknowledges this point in *The Calculus of Consent* where he states that "the whole calculus has meaning only if methodological individualism is accepted" (Buchanan and Tullock 1962, p. 265).[4]

For Public Choice theory (PCT), then, the idea that public services are able to function in terms of the public good is a myth which cloaks the self-interested behaviour of civil servants as they seek to increase their power and maximise their own personal advantages. Buchanan maintains that a coincidence of interests between the civil servant's private interests and their conception of the public interest ensues, such that "within the constraints that he faces the bureaucrat tends

[3]Buchanan visited Margaret Thatcher in London in the early 1980s and in this sense a direct influence on neoliberalism in Higher Education.

[4]Public choice theory, rather than human capital theory, or other rational choice theories, will be used in this chapter as the principal exemplar of neoliberal theories.

to maximise his own utility" (Buchanan 1975, p. 161). If preferences are inherently subjective they cannot be known and transferred into a collective value judgement, such as a public good, for such a notion neglects the rights of consumers whose interests in the public service and politicians are meant to serve, but do not. In arguing such a view, as Barry (1990) notes, Buchanan and Tullock "aim to destroy a whole tradition of political theorizing" (1990, p. 256). Essentially, "the public has no place in their world". This is the tradition that recognises the existence and "promotion of widely shared common interests—public interests—the most important reason for the existence of public authorities" (p. 256).

4.2 Neoliberalism and the Ethos of the Positive or Active State

Despite the rejection of this notion of the public good, what is centrally important here in terms of understanding the advent of neoliberal accountability and monitoring mechanisms is that Buchanan does not abolish the idea of an active or positive state.[5] What was distinctive about neoliberals like Buchanan was the view that the state must direct operations. This was the reason that he stood opposed to Hayek's naturalist faith in markets as self-regulating systems that evolved through 'spontaneous' development. In a very highly significant passage, which I have cited previously in several works, Buchanan says

> My basic criticism of F.A. Hayek's profound interpretation of modern history and his diagnosis for improvement is directed at his apparent belief or faith that social evolution will … ensure the survival of efficient institutional forms. Hayek is so distrustful of man's [sic] explicit attempts of reforming institutions that he accepts uncritically the evolutionary alternative. (1975, p. 194n)

What is important to note here is that, in a purely technical sense, if Buchanan's criticism of Hayek in the quotation above is correct, then Hayek should be seen as a classical liberal, or as a 'precursor' to neoliberalism, rather than as part of the tradition of neoliberalism as such. If neoliberalism is defined as being characterised by a 'positive' state, as I maintain, then it is the likes of James Buchanan, Gary Becker, Walter Eucken and Wilhelm Röpke, who constitute being genuinely neoliberal in this sense. For Buchanan, as with the ordo-liberals in Germany, rather

[5]A conception of 'positive' and 'negative' liberty and state power is integral to liberal theory. A 'positive' state is a state, such as a socialist or the welfare state, that actively provides for goods and services for society based upon a general conception of the best sort of life for all. A 'negative' state is a state that is a 'minimalist' state, which leaves provision to the market, and provides only goods and services that a market cannot provide, based upon the idea, broadly speaking, that individuals should be free to decide their own lives. Both terms are derived from the concepts of 'positive' and negative' liberty, where 'negative liberty' refers to the 'absence of external constraint' and 'positive liberty' to 'the pursuit of some favoured course (see Berlin 1969 for an extended analysis).

than trusting individuals to act autonomously, expressing their natural liberty, as in classical liberalism, under his neoliberal variant, the state should engineer and monitor the accountability of individuals and institutions to promote efficiency in market terms.

The distinctions between negative and positive state power, and between naturalism and anti-naturalism, provide important keys to understanding the distinctive nature of the neoliberal revolution as it impacted throughout much of the western world in the last four decades. Michel Foucault's lectures at the Collège de France of 1978–1979, published in English as *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008), provides an important text for understanding both the origins and early development of these differences. Whereas classical liberalism represents a negative conception of state power, viewing the state as a neutral 'umpire' or 'nightwatchman', and viewing the individual as exercising a zone of natural freedom separate and autonomous from the interventions of the state, neoliberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state's role, viewing it as actively creating the appropriate market processes and structures by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation.[6]

Foucault recounts over the course of the first five lectures of *The Birth of Biopolitics* (10 January, 17 January, 21 January, 31 January and 7 February) the transition from a naturalistic conception, which defined classical liberalism, to an anti-naturalistic conception, which characterised neoliberalism. As a naturalistic doctrine, liberalism emerges as a doctrine of the internal limitations of governmental reason in the middle of the eighteenth century with the Physiocrats, Smith, and Kant and the eighteenth century jurists. Political economy "discovers a certain naturalness specific to the practice of government itself" (10 January 2008, p. 15) and "governmental practice can only do what it has to do by respecting nature" (p. 16). While in the Middle Ages, the market was essentially seen as a site of justice, limited by strict regulations, from the middle of the eighteenth century the market is characterised by spontaneous, i.e. natural mechanisms, which pertained to such things as prices, exchange and distribution. So the market of the eighteenth century was premised upon the ground of an "unlimited nature" (p. 56, 24 January) which guaranteed both the "wealth of nations" and "perpetual peace" (p. 57). Foucault characterises this as a "governmental naturalism" which legitimises both the practices and outcomes of markets.

With the neoliberals of the twentieth century there are a number of more specific changes that Foucault describes parallel with the more general shift from naturalism to anti-naturalism. Initially, "a shift from exchange to competition in the principle of the market" (7 February, p. 118). Exchange for the neoliberals is not important, but rather a fiction of the eighteenth century economists. What is essential is competition. This in turn signals a change from an equivalence of buyer and seller to a relation of inequality or, as Foucault emphasises the point "that is to say, not

[6]For earlier analysis of Foucault's perspective on the 'active' or 'positive' state, see Olssen et al. (2004); Olssen and Peters (2005) and Peters (2011).

equivalence but on the contrary inequality" (p. 119), whereas for the classical liberal economists' exchange required *laissez-faire*, the neoliberals, says Foucault, "break with the tradition of eighteenth and nineteenth century liberalism" (p. 119). For to see *laissez-faire* as the conclusion drawn from the principle of competition constitutes a "naive naturalism" (p. 120). As Foucault says, "[f]or what in fact is competition? It is absolutely not a given of nature … Pure competition must and can only be an objective, an objective presupposing an indefinitely active policy. Competition is therefore an historical objective of governmental art and not a natural given that must be respected" (p. 120).

Foucault (2008) recounts how the ordo-liberal programme in Germany embodied this positive, active view of the state's role. For Foucault, neoliberalism functioned as both an *ethos* and *practice* of 'governmentality' which applied across the social domain to all manner of institutions in order to shape conduct.[7] It characterised the state non-naturalistically as the active and expansive institution governed through policy elites rather than as operating in accord with the naturalistic doctrines of 'self-regulation' and *laissez-faire*, reflecting its 'shrinking' or 'do-nothing' character in order to preserve the special domain of freedom, as it was for classical liberals from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. Neoliberalism in this sense constitutes a general form of political rationality rather than a specifically economic doctrine. It constitutes a general guiding discourse which is infinitely adjustable in different contexts. It seeks changes both the private and public sectors and applies to all forms of voluntary behaviour.[8]

4.3 Public Choice Theory as Neoliberal Technology of Education

In disputing that civil servants served the public interest, PCT advocates such a 'positive' state to develop quasi-market procedures to render institutions efficient based on the classical economic model of individuals as 'self-interested

[7]Governmentality, for Foucault, refers to a particular 'art of government' comprising "the techniques and practices of governing populations … over an entire society" (Gordon 1991, p. 4). See also Foucault 1991.

[8]As an economic doctrine, neoliberalism is usually defined along the lines that constitutes, as Andrew Gamble (2014, p 3) defines it, "an end to the era fixed exchange rates, capital controls, universalist welfare, strong trade unions, full employment, and large autonomous public sectors which had become established in many countries after 1945". As a form of rationality, it pertains to new supply-side rules for promoting private initiative and rendering individuals responsible, i.e. accountable, based upon a logic of competition which promotes entrepreneurial behaviour and supports business values of growth and productivity. Although, since Foucault wrote, it has developed considerably in its general configuration, and been supplemented by corporatist strategies aimed at security and surveillance, as Brenner et al. (2010, p. 327) note, "neoliberalization processes have been entrenched at various spatial scales and extended across the world economy since the 1980s".

appropriators'. At the operational level it suggests redesigning public institutions, not to be concerned with 'end-state' values, such as equality, or the public good, but to reflect more accurately that the preferences of individuals are rendered accountable in market terms. By doing so, this would enable the state to counteract the various possible forms of 'capture', which deflect public officials from the public's real needs, and subvert them in terms of personal or sectional interests and biases.

As a consequence, PCT advocates a variety of quasi-market strategies. These include

- contracting out services to the private sector;
- increasing competition between units within the public sector;
- placing all potentially conflicting responsibilities into separate institutions;
- separating the commercial and non-commercial functions of the state;
- separating the advisory, regulatory and delivery functions into different agencies;
- introducing an assortment of accountability and monitoring techniques and strategies aimed to overcome all possible sources of inequity, inefficiency, corruption and 'capture', particularly those arising from the pursuit of self-interest;
- ensuring international competitiveness, efficiency and excellence.[9]

It is on this basis that public-sector reforms relating to health or education have sought to restructure the basis of accountability through notions tied to individually attached performance incentives and targets, and through monitoring and assessment through institutional audits. The aim here then is to jettison the social democratic end values that characterised the welfare state replacing them with quasi-market values of efficiency and meritocracy which PCT claims more genuinely reflect the core preferences of individuals.

PCT and other neoliberal theories were adopted in Britain soon after the election of the Thatcher government in 1979. In higher education the first major external mechanism introduced was to assess accountability in research. The British government asked the UK Funding Councils to devise a means to assess research output and quality. One of the primary reasons given was to inform Funding Council allocations of the grant for research. The idea that some form of individualised accountability was necessary had been debated for some considerable time. When Margaret Thatcher invited James Buchanan to London, he talked frankly about public servants as exploiting the conditions of their offices whilst hiding behind notions of 'public duty' or 'professionalism', and as indulging repeatedly in 'rent-seeking behaviour'. Anecdotal 'evidence' of shirking, free-riding, slothfulness

[9]See the literature on Agency Theory, including Althaus (1997), Bendor (1988), Bergman and Lane (1990), Boston (1991), (1996), (1999), Boston et al. (1996), Matheson (1997) Perrow (1986a, b), Scott (1997) and Weingast (1984).

or corruption led many to agree that an increased level of accountability was warranted (Curtis 2007).[10]

The reform of higher education in Britain was one aspect of public-sector reforms initiated under Thatcher, influenced directly by PCT. In general terms it involved the move to supply-side funding policies introducing a significant increase in central control. The Research Assessment Exercise in Britain was first implemented in 1986 and then in 1989, 1992, 1996, 2001 and 2008. Its main purpose was to survey the quantity and scope of research in order to provide data for the distribution of funding through the Funding Councils. When introduced the stated purposes related to accountability and efficiency in order to gauge resource allocation, improve the decision-making and assist with governance. Later RAEs maintained essentially similar aims and rationales. Each Unit of Assessment (UoA) supported a panel comprising expert peer reviewers from across the disciplinary areas. Academics were 'returnable' based on four pieces of research published over the six years preceding the RAE assessment. The criteria used by the panels included originality, significance and rigour. In later RAEs work was also codified in terms of 'quality', 'excellence', 'international status' and 'robustness'.

Due to cumulative criticisms of the RAE, the third Blair Labour Government announced in March 2006 that the 2008 RAE round would be the last one, and that it would be replaced by the Research Excellence Framework (REF). Notwithstanding the shift in nomenclature, the REF was similar to the RAE. As with the RAE, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE 2010) states that "through the REF, the UK funding bodies aim to develop and sustain a dynamic and internationally competitive research sector that makes a major contribution to economic prosperity, national wellbeing and the expansion and dissemination of knowledge". As with the previous RAE, also, the REF was a process of expert review. Although the use of metric-based indicators and especially citation information to inform the reviews of outputs was originally envisaged to be considerably greater, the process of putting it into operation saw a retreat from this position.[11] Other aspects were also much the same.

The RAE/REF ushered in a fundamental 'sea-change' in the way universities in Britain were managed and funded, from an essentially demand-led to a supply-side model where monies would be distributed based upon a competitive allocation according to the quality of research. The competitive allocation of research through the funding councils was to be followed by other supply-side measures of financing higher education, in relation to 'user-pays' student fees, and later in relation to the

[10]The television programmes *Yes Minister* and *Yes Prime Minister* were, as Curtis (2007) documents, inspired by Public Choice Theory and contributed to the general perception of the public sector as characterised by wastage and incompetency. Another who adopted a satirical approach specifically was Laurie Taylor, whose columns in the *Times Higher Education* occasionally made the fictional Poppleton University, founded in 1979, appear as a fit institution for reform in neoliberal terms.

[11]Because citations were dropped as a means to assess the quality of research, the differences between the REF and the RAE were greatly reduced, as predicted by Corbyn (2010).

national student survey of assessing teaching by academic staff. Even more, universities would be expected to compete for scare resources and reputation in an open market supported by hierarchically ranked national indices, and given public expression through national and global league tables. The quasi-market in higher education scarce goods is completed by a plethora of performance and incentive targets, appraisal systems, audit reviews of programmes and courses, and the pressure to publish or perish is now complimented by similar pressures to score well on teaching evaluations.

4.4 The Deficits of Neoliberalism: A Quick Survey

While it can be acknowledged to those who advanced neoliberal arguments that some forms of accountability and transparency were necessary, as it has turned out, accountability has been defined within neoliberalism as promoting an endless cascading spiral of competition by which the would-be academic subjects of neoliberalism are progressively subjected to expanding expectations and workloads. In such a context the subjects of neoliberalism become frenetically self-monitoring and endlessly self-performing owing to the zero-sum context in which the only benchmark for assessing reasonable performance is ever-increasing competition itself.

The neoliberalisation of higher education has also substantially led to de-professionalisation and disempowerment of academics. This is on the basis that traditional models of the university based upon social democratic, pre-neoliberal values, including notions such as tenure, as well as collegial–democratic self-monitoring and assessment by peers, were claimed to encourage 'rent-seeking' behaviour which was insufficiently accountable as to what they did and how they discharged their public responsibilities (Buchanan and Tullock 1962; Tight 1988; Trow 1994; Marginson 1997; Olssen et al. 2004; Olssen 2016a, b). Traditional models of academic governance maintained that academics should have the right and opportunity, without discrimination, and appropriate to their level and seniority, to actively participate in the governing bodies of their institutions, and to be able to elect a majority of representatives to academic bodies within the university. The principles of collegiality upon which this (admittedly) 'ideal-type' model is based include academic freedom, shared responsibility, peer scrutiny and assessment, a policy agenda of participation of all academics in internal decision-making structures and practices (such as Senates), and the development of consultative mechanisms. Collegial decision-making in this model is horizontal and flat and encompasses decisions pertaining to the administration and academic substance of academia, including the determination of higher education policies, curricula, research extension work, the allocation of resources and other related activities so as to improve and develop academia within society at large (see UNESCO 1997, Section B, Clauses 31 & 32; Olssen 2016a, b).

This 'collegial–democratic' model conflicts with the policies adopted by UK Universities in the era characterised by its critics as neoliberal. There have been a large number of changes at many levels. The most significant include

- changing the statutes and ordinances of universities in order to increase the power and control of management;
- developing vertical, line-management hierarchies where authority flows downwards from 'principal' to 'agent';
- the introduction of models of external 'consumer' accountability in relation to research, teaching and administration;
- tightening of appraisal systems and changing the specification of the employment functions of academics;
- making it easier to hire and fire academics through the widespread adoption of 'change management', or 'restructuring' technologies;
- the removal of historic clauses from statutes concerning employment rights and which permitted academics to maintain professional associations which had privileged seats on council, senate, and other university committees;
- making reductions to the representation of academics on councils and senates and increasing the representation of external, 'lay advisers';
- establishing new unrepresentative 'Executive Boards', (and the consequent side-lining of Senates) to assume operational management of the university.[12]

This progressive restructuring of academia has displaced the 'collegial-democratic' model with what can be called the 'neoliberal model'.[13] Like all 'ideal-type' models, they define general regularities and processes which may be unevenly or imperfectly implemented, and which have differential effects in multiple domains, each of which needs critical inspection. Such a model represents an ethos of governance through which conduct is regulated. Recent research would seem to suggest that the neoliberal model is promoting the professionalisation of non-academic managers and administrators whilst de-professionalising academics (Kolsaker 2013). Whereas the collegial–democratic model is deliberative in that it retains power and authority internal to the profession, and as primarily held by academics, the neoliberal model effectively transmits power and authority by dictate downwards through the line of the organisation. Universities in turn are no longer 'autonomous', as in the older model, and are ultimately controlled by levers in the

[12]For references see literature regarding managerialism, New Public Management (NPM), and also see literature on Agency Theory and Cost Transaction Economics, including Althaus (1997), Bendor (1988), Bergman and Lane (1990), Bryson and Smith-Ring (1990), Evans and Quigley (1996), Ewart and Boston (1993), Hede (1991), Marginson (1997, 1999), Marginson and Considine (2000), Matheson (1997), Perrow (1986a, b), Savage (2000), Scott and Gorringe (1989), Tight (1988), Trow (1994), Vining and Weimer (1990), and Williamson (1975, 1983, 1985, 1991, 1992, 1994). On changing the representation of Councils, see McCormick and Meiners (1988), McKean (1974), Savage (2000), and Scott and Smelt (1995).

[13]Again, as a model it is intended as an 'ideal-type' sense. As 'ideal-types' it is not claimed that the perfect practice of the modality is ever attained, but that they represent two modalities of governmentality broadly congruent with the welfare state and the shift to free market economics.

outside society, from the state (the Funding Councils), business, and from the global imperatives of capital. It is the outcome of these changes that has led to significant de-professionalisation of academics from the 1980s. As a consequence, neoliberalism exacts serious costs on the emotional and personal self-management capabilities of academics as many take flight, unable or unwilling to cope with endlessly spiralling kaleidoscope of performance targets, competitive pressures, audits, appraisals and work pressures.

At the most general level, the major effect of neoliberal reforms has been to unleash a whole new model of governing higher education, involving a substantial redesign of its purpose and function in society. Those who support this new model claim it contributes to national economic and social goals in rendering the public sector more accountable, reducing wastage and maximising the social goals of equity and fairness governing access and opportunity for both staff and students alike. Neoliberal governmentality is compatible, say its advocates, with a social justice agenda of maximising access and opportunity on a fair basis.[14] Legislation introduced by Blair's Labour Government (1997–2007) to develop policies of 'widening participation', aiming initially to encourage 50% of the eligible school-age population to attend university, and also to open higher education to community outreach, was a case in point. Characterised by the 'Third Way' of 'New Labour' politics, what defined the Blair Government's approach was a claim to reconcile the neoliberalism inaugurated by Thatcher with the social democracy of traditional Labour.[15] That such policies failed to achieve their targets is in part because they are undermined by the serious internal structural contradictions that existed between neoliberal policies, which promoted inequality through competition, and the traditional social justice agendas of social democratic governments. These raise a number of important questions that I will consider further below.

Entry-level tariffs: One of the direct effects of the competition fetish means that universities that aspire to improve their ranking in the league tables must progressively seek to elevate entry-level grades of new students. Policies on admissions and entry tariffs [as administered by the University and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS)] in many ways have frustrated if not directly contradicted policies on widening student participation in higher education.[16] Higher entry-level grades (or UCAS tariffs as they are known in the UK) mean students have greater linguistic

[14]See any number of government reports, including white and green papers, for a justification of such policies. Also see the innumerable secondary literature for accounts and critiques of higher education reforms over the last thirty years, from various perspectives, including Dill (2003, 2007), Kogan et al. (2006), Lynch (2006), Olssen et al. (2004), Olssen and Peters 2005, Williams 2013).

[15]'Third Way' is the concept developed initially by Tony Giddens to develop a politics that would steer a course between neoliberalism of the Thatcher years, and traditional Labour's concern for social democracy. This gave rise to 'New Labour' to differentiate it from 'old Labour'.

[16]The UCAS Tariff (formerly called UCAS Points System) is a means of differentiating or comparing students based on grades from various post-GSCE qualifications. It is used to assign students in UK and Republic of Ireland to places at UK Universities. Not all universities use the UCAS points system to determine entry, but will simply specify which grades they require students' to achieve.

and educational competences and, as a consequence, they are easier to teach. Subject discipline areas in the social and physical sciences have been known to shift from accepting students with 'two B's and a C' to 'two A's and a B' within the space of a year or two. Many universities have quantified the expected progression for individual discipline units, in order to give forewarning to their academic staff, so the discipline can slowly adapt to the time when only students with triple A grades (or whatever) will be accepted. While academic staff become initially fearful that this will diminish the pool of applicants overall, what frequently happens in fact is that the department or school starts recruiting from a whole new, more elite, catchment of students, along the lines 'that elite Departments will tend to attract elite students'. The issue is, of course, complex and tends to presuppose that the overall league table rankings of the larger university institutions are rising. Such variables as the overall profile of the department, the focus and calibre of the research staff and the individual league table ranking of the department itself will also count. The Russell Group universities across the UK tend on the whole to accept students with higher than average entry-level grades, the vast majority from privileged social backgrounds.[17] In England, where many universities charge the maximum £9000.00 fees, such Universities are also required to grant bursaries and scholarships to students from disadvantaged backgrounds,[18] in overall national terms—for both Russell and other universities—widening participation can make little headway against the main drift of the neoliberal onslaught on this particular front. The pressures on universities to ratchet up entry-level grades of new student recruits would thus seem to directly contradict the agendas of widening participation. The differential effects of social disadvantage are where the impact is felt most strongly. As Coughlan (2015) says, drawing on UCAS data, "richer students are seven times more likely than the poorest to get a place in 'high' tariff universities, such as those belonging to the Russell Group". Coughlan continues that "UCAS admission services state…[regarding] the 2014 intake that the growth in participation in higher education by disadvantaged young people is disproportionately to lower tariff providers". The long run impact of this is that "different universities could have concentrations of different types of students". Neoliberal market competition is propelling a relatively small group of universities in Britain to become more elitist in relation to the profiles of their student populations.

Private providers: Such policies of ratcheting up entry-grade tariffs thus directly contribute to the trend toward increased segregation or stratification of universities, leading to the further development of the elite character of the university sector. Under the influence of the ruling conservative government, David Willetts justified

[17]The Russell Group accepts a lower proportion of students from disadvantaged backgrounds that the university sector as a whole (see HEFCE 2015a, b, c).

[18]Universities that charge fees greater than £6000.00, which is most of them, must have their 'access agreements' approved by OFFA (Office of Fair Access). 'Access agreements' as defined pertain to the provisions made by each University for students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Forms of special assistance may include such things as bursaries, scholarships, outreach activities and mentoring.

this trend on the grounds of allowing for "a greater diversity of institutions to choose from".[19] On the one hand this has resulted in stratification within the public system of universities differentiating the 'top' universities from the 'others' leaving many students disappointed should they not get granted their first choice of university to attend.[20] This has also seen the recent rise of private providers, charging higher fees and adding to the elitist character of higher education provision overall.[21] Private 'for-profit' higher education provision has caused considerable recent concern in that the growth of this sector also increases inequality and severely qualifies the form of social justice agenda that neoliberals can claim their proposals' support. In 2010 nearly 38,000 students were attending private HE providers in the UK (Hubble 2011, p. 5). In December 2011, a letter signed by 500 academics was published in the *Telegraph* warning that struggling universities could potentially be bought by private equity firms.[22] In a report by University and Colleges Union (UCU) (2010), 'Privatising our universities', serious concerns about the dramatic expansion of private provision in the US, by private education providers such as Apollo, Kaplan and the Education Management Corporation, are expressed. In 2009, Apollo acquired BPP Holdings, a London-based provider of education and training and immediately sought degree awarding powers. US experience has shown, the report argues, that private companies have effectively socialised many of their costs whilst privatising their profits, increasingly obtaining state funding, and procuring easy access to degree awarding status, dispensing university titles and accessing student funding systems. They have also used unfair competition practices motivated solely in terms of increasing market share.[23] Amongst the consequences, the report claims are over-recruitment, grade inflation and market-based decision-making trumping educational decision-making under the competition for student approval. The successful marketing strategies of private providers also put pressure on public providers to compromise their standards, reframe curriculum to reflect more utilitarian and practical relevance, compromise the quality of teaching and learning provision and standards, and potentially lead to fraudulent and

[19]David Willetts was presenting the 'Higher Education White Paper' to the House of Commons, 28 July 2011.

[20]Universities in the UK can in fact be ranked of a hierarchy, using various league tables and audits.

[21]A range of alternative providers for higher education have appeared and not all have been elitist. The Open University in England has always conformed to an alternative form of distance provision within the public system, on a 'not-for profit' basis. Recent 'for-profit' arrivals include KPMG Management Consultants who recruit school leavers to work for them while they study for a degree, in return for full-cost funding. Other firms (such as Pearson, the leading education company) are following a similar course. Amongst recent UK private providers are A. C. Grayling's New College of the Humanities, established June 2011, charging fees of £18,000.00 per annum and, opening in January 2015, the University of Buckingham, the UK's first private medical school (see Fong 2015).

[22]'Professors warn over expansion of private universities', *Telegraph*, 7 December 2011.

[23]On 6th September 2011, BPP sensationally announced that it would lower it fees to only £5000 for its degree courses (see Hubble 2011, p. 20).

expedient practices under the pressures of competition. In a recent article in the Times Higher Education, Fong (2015) wonders how the opening of the UK's first private medical school at the University of Buckingham, with annual fees of £35,000 per student, can square with policy attempts to improve socio-economic diversity and considers developments at Buckingham as a "retrograde step". The admissions process is highly selective, with some 500 applicants applying for only 67 eligible places for the first, January 2015, intake. It was not only exclusive, but also highly expensive. As Fong comments further, "If you add in living costs, the total sum of money required to attend Buckingham's four and a half year course is approaching the average cost of a house in the UK" (p. 1). This, he says, "tells you something about the extent to which at least some prospective undergraduates have come to accept higher education as a luxury retail item" (p. 1).

Tuition fees: The adoption of tuition fees ('user-pays') and tuition fee rises (the increase of fees in 2012 in England) also exert a toll.[24] While admission to university generally for school leavers has continued to rise marginally since 2012, this can be seen as indicative of the fact that education within a neoliberal hegemony is seen not only as a luxury item, but additionally as an indispensable component of a middle class career path.[25] Moreover, the effects of tuition fees on both part-time and more mature students have been "unacceptably high", says the Independent Commission of Fees (ICF 2015, p. 1).[26] After the recent 2012 hike in fees, by which most universities in England are charging students £9000 per year, the numbers of part-time first year enrolments in universities fell rapidly, whereas in 2009/10 there were 468,000 part-time, in 2013/14 there were 282,000—a staggering drop of 40% (ICF 2015, p. 16). If we take domiciled first year students enrolled on undergraduate courses, the drop is 48.4% (ICF, p. 17). While various factors may be contributing, the fees regime is singled out as the major factor. Older students are also significantly affected to the extent that there is "a real concern that older students are being pushed out of the higher education market" (ICF, p. 17). Taking part-timers over 25 years of age, the drop is 52% (240,485 in 2009/10 compared to 115,364 in 2013/14) (ICF, p. 17). The trend showing a sharp decline—in applications, enrolments and attendance—has been

[24]Fees went up from £3375 (for Home and EU students) to £6000.00 or with an upper tier of £9000 per year per student if universities can ensure access for poorer students. Universities that charged £9000 per student offered bursaries, scholarships, summer schools and outreach programmes to encourage students from poorer backgrounds. Most charged £9,000. Current average fees charged are £8601 (OFFA 2015).

[25]In 2015 more than 500,000 places allocated in UK Universities, was the highest ever, yet shows only a gradual historical increase, and very poor representation, albeit increasing, of lower socio-economic groups. However, according to UCAS, student applications after the 2012 fees increase are slightly lower than they would have been if the fees had not been increased. While applications initially declined in England in 2012, after the fees hike, they recovered in 2013 and 2014. According to Sá (2014, 2015), applications would have increased more in the absence of the fees increases. She summarises the results of her experimental research design that "the increases in tuition fees have a negative effect on applications to higher education" (2014, p. 19).

[26]The Independent Commission of Fees (ICF) was established in response to the 2012/13 increase in university fees to monitor the impact of the fees over a 3-year period.

consistent since the Commission was set up in 2012. Those going later in life also tend to be predominantly from lower and middle income groups who missed out immediately after school.[27] Will Hutton, Chair of the Independent Commission on Fees, made the comment in response to the release of an earlier report by the Commission that:

> the fees hike is having a serious and damaging impact on second chance students, those that didn't go to university after school but have seen the prospect of mature studies as an opportunity to improve their education and career prospects some years later. … If we are truly concerned about widening participation, it is vital that universities and ministers look behind these figures and identify the extent to which the higher fees are acting as a deterrent for mature students. There is a real economic and social imperative to do so. (Hutton 2013)

With regard to older and part-time students, then what is evident is that new forms of inequality are emerging and that the social justice agenda appears subordinated to the imperatives of the funding regime and/or to attracting votes.

Other dimensions: On other dimensions, this may not be the case. On the issue of students from disadvantaged backgrounds, in terms of overall university participation, Sá reports that "there is no evidence that attendance has decreased …" which means "that fair access schemes and the provision of student loans are improving access for students from disadvantaged backgrounds" (2015, p. 2). This statement needs some qualification, however. While numbers are increasing slowly year by year, it is important to note that in overall terms only a very small percentage of those from disadvantaged backgrounds actually attend university. Taking entry rates of English 18 year olds from the lowest quintile (Q.1), only 13.9% entered higher education institutions in 2010/11, and 18.2% in 2014/15. Taking the highest quintile (Q.5), 44.5% entered in 2010/11 and 45.9% in 2014/15. Taking data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) on the percentage of young first year students enrolled on full-time first degree undergraduate courses from the lowest quintile (Q.1), the picture whilst gradually improving over time is in overall terms gloomy: only 9.6% in 2009/10 and 10.9% in 2013/14 (cited in ICF, p. 13). HEFCE is aware of the overall picture and acknowledges that there are "significant continuing challenges" (2015a, Executive summary).[28] In HEFCE's data, the participation rate for students from disadvantaged backgrounds (20% of students from most disadvantaged 20% of population) is significantly behind the

[27]These figures compiled from the Times Higher Education (THE), 15 December 2014, reporting on a report from Universities UK (UUK), of 15 November 2014, 'Patterns and Trends in UK Higher Education'. Also see Sá (2014, 2015). HEFCE (2015a, Executive summary) agrees with the trend but offers different figures based on a different methodology. In Point 9 of the Executive summary, they sate that "the number of older learners participating in HE has continued to decline from just over 1 million learners in 2010/11 to under 800,000 in 2013/14". They add a note to state that the figures include "undergraduate, postgraduate, full-time and part-time provision for all UK and EU students".

[28]HEFCE (2015a, b, c, Key Points) repeats this point several times. For instance, it also acknowledges that despite the historical increase in the representation of students from disadvantaged backgrounds, there still remains "a large gap in the higher education participation rates between most and least advantaged groups".

rate from students from advantaged backgrounds (60% of students from most advantaged 20% of population).[29] Also, degree completion rates, progression to postgraduate study and progression to graduate employment are even worse for students from disadvantaged backgrounds, as they are for students from ethnic minorities and disabled students. As HEFCE (2015a) acknowledges, both progression and completion are increasingly affected by disadvantage and age.[30] Hence, whilst HEFCE is right to note upward time-series trends in participation rates, the (rather large) elephant in the room remains the continuing class divide in participation, degree completion and progression (to further study or employment) within Britain today—as in the past. That there is gradual yearly improvement in the participation rates is of course not at all surprising given that the ideology of neoliberalism is hegemonically implanted in the ever-more anxious mindsets of the rising generations and their families as to the indispensable necessity of educational credentials for increasingly unequal and competitive world. Still, there is for all this, an consistent upward trend of participation by disadvantaged groups, revealing perhaps that neoliberal techniques can be subordinated to, or 'tamed by' social justice goals, at least in situations where there exists the political will to implement them.

As regards other dimensions of higher education, arguably some measures of change which serve market competition, and may have been introduced specifically to improve market position, can also be said to improve the educational experience in purely pedagogical terms. In this sense neoliberal agendas are not necessarily *always* mutually exclusive of what 'left-leaning' educators might consider as genuine educational reform. This is to say that neoliberal strategies, while engendering competition and promoting inequality, may be also said at the same time to result in some positive educational effects. Staff–student ratio (SSR) is one variable used in many league table compositions, and improving this through deliberate staff recruitment exercises has constituted one of the 'gaming' strategies adopted by many universities immediately prior to the 2014 REF as both a means of preparing for the 2014 REF as well as enhancing league table positioning.[31] The National Student Survey (NSS) can also be said to have many solid educational benefits, notwithstanding that it unleashes a spiral of infinitely cascading competition between departments and between universities across the entire UK. Students are

[29]The measurement matrix employed by HEFCE is POLAR3 which functions as a measure of disadvantage. "The participation of local areas (POLAR) classification groups' areas across the UK based on the proportion of the young population that participated in higher education (HE). The most recent iteration of the classification is POLAR3. This is based on the combined participation rates of those aged 18 between 2005 and 2009, who entered HE between 2005–06 and 2010–11 academic years" (HEFCE 2015c). Areas are categorised into quintiles, with the lowest quintile representing the most disadvantaged (lowest participation).

[30]These figures follow HEFCEs own analysis in 2015a. For a more detailed analysis, see HEFCE 2015b.

[31]There was 382,515 academic staff in higher education institutions in 2012/13, an increase of 13.1% on a decade earlier.

surveyed nationally for every academic disciple area and the results are published nationally, per each individual department or school, and rank ordered. Doing well is difficult, and one 'runs fast in order to stand still'. When departments or schools, or faculties score low on the NSS, there are serious consequences for individual departments and staff. Extra-academic gaming strategies become finely tuned as savvy departments become well versed in the shadowy arts of student persuasion and ingratiation.[32] While this degree of explicit competition engenders huge collective and individual stress to perform, one could also surmise that (at least) it has forced universities, and individual academics, to take teaching seriously.[33]

One further consequence of neoliberal structuration on UK higher education has been on curriculum choice. The recent introduction of 'user-pays' with respect to student fees has seriously contributed to a curtailing of some subject areas (Humanities), newer discipline areas (Media Studies, Feminist Studies), and a return to an emphasis on subjects deemed to highly relevant in career terms, such as science and engineering, medicine and dentistry, as well as business and management studies.[34] There has also been a marked decline in students choosing 'combined programmes'.[35] The commitment by most leading universities to charging students the maximum fee per annum of £9000.00 has brought this into high relief. As Sá (2015, p. 2) states, "[Students] take expected future earnings and employment prospects into account when making their course choices".[36] After the fees hike of 2012 the conservative pressures on curriculum choice have escalated. The overall consequence is that 'user-pays' exerts a powerful structural selectivity on university management decision-making with regards to curriculum and course design. This contributes to enhancing what I call the 'reproductive' value over the 'educational value' of higher education. By 'reproductive value', I refer to the function that formal education has always played of enhancing market value in a zero-sum social hierarchy pertaining to limited opportunities. This is to consider education as a 'positional good' which translates as saying that 'high grades are

[32]Breakfasts with sausage and bacon-butties are not uncommon!.

[33]The National Student Survey (NSS) "gathers students' opinions on the quality of their courses". The stated purpose of this "is to contribute to public accountability, help inform the choices of prospective students and provide data that assists institutions in enhancing the student experience" (HEFCE). Every university in the UK takes part. Over 300,000 students completed the survey in 2015. It is highly amenable to 'gaming' by savvy department staff, some who are better than others at securing student 'allegiance'. Critics say that the student evaluations are only one dimension of teaching quality.

[34]Comparing 2003/04 with 2012/13, the 'biological sciences' increased student numbers by 40% (57,860); 'business and administrative studies' by 15% (44,905) and the 'creative arts and design' by 24% (33,730). There was a decline in 'historical and philosophical studies' by 6315 (−6%) (see UKK/HESA 2014, p. 15, Table 3).

[35]According to UUK/HESA data, some 50, 850 fewer students (42%) choose to study combined programmes in 2012/13 compared with 2003/04 (see UUK/HESA 2014, p. 15, Table 3).

[36]Also see Sá (2014, pp. 17, 19) who reiterates research findings based on a comparison of Scotland and England after 2012 to confirm that fees affect course selection, attendance, as well as applications.

good' and that 'education is good because it gives you high grades'. By 'educational value', I refer to that other function of formal education, namely, that, as well as the other things it might realise, it also genuinely educates, enriches life experience, develops maturity and wisdom and constitutes a preparation for life, and as John Dewey (1915) might have suggested, for 'living in a democratic society'.[37] This has been traditionally central to the idea of a liberal education. That in a capitalist society, the reproductive functions of education have been important which has been made clear in the past by sociologists such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Bowles and Gintis (1976). What neoliberal reforms of education with respect to curriculum breadth and curriculum choice have effected, then, has been a further elevation of the 'reproductive' over the 'educational' functions. For many people, this constitutes a serious curtailing of the real functions of education in a democratic society. Fees, it can be argued, not only severely limit access for groups not able or interested in treating it as an investment, but they also restrict curriculum provision and limit curriculum choice. The traditional liberal value of a free access to education is thus severely restricted in terms of the neoliberal model.

4.5 Prospects for Change

Neoliberal competition can be countered directly by the state, then, if and when it is considered that there are legitimate grounds on the basis of justice, or widely accepted social values, to intervene. The state, in fact, does this on some matters all the time, of course. Particular state actions can support social policies deemed necessary to constrain market competition in various situations. One obvious intervention is to support equity and equality of access on behalf of specific groups. People with disabilities constitute one such group. As HEFCE state in their report, 'REF 2015/14: Delivering opportunities for students and maximising their success', "HE providers have successfully widened access for disabled students. The number of disabled students entering HE increased from just over 16,700 new entrants in 2003/4 to just over 51,300 in 2012/13" (HEFCE 2015a, b, c, Executive summary). In addition, the state has established and maintains countless agencies charged with regulating practices and standards on behalf of community values. In the higher education domain, the Office for Fair Access (OFFA) or the Higher Education Access Tracker (HEAT) network which seeks to monitor higher education institutions outreach activities, are just two of many, as is HEFCE itself. It cannot be maintained, either, that state actors, or HEFCE or OFFA or HEAT staff, are not well-intentioned and genuinely pursuing social equity, fair practice or reform. They

[37]Dewey's ideal of democracy involved mutual interaction as the basis for mutual self-development. The phrase in inverted commas is not a direct quotation but is intended to capture this general thesis, as expressed for instance in *Democracy and Education* (1915).

hopefully are. But on many fronts they are pursuing a goal where the obstacles are stacked up against them. A social policy which has to fight against the main drift of structural and contextual arrangements, in this case a context of intense competition over social and cultural capital, is doomed if not to fail, at least to stagnate. It certainly puts into high relief HEFCE's claim that there still remains "a large gap in the higher education participation rates between the most and least advantaged groups" (ibid.). This is in the sense that, given the competitive allocation of resources and positions, we may confidently conjecture that within the structuration of neoliberal governmentality there will be no real or genuine progress on the matter of advantaged/disadvantaged students in higher education any time soon.

In this section, I wish to ask questions as to the precise nature of neoliberalism in order to compile a scorecard of 'pros' and 'cons' from a social democratic perspective. The sense in which neoliberalism economises all values, including political ones, has been argued for by Brown (2015, Chap. 3). We have documented above, also, how neoliberalism subverts such agendas as widening participation, in that it promotes values that run counter to such agendas. Rizvi and Lingard (2011) also argue with respect to higher education policy that "ideas of access and equal opportunities are ultimately predicated upon the assumptions of market efficiency" (p. 19). They argue that "market efficiency appears almost as a 'meta-value', subsuming within its scope values such as social equity, social mobility and even social cohesion" (p. 19). Their view assumes a market economy in which the self-interests of economic subjects are the structuring principle. They agree with the argument above that the reproductive functions of education are, under neoliberalism, assuming overwhelming importance, seeing "[e]ducation as a form of capital, exchanged in a market place largely for personal benefit" (p. 19). Such a view promotes a model of the community in which "individuals can maximise their social and economic advantage" (p. 19), and where ideals of social equity or social justice become the "secondary concern" of the "neoliberal imaginary" (p. 20).

While neoliberalism provides a supply-side context for state funding and coordination and provides a competitive gearing for social and economic opportunities, the forms of inequality it engenders are of a particular sort, and require a highly contextual analysis tailored to each particular policy domain. I do not believe that Foucault understood neoliberalism as an 'iron cage' which traps everything in its wake, and from which nothing can escape. The very processes by which neoliberal governmentality has been adapted and supplemented, since the time when Foucault wrote, have themselves been instigated by material contradictions and crises besetting humanity which have forced it to yield. New corporativist concerns with security are but one of a number of threats in this regard. Neoliberal policy agendas have faced various challenges and tribunals, not all of which it can be said that neoliberalism invariably triumphs. Matters of higher education policy are no exception here. On some issues of social concern, especially those that have special importance for citizens, the issue itself appears protected against the competition

fetish unleashed by neoliberalism; while on other issues, or dimensions, neoliberalism is given full reign. On specific issues of equity, along the lines of gender, ethnicity, race or disability, for instance, governmental policies in education claim to allow for 'protection', or 'insulation' from the pernicious effects that markets might deliver, at least if measured by time-series trends that document increased access and participation within established opportunity structures, like higher education. While neoliberal markets certainly establish structural trajectories which run counter to the values of equity and equality on many individual dimensions, as evidenced above, it is not the case that appropriate political will cannot alleviate, if not completely offset, such trajectories. It is simply disingenuous for those on the left to conjecture conspiracy theories by neoliberals, or to suggest that with sufficient political will, market programmes cannot be interrupted or offset. The issue of disability is again a case in point. Disability constitutes a social issue on which a broad spectrum of the public, including different political elites, would wish to assert political will against the main tide of the neoliberal crusade. Agencies like HEFCE are concerned with, and can demonstrate, increasing opportunities, both generally and for subgroups such as the disabled and for students from disadvantaged backgrounds.[38] What they say less about, however, is that while neoliberal governance may well be exceptionally countered with regard to inequalities of opportunity, or on specific issues of social equity, through monitoring and protectionist regulation by the state, such inequalities are permitted to run rampant as dictated by the market, with regard to many issues, producing cumulatively compounding inequalities of outcomes, that is, those inequalities reproduced as a consequence of the neoliberal restructuring of the environment. Conservative government policies exacerbate these inequalities by supporting the competitive framing of higher education in the first place, for instance, with their euphemistic support for 'diversity' in types of provision promoting the increased stratification of the terrain on which higher education operates. As is evident from the segmentation of the higher education market which sees different echelons or subgroups of universities emerging with different types (and calibres) of students, the initial preservation of historically rising overall equal opportunities is 'disfigured' by the production of massively unequal outcomes (in wealth, skill and expertise and competence) for certain subgroups, and the segmentation of the educational market by grades, which neoliberal structuration engenders.[39]

[38]Having said this, recent cuts in grant to government departments (such as the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills), and the replacement of the maintenance grant for students by loans, as announced in the summer budget of 2015, as part of austerity and the deliberate policy of shrinking the size of the state, possibly directly impede even these basic provisions over policy agenda that one might have expected to be consensually agreed upon across the party political divide.

[39]On the growing inequalities of wealth under neoliberal, free market, economies since the 1980s see Dorling (2014), Reuters (2015), Hills et al. (2013), Stiglitz (2011, 2015), Atkinson (2015) to name but just a few.

In this sense, neoliberalism, while claiming to preserve equalities of opportunity and access to higher education, is also contributing to growing inequalities of outcome, both in the distribution of marketable skills and credentials, and in relation to wealth in general. It manages to do this as a consequence of a competitively geared educational marketplace which considers equity and fairness solely in relation to the universal provision for aspirations. This aspirational equality which ignores differences in social, economic and cultural capital establishes the neoliberal agenda for social justice, and is based upon criticisms of indolence, laziness, inefficiency, wastage and the bureaucratic 'nanny' state. Its advocates can of course site their own repository of empirical data. It is true that the onset of the neoliberal era gained traction and, in this sense, was enabled by its criticisms of the bureaucratic welfare state, which in many parts of the western world had become overly expensive and top heavy, unable to cope with changes in demography (e.g. the rise of single parent families, growth in unemployment and a rising dependence on benefits), was becoming subject to new constraints on spending (the oil shock of the 1970s), and was seen as creating inertia, stifling competition and lacking public trust in the processes of accountability and transparency, especially amongst public-sector employees (like academics and health workers). Given these criticisms, a total rejection of supply-side approaches seems overly hasty, a position argued for by New Labour and the Third Way from the late 1990s. At the same time, it can be easily seen that in that neoliberals can claim to have a social justice agenda, and it is a very limited one and is quite compatible with cumulative and compounding inequality.

Without wishing to side with New Labour, which held sway during the years the Blair Government in Britain, what we must look for in terms of evaluating neoliberalism, rather, is a ledger of 'pros and cons'. As it is likely that neoliberal supply-side funding has differential effects on social practices and behaviours in motivating efficiency and cost-effective behaviour in some contexts and situations, such policies should not necessarily be rejected *tout court*. New norms of accountability and transparency, which neoliberals like James Buchanan (1962, 1975) identified as lacking traction in the public sector of the welfare state, are a case in point. The exclusion of supervisors from examinations in terms of the theory of 'provider-capture' is one example that can be accepted as having positive outcomes in relation to norms of social fairness.[40] Yet while it can be considered that accountability and transparency are important, it is not necessary that they be assessed in a wholly competitive market context. Rather, what is imperative is that social democratic state policies provide for constraint or regulation to protect the public and enable non-market public goods, such as the quality and integrity of pedagogical or broader educational processes and procedures, the survival and prosperity of communities, values such as fairness, equity and justice, as well as

[40]'Provider capture' pertains to a situation where agents pursue their own interests in order to influence outcomes at the expense of impartial processes or formal procedures (see Peters and Marshall 1996, pp. 79–80).

genuine equality of opportunity (which depends ultimately upon appropriate policies of affirmative action as well as reasonable equality of outcomes) to be maintained.[41]

One important upshot of all this is that neoliberal technologies are not in themselves necessarily a problem. Rather, the central issue is whether they are appropriately regulated, or to put it another way, for what purposes they are used. If exercised through the power of the state, and employed in a carefully regulated environment by responsible practitioners, neoliberal governmentality can provide a partial, although ultimately subordinate, set of policy techniques. Such techniques constitute, as it were, an assortment of supply-side levers enabling governmental action from a distance by which the new subjects of liberalism are now constructed as social beings. These must, however, function as ethically directed, social democratic techniques of government for the shaping of subjects and the production of meaningful political ends, rather than being left to the risky chaotic and arbitrary pressures of the market with the inevitably inegalitarian outcomes that result. While Foucault is often represented as a critic of neoliberalism, recent work by Zamora (2015) and Zamora and Behrent (2016) claims that Foucault remains agnostic on neoliberalism as to political solutions generally but seems to suggest that 'supply-side' techniques of government offer some insurance against the 'bads' associated with 'old' 'socialistic', or 'bureaucratic', models of the state, or with 'ivory tower' 'elitism' that has been seen to characterise the university in times past where regimes of accountability and transparency were seen as lacking. While we can thus accede to the calls from Buchanan and the other neoliberals that individual accountability and assessment are important, many of those not inspired by the competitive model of neoliberal governmentality would argue that the assessment of accountability should be related to consensual standards of the public good, rather than reflect the vagaries of endless market competition in what is to all extents and purposes a purely economic model of higher education. So long as these caveats are taken on board, then the matter of whether policies are 'supply-side' or 'demand-led' is of no great importance.

As to the relevance of other issues, such as 'user-pays' fees, each would need to be considered separately as to whether or not it might be considered as appropriate in some political contexts. 'User-pays', it could be argued, may be seen as substituting and effectively reproducing a form of 'progressive taxation' in that those who stand most to benefit from higher education, and considerably increase their earning power as a result, can be represented as paying back proportionately to the luck or good fortune they have attained. This comes very close to being a defence of progressive taxation, albeit in inverted form, that social democrats like Hobhouse (1911) provided in the early decades of the twentieth century. It may be, indeed, as

[41]From personal experience in higher education over the last two decades, it became evident to me on many occasions, that the need to achieve in market terms, which individual Schools or Departments within Universities were subject to, frequently compromised genuine educational processes, such as doctoral examination, or other pedagogical decisions. The same market pressures are evident across the entire higher education sector and affect every aspect of it.

Coughlan (2015) maintains that "the focus on fees is looking in the wrong place entirely". While fees may appear to challenge the principle of free access to education, the universal availability of student loans, the possibility of creating exceptions for special student categories (older, part-time), together with the possibility of raising the earning threshold below which it is not necessary to repay the loan, means that student fees, in themselves, are not necessarily a barrier to utilising supply-side levers for social democratic ends. Although Foucault might therefore give a limited endorsement to some of the concerns raised by the neoliberals,[42] on the grounds that they counter the bureaucratic features of 'statism', which he distrusted, he also thought that such governance models would need regulatory guidance and control by the various associations of civil society (including the state) in order to protect citizen interests, obviate tendencies to inequality of outcomes and constrain the dysfunctional antisocial consequences associated with purely market models.[43]

Rather than represent neoliberalism as a 'crisis without end', which Andrew Gamble (2014) asks in the title of a recent book on 'living in a neo-liberal world', it is important to work out which neoliberal techniques of government, if any, can serve social democratic goals, and how they need to be modified in order to protect citizens' interests. While conceding that neoliberalism has many adverse effects, it is evident that neoliberalism's arguments on some issues, such as accountability or transparency, were in fact justified in that they drew attention to what many considered to be important problems. Given that academics are public-sector employees, it is important to establish meaningful conceptions of accountability in non-market terms in order to overcome problems such as 'free riding', 'slothful indolence', 'shirking' and other problems of fairness identified in the early, initial, neoliberal critique, as developed by Buchanan, Tullock, Becker, Williamson and others. Academics are public employees with distinct responsibilities and duties, and long before the advent of neoliberalism in the 1970s and 1980s most well-run

[42]In *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault (2008) suggests that human capital theory as developed by Gary Becker, and other supply-side technologies, allow for "an optimization of systems of difference" (2008, p. 259), "in which minority individual practices are tolerated" (p. 259), in which "there is an environmental type of intervention instead of an internal subjection of individuals" (pp. 259–260). These positive comments are balanced by criticisms that technologies such as human capital theory rely upon internalised political judgments as to investment priorities (pp. 228, 270) and are therefore manipulative.

[43]This argument runs counter to some of the authors who write in the Zamora (2015) volume some who see Foucault as in my view overly sympathetic to neoliberalism. The possible exception here is Dean (2016), who presents a cautious, balanced assessment. It is also evident that all of the authors in this volume, without exception, ignore the last two lectures of Foucault in *The Birth of Biopolitics* (those of 28 March and 4 April) where Foucault quite explicitly points out that a political communitarian conception of civil society, specifically utilising the model developed by Adam Ferguson, must of necessity supplement neoliberal rationales if the goals of stability and social justice are to be preserved. As Foucault presents it, this is not an option. Models of civil society generated historically, owing their roots to communities, proceed as necessarily parallel (as layers within layers) with theoretical discourses and practices as to how to operate the economy (see Olssen 2016b).

universities utilised staff appraisal systems and module evaluation questionnaires to assess teaching competence. What neoliberalism does is to use such systems as technologies to ensure maximum staff compliance with the endless ratchet of competition for league table positioning that every university is now forced to play. Appraisal systems become vehicles for transmitting institutional expectations directly onto academics as paid employees, a system which has seen the recent escalation of heavy-handed, aggressive, and bullying behaviours in many universities in the UK (see Watermeyer and Olssen 2016).

While the competition fetish in higher education has increased staff emotional stress and turnover, developing material changes makes it likely in future that neoliberal models of governance will be qualified and altered, both in relation to national and global governance generally, and in relation to institutions of higher education, like universities, in particular. The most immediate of these crises, in the national domain, relates to inequalities of outcomes in wealth as well as skills, expertise and credentials. Notwithstanding HEFCE's assessment of an upward trend of school leavers attending university, the overall numbers still result in a profile of a divided nation. Moreover, the present neoliberal policy agenda will continue to divide it. If the studies in the growing inequalities of wealth, reported above, are anything to go by, the present neoliberal settlement may not last forever. As Gamble (2014, p. 99) points out, the prospects for the future are far from certain. Left political movements, as in South America, Greece (*Syriza*), Spain (*Podemos*) and other parts of Europe, could at any time halt the advance of the neoliberal project. The Credit Crunch of 2008, and the recession which followed, led to certain changes, although not as much as some 'closet' Keynesians hoped for.[44] Gamble claims that "the deeper structural crisis of the neoliberal order remains effectively unresolved". This structural crisis is expressed, he says, through three conundrums: a "governance conundrum", a "growth conundrum" and a "fiscal conundrum", all of which could derail the project or force major modifications and political constraints on its excesses. Concerning the "governance conundrum", neoliberalism promotes competition and impedes order and cooperation which are desperately needed in "an increasingly interconnected and multipolar world" (Gamble 2014, p. 99). The "fiscal conundrum" concerns "how legitimation can be achieved in the face of debt, austerity and falling living standards", and the "growth conundrum" concerns "how sustainability can be achieved in the face of new stagflation and environmental risks" (2014, p. 99).

Crises as seemingly far removed as climate change, over-population, nuclear proliferation, corporate corruption or terrorism, added to economic stagflation and growing inequalities, are already forcing increased governmental regulation which is offsetting and constraining the order of neoliberal competition in several respects. In Britain, the stark realities of the 'common interest', or the 'public good', in

[44]A number of commentators, including Will Hutton and Gordon Brown in the UK, invoked Keynesian ideas in the immediate aftermath of the 2008 credit crunch. Joseph Stiglitz went on a world lecturing tour announcing the death knell to neoliberalism. Many announced a revival of the idea of state interventionism in the economy. The 'optimism' was to be premature.

national terms, is forcing an increase in state regulation on matters such as university fees, student numbers and concerns, and curriculum content, in order to keep the neoliberal order of competition amongst providers within reasonable limits bounded by what is perceived as the 'good for the nation'. Finding, for instance, that some universities were contemplating abandoning traditionally important subject areas linked to maths, physics or chemistry, because they lacked 'sex appeal' in market terms, the government was quick to curtail the excesses of the neoliberal agenda and 'discipline' providers. Although conservative governments and the EU have actively promoted the competition fetish through which higher education presently operates, and in 2015 have aggravated hardship for students from poorer backgrounds by announcing that maintenance grants will be replaced by student loans, shifting electoral loyalties together with deepening or unexpected crises (such as withdrawing from the EU) make it rash to predict a continuation of the project.[45]

Finally, whether neoliberalism is a 'crisis without an end' depends also, perhaps, on how academics are able to respond. In many universities, staff actively collaborates to resist the blunt edge of competition through social and collegial activity by which they collaboratively 'manage' those higher in the management of the university. By so doing they are able to maintain a sensible and collegial approach to the work that needs to be done whilst supposedly paying 'lip-service' to the neoliberal targets that their university demands. At the same time, staff can resist professionally through the rise of new forms of professional engagement and activity in order that they can better challenge and modify managerial prerogatives. In Britain, in some universities, the traditional trade union organisation has been augmented and extended by the existence of a different form of professional association, in the form of academic and staff assemblies. Although one should not overestimate the effects, or influence, of such organisations, and although the primary political and administrative lesson for those active in such organisations is for the most part learning to lose and bear it, the statutory existence of academic assemblies enabling representation on all major university committees, including council, and granting a statutory right to "hold open assemblies" (of all staff) and

[45]The Higher Education Green Paper, *Fulfilling our Potential: Teaching Excellence, Social Mobility and Student Choice*, published in November 2015, signals the ease with which new policies can be enacted, and by which political will can be asserted. While the Universities UK (UUK) blog states that "it is perhaps the major shift in the national framework for higher education, in England, for a generation", it further intensifies the competition agenda with an emphasis on student choice, and extending degree awarding powers to private providers. Its key proposals, however, could potentially have unintended multiple effects, many of which are likely to compromise the neoliberal agenda. The Green paper proposes a new Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF); a new architecture, merging HEFCE and the Office for Fair Access (OFFA) to create a new Office for Students (OfS), that will 'act in the interests of students'. In addition, it proposes new goals and targets for Widening Participation, as well as a new Social Mobility Advisory Group, along with other provisions and safeguards for students, especially those that fail at their studies.

"declare opinions before council on any matter whatsoever",[46] meant that such organisations could sometimes play a reasonably important role. This was so in that the academic assembly of the university complimented the trade union in helping to extend the idea, important traditionally in early liberal political theory of the state, but also more widely applicable to institutions, of cross-checking constituencies for the purposes of rendering power as more contested and more democratic. One cannot, to repeat, overestimate the influence of such groups. Some universities have 'deregulated', applying to the Privy Council to remove academic assemblies along with traditional trade union and employment rights from statutory protection, either scrapping certain safeguards altogether, or shifting them from the statutes to the ordinances whereby the institution itself can exert far greater control. Repeated legal applications to the privy council for 'deregulation' by universities in Britain has provided the necessary institutional 'autonomy' allowing universities the 'flexibility' and 'agility' to pursue the competition fetish in an 'entrepreneurial' way. The widespread use of restructuring in Britain by many universities effectively ensures a workforce of docile and fearful academic employees. Neoliberalism, ultimately, functions within the institutions of civil society as an anti-democratic force.

Notwithstanding the damage done to UK higher education, it must still be concluded that neoliberalism is not, in the final analysis, a 'crisis without end', for the ways just mentioned above signal major likely adaptations to the neoliberal project in the direction of equality and fairness for all over the coming decades. Because as we now know, markets if unregulated mean serious disequilibria, with pernicious moral and ethical effects, it is imperative that the state play a major role in establishing and maintaining the framework of control globally through inter-state coordination; nationally, through policy formation and the process of legislation; and at the level of higher education institutions, through protecting student and citizen interests and restoring professional rights and statuses to accompany, and check, the new forms of accountability, transparency and control. While some of the supply-side technologies may be productively used for both efficiency and differentiation, what is imperative is that their utilisation is not in the interests of 'excellence' as defined by the market, but solely in relation to protecting citizen interests for the social good.

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As the first section of this chapter represents a summative account of my position on neoliberalism, the ideas expressed, although reformulated for the context of this chapter, also generally build upon material that I have previously written and developed, notably Olssen et al. (2004) and Olssen and Peters (2005).

[46]Taken from the statutes of the University of Surrey, where I was Chair of the Academic Assembly from 2008 to 2012.

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Chapter 5
Widening Participation in France and Its Effects on the Field of Elite Higher Education and on Educational Policy

Agnès van Zanten

Abstract This chapter analyzes policies of widening participation (WP) in elite higher education institutions and, more specifically, the programs launched in France in the early 2000s. Although these policies concern a small number of beneficiaries and are still far from significantly improving the access of disadvantaged students to the most selective sector of higher education, they represent an interesting object of study for sociologists of education for at least two reasons. The first is that these policies have to some extent modified the internal power relations between institutions in the field of elite higher education. The second is that the institutions involved have proposed analyses of, and solutions to, educational inequalities that have influenced the way in which the latter are framed and tackled at the local and national level.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes policies of widening participation (WP) in France to explore their effects both on the field of elite higher education and on the way in which educational inequalities are perceived and acted upon. While the analytical stance adopted differs from that of the great majority of studies of affirmative action and widening participation, which usually focus on the impact of WP policies or schemes on the targeted groups or on the intake and internal dynamics of elite institutions, it shares several common themes with them.

A central theme concerns the way in which elite institutions have reacted to pressures to change their selection mechanisms in order to improve access. These pressures started earlier and were stronger in the United States, forcing elite institutions to redefine merit in such a way as to increase the racial and ethnic diversity of their student body. It is nevertheless important to underline that, although this movement contrasted sharply with previous choices aiming at pre-

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serving WASP predominance in elite institutions (Karabel 2005), it did not significantly disrupt the matriculation advantages enjoyed by students from socioeconomically privileged backgrounds (Grodsky 2007; Espenshade and Radford 2009). Also relevant for our analysis of the French context are the studies that have explored the dilution of affirmative action in American elite universities in the 1990s into a much vaguer search for 'diversity' through 'holistic' or 'comprehensive' reviews as a result of shifts in the legal and policy environment away from race-based affirmative action (Skrentny 1996; Sabbagh 2006). In general, elite higher education institutions tend to favor procedures of this kind, where the consideration of disadvantage is left to their discretion and thus does not interfere with their autonomy. However, as shown by recent analyses in England where government pressure in favor of WP has also led elite universities to pay more attention to 'contextual data' about applicants, the type of sources used to identify 'diversity' or 'disadvantage,' which are generally either personal written statements or interviews, tend rather to advantage students from privileged families and schools. These students are able to write and talk in ways that fit the expectations of examiners, to show a better mastery of cultural subjects and forms, and to strategically put forward a higher number and more relevant and prestigious work experiences and extracurricular activities (Allouch 2013; Jones 2013).

When external pressures are low, elite higher education institutions tend nevertheless to avoid changes in their admission processes that are perceived as threats to their academic excellence (David 2010), which is both a major institutional asset in the field of higher education and the main justification for their high degree of selectivity. Outreach actions are overwhelmingly preferred because they allow these institutions to continue responding to the expectations of their elite clientele. These institutions monitor the induction of a limited number of disadvantaged students into elite environments by helping them incorporate dominant norms and navigate through complex procedures (Gale and Parker 2014). These actions, which comprise partnerships with local secondary schools and activities such as open days, student mentoring or summer schools, have been widely promoted in the English context by the Sutton Trust (2010). The partnerships also allow elite higher education institutions to claim their investment in the achievement of equity and social justice in the educational system as a whole (Brennan and Naidoo 2008), a claim which is central to the two processes addressed in this chapter.

My main contention is indeed that WP allows elite institutions to show a renewal of their commitment to the pursuit of the common good (Rothblatt 2007) and that this commitment can be used by them as a symbolic resource both to alter their position in the field of elite higher education institutions and to become legitimate educational policy actors deemed able to define problems and propose relevant solutions (Gusfield 1981). Because these two processes are closely intertwined, it is plausible to expect that the policy analysis and proposals that these institutions put forward will tend to favor their own interests. An example of this is the importance that elite institutions attribute to students' low aspirations as an obstacle for applying to elite higher education institutions. The focus on this individual dimension allows them to leave out of the analysis the institutional dimensions

involved in which they play a major part; that is, the financial, social, cultural, and educational barriers they have erected and that contribute to the exclusion of disadvantaged students; and to avoid engaging in significant changes to reduce them. Highlighting the role of students' aspirations also leads to a blurring of class inequalities and class differences concerning educational practices, choices, and trajectories as well as educational expectations, visions of social mobility, and calculations of risks involved in educational decisions (Archer 2003; Gale and Hodge 2014). The focus on aspirations also fits with a neoliberal vision of educational equality, diverting attention from the social context in which educational aspirations are constructed and emphasizing self-responsibility for social welfare and well-being (St. Clair and Benjamin 2011; Brown 2012).

5.2 Widening Participation and the Partial Reconfiguration of the Field of Elite Higher Education

5.2.1 The State of the Field Prior to WP Initiatives

The concept of field is in France generally associated with the work of Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1972, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), who conceives of social fields as configurations of objective power relations organized around valued resources and characterizes the entities that constitute the field by the amount and type of capital they possess. According to this theory, field positions tend to be stable due to the conservation strategies of dominant actors, but can change through struggles led by 'challengers' trying to improve their position or contesting the legitimacy of dominant groups to define the stakes and rules of the field (Swartz 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson 2008). I add to Bourdieu's analyses by drawing on two other lines of research. The first is the perspective of DiMaggio and Powell (1983), who use the notion of field to refer to a wider variety of actors, including a central group of organizations of similar type but also other organizations that interact with them, such as key suppliers, consumers and regulatory agencies. In line with Meyer's analyses of institutional diffusion (Strang and Meyer 1993), these authors also strongly underline the tendency toward convergence between the entities that compose these 'organizational fields.' These fields are driven by three processes: mimetic isomorphism among entities in competition with each other, normative isomorphism between professionals who develop shared understandings through social exchanges, and coercive isomorphism materialized through pressures from external regulatory agencies, notably the state. The second line of research is the work of Fligstein and McAdam (2012), who, following Bourdieu, analyze 'strategic action fields' as socially constructed arenas where actors with varying resource endowments, including 'social skill' (the cognitive and emotional capacity of institutions or individual actors to read situations so as to develop mobilizing lines of action) (Fligstein 2001), vie for advantage and are also

interested in sequential processes of field transformation and in the interdependency between fields and the state.

One of the major problems in field analysis is defining membership in the field. While resorting to some objective criteria is useful as a starting point, it is also crucial to focus on both subjective 'standing' (how institutions compare themselves to each other and the degree of interaction, especially competitive interaction, between them) and on efforts by institutions or other actors in the field to delineate its frontiers while keeping in mind that field boundaries can shift as a result of political, social, cultural, or institutional changes (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). This chapter looks at a specific type of French higher education institution, the *grandes écoles* (referred to as GEs).[1] This label, which is not an official term, was initially attached to a few postsecondary public institutions, created by the state, alongside universities, to train civil servants, the most famous of which are *L'Ecole Polytechnique* and *L'Ecole Normale Supérieure*. Progressively, a greater number of postsecondary institutions, both public and private, took over the label to signify excellence and prestige. Currently, the term designates institutions of small size (from 400 to 6000 students) that deliver master's degrees with state accreditation and recruit students after the *baccalauréat* or, for the most prestigious and selective of them, through a *concours* after the *classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles* (CPGEs).[2] In addition to being able to select their students, these institutions enjoy a higher degree of financial and pedagogical autonomy than public universities, have closer ties with the public and private organizations that employ their students and benefit from stronger alumni networks. The *Conférence des grandes écoles* (CGE) created in 1973, coordinates some of the activities and defends the interests of those institutions to which it confers this status (205, including 145 engineering schools, 40 management schools, and 20 other professional schools).

The field of GEs was characterized in the 1970s and 1980s, according to Bourdieu (1989), by two types of power relationships: a hierarchical vertical division between the most prestigious and the less prestigious GEs, depicted as the 'big' and 'small' doors to elite positions; and, horizontal competition between the GEs belonging to the intellectual-technical cluster and those belonging to the economic-managerial-political cluster, which differed concerning students' social and academic profiles, the curriculum and the types of professional careers pursued by graduates in either the public or the private sector. The first type of power

[1]The French higher education system comprises the *grandes écoles* and preparatory classes offering 5-year programs corresponding to the master level; universities (which are generally public and nonselective) offering 3, 5, and 8-year programs corresponding to the bachelor, master, and Ph.D. levels; and 2-year vocational programs provided either by secondary schools or by Institutes of Technology.

[2]The *concours* is a competitive exam for a limited number of places created after the French Revolution to recruit and train "talented" youth to occupy high-level technical and administrative state positions. The *classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles* (CPGEs) were created to help students prepare for the *concours* during two to three years after the *baccalauréat*. They are located in *lycées* (high schools) but are considered a segment of higher education.

relations has remained fairly stable, with only minor changes in the hierarchy of institutions. However, the tendency already detected by Bourdieu, namely that schools of the economic-managerial-political cluster, initially newcomers in the field, would acquire a more solid dominant position in the field than those of the first cluster, has become much more pronounced. This tendency reflects both the rise of these institution's academic requirements and their capacity to internationalize much more rapidly and extensively than the schools of the first cluster. This allows these schools to derive their status not only from their national position but also from international rankings and labels and partnerships with prestigious institutions abroad. Additionally, as the state disengages itself from the economy, the *grandes écoles* contribute less to the education and legitimation of a state nobility and more to the training of managers and professionals planning to work in the private sector (Lazuech 1999; Wagner 2012; van Zanten and Maxwell 2015).

The *grandes écoles* started to be criticized for their social selectiveness as early as the 19th century. They have, however, managed to entertain until today the myth that meritocratic selection goes hand in hand with social openness. This is due both to the focus of the *concours* on academic results and to the public, free-of-charge nature of the large majority of CPGEs and some of the most famous GEs. These two factors have made it possible for students with high cultural capital but relatively low economic resources, such as the sons and daughters of teachers, to enjoy social mobility through these institutions. Their relative social openness nevertheless started to decline significantly in the 1970s as a consequence of increased access to higher education driven by the postwar baby boom and waves of democratization of secondary education during the 1960s and 1980s (Albouy and Wanecq 2003). Universities expanded rapidly, and the social composition of their student bodies changed significantly, except in selective fields such as medicine. On the contrary, CPGE provision underwent a later and much smaller expansion in the 1990s, and the most prestigious of them raised their academic requirements, encouraging upper class parents and schools to bolster students' preparation and thus reducing the chances of students from less privileged family and school backgrounds (van Zanten 2015, 2016). This reinforced the already existing "high status track" (Kingston and Lewis 1990; van Zanten 2009a) between these CPGEs and the prestigious GEs, reinforcing in turn the latter's academic and social exclusiveness. The impact of these dynamics was documented by a statistical study focusing on the social composition of the four most prestigious GEs [*Ecole Polytechnique, Ecole normale supérieure* (ENS), *Ecole nationale d'administration* (ENA) and *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales* (HEC)], which showed that inequalities between social groups in access to these institutions were not only very high but also had increased between 1950 and 1990 (Euriat and Thélot 1995). Its conclusions, which received some media attention, were embarrassing to elite institutions, but did not prompt any immediate responses either from them or from state officials.

5.2.2 The Launching of Competitive Institutional WP Alternatives

Some years later, an initiative was nevertheless launched from unexpected quarters: Sciences Po, an elite higher education institution enjoying a well-deserved reputation for social selectiveness (more than 80% of students came from an upper class background in 2000) but not traditionally considered a *grande école* and not recognized as such by the CGE. The change that the director of the institution proposed in 2001 in the existing admission procedures was triggered, as in the English context but at an institutional level, by the need to propose a plan that would make an increase in students' fees socially and politically acceptable (Parry 2010). However, as the idea of a scheme for favoring wider access of disadvantaged students gained ground, the director also realized how a new admissions procedure could improve institutional visibility and prestige by making the institution the champion of WP and diversity among French elite institutions. The final project retained the idea of creating partnerships with disadvantaged *lycées*[3] rather than promoting individual applications from disadvantaged students. This choice was influenced by the existence since 1981 of area-based compensatory policies in primary and secondary schools called *Zones d'éducation prioritaires* (Educational priority areas); hence the name chosen for it: *Conventions éducation prioritaire* (CEP) (Educational priority contracts). The principals and teachers who agreed to participate in the project were invited to share their views on the kind of preparation that should be given to students and the features of the new admissions procedure. It was a teacher who proposed that the students prepare a press review on a topic of their choice and present it to a local board of examiners at their *lycée*. Sciences Po added a second board of their own examiners to evaluate through an open interview the candidates deemed 'admissible' by their *lycées*.

Since one of the main objectives of Sciences Po's director in launching the CEP policy was to improve the social image of the institution, publicity was deliberately pursued and skillfully controlled by the program's managerial staff as well as the new institutional department for communication and media relations. A carefully designed communication plan was launched in 2001 with a full-page article in *Le Monde* (a moderately left-wing daily newspaper widely read by political, economic, and intellectual elites) entitled "*Sciences Po s'ouvre aux élèves défavorisés en les dispensant de concours*" ("Sciences Po opens up to disadvantaged students by exempting them from the entrance exam"). This article, and those that immediately followed in other papers, succeeded in creating a 'buzz' about Sciences Po and what was presented and viewed as its radical proposal. A process of politicization

[3] *Lycées* are high schools that prepare pupils during 3 years for the final national examination, the *baccalauréat,* necessary to continue further into higher education. Students are separated into several tracks (academic, technical, and vocational), which are not always present in all institutions. The CPGE, as well as Sciences Po, recruit the vast majority of their students from the academic tracks only.

within the institution immediately ensued, as Science Po students became very concerned about the possible effects of this policy on the quality of their training and the exchange value of their degree, leading a right-wing student union to prosecute Sciences Po on the basis that the new procedure was unconstitutional. While thanks to his own legal skills and social networks, the Sciences Po director was able to obtain approval for the initial decision, the internal politicization of the program reinforced its already very high profile in the media, fueling not only considerable debate among members of the intellectual, political, and economic elite but also sparking new counter-initiatives.

The first and most ambitious of these initiatives did not come from one of the 'big four' *grandes écoles* (Polytechnique, ENS, ENA, or HEC) but from the *Ecole supérieure des sciences économiques et sociales* (Essec), which, due to its secondary though still very prominent position in the field, could also, like Sciences Po, be considered a challenger. It was, however, a much 'softer' challenger, fully committed to the rules of the game and trying to improve its position through a rationale that could benefit the entire field rather than, like Sciences Po, attempting to disrupt it (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). It launched a new scheme called '*Pourquoi pas moi?*' ("Why not me?"), which borrowed some of the features of the Sciences Po program, notably the establishment of partnership contracts with secondary schools and the search for students from disadvantaged backgrounds who showed the "potential" to pursue their studies in selective higher education tracks that could be detected and developed through intervention. It discarded, however, what it denounced as Sciences Po's "demagogic" choice to lower its entrance requirements to favor disadvantaged students. It focused instead on intense weekly outreach activities in a small number of nearby *lycées*, conducted by Essec staff and student tutors as a means of heightening disadvantaged youth's aspirations and improving their social skills (Soubiron 2010, van Zanten 2010).

5.2.3 A Limited Impact on the Field

The most prestigious *grandes écoles* clearly perceived Science Po's initiative as a threat to their political legitimacy and were also highly conscious of the additional symbolic capital gained by Sciences Po through this bold move, as well as the extent to which it could affect power relations within the elite HE field. These two factors prompted the *grandes écoles* to develop their own programs, which were presented as careful efforts to improve the chances of disadvantaged youth. This was framed as opposed to Sciences Po's choice to obtain quick and visible results on the 'diversity' of their students via a non-meritocratic procedure, and widely inspired by the Essec scheme, which had been developed from the onset as an experiment in social innovation and program dissemination. More than 70 GEs had a WP program at the end of 2009. However, these programs remained much smaller in scale and did not really become a significant dimension of institutional activity as they did in Sciences Po or Essec.

The reasons for this are twofold. On the one hand, the aim of these programs was to eliminate Sciences Po's threat to the field of *grandes écoles* based on criticism of their complacency regarding social inequalities, and on the need to revise their own admission procedures rather than develop WP as a new asset in national or international competition with other institutions, as in the case of Sciences Po. While the *grandes écoles* could not prevent the latter's increasing popularity in the French and the international context, nor its significant expansion and development as a major higher education institution, their limited involvement in alternative WP programs was enough to prevent the influence of the Sciences Po model on the field of elite higher education. This was the case because the GEs were able to develop a unified front. This relied on the support of the CGE and of CPGE directors and teachers, who were also totally opposed to the elimination of the *concours*, which justifies the existence of preparatory classes, and who had themselves proposed some alternative WP schemes.[4] Sciences Po's position also facilitated this move; for, contrary to Essec, it did not aim for replication of its program, but rather used it to highlight and reinforce the institution original position within the French field of elite higher education institutions.

On the other hand, contrary to what happened in England after the publication of the Dearing report in 1997 and the subsequent publication of data on university admissions, government intervention in France remained quite limited. The state only started to intervene in the conduct of WP policies after 2005, under the pressure of riots in the *banlieues*,[5] and relied initially only on "soft tools" (Solomon 2002) of governance, such as the *Charter for equality of access to tracks of excellence* published in 2005. Strongly influenced and supported by the CGE, this charter played a major role in the dissemination and institutionalization (Zucker 1977) of the Essec model, as it promoted the idea of contractual partnerships between HEIs and disadvantaged *lycées* based essentially on outreach activities. Later on, there were some attempts to exert a higher degree of coercion, specifically by setting a target of 30% of students with scholarships in the CPGEs and GEs. However, this target was never really enforced, and its rather radical character was significantly reduced, both because the CGE effectively maneuvered so that the target was calculated not by individual institution but for the entire group of CPGEs and GEs, knowing that the less prestigious ones were already quite close to that figure, and so that no systematic measurement was introduced; and because shortly after a government directive on this question was issued, the Ministry of Higher education changed the scholarship system to include new categories of lower middle- and middle-class beneficiaries. Here, it is possible to see the strength of the

[4]For lack of space, I do not present in this chapter another emblematic initiative launched by one of the two most prestigious public CPGEs in Paris studied in this research. This initiative was later duplicated by a few other CPGEs, but given the institutional differences between CPGEs and GEs, these initiatives were not seen as comparable or in competition with the Sciences Po and Essec schemes.

[5]The term "*banlieues*" is used in France to refer to the outskirts of big cities, especially Paris, characterized by strong concentrations of disadvantaged and ethnic minority groups.

"incestuous" links between the *grandes écoles* and the state in France, allowing the first to exert strong pressures against government decisions deemed unfavorable for their survival and development and leading the second to shy away from choices reflecting lack of loyalty to their *alma maters* (Giddens 1972; Suleiman 1978).

5.3 Widening Participation and Changes on Educational Paradigms and Policies

5.3.1 The Normative-Cognitive and Policy Context

While widening participation initiatives have up to now only partially influenced the evolving dynamics of the field of elite higher education institutions, they have had a more profound influence on paradigms and policies in preuniversity education. There are several reasons for this, a main one being the crucial symbolic role of the *concours* allowing access to the *grandes écoles* in the French educational system (van Zanten 2016). This admission system is strongly associated with the ideals of the French Revolution, which emphasized equal rights, the need to abolish privileges due to birth and fortune, and the role of education as the 'great equalizer'. First implemented by Polytechnique, the most famous of the *grandes écoles* created by the revolutionaries in 1794, the *concours* progressively became the symbol of a new 'Republican meritocracy' (Belhoste 2002). It indeed encapsulates several interlocking themes that have influenced both the conception of equality in French society and the organization of the educational system: one, the idea of a clear dividing line between those persons judged worthy to serve the state and, more generally, to be the subjects of social consideration, and the others (Bourdieu and Saint-Martin 1987); two, a conception of equality concerned not with the possibility of the greatest number acquiring a certain level and quality of education, but rather of a few attaining the highest positions in society; three, a priority given to guaranteeing the fairness of a small set of meritocratic contests (Turner 1960) rather than to monitoring everyday work in educational institutions; and, finally, a division of labor between the state, which legitimizes the whole process, and elite institutions, which choose the selective criteria and the tests.

This paradigm has strongly influenced not only policy but also research: ever since Bourdieu and Passeron's (1964) *The Inheritors*, inequalities of education have been measured by focusing on access to higher education, rather than on differences in pupils' learning throughout their school careers, although the focus has now slightly changed due to the OECD PISA studies. The paradigm associated with the *concours* has also continued to occupy a central place in French educational thinking and practice despite significant educational expansion and diversification of the student population. Because many schools have continued to pursue the goal of pushing a few talented and/or hard-working students to the top rather than encouraging the progress of all, these changes have taken place alongside the

development of high levels of student failure and grade retention. In addition, as suggested by the term 'segregated democratization' coined by Merle (2000), the expected positive effects of widening access to secondary education on the educational trajectories of lower class students have been thwarted by inter-track social and academic differentiation, which take a 'softer' and more invisible form in middle secondary schools and a stronger, official one in high schools.[6] The negative effects of these processes have in turn been reinforced by growing levels of social, ethnic, and academic segregation between schools as a consequence of increasing spatial segregation, competition between schools, and the school choices of upper and middle-class parents (van Zanten 2009b; Felouzis et al. 2013).

The pervasive influence of the *concours* model of equality was nevertheless counterbalanced to some extent in the French system by the development of compensatory policies in primary and secondary education whose aim was to reduce territorial and social inequalities for large fractions of lower class students. The initial launching of the *Zones d'éducation prioritaires* (ZEP) (educational priority areas) in 1981 indeed materialized a significant shift from the universalistic focus on educational opportunity toward a focus on equality of results and local enabling action (Henriot-van Zanten 1990). However, while the ZEP policy was once considered the most emblematic French left-wing educational policy, its aura progressively diminished as it blended with other area-based educational and urban schemes. The ZEP was reframed and at times 'forgotten' by different governments and became one policy priority and instrument among many others. In addition, by the end of the 1990s, various studies revealed its limited impact on school results and careers (Bénabou et al. 2005). These studies, as well as the recurrent riots and incidents in the *banlieues*, generated a general belief that territorial action, failing to reduce the impact of structural factors, had, on the contrary, increased the symbolic and material closure of disadvantaged areas and reinforced the low aspirations of disadvantaged youth (van Zanten 2012).

5.3.2 *Giving New Opportunities and Goals to Few Schools, Teachers, and Students*

Several observers of affirmative action and widening participation policies have criticized the focus of these policies on access to elite universities. These policies are considered to limit the capacity to encourage lower class students' to pursue other types of higher education studies, and even make students think that these other choices were bad; as well as the tendency for institutions to look only for 'the best and the brightest' among the disadvantaged to the detriment of the majority of students (David 2010; Gale and Hodge 2014). Few studies, however, have given significant attention to the global impact of these policies on disadvantaged

[6]There are three main tracks in high school: academic, general, and vocational.

secondary schools, teachers, and students. This impact is probably stronger when, as in the Sciences Po and Essec schemes, there is an important emphasis on partnerships with disadvantaged secondary schools. My research shows that French school principals have been easily attracted to these policies. In fact, some of them, especially in the Parisian periphery due to the significant concentration of both disadvantaged secondary schools in some areas and *grandes écoles* in others, have skillfully managed to get their *lycées* involved in different schemes. The impact of these partnerships on the student intake of these schools or their results at the *baccalauréat* appears quite small (Mame-Fatou and Wasmer 2016), which is not surprising given the small number of students involved in the schemes and the fact that the activities either take place outside schools, as in the Essec scheme, or after school hours, in the Sciences Po scheme. However, because the association with prestigious higher education institutions contributes to improving schools' local reputation and brings to them additional symbolic and material resources, principals still hold a positive view of these programs.

These partnerships and policies have also played a major role in reviving the ideal of equality of opportunity in a renewed form among teachers in disadvantaged urban *lycées*, who had, over time, become quite skeptical about comprehensive territorial compensatory policies' capacity to remove structural barriers to equality. Discovering the potential and improving the chances of a few talented students, moving them out of their disadvantaged environment and up into the elite higher education system has in fact become, for many teachers, a substitute goal. As principals, teachers also think that the association with prestigious higher education institutions can enhance the image of the school and their own, and offer new opportunity for the diversification of their activities and career development. The new widening participation policies have in fact exerted a considerable appeal among opposite types of teachers, including, at one extreme, those who have been significantly engaged in the past in various programs and activities to reduce inequalities and who see the WP schemes as a follow up of the latter; and, at another extreme, teachers whose main aim is to escape from disadvantaged schools as soon as possible and get access to more prestigious and comfortable positions in more advantaged *lycées*, in higher education or in educational administrative bodies.

For students, these schemes are also attractive for various reasons. For some, it is the possibility, especially in the Sciences Po scheme, of accessing a major selective institution and the experiential and material rewards associated with participation in it. These rewards include access to quality premises, good and even renowned professors, high-ability and privileged classmates, a wide variety of courses and extracurricular activities, opportunities for study abroad and stimulating internships and, last but not least, interesting, well-paid and prestigious jobs, that determines their participation. For other students, less confident in their chances of success at selective higher education institutions or more focused on the present, the main motivations are the possibility of acquiring better work habits, new skills and knowledge, and additional information and advice on higher education choices. Nevertheless, because not all students view these schemes favorably and because

some of them, as well as their teachers, estimate that their chances of profiting from them are low, important processes of self-selection and informal selection by teachers also take place in the schools. Given the fact that many of these *lycées* have a heterogeneous student body, the end result is higher participation among middle-class than among lower class youth (according to our estimates, 40–50% of beneficiaries of the Sciences Po and Essec schemes each year are not socially disadvantaged); among girls, who usually have better grades and comply more with school expectations; as well as among students of immigrant origin, which is probably explained by the fact that despite lower results, students in the latter category exhibit higher levels of ambition throughout their school careers (Brinbaum and Guégnard 2013; Ichou and van Zanten 2014).

5.3.3 Influencing Educational Policies and Communities

Widening participation schemes in France have also had an impact on educational policies and on the boundaries of educational policy communities. In fact, these programs provided new opportunities for higher education managers to become more acquainted with the secondary school system and to be able to claim their educational expertize. The Sciences Po director's choice to circumvent local educational administrations and officials created strong bonds with individual schools and professionals, by closely involving secondary school teachers in designing the new admission procedure and in preparing students and preselecting candidates for final selection in the schools. While these bonds became more superficial as the program significantly expanded—from 2001 to 2015, the number of partner *lycées* grew from 7 to more than 100—the director was able to capitalize on teachers' trust to launch a new initiative in 2005. This involved eight of the initial CEP *lycées* and called 'the experimental *lycée*,' which was aimed at reducing inequalities in the results and careers of students from disadvantaged schools by encouraging the interdisciplinary, project-oriented teamwork of teachers and interventions by tutors from the private sector. Despite the fact that this initiative was abandoned a few years later because of limited financial and political support from the Ministry of Education, it contributed to the image of Sciences Po director as a legitimate policy actor, not only in the field of HE but of secondary education. This resulted in, among other things, an invitation by President Nicolas Sarkozy in 2009 to prepare a report on the reform of the *lycée* implemented in 2010.

The Essec also managed in other ways to become a key policy actor in secondary education. As its own scheme remained small and today only includes 9 high schools, it was able to maintain a close relationship with schools. Further, because the scheme was initially restricted to only one local area, with a second one added more recently, the staff and the manager of the program have developed closer relationships with local educational authorities than Sciences Po and have been able to influence some of their policy choices. In addition, while the scheme has only marginally expanded in terms of the number of high schools, it has gone

farther into the educational system through the integration of 6 middle schools. The manager of the Essec program has also become a national policy actor by chairing the above-mentioned *Groupe d'ouverture sociale* (GOS) (group for widening participation) within the CGE. Over time, this network has moved from its initial function of promoting the Essec institutional design among other *grandes écoles*, toward that of circulating information and 'best practices' and developing collective understandings and consensual stances among members of a wider organizational field (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). This includes other nonelite higher education institutions and secondary schools as well as local, regional, and national educational and political authorities.

Although the initiative did not come from the Essec manager or the network, but from a General Inspector in charge of CPGE at the Ministry of higher education, the institution also played a major role in the promotion by the government in 2008 of a new label for widening participation policies called '*Cordées de la réussite*' ('Climbing to success'). This label had important implications for the symbolic reframing of WP policies. It further displaced the focus from changing the admission procedures of selective institutions to focusing exclusively on the preparation of students prior to admission. It also underlined collective work rather than diverging interests or perspectives between elite higher education institutions and disadvantaged *lycées*, the term *cordées* (climbers roped together) implying a joint effort. However, the metaphor also builds on the need for leaders (*têtes de cordée*), namely the *grandes écoles,* to pull the weight and show the way of new, unskilled entrants from low socioeconomic backgrounds and poor-quality schools. Finally, and crucially from a political perspective, it moved attention away from failure to success. The document's purpose was also clearly to signify that the state now 'owned' and thus legitimated these policies and the analyses of educational inequalities supporting them (Gusfield 1981). This policy was launched alongside other initiatives in secondary schools, especially the '*Internats d'excellence*' ('boarding schools of excellence'). The goal was similar to that of the WP schemes, but at a lower level, in middle schools, that is to extract promising students from disadvantaged schools and provide them with a more stimulating learning environment, either through their actual removal to a few newly created boarding secondary schools, or, more frequently, to other, more advantaged middle schools (Pirone and Rayou 2012). While this policy was abolished by the present socialist government upon its arrival to power in 2012, very recently a new program has been launched by the same government entitled *Trajectories of excellence*. This new program merges some of the key ideas and procedures of the two former policies through the promotion of all types of initiatives favoring 'pathways of excellence' for talented students from disadvantaged backgrounds and schools from middle school to higher education.

5.4 Conclusion

The analysis of WP policies provides a good standpoint to observe the changing dynamics of the field of elite HE. On the one hand, the introduction of similar WP programs in most of the *grandes écoles* and some CPGEs as well as in higher education institutions aspiring to elite status has increased field integration, corroborating the hypotheses of sociologists such as DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and Strang and Meyer (1993) concerning the tendency toward gradual convergence of entities within fields. At the same time, if the changes analyzed are observed from the perspective of the stakes of each institution and of the field of HE, it is important to underline that these policies are not yet perceived by elite institutions as crucial for their development, but are mostly used for purposes of communication and legitimation. On the other hand, while Sciences Po's original initiative did not really disrupt the field's long-standing rules concerning meritocratic selection, it did introduce a breach that is being reinforced by the fact that the *grandes écoles* now recruit international students, as well as a small but growing proportion of French students who have not gone through the usual preparatory classes. While these changes are the result of globalization and European Union pressures towards the creation of a European space for higher education (King et al. 2013) much more than of any deliberate attempt to reduce inequalities of access to elite education, they give Sciences Po the status of a pioneer with respect to changes in admission procedures. For example, it has recently changed its 'normal' admission system to add, as in the widening participation scheme, an interview with all prospective students.

Another way of evaluating the importance of these policies is to focus on the influence of institutional strategic action on educational policies related to equality and social justice. While these policies have not dramatically changed the prevailing vision of equality in French society and have in fact contributed to re-legitimizing the centrality of individual merit, they have nevertheless introduced some significant alterations. The first concerns both Sciences Po and Essec's contribution, albeit in different ways, to a more extensive definition of merit than that conveyed by the *concours*. This extensive definition integrates views about 'potential' borrowed from private entrepreneurs and firms but also influenced by discourses and practices in American and English universities (Sabbagh 2006; Allouch 2013). This perspective, where individual merit continues to be central but is expected to 'bloom,' in the case of disadvantaged youth, and more specifically of youth from diverse backgrounds thanks to 'tutoring' from benevolent gardeners, is more in tune with the development of new forms of capitalism analyzed by Boltanski and Chiapello (1999). The second significant alteration concerns the focus on 'excellence' rather than failure. While this idea had started to circulate among policy-makers involved in the ZEP policy prior to the WP initiatives (Bongrand 2011), the WP schemes have strongly contributed to rooting it into educational discourse and practice and, as a consequence, to relegating to the backburner discussions and decisions concerning the majority of disadvantaged students.

A final word must be said about the possibility of generalizing these results to other national contexts. The French WP policies might seem too specific and too linked to a national space to transpose the findings presented in this chapter to other countries. However, while context certainly matters, contextual policy analysis, when it is conducted from a theoretical perspective analysis 'does not clutter the description and explanation of political processes but, on the contrary … facilitates discovery of true regularities in political processes' (Tilly and Goodin 2006, p. 6). A systematic cross-national comparison of widening participation policies has yet to be done, but recent attempts in that direction (Allouch 2013; Mountford-Zimdars and Sabbagh 2013) tend to corroborate this idea. While at a micro-level of analysis, national WP policies appear quite distinct from each other, the focus on meso-processes is likely to show the existence of significant empirical regularities in the ways 'fair access' to higher education is framed and institutional policies to improve it designed and implemented.

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Chapter 6
Fanon, Education and the Fact of Coloniality

Zeus Leonardo and Michael Singh

Abstract In race theories of education, there has been a resurgent interest in the works of W.E.B. Du Bois, as they apply to the racial politics of schooling. This makes sense within a US context because of Du Bois' public status as an intellectual. By comparison, there has been less attention paid to Frantz Fanon, whose work on decolonization was formative in the 1960s and 1970s. This chapter introduces the opening that Fanon provided for intellectuals in critically understanding the colonial interaction as part of the broader architecture of race relations. Although colonial administration has changed and adapted over time, the fact of coloniality continues, tucked away effectively within the discourse of neoliberalism. Focusing mainly on *Black Skin White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, we introduce critical Fanonian concepts, like the mask, anti-blackness and violence as a way to explain contemporary US race relations and education. By doing so, the chapter assesses the continuing relevance of Fanon's lifework against colonialism even after the official fall of colonialism, survived by a new condition of coloniality that is necessary to take into account if Fanon is to remain useful for education scholars.

6.1 Introduction to Fanon

The writings and ideas of Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) continue to enjoy steady engagement and a loyal following both inside and outside of the academy. Born in 1925 on the French Caribbean island of Martinique, Fanon's short but prolific life was highly influenced by his formal training as a psychiatrist, as well as his active involvement in the struggle to liberate Algeria from French colonial rule. Known for his revolutionary thought around race and the colonial condition, Fanon's influence can be felt across the disciplines, such as philosophy (Gordon 1995,

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2015), political science (Hansen 1977), education (Freire 1993), or social theory in general (Fuss 1994; Gordon et al. 1996; Wallerstein 1970, 2009). His uncompromising analysis of colonialism, provocative theory of violence and unflinching faith in social revolution have served several generations of scholars and activists as veritable gospels for social change. However, the field of education in general (particularly in the US) continues to neglect Fanon's basic insights, recent attempts notwithstanding (Leonardo and Porter 2010; Dei and Simmons 2010). As we argue below, we agree with Quijano (2000) when he insists that the "coloniality of power" persists to the present day and thus necessitates the ongoing development of decolonial theory. To the extent that colonialism consists of an educative function and schooling institutionally represents the continuation of colonial relations, a theory of decolonization becomes a politics of interruption in schooling. In this move, serious and sustained uptake of Fanon's thought is indispensable.

This chapter outlines Fanon's ideas on decolonization as they illuminate educational and race scholarship. It serves as a general compendium for an educational project that centres colonialism as a "limit situation" (Freire 1993) needing to be transcended. However, whereas scholarship on racism in education is a well-developed emphasis, thoroughgoing analysis of colonialism relies on few examples (see Smith 1999; Brayboy 2006; Grande 2004; Tuck and Yang 2012). In this uptake, the specifics found in Fanon's critique of colonialism and his theory of decolonisation remain underdeveloped. In this chapter, we first present Fanon's relevance for a study of colonialism in education, focusing attention on the continuing effects of "coloniality," or colonialism as a general structure of power. Second, we explicate Fanon's understanding of violence as a principle of sociality within colonialism which therefore requires considering violence as part of decolonization. Third, we demonstrate Fanon's understanding of colonial relations as necessitating a process of misrecognition wherein colonized people struggle to be understood as persons or beings. Its counterpart is that the colonizer is always already recognized as a human subject. Finally, we end with the projection of a decolonized regime of the human or Fanon's "new humanism." The new human is forged out of revolutionary self-love made possible through the colonized's accurate understanding of colonialism and concretized through revolutionary action, part of which is decolonial education.[1]

[1]Although our argument is grounded in an understanding of the US context and therefore is bounded by a nation-state narrative, the decolonial standpoint we take allows the analysis to become relevant in an international milieu where the colonial predicament is found, such as Australia, Africa, and South America. In this sense, so-called postcolonial societies function through coloniality as a continuing structure of power. Furthermore, we frame the problem of colonialism not unlike the way Gramsci (1971) describes the role of the capitalist state in securing hegemony. He explains that as the capitalist state in advanced western nations relies more on culture and common sense, the state begins to take on an educative function. Likewise, we argue that advanced colonial states maintain an educative function by saturating civil society with a colonial common sense. In this, education policies certainly take an important seat at the table, but the colonial state's educative function is broader than schooling insofar as the coloniality of power is a fully social set of relations wherein the citizenry's consent is won, where violence is sedimented at multiple levels of social interaction, including policy.

6.2 The Coloniality of Education and a Decolonial Framework

Arguing for Fanon's relevance in the field of education is to argue for specific frameworks that offer a new understanding of the plight of the student of colour, particularly in the United States.[2] Just as Du Bois noted over a hundred years ago, the student of colour today continues to find themselves as perpetually "the problem" (Du Bois 1994). Ample research has uncovered practices such as tracking and standardized testing as validating the active marginalization of students of colour (Oakes 2005), while at the same time, those who resist wind up falling victim to the ever more apparent "school to prison pipeline" (Kim et al. 2010). As critical educational researchers, and more specially those who study race, we strive for analytical frameworks that seek to historicize and interrogate social relations that continue to manifest themselves in schools today. Indeed, studying the vilification and policing of Black and Latino male students has become a popular topic in our field (Fergus et al. 2014; Ferguson 2001; Noguera 2009; Rios 2011), however it can also be argued that schooling has historically been a site of constant suffering (Dumas 2014). The question remains then, what is new about these experiences for students of colour? When did these violent processes begin and how have they been maintained and recreated in the present? In this chapter, we diverge from mainstream readings of race and education, shifting discourse along the lines of what Mignolo (2002) calls the "colonial difference." We are intentional in stating that this chapter brings Fanon to the realm of education not as a loose comparison of varied commonalities of the colonial world and U.S. schooling, but as a direct connection to colonial power structures and the function of schools for students of colour.

Much of the literature outside of education connecting the colonial past with the colonial and neo-colonial present builds upon the work of Peruvian thinker Aníbal Quijano as well as others in the emerging modernity/coloniality group. For Quijano (2000), when viewing the current power structures of globalization, one must recognize the coloniality of power which is directly tied to global capitalism. He argues that European colonial expansion, beginning in 1492 with the conquest of the Americas, marked the beginning of a new global system. In this restructuring of

[2]It should be noted that we are writing within the context of the United States, and any direct references to empirical studies or the lived experiences of students of colour are located within the US. We employ the commonly used phrase 'students of colour' to mark racialized student groups who embody the colonized positionality. These students represent diverse groups, and oftentimes their relationship and connection to colonialism may vary, particularly in a settler colonial state like the United States. It should also be noted that while we write from the United States, colonial power relations are pervasive at a global scale, and Fanon's insights must be extracted and adapted to fit different contexts. Furthermore, Fanon's colonizer–colonized framework in our use does not function as a strict binary, but rather as a web of messy power relations informed by colonial/racialized social and material structures. No two regions of the world experience this dynamic in exactly the way.

power, European colonization created and naturalized the concept of race as intertwined with capitalist division of labour in the context of the world market. Because of the interwoven ideologies of race, capitalism and colonialism, Quijano asserts that even after the formal end of colonialism in places like Latin America, the notion of human difference, as related to people's positionality in the division of labour, has continued to organize society on a global scale. Following Quijano with similar assertions, philosopher Maria Lugones argues that the expansion of racial hierarchies and Eurocentrism occurred coextensively with a restructuring of gender identity and the elaboration of two sides to what she labels the "colonial/modern gender system" (Lugones 2007). Through historicizing hetero-patriarchy, Lugones finds that the diverse systems of sexuality and gender of the past have been primarily reorganized to fit the western colonial system of power and identity. This system creates sexuality, gender and class as inextricably linked to the racialized colonial order and modern world system.

While there is much overlap between the modernity/coloniality school and post-colonial studies, differences can be seen along geographic lines as well as genealogy. Post-colonial thought largely materializes from the utilization of thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Antonio Gramsci to previously colonized regions, as in the case of Palestine with Edward Said and South Asia with Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak (Mignolo 2007). In contrast, decoloniality finds its origins in Latin American relations with the Western Hemisphere. Drawing from Quijano, Mignolo (2007) describes the foundation of decolonial thought as "de-colonization as epistemological reconstitution" (pp. 163–164). The modernity/coloniality group pulls insights from a diverse array of thinkers epistemically grounded in the Americas such as José Carlos Mariátegui, Enrique Dussel, Aimé Césaire, W.E.B. Du Bois, Gloria Anzaldúa and Frantz Fanon, to name a few.

In searching for a more concrete understanding of what is in fact "decolonial," and how it can be used in academic work, it is important to state that the modernity/coloniality group offers decoloniality as an analytic. Decolonial scholarship, in the tradition of Fanon, strives to explore, understand and theorize from the experience of the colonized positionality. In this mode, there is no one definition of decolonial work, but rather a vast array of decolonial theories connecting to a variety of experiences, positionalities, cosmologies and worldviews. While decolonization, as a political event, involves the return of land and resources to indigenous people (Tuck and Yang 2012), decolonial thought and scholarship seeks to understand and break down the complicated ideological matrixes of colonization, which has and continues to violently naturalize itself at a global scale. Decolonial frameworks identify Eurocentric philosophies as asserting themselves as a "point zero" perspective (Castro-Gomez 2003 as cited in Grosfoguel 2007, p. 214) locating itself as the universal Truth, and establishing and maintaining colonial ideologies and relationships as natural (Grosfoguel 2007). At the foundation of their scholarship, decolonial thinkers (Césaire 2000; Grosfoguel 2002; Maldonado-Torres 2004, 2007; Mignolo 2012; Pérez 1999; Walsh 2015; Wynter 2003), establish the importance of ceasing to conceptualize colonialism as a historical event, and move toward an understanding of coloniality as

an ongoing architecture of knowledge that maintains and normalizes relationships of subordination along colonial lines of human difference.

In the field of education in the U.S., the notion of coloniality has not been a valued concept when studying race and schools. While prominent race scholar Ladson-Billings (1998a) has argued for the existence of colonial relationships between Black communities in the South Bronx and the state (a pattern she sees highly similar to the function of schooling in apartheid South Africa), the colonial model has largely been unused or abandoned for other race frameworks in education such as Critical Race Theory (see Ladson-Billings 1998b; Solórzano and Yosso 2002). For those who are interested in issues of colonization and coloniality within the field of education (De Lissovoy 2010; Dei 2010; Gutierrez et al. 2003; Richardson 2012; Villenas 2010), we heed the call to engage the literature for a more complete decolonial theory of education. Richardson (2012) laments "De-colonial thinkers have not…turned their attention to the ways in which schooling is a specific site where the conceptual force of coloniality continue to operate" (p. 541). Furthermore, he continues that educational philosophers "have not engaged in a sustained dialogue with de-colonial theorists to interrogate the colonial/modern contexts of educational relations" (p. 541). In all, we seek to build future conversations about race that take seriously the coloniality of education.

This chapter follows these scholars interested in the decolonial turn and brings the issue of the coloniality of schooling to the fore. This should not be seen as a move to disregard or invalidate alternative or well-established race frameworks, but to argue for the utility of decolonial theories in helping educational researchers, policy makers and practitioners better understand the fullness of racism and respond to its colonial forms in schools. It should also be noted that within the realm of education literature, several strands of thought or frameworks provide guiding principles for this effort, including work in Cultural Studies and Chicana feminist thought (Cruz 2001; Villenas 2010) as well as Tribal Critical Race Theory or TribalCrit (Brayboy 2006).

Tuck and Yang (2012) argue for the importance of identifying the U.S. as a settler colonial predicament that simultaneously operates through internal and external colonialism, neither being completely adequate in describing the U.S. context. Within the settler colonial world, the population is separated into what they label the "settler-native-slave" triad. Tuck and Yang warn against the proliferation of decolonial rhetoric and the equivocation of decolonial practices to social justice work uninterested in the issues of stolen land and indigenous life. They remind us what decolonization is not

> It is not converting Indigenous politics to a Western doctrine of liberation; it is not a philanthropic process of 'helping' the at-risk and alleviating suffering; it is not a generic term for struggle against oppressive conditions and outcomes. The broad umbrella of social justice may have room underneath for all of these efforts. By contrast, decolonization specifically requires the repatriation of Indigenous land and life. Decolonization is not a metonym for social justice. (Tuck and Yang 2012, p. 21)

This chapter heeds their warning through Fanon in order to explore the experiences of students of colour as not simply marginal or unequal, but rather as specifically bound up with colonial experiences of violence, both cultural and material. With this in mind, arguing for Fanon's relevance names the problem of schools insofar as there is a direct confrontation with a specifically colonial atmosphere. While Tuck and Yang draw heavily from Fanon's later work, The Wretched of the Earth (1963), a text chiefly interested in the political and material decolonial process, to build their argument, this chapter explores the full body of Fanon's writings. While fully acknowledging Tuck and Yang's (2012) concern that by itself "critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism" (p. 19), this chapter forges a decolonial framework to understand the ways that colonial relationships are manifested in schooling, as well as how this violent atmosphere impacts the student of colour's sense of self. By drawing on Fanon, this chapter sees the need for decolonial processes not as general social justice work, but rather as a way to understand the nuances of coloniality in schools and build forms of decolonial resistance as part of policy formation.

6.3 Decolonization and the Role of Violence

Fanon argues that the colonizer has structured violence in every institution in the colony and within every aspect of colonial life. As such, violence permeates the colonial condition, a predicament that owes itself to the presence of force and coercion introduced by the colonizer. But rather than maintain the dichotomy between violence on one side and liberation from it on the other, Fanon takes an unlikely path to social emancipation by suggesting that violence consists of certain possibilities. Not unlike Foucault's (1980) theory of power as productive against the usual framing of it as only repressive, in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) Fanon finds relief in violence with revolutionary potential. As part of what he calls "actional man," Fanon describes the colonized as realizing themself[3] through violence, of recognizing their historical vocation through the practice of violence in its humanizing form (Leonardo and Porter 2010). The colonized's active stance toward history was usurped by the colonizer who reduced the colonized to the status of an object. In response to this condition, the colonized reclaims their rightful place as a subject of history through decolonial violence. Although Fanon gestures toward the psychic violence involved in colonialism in the pages of *Black Skin, White Masks* (2008), it is *Wretched* where the chapter on violence has received most attention.

[3]In recognizing the multiplicity of gender identities within colonized populations, this chapter makes use of gender neutral pronouns. In this case, the pronoun, them or their, serves as both singular and plural.

In order to understand Fanon's theory of decolonial violence, we must confront the fact that a primary or preexisting violence was introduced by the colonizer. Fanon writes

> [C]olonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed with reasoning faculties. It is a violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence. (1963, p. 61)

Fanon is clear that because violence permeates every nook and cranny of colonial life, it is not possible to exist in a nonviolent space, real or imagined. In other words, *violence has no outside*. This means that even the colonized's ideas about freedom are imbricated with violence and the native intellectual is implicated with its contradictions. This puts Fanon in a quandary insofar as violence becomes an antidote to itself. Therefore, revolutionary education aimed at decolonizing society is a violent undertaking at multiple levels. For Fanon, violence becomes a "cleansing force" (1963, p. 94) that synthesizes the colonized with history and their humanity, their activity over their passivity, and their destiny rather than their derogation.

Contrary to the notion that the oppressed live by the code of violence and understand only the logic of force, Fanon contends that it is the colonizer whose very being pulses with these tendencies. He writes

> He of whom *they* have never stopped saying that the only language he understands is that of force, decides to give utterance by force. In fact, as always, the settler has shown him the way he should take if he is to become free. The argument the native chooses has been furnished by the settler, and by an ironic turning of the tables it is the native who now affirms that the colonialist understands nothing but force. (1963, p. 84; italics in original)

The colonizer sees the world through violence and creates social life after their own violent image. In a perverse reversal, the colonizer then projects onto and blames the colonized who responds in kind to their cruelty. On occasion, the colonizer's method is a "civilized" form of violence that relies less on brutal force and more on cultural injuries, such as Fanon describes when the colonizer patronizes the colonizer through infantilization or objectification (Schmitt 1996). The colonizer violates the colonized's lifeworld through legally established means, such as instituting the colonizer's language in schools, assimilating children into the colonizer's culture, and inferiorising their value system (see Macedo 2000). Sometimes, the colonizer injures the colonized by imitating their language in public places as if to cozen them through paternalism, as evidenced in the colonizer's use of mock-Spanish (see Hill 2008). Although these processes do not fit the usual portrayal of "hot violence" common in a modern political economies where the oppressed are treated as disposable bodies, forms of "cool violence" are thoroughly violent to the colonized, immigrants and racial minorities who are reduced to the zone of nonbeing (Fanon 2008; McLaren et al. 1999). In response to these euphemized forms of violence, the colonized wage cultural war with the colonizer as the first step in exercising their agency and finding their authenticity as actional beings.

Fanon takes a dialectical attitude toward violence, finding liberatory potential in the colonized's ability to express the humanizing form of violence, or what Freire (1993) describes as the ability of the violence of the colonized to liberate both the oppressor and oppressed. It is based on an understanding that violence is attached to a political project, over which the colonizer does not exercise a monopoly and which the colonized may redirect. In nature, we find expressions of dialectical violence. When tectonic plates rub against each other and cause continental friction, the earth's landscape is provided with contrast, even beauty, as in the case of the Himalayan mountain ranges and valleys like Arizona's Grand Canyon. Death and destruction accompany these changes as earthquakes and associated calamities produce natural violence. That said, in the human world the consequences of violence are anything but natural because social life is organized into zones of being and nonbeing, as in the case of post-Katrina New Orleans where neoliberal policies promote the carving of black populated areas for the creation of new charter schools as part of a concerted assault on public schools. In other words, natural violence's effects are not randomly distributed in the social field and often put the colonized at risk because they do not have the same protections as the colonizer. But in its natural state, violence is double-sided rather than Janus-faced. Every camper who enjoys the mesmerizing flames of a night fire also avoids standing in the middle of them. A surfer admires the power of a 30-foot wave crashing onto the shore without being engulfed by it. There is something awe-inspiring about a hurricane or tornado's destructive and indiscriminate force at the same time no one wants to fly a kite in either one. Stars explode and spew out their remnants from which new stars and heavier elements are born. Humans are literally made of stardust, born from destruction and owe their existence to the cyclical principle of nature's violence. Countless violent collisions between planets and other debris during the early formation of the solar system, some over 4 billion years ago, yielding earth its tilted axis (creating the seasons), its companion moon (lending a stable influence), and the extinction of the dinosaurs (from whom humans took their place in evolutionary history). In all these examples, the dialectics of natural violence is evident.

With respect to social violence, Fanon gestures toward the humanizing functions of disruptive activity, or actions that shift standards of humanity. As a politics of disruption, revolutionary violence is a radical requestioning of standards for humanity. As such, violence is an empty category whose meaning and consequences are judged by its results. The colonizer destroys the colonized's natural and social order, which is restored by the violence of the colonized through decolonization. Fanon writes

> [D]ecolonization is always a violent phenomenon [and] … is quite simply the replacing of a certain "species" of men [sic] by another "species" of men… It transforms spectators crushed with their inessentiality into privileged actors, with the grandiose glare of history's floodlights upon them. It brings a natural rhythm into existence, introduced by new men, and with it a new language and a new humanity. (Fanon 1963, p. 35)

Fanon's theory of violence shares Mauss' (1967) documentation of the gift principle whereby Mauss' ethnographies in Melanesia and North America oppose

symbolic exchange to Eurocentric notions of traditional economic exchange (see Baudrillard 1993; McLaren et al. 1999; Leonardo 2003). In the gift exchange, power is defined by the giver's ability to obligate the receiver to reciprocate the gift with another offering, deferred and more extravagant than the first. In this way, the receiver shifts into a giver and neutralizes the previous giver's hold over him. The symbolic exchange raises the stakes with every gift (considered a challenge), establishing an amiable rivalry between giver and receiver.

One can see the gift principle at work in Fanon's theory of revolutionary violence. Having instituted the "gift of violence" at every level of social interaction, the colonizer holds power over the colonized. Using Mauss' framework of the gift exchange, the colonizer's violence is reciprocated and therefore cancelled by the colonized's violence. Fanon returns this violence with interest through decolonization, itself a violent undertaking. A solution that does not include violence within the context of a society steeped in violence is a form of mystification and presumes a position outside of sociality. He writes

> [Decolonization] can only triumph if we use all means to turn the scale, including, of course, that of violence… The native who decides to put the program into practice, and to become its moving force, is ready for violence at all times. From birth it is clear to him that this narrow world, strewn with prohibitions, can only be called in question by absolute violence. (1963, p. 37)

For the colonized, and for colonial subjects within conditions of coloniality in general, violence is not an end in itself but a strategic means to revolutionary change. It is also historically specific as Fanon considered that the Algerians were ready for a violent solution, putting the decolonial programme into place. In this, the Algerian situation is ripe for violence because of the development of colonial contradictions within historically determined conditions, which require a particular resolution with the highest likelihood of success. We note that this strategy did not fit the cultural and material understanding in either Mahatma Gandhi or Nelson Mandela's case, the first preferring a pacifist path (violent on other levels, see Leonardo and Porter 2010) and the second a targeted use of violence, such as the destruction of white military posts in South Africa (see Presbey 1996; Gordon 1996).[4] Moreover, for Gandhi the English colonizer was redeemable whereas Fanon had no use for the colonizer who must be forcefully expelled from the colony.

There is also a learning theory behind Fanon's platform based on violence. At its best, violence is educative and teaches the colonized about the limits of their

[4]We do not want to underplay the high levels of violence involving South Africa's ANC. The use of violence during the passage from Apartheid to a liberated South Africa was a source of contradictions and difficulties for Mandela and moving forward with the new nation. That said, in the end violence was not the determining mark of the South African revolution, preferring instead to go through the route of Reconciliation.

situation and ways to transcend them. The colonized does not only reconcile contradictions through violence but is reconstituted as a revolutionary subject by participating in violence. Although the excesses of Fanon's masculine prose found in his passages on violence and references to "actional man" could be purged of their androcentrism, for Fanon the colonized finds their humanity through violence as a cathartic event. It is not only the expression of resentment toward the colonizer but a cleansing force that makes it possible for the colonized to be transformed as a new human, a new subject of history. We will have more to say about this point below in the fourth section on Fanon's new humanism. For now, we mention that violence disrupts both the colonizer and colonized's sense of being. Decolonial violence violates the colonizer's naturalized entitlements as well as the colonized's learned helplessness. In the first, violence takes the form of reclaiming what the colonizer has stolen; in the second, violence removes the colonized's fear of freedom (cf. Freire 1993). In all, "The colonized man [sic] finds his freedom in and through violence …The native's violence unifies the people … Violence is in action all-inclusive and national" (Fanon 1963, pp. 86, 94). Whereas the violence of the colonizer partitions the Manichean world, the colonized's violence makes it whole. Whereas the colonizer uses violence to divide, the colonized uses it to unite.

6.4 The Politics of Race and Recognition

Related to economic or "hot" violence (McLaren et al. 1999), the colonial situation in nations like the United States also includes a form of "cool" or euphemized violence enacted in the politics of recognition through the master–slave dialectic. From Hegel (1977), Fanon takes the cue that colonialism creates a "massive psycho-existential complex" (2008, p. xvi) of inferiority/superiority between the colonizer and colonized. Within normal conditions, humans require the other for contrast, through which the self gains a sense of difference as well as establishes its specificity. Like other oppressive systems, colonialism violates this process when the colonizer's self does not require the colonized other for human fulfilment and the circle of recognition is broken. From Sartre (1976), Fanon follows the insight that like the Semite who is created by the anti-Semite, the Black is created by the anti-Black, or the white subject. In this case, inferiority cannot be located within the inferior subject, as if self-generated, but outside in the perceptions of the self-appointed superior: the white colonizer. Moreover, Fanon insists that inferiorism's determining structures are found in the broader colonial situation rather than in the psychological predispositions of the colonized. Having established this basic premise, Fanon launches a plaintive appeal found in *Black Skin* centred on analysing the fundamental neurosis in colonial recognition gone awry between Blacks and Whites.

On some level, it is a radical departure to suggest that blackness is determined from outside, its source of origin being whiteness. Fanon writes, "We shall

demonstrate furthermore that what is called the black soul is a construction by white folks" (2008, p. xviii). Fanon is able to argue this point based on the idea that the assertion of black being is dependent on the existence of white being, the usefulness and importance of "black pride" for black students notwithstanding. This dependency takes many forms, linguistic and cultural assimilation being two powerful examples. In society, and schools specifically, black children and other children of colour are taught that "there is but one destiny for the black man. And it is white" (2008, p. xiv). This relation translates into a dynamic wherein success for black students becomes suspect as a form of "acting white" (Fordham and Ogbu 1986). Although this finding may be excessive by framing the power of whiteness to frame blackness as ultimately bound up with "failure," it paints white standard as ubiquitous and from which no one escapes unscathed. It may be omnipresent without being omnipotent. Kirkland (2010) goes a long way with Fanon to argue that the policy turn to standardized testing in education is a way to normalize whiteness as the end goal of black education, hidden efficiently in the language of outcomes like test scores. Federal policies, like No Child Left Behind in the US, represent an act of white supremacy insofar as they deflect attention away from structural conditions that lead to systemic failure of children of colour in schools and toward a cultural deficit model that blames families of colour or their teachers. Overall, the Fanonian insight is that the figuration of blackness traces its determinations from the outside, that is, from whiteness. It leads to black alienation and the search for authenticity is a meandering road and decolonization for Fanon is simply put, the "disalienation of the black man" (2008, p. xiv). This is less a statement about fashioning the "real" black person and more about dismantling the conditions that prevent the colonized from thriving. It is more a statement about liberating society from the machinations of whiteness such that "[g]enuine disalienation will have been achieved only when things, in the most materialist sense, have resumed their rightful place" (2008, p. xv). In other words, decolonization is the process whereby the outside (whiteness) is revolutionized from the inside (blackness).

For Fanon, the politics of recognition begins and ends with the metaphor of the "mask." Although it is a term that is assumed rather than invoked, it is a concept that drives Fanon's analysis of the colonizer–colonized relationship. In fact, the mask is associated with *Black Skin*, *White Masks* despite the fact that Fanon rarely uses the term literally to describe the process of alienation. That said, Fanon's innovation of the mask captures colonialism's violence as it forces the colonized to behave in ways that hide his desires and decisiveness. Instead, he appears as a nervous subject. Fanon (2008) clearly sets this stage on page 1 of *Black Skin* by stating

> The black man possesses two dimensions: one with his fellow Blacks, the other with the Whites. A black man behaves differently with a white man than he does with another black man. There is no doubt whatsoever that this fissiparousness is a direct consequence of colonial undertaking.

The mask concept is introduced without being named. Like the black student in the US, whose cultural understanding and lifeworld must stay home while they are at

school, Fanon's colonized is a split subject whose private self becomes other and for whom the other (i.e., whiteness) masks as their public self. This goes a long way in explaining why black children's home life is mismatched with their school life (Gay 2000). This fissiparousness is not unlike double consciousness for Du Bois (1994) but rather than the veil, Fanon's mask inheres a tactical function wherein the mask may double as a device behind which the colonized disguises their true intentions, particularly when in the company of colonizers. It may be as simple as speaking a language the colonizer does not comprehend or "masking up," as in Algerian women who hid contraband behind their traditional Muslim outfits (Goldberg 1996). Although the mask is the colonizer's imposition, structurally speaking, interactionally and personally the mask contains moments of agency that should not be exaggerated but neither should it be underestimated.

For the colonized, recognition is bound up with education. In *Black Skin*, Fanon makes frequent mention of education's centrality in the civilizing process. As part of what constitutes civilization, educability is the character or trait of Europeans, which is absent in Blacks. It is the "line" that distinguishes the educated from the merely schooled. We may recall here the slang used among the youth wherein being "schooled" on the playground is a pejorative label when the person untrained in a sport or game is put in their place. Similarly, Fanon states, "The 'Negro' is the savage, whereas the student is civilized" (2008, p. 51). Whereas the colonized may attain a certain level of promotion through schooling, they do not cross the threshold into civilization. As a form of erudition, education does not belong to their "nature" and they are reminded through subtle and not so subtle comments that they are an "exception" to their race. Whereas speaking French, writing poetry, earning advanced degrees, or moving from the colony to the metropole accomplishes certain ends, the colonized is marked, indeed betrayed, by the fact of blackness, noted by both the colonizer and colonized. The first condescends to the colonized in order to ensconce the colonizer's assumed superiority and the second reminds the colonized of their miserable state. Regarding the colonizer, Fanon relates,

> To speak a language is to appropriate its world and culture. The Antillean who wants to be white will succeed, since he will have adopted the cultural tool of language. I can remember just over a year ago in Lyon, following a lecture where I had drawn a parallel between black and European poetry, a French comrade telling me enthusiastically: "Basically, you're a white man." The fact I had studied such an interesting question in the white man's language gave me my credentials. (2008, p. 21)

The linguistic mask is responsible for much of the daily assaults the colonized faces since communication is mundane yet meaningful. But it is also here where they suffer repeated injuries through travels and travails in social space. Language prevents their transformation from animality to humanity because it comes with a politics of surprise when the colonizer confronts an "articulate" black person. Masquerading as a white person with black skin, the black intellectual is misrecognized as a poor copy of the European. Just as there are subpersons (Mills 1997), we find a parallel in the substudent (Leonardo 2013, 2015). The first is a humanoid

but not human, the second able to think but lacking in cognition. The educated colonized is deraced (referred to as a "white man") at the same time that their black skin confounds their newfound title. They become a source of confusion, a paradoxical body, or a talking irony because their speech disconfirms stereotypes about their presumed inability to partake in educated discourse. The colonizer awkwardly compliments black "accomplishment" with cozening comments about being a credit to their race. Even the leading public intellectual, Aimé Césaire, receives adulation from the surrealist Breton on his intellection while failing to note Césaire's Martinican French heritage and enviable educational pedigree (Fanon 2008, p. 22). The colonized live as impossible humans.

The colonized cannot find any consolation in schooling for they know their education fundamentally changes them. When the colonizer accommodates, the colonized sees the possibilities of "civilization" yet has little wish to reclaim the greatness of a mythical black past. Not unlike Du Bois, Fanon asks only that the black subject be able to own their blackness and in the case of a colonial subject of France, to retain their full access to French life, which is their birth right. But even here we see a difference because Fanon was less hopeful about the possibilities of a positive blackness when compared with Du Bois. Negritude begins the assertion of a black attitude toward existence but Fanon questions its political efficacy for decolonization by the time he writes *Wretched*. For full human recognition of the colonized, Fanon required the destruction of an entire social edifice associated with or built around colonialism, including the vestiges of a colonized standpoint. He insists on the forging of a new human rising from the ashes of colonialism, which is neither black nor white, colonized or colonizer, but free.

6.4.1 Fanon and the New Human

Fanon saw the colonial process as having robbed all those involved, both masters and slaves, of their humanity. He writes, "The misfortune of the man of colour is having been enslaved. The misfortune and inhumanity of the white man are having killed man" (2008, p. 205). Although Fanon saw violence as a key component in bringing a consistency among the world's population, it would have to be acts of love that returns humanity to its proper place.

In *Black Skin*, Fanon strives for what he deems a "New Humanism" whose key components are founded in both "understanding and loving" (2008, p. xi). He works toward a universal love in all humanity, particularly between those who share a struggle from below the perceived line of the human. This process begins with a radical solidarity. In both *Black Skin* and *Wretched*, Fanon includes excerpts from Aimé Césaire's poem/play, "And the Dogs were Silent." In the excerpts, Fanon notes the rebel of the story does not act from "too much hate" but rather "from too much love." His actions are driven not from individual gain but collective love and a connection with the world. The rebel states "the world does not spare

me…. There is not anywhere in the world a poor creature who's been lynched or tortured in whom I am not murdered and humiliated…" (1963, p. 87). For the rebel, liberation is not an individual task. Likewise, students may also strive for decolonial modes of learning not by understanding education as a personal tool for gaining access to power and whiteness, but rather a collective instrument of communal liberation and means to recognize the humanity of all people.

For Fanon, a vital aspect of this loving process begins with interrogating and reflecting on both the self and group positionality in relation to the colonial power. Employing the vantage point of the oppressed allows education to see the colonized subject beyond the violence of the white gaze, forging not a true or essential identity beneath colonial ideologies, but rather space for the creation of something beyond the violent confines of colonial signification. In his readings of Fanon, Maldonado-Torres (2008) argues that it is love that leads Fanon to "articulate a position that subverts…the logics of imperial recognition" (p. 123), and for Maldonado-Torres, Fanon's *Black Skin* should be seen as a sort of "gift" to humanity. He refers to *Black Skin*'s Introduction where Fanon asks "Why write this book? No one has asked me for it. Especially those to whom it is directed" (p. 132). In this mode Fanon's book is a loving act wherein Maldonado-Torres see as an articulation of a Fanonian humanism (or what he calls a *humanism of the Other*) that is "grounded not so much in abstract universality as in the ethical and de-colonial suspicion of the universal" (p. 158). This suspicion pushes against Western notions of a true humanity, allowing the formerly colonized to create a new and fluid self that is independent of the white colonizing gaze. While Fanon's later work, *Wretched*, occupies itself largely with material freedom from colonialism, *Black Skin* strives for an understanding of self that is free from the violent construction of black identity. If violence was to free the colonized from colonial ideology, it would be through loving processes wherein this "new humanism" would be created.

Similarly, Sandoval (2000) provides a reading of *Black Skin*, which praises Fanon for revealing the colonial world as a false creation of European modernity. Taking seriously Fanon's claim that "the black soul is a white man's artifact" (Fanon 2008, p. 14), Sandoval sees the perceived reality of the world masked with false colonial signs that distort both the colonizer and colonized's sense of self and place. The very metaphors of "black skin" (biology) and "white mask" (technology) demonstrate the fabricated and unstable meanings "between insides and outsides, forms or contents, nature and culture, and between what is understood as superior or inferior" (Sandoval 2000, p. 84). Decolonial epistemological possibilities are found within the space between the mask and the skin. For Sandoval, this is a space wherein the subject may read the false semiotics of colonization and reinterpret the world and themselves. Sandoval describes this space, what Fanon himself called the "sterile" and "arid" "zone of nonbeing" (Fanon 2008, p. xii), as "neither inside nor outside, neither good nor evil…an interstitial site out of which new, undecidable forms of being and original theories and practices for emancipation, are produced"

(Sandoval 2000, p. 85). In accessing this epistemological space, radical respect and love of humanity are necessary beyond the hegemonic colonial ideology, which seeks to permeate all facets of life.[5]

In the realm of education, teachers often state their deep care, and in many cases love for their students, regardless of race, class, gender, or sexuality. However, employing a Fanonian lens to education, educators are called upon to challenge liberal notions of love and work toward a Fanonian form of love in the classroom. Fanon states

> By appealing, therefore, to our humanity—to our feelings of dignity, love, and charity—it would be easy to prove and have acknowledged that the black man is equal to the white man. But that is not our purpose. What we are striving for is to liberate the black man from the arsenal of complexes that germinated in a colonial situation. (2008, p. 14)

Educators who employ a liberal humanist form of love follow the dominant understanding of schooling that fosters the false belief in human fraternity, equality in the classroom with insufficient comprehension of structural inequality, and teachers who seek to educate and nurture all students regardless of their identity and ability while promulgating violence in many forms against them. In bringing Fanon to the field of education, the loving act of teaching/learning does not equate with logical equality, but rather the humanization of the learner and teacher. In breaking from hegemonic notions of love, Fanonian love requires teachers to hear "the 'cry' of the wounded" student, recognizing them beyond colonial logics of recognition and suspending the "priority of the universal" (Maldonado-Torres 2008, p. 241).

Further, Fanonian love in the classroom must not be seen as a specific workshop or individualized activity to be employed as needed, but cultivated through constant engagement and praxis. Fanonian love surpasses lessons on inclusion and seeks to normalize an atmosphere that subverts colonial politics of recognition. Gordon (1995) is correct in likening Fanonian loving practices to Freirean notions of humanizing educational praxis (Freire 1993). In his reading of Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism*, Gordon states

> [T]he colonized can achieve…existence through revolutionary praxis. Fanon argues that the mundane features of an extraordinary circumstance, like revolutionary efforts towards decolonization, can transform our consciousness of the colonial natural attitude, the colonial everyday world, into its proper place of injustice, pathology, abnormality, and misanthropy. The colonial natural attitude must be brought under reflection as an object of revolutionary transformation. (1995, pp. 62–63)

Through Gordon's analysis we see the necessity for practicing Fanonian love as a gesture toward the "liberating transformation of the everyday" (Gordon 1995,

[5]US Third World feminists have developed similar theories in which decolonial thought is found in an in-between state of being. Sandoval's reading of Fanon's epistemological contributions are echoed by notions of mestiza consciousness (Anzaldúa 1987), transgressive knowledges (Hooks 1994) and "Outsider" knowledges (Collins 1986). Sandoval herself calls this mode of thinking "oppositional consciousness" (1991).

p. 42). This process entails both intentional practice as well as constant reflection as the colonial classroom seeks to transition itself into a decolonial and loving space.

Cruz (2012) contributes to our understanding of the decolonial classroom when she theorizes *testimonios* as a sort of "curriculum from scratch." She encourages educators to build curriculum around the personal stories of students, forcing colonial narratives to pass through (and be judged by) the experiential knowledges of the class. In this form, loving educative acts do not discipline the student into accepting narrowly defined definitions of knowledge and achievement, but rather loving acts must value the brown body as a pedagogical devise, a location of "recentering and recontextualizing the self and the stories that emanate from that self" (Cruz 2001, p. 668). It is these sorts of decolonial and womanist aligned loving practices that allow for a lovingness that brings coloniality and whiteness to its death (Matias and Allen 2013), making space for diversity beyond liberal colonial forms of multiculturalism, a diversity of knowledge where many worldviews fit.[6]

As mentioned earlier, Fanon saw the greatest tragedy of colonization as the loss of the human ability recognize one another (and one's self) in a loving fashion, independent of colonial ideologies and racialized understandings of the human. In this way, there can be no true humanity in a world dominated by false human hierarchies that organize society, made real by material inequality and dehumanizing violence. Fanon's work labours against colonial ideology by producing ideas that will provide humans a way to love even after living in a non-human state "built up over centuries of incomprehension (Fanon 2008, p. xvi). Similarly, Sandoval sees love as a powerful tool which "can access and guide our theoretical and political 'movidas'—revolutionary maneuvers toward decolonized being" (2000, p. 141). For educators, a Fanonian conception of love must be at the core of pedagogy, if a move toward the decolonial will be realized.

Fanon's insights may be useful in educational analysis if we introduce his general concepts regarding colonialism into policy analysis. Because the coloniality of power is still in effect even in nations that have undergone administrative decolonization, enacting policy that further marginalizes students of colour in the realm of education is arguably a form of continuing colonial violence against them. As an act of violence, educational policy is displaced from a purely technocratic-bureaucratic rationale and reimagined as a colonial technology of power (cf. Gillborn 2005; Leonardo 2007). Therefore, we argue that educational policy analysis must be decolonized by building a conceptual apparatus that accounts for colonialism in the realm of knowledge production. As a politics of recognition, schooling and educational policy contribute to the power relations between the colonizer and colonized (Memmi 1965) wherein the first controls the pathologized representations of the second, often with the help of scientific or

[6]We are borrowing this phrase from the Southern Mexico based indigenous group El Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN). The actual quote reads "un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos" [a world where many worlds fit] (Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional 2005).

objective language of policy. A decolonial policy standpoint provides the possibility of purging education of its colonial vestiges not in order to instal the authentic human once and for all but as part of a continuing search for social justice in education. It prefigures the potential for educational policy to become an act of love rather than an act of violence. As another fully social set of relations, decolonial love does not reduce or fragment its subjects but makes them whole.

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Chapter 7
Equality and Education Policy in the European Union—An Example from the Case of Roma

Nafsika Alexiadou

Abstract The European Union represents a transnational level of polity where education policies are constructed in parallel to those of nation states, and where equality is framed both in legal frameworks and in policies around citizenship and inclusion. This chapter focuses attention on the interplay between the legal and the policy landscapes around equality and their relation to education policy, and explores these ideas in relation to the Roma minority, and the efforts of the EU to address their experience of multiple inequalities across the continent. The process of developing an education and social policy, and the refinement of equality and anti-discrimination legislation, contribute to a reframing of equality beyond the borders of national policies, and open up new opportunities for their negotiation. The case of Roma EU policies suggests that a combination of legal and policy processes is necessary to address issues of inequalities in education. But there are political risks with the EU taking over such policy work especially when the equality definitions used are narrow in their remit, and when national governments lack the political will to implement EU policies.

7.1 Education and Equality: Beyond the Nation State

The concept of equality in education policy is under constant flux, constructed through processes of changing governance and accountability, but also deliberation at local, national, and transnational levels. During the second half of the 20th century equality occupied a centre stage in discussions about schooling reorganization and reform, and throughout Europe there have been differences in the ways in which the concept was used within national political and welfare regimes. Such differences refer to how equality is defined as a guiding principle for the politics of (re)distributing opportunities (with varying degrees of accessing education levels and transitions to the labour market), and, as a normative ideal that underpinned

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policies around socialization of boys and girls, and of children from different socio-economic, and ethnicity backgrounds (Parreira Do Amaral et al. 2015). Since equality has been defined primarily within national politics, its evolution and embeddedness in education policy is closely linked to the changing nature of welfare systems and the values these systems promote. Well into the 21st century, these definitions now take place within welfare institutions that have been shifting from social democratic to neoliberal models across Europe (Arnesen et al. 2014). Articulations of equality become increasingly sophisticated and elaborate, to a large extent due to identity politics and citizenship models that emphasize democratic accountability and responsiveness to citizens' expectations for recognition (Crouch 1999).

At the same time that equality as a right is negotiated and evolving within national systems of citizenship, welfare and education, there is a shift of policy making from an exclusively national space, to a more global one where education discourses are constructed beyond the nation state (Lingard and Rawolle 2011). These discourses, embodied in the policies of international and transnational organizations are part of multiple and often diffuse borders of political activity, that are constitutive of social relations and identities (Oke 2009), including "society-state relations and claims, and enactments of citizenship" (Robertson 2011, p. 282). The European Union (EU) which is the focus of this chapter, is a transnational political entity that performs such 'boundary work' (Seddon 2014, p. 12) where education policy is constructed at a new territorial-political arena, and represents an additional and complementary set of agendas to the national ones. The process of developing a European policy space, includes definitions of equality enshrined in education and other social policies, and embedded in the ways in which the EU defines the desirable common education goals, the instruments for identifying and measuring problem areas, and the 'best practices' disseminated through policy learning.

The EU is explicit in addressing equality as one of its fundamental and founding values (OJEU 2012, Article 2) in both its legal frameworks and the policy processes that it seeks to establish. Since 2000, the EU has been moving towards deeper economic and political integration that required an elaborate equality and anti-discrimination framework in relation to citizens' and workers' mobility and rights. This is accompanied by the development of a social dimension to the integration project, with distinct applications in the fields of education and social policy—often referred to under the term 'social Europe'. The nation state continues to have the strongest political authority in the formation of education policy and in the shaping of equality debates. But increasingly, the EU is providing frameworks for (i) the steering of national education reforms towards particular directions, (ii) the definition of norms for education, and, (iii) the set of regulatory mechanisms to monitor progress of national reforms. This policy process, where European institutions and member states co-construct future policy directions, is based on deliberation, negotiation and consensus seeking (Lange and Alexiadou 2010).

In parallel to these deliberations there is a legal framework that defines the parameters within which education policies operate. The relationships between law

and policy are not straightforward. Legal texts represent collective decisions about policy fields (such as education) that define the distribution of resources to particular areas and actors, and hence, are suggestive of values that underpin the selected policy options. A legal framework also specifies the rules of the game and regulates the limits of what is possible within national and EU systems of governance. In education policy there are very clear limits to the legal *competence*[1] of the EU, and as a result, the key legislation related to equality comes from other policy fields where there is a developed legal system for the construction of the single European market. The direction of the relationship between law and policy is twofold. Legislation is the product of policy processes and long negotiations, but it can also challenge national policies, that then need to be revised in their content or process to adhere to the EU framework.

The possibilities for forging new relations between citizens-state-education are opening up, with the EU providing an additional level to that of nation states for the claims of individuals and groups for equality and social justice. Fraser (2007) in her discussion of globalization processes, argues for a theory of justice that includes economic, cultural and political dimensions that are framed beyond the territorial state as a further political space for their resolution. This is a valuable additional layer of policy. But, in exploring these debates specifically within the context of the EU, this argument also entails risks. With regard to equality in particular, de-coupling citizenship from nationally defined rights and connecting it primarily to the transnational level, could leave groups and individuals with a less than full set of social, political or cultural rights. Citizens of Europe in extreme poverty or belonging to certain minorities should receive an education underpinned by human rights[2] in their national contexts, as well as part of a cosmopolitan citizenship that the EU is trying to create (Osler 2015).

Drawing on a combination of critical policy analysis and selected socio-legal perspectives, this chapter illustrates the complexities of embedding equality in the policy making process especially in the interface between national and transnational levels. But, the chapter has a further ambition for its contribution: to explore these themes in relation to education policy for equality for one of the most disadvantaged groups in Europe, the Roma.[3] The EU provides a new site for the Roma

[1]The term 'competence' refers to the authority and power of the EU to legislate. The EU can only act within the limits of its competence. Competences are defined in the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union. The fight against discrimination has been an EU competence since 1997 (Guiraudon 2009).

[2]The lack of success of rights-based approaches that draw on identity politics, ethnicity politics and cultural movements has sparked lively academic discussion (Mutua 2007). Questions of representation, of advocacy and the legitimation of particular interests at state and transnational level are all implicated in how human rights discourses frame an issue and construct a minority. Still, this is the most comprehensive conceptual approach to equality policy. In relation to the Roma see Xanthaki (2005).

[3]The term 'Roma' is used here to refer to different groups (Roma, Sinti, Kale, Gypsies, Romanichels, Boyash, Ashkali, Egyptians, Yenish, Dom, Lom), without denying the varieties of lifestyles and situations of these groups (European Commission 2012). This is an umbrella term

minority to claim redress for embedded discrimination and institutionalized inequalities in all areas of life. As citizens of particular European states as well as the EU, Roma people have two different political authorities that provide legislative and policy frameworks for equality in education. The two frameworks (national and transnational) do not always converge, the meanings of equality, their implications for policy and practice, and the conditions necessary for their fulfillment, are often not specified.

The purpose of the chapter is to connect education policy to the social right of equality as this is articulated within recent European policy developments. The argument of the chapter unfolds in the following sections: First, to understand the evolving concept of equality within education, we need to examine it against both legal parameters to the concept and the ways in which policy processes in education interpret or try to expand these at the EU level. The chapter begins by briefly presenting this legal landscape and relates this to the developments of social and education policy in the EU. It then examines the implications for equality as these derive from the dual national-European citizenship.

The increasing opening up of the nation state to international influences suggests that we need to move our academic lenses beyond the national level, towards practices of governance that transcend territorially bound political action, and interact with the national in the construction of education and equality policies. The European Union is an innovative attempt at constructing a quasi-state political entity, with ambitions for further integration, guided by a strong human rights framework and with explicit equality objectives. It offers a legal frame aiming at anti-discrimination and at the establishment of European citizenship, but also a developing arrangement for policy coordination in education, backed up by financial resources in the form of structural and cohesion funds. Still, as the case of the Roma illustrates, the national level of education policy activity is paramount for bringing change in the education opportunities of children, and the shifting of equality claims from the national to the transnational level encompasses risks as well as new opportunities.

As these debates are applied to the case of Roma education policies in the EU, the discourses of equality, integration and inclusion, open up new questions about the balance of political responsibilities between the national and the transnational levels, and throw into sharp relief contemporary discussions about the rights of citizens to equality in and through education.

(Footnote 3 continued)

that is officially used by the EU following the approach of the Council of Europe. There is extensive legal and academic literature on 'who the Roma are' and how they can be identified for purposes of research and policy. It is recognized that the Roma are a heterogeneous group, diverse in terms of ethnicity, language, cultural practices and religion (Hancock 2006). Both official sources and academic researchers recognize the significance of legal definitions of the Roma as determining "popular perceptions" and "providing the basis of the official treatment of the group" (Mayall 2004: 200), as well as the importance of policy framing and the "problematizing of Romani minority identified as 'European'" (van Baar 2011, p. 15).

7.2 Formal Definitions of Equality in the European Union Context

The EU has been a champion of equality as a fundamental human right, and has a range of institutional and legal frameworks for addressing multiple inequalities that cover "sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation" (Treaty on the Functioning of the EU Art 19(1)). Politically the development of a wide ranging equality framework has been an important project for the EU, in which "the significance of the intersection of multiple inequalities has been deployed to argue for the rapid restructuring of the equality architecture" (Verloo and Walby 2012, p. 434).

Despite the strong and clear commitments from the EU to achieving equality, there is confusion over the definition of the concept. This is evident in the Commission publications and 'Europe 2020' (the EU's 'jobs and growth' strategy) documents as they apply to education. The confusion also applies to the formal understandings of the concept, in part because there are three official frameworks that define equality: (a) The legal systems of the different Member States, (b) European Community law, and, (c) human rights law (in particular the European Convention of Human Rights, ECHR).[4] These frameworks have at times provided distinct applications of the right to equality and national interpretations have not always been compatible with those provided by the European Community law, or the Council of Europe and the ECHR. Drawing on McCrudden and Prechal's (2009) review of equality debates across this European legal space, there are four core meanings of the concept of equality, operationalized in these overlapping frameworks. These are of course not watertight categories, rather porous and dynamic ones with interpretations of the meaning of equality shifting over time (p. 49).

The first two meanings of equality draw on formal distributive justice definitions, one applying to the *characteristics of persons* involved, and the second applying to particular *public goods of high value* (such as goods that are fundamental for the economic integration of the European Community, or goods as 'fundamental human rights'). In the first meaning, equality draws on the Aristoteleian principle that specifies we should treat 'like cases as like' (Barnes, in ibid.). In this individualistic view, persons of equal status in relation to a particular dimension (for instance, ability/disability) need to be treated equally—always in respect to this dimension, and unequal persons need to be treated differently. For example, all students diagnosed with a particular type of learning difficulty—and only those students, would be allowed (by law) additional time to complete competitive public examinations. Following a rational line of argument, this view of

[4]The 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam declared that the basis of the EU includes fundamental *human rights* as these are defined by the European Convention of Human Rights, and fundamental *social rights* as these are developed by the European Social Charter and the Community's own Charter of Social Rights. This brings Council of Europe definitions of rights within the EU framework.

equality accepts that states can exercise power that results in unequal treatment, only when this is justified according to particular criteria. This is a very basic and fundamental view of equality found in the Constitutions of most European states (McCrudden and Kountouros 2006).

The second meaning of equality is about 'public goods' rather than persons, and how these goods are distributed. In a similar rational and distributive perspective, this meaning of equality suggests that public goods of high value (that includes both fundamental human rights as well as economic rights within the single market) should be distributed to all without any distinctions, except where differences are justified. This perspective emphasizes fairness (the need for equality of participation across socio-economic groups and ethnicities in a population), but also efficiency arguments that, in education, highlight the right to equality as human capital investment. In cases where equal treatment may lead to discrimination, then this principle would require *positive action*[5] and differential treatment (Guiraudon 2009). In most schooling and higher education systems in Europe, these two definitions of equality find expressions in the politics and policies of 'equality of opportunity', or 'equality of equal input' (Traianou 2013, p. 90), in terms of access and participation to various stages of public education institutions. This interpretation of equality has been criticized as fairly minimal and not really addressing structural disadvantage experienced by particular groups of the population during their schooling trajectories (Jones 2013).

In the third meaning of equality, the emphasis moves beyond the nature of the goods to be distributed, to a focus on the links between a limited *number of characteristics* in the population (for instance, ethnicity, disability, gender) and the discrimination that groups with those characteristics have suffered. In this case, equality is defined by "the absence of discrimination" (McCrudden and Prechal 2009, p. 25). Importantly, this meaning of equality accepts positive action measures that discriminate in favour of groups with particular characteristics, with the aim to increase the participation of such groups when these are seen as underrepresented in certain contexts. This perspective *permits* positive action to achieve equality, but such action is not legally required (p. 41). This view of equality is most clearly represented by quota admission systems and targeted scholarships for facilitating access to Higher Education of under-represented groups. This is a practice found in several central and eastern European countries,[6] and were qualified students from rural areas, and of Roma origin, are amongst the recipients (Pusztai 2015).

Finally, the fourth meaning of equality in the legal frameworks of Europe, builds on and extends the third meaning. Governments and other public authorities have the *legal duty to take positive action* in order to promote greater 'equality of

[5]The term 'positive action' refers to the legal duty to promote equality, which has been discussed as "the most innovative provision" in the EU law. It addresses past discrimination and "takes into account … dignity, restitution, redistribution and democratic participation" (Guiraudon 2009, p. 538).

[6]For example, quotas for Roma students in HE exist in Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo, Romania, Serbia.

opportunity' and in order to achieve equality of outcomes. In this case, merely ensuring the absence of discrimination is not enough. If a government does not act to redress inequalities to ensure that different groups are treated equally, that government is in breach of the European Court of Human Rights legislation. So, in this case, governments would be *required* (and, legally forced) to act in ways that ensure equality. The best example of such an expansive view of equality in education can be found in the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in the case of *DH and others v Czech Republic* on the common practice to place Roma children disproportionately into special education needs schools. This practice (that the Court ruled amounts to unlawful discrimination) is common in many countries with high Roma populations in Europe—with clear consequences on labour market inequalities for Roma (O'Higgins and Bruggemann 2014).

The last two meanings of equality are not as well developed as the first two in the legal texts of the EU, and their greater complexity leads the debates on equality beyond the consideration of unitary dimensions of discrimination, to recognizing the potentially multiple faces of disadvantage. There has been sustained criticism that supranational law has been unable to provide an end to structural discrimination (Guiraudon 2009), and voices from the critical legal scholarship field recognized the need to bring together the many dimensions of discrimination that, in their intersections, are mutually reinforcing and hence more severe (Crenshaw 1988). There is a refocusing of EU policies that address multiple inequalities through both 'hard' legal measures (Directives) and 'soft' coordination processes. The EU recognizes that the individualistic focus of the anti-discrimination legislation, is not sufficient to deal with the injustices that whole groups of the population are facing, and, as Verloo (2006) argues it still treats 'class, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation and gender' as 'similar inequalities', lacking a more sophisticated analysis at the structural level and resulting in a 'competition between inequalities' for legal and policy attention (p. 211).

The evolution of equality in the EU is connected to the political commitment of the member states to deepen the project of European integration and to enrich the status of European citizenship. In the next section, equality will be discussed as embedded in the citizenship debates and education policies of the EU.

7.3 Equality, Citizenship and Education Policy in the New Social Europe

Formal citizens' rights and the right to equality in particular, have long been operationalized within national boundaries and the territoriality of states, and (usually) for the benefit of national citizens. Citizenship formation and the building of welfare states have contributed to the differentiation of national states from their neighbours (Tambini 2001). Similarly, the institutions of education have developed very much within national boundaries, and continue to be shaped by the institutions

of the state. In moving these debates from the national to the EU level, there has been a redefinition and a reframing of what it means to be a citizen, towards post-national definitions where "the rights associated with citizenship are no longer regulated or guaranteed exclusively by the institutions of nation states but have, in addition, an increasingly significant European dimension" (Meehan 1997, p. 69).

Defining citizenship has been a complex debate, with some researchers seeing it as the reciprocal relationship between individuals and the state (a liberal approach, see Kymlicka 2001), while others argue for citizenship as an embodied and multi-layered category that needs to be analyzed in terms of class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality (Yuval-Davis 2007). Whichever approach one takes, equality is conceptualized mainly in relation to *citizenship rights* as these are legally defined at state-level. In Europe this has been changing since 1992 when the Maastricht Treaty introduced European citizenship for all citizens of member states of the European Community, and the updated Citizens' Right Directive of 2004 protects the right of citizens and their family members to move freely and take residence within the EU territory.[7]

Being a citizen of a member state, and being an EU citizen, are considered as two different statuses associated with different rights. National and EU citizenship are supposed to interact without an explicit primacy of one over the other (Kostakopoulou 2015). There is a strong argument that EU citizenship offers "a status of participation in civil society and the political life of the Union" (ibid.) which, opens further the possibilities for extending the rights of citizens to social welfare and equal treatment across countries. During the last 20 years, the expansion and deepening of the EU integration project has been criticized because the political and economic rights of citizens have taken precedence over social rights (Ross 2010). Most EU-level policies that deal with 'social' issues concern laws and regulations that secure the economic rights of citizens/workers who are mobile across the European labour market. This was expected since European integration began as economic integration.

But, the political commitment to the creation of a Union that is more than a marketplace should not be underestimated. After the Maastricht Treaty there was the ambition to build a social policy that offered "access to rights, goods and services as well as opportunities for employment", although this was not articulated in a full policy programme and was never as fully developed as other areas of policy (Daly 2012, p. 280). Social policy has been organized around the so-called Lisbon Strategy aiming to create 'the most competitive knowledge economy', and, was based on various methods of open coordination (under the term OMC) (European Council 2000, p. 1). The OMC is a policy instrument that aims to improve the effectiveness and co-ordination of a range of policies. It operates alongside traditional legal frameworks, and creates a complex system of multi-level governance where informal normative pressures and agenda setting from the Commission attempt to direct reforms in social policy areas. It does so by urging

[7]European Parliament and Council Directive 2004/38/EC of 29 April 2004.

member states to progressively develop their own policies in the direction that is jointly agreed (Alexiadou 2014). Many areas of social policy where the EU has no competence to legislate (including youth, education and inclusion policies) are governed through the OMC.

After three major reviews of the progress of the Lisbon process in 2005, 2008 and 2010,[8] an increasingly liberal orientation is visible, with a focus on economic growth as the vehicle for addressing social policy issues (Nóvoa 2013). Still, one should account for the importance of EU funding and regulation that "counter-balance the most radical excesses of neoliberalism" (Souto-Otero 2016, p. 5). At the end of this process the 'Europe 2020' strategy came into being, and a new platform was created for the adoption of areas of social policy.[9] The agenda of 'Europe 2020' highlights education and social inclusion as two of the five principles that are fundamental for the growth of Europe. It relies on a set of EU-level targets that are translated into national ones and regulated through the yearly cycle of coordination, the European Semester. 'Europe 2020' aims at 'inclusive', 'smart' and 'sustainable' growth (European Commission 2010a, p. 3). The critics of the strategy argue that it promotes reform programmes that rely on deregulation of labour markets, and on neoliberal economic governance measures (European Anti-Poverty Network 2015). There are, however, significant elements of socially democratic inspired measures that see "social policy as a productive factor", with prominence given to investment in education and training (especially early years and lifelong learning), reduction of inequalities, and active redistribution measures (Daly 2012, p. 282), as well as attention to vulnerable categories of the European population.

The tensions between neoliberal directions and inclusionary objectives are reflected in the fairly limited nature of social programmes (ibid.), and manifested in conceptions of equality that are confined to anti-discrimination legislation, and operationalized through definitions of inclusion shadowed by the need to achieve effectiveness and efficiency of social policy and insurance systems. This trend is further enhanced in the post-2008 crisis response of the EU and the additional powers that the Commission and Council have acquired to control social spending of member states.

The development of a social EU policy has direct resonance for education, which has been central to the EU since the mid-1990s. The Lisbon Strategy provided an early framework for newly established education policies across the EU.

[8]The original Lisbon Strategy was launched in 2000 "as a response to the challenges of globalization and ageing". In its mid-term evaluation, it was deemed as too complex and with unclear division of responsibilities, and was re-launched to focus more on growth and jobs. For a discussion on the rationales of the Strategy, and the governance mechanisms used (the Open Method of Coordination), see European Commission (2010b) *Staff Working Document. Lisbon Strategy evaluation document*. SEC (2010) 114 final.

[9]The EU has a budget for social policy. The so-called Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) provides for spending over the period 2014-2020. It is allocated "less than 1% of the Gross National Income of the whole EU" [European Commission (2014) *Final Simplification Scoreboard for the MFF 2014–2020*. Communication. Brussels, 3.3.2014. COM(2014) 114 final].

It introduced the Education and Training Work Program (now, Education and Training 2020,[10] the umbrella term for the education Open Method of Coordination) that set high goals for increasing participation in education across Europe. It also gave rise to the 'europeanization' of education governance—a process of important education policy definitions taking place at the EU level, and a distinct system of governance that is European in its construction (Alexiadou 2014; Richardson 2015). It does not set out legally binding objectives for member states, and does not provide any formal sanctions when states do not comply with its goals. Instead, it attributes an important role in the autonomy of states to achieve the objectives that have been set through its 'toolbox': an elaborate system of benchmarks, indicators and policy learning strategies.

'Europe 2020' has been criticized for reducing educational policy to technocratic issues of efficiency defined by the needs of the economy and in particular the flexible labour market: Education systems and institutions are placed under high pressures through the setting of benchmarks and targets to be achieved, the constant comparison of national performance, and the pursuit of continuous national schooling testing for the purposes of (political) measuring of such performance (Lange and Alexiadou 2010; Pasias and Flouris 2011). The consequences of the financial crisis have revealed sharp policy tensions between investing in human capital and preparing young people for flexible employment patterns on one hand, and the importance attributed to retrenched welfare states and more aggressive labour market policies. With youth unemployment beyond 55% in Greece and Spain as compared to below 10% in Austria and Germany (Eurostat 2015) the uneven centre-periphery development of Europe has put additional pressure on the EU integration project. The distributional effects of the crisis, combined with pre-existing dynamics between the wealthy and less wealthy countries of Europe have resulted not only in mass unemployment as a new 'normal' for certain states, but also in what Jones (2013) calls the pursuit of an 'impossible egalitarianism' in education where equality is reduced to basic and minimum definitions of inclusion:

> … the attempt to link the economizing of education to a promise of social inclusiveness that is key to the rhetoric of European reform is undermined by the polarizing effects of economic growth on the labour market. In this sense, the future only offers a return to the precarity that welfare states were designed to mitigate (p. 8).

The regional disparities of wealth and inequalities in economic, social and educational development reveal further dimensions of disparities between different groups of the population as these are distributed throughout Europe. The rest of the chapter will explore equality concerns through the education issues facing the largest ethnic minority in Europe, the Roma, and the capacity of the social and

[10] *Education and Training 2020* (ET 2020) provides common strategic objectives for member states, including a set of principles for achieving these objectives, as well as common working methods with priority areas for each periodic work cycle [Council Conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET 2020) (Official Journal C 119 of 28.5.2009)].

education policies of the EU to bring about positive change. The legal frameworks that deal with inequalities, together with the policy processes the EU constructs in relation to Roma inclusion, reveal the tense relationships between legal prescriptions and policy action.

7.4 A Test Case of (In)Equality—Roma Education

Roma people in Europe face systematic, direct and indirect discrimination, high levels of unemployment and poverty and significant political, social and cultural marginalization. This has been an experience for most Roma people throughout the continent, with starker manifestations in eastern and central Europe. Before the collapse of Communism in many countries Roma have had somewhat better chances of accessing equal basic rights by reliance on state institutions that guaranteed a degree of employment and access to education. This ended in the post-1989 period, and the transition to neo-liberal market economies (Herakova 2009). Increasingly a person's level of education determined labour market outcomes in a more direct way (Milcher and Fischer 2011), and "social upward mobility seems to be more and more determined by family assets, in terms of social, economic and cultural capital" (Brüggemann 2012, p. 9).

As a result of factors including extreme poverty, segregation and stigmatization, Roma young peoples' attendance beyond primary school, and their performance throughout, are dramatically lower than the average. In 2013, in south-east Europe an estimated 18% of Roma children attended secondary school, and less than 1% of Roma attended university (Council of Europe 2013),[11] and a recent Communication from the European Commission (2015) reports persistence in the practices of school segregation. The widening and deepening of the EU integration project over the previous decade has brought political attention to Roma issues to the transnational level. Protection of Roma rights became a pre-condition for gaining membership to the EU in the 2004 and 2007 enlargement rounds, when countries with large Roma populations from central and eastern Europe where being admitted to the EU.[12] As

[11]The figures for the report come from an analysis of the 2011 UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey, regarding the educational situation of Roma in twelve central-southeast European countries (Brüggemann 2012). The survey was based on household data in areas of high poverty—so the data should not be seen as representative of the total Roma population in these countries. The political nature of ethnic definitions and data gathering is addressed in all the major recent surveys, as is the recognition that the data can be skewed in representing the most marginalized communities where there may be large concentrations of Roma groups (FRA 2014).

[12]The countries of central and eastern Europe that have high numbers of Roma minorities (Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania) were required to improve the conditions of life for Roma, as a pre-condition for their accession to the EU. But, the EU enlargement process was positive for the situation of Roma minorities before the 2000s. For instance, Greece in the 1980–90s launched education initiatives to emulate European developments in dealing with minority populations (Zachos 2006), following accession to the EU, and not as a precondition requirement.

Ram (2010) argues, it was politically significant for the EU to demonstrate concern for human rights, but also to improve the living conditions of the Roma in their countries of origin, and hence, to forestall large Romani migration to western Europe (p. 206).

At the European level, policy developments around the issue of Roma integration take the form of: legislation, national government's encouragement to bring Roma inclusion issues in the policy agenda, and, Roma advocacy and NGOs taking central platforms (Bunescu 2014; Vermeersch 2012). But, despite three decades of policy programmes, social, economic and educational segregation persists. The EU has attempted to address Roma people's integration by tackling both economic issues of exclusion and marginalization, and cultural inclusion through recognition and development of minority rights. This is done using legal mechanisms as well as policy processes that deal with persistent inequalities, and by creating joint policy actions with national governments in an attempt to generate commitment to reform. Education provides one of the fields of policy identified as fundamental in these efforts.

7.4.1 Discrimination, Segregation and Policy Actions

The most powerful legal instrument available to deal with questions of Roma inequality in education in the EU is the *Race Equality Directive* (Council of the European Union 2000, Article 12). In principle, this Directive draws on an expansive definition of equality. However, despite its successes when individual cases arrive at the Court, it has been found ineffective for long term change in policy behaviour, since it does not explicitly condemn the de facto segregation of groups in public services (Xanthaki 2005: 517), and it has weak enforcement capacity, with measures taken at the discretion of states (O'Nions 2015). Roma people are facing both structural and institutional segregation and discrimination, with three distinct expressions in education: (a) the placement of Roma children in special education schools, that, despite the criticisms from human rights organizations and the precedent Court cases identifying this as 'unlawful' practice,[13] is still widespread; (b) residential segregation, linked to socio-economic and ethnicity-based segregation, and, (c) low quality schools attended by the majority of Roma children (FRA 2014). The increasingly widespread practice of parental choice of school throughout Europe (Ball and Youdell 2007), has particularly strong effects in furthering the existing educational segregation of poor and marginalized populations of Roma. Some of these problems are beyond the enforcement of legal requirements. There are issues of political will of

[13]The European Court of Human Rights has a host of cases dealing with the education rights of Romani children, summarized in European Commission (2014) *Report on discrimination of Roma children in education*. Lilla Farkas. European Network of Legal Experts in the Non-Discrimination Field. European Commission—Directorate-General for Justice.

governments, quantity and quality of resources allocated to the improvement of schooling conditions, as well as public perceptions and prejudiced attitudes among the population that result in ethnically and socially segregated schools.

In addition to legislation, the EU employs a number of 'soft' policy processes to encourage inclusion for Roma people, and the Council of the European Union (2011) endorsed an *EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies* (*NRIS*) *up to 2020*. Member States are required to develop strategies around four policy areas: education, employment, health and housing. The Framework applies to all EU member states, and acts as a method of policy coordination, with each national government expected to tailor it to their own circumstances. Member states are expected to: ensure a minimum primary school completion, to widen access to quality early childhood education, to ensure that Roma children are not subject to discrimination or segregation, to reduce the number of early school leavers, and, to encourage Roma youngsters to participate in secondary and tertiary education. The combination of the anti-discrimination legal measures and the EU Framework could potentially open up possibilities for positive change. But, as Guiraudon (2009) argues:

> while EU directives sometimes put dents into national 'philosophies of integration', they are up against legal and mobilization cultures that are not always compatible with the concepts and procedures introduced. (p. 535)

In relation to education policy, both 'concepts' and 'procedures' have been problematic in Roma equality debates. Starting with the seemingly simple issue of measuring the participation and progression of Roma children in education, the EU has limited data for individual countries that differentiate by ethnic origin. The majority of EU states do not register populations by ethnicity—the UK is an exception, but France, Germany and Sweden, to name but a few, are examples of strong cultures of refuting ethnic categorization. In addition, Roma organizations themselves have an ambiguous or negative position towards registration by ethnicity, bread by deep distrust of governments. The lack of compiled disaggregated data that allows inequalities to be identified, quantified and measured[14] causes problems for the EU in its usual development of OMC policy approaches that are 'goals driven', and leads to difficulties in designing targeted solutions (Messing 2014). The EU delegated to the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA)[15] the task to form an indicator's working group. The participation of member states to the

[14]Evidence from studies by international organizations, NGOs and academics, clearly show that the Roma across Europe (identified through census data—where they exist, national or regional surveys, other available population data sources, NGO sources, and survey-based self-identification) face social and economic exclusion and marginalization disproportionate to the non-Roma population (see, FRA 2014, for discussion on methodology for the identification and conceptualization of Roma populations in surveys).

[15]The Fundamental Rights Agency is one of EU's decentralized agencies set up to provide expert advice to the EU and to Member States: "Through the collection and analysis of data in the EU, the FRA assists EU institutions and EU Member States in understanding and tackling challenges to safeguard the fundamental rights of everyone in the EU" (http://fra.europa.eu/en/about-fra).

working group is voluntary, and there is no public document (yet) where results of the working group work are reported. Consistent with the ethnically neutral integration policies for minorities in many of the EU member states, they have opted for policies that are more generic to minorities and not targeted to the needs of the Roma (Rövid 2011).

A second set of problems related to the NRIS relates to issues of citizenship and mobility. Most of the measures covered by the EU education initiatives refer to citizens of the member state countries, but they are not designed to deal effectively with migrant populations, and particularly with migrants without papers, as a large proportion of the poor mobile Roma are. Even though the free movement of persons, as established in the Treaty,[16] is "one of the most tangible and successful achievements of European integration as well as being a fundamental freedom" (Council of the European Union 2011: 7), in relation to Roma migration, it has been seen as a threat and a problem, with countries reacting in often disproportionate ways against a perceived influx of poor Roma migrants that usually does not have much correspondence to reality (ERRC 2014).

After the first round of National Strategies were submitted, the Commission published a major *Report on the Implementation of the EU Framework for NRIS* (European Commission 2014). The Commission found that despite some effective but sporadic positive action, post-compulsory education and training (including higher education) is a big challenge—with serious implications for social inclusion and for labour market participation:

> Beyond compulsory schooling, enrolment differences between Roma and non-Roma become even larger … There are few systemic measures encouraging the participation of Roma youngsters in further education, or helping Roma students to reintegrate into the education system after they have dropped out. (Ibid., p. 10)

These conclusions are in agreement with research findings that highlight the positive but marginal improvements for Roma students' education opportunities, when affirmative action programmes are in place (Friedman and Garaz 2013), and often the positive actions are the result of NGO initiatives as opposed to government policies.

7.4.2 Problems of Definition and Implementation

There are signs that the social exclusion of the Roma people is deepening and there are serious deficiencies in the ways in which governments across Europe interpret

[16]A 'Treaty of the European Union' is a binding legal agreement between the EU and member countries. It sets out EU objectives, rules for EU institutions, how decisions are made and the relationship between the EU and its member countries. The EU can only act within the competences granted to it through these Treaties and their amendments. A Treaty requires agreement and ratification by all the signatories (http://europa.eu/eu-law/decision-making/treaties/index_en.htm).

and apply the legal and policy frameworks around equality concerning Roma rights to education. Thomas Hammarberg, the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights (2006–2012), has repeatedly identified racism and entrenched discrimination against the Roma as one of the biggest issues that national governments as well as international organizations face (Hammarberg 2011). The persistent lack of political will to address social, economic and educational opportunities, leads to a serious "implementation deficit" in making rights a reality for Roma, and he suggests that "the marginalization of Roma cannot be overcome solely with measures aiming at formal equality" (Ibid., p. 70).

The definitions of equality as described earlier have proved inadequate in their reach or in their political implications and rely on bold government actions that have not been taken. The EU is fairly limited in its capacity to change this. Still, there are policy actions that could have an effect in how member states relate to Roma opportunities. These range from stronger focus on combating discrimination, clearer paths for Roma political participation, and improved coordination mechanisms for the Framework—with civil society urging the Commission to be much more 'interventionist' in its enforcing role towards the implementation of policies by member states (Rorke 2013). A stronger role for the EU comes with its own risks, however, especially when European governments reframe the Roma issue as a European and not a national 'problem', and in so doing evade their political responsibility to ensure equality for minorities in their countries (Sobotka and Vermeersch 2012).

In relation to education, there are distinct areas of policy development. First, the definitions of education opportunity that are used in 'Europe 2020' and the Education and Training 2020 programme are driven by human capital investment discourses and increasingly subordinate to policies aiming at economic growth and deregulation of labour markets (Nóvoa 2013). In these discourses any explicit or underpinning conception of equality, refers primarily to equality of opportunity to access education provisions. They are more narrow definitions than the human rights approach of the UN, the Council of Europe and those used by many of the NGOs that work in the field of Roma education. For example, in the 'Europe 2020' Strategy, education is identified directly as the solution to wider social problems: "… better education levels help employability, and progress in increasing the employment rate helps to reduce poverty" ('Europe 2020', p. 9). Such statements marginalize questions of inequalities that draw on any dimension other than that between the perceived link between investments in knowledge, economic growth and the generation of employment of school or university graduates.

Even though there are recommendations by the Council of the EU (2013) that Roma children need not just legally defined equal treatment, but also access to high quality mainstream education, in many European countries segregating Roma children in special schools has been justified often using culturalist arguments (the protection of the ethnic identity of Roma children). Research studies from NGOs have shown the detrimental effect of this dual policy of 'equal' but 'different' schools which produce very unequal outcomes for children. School de-segregation proves to be politically unpopular in many member states (FRA 2014). Despite the

capacity of the EU to impose specific legal obligations on states, it has been criticized for defining citizenship and minority rights in fairly liberal terms, in relation to legal status that derives on nationality.

A wider interpretation of rights for Roma would provide stronger connections between inequality, discrimination and poverty, relying on stronger forms of political participation, and link minority people's identity to their cultural and linguistic heritage without relying on prejudicial stereotypes and homogenizing assumptions (Rostas and Ryder 2012). In the case of education, this would have implications for participation of Roma groups in active de-segregation of schools, the use of Romani language in early years teaching, but also the teaching of Romani culture amongst non-Roma as well as Roma, adjusting the curriculum to provide all children opportunities to learn about Roma history, and appropriate teacher education adaptations (Gobbo 2009). This is the position espoused by the United Nations Human Rights Committee arguing that integration and the protection of minority cultures are not antithetical. Instead, the Committee emphasizes the need to raise awareness of minority cultures by the majority and move beyond assimilationist and culturally imperialist attitudes—particularly prevalent in the case of Roma (Xanthaki 2005). The EU falls short of such extensive and expansive readings of rights for the Roma, partly because of lack of legal enforcement capacity, and partly because many of these issues fall under national sovereignty. This is indeed attempted through the Framework, albeit in a weaker form of policy coordination to achieve Roma integration.

7.5 Conclusions

Identity, belonging and equality of opportunity are not necessarily contained within national territories. The creation of the EU as an economic, but also political and social entity brings these ideas to the core of the European integration project, and education is seen as central in its construction and success. The sites of production of education policy and for evaluating its equality dimensions are no longer exclusively national, although this is still the primary space for its construction, mediation and negotiation in institutional practice. The dual approach of the EU that encompasses legal equality frameworks and a policy process driven by social inclusion considerations is promising and suggests that: (i) the EU is itself implicated in the construction and framing of a particular type of equality policy; and (ii) the field of education is both a site where (in)equalities are manifested but also an arena for the articulation of possibilities for policy action (Gulson et al. 2015).

Discursively, the Roma 'problem' has been represented as one that transcends national borders, where transnational bodies have a policy role to play both in improving conditions of life for the Roma people, but also in creating opportunities for cultural and social self-articulation and successful participation in European welfare institutions—what van Baar refers to as "the Europeanization of Roma minority representation" (2011, p. 12). The European Commission develops an

approach that aims to recognize the multiple legal and institutional dimensions of inclusion, and places education as one of the core pillars for integration. Setting an agenda that has equality and human rights at its core is of course important in that it aims to steer action of member states towards improving the conditions of their minority populations. But, as the chapter has shown, equality in education has been mainly defined around legal entitlements, and inclusion has been framed within soft governing mechanisms—both yet to be effective in bringing positive change even though they have certainly brought policy attention to the issues.

In many ways, the EU can only offer a framework for equality in education policies—implementation depends on national and local governments. Equality is enshrined in national legislation, and then embodied in institutional arrangements, as well as school-based socially just relations and practices (Gewirtz 2006). Contextualizing and enacting equality in practice requires education measures that are at the margins of the EU remit. Still, more could be done to move beyond narrow conceptions of equality. The EU circumvents the tensions between targeted or generic ethnic minority rights, and the different European states' traditions that, for historical reasons, avoid ethnic identification and policy measures for particular minorities. Furthermore, national interests, sovereignty, entrenchment of discriminatory attitudes in national and local administrations and practices, as well as extensive neoliberal reforms in schooling systems across many European countries, considerably limit the potential of the EU to effect real progress on issues of inequality in education of marginalized groups such as the Roma. In addition to these limitations, there are many doubts that the early Lisbon strategy and now 'Europe 2020', move beyond minimal legal entitlement definitions of equality in education as a universal right.

Still, it is clear that the last few years have seen significant political focus by the European Parliament and Commission on dealing with inequalities, and, as the case of Roma indicates, drawing on definitions of equality that combine legal and policy approaches. The existing policy impetus should lead to more comprehensive sets of measures that operationalize the increasingly sophisticated legal definitions on equality, and present constructive ideas and programmes for inclusion in European societies. The capacity of education systems in Europe to effect equality of participation *and* success for Roma students will be an important test for this ambitious project.

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Chapter 8
Imagining Policy [Data] Differently

Wanda S. Pillow

Abstract This chapter articulates a call to attend to how policy imagines, or cannot imagine, futures. Utilizing examples from a policy table focused on increasing Black young parents education success, Pillow demonstrates the necessity to trace how data matter in policy formation. Situating this work within a context of education debt and data deficits, Pillow takes seriously Webb and Gulson's petition to reinvigorate policy studies in ways that account for embodied materialities. Troubled by the incapacity to think Black youth futures outside of temporal and structural constraints, Pillow focuses on questions of how policy creates *feelings* about young parents and turns to Afrofuturism theorizing to identify and rethink policy construction limitations. The chapter concludes with consideration of what it might look like to imagine policy data and futures differently and the need for continued emphasis in this area.

> Can I have a magic wand?
>
> Young Father
>
> I dream about traveling in space just to get away, to get away from here…and to not have to worry—y'know, to be free.
>
> Youth, age 11
>
> …it's tough being a Black person in the United States and you have to literally at times imagine a whole other world…
>
> Alondra Nelson

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Provoked by these epigrams—statements of critical imaginary and longing from two Black[1] male youth, ages nineteen and eleven, alongside Professor Nelson's (2010) declaration—this chapter considers what it would look like for policy studies to take seriously Black youth experiences with daily cumulative effects (and affects) of racism (Smith et al. 2011). To do this, I turn to Afrofuturism as a theory to identify and critique colonial racism while at the same time focus on "an intersection of imagination, technology, the future and liberation" (Womack 2013, p. 9). Afrofuturism, discussed in more detail below, is a cultural, literary and aesthetic form characterized by the necessity to "bend time" because "imperial historicism" and Western Eurocentric "protocols of institutional memory" (DeLuliis and Lohr 2016, p. 180) write Black lives without history, as simultaneously terminated and begun with slavery. In this approach, Black lives first appear during the Middle Passage, which marks the Atlantic slave trade via ships that sailed from Europe to West Africa where Black Africans were captured and transported as cargo to the West Indies and America. The Middle Passage for Black humanity is an apocalypse; experienced as violent capture, spatial disrupture, the dehumanization of being sale, and forced adjustment to enslaved life (Smallwood 2008). Afrofuturism asserts recognition of a Black apocalypse and thus the necessity to reconceptualize history as temporal, linking survival in the present to the ability to rethink unwritten pasts and reimagine Black futures.

Social and education policy as text and discourse (Ball 1993) is, by intent, focused on creating change with emphasis on "an imagined future state of affairs" (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 5). How such change is approached and defined—the values, economies, and ideologies driving policy development, implementation and analysis—have been debated through a range of methodological and theoretical approaches (Ball 1993, 2015; Fraser 1987, 1989; Haney 1996; Marshall 1997; Scheurich 1994; Webb and Gulson 2015). Yet, despite policy's role in influencing futures (Rizvi and Lingard 2010; Sellar 2015)—a focus on what futures are imagined and why—is under theorized. Thinking with Afrofuturism forces a critical engagement with how colonial pasts impact imagined futures in policy.

Specifically, this chapter considers (1) how policy actors interact with data to construct knowledge defining what policy futures are imaginable for Black expectant and parenting youth (EPY[2]) in the United States; and (2) what occurs

[1]I use Black as the term of choice by youth in this chapter. The term is inclusive of Black Diaspora, African American, and Black Caribbean identities and encompasses Black identity/identification "understood as hybrid, contingent, and relational …" (Allen 2012, p. 234).

[2]"Expectant and parenting youth" (EPY) refers to young parents, male and female, ages 12–21, and is the current preferred term in US youth policy. In this chapter, EPY is interchangeably used with young parents except when referring to young mothers. Teen mothers/teen pregnancy is used when referring to representations in research, media, and policy discourse. Chapter focus on Black EPY arises from the research setting in which Black youth represented over 85% of EPY.

when Afrofuturism is used to confront and open up how data and EPY are thought and imagined at a policy table. Examples from my involvement sitting at a policy table, 2014–2015, with a committee charged with identifying ways to improve EPY education outcomes, extend discussion of strategies of policy negotiations (Gale 2001) and "the *who* and *how* of policy production" (Gale 2003, p. 64) to a close examination of how futures are felt, thought and imagined as part of the policy process. This emphasis requires engagement with the complexities of how, in this exemplar, teen pregnancy is constructed through research, theory, media and public perception and the linkage of these representations to how data are thought at a policy table. Data theorization—including what counts as data and when data counts—are key to thinking about what and who is imagined or unimaginable in this context.

Overwhelmingly Black culture and families, including young parents, are characterized in research, popular culture and social policy as culturally deficient, creating a moral and economic drain on society (Kunzel 1993; Lawson and Rhode 1993; Pillow 2004, 2013; Solinger 1992). In the US, research and media link teen pregnancy to school disengagement characterized by high truancy, disciplinary problems, and low graduation rates (Pillow 2006). These reports create tropes, conceptualizations and images, of a predictable future: EPY form unstable homes, participate in volatile relationships, make irresponsible choices, require social welfare assistance, and their children will likewise repeat patterns of failure and delinquency. Given the accepted diagnostic strength of these predictions, what policy futures are imaginable for EPY?

Asking how futures are imagined at a policy table shifts focus from how EPY are discursively constructed to include consideration of how *feelings* about policy subjects matter. This recognition—that one of the roles of policy studies is to analyze how policy subjects are felt and imagined—builds on feminist analysis of state bureaucracy, power and discourse (Fraser 1987, 1989; Singer 1993) and reflects recent turns to affect theory (Berlant 2011; Sellar 2015). Turning the gaze from who EPY are to how EPY futures are and are *not* imagined adds affect and futurity to analytics investigating how policy subjects are defined. Such an emphasis requires interdisciplinary approaches that are "wide and open" (Allen 2012, p. 215) while similarly, Webb and Gulson ask scholars to "reinvigorate policy studies" by "turn(ing) our gaze on the epistemologies and ontologies of policy studies itself" (2015, p. 161).

Given the entrenched tropes surrounding specifically Black teen pregnancy, Afrofuturism is utilized as a radical interruption of how subjects are theorized, felt and imagined at a policy table. This move reflects Webb and Gulson's call for policy studies to be open to "an emerging set of analyses" (2015, p. 167), a "*policy scientificity 3.0*" influenced by "post studies" linked to the critiques and foundations of "*policy scientificity 1.0* (policy sciences)" and "*2.0* (critical policy studies and policy sociology)" (2015, p. 161). According to Webb and Gulson, *policy scientificity 3.0* can "contribute to the reimagining of inquiry" (2015, p. 162) while

retaining a particular focus on "*difference* and *representation*" (2015, p. 168). As Webb and Gulson (2015, p. 169) explain, *policy scientificity 3.0*.

> attempts to constitute policy analysis firmly within the world that is concerned with the representations and materialities of policy – its effects, affects, disputations and re-articulations and examples of policy processes and practices in the settler societies throughout the world that continue to (re)produce preferred colonial representations and materialities at such a rapid pace …

Webb and Gulson's concentration on "representation and materialities" as tied to colonialism, challenges policy studies to employ analytics that are able to see and trace colonial legacies. Afrofuturism is one example of thinking with the complexities of *policy scientificity 3.0* and in the case of EPY, supports analytics to rethink the epistemology and ontology of deficit tropes, while attending to the materialities EPY experience and embody and the affective responses to EPY lives. Afrofuturism expressly identifies the tight linkage between the impossibilities of (re)imagining Black youth pasts, present, futures (Baldridge 2014; Pillow 2015b) and a continued inability to reimagine Black EPY as policy subjects worthy of future investment.

This chapter first introduces the research and theory context followed by an overview of EPY education debt and data problems. These sections set the milieu for discussion of how data were used at the policy table and corresponding necessity to address and disrupt deficit thinking by reimagining EPY policy futures. Afrofuturism is presented as one form of interruptive practice, which emphasizes the role of theorizing futures to *policy scientificity 3.0*.

8.1 Research and Theory Context

The reinvigorations discussed in this chapter are shaped by ten years of education and social policy experiences in New York City focused on improving education access for EPY who are either not in school or experiencing high rates of absenteeism. This work, a *feminist genealogy*[3] of EPY social, policy settings occurs across participation in policy task force committees and workshops; collection and analysis of school datasets (e.g., EPY attendance, withdraw and completion rates); and observations at school, community, and home settings, including interviews with EPY and service providers (social welfare, education, and nonprofit personnel).

[3] *Feminist genealogy*, a type of *policy scientificity 3.0,* pays particular attention to power and embodied effects/affects shaped though historical, social, cultural, economic, political and place-based discourses further reproduced in theory, research and practice. For further detail see: Pillow (2003, 2004, 2015a).

Unlike a research project with clear beginnings and endings, this project is ongoing, cumulative and informed by feminist praxis.[4] Data[5] are continually put to use and praxis is likewise read as data creating ongoing entermeshments of research and analysis. Praxis has included development of workshops and symposia; policy briefs; media interventions; and sitting at various policy tables. Praxis activities have been aimed toward three primary goals: (1) increasing awareness of EPY education status; (2) fostering dialog with social welfare and youth reform agencies to increase EPY education access; and (3) creating opportunities for policy discussions focused on removing barriers impeding EPY access to education while identifying strategies to increase education attainment.

In this chapter, I focus on the third praxis activity—a policy committee/policy table formed in 2014 whose charge was to improve education pathways for EPY. This policy table included twelve key players—policy actors—in position to initiate and implement policy change in their respective organizations. A range of youth service agencies were represented, including: children's welfare; juvenile justice; social welfare; health; education; alternative education; and nonprofit organizations. Meetings were held every other month. Invited to the table, my role was to bring expertise on research and policy issues impacting EPY. Simultaneously, these meetings were a site of data collection and praxis; thus I was also a researcher at the policy table (Pillow 2014b).

Although EPY were present and involved in the other two praxis activities (see above), EPY did not have a seat at this policy table. As the researcher, I was expected to bring 'the data,'[6] the voices and experiences of EPY—what I term 'data = subjects'—to the table. This expectation is both a methodological and an onto-epistemological[7] conundrum for the post-studies *policy scientificity 3.0* scholar. Methodological, because misuses of data interpretation were unmarked in 'data = subjects' analyses, and onto-epistemological because 'data = subjects' interpretations were always embedded, yet unnamed, in constructions of EPY. For example, while I could bring interview transcripts of EPY to the table, what was believed to be known about EPY—who they are and what they deserve—overwrote any direct articulations and critiques made by EPY. Thus while, 'data = subjects' was problematically called for at this policy table, EPY were not afforded the status that 'data = subjects' presumes because they were known to be deficient,

[4]Feminist praxis is the connection between theory and practice; it is putting theory to work (Stanley 1990). For discussion see the journal *FemTAP: A journal of feminist theory and practice*.

[5]Here "data" refers to all forms of textual, discursive, observational, interview, and quantitative information, experiences, and knowledge gained from *feminist genealogy*.

[6]Here 'the data' indicates how data at the policy table were primarily defined and understood to be about defining the policy subject, in this case EPY. Such data were expected to be clearly presented in quantitative (charts, graphs) or qualitative (narratives) forms. Examining onto-epistemological expectations of data at the policy table is a theme developed and discussed throughout the chapter.

[7]Onto-epistemological combines questions of ontology (nature of being) with epistemology (nature of knowledge) as inextricably connected.

unreliable, unsound subjects. Onto-epistemological assumptive constructions were so entrenched they unquestioned, creating inherited debt and data problems.

8.2 Debt and Data at the Policy Table

The impetus and responsibility to retheorize policy data is influenced by my efforts to improve EPY access to education within the context of what Ladson-Billings (2006) terms a US "education debt." US education debt is characterized by systemic disenfranchisement brought about by "historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral decisions and policies that characterize our society" (2006, p. 5). Reinforced by productions of deficit discourse and damage centered research (Pillow 2006; Tuck 2009), education debt creates material longitudinal impacts on communities (low graduation rates; lack of access to sustainable wages) that in turn foster deficit attitudes toward these same communities. This cycle becomes so engrained it 'tunes out' scholarship daring to think outside of these logics (Webb and Gulson 2015).

EPY are caught in education debts while simultaneously defined by deficit discourses (Pillow 2004, 2014a, b). Entrenched contexts, including policy contexts, surrounding how Black youth are defined in the US, are heightened when the issue of teen pregnancy is introduced. As noted above, negative tropes surround Black youth, Black culture, and the Black family and these tropes reinforce deficit research on teen pregnancy, which further yields deficit policy frameworks (Pillow 2004, 2006; Solinger 1992). Deficit research and deficit policy frameworks foster circular logic: EPY have made poor life choices and are irresponsible and evidence of these traits is confirmed by sexual activity and school failure (Pillow 2004; Solinger 1992). EPY deficit attributes are commonly repeated in social media, as evidenced in a 2013 NYC shame campaign that put young parents under public scrutiny (Pillow 2013).

At the same time, EPY are situated within the same historical education debts impacting their peers and communities: geographic, racialized patterns of school policy and practice leading to systemic disenfranchisement (Furstenberg 2008, 2010). Yet, within patterns of disenfranchisement, EPY, not systems, are defined as multiply deficit (Furstenberg 2008; Pillow 2004). Research and policy debt create data problems at the policy table. Policy actors who work with EPY see evidence of the disparate material conditions EPY face, while at the policy table layers of deficit research drive conversation and policy development. If research is understood as participating in and reinforcing deficit debt data—data that perpetuates closed circular logic—then what does a policy table do with such data?

Interestingly, I have seen questions about racialized deficit assumptions in research lead to increasing openness to qualitative data at the policy table. However, in the case of the policy table discussed in this chapter, participants continued to expect research data be presented as "brute data" (St. Pierre 2013), data as reality and truth. For instance, qualitative research was understood as 'voice,' 'narrative,' or 'thick description' that yields truths about subject identity

and experience as if such truths are transparent and waiting to be collected (St. Pierre 2013). This perception of research was so predominant it performed a 'data = subject' relationship. In this way the subjects—EPY—were further removed from the table as human subjects; they became data.

This shift was so subtle and normative that at first it was not noticeable. Comments like, "the data shows" or "if we look at the data" governed policy table talk and maintained linearity between data, subjects and policy. Through this logic, all data accurately equals subjects and can be rationally used to develop policy. In this way, inheritance of education (research) debt at the policy table facilitated 'data = subjects' logics, which in turn sustained definitions of EPY as deficit, limiting how EPY futures were thought.

8.3 (Data) Imagination Problems at the Policy Table

Most policy committees begin with a charge—a statement of what the committee should produce. The goals of the policy table discussed here were to identify barriers limiting EPY education access and identify strategies to improve outcomes. The overall goal–increase EPY education success—would seem uncontroversial and easily defined. Of course we want EPY to attend school. Of course we want EPY to complete a high school degree. However, talk at the policy table focused not only on structural mechanisms impacting EPY education attainment but also included talk that established how policy actors and thus policy *feels* about EPY. These policy *feelings* systematized how policy futures of EPY become imaginable or unimaginable.

An example highlights hegemonic constructions surrounding EPY. In the US, EPY high school graduation rates are on average below 50% and it is estimated that over 60% of youth who become pregnant/young parents have sporadic attendance or are not enrolled in school (NWLC 2012; Pillow 2014a). These numbers present multiple challenges for education policy. Mainly they direct attention to the question: How do we get EPY re-enrolled in, re-engaged with school? While talk at the policy table included brainstorming ideas—creating cross agency agreements to streamline school enrollment; adding EPY education history into social work intake meetings; coordinating a contact list of school enrollment personnel—ultimately talk focused on deficit constructions of the young parent as: unfit for school; overage for grade level; unprepared; undisciplined; and unmotivated.

Yet, a predominant narrative, replicated in my formal and informal contact with EPY in NYC, is that EPY overwhelmingly state being pregnant or mothering/parenting is *the* key motivation factor to return to or re-engage in school:

> "I want to return to school." "I want to get my diploma." "I want to go to college." "I wasn't so into school before, but now its changed and I want to do something different now, y'know." "I want something different for my child." "I want my little girl to do well in school; I want her to know she can do anything, be anything and I gotta start with myself. I want to do it to show her." "I gotta go to school to get anywhere. I know I have to have

> this (high school degree) to do anything with my life." "I may not like it, y'know I may complain, but I know I gotta have that (high school) degree." "It's hard and it feels like no one believes I can do this…but I'm gonna get that (high school) degree." "I'm trying to get the credits I need to go to college." "There are so many haters…but I'm trying, I got my supports to help me keep going because it matters and I'm gonna get that (high school) degree."[8]

EPY motivation is visible in increased number of school enrollments and higher attendance rates, typically prior to birth or within six months after birth or becoming a parent[9] (Pillow 2014a). EPY's motivation and ambition to return to school would seem to be a key policy opening; an opportunity to develop policies and practices that maximize the potential of motivated time periods EPY lives.[10] Such policies could include but are not limited to: consistent follow up by social work or other adult on EPY education access and attendance; expedited school reentry; assignment of a mentor to support EPY school attendance; flexible school hours that allow for infant care and accommodations for breast feeding; and online learning or tutoring modules that increase flexibility and grade level skills development.

However, while the above points made it to the policy table, they were equally countered or overrun by a constructed lens of EPY as deficit, through which EPY motivation was conversely understood and explained as examples of immaturity, irrationality, and unreasonable expectations.

> "These youth have no idea what it would take to return to school." "They say this but then don't show up." "They aren't motivated." "There is no way a youth who has an unstable home is going to be able to handle going to school." "How is she [the young mother] really going to be able to handle an academic curriculum and a baby?: "They have unreal expectations. They are not dealing with realities in front of them." "They show up [at school] and what are we supposed to do? They are three grades behind…really what can we do?" "They think getting a high school degree will save them; it won't."[11]

The discrepancies between what EPY state they feel and how adults view EPY created dissonance at the policy table.

Is the problem here data; problems of interpretation; of perspective? Policy scholars have discussed data problematics and particularly critiqued reliance on positivist ontologies, recursive containments, and the incommensurability of relying on data while at the same time recognizing the need to deconstruct it (Ball 2015; Gale 2001, 2003; Petersen 2015). Calls for "disappearance of data", for data "under

[8]Direct quotes from conversations or town hall meetings with EPY, ages 15–20, NYC, 2013–2014.

[9]Such data are time consuming and difficult to collect and often not available at the policy table. Schools in the US do not separately track EPY attendance, enrollment, or school leaving. A nuanced understanding of EPY school behaviors can only be accomplished through meticulous case-by-case identification.

[10]Those working with EPY and EPY themselves note several points of motivation to receive information about education access: within first two trimesters of pregnancy; within six months of parenting; when a parent nears 'age-out' limits on high school education; and/or when the EPY's child reaches toddler, preschool age.

[11]Quotes are from meetings of the policy table that is the focus of this chapter.

erasure", research without "voice" and questions of when data "appears" and what such appearances perform continue to challenge how data are thought and what they do (Denzin 2013; Lather and St. Pierre 2013; Mazzei 2013; St. Pierre 2013). Given policy reliance on research and data, these conversations are keenly important to policy studies. Although taking up these debates is not the central purpose of this chapter, I raise these issues to highlight what was at stake at the EPY policy table: namely how understandings of data shaped how policy actors *feel* about EPY and what this means for imagining EPY futures.

While poststructural theorizing was useful to identifying constructions of data at the policy table, I struggled with what it meant to put EPY data completely under erasure given EPY were already absent yet so defined at the policy table through deficit debts and data = subject logics. Consider how the above quotes from EPY—even when presented "brutely"—were reframed and rearticulated as evidence of EPY immaturity. At issue then, is not only a problem of hunger for brute data at the policy table but in addition what data could be heard, accepted, as brute truth? In other words, what conditions create circumstances where some forms of "brute data" are not accepted as truth?

The racialized specificity of Black EPY deficit data shaped policy futures focused on an immediate present and near future. The urgency of issues some EPY face—housing, health, and safety—created a sense of immediacy; a policy focus on now. Certainly the need for immediate response is real. Yet a focus on the immediate prompts epidemic talk (Singer 1993), crisis language that contains policy development (Pillow 2004, 2015c) and does not imagine very far into the future.

The policy table of this chapter replicated this trend. The age-out range of each agency (the age at which youth become ineligible for services, typically 18–21) primarily defined the locus for EPY outcomes and defined a policy time range of responsibility. While understandable in terms of setting tangible policy goals, I began to hear and see the effects and affects of time range temporality, at the policy table and in EPY education data. For example, talk at the policy table consistently defined viable ideas as those that could be accomplished within agency temporal requirements. A common effect of this approach was encouraging EPY to pursue Graduation Equivalency Diploma (GED) programs. These programs, in comparison to navigating a large school district, were easier to enroll in and complete. Accordingly, agency benchmarks of EPY attendance in some form of an education program and completion were more successfully met by GED enrollment.

A review of nearly 400 young mothers in foster care group homes revealed the extent of such practice (Pillow 2014a). Young mothers reported being encouraged to choose GED programs. Despite caseworker sentiment that "GED's were a band aid", over 75% of the young mothers attending some form of education program were enrolled in GED programs. When asked about this trend, staff reported the combined pressures of a need to respond to young mothers circumstances; the problems, or staff perceived problems, of young mothers enrolling in and keeping up with coursework at a traditional high school; and a caring desire for success by boosting a young mother's confidence with achievable steps permeated education decision making (Pillow 2014a).

Support for GED programs was also predicated on research reports that paint bleak, deficit futures for EPY. Accordingly, policy table talk included belief that, despite multiple initiatives, EPY have low rates of school completion, which in turn contribute to EPY experiencing long-term health, income, and housing constraints. Although data problems are inherent in deficit-focused reports—they account only for young mothers who can be tracked in school data sets and do not contextualize EPY performance in relation to peer performance—longitudinal, contextual studies are costly, time consuming and rare. Frank Furstenberg has sustained the largest, most in-depth longitudinal study to date of the outcomes of young mothers and their children. Furstenberg (2008, 2010) argues long-term negative impacts of teen pregnancy are not validated in longitudinal studies. Instead, it is living in economically depressed neighborhoods, not teen pregnancy, that limits the education, economic, health status and life opportunity for EPY and their children.

Similarly, when I was able to identify and disaggregate, through a data sharing agreement between NYC's Children's Welfare Services and Board of Education, nearly 400 young mothers' school performance in relation to their peers, results indicated young mother's performed similarly across attendance, grade completion, and graduation rates (Pillow 2014a). When compared to same gender and race peers, within the same school district, young mothers were *not* underperforming (Pillow 2014a). This indicates that the issues EPY face accessing education are not only about navigating responsibilities of young pregnancy and parenting but are endemic to social and education issues in the US, endemic to the education debt.

Despite the above findings, it was difficult to move away from support of GED programs as an acceptable policy option for EPY. Every policy table member could imagine and describe in detail the youth for whom they thought the GED would be the only or best option. While GED programs may be viable routes for some youth, is a GED the desired outcome for 75% of young mothers? Although policy table members would unequivocally state 'no' to this question, the 'how's of doing otherwise were overwhelming and led to quagmire discussions.

Overconstructions of EPY as deficit led to an inability to hear EPY brute talk and made EPY futures as students difficult to describe and imagine. Frustrated by policy table entrenchments, the young father's phrasing at the start of this chapter, "can I have a magic wand?" haunted my thinking. This young father's statement, in response to the question "If you could change anything, what would you change?" focused on his wish that he would alter how he and his daughters are seen, are imagined:

> Where I'm not judged and looked down on—where people don't look at me like I'm just another Black Father who is irresponsible. Where people get chances, y'know. Where I can go back to school and really get an education. Where my kids, my girls, can go to good schools and be whatever they want to be, y'know like teachers see their potential…instead of judging them…to be maybe like a scientist, right, or a doctor…yeah a doctor would be something. Yeah, I want to go to that place…Do you have that magic wand?

Given deficit data and endemic education debts is it possible to think Black EPY futures beyond present day constraints? What would it require to imagine Black EPY futurity?

8.4 Afrofuturism and (Post)Policy Studies 3.0

While the post-studies scholar may hear the 'futurism' in Afrofuturism as post-structural, to do so would limit Afrofuturism's embodied critique, which "posits a reconciliation between an imagined disembodied identity-free future and the embodied identity-specific past and present" (David 2007, p. 697). This reconciliation is necessary due to the prevalence of a "so-called posthuman/postracial future posited by mostly white futurists" (Anderson 2015, p. 182) where Blackness is erased without ever being acknowledged. Afrofuturism is broadly considered to be a literary and cultural aesthetic that combines elements of science fiction, historical fiction, fantasy, Afrocentricity, and magic realism with non-Western cosmologies to critique not only present-day disparities, but also to revise, interrogate, and re-examine events of the past. Anderson (2015, p. 183) marks a rise of "critical Afrofuturism" in the 1960s noting:

> Critical Afrofuturist theory operates from a standpoint that intersects theories of time and space, technology, class, race, gender, and sexuality, and delineates a general economy of racialization in relation to forces of production and apocalyptic, dystopian, and utopian futures.

For the purposes of this chapter, and of particular interest to policy studies, is Afrofuturism's alternative theorizing of Blackness—Black personhood—and what this means for conceptualization of time and futurity.

Afrofuturism acknowledges and affirms that for Black diaspora the apocalypse occurred; it was the worldwide conduit of Black slavery, including capture and an active trade economy of Black bodies and attempted erasure of Black memory, landscapes, languages, and cultures. After the Middle Passage, Blackness in the colonial/American memory is represented and theorized with an origin that begins only with colonialization and slavery, creating an always "negative ontological placement of black subjects in Western modernity" (Weheliye 2002, p. 28). In other words, Blackness cannot exist—theoretically or in research, policy and practice—as fully human in modernity and thus never accorded full and equal status, rights, and conditions.

Given this onto-epistemological position, Afrofuturism recovers and "remains connected to an African humanist past" (Anderson 2015, p. 182) in order to "provide a critical link … (to) express a radical black subjectivity" in the future (David 2007, p. 697). As Eshun (2003, p. 293) explains: "Afrofuturism … is concerned with the possibilities for intervention within the dimension of the predictive, the projected, the proleptic, the envisioned, the virtual, the anticipatory and the future conditional." The anticipatory and reimagining of futures is necessary for

those oppressed by empire and the intertwined racisms and primacy of heteropatriarchy Judeo-Christian belief systems (Wynter 2003). As Delany (1984, p. 35), a Black fiction author stated at a 1978 talk titled *The Necessity of Tomorrows*: "We need visions of the future, and our people need them more than most." Delany (1984, p. 35) continues:

> Without an image of tomorrow, one is trapped by blind history, economics, and politics beyond our control. One is tied up in a web, in a net, with no way to struggle free. Only by having clear and vital images of the *many* alternatives, good and bad, of where one *can* go, will we have any control over the way we may actually get there in a reality tomorrow will bring all too quickly.

It would be a mistake to think Afrofuturism theorizations are naïve. They are not. Afrofuturistic genres are often raw, difficult to look at or comprehend, leaving readers/viewers in states of affirmation, despair, discomforts, or rage. While hope may be found and read through Afrofuturism, the analytics of reimagining involves complete disruptions of not only what we think we know but also how we think we know. As Eshun (2003, p. 297) describes:

> By creating temporal complications and anachronistic episodes that disturb the linear time of progress, these futurisms adjust the temporal logics that condemned black subjects to prehistory. Chronopolitically speaking, these revisionist historicities may be understood as a series of powerful competing futures that infiltrate the present at different rates.

Afrofuturism traverses times, places, spaces and speaks to connective globalalities by thinking with and out of the present as articulation of a "developing past and perplexing future" (Josephs 2013, p. 123). Interruptions of time/space/place and insertion of Brown/Black, Queer and differently embodied people into 'space,' into futures, as skilled technological, philosophical, and artistic subjects is key to Afrofuturism. If as Bould (2007, p. 177) states: "The space race showed us which race space was for", we need other space(s) to reimagine. Temporal reimagining's do more however than place the 'other' into space; they re-interpret and interrupt "colonization of memory" through what Lugones (2010) terms a "fractured locus" of seeing, traveling and being.

For Lugones, a "fractured locus"—the capacity to live, relate and theorize multiply—is made possible when a colonial binary of defeat/resistance is refused and "the colonized" is not "simply imagined and constructed by the colonizer…in accordance with the colonial imagination and the strictures of the capitalist colonial venture" (2010, p. 748). Likewise, Afrofuturism releases colonial histories from the limits of colonial imagination, celebrating the capacity to live with a "fractured locus" that is able to survive the present, through rewritten, reimagined pasts and futures. In this way, Afrofuturism shares similarities with Women of Color theorizing, queer theory and queer of color critique, which rewrite temporality and futurities (Ferguson 2003; Halberstam 2005; Lorde 1982; Muñoz 1999; Pillow 2015a, c, 2016; Soto 2010).

Afrofuturism affirms Blackness with an onto-epistemological capacity to occur differently across space, time, place, geography, and structures by "imagining a black past and envisioning a black future" (Josephs 2013, p. 125). In this way,

"inquiry into production of futures becomes fundamental, rather than trivial" because as Eshun argues, "power also functions through the envisioning, management, and delivery of reliable futures" (2003, p. 289). Afrofuturism's potential connections with and challenges to policy studies are many, including focus on what is embedded in policy productions of "reliable futures."

8.5 Thinking with Afrofuturisms at the Policy Table

What can Afrofuturism offer to those working at the nexus of race and education policy? Let's return to the earlier discussion of how brute EPY data were, at the policy table, interpreted through entrenched constructions of and feelings about EPY. Faced with the brute absence of acknowledgement of brute EPY data, Afrofuturism shifted a locus of analysis from EPY to colonial legacies shaping present day EPY materialities, including how EPY are defined and known in deficit research. This emphasis led to data re-envisioned as including:

1. NYC historical patterns of education access, placement, and achievement;
2. Attention to how EPY were discussed—how language at the policy table indicated *feelings* about EPY;
3. Attention to how EPY futures are imagined; and
4. The roles and responsibilities of policy to invest in EPY futures.

While in the beginning stages of seeing where such thinking may take policy, introduction of the above foci initiated—as one member stated—"philosophical yet applicable" questions and challenges at the policy table.

For instance, raising points 2 and 3, initially felt like a gimmick to some key players—"really, we are going to talk about how we *feel*?!" Making connections between how policy actors *feel* about subjects to what becomes imaginable felt risky. What was I doing asking busy, high-ranking professionals to engage in Afrofuturism theory? Initiating this process, quotes from Afrofuturist writings were useful, but at the policy table it was important to "show"—to show for example how language use about EPY limited how EPY futures were thought. Ironically, showing required showing more data, an issue troubled above.

However, thinking with Afrofuturism refocused what was thought of as data at the policy table. "Data" now primarily comprised the four bullet points above, shifting the focus from EPY to how a policy accounting of the colonial social, education materialities and affects EPY face and are defined by. While many at the policy table initially were skeptical about attempting to think about constructions of knowledge linked to colonialism, the above data moves sparked discussion and memories of personal experiences or experiences with youth. As one table member shared: "I used to think about traveling in space or living somewhere else. So I get that part. I had to imagine something dramatically different in order to get by and I've never thought about how maybe that helped me survive and succeed."

After showing the language our policy table had been using to define EPY by literally listing word phrasings used at a prior meeting, another key player stated:

> We always say that so many of our [Black] youth do not speak as though they have a future and we fault them for that. We say they aren't motivated or that they have no sense of direction. But maybe we aren't really investing in their futures, y'know? Maybe we are also limiting what is possible.

This statement sparked a conversation that at a crucial moment a participant added: "So you are asking us to really challenge how we think about EPY, right? How we really *feel* about them and then think about what futures we imagine for them, not just for tomorrow or next week or next month, but years from now, right?"

Although such comments generated rich conversation, the question of "So what? What does all this really matter for how what we actually do?" continued to remain the overarching theme and challenge.

In order to keep provocations of Afrofuturism in play, nimble questioning circulated while attending to a desire for identification of valid policy pathways: "What do 'so what' questions constrain? How can policy thinking be opened up? What would this look like operationalized?" In these instances, data—thickly detailed feminist genealogies demonstrating ongoing impacts of disparate stratification of education access and outcomes—became necessary to calls for reimagining at the policy table. The more Afrofuturism influenced, feminist genealogy data I could show, the further this policy table was willing to push thinking and attempt to reimagine how EPY futures are thought and felt.

Questions about data abound in this example—and I return to a discussion of data in the conclusion—but here share an anecdote that articulates the tensions of 'so what' questions and responsibilities to imagine otherwise at the policy table. Although, school data were presented at the policy table, it was limited due to a lack of education data specifically on EPY (Pillow 2006). Afrofuturisms reinforced the necessity to dig deeper. Disaggregating nearly 400 young mothers in foster care school attendance data allowed an analysis of the places EPY were attempting to access education. Identification of which schools and boroughs young mothers had been in school or were attempting to re-enroll allowed documentation of attendance zone characteristics including overall school attendance and graduation rates; type of school curriculum; teacher turnover; and school ranking. This documentation demonstrated that in the group of students identified, young mothers overwhelmingly attended schools demarcated as 'failing' by NYC Board of Education standards. While this was not surprising, two specific data points did create a shift in conversation and thinking at the policy table.

The first is mentioned earlier in this chapter: based on disaggregated NYC data, when young mothers are compared with their peers they are *not* underperforming; young mothers attendance and school completion rates are similar to their peers. This finding contradicts many entrenched deficit beliefs about EPY.

Secondly, a nonprofit group provided a report on overage middle school students in NYC. Defined as students who are three or more years overage for grade level, this classification includes many EPY. In 2012, over 8500 middle school students

were 3+ years overage for their grade, not including students unenrolled in school (Advocates for Children of New York 2014). During the same year there were less than 450 seats available in placements willing to accept overage students—a ratio of 5% available seats in relation to known need, which does not include youth not tracked by schools. These numbers reflect a US education debt of underserving youth who are most 'at risk' and dramatically demonstrate conditions EPY face when attempting to return to school as well as the institutional, structural limitations faced by adults trying to help youth return to school.

When the above points were first presented, the challenge to shift assumed deficit thinking about EPY alongside the context of EPY placement in failing schools, alongside the numeric reality and discrepancy between student need and actual seat availability was so large (95%)—just too big—that discussion of ramifications were effectively removed from the table.

When Afrofuturism was introduced, this data were put back on the table and placed beside available historical and current contextual information on EPY education access. Thought with Afrofuturisms, the data were discussed as disparities of racialized access directly connected to colonial racial de-humanizing. Further, with Afrofuturisms, these 'too big' issues were discussed and restructured as insights and evidence of how deficit data shape how policy talk enacts *feelings* about EPY, feelings that impact what is imagined in terms of future talk at the policy table.

As could be expected, conversations also included policy actors saying imagining requires limitless budget and resources, which then led to comments that "imagining" was not helpful given "we must deal with reality." In these debates, Afrofuturism was useful as a reminder of the need to face existing material conditions while identifying and understanding how deep entrenchments of deficit talk limits, in this case, imagining of EPY futures and policy's roles in these futures. Afrofuturism became a crucial analytic to imagine otherwise; to think policy outside of existing deficit structures, outside of self-imposed temporalities and to question policy responsibility to futures for youth like EPY. Four initial analytic shifts arose:

- Are we asking/requiring EPY to attend broken and unfair school systems?
- What would it mean to acknowledge the previous point to EPY? To acknowledge the strength it takes to navigate unjust systems while concurrently providing supports to temporally navigate such spaces?
- What would it look like to raise the education bar for EPY? What if EPY were characterized as some of the most motivated students rather than most deficit?
- Can policy theorize and implement processes to support "a series of powerful competing futures that infiltrate the present at different rates" (Eshun 2003, p. 297)?

The shift in these questions appears small, but are seismic in potential impact. By relocating attention from EPY as deficit to how and why policy creates *feelings*

about and thus imagines futures for EPY, the range of viable policy questions and considerations is expanded.

8.6 Policy Scientificity 3.0, Data and Futurism at the Policy Table

In policy contexts that are pre-scripted before we even sit down at a policy table—contexts shaped by deficit data, education debts, social constructions, and imposed limits on temporality—critical theory interruptions are not enough. If urban education policy currently exists amidst the ruins of education and policy debt (Pillow 2014b), then policy studies require *3.0* and beyond analytics that can work the ruins (St. Pierre and Pillow 2000) and, in the case of this chapter, acknowledge colonial debts in order to rethink how and whose policy futures are imagined and unimaginable.

'Data' remained a conundrum and tension in this process. Policy agents expect to see brute data, hence how policy studies scholars theorize and present data deeply matters, particularly when data create deficit gap entrenchments, like those surrounding EPY. However, this chapter demonstrates how brute data of disenfranchised subjects can be ignored or reconstructed in deficit discourses and deficit feelings about policy subjects, feelings that limit how policy futures are imagined. Here the problem is not data per se, but rather what counts as data at the policy table and how data are thought.

Afrofuturism became the impetus to imagine policy data differently and served as a linguistic interruption of deficit conceptions of Black EPY by forefronting Black futurity. In constrained contexts where Black youth futures are believed to be limited, Afrofuturism forced a call to reimagine futures in which Black youth and Black EPY flourish and forced discussions of what it means for policy to take responsibility for such futures. Given deficit entrenchments surrounding EPY, theoretical analytics that recognize colonial education debts and challenge the unimaginability of alternative EPY futures is necessary to any attempt to think policy differently.

As a working example, this chapter is less about Afrofuturism as an analytical answer to policy studies, than a willingness and commitment by policy studies scholars to utilize the profound critiques in race, gender, sexuality, decolonial theories to interrupt and expand how policy and policy data are theorized and imagined (Pillow 2016). Specifically attending to how policy futures are theorized provokes analysis of who has access to futurity and how futures are imagined, a discussion that necessarily acknowledges colonial materialities and affects. This work will require innovative *3.0* analytics.

Meanwhile, the "magic wand" of the future is not the wand of a Disney tale. It is a "fractured locus" of theorizing toward futures hoped for and imagined.

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Chapter 9
Redefining Equality Through Incentive-Based Policies

Christopher Lubienski

Abstract This analysis considers shifting conceptions of equality in education, highlighting the movement from equality of treatment, access, and educational and social opportunity to a focus on the equal right to choose a quality school. The paper explores recent reform policies that harness organizational and individual incentives to improve education outcomes, especially for disadvantaged children. Drawing on the advocacy efforts of a prominent philanthropy active in education reform in the United States, I note that the current focus is on an equal right to *choose* a quality school, rather than an equal right *to* a quality school. But advocates for such reforms embrace a rhetoric of equality from the American civil rights movement, even though their policies, and perhaps motivations as well, are not closely linked to equitable educational opportunities. Indeed, the efforts to advocate for an equal right to choose a school represent a subtly yet significantly altered conception of equality in education. The concluding discussion considers implications of this shift for research and policy.

9.1 Redefining Equity Through Incentive-Based Policies

Although the highly respected public radio network of the United States, National Public Radio, is ostensibly free of advertising, it identifies major private donors in prominent on-air acknowledgments. So, in exchange for supplementing the tenuous government support for NPR, underwriters often include a brief statement about their mission, purpose, or upcoming event (like the release of a new book or film). A frequent radio spot is for the Walton Family Foundation (WFF), which states: "Support for NPR comes from the Walton Family Foundation, whose K-12

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initiative works to *empower families with quality school choices*: WaltonK12.org."[1] If listeners go to that URL, they are transferred to the webpage for WFF's education initiatives in elementary and secondary education, where they see the statement:

> Our mission is to improve K-12 *outcomes for all students*, especially those of limited means, by *ensuring access to high-quality educational choices* … The Walton Family Foundation is working to *expand opportunities* and empower children and families with choice. Since 1992, we have invested more than $1.3 billion in K-12 education and supported a quarter of the 6700 charter schools created in the United States. With our new 2015–2020 K-12 strategic plan, we are making an unprecedented commitment to *expanding educational opportunity*.[2]

This emphasis on quality educational options for all families is, of course, well aligned with the Walton Foundation's other efforts in education, which tend to promote private and market models for schooling (Au and Lubienski 2016; Gulati-Partee 2015; Lubienski et al. 2016).[3] But rather than focus on privatization, in this analysis I instead examine changing conceptions of "equality" and its variations, such as "equity" or equalized treatment, in education as institutionalized in state systems of education, and reshaped through efforts like the Walton Foundation's attempts to "improve outcomes" by "expanding educational opportunity" through "choices" "for all students."

This paper considers these shifting conceptions of equality by examining the emergence of a set of popular policies evident on a global scale, supported by the Waltons and others, that harness competitive incentives purportedly to improve efficiency in individuals and organizations. These policies—sometimes described as "incentivist" reforms (Greene et al. 2008; Lubienski et al. 2011; Sandel 2012)—proceed from the assumption that state-administered education is moribund and monopolistic, and therefore fails to meet the needs of under-served communities (Chubb and Moe 1990). This perspective has been embraced by myriad philanthropies, such as the Waltons, along with the Gates Foundation and others, as well as by think tanks and advocacy groups including the American Legislative Exchange Council, the Institute for Economic Affairs in London, the Fraser Institute in Canada, the Maxim Institute in New Zealand, and the Centre for Independent Studies in Australia, just to name a few. These reformers argue that incentivizing practices such as consumer choice, competition between schools for funding, and merit-pay for teachers can encourage or induce actors within education to perform more effectively, with the benefits of enhanced performance accruing most notably to those students currently in low-performing schools.

The rhetorical justification for these policies is often based in a language of equity that invokes older conceptions of 'civil rights,' where advocates argue that

[1] A variation states that the WFF is "Preparing students for a lifetime of opportunity by ensuring *access to high quality K-12 school choices*." (Author's emphases).

[2] http://www.waltonfamilyfoundation.org/our-impact/k12-education Emphasis added.

[3] http://www.waltonfamilyfoundation.org/who-we-are/grant-reports-financials/2012-walton-family-foundation-grants#education Emphases added.

disadvantaged and minority children are being denied a state-sanctioned right to an adequate education (Gorur 2013). In this line of thinking, pathologies inherent in government administration of public services lead to inequitable service arrangement, with assigned providers seen as necessarily mediocre, especially for poor families with no other options, since those providers are shielded from competitive pressures; instead, equality of choice is seen has being able to liberate families from their assigned service providers (Chubb and Moe 1990; Friedman 1955). This happens not only through the act of choosing, but through competitive incentives driving up quality for all (Hoxby 2001). This perspective contrasts current conceptions of market-based equality of opportunity for education consumers with the older notions of equitable treatment, resources and outcomes—an ethical framework from which reformers often borrow language, if not substance. Indeed, as I show, recent research suggests that such policies may actually undercut their stated aims as competitive incentives can undermine stated efforts to improve education performance and options (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2014b). This, I argue, is significant because the shift in the meaning of education equality moves from an emphasis on an equal right to a quality education toward an equal right to choose a quality education, even though the outcomes of choice have not been equitable.

The following section considers some of the historical antecedents of current conceptions of equity in education policy. Then the chapter turns to a more in-depth consideration of how current education reform trends, centring on "incentivist" approaches to education policy, exemplify this evolution of the idea of equal opportunity. It highlights the global nature of this trend, but also notes the problematic record of such reforms in achieving more equitable educational opportunities for children. I discuss in more depth the role of the Walton Family Foundation (WFF) to illustrate both the agency behind this shift and the paradox of an education reform based rhetoric of equality coming from some of the wealthiest interests. The WFF offers an interesting case from which to examine the ironies and contradictions in this evolution of the idea of equality, as encouraged by policy and philanthropic elites, from which to scrutinize the logic of those claims and assumptions. Thus, the chapter contrasts earlier conceptions of the right to a quality education with current rhetoric regarding the right to *choose* a quality education, noting that this shift represents a diminishment of the state's traditional role and responsibility, and ultimately puts the onus for poor choices onto the individual. Indeed, I conclude that, insofar as available evidence indicates that such programs are often exacerbating social inequality in many cases, such measures may be less about empowering disadvantaged communities and reducing inequality and instead be geared toward empowering new policy actors. In the concluding discussion, I consider some of the implications that may guide further research on these issues.

9.2 Variations on Equality in and from Education

The relationship between education and equality has always been more complex than one might expect at first glance, particularly since the advent of state-sponsored education in the liberal market democracies. As the conditions before state intervention were characterized by notable inequality of access to, and experience in, schooling, perhaps *the* primary impetus for government involvement in education—never really fulfilled—was to promote more universal, uniform and equal education treatment. Thus, for example, in the United States, the 'common school' era of the 19th century that established the system of public schooling was built on a promise, or mythology, of all children of all backgrounds in a community receiving a basic curriculum under the same roof in a standardized system (Kaestle 1983). Such an idealization allowed advocates, such as the famous American champion of public schooling, Horace Mann, to argue that such a system of equal education treatments, "beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men [sic]—the balance-wheel of the social machinery"—leading to a levelling of society, or at least a levelling of social opportunities not predetermined by one's family circumstances (Mann 1849).

Subsequent experience has shown that such a conception of equality as equal access to public institutions or equal treatment within those institutions is quite easy to measure, although quite insufficient for erasing socioeconomic variations. A fairer conception of equality of opportunity goes beyond equality of institutional access to also account for unequal home circumstances in a more comprehensive manner, making variations in family origins essentially irrelevant for predicting future social position (Rawls 2001). That is, a more nuanced policy approach has understood that simply allowing all students to enrol in state schools will still lead to unequal outcomes if policy fails to account for the fact that children come to school from very different circumstances, very differentially prepared to learn from an academic curriculum and thus access future socioeconomic opportunities (Lee and Burkham 2002).

Indeed, the responses to the consequent and chronic inequity associated with purportedly equity-minded state systems have been documented by prominent Australian sociologist R. W. Connell and colleagues, as researchers, reformers, and policymakers tried to understand and correct for vastly unequal educational outcomes, although the problem still certainly exists (Connell et al. 1982). Attention has been paid over the decades to a sequence of presumed differences in a number of areas, including (a) innate intelligence, (b) economic resources, and (c) cultural skills. These areas of interest eventually gave way to a focus on (d) schools themselves as engines reproducing inequality, or as sites in which different cultures themselves reproduced. To this we can add the more recent focus on (e) the differential teaching effectiveness of organizations that thereby drives educational and socioeconomic inequality. This last approach is quite evident, for instance, in efforts to gauge the effectiveness of various organizations, as well as the individuals that work in them (e.g. Abdulkadiroglu et al. 2009; Harris 2011).

Such different approaches to inequality suggest different conceptions of equality. For instance, the idea of equal treatment is found wanting by the insight that equal treatment could lead to unequal outcomes for students of differing intelligence or potential. Thus, school reformers argued for different treatments, manifest in different academic 'tracks' for those apparently bound for vocational or professional careers, under the logic that educational experiences geared toward the likely life trajectories of various students would not only be more efficient, but would be a fairer or more equitable experience for children that was aligned with their individual abilities and aspirations, rather than making students sit through classroom experiences thought to be both useless to them and beyond their abilities (Labaree 1988). Similarly, the testing and IQ movement of the early 20th century advanced from this notion that educational experiences should not be one-size-fits-all, but should be tailored, if not to the individual learner, then to the classification of the learner in order to get each student an equal chance at success in his or her likely course in life (Lemann 1999). But, of course, perhaps outside general categories such as 'blue' or 'white' collar jobs, it is difficult to predict any given person's future potential at an array of life experiences, much less calibrate educational experiences to optimize people's potential in the field anticipated for them (not to mention the ethical concerns about an external agency prescribing life pathways for individuals).

Next, the idea that inequalities of inputs were not just a result of unequal state funding, but also of unequal family resources, led to a focus on compensatory programs that were meant to bring children up to the same approximate level in school. This often meant providing early childhood education for disadvantaged children to get them to the proverbial starting line at the same level as their more affluent peers. But it was also manifest in differentiated funding schemes designed to give an extra boost to poorer children as they proceeded through school—programs like New Zealand's Socio-Economic Decile system, or the Title/Chapter 1 system in the US, which channel additional resources to the education of disadvantaged students. But scholars like James Coleman (1966) challenged the idea that resources alone could equalize school outcomes, arguing that cultural deficiencies in some groups needed to be addressed as a prerequisite for equality of outcomes in education. Equity in this regard focused not simply on academics, but on teaching cultural skills—those of the socially dominant groups—to children of 'deficient' cultures, often so they could 'act white' and succeed in the white, European, middle-class institutions of state schooling. Hence, at least theoretically, this was the thinking behind many of the misguided interventions—some often quite cruel—aimed at students from indigenous communities in Australia, Canada, and the United States, for instance.

Another perspective on sources of inequity that sparked new approaches to equity in education emerged from the social and cultural reproduction literature, which identified schools themselves as sorting mechanisms or sites that either actively or passively perpetuated inequality (Bowles and Gintis 1976). Since the institutions of schooling, both state and independent, were thought to create differences in outcomes and later opportunities, the obvious solution was to either

create new institutions, such as freedom and community schools, or new pedagogies in established schools that would offer liberatory or transformational experiences (Anyon 1981; Freire 1985; Katz 1975; Neill 1960; Willis 1977). While appealing, and evident in radical and multicultural curricula, such efforts tended to be quite isolated, without having broader impact on the established institutions of schooling.

The Civil Rights movement that emerged in the US in the 1950s and 1960s reflected some of these new ways of approaching the equality issue (Irons 2002; Patterson 2001). Activists and legal advocates focused on the idea of equality of opportunity as manifest in *access*, or the legal and moral right to attend a public school regardless of racial categories, as a precursor to future socioeconomic opportunities (subsequently to include other categories based on national origin, language, ability, etc.). This was often accomplished both through litigation and direct action, particularly in the two decades following the US Supreme Court's 1955 ruling against segregation, and progress could be continuously measured by levels of integration in schools and access to resources; but these reformers also focused on educational and social opportunity as a matter of subsequent academic outcomes and economic prospects (Frankenberg and DeBray 2011; Kozol 1991; Orfield 2009; Orfield et al. 1996). These outcomes could be determined through measures such as gaps in test-scores or in the equal opportunity to learn, and would require more fine-tuned remedies that take into account differences in home advantages, school composition, and learning opportunities—remedies such as differentiated funding that leveraged additional public resources for poor children, while effectively penalizing the more affluent (sometimes a political landmine).

A more recent approach to the pursuit of 'equity' in education has centred attention not on differences in family background, but on the effectiveness of schools—either implicitly or overtly putting the onus for differences in educational outcomes on differences in the effectiveness of various organizations and individuals providing education (Chubb and Moe 1990; Sanders and Horn 1998). In this regard, variations in the quality of the educational experience are thought to be dramatic, but avoidable if structural remedies, particularly in reforming school governance, can be put in place. As I will show, the Walton Family Foundation is a major proponent of this perspective.

Thus, overall, there have been constant shifts, if not an evolution, in how the idea of equality (and inequality) is related to education, sometimes focusing on inputs or treatments, other times on outcomes; sometimes seeing inequitable educational experiences driving inequitable economic potential, while others seeing this in the opposite causal direction; sometimes emphasizing a more meritocratic competition at the start of schooling, or at the start of adulthood. In trying to understand inequality, researchers and policymakers have focused on a sequence of attributes associated with individual learners, from innate intelligence, economic circumstances, or cultural skills, to aspects of schooling, including schools as sites of social and cultural reproduction, and—as the WFF sees it—schools as differentially effective organizations that create inequality because some are shielded from competitive incentives. Nevertheless, despite the reimagining of equality, and

the constant efforts to address inequities in the market democracies, inequality is still a deeply embedded feature of education systems around the globe, and is particularly chronic and apparently intractable in some countries (OECD 2012; Perry and McConney 2010).

9.3 Incentivism and Equal Opportunity

The most recent approach to understanding and addressing inequality and education, as noted above, has focused on the (in)effectiveness of organizations in hindering the education and consequent lifetime opportunities for students, particularly disadvantaged students trapped in ineffective schools (e.g. Hoxby 2004; Hoxby et al. 2009). This approach emerges from a prominent and popular critique of public administration of public goods and services that highlights the inherent pathologies of public sector provision (Lubienski and Lubienski 2014). Whereas early reformers, such as the common school advocates in the US, concerned about inequalities in education essentially pointed to market failures—substantial lack of access to quality education in a private, unregulated system—to justify state intervention, current reformers look in the opposite direction (Niskanen 1971; Peterson 1998). They note that decades, if not centuries, of direct state participation in public education has failed to address (and may exacerbate) inequities in access and outcomes, and thus point to *government failure* in this regard (Coulson 1999; West 1970).

Thus, since state provision is thought to shield schools from market forces such as consumer choice between competing, autonomous providers, the evident remedy is to bring such forces to bear within systems responsible for educating the public (e.g. Buckingham 2001; Jha and Buckingham 2015; Thomas 2012). While there are constant debates about whether this necessarily entails 'privatization' of public education, such discussions often miss the fact that other surrogate approaches can and are being leveraged instead (Lubienski 2013, 2016). Most importantly, market-like institutional environments for schools are emergent, reflecting the perceived importance of incentives for organizing mass education. This perspective, sometimes known as "incentivism," seeks to motivate individuals and organizations previously shielded from competitive pressures in order to encourage the use of more effective measures in education (Greene et al. 2008; Lubienski et al. 2011). Incentivist perspectives are most evident in measures such as choice-based policies that make funding mobile to follow a student to the school of his or her choice, or merit-pay proposals for teacher compensation, or deregulation and decentralization of schools, often intended to give them the autonomy and incentive to innovate and compete with other schools for students (Buckingham 2001; Thomas 2012).

While not always explicitly using that "incentivist" label, incentivist policies are quite evident as part of the global reform movement in its focus on standardized performance metrics, market-style governance, deregulation, and parental choice. The reforms in Sweden and New Zealand since the early 1990s certainly reflect

important aspects of incentivist perspectives, as does the voucher system in Chile (Björklund et al. 2005; Martin Carnoy 1998; Fiske and Ladd 2000; Gauri 1998; Lauder et al. 1999). Structural adjustment reforms affecting the school sectors in many developing countries, as mandated by multilateral finance organizations, also exhibit elements of incentivist approaches, where individuals are required to pay increasing school fees, and private providers are encouraged to compete with the state sector in the provision of schooling (Srivastava 2016).

9.3.1 The WFF and Incentivism

In the US, one of the biggest drivers of incentivist reforms is a set of immensely influential philanthropic funders, which includes the aforementioned Walton Family Foundation. Other main players include the Gates Foundation, the Broad Foundation, the Fisher Foundation, and the Robertson Foundation (Lubienski et al. 2016; Reckhow and Snyder 2014). Of course, the Gates Foundation is run by one of the wealthiest people in the world (and its portfolio grew immensely with a multi-billion dollar gift from investor Warren Buffet), and has been active in promoting charter schools and testing regimes in American schools. But, while the education agendas of these different foundations overlap to a great degree, the WFF is generally recognized as probably the most market-oriented of the group (Gulati-Partee 2015; Hassel and Toch 2006). Founded by the wealthiest family in the US, heirs to the Wal-Mart chain of low-cost mega-stores, the WFF has been particularly active in funding initiatives, advocacy, and research related to school choice and marketization, with the majority of its education grantees promoting market-style models for education (Walton Family Foundation 2012). Its recent strategic plan embraces a rhetoric of opportunity for "all students" in placing the WFF's efforts at the centre of the American movement towards choice and privatization of schools, setting out $1 billion in investments in charter schools, vouchers for private schools, and corporate-style education reform advocacy groups (Walton Family Foundation 2015).

Significantly, the WFF's elevation of individual consumer choice actually adopts a language of group-based equality. This is evident in the degree to which a 'civil rights' rhetoric of equality pervades many of the efforts and organizations supported by the WFF, harkening back to the mass movement efforts to desegregate schools and thereby promote equality of access to high-quality education services. As seen at the start of this chapter, borrowing phrases, logic, and imagery from the liberation-minded movements of the 1960s, WFF-funded initiatives quite often echo the call for equality in education, with a focus on "all students" being able to exercise "rights" that the WFF sees as being denied by the status quo of government-run schooling. For instance, the WFF-funded advocacy group, the Alliance for School Choice (AKA the American Federation for Children Growth Fund), notes that it is "committed to breaking down barriers to educational choice to help children, especially low-income children, access the quality education

necessary to reach their full potential."[4] Their co-fundees, the Black Alliance for Educational Options (formerly Black Alliance for Educational Opportunity) states its mission as "to increase access to high quality education options for Black children by actively supporting transformational education reform initiatives and parental choice policies that empower low-income and working-class Black families."[5] As noted above, particularly in the statements from the WFF itself, there is a pronounced focus on the admirable goal of "access to high quality K-12 school choices" "for all students," "especially those of limited means." Interestingly, as described below, such rhetoric represents a subtle but significant shift in the idea of equality in education. This logic holds that more affluent families have always been able to exercise choice, either through paying for a private school, or by moving to an area with better schools. Under a civil rights framework, groups like the WFF are simply seeking to extend this right to all children, regardless of their circumstances.

But it should first be pointed out that such rhetoric also reflects a useful strategy of tying markets to some version of equality in education in the popular imagination (Savage 2013). Mirroring the market-oriented values of their founding businessmen, groups like the Walton Family Foundation (as well as the Gates, Broad, and Fisher foundations) value the use of competitive incentives within and across organizations to make them responsive to customers' preferences. Even while the mass wealth accumulated by these groups highlights the growing socioeconomic inequality in many market democracies such as the US, and while the actions of the Walton family in particular are associated with the outsourcing of better-paying manufacturing jobs and the rise low-paying service jobs that necessitate public assistance for their employees (Greenwald 2005), the WFF's focus on equality in education—as a right to choose—draws on neoliberal conceptions of economic rights in a school marketplace, using the language of social-political rights.

Certainly, it is hard to argue that the educational strategy is working, particularly with regard to the equity objectives of policy. While the empirical record on many anticipated outcomes of incentivist policies is modest, at most, at least one could argue that some of the results are mixed. For example, in terms of academic achievement, there is really not much compelling evidence that incentivism leads to better or more equitable outcomes as organizations become more effective; but at least some could claim that a few bright spots point to the potential for incentivist policies to improve productivity (Lubienski and Brewer 2016; Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2014a; Raymond and Center for Research on Education Outcomes 2009; Rouse 1998). Yet, in terms of equity, there is a growing consensus that incentivist policies, and the market-like conditions which they engender, are associated with greater levels of segregation, either through self-sorting of choosers, or incentive-driven behaviours of exclusion by organizations (Bifulco and Ladd 2006; Hsieh and Urquiola 2002; Rotberg 2014). Indeed, international evidence points to these patterns, suggesting that simple

[4] http://www.allianceforschoolchoice.org/.

[5] http://www.baeo.org/?ns_ref=14&id=5457.

availability of a choice for all as an end in itself is insufficient or even detrimental to the objective of equitable opportunity in education (Bohlmark and Lindahl 2007; Bråmå 2006; Carnoy and McEwen 2003; Lauder et al. 1999; Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2014a; Schneider et al. 2006; Valenzuela et al. 2014). But any concern about the actual track record of incentivism and equity is largely beside the point, since the effect of this "rights" strategy is not to convince people that it is working to equalize opportunity, but that they have an equal right to pursue their preferences in a choice system.

9.4 Incentivism and the Evolution of 'Equality'

Of course, the distinctions between *equality of access* in a market—education markets or otherwise—and equality of *treatments* or *outcomes* in democratic spheres explains much of the distance between the theoretical potential and empirical record of incentivism in addressing equity concerns in education. If education is a private, consumable good, then facilitating the choices of those marginalized under state-administration of the good extends to them a right to participate in an economic sphere. While the 'civil rights' rhetoric may be useful for effecting that extension, the "right" itself is one of economic, and not civil, essence. The previous exercise of the right to choose an education, by the more affluent families making such choices, was within a (quasi-)market context of private-oriented, consumer-style behaviour, although often in the state-funded school sector. Enlarging the pool of people enjoying the use of that right does not change its nature, as it is still one of individual agency, advantage, and benefit.

While proponents of incentivist reforms, such as the Walton Foundation, may be advocating a changing definition of "rights," at the same time, it is shifting the idea of equality in education as well. Most importantly, the advocacy around incentivism highlights the idea of an equal opportunity simply to make a choice. Recall the WFF's goal of "ensuring access to high quality K-12 *school choices*." This stands in marked contrast to the older goal of "ensuring access to high quality K-12 *school(s)*,"[6] which reflected more established conceptions of equality of treatment, or equitable opportunity and outcomes. The WFF version makes no promise that children will have quality schools, only that some of their choices should be of quality. Thus, these policies and proposals shift responsibility away from the state, absolving the state from its traditional role (although chronically unfulfilled) to provide quality educational experiences for all, while putting the onus on individuals to make effective choices within an education marketplace. While the market offers opportunity for the exercise of economic style choices, it has itself no responsibility or guarantee to ensure that individuals are then served by quality schools. The only equality inherent in the (quasi-)market in education is the *right to choose*.

[6]Emphasis added.

That choice might be a poor one, or it may be an informed one that is not honoured by the market if spaces are not available. Not only might the choice be stymied by autonomous, incentivized schools seeking to exclude certain types of students, but simply the lack of a critical mass of like-minded students expressing a similar preference might mean the education market will not respond to those isolated preference clusters. Moreover, a universalized 'right' to choose might itself pre-empt the individual exercise of that right. This is perhaps best—albeit unintentionally—demonstrated by the hypothetical (but all too real) scenario set up the intellectual author of the modern incentivist movement, Milton Friedman, in his 1955 (1955, 1962) essay outlining an education market system driven by choice.

In the mid-1950s, of course, the US was in the midst of a civil rights movement for racially desegregated schools. Protesters were advocating for the right of African Americans to have equal access to public services to which they were denied entry based on racist policies. They made their case on legal, democratic, and moral grounds that state schools should not exclude citizens (Irons 2002). It was in this context that Freidman proposed a system where students would be allowed to choose schools, and schools—whether public or independent or private—would be funded by the state based on the choices of students. Crucially, schools would be subjected to market incentives, meaning that, as autonomous organizations, they would also be able to set their own missions and policies, even excluding students who did not fit their mission (in essence, schools choosing their students)—all depending on basic market forces of supply and demand (Friedman 1955, 1994, 1995).

Friedman regretfully acknowledged that, in view of the civil rights drive for equality of educational opportunity, his proposal could—and indeed did—lead to groups of families patronizing schools that excluded other students based on race. Consequently, and what he did not note, families that wanted to send their children to, say, the closest school, could effectively be denied their choice because that individual preference had been trumped by the aggregate and discriminatory choices of others: schools responding to a market demand to exclude certain categories of student. Similar scenarios can be seen now around sorting by affluence, where all families have a theoretically equal right to choose a high-quality school. But, since the quality of a school is partly a product of the peer effect—the aggregate advantage of the students that attend it (Arnott and Rowse 1987; Epple and Romano 1998; Gauri 1998; Hanushek et al. 2003; Hoxby 2000; Rothstein 2004; Willms 1986), patterns of self-sorting and what is effectively "other-exclusion" by more affluent families of those from different racial, socioeconomic or other categories—often a function of informational, academic, social, and locational (if not explicit policy) advantages—can also blunt the access to quality education both for non-choosers and frustrated choosers.

In this regard, market-oriented conceptions of equality are largely hypothetical based on an ephemeral right to choose. Strategically speaking, arguments for this form of equality in education are best made on moral grounds of equality of choice—and the ethical imperative to not deny anyone such a right.

9.5 Evolving 'Equity'

In view of the shifting meanings of equality in education, and the attempts to affect such a shift, it is worthwhile to consider the implications for research and policy. In particular, it is imperative that both research and policy discussions embrace greater precision in what they mean by "equality" (or "equity") in choice systems. As demonstrated here, there are multiple conceptions of the idea—sometimes overlapping, sometimes conflicting. A lack of precision allows for shifting meaning, if not outright manipulation, when advocates co-opt rhetoric from one intended meaning to leverage toward another, quite distinct, objective.

At the same time, it is quite important to consider the commitment of both policy and research to the general notion of equality in education, whether in terms of treatment, educational opportunity or access, educational outcomes, or consequent social outcomes. Increasingly, individualistic impulses are eclipsing equity concerns, with the elevation of the private-good aspects of education, the celebration of choice as an end in itself, and the competition for individual advantage (Labaree 1997). Policymakers need to decide whether deeper conceptions of equality—notions that go beyond simply the right to express a choice preference—are to be of any priority. And researchers must decide whether a focus on equity as an important issue in its own right is of value regardless of policymaking priorities. Furthermore, in an age of both individual impulses and identity politics, where there is often a pronounced preference for educating children within cultural groups that are thought by many to produce better learning opportunities and experiences for those children, do students find equitable treatment on their own, or in equally valued groups? We must decide whether self-selection into identity-based education options should be exempt from equity mandates placed on other schools, such as achieving a demographic balance reflecting the surrounding community (Eckes 2010).

But the shifting conception of equity also shines some light on those that are doing the shifting. There is no small degree of irony that one of the wealthiest families in the world, known for its company's exploitative employment, outsourcing and contracting practices, is positioning itself as a champion of equality in education. This is all the more peculiar because these efforts employ a rhetoric of civil rights appropriated from a mass movement for social equality in order now to serve an economic motivation and model for education. Yet this is far from a grass-roots movement for educational equality that advocates would suggest. Through strategic philanthropy leveraged to build advocacy coalitions around an issue, funders such as the WFF are able to create echo-chambers of support. Even though their polices have almost always been defeated by voters, groups like the Waltons use their immense private resources to leverage elite and local political support, implement "experimental" policies in some localities, and nurture a research community favourable to their agenda in a process of "idea orchestration" (Lubienski et al. 2016). Thus, their initiatives are evaluated by their grantees, lauded by "grass-tops" advocacy groups, and promoted by allied policymakers.

Thus, rather than seeing this shift in our understanding of equality in education as some sort of organic evolution of the notion, we should be aware that it reflects a political strategy and serves a political purpose.

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Chapter 10
Education Policy and the Intensification of Teachers' Work: The Changing Professional Culture of Teaching in England and Implications for Social Justice

Annette Braun

Abstract This chapter explores ongoing changes to the work of teachers in England and what could be termed an intensification of teaching, linked to performative neoliberal education policies that prioritise school and student achievement measurements. These developments have been observed in relation to English schools, as well as globally. The chapter argues that this emphasis on achievement can come at the expense of other, more pastoral aspects of teaching and thus carry serious social equity implications. It can also present a mismatch between teachers' original, often altruistic motivation to join the profession, and the realities of their daily work. Using data from a series of qualitative studies with English teachers over the past ten years, the chapter aims to trace teachers' professional self-understandings and conceptualisations of their work and asks what versions of a socially just professionalism are open to teachers.

10.1 Introduction

Teachers work in a context of neoliberal education policies that emphasise accountability, and thus measurable performance standards. This has become a truism in relation to England (e.g. Ball 2003; Ball et al. 2012a; Allen 2014), as well as education systems across the globe (e.g. Sachs 2001; Lingard 2010; Lewis and Hardy 2015). This overarching and hegemonic policy focus that emphasises achievement and attainment can lead to the side-lining of other, less measurable and often more pastoral aspects of teaching and teachers' work (Hammersley-Fletcher and Qualter 2010). Testing regimes increasingly shape the school day and school experiences of students in England (Youdell 2004; Ball et al. 2012b) and

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internationally (Lingard et al. 2013). For teachers, these pressures of performativity also result in at times painful misalignment between their initial, often altruistic motivation to join the profession (Braun 2012), and the realities of their day-to-day work. This chapter is predominantly concerned with the implications of a performative education policy on teachers and the teaching profession and a resulting shift in what it means to be a 'good' teacher. Foregrounding the voices and experiences of teachers in England collected in a series of qualitative research studies by myself and with colleagues over the past ten years (Braun 2009, 2014; Ball et al. 2012a), I start by exploring the motivations of teachers to join the profession, the commensurate or resulting professional self-understandings and their reflection (or not) in the policy environment. The second part of the chapter is drawing on a case study of teachers working within the performative atmosphere of the academy schools programme.[1] This part is concerned with how these teachers experience and interpret their daily work in the high pressure policy environment of academisation, a process they and I identify as an intensification of teaching. The questions of social justice and social equity with which this book is concerned thus pertain in this chapter not directly to students, but to the working and professional lives of teachers as educators who impact on children's and young people's lives and who are key to shaping their education experiences and the way school and education policy 'looks' and 'feels' like on the ground. The chapter invites further research in the area of education policy and social inequality that not just focuses on education outcomes, but on the processes, intra- and interpersonal dynamics which shape the subjectivities of all involved: teachers, students and indeed parents.

10.2 The 'Old' Professionalism of Teaching: A Rewarding Public Sector Occupation

Teachers' work has incorporated performance management elements for a considerable time and neoliberal policy technologies which emphasise accountability and managerialism and which require teachers to organise and appraise their own and their students' work with a view to meeting targets, are now a familiar part of teachers' working lives (Allen 2014). In the context of an education policy that is governed by the use of statistics, heralded, for example, by the introduction of published school league tables in the early 1990s in England, performativity in education still follows much the same principles today: it necessitates teachers to 'live an existence of calculation' (Ball 2003, p. 215). Research on teachers'

[1]Academies are English state schools that are independent from local authority control and report directly to the Department for Education. The academy schools programme in England was introduced by the New Labour government in 2000 and greatly expanded by the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition government after 2010. Academy schools in England are sometimes compared to Charter schools in the US, due to their similar status as semi-independent providers of state-funded education.

responses to a performative government policy and a resulting change in school management cultures dates back to the 1990s and early 2000s (e.g. Troman 1996; Sachs 2001; Ball 2003). As early as 1996, Troman wondered whether a new 'type' of professional teacher was on the rise, teachers who have often just entered the profession and who accommodated management expectations of them to some extent, although not wholesale. He contrasted this group with what he termed 'old professionals' who largely resisted this type of policy change and who often left schools that introduced new managerial techniques or exited the teaching profession altogether (Troman 1996). Similarly Sachs (2001) recognised how conditions of significant change in government policy and educational restructuring impacted on teachers by calling into being either an entrepreneurial or an activist professional identity. The latter emphasised a version of democratic professionalism, while the former focused on accountability and effectiveness within what Sachs termed managerial professionalism. Troman argued that neoliberal measures of controlling and accounting for teachers' work such as inspections and school self-management were likely to 'limit the spaces in which teachers can use strategies of resistance within accommodation' (1996, p. 473).

Indeed, in a 3-year study with colleagues on policy enactments in four English comprehensive schools between 2009 and 2011, we found very little evidence of resistance to dominant policy messages and activity (Ball et al. 2012a). The study took an ethnographic approach to studying policy by spending considerable time in each of the four schools, observing training events and staff meetings and interviewing a range of policy actors, from the headteachers and senior management, to experienced and new teachers, classroom assistants and bursars. Aiming to understand how schools deal with multiple, and sometimes contradictory, policy demands, the study explored how policy is translated or enacted at ground level. Whilst there were some critics within the four schools, often union representatives who consciously engaged in monitoring and challenging management practices, the majority of staff were what we identified as 'receivers' of policy, busy coping with daily classroom realities, largely compliant and dependent on others to translate and guide them in new policy developments and initiatives. Following the findings of Sachs (2001), our case study schools also contained some entrepreneurial and enthusiastic individuals who were championing and pushing forward new policy developments and directions, often through conviction and occasionally as a means to further their career (Braun et al. 2011). Sometimes, this took the form of re-naming existing activities under the banner of the new policy, as Tanveer, a senior teacher responsible for introducing a new initiative called Personal Learning and Thinking Skills (PLTS) which was meant to foster skills such as team working and self-management (PLTS 2011) explains:

> **Tanveer:** Any member of staff or any head of department that comes to me [] and said, "I don't want to give up any of my history space or anything else [for the PLTS initiative]" and I knew she was going to say that and I had to be ready to say to her, "I'm not asking you to do that. Quite the contrary. I'm asking you to audit and dissect what you do normally, excellently; identify the skills that you are already teaching and promoting and give it a name." (Braun et al. 2011, p. 557)

This kind of policy action is of course open to interpretation. One could say it falls under Troman's category of 'resistance within accommodation' (1996: 473), but equally we may term it as straightforward accommodation. Tanveer's actions could also be seen as a neat combination of Sachs's democratic and managerial professionalism (2001). Such blurred layers of acceptance, tension and contradictions were common in the four schools in our policy enactment study. This was evident in school and professional cultures where older discourses of teaching and teachers, rooted in leftwing and inclusive values and imbued with a public sector, communal ethos, were circulating alongside more neoliberal and target-oriented messages which emphasised individual student (and teacher) achievement and personal dynamism and drive. These competing discourses may coexist within the same individuals and when interviewing teachers or analysing interview transcripts, I have often been reminded of my own ambivalent and contradictory relationship to, for example, performativity in the academy. Like many working in higher education, I find myself being both a critic of and accommodating to the managerial pressures that emphasise measurable outcomes in relation to research and teaching. Seemingly without irony, I can go from teaching a class or attending a seminar where we discuss the psychic injuries of a performative, neoliberal culture, to filling in my institution's pro forma in preparation for the next Research Excellence Framework exercise.[2] An inconsistency which has been observed in the working lives of teachers (e.g. Ball and Olmedo 2013), as well as academics (Ball 2012).

Researchers have intensively interrogated the emphasis on performance, accountability and measurability that comes with the market-based reforms of a neoliberal system of governance (e.g. Hammersley-Fletcher and Qualter 2010; Allen 2014; Lewis and Hardy 2015). Among educators, the performative teacher—developed from a model of 'the effective teacher' in government discourses that emphasise standards and competencies—has been aligned with a restricted version of professionalism (Menter 2010, p. 25). For Menter, a performativity-oriented approach to teaching does not necessarily require less skill than what he contrasts with more creativity-oriented approaches. However, the assumption of a performative approach where a set of planned actions and interventions will lead to successful and measurable outcomes leaves teachers with a restricted scope (and need) for decision-making. Menter argues that a performative approach to teaching cannot take account of, or provide for, the significant element of unpredictability inherent in any teaching and learning situation. In his view, the version of professionalism that is the performative teacher is ill-suited for preparing students for the challenges of the twenty-first century where considerable social and economic unpredictability requires flexibility, for which there tends to be little space in an ultimately rigid system of test-based assessment (Menter 2009).

[2]The Research Excellence Framework (REF) is a performative system for assessing the quality of research in UK Higher Education Institutions on which universities and university departments are ranked.

The terms 'professional' or 'professionalism' have become somewhat empty signifiers in recent decades, when they have been increasingly adopted to indicate any form of occupational or official conduct deemed to be appropriate (Fournier 1999). However, it is worth revisiting some of the guiding principles of what are considered the hallmarks of traditional professions when trying to trace teachers' professional self-understandings and conceptualisations of their work. Bates et al. (2011) identify seven key characteristics that professions hold in common. Amongst those are altruism, or a dedication to service, a degree of autonomy with regards to working practices and the self-regulation of the profession, client-professional relationships shaped by trust and an expectation of the professional to exercise their judgement in dealing with clients (Bates et al. 2011). For many teachers, the quality of the relationship between themselves and their students lies at the heart of what makes the profession for them rewarding and desirable, as well as often difficult. In a study of student teachers which formed my Ph.D. (Braun 2009), I explored the professional culture of teaching in terms of thinking of it as a vocational habitus. 'Vocational habitus', is defined by Colley as 'a powerful aspect of the vocational culture: the combination of idealised and realised dispositions to which students must orient themselves in order to become "the right person for the job"' (Colley 2006, p. 25). I have argued elsewhere that the vocational habitus of teaching is caught between contradictory discourses of care and authority, with beginning teachers struggling to find their place and to be recognised as both caring and authoritative (Braun 2012). That study did not focus in particular on the performative elements of the contemporary vocational habitus of teaching, however, it is undoubtedly the case that pressures of performativity are integral to and pervade teacher–student relationships as teachers try and find a delicate balance between care and authority.

For many teachers, what has brought them into the profession is 'the desire to do good' (Moore and Clarke 2016, p. 5) and it is this potentially naïve, practitioner-focused understanding of social justice (Thrupp and Tomlinson 2005) that this chapter is concerned with. In her influential examination of social justice, Fraser (2001) asked whether justice is a question of recognition or redistribution, pointing out that these have often been put in opposition to each other. However, I want to follow Thrupp and Tomlinson's argument that in education policy, the social justice challenge is one of 'complex hope' that recognises 'the historical and structural difficulties which need to be overcome' (2005, p. 550). The performative pressures on teachers and students, while presented by education policy as a means to raise standards, are increasingly being shown as divisive and as potentially contributing to, rather than ameliorating, segregation (Thrupp and Tomlinson 2005; Wilkins 2015). Moreover, the centrality of performance and achievement in government education policy stands in direct contrast to the motivations of many teachers to join (and stay) in the profession.

There have been numerous studies investigating the motivations of students to choose teaching as a career (e.g. Purcell and Wilton 2005; Morrison 2012;

ATL 2015). Across the studies, respondents identified the main reasons for their course choice as: enjoying working with children; believing teaching would bring high job satisfaction; feeling teaching would be a good career; a challenge; and an opportunity to contribute to society. Similarly, in many of the student teachers' accounts in my Ph.D. study idealistic notions of altruism and reward were in evidence with teaching being considered a 'worthwhile profession' (Braun 2009). Those participating in the study cared a lot about what they were doing and about the students they taught, their learning and their well-being, and it was these personal encounters that made the job meaningful for them. Teaching being 'rewarding' was the most repeated—and of course quite clichéd—statement to this effect, with 20 out of the 32 trainee teachers I interviewed using the word spontaneously and without prompting (Braun 2009, pp. 148–149). Some felt that due to their particular characteristics and life experiences, they had a distinct contribution to make:

> **Jagdish:** I'd like to see myself as a role model, being young, being through what they've been [through], being brought up in London, understanding where they come from. […] I mean, from my background [as a British Bangladeshi male] you don't see many teachers. (Braun 2009, p. 112)

This sense of teaching as a rewarding profession because it centres around relationships—between teachers, students and the community—is a deep-seated part of the vocational habitus (or vocational culture) of teaching. For many teachers, teaching is often more than a job that has to be 'performed', but something that can be quite intimately tied up with their sense of self and purpose (Moore and Clarke 2016). This kind of dedication could be interpreted as what social researchers have termed Public Service Motivation (Kjeldsen 2012) or 'mission preference' (Dur and Zoutenbier 2012) and numerous studies have shown that altruism is an important work value when choosing a career in the public and not-for-profit sectors (e.g. LeGrand 2010; Ng et al. 2012). The emphasis on performativity, targets and achievement that runs through English education policy arguably not only sits uneasily alongside altruistic motivations, but with its relentless policy activity and workload implications (Ball et al. 2012b), it risks causing teachers to exit the profession (Weale 2015). Currently, there are serious concerns about an acute teacher recruitment and retention crisis in England (e.g. ATL 2015; Morris 2015). English schools, especially in inner city and deprived areas, are dealing with severe teacher shortages and high teacher turnover (Allen et al. 2012; Zeffman and Helm 2016). As a result, schools have to resort to employing temporary, as well as un- or underqualified staff, with implications for quality of teaching and a disproportionate impact on children and young people growing up in already marginalised areas (Howson 2015; Coughlan 2015). In this way, the teacher recruitment and retention crisis that has been linked to the increasingly high pressured performance demands made on teachers, is connected to wider questions around social equity and social justice. This crisis in teaching is also happening against the backdrop of a major change in English education policy, that of academisation.

10.3 The Intensification of Teaching: Working in Academy Chains and the School as Efficient Machine

In England, since 2010, there has been a major change in the governance of education, with more and more schools becoming academies, which are quasi-independent state-funded schools that report directly to central government. Some of these schools, especially those belonging to chains of academies (see below), have close links to business and private philanthropy. It has been argued that their intensely performative leadership styles resonate more with those of private sector businesses, than a state school and public sector organisation (Kulz 2015). So far in this chapter, I have claimed that this kind of performative culture in schools threatens the traditional vocational habitus of teaching. From teachers' perspectives, what is emerging is a struggle over what it means to be an educator and to work in education. In the following, I explore this struggle more deeply by examining the experiences of a small group of teachers working in academy chains and the intensification of teaching they report. I chose the term 'intensification' to cover two related dynamics. First, to reflect the way in which the hegemonic focus on targets and thus on performance data creates an increasingly narrow repertoire of 'education activities' in schools. Assessment and assessment-related activity occupy great parts of the school day and beyond, in the form of pre- and after-school revision classes, lunchtime booster sessions and weekend and holiday exam preparation, for instance (Ball et al. 2012b). Secondly, to indicate that this narrowing and focus means that these activities gain great importance and urgency, felt by both teachers and students as an intense pressure to perform (Moore and Clarke 2016).

The rapid expansion of the academies programme in England is arguably one of the most fundamental shifts in the English education landscape in recent years. Currently, over half of all secondary schools and around 15% of all primary school are classified as academies. As of July 2015, there are 4721 academy schools in England (DfE 2015), up from only 200 in 2010 when the Coalition government took over from New Labour and started to expand the programme. The programme was originally aimed at 'underperforming' and 'failing' schools and is being linked to a particular close scrutiny of performance results (Gunter and McGinity 2014). Academisation presents a wide-ranging shift in the way in which state education in England is governed and delivered, academies are accountable directly to central government, bypassing local authority control and mediation. Academy schools, their headteachers and governing bodies, are given greater powers to decide on certain aspects of the curriculum and management of their school, such as the length of the school day, some pay and contractual arrangements for staff and they are their own admissions authority (DfE 2014). According to researchers, the policy was introduced out of a sense that 'something new' was required to address stagnating improvement of, in particularly, inner-city schools (Gunter and McGinity 2014). Academies were lauded and elevated by government as the 'all ability independent

state school, with dynamic independent sponsors taking charge of their management' (New Labour schools minister Andrew Adonis cited in Gunter and McGinity 2014, p. 312). As part of this development, one of the more significant changes has been the rise of prominent academy chains. These chains are in charge of a string of schools across geographic areas and are often recognisable by chain-distinctive naming, branding and policy priorities. They are commonly headed by social enterprise and charitable foundations, often with the involvement of philanthropic individuals who have brought outside expertise, for example from the world of business, into the education sector (Ball 2013). A dynamic that leads some commentators and researchers to suggest that a process of privatisation is under way (Benn 2011; Mortimore 2013). English academies were broadly conceived along the model of US charter schools (Hill et al. 2012) and as prominent, semi-independent providers of state education, these schools and their headquarters play an increasingly influential role in both policy delivery and policy making. Academy chains and their founders, for example, are often very well connected with the world of politics, as network analyses of influential education policy players have shown (Ball and Junemann 2012).

Research on academy schools to date has centred mainly on their effects on student performance (e.g. Machin and Wilson 2009; Gorard 2014) and on the new forms of governance and policy messages they represent (e.g. Purcell 2011; Gunter and McGinity 2014). Largely missing from the research literature are the views and voices from inside the schools, although some such research studies are starting to be published. For example, Kulz (2015) presents an ethnography of Mossbourne Academy, a prominent academy school in Hackney, East London, whose well-known former headteacher has close links to the Department of Education and to government.[3] Her argument is that the neoliberal academy reforms are not, as claimed, about school autonomy, but about 'the imperative to comply with centralised policy demands at the expense of democratic participation and accountability' (Kulz 2015, p. 1). Academies are a particular type of school positioned by government as dynamic and entrepreneurial, in contrast with parochial, static local authority schools and they tend to be characterised as having strict behavioural guidelines and detailed monitoring of progress. Mossbourne, the site of Kulz's study, being the archetype of this type of high pressure, high-profile academy school.

In 2013–2014, I undertook a small scale study with six teachers who have been working in prominent chain academy known for their policy influence. The research explored questions such as what daily work looked like for these teachers and what versions of professionalism or 'being a teacher' were open to them (Braun 2014). The following draws on extracts from the interviews with these academy teachers to think more about how teachers understand their work and their relationships with students in the current policy climate. A key theme emerging from

[3]Sir Michael Wilshaw, who is currently the Chief Inspector of Schools in England and head of Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills).

the data is an idealisation of the school as 'efficient machine' by policy and management practices, a view which poses questions of the visibility and recognition of individuals within, be they teachers or students. Most of this section uses the teachers' own words in an attempt to let a personal, shared narrative of their experiences develop. I am aware that data does not necessarily speak for itself and I am of course present in the data as both an interviewer and an editor, but I hope that their voices will prove as compelling to readers of this chapter, as they were for me as the interviewer.

The teachers in my study were very aware of the neoliberal policy technologies and performance management strategies that they and their students were subjected to and which compelled them to continuously organise, monitor and appraise their own and their students' work (Ball et al. 2012b). These included constant tracking of progress of individual and groups of students and they directly related this scrutiny to an intense atmosphere of accountability. Here, Gemma, Richard and Andy identify first the formal, bureaucratic, decision-making structures and second the fierce pressure of work. Both of these served to diminish teachers' autonomy about what they did and when:

> **Gemma:** [W]e nicknamed [the chain academy] 'Big Brother' because of how much monitoring there was, paperwork, procedures that were brought into place that hadn't existed [before] and that actually made it really difficult to get everything done, because you had to write up so many bits of paperwork and pass them to somebody else. Whereas [before], you'd be able to have a conversation and then you put something in place, but it didn't have to go through heads of department, then to senior staff, get cleared with the [Chain's] 'superhead',[4] and come back down to you.
>
> **Richard:** There is a phrase that's called the [Academy's] way, it means 'No excuses under no circumstances.' […] It also means you can never say no to any extra workload or any demand. So you have to action an email, irrespective of where it comes from, once it is in your inbox, if you don't action it, it is your fault.
>
> **Andy:** They will send an email two hours later, why haven't you done that yet? You may have been teaching for the last two hours, that is still not an excuse, even though, if you're seen looking at emails in your lessons, you get an email about 'no reading emails in lessons'. [Extract from Richard & Andy in a joint interview, they worked at different academies of the same Chain.]

The idea of the school as following a business logic, hinting at the private sector element mentioned above in relation to chain academies and academisation, ran through the teachers' descriptions of their schools. Interestingly, I did not use the term 'business' in my interviews, but interviewees quite frequently answered questions and talked about the schools as businesses or as demonstrating business thinking or behaviour. By this they seemed to mean an emphasis on systems, smooth-running organisation and on presentation:

[4]Head teachers who are in charge of more than one school are frequently referred to as 'superheads'. It is common in academy chains to have head teachers who are responsible for two or more schools.

> Because it is so efficient, it's really a business and it's a really corporate environment and in that sense the behaviour management systems are brilliant. [] They never let anything slide and they always follow it up. (Sonia)

> You know, if the kids were horrible to you, there was a consequence, and they did things like there were central detentions. You know it was really nice, business thinking: what causes teachers to waste their time? Sitting in detention with kids and chase them, so what do we do? We hire people after school to run central detentions and all the teacher has to do now is log it, someone else picks the kids up, someone else sits with them, brilliant. (Becky)

While sometimes welcome, such as illustrated in the examples above, often business-like practices were the object of humour or elements of irony. It is clear when talking to teachers that they are not simply passive receivers of performative policy directives, they are reflective agents who are actively making sense (and fun) of the rules and conditions they encounter. In our study of policy enactments in secondary schools discussed earlier (Ball et al. 2012a), we term these low-level subversions 'murmurings' and while they cannot be described as full-scale resistance (space for which, as argued above, is severely curtailed by the constant application of performative pressure), they nevertheless point to an agentic reimagining of some policy directives. Sonia below, for example, was asked when she applied for a drama teacher position in a prestigious academy school how she felt about wearing 'business attire'. At the time of our research interview, she was about to leave this school for a less high-profile community school and here she recounts what happened in her initial job interview at the academy three years ago:

> And then he said, and how do you feel about—because it is business-oriented, it comes down to the environment, only business attire? I was like, what does that mean? And he said 'No cardigans!' So I didn't wear a cardigan for three years. I'm going to wear a cardigan every day now! We had regular emails about, if you're in the corridor, you have to be wearing a blazer!' (Sonia)

This concern with formal daywear associated with efficiency and effectiveness and which positions well-dressed teachers as embodiment of 'high standards', was part of the way in which academies distance themselves from 'ordinary' comprehensive schools. It was also reflected in the physical environment of the schools, often newly built and expensively designed buildings:

> [Before the job interview] I have been and seen the building, it's pretty impressive. When you see it, you think, they mean business, that's an impressive building. (Leonie)

Workload was one of the most talked about issues in the research interviews (Richard: '*it wasn't that uncommon that I had to be up at 3.30 am just to start meeting my deadlines for that day*') and there was an understandable sense that this was not sustainable over a long period of time. Interviewees felt that it was not possible to stay for long in the most pressured jobs or schools and in the course of their respective careers,[5] they had all moved schools or changed roles in order to

[5]At the time of the interviews, the six participating teachers had been in teaching between 3 and 11 years.

find a more manageable life-work balance.[6] As mentioned earlier, high levels of teacher turnover especially in inner-city schools and in general a high level of exit from the profession are a serious problem in the current English education landscape (Allen et al. 2012; ATL 2015). There are no figures or official statistics available specifically for academy schools or even more particularly chain academies. However, Allen et al. (2012) have examined teacher mobility statistics and found that more disadvantaged and inner-city schools had higher turnover and younger teachers (also associated with higher turnover). Chain academies tend to fall within either or both of these categories and there is widespread anecdotal evidence of very high teacher turnover in many chains. In social media and on twitter, there is frequent pointing out of the many vacancies that are advertised by some academy schools (e.g. https://mobile.twitter.com/academywb or https://mobile.twitter.com/teacherroar).

Among the interviewees in my study, Leonie thought that in her chain academy, every year around a third of teachers left. And Richard reckoned that '*there was a 200% turnover*' in his English department in the 18 months that he worked in a particular chain academy:

> The first term I was there, the whole department left, because I started in the summer term. So come September, I was the oldest member in the department [laughs]—not the oldest in age, but the oldest being there. (Richard)

Intense pressure of work and expectations were not necessarily experienced as all negative; the interviewees also reported getting satisfaction and excitement from being in the challenging, high-intensity environments of the schools, where they and their colleagues worked hard and put in long hours. Becky and Sonia below in particularly reflected on the energy and feelings of reward they got from working in these demanding school environments. But they also thought that it was not sustainable as a long-term working situation, burnout and thus teacher turnover seemed almost inevitable:

> [W]e got free breakfast, free lunch, we got so many 'good' things … you know in some ways they were saying, yes, we look after you. But the pay off for that was you were expected to work as hard as you need to work … and there wasn't much obvious worrying about workload [from management]. … So we all loved working there for the first couple of years and then we all got exhausted. And so then I left and my other dear friends who were brilliant are leaving. (Becky)

> Because when things were going well, it was amazing! It was really, it felt like, in the second year I was involved in the school musical, [] I was just working, you know, 12 hours a day and on Sundays. [] I worked out what I was doing and then it was wonderful! However, I would never do that again, I would never: Hell No! I want to have a life! [] I was young, I didn't have any children, what should I do other than work!? I think the school really takes advantage of that kind of young mindset. (Leonie)

[6]Three of the six interviewees have since left teaching in English schools, two to move abroad and work as teachers there, one to take up a position at a university.

Leonie, above, suggests that the intensive work demanded of teachers makes it an occupation merely for the young, an interesting contrast to traditional ideas of teaching as a secure, lifelong public sector occupation (Purcell and Wilton 2005). Central to the enjoyment and the satisfaction that can be got from the job is the relationship to the students and indeed to colleagues, key dynamics that we also observed in our policy enactment study (see Braun et al. 2011). This is not surprising given that the motivation of so many teachers to enter the profession in the first place is related to a desire to work with children. Arguably, this attachment to 'doing good' by the children and young people in their schools is something that can be exploited quite effectively by a performative, high-intensity school and education environment:

> [T]here is this pull in two directions. [] [I]t's really hard in one way to undermine it because you see, the kids that are going there are getting a much better education in many, many ways than what they would get if they were to go to another school. Would I send a child of mine to [academy x]? Yeah, you know, they would be well looked after, they would have good opportunities, the [extra philanthropic] money buys things there that you wouldn't get in other places. But, would I want a child of mine to have a job at [academy x]? Not for very long. (Becky)

Becky argues here that the presumed benefits to the children of providing a structured, results driven department come at considerable cost to the staff. Kulz in her study of Mossbourne Academy describes this dynamic eloquently as contradictions that 'are made palatable through emotionally seductive tales of mobility that conflate neoliberal aspiration with social justice' (2015, p. 6). Kulz observed that narratives of student success were central to the academy's understanding and justification of its practices, contributing to a fierce belief in a neoliberal, meritocratic individualism which students and staff were meant to follow and which are also evident in Becky's interview abstract above. This kind of justification makes any criticism of the practices involved difficult.

In my interviews with academy teachers, Becky (above) was the research participant who was most positive about the advantages attending the school brought to the students who went there. The other interviewees were less sure whether the high pressure environments of the schools were always beneficial for the students. As well as an intense focus on targets, academies, particularly those with working class populations, emphasise their strict codes of behaviour:

> **Sonia:** And I think the management team, the way they deal with kids is not very nice, there was a lot of shouting in faces. And they'd have kids who they knew were trouble and they'd pick on them and once that mark is against you, you can breathe in the wrong way and you can be in the isolation unit for the day.
>
> **Annette:** Is it called that?
>
> **Sonia:** No, it's called ICAS which stands for Internal Care and Support. (Sonia)

Part of Sonia's and other teachers' anger related to the fact that they felt the academies did not care. They did not care for 'problem' children whom they

observed as being moved out of their schools (Richard: '*There is such a high [student] turnover. [] When there is ever an incident, the student gets removed, excluded and they are going to make sure that student does not stay there for very long.*'). And they did not care for staff and teachers who could not sustain such high levels of pressure. Teachers in the interviews felt a very keen sense of not being valued and recognised as individuals, both in relation to themselves and on behalf of their colleagues. This perhaps being the flipside of the 'can-do' meritocratic individualism mentioned above. They experienced the schools not as entities formed by a community of individuals: students and staff, but felt that priority lay with the reputation of the academy and the academy's goals—an entity that was bigger than its parts and where the parts ended up feeling replaceable:

> They weren't particularly interested in us [the teachers], we were just the machine that makes the school work. (Becky)

> Another [teacher] who was there for three years, she said, 'I was here for three years, nobody asked me why I was leaving'. They [senior management] are not stupid people, you can't be stupid and do that kind of job, so the only reason for them not to ask people, not to try and stop people from [leaving], is because they see everybody as replaceable and disposable. (Sonia)

Working in these high pressure school environments is not sustainable on an individual level and people are leaving. In the absence of long-term teachers to provide continuity, the 'business structures and systems' mentioned earlier are vital to deliver institutional sustainability. In addition, the tight focus on structures, together with the schools' emphasis on professional, uniform presentation (e.g. see discussion above of dress codes for teachers) meant that teachers felt invisible as individuals, they did not feel valued or recognised.

High-profile academies like those described above are not special cases in their working practices, although I am suggesting that they can be particularly intense in their focus on targets and disregard for manageable workloads for both teachers and students. Teaching as being imbued with neoliberal ideas and practices supposedly modelled on the private sector, 'mechanised' and endlessly repeated, can be observed across all types of schools. This is where the performative practices of chain academies can be understood as a weather vane for developments across English education. While many secondary and primary schools prepare to become academies (DfE 2015), the focus on accountability and relentless policy activity to improve standards can already be found everywhere in education. Thus the chain academies with their links to business and the 'ordinary' comprehensive school become indistinguishable for those at classroom level. A truth that was illustrated powerfully by one of the interviewees, Gemma. At the time of the interview, Gemma had recently changed from working in chain academies to working in a non-academised, high-performing faith school. She had to comply with 'Mock Mondays' in her new school. Every Monday from October onwards, her GCSE English groups had to write a mock exam paper that teachers had to mark by

Friday.[7] For her, this meant marking 50+ exam papers weekly, on top of her ordinary workload. For her students, it meant starting every week with yet another (pretend) exam. Within all of these policy practices, the school, and thus the people within it, functions as an imagined and idealised efficient machine.

10.4 Where Do We Go from Here? Some Concluding Thoughts on the Performative Culture of Teaching, Policy and Social Justice

In this chapter, I have argued that teachers' work has become ever more intense as a result of the overriding concern with, and acceptance of, performance targets as the primary aim in English education policy. Targets act to control and confine teachers' work and narrow the definition of what it means to be a 'good' teacher—one who manages to produce the required results. Thus the high pressure environments of English schools, whether they are academies, as in many of my examples, or 'ordinary' schools, as we have also seen, shift the traditional understanding of what it means to work as a teacher. The professional culture of teaching has traditionally been imbued with notions of altruism and reward linked to student care and students' 'success' in a broad sense. In a performative, neoliberal education context, caring for students has become redefined and restricted as ensuring that students achieve academically. Thus elements of what can be understood as the 'traditional' vocational habitus of teaching have shifted as a focus on performance becomes absolute, marginalising both pastoral concerns and an interest in broader conceptions of education, which go beyond targets and exam results. An emphasis on student assessment as part of a neoliberal policy regime that governs by numbers is not restricted to England, as hinted at in the beginning of this chapter. International developments, such as the growing importance of PISA (the Programme for International Student Assessment), are impacting on national education policy across Europe and beyond (Grek 2009).

The implications for children and young people who find themselves in education environments where the policy focus is primarily on raising achievement is a one-dimensional recognition of them as either 'performing' or 'failing to perform'. This is a social justice concern that has been raised by educators and education researchers for considerable time (e.g. Youdell 2004). Alongside this, runs a similar but perhaps less voiced concern around justice for teachers. High teacher turnover in English schools and high exit from the profession, including at very early stages in people's professional lives, suggest that teaching has become an increasingly time-limited and indeed short-lived career. This is in stark contrast to how a

[7]GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) are English academic exams in various subjects usually taken at the end of Year 11 (when students are aged 15–16). The exams take place in May and June each year.

profession such as teaching used to be conceived, as a stable, long-term and secure public sector occupation. As is evident in the accounts of some of the teachers in the academy study above, an acceptance seems to have developed around teaching being a 'crash and burn' job. Policy developments that put ever-greater emphasis on raising (narrowly defined) standards and which disregard associated workload implications make staying long term in the profession an impossibility for many teachers. As Andy, one of the academy teachers interviewed puts it:

> The only thing I can compare it to is when I [have worked in] sales before—where it was very much, if you didn't hit your target, you'd have a meeting, you continue to not hit your target, you get fired. Literally, this is the only thing it compares to, but [teaching] isn't the same kind of professional job, you can get anyone in and train them up to sell a product. (Andy)

In a policy framing that conceives of education as a product, measurable and packaged by putting in place largely uniform structures and following set procedures, the school is imagined and treated as efficient machine. As education researchers, we often seem to engage with education on the level of the machine: by examining student trajectories and exam results, researching policy implementation and scrutinising student and teacher characteristics in an effort to link input with outcome. All this research is valid and much needed, but I also want to make here an appeal for research that focuses and tries to unpick the relational, the intra- and interpersonal dynamics that shape our experiences and subjectivities in relation to education. Arguably, personal connections are what keep teachers in their profession and make students feel recognised. It seems to me that fostering long-term, sustainable personal connections ought to be an essential element of an education policy that conceives education as a vehicle for social justice.

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Chapter 11
Pedagogical Habitus Engagement in a Developing Country Context: A Narrative-Based Account of a Teacher's Pedagogical Change Within a Professional Learning Community

Aslam Fataar and Jennifer Feldman

Abstract This chapter focuses on the journey of pedagogical change and adjustment of one teacher in a professional learning community (PLC) within the South African schooling context. It discusses the *durability* and *malleability* of this teacher's pedagogical dispositions by arguing for a conceptualisation of teacher change that engages with the embodied practices of teachers in the light of the shifts and adaptations that they undergo when trying to establish augmented pedagogical approaches. Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, bodily hexis and doxa, teachers' pedagogical adaptation and change are conceptualised as a form of 'habitus engagement' that engages with teachers' embodied teaching practices, what is referred to in this chapter as their 'pedagogical habitus'. The chapter is based on data collected over a two-year period which include PLC transcriptions, observational school visits and multiple in-depth interviews with the teacher. This chapter highlights the 'hardness' of this teacher's pedagogical adaptations and argues that the process of pedagogical change must engage with teachers' corporeality and embodied habitus, what Bourdieu refers to as bodily hexis. We suggest that this is best facilitated via dialogical PLC engagement over a sustained period of time.

11.1 Introduction

Situated in the context of teaching within South Africa, this chapter focuses on the journey of pedagogical change and adjustment of one teacher through his participation in a professional learning community (PLC). It discusses the *durability* and *malleability* of this teacher's pedagogical dispositions by arguing for a conceptualisation of teacher change that moves beyond a cognitivist approach. That is, The

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chapter is based on data collected over a two-year period and includes transcripts of conversations that took place in the PLC, six months of weekly school visits and multiple in-depth interviews that we had with him. We include a discussion on the 'methodo-logic' of a social justice approach that was the focus of the PLC conversations. This approach, drawing on Fraser's (1997) conceptualisation of social justice, considers the tension between the redistribution of the school knowledge code, recognition of student social–cultural constructions of identity and a representation within school knowledge, of the lifeworld knowledges that the students bring with them to school. In addition, we use Bourdieu's thinking tools to conceptualise Johan's pedagogical change mediated through his involvement in the PLC. This chapter, exemplified by Johan's narrative, argues that changing or adapting teachers' pedagogy is never linear or straightforward, but rather recursive, messy and deeply reflexive. Further, we suggest that teachers' pedagogical change requires a form of habitus engagement that takes into account teachers' embodied cognitive and corporeal habitus. Habitus engagement, we suggest, actively engages with teachers' firmly established identities, educational practices and classroom pedagogical process to engender shifts and adaptations in their practices, which, we argue, is best facilitated within a reflexive and dialogical PLC process.

The chapter's focus on pedagogical change is situated in the current South African Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) being implemented in schools across the country. The CAPS has been described as regulated, results driven and 'teacher proof' (Fataar 2012) as it tends to restrict teacher autonomy and professionalism by tightly controlling all aspects of the way in which knowledge transfer and student assessment take place. The PLC is motivated by a desire to generate a pedagogy that invites teachers to move beyond mandated curriculum requirements to a more enriched notion of teaching and learning that embraces a social justice orientation. Such an orientation, as explained below, emphasises the necessity of teacher pedagogies that elicit enriched learning engagement by students. The premise of the PLC's deliberations, and the research process that we have facilitated, is that teachers' pedagogical practices are extremely difficult to shift or change. We argue therefore that conceptualising PLC work as a form of habitus engagement, provides an opportunity for the teachers to reflexively and collaboratively investigate their embodied pedagogical practices in order to consider possible adaptation and change. This chapter singles out Johan's story from the PLC participants as he remained in the PLC over a two-year period and actively worked to adapt and change his embodied teaching practices.

In this chapter, we start by giving an overview of the South African school context. This is followed by a brief outline of PLCs and the establishment and focus of the PLC which provided the impetus for Johan's pedagogical adaptation and change over a two-year period. We then discuss the methodo-logic of the PLC process. By methodo-logic we refer to the logic of the approach that guided the focus and dialogical engagement of the PLC conversations. The main body of the chapter, which is divided into two sections, describes and discusses Johan's pedagogical habitus engagement. The first section provides an in-depth discussion that draws on Johan's narrative to analyse and explore both the durability and possibility

of change in his classroom practices using Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' of practice, habitus, bodily hexis, field and doxa. In the second section, we provide a discussion on the tensions involved in Johan shifting and adapting his pedagogy, via the PLC conversations and his enacted classroom practices over a two-year period, to include a socially just teaching orientation. We conclude by arguing that the process of pedagogical adaptation and change must move beyond cognitive learning to one that engages with teachers' corporeality and embodied habitus, and suggest that this form of adaptation and change is best facilitated via dialogical PLC engagement over a sustained period of time.

11.2 South African Schooling

Germane to the establishment of the PLC and Johan's pedagogical adaptation, is an understanding of the South African schooling and the current curriculum orientation. As Johan's narrative will highlight, his early schooling and subsequent socialisation into teaching, what we refer to as his pedagogical habitus, was influenced by a number of educational orientations within the pre- and post-apartheid dispensations.

South African schooling up until 1994 took place under an educational ideology adopted by the apartheid state namely Christian National Education (CNE). CNE is described by Enslin (1984) as a curriculum ideology for white Afrikaans-speaking[1] children, which "purport[s] to constitute the life- and world-view of the *Afrikaner*" (pp. 139–140; italics in original). CNE, as a curriculum policy, advocated a particular dominant ideology of Afrikaner education that claimed a racial superiority over coloured, Indian and black African education based on the view that the Boer (Afrikaans farmer) nation is "the senior white trustee of the native", who is described as being in a state of "cultural infancy" (Enslin 1984, p. 140).

Following the end of the apartheid era, a series of educational policy and curriculum changes were adopted to redress the educational injustices of the apartheid government. Curriculum 2005 (C2005) was launched in March 1997 driven by the principles of outcomes-based education (OBE). C2005 was revised, following a task team appointed by the minister of education to investigate the challenges with the implementation of C2005 by schools and teachers across the country and based on the team's recommendations C2005 was revised leading to the launch of the Revised National Curriculum (RNCS) in 2002. Despite the changes in the curriculum the majority of learners from previously disadvantaged schools continued to perform poorly in national and international assessments and the RNCS was seen to be exacerbating rather than ameliorating educational inequality. These concerns

[1]Afrikaans is one of South Africa's official languages. It is a creolised language derived from Dutch and was co-shaped by indigenous, slave and other localised linguistic influences in South Africa since Dutch colonisation in 1652 (see Davids 2011).

amongst others, led to the implementation of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in 2011.

The CAPS was implemented with the aim of shifting the curriculum policy focus to a controlled type of knowledge transfer in an attempt to meet the basic educational needs of learners in impoverished circumstances. The CAPS is based on the argument that students from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds learn more effectively on the basis of a structured, teacher-directed mode of pedagogy (Ramatlapana and Makonye 2012 citing Lubienski, 2003). In this light, the CAPS is based on strong classification and framing (Bernstein 1975) which is meant to make curricula knowledge visible and explicit to all students. Subject topics and concepts to be taught are clearly delimited and the pacing and sequencing of the curriculum content is explicit. The CAPS is accompanied by results-driven assessment requirements that necessitate that Annual National Assessments (ANAs) are written by all schools in Grades 1–6 and Grade 9, as well as a National Senior Certificate (NSC) examination at the end of students' twelve years of formal schooling.

The CAPS, which is presented as a pre-packaged curriculum, is criticised as encroaching on and restricting teacher autonomy and professionalism (Ramatlapana and Makonye 2012; Msibi and Mchunu 2013). The emphasis on the use of Department of Education (DoE) workbooks and text books and a tightly scripted curriculum designed ostensibly to improve the educational quality of teaching in schools (Spreen and Vally 2010), has arguably produced an educational discursive regime that is prescriptive and demands uniformity in curriculum implementation across South African schools which is strictly monitored by governmental officials. Fataar (2012) states that the CAPS is framed on a deficit assumption that South African teachers are poorly prepared and require a strict regulatory regime that governs curriculum implementation. Msibi and Mchunu (2013), discussing the relationship between curriculum revision and the ongoing systematic failure of education in South Africa, suggest that the CAPS indicates that government has given up on the professional agenda of the post-1994 dispensation by making teachers more powerless and unimportant.

It was in response to this predominantly narrow focus to teaching and learning in schools, as is currently packaged in South Africa's curriculum policy approach, that the PLC was established. The aim of the PLC was to support teachers dialoguing about ways in which they could adapt and change their teaching practices in accordance with a socially just approach. This approach, within the South African schooling context, builds on Fataar's (2015) argument that the current narrow scripting of the school curriculum fails to leverage a rich curriculum and pedagogical platform that accords schools and teachers the necessary conceptual space to engage students in productive learning. The focus therefore, of the PLC and Johan's pedagogical adaptation, was aimed at interrupting the dominant discourse within schools that scripts and regulates teacher pedagogy and student learning, in order to leverage an engaging teaching and learning orientation. Fataar (2015) argues that we need to find ways to bridge the gap between student learning and the school's functional and pedagogical orientations by placing student subjectivities

and their lifeworld knowledges and literacies at the centre of teachers' pedagogical repertoires and their curriculum engagement with their students.

11.3 The Professional Learning Community as Context for Johan's Pedagogical Habitus Engagement

Professional learning communities (PLCs)[2] can be described as a "a group of people sharing and critically interrogating their practice in an ongoing, reflective, collaborative, inclusive, learning-orientated, growth-promoting way" (Stoll et al. 2006, p. 223). Darling–Hammond and Richardson (2009, p. 3) describe PLCs as a learning space in which "teachers work together and engage in continual dialogue to examine practice and student performance and to develop and implement more effective instruction practice … teachers learn about, try out and reflect on new practices in their specific context, sharing their individual knowledge and expertise". PLCs are fundamentally about professional and collective teacher learning with a specific focus on problematising the learning needs and outcomes of the students (Stoll et al. 2006; Vescio et al. 2008; Katz and Earl 2010; Brodie 2013). Central to the learning process in a PLC is the ongoing dialogue that generates new knowledge and change in teachers' pedagogical practices.

We first met Johan in the Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) Honours module *Education and Society* in our capacity as the lecturer (Fataar) and class tutor (Feldman) for the module. The Honours module focused, among others, on the conceptual parameters of student learning in complex educational contexts. The focus of the B.Ed. Honours class was a consideration of the pedagogical bases on which students, in particular working class students, disengage from their learning. This is founded on an understanding that the school knowledge message system does not engage with the students' cultural knowledges that they bring from their homes and community environments. The readings and class discussion included a consideration of ways in which South African schooling can be transacted to include a more socially just approach to teaching, one that engages all students in their learning (see McFadden and Munns 2002).

A group of the Honours students, who were teachers in schools in working class communities, displayed an interest in finding ways to adapt their pedagogy to incorporate the theoretical concepts discussed in the module. In response to their interest, we invited the five Honours students to participate in a PLC which we established for the purpose of engaging the teachers in pedagogical learning informed by social justice orientations. The focus of the PLC involved the teachers

[2]The professional learning community model is based on the concept of communities of practice (CoP) that was developed by Lave and Wenger (1991). Briefly CoP can be defined as "groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis" (Wenger et al. 2002, p. 4).

dialoguing among each other to find ways in which they could incorporate their students' social–cultural knowledge from their homes and communities into the standardised school curriculum. This process, which is discussed in more depth below, included ongoing reflexive conversations about pedagogical adaptation as well as the practical design and implementation of lesson units that centred on finding ways to involve the students and their lifeworld knowledge productively in the design of school lesson units. Johan was one of the teachers who committed to the process and this chapter narrates his pedagogical adaptation and change driven by the PLC process over a two-year period.

11.4 Methodo-Logic of the Professional Learning Community

In order to guide the dialogical process of the PLC conversations and practical design of lesson units by the teachers, we adopted what is called by Hattam et al. (2009, p. 304) a 'methodo-logic' of an approach for chasing a socially just change through a research process. This approach does not refer to research methods or methodology, but to the logic of an approach that guides the decisions and activities of the process. In other words, the methodo-logic provided the logic for the unfolding dialogical engagement within the PLC process. The logic of the PLC practice-based research process was underpinned by an ethical commitment to finding ways in which the teachers could adapt or change their current pedagogies in accordance with a socially just teaching orientation. This approach draws on Fraser's (1997) conceptualisation of social justice that considers the dialectic between the redistribution of the school knowledge code, recognition of the students' social–cultural constructions of identity and a representation within school knowledge of the lifeworld knowledges that the students bring with them to school. The logic and focus of the PLC dialogue was therefore on finding ways in which the teachers could adapt their pedagogy to become more socially just educators.

The methodo-logic of the PLC was premised on a Bourdieusian insight that students enter schooling from different socio-structural positions, bringing with them embodied qualities, dispositions and knowledges from their families and communities (see Bourdieu 1998). These dispositions operate as 'cultural capital' which resonate and align with the school knowledge code, as is the case for most middle class students. Conversely, the school code alienates and isolates working class students from school learning because their 'cultural capital' does not align with the 'cultural capital' codes valued by the school. Bourdieu describes this form of social stratification via education thus:

> The education system … maintains the pre-existing order, that is, the gap between pupils endowed with unequal amounts of cultural capital. More precisely, by a series of selection operations, the system separates the holder of inherited cultural capital from those who lack it. Differences in aptitude being inseparable from social differences according to inherited capital, the system thus tends to maintain pre-existing social differences. (1998, p. 20)

Middle class students whose embodied cultural capital aligns with the education (school) system enables them access to the codes of schooling while at the same time operating in such a way as to deny most working class students the opportunity to achieve success at school. These students find that the curriculum makes very little connection to the capitals they bring from their community contexts and therefore they see no intrinsic value in engaging with the educational experience.

The methodo-logic of the PLC was trained on finding ways in which the participating teachers could adapt and change their pedagogy by infusing the standardised CAPS lesson units with a rich familiarity with, and pedagogical connection to, their students' community contexts and lifeworld knowledges. This included finding ways to design curricular and pedagogical work to include the literacy and other cultural dispositions of less powerfully positioned students in order to redistribute the 'culture of power' more equitably (see Hattam et al. 2009, p. 307).

In order to find ways to engage the students more deeply in the learning process, the PLC conversations drew on the 'funds of knowledge' (FoK) framework (Moll et al. 1992). This approach discursively and practically mobilises community and family knowledge and resources and draws them into classroom curriculum and lesson units in a manner that moves beyond the rote-like teaching instruction that students commonly encounter in schools (Moll et al. 1992). Utilising the FoK framework enables teachers to draw on the cultural capital of their students and recontextualises their lifeworld knowledge and interests into relevant and meaningful lesson units that are better able to create cultural congruence in school learning. In this manner classroom learning becomes a hybrid space where school knowledge combines with the students' FoK and cultural interests to enable the students to experience meaningful connection to, and greater intellectual engagement with, their school learning.

Drawing on the FoK framework, the PLC process invited the teachers to engage in an action research cycle of design, implementation and reflection. Following the introduction of the FoK infused lesson units in their classes the teachers returned to the PLC to engage in reflexive conversations about further adaptations based on the success of the previous implementation process. Thus, the generative PLC process provided the impetus for ongoing dialogue that engaged the teachers conceptually and pragmatically in finding ways to insert their students' FoK into the standardised curriculum units. It was this approach that framed the process of Johan's engagement in pedagogical adaptation and change.

11.5 Johan's Embodied Pedagogical Habitus Engagement

In order to theorise the change process with regard to Johan's adapted pedagogy, we draw on Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' of practice, habitus, bodily hexis, field and doxa. These 'tools' allow us to analyse and explore both the durability and possibility of change in Johan's teaching practices at the intersection of his classroom

discourse and individual agency. In particular, we consider the manner in which Johan was able to embark on strategic action that moved him beyond his embodied teaching practices in relation to his classroom (field) context.

Bourdieu views fields as socially constructed areas of activity. Fields may overlap each other while still remaining fairly autonomous with their own logic of practice. Individuals can occupy more than one social field. For example, the teachers involved in the PLC were involved in their classroom and school field (which is part of the larger field of education), the university field and the PLC field. It is in relation to particular fields that the habitus becomes active.

According to Bourdieu one's habitus is made up of "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 53) that denote not only how we think about the world, but include a bodily system of dispositions, which he refers to as one's corporeality, that are physically enacted in a field. Habitus includes patterns of socio-cultural practices and is a complex amalgamation of one's past and present. Reay (2004) describes one's habitus as containing multiple layers that are acquired over time given the different social contexts or fields that the individual moves through. Conditioned primarily during early childhood, habitus operates largely below the level of consciousness and gives one a sense of what actions are possible (or impossible) and provides one with a sense of how to act and respond "without consciously obeying rules explicitly posed as such" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 76). One's habitus, described as a "strategy generating principle" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 72), provides one with a way of responding to cultural rules and contexts as well as unforeseen and ever-changing situations in different ways. Bourdieu (2000, p. 161) explains that,

> Habitus change constantly as a function of new experiences. Dispositions are subject to a sort of permanent revision, but one that is never radical, given that it operates on the basis of premises instituted in the previous state. They are characterized by a combination of constancy and variation that fluctuates according to the individual and her degree of rigidity or flexibility.

Thus, one's habitus is able to respond and adapt to different social experiences and circumstances and these experiences are internalised and become another layer that is added to one's habitus.

For Johan, who grew up in a white middle class Afrikaans family living in a small rural town, his primary habitus was structured in a particular way. As the second of three children Johan describes his family as "very close" and displays a firm embeddedness in the values and beliefs espoused by his family. Johan describes his parents:

> My father is a firm, white conservative Afrikaans man who has always run his own business. He is very strict and can get very angry when people don't do what he tells them to do. You have to respect my father and speak to him properly … He believes that you must respect those in authority. … My mother is gentle and kind. She is submissive to my father, but also finds ways to do things she wants to … my mother had a strong influence on me. She could manage people well and did it in a professional way and was good at solving problems.

Johan describes his family as a typical white Afrikaans family. His father was the dominant and authoritarian head of the family while his mother obeyed his authority and helped to ensure that the children were respectful and did what was expected of them. Johan's mother also played a mediating role that ameliorated the harshness of his father's authoritarian manner by providing a 'buffer' between the children and the strict manner of their father.

Johan started school in 1990 at the age of six. He attended the local white Afrikaans primary and high school. Despite schools in South Africa becoming racially integrated in 1994, Johan notes that the schools in the rural town where he lived remained exclusively white for his entire schooling. Johan was also involved in the Afrikaans 'Voortrekker'[3] youth organisation, which he describes as playing a significant role in his life during his primary school years. The 'Voortrekker' organisation is founded on a Christian Afrikaner nationalistic ideology that empowers young Afrikaans boys to be successful in their 'Afrikanerskap' (the condition of being an Afrikaner), as well as becoming positive citizens and dependable and committed Christians. Johan describes the role that his involvement in the 'Voortrekkers' played in his life,

> … being part of the 'Voortrekkers' was a very important part of my life and I believed in their value system. I liked the discipline that they taught us … we did marching and standing to attention and rituals when we hoisted the flag. We had ceremonies where we were rewarded for things we did … they taught us respect and discipline and they valued team work and team building … I always feel so proud when I talk about it … it was something that I really liked, especially the uniform we had to wear. I loved that uniform.

Here Johan describes his embodied childhood corporeality, both an ideology and a physical hexis that the 'Voortrekker' organisation embedded in his early years' habitus.

Bourdieu describes this corporeality as 'bodily hexis' which is the expression of all the factors which make up the habitus and is embodied in one's physical being in a manner which is "as durable as the indelible inscriptions of tattooing" (Bourdieu 2000, p. 141). Bodily hexis refers not only to our motor functions in the form of patterns and postures but includes a thinking or feeling that is inscribed in our physical beings and that determines our corporeality. Bourdieu describes bodily hexis as,

> a whole system of techniques involving the body and tools, and charged with a host of social meanings and values … a way of walking, tilt of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and using implements, always associated with a tone of voice, a style of speech, and … a certain subjective experience … Bodily *hexis* is political mythology realized, *embodied,* turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking, and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*. (1977, p. 87, 93; italics in original)

For Bourdieu, there is no separation between one's body and one's mind. He describes the body as a mnemonic device on which the very basics of culture are

[3]The 'Voortrekker' youth movement in South Africa is the Afrikaner alternative to the international English-speaking Boy Scout movement.

imprinted and enacted. The way we relate to our bodies reveals the very deepest dispositions of habitus,

> nothing seems more ineffable, more incommunicable, more inimitable, and, therefore, more precious, than the values given body, *made* body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy. (Bourdieu 1977, p. 94)

Hence the two concepts, habitus and bodily hexis, are inextricably linked in that our practical beliefs are both a 'state of mind' and a 'state of the body' (Bourdieu 1990, p. 68). One's body, Bourdieu states, is a "living memory pad, an automaton that 'leads the mind unconsciously along with it'" (1990, p. 68). Our dispositions that are embodied and inscribed within the unconscious formation of habitus, and through our social practices and discourses, form the mediating link between our subjective and personal worlds and our cultural and social worlds (Jenkins 1992, p. 46). It is therefore in bodily hexis that one finds the embodiment of social structures, which are inscribed onto the body in terms of gait, stance, facial expressions, speech and so forth (Bourdieu 1990). For Johan, the corporeality that he embodied through his schooling and childhood involvement in the 'Voortrekkers', and that was founded on the principles of 'Afrikanerskap' that values the responsibility and dependable nature of a Christian citizen, is later evident in the way he comports himself as a teacher.

Johan's socialisation into the field of education took a more circuitous route than usual. After school he enrolled to study psychology at an Afrikaans university, but did not complete the course and left before the end of the first year to work in London. Towards the end of his first year overseas his father pressured him to return to South Africa and work in the family business. He returned to South Africa, but did not enjoy working in the family business and decided to enrol to study Pastoral Psychology through a distant learning college. After two years he changed to an Education degree which he also completed via correspondence. During his degree he was required to complete a practical teaching component and following one of his practical teaching stints he was invited to work as a substitute teacher at a high school which comprised of mostly black African learners with a diverse teaching staff. Johan describes this time of his life:

> I felt excited about the opportunity to teach but shortly after I started I felt confused and shocked because everything was so different. The school and the children were so different to my culture and background. I realised that I had to change my thinking if I wanted to survive. I had to learn how to teach these learners because the school was very different to the schools I went to. At first it was chaos and I realised that I had to find ways to structure and control my classes.

Here Johan is describing the disjuncture between his embodied primary habitus and corporeality and the field context of the school. Bourdieu refers to one's 'fields of play' as a structured social space or force field within which interactions, transactions and events occur at a specific time and location (Thomson 2008). A field, such as the field of education or a school field, is not a static entity but fluid

and dynamic and particular practices of individuals within these fields should not be seen only as a product of habitus, but rather as "the product of the *relation between* the habitus, on the one hand, and the specific social contexts or 'fields' within which individuals act, on the other" (Thompson 1991, p. 14; italics in original). Johan's habitus, which had been structured in a white privileged Afrikaans school and family environment, was incongruent with the students and school field in which he was now teaching. He describes how he felt overwhelmed and frustrated by the unruly student behaviour, the noise, the different languages the students spoke, their attitude to school and the way they interacted with him and responded to his authority as a teacher. For Johan, his embodied pedagogical beliefs were founded on the values of discipline, control and respect of white, middle class Afrikaner values. In other words, for Johan his expectations of how teaching and learning should take place were embodied in a corporeality which structured the way in which he believed the practice of education should take place.

Bourdieu uses the analogy of playing a game to give insight into the role that field and habitus play in the logic of one's enacted practice, and states that adjusting to the requirements of a field require a certain "feel for the game" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 66). Similar to a game, a social field such as a school is assembled with specific structures and rules. The relative smoothness of playing the social game in a school field often depends on the members accepting and following the given structures and rules within the field, regardless of how arbitrary they might seem. The longer that one continues to engage in the 'game', the more the structures and rules seem natural and unquestionable. For Johan, the values, beliefs and structures found in his own schooling were aligned with those from his primary habitus and therefore had become embodied as inherent and acceptable 'rules' in the 'game of schooling'. Bourdieu explains that unless challenged an individual becomes complicit to the rules of a particular form of the game (for example the game of schooling within a specific field context) and will (re)produce these as the expected 'norm'.

> The earlier a player enters the game and the less he is aware of the associated learning … the greater is his ignorance of all that is tacitly granted through his investment in the field and his interest in its very existence and perpetuation and in everything that is played for in it, and his unawareness of the unthought presuppositions that the game produces and endlessly reproduces, thereby reproducing the conditions of its own perpetuation. (1990, p. 67)

If we consider that teachers enter the game of schooling at the age of five or six, when they start formal school, it can be assumed that their embodied educational experiences include a tacit or unconscious investment in the game and rules of schooling which are acquired over a period of time given the school fields they have inhabited. We describe these embodied educational dispositions as the teachers' pedagogical habitus (see Grenfell 1996). Pedagogical habitus, we suggest, can be conceptualised as a layer of habitus formation which is grafted over time onto a teacher's primary habitus. Incorporated into a teacher's habitus are embodied social and cultural messages from the field of education which organises and positions

them as certain types of teachers, and which in turn, structures their teaching practices in particular ways. These dispositions include different teaching repertoires which are transacted, for example in their speech styles and patterns, and their use of resources, and the manner in which they both verbally and physically respond to their students. Bourdieu holds that our dispositions are preconscious and therefore not easily amenable to conscious reflection and modification—we perform them without conscious reflection, they are obvious, common sense, and in fact, we have forgotten that we even learned them. Consequently, any substantial or effective change in a teacher's embodied teaching practices has to contend with the durability of their pedagogical habitus which has been structured by various social and/or educational 'fields'.

Discussing his new school environment Johan describes how he initially struggled to relate to the black African learners which he describes as "very different, at first I didn't know how to talk to them, or physically interact with them". In order to survive in this unfamiliar schooling environment, Johan relied on the ideals and principles inscribed in his habitus, those of control, authority and discipline, combined with a reward system which he used to manage his classroom discipline and control the behaviour of the learners. These structures and systems used to control the learning environment, which were supported by an older white male teacher who acted as a mentor during the two years that Johan taught at the school, formed the basis of what Johan came to regard as integral and necessary in his enacted pedagogy.

Bourdieu describes conformity to the dominant discourse of a field as doxa and states that doxa is

> the relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between habitus and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense, … enacted belief, instilled in childhood learning … [it is] a repository for the most precious values, is the form par excellence of the "blind or symbolic thought." (Bourdieu 1990, p. 68)

As a set of core values and discourses of a particular field, educational doxa can be considered as the pre-reflexive and unquestioned discourse that are found in teachers' pedagogical beliefs and assumptions. Unless contested, these taken-for-granted or common sense values, discourses and practices of a social field, "come to be viewed as natural, normal and inherently necessary, thus working to ensure that the arbitrary and contingent nature of these discourses are not questioned nor even recognised" (Nolan 2012, p. 349). For Johan, his doxa of schooling, which had been established on a particular worldview, structured a certain form of student behaviour and teaching as natural and self-evident. It was this view, embodied in his pedagogical habitus and enacted in his teaching practices that Johan later grappled with in the PLC as he sought to adapt his teaching practices to allow for more student involvement in accordance with a socially just pedagogy.

On graduating with his teaching degree Johan moved to his current school which is a primary school located on the outskirts of a middle class, predominantly white Afrikaans area. During apartheid, the school was for white students only. However, with the desegregation of schools, the school now mostly enrols black African and coloured[4] learners and a small group of white students. The school has retained a predominantly white Afrikaans staffing component, which, by Johan's own admission, continues to perpetuate a white Afrikaans institutional culture despite the racially diverse student group that now attends the school.[5] Fataar argues that schools such as this one have "made some adjustments to deracialise their reception cultures, but found ways to assimilate incoming students into their dominant cultural registers" thus retaining the existing cultural orientation of the school (2015, p. 17). Having catered to white students during the apartheid period, Johan's school is struggling to recognise and pedagogically engage its diverse student body. The students are largely from rural poor families who recently settled in the area and speak isiXhosa, a black African indigenous language. By not acknowledging the diversity of its student body, the school has created a teaching environment that likely works against the possibility of pedagogical adaptation among the teachers that engages the cultural capital and everyday literacies of the students in their school learning.

Currently Johan teaches a variety of different subjects to Grade 5 and 6 learners, including English home language, Geography, Maths and Life Orientation. He describes himself as a good teacher with firm structures and systems and considers himself well-liked by his students and school staff. His general demeanour could be described as someone who is affable, who seeks to please others and who elicits ongoing affirmation that he is liked by both students and colleagues. Being seen as a good teacher by his colleagues and liked by the students is important to Johan, and has formed the basis of many of his pedagogical decisions.

Johan explained that he joined the PLC because he

> … really enjoyed the discussions in the Honours module and so when I was invited to be part of the PLC, I didn't hesitate. I had learned from the theory in the class why my students were not interested in learning and it also helped me understand why their results were so bad, because that really bothered me. The PLC gave me the opportunity to experiment and

[4]The chapter uses the pejorative apartheid-created racial categories black African, coloured, white and Indian in reference to South Africa's four race groups. We are uncomfortable with such usage but we hope our usage and analysis in this chapter point to these labels as entirely socially constructed, understood in the contingent world of structure, context, relationality and other discursive practices. The categories are still currently used for governmental purposes to track the pace and extent of change for groups disadvantaged under apartheid.

[5]Afrikaans is spoken by many racial and cultural groups in South Africa besides white Afrikaners. However, Afrikaner culture is referent for the cultural register of white Afrikaners based on the mobilisation of the Afrikaans language, race, and the political economy of privilege during the apartheid years. Afrikaner nationalism emerged in reaction to British colonial domination during the eighteenth century.

> share my changes with the others. We all taught in different schools and I felt that I could help some of the other teachers.

Implicit in this statement, is Johan's belief that he could share with the other PLC teachers his classroom structures and systems that assisted him to keep control and discipline in his class and which he regarded as good teaching practices. For Johan, these structures and systems included a form of authority and discipline combined with a reward system that he used to manage the behaviour of the learners. He did not initially consider that adapting his pedagogy would require him to undergo significant corporeal changes in his teaching practices in order for him to engage his students via connections with their lifeworld knowledges. In other words, Johan was not aware that he needed to adjust the way he both thought about and enacted his teaching in order to move towards a more socially just teaching orientation. He notes:

> I thought that I was a good teacher… my class was quiet and disciplined. I like order and control and I rewarded my learners when they behaved. I taught the lessons required by the CAPS and used the text book the school gave us. I did all the CAPS written tasks and assessments – when the curriculum advisors came to check, my work was CAPS compliant. It did bother me that the learners did not all seem interested in the work or get good marks, but everyone complains about that. I hoped that by being involved in the PLC I would get some new ideas to make my learners more interested in their work so that their marks could improve.

In order to come to an understanding of the constraints and possibilities of Johan's pedagogical adaptations, we discuss both the *durability* and *malleability* of Johan's pedagogical habitus as he sought to shift and adapt his pedagogy in accordance with a social justice orientation through his involvement in the PLC.

11.6 Habitus Engagement: Reflexivity and Adaptation

It was initially difficult to engage Johan in PLC discussions about changing the way in which he transmitted his content knowledge to include student engagement and participation. He struggled to accept that he needed to change the structures and systems that he had worked hard to put in place. These structures were not only embodied in his dispositional corporeality and deeply embedded in his habitus but, according to Johan, it was these structures that made him a good teacher. He followed the departmental textbooks diligently and exclusively, stating that this made him feel safe; "if I did what the government wanted me to do and the students failed then I could argue that I had done what they told me to and therefore it wasn't my fault". This approach is indicative of the current 'teacher-proof' curriculum that reduces the work of teachers to technical system implementers that requires them to follow departmental rules and regulations and transmit a syllabus pre-determined by departmental curriculum experts (Fataar 2012; Ramatlapana and Makonye 2012; Msibi and Mchunu 2013).

For Johan adapting his teaching practices to include student engagement involved grappling with shifting his embodied dispositions. During the first year of the PLC discussions Johan struggled with the tension between an adherence to the regulative forces and constraints found in the doxa of institutionalised schooling practices, and working against his embodied pedagogical habitus to shift his teaching in consonance with a socially just approach to student learning. During the PLC conversations he engaged willingly with the possibilities that this approach offered his teaching and student learning, but shifting his embodied pedagogy to engage with this approach required him to leverage a corporeal change in his teaching which he initially found extremely difficult.

In light of constraining forces that worked against Johan's uptake of engaging and participatory pedagogical practices, it is worth noting that Bourdieu warns that any adaptations or changes in practice has to be understood and contextualised in relation to the objective structures of a particular culture. These include the values, ideas and narratives produced by cultural institutions such as the family, religious and social groups and education systems on the one hand, and an individual's embodied values, beliefs and dispositions, on the other. Bourdieu argues that one's habitus is able to generate a repertoire of transformative actions given new or different field conditions, but states that these actions are always bounded by the social conditions in which the habitus was produced.

For Johan, the objective structures that had produced his subjectivity, his embodied worldview based on authority, discipline and respect, were deeply constraining and regulating in his teaching practices. It was here that the reflexive PLC conversations played a decisive role in continually engaging him in new pedagogical possibilities. The PLC placed as central to the teacher discussions a social justice orientation to teaching and learning, which initially was incongruent with Johan's tightly controlled and teacher-centred pedagogy. Reay (2004) citing Sayer (2004) suggests, however, that a disjuncture between an individual's habitus and social field holds the potential to produce a new awareness and self-questioning where the habitus finds ways to adapt or shift in alignment with the new field conditions. Throughout the first year of the PLC conversations Johan acknowledged that he struggled to acquire the adaptations required to shift his teaching orientation to that of a more socially just approach noting that,

> … it was exciting to think about teaching differently but I was still unsure how to make the changes, so I kept my structures and systems in place because they worked for me. I would try out some of the new ideas and then talk about them in the PLC, then test it a bit more … after each PLC I felt like I had new fresh ideas, but during the week I seemed to end up back in my comfort zone … insisting on a quiet class, with order and discipline and being in control.

It was during the second year of the PLC that a number of factors came together to support his decision to adapt his pedagogy and classroom practice. Choosing to remain committed to the PLC process for a second year, Johan was joined by a new group of teachers. This positioned Johan as a supporting facilitator of the PLC conversations and required him to assist in leading the dialogue with the new

teachers regarding the socially just focus of the PLC, as well as share the practical implementation possibilities from his own classroom practices. A further factor, and probably the most pivotal in supporting a more sustained adapted pedagogy, was a physical classroom change that saw him moving to a prefabricated classroom that was approximately 100 m beyond the main school building.

Johan's new classroom was positioned in relative isolation from the rest of the school building. This move signalled a substantial change in the way in which he managed his physical classroom space, which was directly related to his own growing awareness of his embodied pedagogical dispositions that he wanted to adapt and change. Johan acknowledges that loosening control over his students' behaviour within the classroom space had been one of the most difficult aspects to adjust to. He had previously been vocal among his colleagues about the importance of a quiet disciplined class, and thus relinquishing these structures that were observable by his colleagues acted as a constraining factor within the school environment. Johan also confesses to an initial uncertainty regarding the pedagogical adaptations he felt were required of a more socially just teaching orientation. He explains:

> I knew that changing my teaching to being more socially just was right, but I needed time try it out before I felt confident that I could show my colleagues that teaching that looks uncontrolled and allows the students to talk and become noisy, can actually change the way the students learn.

Moving to a new environment that was outside the school building afforded him the opportunity to engage in more sustained strategic action in his adapted pedagogy. This granted him a level of freedom to experiment and adapt his pedagogy outside of the limitations which he felt were imposed on him by the expectations of the school and his colleagues.

From the start of the new year Johan changed the way in which he managed his new classroom space. He allowed his students to negotiate how the classroom environment was organised and encouraged the students to take ownership of their learning environment. With amusement Johan describes how he discovered that the prefabricated classroom walls allowed him to write on them with whiteboard pens and wipe them clean again as one would a whiteboard. To the delight of his students the entire classroom wall space became a large whiteboard which they could write and paste their work on. The wall space, which framed the classroom environment, became a continuation of their learning and written work and included drafts of work, pictures, in other words, it became a space where they could write their ideas and display their group projects.

The changed classroom environment instigated a more open disposition in both the manner in which Johan engaged with his students and the way in which his students involved themselves in the learning environment. This openness coincided with Johan's use of the 'funds of knowledge' (FoK) framework to inform his teaching. The FoK framework emphasises curriculum work that is built around culturally familiar resources from students' homes and community in order to "transform students' diversities into pedagogical assets" (Moll et al. 1992, p. 132).

This approach utilises the students' lifeworld knowledge from their homes and communities to design and implement lessons, scaffolding this knowledge into the school knowledge. At the start of the second year, Johan and the PLC teachers discussed the possibility of using the FoK framework in their classes and during the PLC meetings the teachers collaboratively discussed the design of lesson units using aspects of this framework. When Johan presented the lesson units to his class, the enthusiasm with which the students involved themselves in the new lesson approach exceeded his expectations.

His two Grade 6 English classes chose 'music and drama' as the overarching theme for the term and together Johan and the students decided on the written tasks and assessments based on the CAPS requirements for the term's work. He divided the learners in each class into groups and each group of learners took responsibility for creating their own drama production which included a written story, an oral presentation, prepared reading, and analysis of a newspaper article to mention but a few of the curricula tasks that this theme encompassed. The students' story ideas were unique and some, particularly the boys, enacted real world scenarios such as violence, gangs and drugs, while others, mostly the girls, chose stories about singing contests, beauty competitions or broken friendships that were restored through a tragic event. Their English learning revolved around a combination of their ideas, the CAPS requirements for the term, and the students' lifeworld knowledge scaffolded into the lesson units. The excitement and enthusiasm of the learners for their English learning through the negotiated lesson units provided a creative impetus in Johan's pedagogy which he shared with enthusiasm in the PLC meetings. The weekly collaborative PLC discussions played an essential reflexive role in Johan's pedagogical adaptations. The PLC teachers had agreed to work on similar lesson themes, and PLC teachers both affirmed and critiqued Johan's (and each other's) pedagogical adaptations, providing suggestions and possibilities emanating from their own adaptations.

The final point which Johan describes as being instrumental in consolidating his belief in his adapted pedagogy was the results from his mid-year assessments. The results from the formal school assessments positioned his class as making such significant improvements in English that only four students were placed on the 'at risk' school list, whereas previously more than half of the same class were considered 'at risk' for not achieving the basic requirements in English. In conjunction with this, some students who had been failing English before were now in his top ten students.

Johan describes the role that the PLC played in his reflexive pedagogical adaptations thus,

> … besides the PLC providing a form of accountability, motivation and guidance, it was also the intellectual support that really helped … if it wasn't for the academic-based discussions and the literature and readings provided each week to support our PLC conversations, I don't think I would have been so successful in thinking about my teaching differently. During the first year I thought a lot about changing and tried some things, but it was hard to change what I had been doing. In my second year I decided to take action. It really helped that all the PLC teachers were doing it together.

Here Johan highlights the role that cognitive learning and reflexivity, coupled with his strategic action, played in adapting his pedagogical practices. Johan acknowledges that he kept slipping back into his old ways of teaching, for example taking control of the learning environment by teaching the information rather than allowing student discussion or expecting the children to work in silence. He notes that the weekly PLC conversations, where he was encouraged to share his implemented adaptations, held him accountable to continue experimenting with ways to adapt his pedagogy:

> I can't function in isolation, there must be people who are working with me, who keep telling me that what I am doing is good. The PLC provided this for me and the momentum to keep trying … because every week I could go back and share what I was doing with the others and then I could get new information and ideas which I could take back into my classroom.

The role of the PLC process in the teachers' adaptations and changes cannot be overemphasised. The collaborative and reflexive weekly PLC environment provided a safe space for the teachers to share and challenge one another regarding their pedagogical adaptations, and, as Johan notes, it also provided a form of accountability. He also highlights the importance of the cognitive input, and the manner in which this supported his thinking about his adaptations, as well as providing practical support and guidance.

Johan's pedagogical adaptations are the result of a long reflexive journey that required ongoing embodied dispositional adjustments that got him to the point where he has now begun to embrace the possibilities that a more participatory and engaging teaching orientation offers. As weekly observers and conversational partners with Johan, we noticed how the pace of learning in his classroom gained momentum driven by his students. As the students gained confidence and came to trust the changes Johan had instituted they began to make their own suggestions and negotiate their learning. These exciting new possibilities, however, were constantly reined in by the durability of Johan's pedagogical habitus. Johan notes that even two years into the process he still has to work against dispositional structures and rules that remain embodied in his pedagogical habitus. He admits that he

> … still wants to take control at times and I struggle to be patient with the noise levels in my class. I still get annoyed when they interrupt me. This year I have tried to make the classroom belong to them, but sometimes when I am tired or stressed, I want to take it back, control them, insist on quiet, just stand in front and teach. I can see how different the learners are now, how they want to learn. Their results have also improved and so I know that the changes I have made are working to keep them excited and involved in their learning. At times it is hard work as it goes against everything I was taught to do as a teacher.

Johan has exhibited a strategic choice to move beyond the embodied dispositions that have hitherto framed his pedagogy. This process, facilitated by the collaborative support of the PLC, enabled Johan to imagine and establish teaching and learning practices that allowed him to invite his learners to become 'insiders' in the classroom and school learning process by engaging with their cultural worlds and

lifeworld knowledge. However, while Johan has embarked on a journey of strategic action and change, the doxa of the school field has remained relatively static in its pedagogical structures and continues to perpetuate a closed, regulated and controlled approach to teaching and learning. This remains a frustration and an ongoing constraining factor for Johan, who explained that

> … now, nearly two years later I look at some colleagues who control their classrooms beautifully and their classrooms are quiet and so controlled … I just want to go in there and wake them up and say look what you are doing, look at these learners, they are sitting here like dead little souls.

Ongoing adaptation and change for Johan, within his school, will require continuous reflexive awareness and a continual resistance to the current regulative and prescriptive curriculum framing and his embodied pedagogical habitus that is structured on authority, discipline and control.

11.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a narrative account of Johan's pedagogical adaptation and change facilitated through his involvement in the PLC process over a two-year period. Central to our discussion we offer pedagogical change and adaptation as a form of habitus engagement. Exemplified by Johan's story, the chapter demonstrated both the durability of his embodied pedagogical habitus that needs to contend with his deeply held educational beliefs and values, and the possibility of change capacitated by the ongoing reflexive PLC dialogue.

Acknowledging the doxa of his schooling context is described through Johan's story telling as a necessary consideration within his adaptation and change in pedagogy. The PLC conversations did not encourage the teachers to move out of the CAPS framing but placed an emphasis on finding ways for the teachers to design and implement lessons that generated a richer notion of student engagement and participation by connecting to the students' lifeworlds and lifeworld knowledge. Johan's narrative highlights how, despite the seemingly intractable nature of the CAPS framing, there exists a gap, which can be widened and enriched, allowing teachers to invite students into curriculum work that is participatory, engaging and richly related to their own cultural lifeworld knowledges. In other words, to provide a pedagogy that involves students in a high-quality learning environment within the current restrictive curriculum framing found in the South African context at present.

Johan's story reveals a process of pedagogical adaptation and change, which we have argued, needs to move beyond cognitive learning to involve a teacher's corporeality and embodied habitus. This process of change is neither predictable nor smooth, but rather recursive, chaotic and often discordant with one's embodied habitus and taken-for-granted doxa of schooling. Wacquant reminds us that "practice is engendered in the *mutual solicitation of position and disposition*, in the now-harmonious, now-discordant encounter between 'social structures and mental

structures', history 'objectified' as fields and history 'embodied' in the form of this socially patterned matrix of preferences and propensities that constitute habitus." (Wacquant, in Bourdieu 1984, p. xvi) The body therefore, as a 'memory pad', perceives and enacts embodied structures, both cognitive thoughts and physical behaviour, that is expressed in the systematic functioning of one's socialised body within a particular field structure.

Thus, adaptation and change, facilitated via dialogical PLC engagement, requires a deep reflexivity with one's inveterate embodied pedagogical habitus, which is read on and through one's bodily hexis. For teachers, an adherence to the social school field, and a submission to the existing school conventions, can be seen as a 'bodily dressage' which is visible in one's hexis and enacted in one's pedagogy. It was therefore the re-ordering of thoughts and marshalling of the teachers' bodily dispositions, emotions and practices as well as "deep-rooted linguistic and muscular patterns of behaviour" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 69) that the PLC sought to bring to consciousness and interrogate in order to engage with the constructs of a more socially just pedagogy and incorporation of the FoK approach. This corporeal engagement we argue, must interact with what has been "learned by the body", as this knowing "is not something that one has, like knowledge that can be brandished, but something that one is" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 73). Thus, as Johan's story of adaptation and change has highlighted, it is ongoing dialogical engagement in a PLC that supports pedagogical learning through engagement with one's corporeality and dispositions that have shaped one's social identity, that hold the potential for embodied pedagogical change.

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