Dimitris Mattheou

*Editor*

# Changing Educational Landscapes

Educational Policies,
Schooling Systems and Higher Education –
a Comparative Perspective

CESE

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*Editor*
Dimitris Mattheou
University of Athens
Center for Comparative Education,
    International Education Policy
    and Communication
Ippokratous Street 20
106 80 Athens
Greece
dmatth@primedu.uoa.gr

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# About the Editor

**Dimitris Mattheou** is Professor of Comparative Education, Head of the M.A. Programme in Comparative Education and Director of the *Centre of Comparative Education, International Education Policy and Communication* at the University of Athens. He is President of the Greek Comparative and International Education Society and co-editor of the bilingual Journal *Comparative and International Education Review*. He also served as Vice-President of Comparative Education Society in Europe and as President of the Greek Pedagogical Institute *Department of In-Service Training of Teachers*. He has been member and chair of several policy making committees. He is author of numerous books and scholarly articles on comparative education and education policy. His research interests include higher education systems and especially access and quality assurance and enhancement in universities. He is also working on a range of issues related to the politics of education and to teacher training. He is member of the Board of Trustees of *Philekpaideftiki Etaireia*, the oldest non-profit educational organization in Greece. Contact: dmatth@primedu.uoa.gr

# About the Contributors

**Nicholas Alexiou** is a Chancellor's Lecturer at Queens College, where he teaches at the Department of Sociology and at the Center for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. He has published on ethnicity and immigration in various scholarly disciplines, including sociology, and diaspora and cultural studies. In 2007, he received the President's Award for Excellence in Teaching. Also, he is the author of several poetry collections, and selections of his work have been appeared in anthologies of Greek American poetry. Contact: Nicholas.Alexiou@qc.cuny.edu

**Angelyn (Angie) Balodimas-Bartolomei** is an associate professor in the School of Education at North Park University, Chicago. She received a BA in Greek Studies/Social Work from Deree College, Athens, a BA in Greek Pedagogy from Rallios Pedagogical Academy-Greece, an MA in Linguistics and ESL from Northeastern Illinois University, and a PhD from Loyola University, Chicago. Her areas of research include comparative international education, Greek/Italian/Jewish ethnic identity and the Greek Romaniote Jews. Contact: abartolomel@northpark.edu

**Angeline M. Barrett** is a research fellow at the University of Bristol, UK and communications officer for the Research Consortium on Implementing Education Quality in Low Income Countries, funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID). She taught physics and mathematics in further education colleges in England and schools in East Africa before completing a PhD on teacher identity in Tanzania at Bristol. She led a project building capacity of doctoral programmes in sub-Saharan Africa and maintains research interests in conceptualising education quality, pedagogy, and school management in Tanzania and cross-national collaborative research. Contact: angeline.barrett@bristol.ac.uk

**Ana Bravo-Moreno** is a research-lecturer at the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Granada, Spain – a visiting research scholar at the University of California and at the Florida International University. After the completion of her PhD at the Institute of Education in London and before joining the University of Granada, she was a research fellow at the Institute of Migration Studies in Madrid. She has worked at the Open University and City University in London and is the author of *Migration, Gender and National Identity*

book published by Peter Lang in 2006. Her last article is Transnational mobilities: migrants and education for the *Comparative Education Journal*. Contact: bravo_ana@yahoo.co.uk

**Robert Cowen** is emeritus professor of education in the University of London, Institute of Education, a senior research fellow of the University of Oxford, and the immediate past president of the Comparative Education Society in Europe. He is particularly interested in notions of international educational 'transfer'; in 'transitologies' (the dramatic collapse and reconstruction of societies and educational systems); and in the ways universities are currently, in some countries, being changed by managerialism. He has recently edited with Dr. Elftherios Klerides a special issue of the journal *Comparative Education* on the theme of 'Mobilities and educational metamorphoses: patterns, puzzles, and possibilities'. Contact: r.cowen@ioe.ac.uk

**María José García Ruiz** is professor of comparative education in the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED). She is deputy secretary of the Faculty of Education. She is member of the Directive Board of the Spanish Society of Comparative Education. She is secretary of the Journal *Educación XX1* (indexed in the SSCIndex), and she is deputy head of the journal *Revista Española de Educación Comparada* (indexed in the ERIH). Her most recent academic works in education include *Tradición y reforma en la educación occidental del siglo XXI* (2009, Madrid, Ediasa, book jointly published) and *Estudio comparativo de la educación en Finlandia y en la Comunidad de Madrid* (2009, Madrid, Comunidad de Madrid, book). Contact: mjgarcia@edu.uned.es

**Jagdish Singh Gundara** is emeritus professor of education at the Institute of Education at the University of London. He holds the UNESCO Chair in International Studies and Teacher Education at the School of Culture and Lifelong Learning. He was appointed as the first head of International Centre for Intercultural Education in 1979 and retained this position till 2006. He is the founding member and the current president of the International Association of Intercultural Education which is based in Brussels. He was the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Scarman Trust, based in London, and following the death of the first president of the Trust Lord Leslie Scarman, he was elected as the second president of the Trust. Professor Gundara is a founding member of the International Broadcasting Trust (IBT), and vice-chairman of the Board of IBT and was a commissioner of the Commission for Racial Equality until its closure in August 2007. He has been the president of Jury of Evens Foundation Intercultural Education Jury since 1997. He is the author of *Interculturalism, Education and Inclusion* (Paul Chapman, 2000) and co-editor of *InterculturalSocial Policy in Europe* (Ashgate, 2000) and has published extensively in the fields of human rights and education in multicultural studies. Contact: j.gundara@ioe.ac.uk

**Sari Hosoya** is an associate professor of Kanto Gakuin University, Yokohama, Japan. She obtained her PhD from UCLA, graduate school of education. She worked as a teacher, in Japan and worked in Thailand and Bangladesh as an

international volunteer. She conducted research on Indochinese residents (from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos) in Japan specially focused on their experiences in school and job placement. Ever since she found that teachers' attitude has a lot of impact on students with different cultural background, she has studied intercultural competence of teachers and published several articles on the topic. Contact: sari@kanto-gakuin.ac.jp

**Eleni Karatzia-Stavlioti** studied pedagogics in Cyprus and economics in Athens University. She holds an MA in the economics of education from the Institute of Education, University of London and a PhD from the same Institution. She served at all levels of Education and at different positions and now is an associate professor, at the Department of Elementary Education, University of Patras in the field of "Educational Evaluation". She has participated in research projects and published on a variety of educational issues, such as curriculum development and evaluation, pupil learning and assessment, teacher's attitudes and training needs, cost-effectiveness in educational analysis and educational quality indicators. Contact: elkara@upatras.gr

**Andreas M. Kazamias** is emeritus professor of educational policy studies of the University of Wisconsin (USA) and emeritus professor of comparative education of the University of Athens (Greece). For many years, he served as university teacher and researcher in comparative education and the history of education in the USA and Greece. In the USA, he was a founding member of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) and for a period of time editor of the *Harvard Educational Review* and the *Comparative Education Review*. He also served as president of CIES and the Greek Comparative Education Society. He is the author or co-author of numerous books and scholarly articles on comparative education and the history of education. He is honorary fellow of CIES, and honorary member of the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE). He holds honorary doctorates from the University of Bristol (England) and the University of Ioannina (Greece), and he is an associate member of the Academy of Athens. Contact: kazamias@wisc.edu

**Leslie Limage** is a comparative and international education specialist recently retired after a 23-year tenure with UNESCO. Previously she worked for the OECD–CERI, has been visiting professor of comparative education at Arizona State University and the University of California, Los Angeles. She has resided in France for some 30 years. She holds graduate degrees from the University of Paris and the University of London Institute of Education. Her research interests and publications concern equal opportunity, respect for diversity in education policies, basic education and literacy, international organizations, and migration. Contact: leslie.limage@wanadoo.fr

**Christine Musselin** is the director of the Centre de Sociologie des Organisations, a research unit of Sciences Po and the CNRS. She leads comparative studies on university governance, public policies in higher education and research, and academic labour markets. Her book, *La longue marche des universités françaises* published

by the P.U.F in 2001 has been edited in English (*The Long March of French Universities*) by Routledge (2004). A new book, *Le marché des universitaires*, was published in November 2005 by the Presses de Sciences Po and will be issued in English by Routledge in 2009. Since 2007, she is the chair of the Consortium for Higher Education Research (CHER) and the president of the French network on higher education, the RESUP. She is also a coordinating editor of *Higher Education* and *Sociologie du travail.* Contact: c.musselin@cso.cnrs.fr

**Maria Papapolydorou** graduated from the department of education at the University of Cyprus. Immediately after that she continued her studies in comparative education (MA) at the Institute of Education – University of London, and she was awarded the Nicholas Hans Comparative Education Scholarship for her MA dissertation work. She is currently a PhD student at the Institute of Education, researching the association of social capital with students schooling. Her PhD project is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Her areas of research include educational inequalities, social class, gender, and ethnicity. Contact: mpapapolydorou@ioe.ac.uk

**Eleni Prokou** is lecturer in Educational Policy at the Department of Social Policy of the Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences (Athens, Greece). She is also a tutor in adult education at the School of Humanities of the Hellenic Open University. Her research interests focus on the comparative study of higher education and lifelong education policy. Contact: eprokou@panteion.gr

**Namrata Sharma** is a research fellow in the School of Education at the University of Nottingham in UK. She has authored two books on the educational and political relevance of two dissident thinkers – Tsunesaburo Makiguchi in Japan and Mahatma Gandhi in India. Her other publications focus on youth empowerment, citizenship and intercultural education in India, Japan, and the UK. Dr. Sharma has done her bachelors degree in Delhi University; masters in education at Soka University, Tokyo; and PhD and post-doctorate at the Institute of Education, University of London. Dr. Sharma is a board member of the Ikeda Centre for Value Creation, Trivandrum, India; and International Scientific Committee member of the International Association for Intercultural Education. Contact: namrata.sharma@nottingham.ac.uk

**Efstratia Sofou** completed the PhD program in comparative education at the University of Granada, in Spain. Previously, she was an early childhood teacher and deputy counsellor in the Hellenic Pedagogical Institute for Preschool Teachers Evaluation and Training where she worked on research and design of evaluation processes and teacher training programmes. Her research interests are in the areas of comparative education, early childhood teacher education, early childhood policy, and curriculum. Contact: efsofou@gmail.com

**Mirja Talib** is an adjunct professor in the University of Helsinki, Faculty of Behavioural Sciences, and directs the multicultural teacher education program. She has worked for several years in the USA, Saudi Arabia, and Nigeria as a university

lecturer and as a teacher. After returning to Finland, her research interest has been teachers' intercultural competence and the hybrid identities of immigrant youth. She has published several books and articles on the topics of multicultural school and teachers' preparedness for diversity. Contact: mirja.talib@helsinki.fi

**Ulrich Teichler** is professor at the International Centre for Higher Education Research, University of Kassel (Germany), since 1978, and former director for 16 years; born in 1942; diploma and doctoral dissertation in sociology; researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research, Berlin. Extended research periods in Japan, the Netherlands, and the USA; part-time or visiting professor at Northwestern University, College of Europe, Hiroshima University, and Open University, UK. Research on higher education and the world of work, comparison of higher education systems, and international mobility; more than 1,000 publications. Member of the International Academy of Education and the Academia Europaea, former chairman of the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers, former president and distinguished member of EAIR; Comenius Prize of UNESCO; Dr. h.c. of the University of Turku. Contact: teichler@incher.uni-kassel.de

**Leon Tikly** is professor in education at the University of Bristol, UK and director of the DFID-funded Research Consortium on Implementing Education Quality in Low Income Countries. He also leads research on achievement of African Caribbean and mixed heritage children in England. Leon started his career as a science teacher in London comprehensives and with South African refugees in Tanzania. He completed a PhD on education policy in South Africa at the University of Glasgow and worked as a policy researcher at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. He was a lecturer at the University of Birmingham before moving to Bristol. Contact: leon.tikly@bris.ac.uk

**Anthony Welch,** of the University of Sydney, specialises in education policy, with particular interests in Australia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. His current work focuses largely on higher education reforms. A recent Fulbright *New Century* Scholar, he has also been visiting professor in Germany, USA, Japan, UK, France, and Hong Kong. Recent books include *The Professoriate* (2005), *Education, Change and Society* (2007); and *The Dragon and the Tiger Cubs* (on China-ASEAN relations) [2009]. His next book is on southeast Asian higher education. Professor Welch also directs the nationally funded research project: *The Chinese Knowledge Diaspora*. Contact: a.welch@edfac.usyd.edu.au

**Thyge Winther-Jensen** is emeritus professor of comparative education at the Danish University of Education, Copenhagen. Previous to that he was a senior lecturer at the University of Copenhagen, Institute of Education. He was awarded the doctoral degree at Oslo University (1988) on a thesis titled *Undervisning og menneskesyn* (Teaching and View of Human Nature), 1989, 2nd edition, 3rd impression 2004. His fields of study are primarily comparative education, history of educational ideas, teaching–learning theory, and adult education. He is author of *Komparativ pædagogik. Faglig tradition og global udfordring* (*Comparative Education. Scientific Tradition and Global Challenge*), 2004, *Voksenpædagogik –*

*grundlag og ideer* (*Adult Education – Foundations and Ideas*), 1996, 3rd edition 2004), *Pædagogik og samfundsvidenskab* (*Education and Social Science*), 1976. From 1996–2000, he was president of Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE). Contact: twj@dpu.dk

# Changing Educational Landscapes: An Introduction

**Dimitris Mattheou**

Landscapes change. Virgin forests are cut down and turned into wheat fields and pasturelands; contaminated swamps are drained to become fertile lands; impressive dams in river valleys create artificial lakes for irrigation and hydroelectric power production; tunnels are cut through mountains or under seabeds to shorten travel; roads and highways score the countryside. Depending on his technological capacity, man systematically changes natural landscapes. To serve his interests and needs, he gradually, purposefully, and selectively transforms his environment, preserving however those landmarks that are of significant value for him. Perhaps more representative of any of these changes are those related to the birth and growth of a modern city, like the Greek city of Athens that hosted the 23rd CESE Conference.

As if by happy coincidence, in June 2009 a large exhibition of photography was shown in one of Athens' most famous museums. It followed the development of the city since the early days of its declaration as the capital of the nascent Greek nation-state back in 1834. The remains of glorious ancient monuments with the Parthenon crowning the Acropolis, small picturesque Byzantine churches and a few humble houses, the old city at the foot of Acropolis, were the only sites that marked the hilly landscape. Almost a decade later the landscape was transformed. The capital city of Athens that was gradually recognized as the legitimate cultural heir of ancient Greek civilization could not but be adorned with new monumental architectural constructions. In the next set of photographs, the landscape was marked by the royal palace, the university, and the National Library neoclassical buildings, an impressive four-storey hotel, two major spacious squares connected by straight and broad roads, and a small number of modern houses for the affluent merchants of the Greek diaspora; all constructions reflected the prevailing architectural style in Europe and were designed mostly by prominent German architects. Consecutive photographs, depicting the landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, revealed a city that was expanding and becoming more populous, busy, and stylish, yet retaining all sites of both its glorious past and wretchedness brought about by centuries of servitude to the Ottomans. The 1920s saw yet another major

D. Mattheou (✉)
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Athens, Greece
e-mail: dmatth@primedu.uoa.gr

transformation of the Athenian landscape. The influx of a large number of Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontos region after 1922 led to the development of refugee settlements of shacks and tents which gradually grew into small shanty towns in the periphery of the city, in places where some years earlier sheep were grazing insouciantly. At the same time, cheap labor led to a belated industrialization and to the erection of its symbols, like the long brick chimneys, in places where aging olive trees dominated the landscape for centuries.

The next sets of photographs bore witness to the consequences of the Second World War and the Civil War: ruins, destruction, and poverty. Picturesqueness had given way to ugliness. By the mid-1950s, the Athenian landscape began to change again, this time rapidly, extensively, and radically. Reconstruction was activated by extensive urbanization, triggered by rapid internal migration, together with an attempt to mobilize the construction sector, the sector that has traditionally been the locomotive of economic development in the country. Old buildings, some of them of historic significance, were demolished to leave room for the new blocks of flats that mushroomed in the city. Small peripheral circuit towns were incorporated into the expanding city to create a huge metropolis. Cars and buses crowded the streets, city noises silenced the chirping of birds, street lights and neon signs caused stars to disappear from the night sky, gray rather than green became the dominant color in the city, the sea breeze could hardly reach the city center to move the leaves of the bitter orange trees, and ancient monuments were surrounded by unfriendly jerry-built edifices with only, perhaps, the Parthenon to provide evidence of the once tranquil, picturesque, and humane landscape.

The last few photographs in the exhibition depicted the city at the beginning of the new millennium: the hopeful return of the green; new avenues, highways, and metro-stations; renovated facades of old buildings; a brand-new imposing Acropolis Museum awaiting the return from the British Museum of the "Elgin marbles" removed from the Parthenon; and an ever-expanding city with busy people, with a large number of "strange faces," the immigrants, trying to find a place in a society unprepared and hesitant to respond to rapid change.

The photographic representation of changes in the landscape of the historic city of Athens resembles in many respects changes in the world educational landscapes. Despite national, regional, or local peculiarities, a series of successive purposeful changes caused by historical circumstances are clearly discernible there too. In the first place, the emergence of state systems of education during the nineteenth century transformed a landscape where educational institutions were provided by the Churches and voluntary agents. Nationalism, which "received its greatest single boost from the French Revolution, and was crystallized by the social and political changes of nineteenth-century Europe" (Davies 1997: 812) and the imperatives of state formation, led to the development of state school systems and universities that bore only little resemblance with the past, in terms of their aims, structure and organization, administration, and curricula. However, as in the case of the urban landscape of Athens, certain sacred sites of the educational landscape remained practically unaltered. As late as the end of the nineteenth century, divisions between

education and training, between elementary education for the masses and general secondary education for the elites, and between the humanizing study of the ancient Greek and Latin languages and literatures and the more practical disciplines of science all remained practically intact almost everywhere despite raising criticism and certain superficial institutional amendments. The optimistic epistemologies of Descartes and Bacon (Popper 1972: 3–30) continued to inspire scientists, especially natural scientists. However, as their astonishing discoveries were gradually becoming the object of wonder and hope for the laymen (Davies 1997: 760), the quest for science education soon brought pressure to bare upon traditional school curricula. The question raised by Herbert Spencer "what knowledge is of most worth?" in 1859 was characteristic in this respect. The spread of the industrial revolution in continental Europe, mainly in France and Germany, brought organized technical education to the forefront, yet technological education did not find its place in the universities and reconciled itself to courses in special institutions of higher education, such as *Technische Hochschulen* in Germany, Science and Technological Colleges in northern England, and *Polytechneion* in Greece. On the other hand, the school construction and setting bore significant yet inconspicuous resemblance to those of the industrial plant of the Fordist era, at least in its externals: large buildings surrounded by walls, pupils sitting in rows in vast classrooms and performing prescribed learning activities organized in a linear way both within each separate discipline and across grades, with the teacher ready to instruct, to supervise, and to mark the outcome of the teaching–learning procedure that itself was organized into specific units following the prevailing pedagogical methodology of Herbart (Mattheou 2002).

The educational landscape in Europe continued to change gradually and grudgingly throughout the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. Old institutions and ideologies with direct relevance to education, i.e., the monarchy, the Church, social hierarchy, property, the family, and authority, coexisted with technological change in production and in communication systems, as well as with intellectual, artistic, and ideological trends like romantism, modernism, liberalism, and later socialism. Indeed, conservatives made every effort to channel and manage change in such a way that the organic growth of established institutions, among them education, would not be threatened. In the end, the whirling winds of change coming from developments in its economic, social, demographic, ideological, and scientific contexts did not sweep over the educational landscape, as they were overall contained by the stabilizing forces of the political establishment. Or as Norman Davies comments referring to the political climate prevailing in the nineteenth century Europe, "the forces for change could only operate within the political and international framework that came into being at the end of the revolutionary wars" (Davies 1997: 761).

The gradual transformation of the world educational landscape was interrupted by the First World War. At the institutional level, not many things changed during the mid-war years. The destruction of the infrastructure; the outbreak of the communist revolution in Russia; the growing geopolitical tensions created by the unfinished business of the first war; the emergence of new but weak sovereign states

in Europe (e.g., Hungary and Yugoslavia); the armed truce of interwar decades; the perilous fascist takeovers in Italy, Germany, and Spain and aggressive militarism in Japan; and the Great Depression of the 1930s that started from the United States all dictated new priorities to policy makers around the world; education was not top in their list. At the moral front however the scars run deep. The world had witnessed shades of barbarism in the "dark continent" (Mazower 2001) "which would once have amazed the most barbarous of barbarians" (Davies 1997: 897). "Militarism, fascism, and communism found their adherents not only in the manipulated masses of the most affected nations but amongst Europe's most educated elites and in its most democratic countries" (Davies 1997: 899). It were those very elites that had been exposed to the expectedly humanitarian influence of the liberal arts and of classical studies; the proponents of Christian morality, of social order, and of hierarchy; and all those that had been educated in the renown schools and universities. This degradation of moral and educational values (Bernstein and Milza 1997: 138–141) has been perhaps most eloquently reflected in mid-war literature: in T.S. Eliot's *Waste Land* (1920), in James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* (1923), in Pirandello's theatrical play *Six Characters in search of an Author* (1920), in Aldous Huxley's *Chrome yellow* (1921), in Jean Cocteau's *Thomas the Impostor* (1923), and in Berthold Brecht's *Threepenny Opera* (1928). Noble ideas had become refugees in their own homeland, crying out for help and for a new educational settlement. Yet substantial change in the educational landscape had to wait till the end of the Second World War.

As if to corroborate Heraclitus' statement that "the war is the father of everything," the end of the Second World War was marked by a series of fundamental changes in all aspects of life. In international relations, the post-war years witnessed not only the creation of the United Nations, but also the declaration of a cold war between the two superpowers and their allies. The European Economic Community was established originally as an economic organization that would subsequently promote mutual understanding and political integration in the agitaged continent. On its part, the newly created Council of Europe was expected to foster a new sense of community in international relations. In the economic sphere, the Bretton Woods currency system and the Keynesian revolution in macroeconomics, which established government intervention, nourished a positive business climate and maintained full employment, set the course for an unrivalled, yet unequal, economic prosperity in the West; West Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder* and Italy's *Miracolo Economico* were the Western World's success stories, which central planning in Eastern Europe did not at any point in time manage to match. "Rising wages," which the labor movement's considerable strength in collective bargaining made possible, "turned the masses into 'consumers'," thus turning "material advancement into the goal not the means" and at the same time reducing "politics to a debate about the supply of goods" (Davies 1997: 1078). In the social sphere, inequalities inherent in the capitalist economies were tempered by the development of the welfare state, which was already conspicuous in late 1940s England, Sweden, and France (Bernstein and Milza 1997: 199–200). The "sexual revolution" rapidly destroyed conventional mores and contributed to a gender settlement more

beneficial, yet not beneficial enough, for women (Hobsbawm 1997: 398–410). In many industrialized countries, religious life experienced a serious decline. Post-war materialism and the failure of many Churches to condemn war atrocities destroyed many people's faith (Davies 1997: 1078). Scientific and technological knowledge proliferated. Communications media flourished. Pop culture, young fashions, mind-less materialism, the loosening of conventional restraints, and cosmopolitanism all made post-war social life much more relaxed (Mazower 2001: 290–299).

Education was among the first sectors to be influenced by these fundamental changes. Under the pressures of post-war reconstruction and economic develop-ment, of increased popular expectations that promises made by politicians during the war would be kept and the post-war world would become more plentiful and just, and of the ideological and geopolitical competition between the two rival camps, the educational landscape changed impressively. The discourse of equal opportu-nity, of education being a major instrument of social welfare, mobility, and change; "a great equalizer of the conditions of men" (Horace Mann's reincarnated vision); and a booster of economic growth pervaded public discourse and influenced policy making. Structural reorganization of the educational systems was among the first measures that were taken. Primary and secondary education ceased to be two dis-tinct and separate systems, as was the case in most Western European countries, and became consecutive levels of a unified system. Secondary education was further subdivided into two stages, the lower one becoming part of compulsory educa-tion that was now extended up to the age of 15 or 16 and was provided free. The comprehensive reorganization would soon follow in some countries (e.g., Sweden), not always without political opposition (e.g., England) and with the same degree of success (e.g., Germany). Irrespective of special circumstances – the imposition, for example, of the 6-3-3 pattern in Japan by the victorious United States or the influence of European powers on newly independent states, e.g., in Africa – reorga-nization was justified on the basis of human capital theory and education as a human right and as a means of social stability. By the next two or three decades after the war, massification of education was a reality in Europe, North America, and Japan. Most of the baby boomers under fifteen were at school, the state was prepared and capable to fund reform, as long as the GNP was increasing rapidly, state bureaucracy had expanded and played an increasingly leading role in promoting, administering, and supervising reform policies.

School curricula too were the terrain of change. Classical studies shrunk and social subjects claimed their place in the school curriculum. Mathematics, science, and foreign languages acquired more significance, as issues of school relevance to the needs of the economy, the labor market, and geopolitical competition took precedence over pedagogical matters. As T. Husen noted, "the former consensus about the benefits of traditional schooling and the conviction that education always represented an intrinsic good were gone," and so was the conviction that school problems were of a mainly pedagogical character (Husen 1982: 11).

Yet, despite extensive changes, not all landmarks in the education landscape had changed during the first post-war decades. The school continued to be in the service of the nation-state and to enhance national identity. It was still expected to "educate"

the youngsters, to bring up independent, critical, and responsible citizens, ready to exercise their rights and duties in a democratic and pluralistic society. Traditional forms of knowledge, despite re-arrangements in the timetable, remained almost the same, with teachers still placing emphasis on the humanistic and disciplinary character of school knowledge. Teaching methods too had not changed substantially; the model of "frontal" classroom instruction remained and practices of streaming and setting managed to survive for long even after comprehensivization. The school district and/or catchment area also remained the basic administrative unit, while the massification of education, together with demographic explosion and urbanization, made school supervision and inspection gradually more necessary and on occasions tighter.

By mid-1960s, certain disparities in the new scenery became clear to policy makers and to stakeholders of education. Critics from the Left pointed out that the school was merely preparing young people for the relations prevailing in the labor market; it was educating them to become disciplined and docile workers. The meritocratic ideology of equal educational opportunity only served to gild the pill (Bowles and Gintis 1976, Carnoy 1974). Conservative critics (e.g., for the United States Bestor 1953 and for the United Kingdom Cox and Dyson 1969) on their part argued that massification of education had led to the lowering of standards, that egalitarianism and excessive child-centeredness had vitiated intellectual rigor and work discipline and had removed incentives from students, and that school knowledge was not relevant to the needs of economy, while educational administration had become bureaucratic and wasteful. Not many in the West shared anymore the belief that education was the main instrument for bringing about a better society and sustained economic development. Strong commitment to post-war reforms evaporated; euphoria gave way to disenchantment and to a strong quest for a change of tack (Husen 1982).

The 1980s and especially the last two decades provided the perfect setting for such a quest to spread rapidly and with force. The world as a whole was caught in a whirlpool of extensive, radical, and rapid changes in all aspects of life, changes that the "lancet of analysis" can hardly separate from each other, interwoven as they are, without damaging their inherent vital interconnections. Notwithstanding this difficulty, social scientists have long been involved in identifying and registering these changes. In the political sphere, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block came as a shock to all those in the West and the Third World that had been enraptured with the vision of a classless society. Communist political parties lost their appeal, and conservative forces were given a free hand to release themselves from their obligation to sustain the post-war welfare state. Social democrats themselves and the non-communist Left were left to deal with an ideological deficit, in search of a Third Way, yet within the territory of liberalism. Neoliberal and neoconservative policies became the order of the day in almost every country. The nation-state as a political entity, unable to pursue by itself important strategic concerns in foreign affairs and to provide protection against organized crime in its interior, was obliged to cede some of its fundamental responsibilities to international organizations.

Changes in the economic sphere have been certainly the most impressive. Failure of Keynesian economic policies to keep the economy going since the 1970s discredited them and allowed monetarist and neoliberal economic policies to take the upper hand. Some of the most significant milestones of the new economic environment were: the globalization of the economy that was made possible through a conglomerate of developments in information and communication technologies; the emergence of multinationals and their continuous strengthening through consecutive mergers as well as their responsiveness only to their shareholders across national borders; the economic authorities' dedication to the cause of the free market and their obsession with the dogma of deregulation; the primacy of the stock exchange over the industrial plant and of the financial over the industrial investment; the growing significance of the golden boys, loyal only to corporate and personal profit; the apotheosis of managerialism as the scientific instrument of efficiency and profitability; and the increased status and influence of older and newer international economic organizations like OECD and WTO. All these changes had major implications upon the labor market and more broadly upon the social sphere. The international map of employment has been transformed. Labor-intensive and semi-skilled jobs are being transferred to Third World countries, where the wages are minimal; increasingly even highly skilled jobs, like those of information technology, are expected to follow (as is already the case in India). Developed countries are struck by high unemployment. Part-time and flexible employment demanding a continuous re-training is increasingly part of the realities of working in the private sector of the economy. Research and development leading to innovation is taken to be the only way out for the peoples in Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia, the forerunners of the unfolding knowledge society and economy. Those that fail to adapt would most likely be marginalized, without at the same time being able to rely on the fading welfare state.

In the cultural sphere, developments have been marked by extensive demographic movements caused by great world inequalities. Migration from Africa, Asia, and South America, especially from countries hit by the war, like Afghanistan, Iraq, and Somalia, has become the cause of concern among policy makers and native populations in Europe. Xenophobia and racism proliferated. Mistrust about otherness in traditionally monocultural societies, intensified by the preachings about the unavoidable clash of civilizations during a period of economically insecure labor markets, raises a number of not easily manageable problems. Paradoxically enough, in an increasingly secular world religion has become a banner of confrontation in national and international affairs. For example, Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan have been the sites of violent confrontation between Islamic and Evangelical fundamentalisms that have also aggravated the situation in some of the major multicultural European cities.

Last but not least, impressive developments in science and technology have led to changes that do not appear to be as obvious as the rest but actually run deep and are of great significance in almost all aspects of contemporary life. Biotechnology poses ethical dilemmas, the use of ICT for security reasons threatens individual rights, and neuroscience aspires to reading the intimate thoughts of the individual.

Perhaps, even more profound are the changes in the field of epistemology. Having experienced for decades the barbarous doings of colonialism and its discriminatory institutions and the degrading discourses of post-colonialism, some among the critics of western civilization seem ready to reject the principles of rationality and the standard norms and methods of scientific inquiry on the grounds that these have simply been an instrument of domination. Cultural relativists are ready to argue that there are various brands of truth, even in the physical sciences, and that science is merely a preferential – i.e., a matter of personal faith – means to it. All civilizations and their truths are hence of equal value (Dawkins 2000). In a less dogmatic version of single truth rejection, knowledge is taken to be more subjective, open to aesthetic and ethical considerations, less nomothetic, and in continuous flux, with the traditional boundaries among disciplines blurred beyond recognition (Weiler 2001).

The student of world education history could interpret all these changes as resembling the movement of tectonic plates that exert pressure on the earth's crust and shape its surface, not merely a specific landscape. It is true that some of the implications of these changes are already visible in the educational landscapes across the world; others still work underground, setting the scene for hypothesizing further and even more significant developments. Perhaps for the first time since the establishment of the state systems of education, the fundamentals of education are called into question. The retreat of the nation-state makes the strengthening of national identity look an obsolete aim of education. Multiculturalism unavoidably leads to a dispute over values, thus far taken for granted in education. There is evidence that globalization and the primacy of international organizations in policy making and in developing regimes of truth of universal application are paving the way for isomorphism in world education, despite reassurances to the contrary. The Bologna process or the PISA scheme are not undertakings of a merely technical character (Mattheou, 2004), in the same sense that the vocabulary of quality, performativity, accountability, management, etc., is not ideologically neutral as neoliberal reformers would have wished the world to believe. Excessive relativism in the cultural and the epistemological spheres undermines the very foundations of knowledge and of aesthetics on which not only the forms of school knowledge and the organization of the school curriculum were based, but also the university's fundamental principles and values rest. Thus, with the primacy of *eu zein*/good life (life based on *arete*/morality) being disputed, all sorts of "retailers of truth," be they the prophets of human liberation from the domination of scientific norms and methods or the gurus of entrepreneurship, are given a scope in education. The signs of the shift in emphasis in public discourse from miscellaneous forms of knowledge to skills and competences, from education to training, and from intrinsic to extrinsic values and to instrumental knowledge are already visible in school and university curricula. On the other hand, the resurgence of individualism, this time not as the creative force inherent to the Protestant Ethic and controlled by the pretences of "the theory of moral sentiments" but rather as the precondition for the survival of the fittest in a profit-seeking, materialistic, and deregulated society, is already casting its shadow over the principles of social cohesion and humane conduct traditionally pertaining to the education of the young. Finally, all this undue emphasis on innovation,

implicitly and at the symbolic level, seems to disregard continuity in human history and to devalue the comforting feeling of certainty and anticipation pertaining to tradition. Left alone, in a world of uncertainty, unguided and uninspired by noble ideals and unfaltering principles, young people run the risk of becoming the prey to educational reformers obsessed with all sorts of ideological delusions.

Yet, as in the metaphor of the city of Athens, the incursion of the gray has not yet fully blurred the landscape. The green color of hope still endures. The guardians of education, teachers, the academia, and numerous intellectuals, despite some losses to the "enemy camp," are on the watch. Their critical and informed approaches to the educational issues raised by the changes in the world greatly contribute to the appreciation of all relevant phenomena: They shed light on educational problems and many of the prejudices related to policy making. Through research, books, articles, and conferences, they draw attention to truisms, to false and/or implicit assumptions, or to those peculiarities (national, regional, or institutional) that the comparative perspective could reveal. In other words, they seem prepared to participate in and guide the purposeful transformation of educational landscapes, not to surrender to the uncontrolled subversive forces that the subterranean deities of economism, relativism, and political indifference are hatching. Their preparedness is evident in the papers presented at the 23rd CESE Conference in Athens, some of which are included in this volume.

CESE, one of the most active players in the field of comparative education, has played, since the early years of its establishment, a vital role in analyzing educational issues not least by bringing together academics of various disciplinary persuasions from all over the world. Through the conferences it has organized over the years, it enhanced multilateral communication and co-operation across national and disciplinary borders. It has contributed to the development of interpersonal relations that gave birth to several important research projects, and it has provided a forum for the presentation of academic research and for critical reflection. Some of the papers presented at its conferences were recorded in special CESE book publications and are still an important source of reference.

The present volume belongs to this series of publications. It is based on papers presented at the 23rd CESE Conference, organized in Athens, from the 7th to the 10th of July 2008. The general theme of the Conference "Changing Landscapes, Topographies, and Scenarios: Educational Policies, Schooling Systems, and Higher Education," presented in broad terms the comparative education community's problematique on contemporary education issues. In its six working groups, scholars from all over the world were invited to reflect critically on the interrelated educational issues of access, knowledge, teaching and learning, quality, accreditation, and assessment. On their part, keynote speakers gave special emphasis to educational mobility in an internationalized world, to world education markets, to intellectual diasporas, and to a modern reflective encounter with ancient Greek *paideia*, particularly the "*paideia* of the soul." For the most part, the papers of the comparative education scholars reflected their concern for the social, cultural, and pedagogical aspects of education in contemporary multicultural societies, on the internationalization of education and on transnational mobility, on the changing epistemological

paradigm and its consequences in education, on the corresponding shift of values in the university, and on issues of quality and equality in education.

Obviously, these are all issues of a transversal nature, i.e., issues that cut across working groups' themes revealing at the same time the interrelated nature of the various educational aspects, a fact which by itself renders arbitrary any editorial classification of the papers in specific sections. Despite these limitations, this book is organized into five sections. Part I comprises papers that analyze critically the epistemological, ideological, and pedagogical shifts in knowledge production and its utilization. Chapter 1 by Andreas Kazamias, entitled "The Owl of Athena: Reflective Encounters with the Greeks on Pedagogical Eros and the *Paideia* of the Soul (*Psyche*)," is an important reminder of the great ideological transformation that has taken place in the educational landscape over the last few decades, a transformation that signifies a major and a very dangerous departure from the humanistic ideals that were born in classical Athens and have continued ever since to be a repository of knowledge, experience, inspiration, and above all of authority both inside and outside the academy. It is in this repository, in the texts and discourses of ancient Greek *paideia* (philosophy, drama, theater, the Parthenon, and symbosia), which he analyzes critically, that the author looks for an answer to the crucial question he poses: "What is education, knowledge and pedagogy and for what purpose in the unfolding twenty-first post-industrial, information-technological and 'philistine' knowledge society/cosmopolis?" a cosmopolis that appears to be self-complacent, insolent, and contemptuous of its rich cultural traditions. After a thorough comparative-historical analysis of the classical Athenian *polis* and of its educational culture/*paideia* on the one hand, and what he calls the "Brave New European Knowledge Cosmopolis" on the other, Kazamias concludes that the latter has a lot to learn from the ancient Greeks, not by imitating them but by utilizing the idea of *paideia* with all its holistic emphasis on the cultivation of the mind, but more so, of the soul/*psyche*.

Chapter 2 by Maria Josè Garcia Ruiz on the "Implications of the New Social Characteristics of Knowledge Production" investigates comparatively yet another departure from educational traditions. It concerns the ethos, the objectives, and the traditional social functions of the university. This departure is evident, for example, in the change of emphasis that the two English reports on higher education – the Robbins (1963) and the Dearing (1998) Reports – place on the principles of university autonomy and academic freedom. Such principles are now constrained by the imperatives of the market and the demands of employers and other educational stakeholders for greater relevance to the needs of economy and for accountability. Also significant are the changes in the social characteristics of knowledge production incurred to a large extent by the massification of higher education. The author identifies a number of such changes, e.g., the diversification of the functions of higher education; the alteration of the social profile of student population; a more professionally-oriented type of education; tensions between teaching and research, which are increasingly becoming problem oriented; the unfolding quest for accountability; the search for alternative sources of funding; the introduction of efficiency and a bureaucratic ethos in higher education; and last but not least, a major change in the mode of knowledge production. As the latter constitutes a major change in

the epistemological paradigm, the author identifies its most significant features and compares the old (mode I) and the new (mode II) mode of knowledge production. She then reflects on some of the implications of this shift in the epistemological paradigm and poses some very crucial questions concerning the social role of the university in the years to come.

In Chapter 3, entitled "University Reform in Greece – A Shift from Intrinsic to Extrinsic Values," Eleni Prokou analyzes and interprets recent higher education policies – with special reference to the introduction of a quality assurance framework – in Greece, against developments in higher education in the European Area and against the Greek university traditions. The author starts by identifying and analyzing the increasing emphasis on extrinsic values in European universities, as this is expressed in the prevailing vocabulary of institutional productivity, market responsiveness, accountability, quality assurance, evaluative state, and the like. She then gives an account of the university tradition in Greece and compares it with the recently enacted policies concerning the evaluation and quality assurance of Greek universities. She concludes by identifying several changes in the Greek university education landscape – not necessarily all of a permanent character – which she attributes, to a large extent, to the influence of the unfolding "regimes of truth" developed by international organizations.

Chapter 4 by Christine Musselin on "Universities and Pricing on Higher Education Markets" looks into the widely held view that higher education is being transformed into an industry and that market forces are driving its development. The author argues that this view is based, on the one hand, mainly on the observed transformation of training and research in universities from public (in the sense that goods were non-vital and non-excludable) into private goods and, on the other, of the national higher education systems into highly differentiated systems which provide the basis for the emergence of different competition sets. The author challenges this view as being trivial and analytically not appropriate. To this end, she proposes a definition of the market, and building on it, she identifies two domains where market relationships are developing – at least in some countries. She then poses and explores the questions: "What can we say about the behavior of universities on these markets? What are their specificities? How can they be characterized?" Empirical evidence drawn from a study the author conducted on the recruitment of professors in French, German, and American universities, as well as from a research agenda on how universities set the level of fees, are subsequently used to substantiate the author's two main conclusions: first that "we should be more analytical in our analysis of markets in higher education" and, second that "markets in higher education display a pretty wide range of alternatives and are quite far from being perfect markets according to the definition of the neo-classical economics."

Part II comprises three chapters that analyze various forms of access in education from various perspectives. Chapter 5 by Jagdish Gundara and Namrata Sharma entitled "Providing Access to Education – The Intercultural and Knowledge Issues in the Curriculum" discusses the issues of difficult access to education for those young people who do not belong to the dominant group(s) in a society. The authors provide comparative and intercultural examples from various countries to show how

a school curriculum, which is not inclusive of the knowledge and the languages of diverse groups in a society, would not be seen as relevant by those groups, would consequently prevent their offspring from gaining access to higher levels of education, and would lower their educational performances. The authors, further, discuss in some detail access to educational provision in India, a complex issue that has both historical and contemporary dimensions. The historical dimension is closely related to the traditional hierarchical structure of Indian society in which life chances are still unequally distributed and in which a caste system and gender discrimination are deeply rooted. Contemporary dimensions concern problems related to an insufficient infrastructure, to an inadequate recognition of minority languages (there are over 200 languages with almost 1600 dialects in the country) by the authorities, and to prejudices that pervade large sectors of the Indian society. The authors then turn to the case of the United Kingdom to show how policies that exclude children's first language from the curriculum – especially when the first language is not a European or a native British language – have also, thus far, lowered the educational potential of children coming from minority groups. The authors conclude that the exclusion of knowledge about and the language of large numbers of people not only leads to a diminished access to education, but also may turn out to be dangerous for retaining social cohesion.

Chapter 6 by Ana Bravo-Moreno on "Access and Transitions in Education" also looks into the factors that influence access of minority groups to education. However, this time these factors are related to the socioeconomic context, to European policies for the regulation of immigration, and to the deeply rooted ideology of Eurocentrism. In the first part, the chapter contextualizes the phenomenon of immigration, touching briefly on European policies and analyzing in more detail the case of Spain. The author comments critically on the controversial policy of "integration contracts" for immigrants, which in practice requires third-country nationals to conform with the national identity of the host country in order to settle in the EU and sets the framework for national policies concerning immigration. Then, immigration in Spain is examined as a lever for its economic boom over the last decade and as an effective means to keep the Spanish pension system from bankruptcy. The second part examines education and racism in Spain, focuses on the difficulties of access to education that immigrant communities are faced with, and criticizes governmental policies for being inadequate to address them systematically. The author attributes political inertness on the part of the state to racial discourses and ways of thinking rooted in Eurocentrism, whose values involve the allocation of hierarchies of rights, among which is the right of access to education. According to her, this explains why multicultural programs have thus far failed to alter substantially the educational, economic, social, and legal inequalities.

In Chapter 7, entitled "Educational Inequalities in Greece, Sweden and the United Kingdom – A Comparative Analysis of The Origins," Maria Papapolydorou looks at access to education from a different perspective. The author does not focus on minority groups (indigenous or immigrant) and the factors that prevent their access to education. Instead, she investigates the structural reasons that underpin

access to equal educational outcomes. From this perspective, she examines comparatively the educational outcomes in Greece, Sweden, and the United Kingdom and discusses the reasons which are likely to cause inequalities in this area, which include, among others, the political and historical background of these countries and the characteristics of their welfare state. Papapolydorou concludes that the reasons for educational inequality do not, strictly speaking, lie within the educational system. On the contrary, they must be sought in the broader socioeconomic context. In the country cases examined, educational inequalities seem to be related not only with general income inequalities but also with the level of state social provisions and the absence of universalism of services (e.g., parental leave arrangements, unemployment benefits). In this sense, inequalities in educational outcomes are highly dependent on access to these services which in turn is a matter related to the "Welfare State Regime" in each country.

Part III comprises two chapters on old and new solidarities. Chapter 8 by Leslie Limage on "Public Education, Migration, and Integration Policies in France" looks into the French value system, the tradition of equality of opportunity for all citizens through identical treatment by the French institutions and the education system, the strict secular separation of the public and private domains, the "neutrality" of the educational knowledge and culture, and the consequent unwillingness of teachers to depart from their strictly instructional role. After examining thoroughly the diversity of Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian migrations, the chapter focuses on the capacity and the readiness of the French education system, as the repository of French republicanism, to respond to the challenges these migrations pose on it and on the society at large. In this context, the current concern with violence in schools and in disadvantaged urban suburbs, which threatens social cohesion and solidarity, is analyzed in terms of the capacity of existing social institutions to continue to rely on traditional values. To this end, Limage looks at recent legislation, political party positions, and the role of unions, associations, and representative bodies. The study makes clear that the resolution of conflicts concerning different value systems is never an easy job.

Chapter 9 by Angelyn Balodimas-Bartolomei and Nicholas Alexiou, entitled "The Inclusion of Invisible Minorities in the EU Member States – The Case of Greek Jews in Greece," looks into EU policies and initiatives concerning the inclusion of cultural, ethnic, and religious minorities in contemporary multicultural, multiethnic, and multireligious societies, policies that are expected to promote mutual understanding between various groups with the clear aim of strengthening the social bonds and solidarity among them. The authors begin by identifying the conceptual ambiguities pertaining to the notions of "national," "ethnic," "cultural," etc., and the difficulties emanating from the gap between policy rhetoric and policy implementation. They then turn to the case of Greece, its minority groups and the fluctuations in relevant policy making, before they focus on the "invisible" minority of Greek Jews, more specifically the Romaniotes, who have been present and active in the country since the time of the Roman Empire. The authors follow the historical course of this minority over the last century or so both in Greece (Ioannina) and in New York, stressing the strong bonds Romaniotes have developed with the Greeks and

with Greek culture, a fact which has, however, escaped the notice of the Greek educational authorities for long and which has not been translated into concrete educational policies until recently. It was only during the last decade or so that this injustice was redressed, as indicated by a research project undertaken by one of the authors, which looked into the representation of Greece's Jewish community, and in particular the Romaniotes, in the current Greek school curricula, textbooks, and other teaching material.

Part IV focuses on issues related to learning and teaching, quality, accreditation, and assessment. Chapter 10 by Leon Tickly and Angeline Barret entitled "Education Quality – Research Priorities and Approaches in the Global Era," sets out the approach and the rationale for researching education quality in low-income countries that underpin a 5-year research project focused on sub-Saharan Africa. As equity is taken to constitute an indispensable dimension of educational quality, mainstream conceptualizations of quality are criticized in the chapter as being divorced from any broader understanding of the historical, sociocultural, political, and economic forces that generate inequality. The approach of the researchers, which draws from critical theory, post-colonial theory, and political economy, is mainly concerned with the development of a contextualized understanding of what counts as education quality in different settings and for different groups of learners. Intrinsic to the research program is also capacity building, which means that the program seeks also to empower policy makers, educators, learners, and other key players by supporting their development as reflective practitioners and agents of change.

Chapter 11 by Eleni Karatzia-Stavlioti, entitled "Pupil Assessment in a Historical Perspective – Contribution to the Contemporary Debate," follows the development of "trends" in the field of pupil assessment as a result of the changes in the dominant educational-pedagogical discourses and in the goals and values that the various educational systems promoted at different times and in varying social contexts. Not surprisingly, as the author asserts, pupil assessment based on psychological standardized tests, which started to dominate the field in the 1970s, was followed by criterion-referenced assessment and then gradually was transformed to educational pupil assessment during the school effectiveness and improvement movement in the late 1980s and 1990s. Using the historical-comparative methodology, the chapter investigates the aforementioned trends in an effort to shed light on the issue of pupil assessment, mainly on the contemporary debate in the field, which is currently being influenced by the findings of the sciences of the brain and the radical development of new technologies. Finally, an attempt is being made to incorporate and utilize these findings in a proposal called "biopedagogism" that could signify a paradigm shift in pupil assessment.

In Chapter 12, entitled "Recent Trends in Early Childhood Curriculum – The Case of Greek and English National Curricula," Efstratia Sofou looks into recent early childhood curriculum policy in Greece and in England in the light of the increasing attention that is internationally being paid to curricular issues and policy changes at this level of education. Relying on post-structuralism and using discourse analysis, the author analyzes curricular texts in the two countries and comments on

the great differences that exist among them in structural, organizational, historical, and ideological terms, in an effort to find out how different historical, cultural, and political circumstances have made an impact on educational processes and policies. To this end, special emphasis is being paid to the analysis of the social construction of the notions of early childhood, the child, and the image of the early childhood teacher in an attempt to substantiate the author's general conclusion that preschool institutions and learning processes are deeply political, which means that they are the result of power relations.

In Chapter 13, entitled "Pre-service Teachers' Intercultural Competence: Japan and Finland," Sari Hosoya and Mirja Talib present the preliminary findings of a large research project which investigated pre-service teacher preparedness in terms of their attitudes, intercultural sensibility, and values to teach in a diverse classroom. Despite similarities between the two countries (both societies have been fairly homogenous and the percentage of immigrant population does not exceed 2%, both have done well in achievement surveys like PISA, both value education highly, and both have well-trained teachers), the study has revealed that different world views and values in each country (e.g., individualism pertaining to the Finnish society and collectivism to the Japanese) clearly influence the professional attitudes of pre-service teachers in the two countries. Thus, for example, while half of the Japanese pre-service teachers were at the "acceptance level of cultural diversity" and one-third of them at the defensive stage, i.e., evaluating cultural differences negatively, two-thirds of their Finnish counterparts were at the integration stage where they preferred more advanced intercultural sensitivity orientation and showed more distinct attitudes of tolerance of cultural differences. The research findings suggest that since teachers play a central role in the acculturation of immigrant students, teacher training should be re-considered so as to improve teachers' readiness to cope with the challenges of interculturalism in the classroom.

Finally, Part V comprises three articles concerning the tricky business of re-defining space in comparative education. Internationalization, understood as increasing border-crossing physical mobility of students and staff, as international co-operation, as joint programs and research, as knowledge transfer, and the like, constitutes a process that puts pressure on national educational traditions and institutions, blurs traditional borderlines of national policy making, and disputes the nation-state as the main unit of comparative analysis. Ulrich Teichler in Chapter 14, entitled "Internationalizing Higher Education in Europe: Debates and Changes in Europe" on the basis of empirical evidence critically examines the impact of the Erasmus Programme and the Bologna Process, which, through structural reforms, aspires to make higher education in Europe more attractive to students from other parts of the world and to facilitate intra-European mobility, thus expanding the boundaries of the European Higher Education Area far beyond the geographical and cultural borders of Europe itself.

In Chapter 15 on "Nation State, Diaspora, and Comparative Education", Anthony Welch focuses on the long standing issue of whether the nation-state should be the main unit of analysis in comparative education and the basis for the collection and analysis of data by international organizations. While in no sense diminishing

the ongoing significance of the nation-state in understanding differences in education from place to place, more contemporary theoretical approaches are beginning to take into account the effects of mass migration – including the migration of the highly skilled – as being of increasing significance. Welch focuses precisely on this issue, and in particular on intellectual knowledge diasporas, whose significance is enhanced by the intensification of global communications and the development of intellectual networks. The very notion of diaspora, as evidence from Chinese and Jewish intellectual diasporas indicates, provides yet another dimension in comparative education discourse concerning its analysis.

Finally, Chapter 16, "The Role of the Nation-State Reconsidered", is a critical commentary by Thyge Winter-Jensen on the view held by many contemporary comparativists that the role of the nation-state has peaked. Winter-Jensen is skeptical about this for two reasons. The first is political. The referenda in France and the Netherlands – the countries which were considered among the most devoted to the European idea – that rejected the Constitutional Treaty and the ratification of the Lisbon Reform Treaty by the national parliaments and not through referenda (with the exception of Ireland where the Reform Treaty was rejected in a referendum) are indicative of the wide gap that exists between what the elites want and what the majority of the people feel and wish; in other words that the nation-state still has a grip on the populations in Europe. The second reason is educational. The limited appeal of the rhetoric of international organizations to national stakeholders is yet another indication that the role of the nation-state in educational policy making is still strong and that comparative education should not fail to pay attention to it.

A final comment before the reader embarks upon the study of the 16 chapters of this volume deserves to be made here. It refers to the metaphor of the changing urban landscape and extends its analytical capacity. The photographic representation of natural landscapes is static and narrow in scope; it is a snapshot taken under a certain angle which is the choice of the photographer. Still the viewer is free to look at it through his/her own intellectual lenses, to pay attention to those aspects that his/her interests and objectives dictate, and to develop his/her own personal feelings and emotions. Analytical representation of educational landscapes is much less static and in a sense much broader in terms of time and theme. But analytical representation of educational landscapes too remains the exclusive responsibility of the analyst: he/she decides on the theme, the focus, the scope, and the methodological approach. But, once again, it is the responsibility of the reader to be reflective and ideologically involved in what he/she reads.

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# Part I
# Knowledge: Epistemological and Ideological Shifts

# Chapter 1
# The Owl of *Athena*: Reflective Encounters with the Greeks on Pedagogical *Eros* and the *Paideia* of the Soul (*Psyche*)

**Andreas M. Kazamias**

> *–What is Eros, then, Diotima?*
> *–He is a great spirit, Socrates...* Eros *is in love with what is beautiful, and wisdom is extremely beautiful. It follows that* Eros *must be a lover of wisdom. Eros is giving birth in beauty, whether in body or in soul... Now, some people are pregnant in body, and for this reason turn more to women and pursue* Eros *in that way, providing themselves through childbirth with immortality... and happiness as they think, while those who are pregnant in soul... are pregnant with what is fitting for a soul to bear and bring to birth... wisdom and the rest of virtue, which all poets beget, as well as all the craftsmen who are said to be creative (Plato* Symposium*: 202D–209A, passim).*

This discursive encounter about *Eros*, a passionate form of *philia*, the classical Greek generic term for Love, between Socrates and the mysterious priestess Diotima allegedly took place at an erotic symposium in fifth-century Athens and is recounted in Plato's philosophical and poetic masterpiece, the *Symposium*. Also, and importantly for my purposes here, included in Plato's *Symposium* was the first philosophical discussion on "pedagogic pederasty" or "pedagogical *eros*," a homosexual form of relationship, which was germane to the ancient Greek educational and pedagogical cultures, which, in the case of classical Athens, was epitomized by the concept of *paideia*.

Symposia in ancient Greece were organized banquets, usually taking place in rich people's homes for the purpose of engaging the participants in philosophical discussions on what seemed to the organizers to be important human problems and concerns. At a time when there were no institutions of higher learning, symposia, at their best, could be conceptualized as educational sites where Greek intellectuals, philosophers, dramatists, poets, and politicians, often in the company of courtesans, flute players, and female dancers, expounded on various intellectual and ethical questions. From such discursive encounters, one could conceivably derive lessons for the cultivation of one's mind (nous) and one's soul (psyche)/the "paideia of the

A.M. Kazamias (✉)
University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA; University of Athens, Greece
e-mail: kazamias@wisc.edu

soul" (psychagogia), two related quintessential elements in the ancient Athenian educational and pedagogical culture. As I. Sykoutris, a Greek classical scholar, has emphasized, the symposium, "properly conducted, is a big school for character; it teaches the human being the perfect citizen's great duty/obligation: to rule and be ruled with justice, it teaches man freedom, obedience without compulsion to the laws, and courage; at the same time, it is a test of self-governance of one's soul" (Sykoutris 1934: 38–39).

Such was the fifth-century erotic symposium narrated in Plato's *Symposium* at which Athenian illuminati – Socrates, Aristophanes, Agathon, Pausanias, Phaedrus, Eryximachus, and the incorrigible Alcibiades – gathered and expounded on *Eros*, according to the mysterious Diotima, "the fundamental driving force of all human activity... the central motivation of human existence." At the same forum, there was discussion about "pedagogical *eros*" – the pedagogical aspect of *pederastia* (the "love of boys") – which, according to Plato's Socrates, was the pedagogue's driving force or passion toward what the Spartan Lycurgus had called, "the best education (*kalliste paideia*)," namely, the cultivation of the mind and, more importantly, the soul (*psyche*).

Friends, colleagues, Greeks, philhellenes, and "barbarians," welcome to this modern European pedagogical symposium in Athens, the modern home of Pallas *Athena*, at which, as a modern comparative-historical intellectual, I shall engage the premodern ancient Greeks in the culture of *paideia* to address critically a modern educational theme/question.

## The Question of This Modern European Symposium and the Comparative-Historical Approach

The contemporary question that I shall discuss at this symposium may be articulated simply as follows: "What education, knowledge and pedagogy for what purpose in the unfolding twenty-first post-industrial, information-technological and "philistine" (Furedi, 2004) Knowledge Society/Cosmopolis?"

My approach to the discussion of this educational question will be a variant of the comparative-historical methodological paradigm. I shall use past educational texts/discourses and cultures, in this case the Athenian cultural system of *paideia*, to address critically the aforementioned modernist educational question. Following the approach of J. Peter Euben (Euben, 2005), an American political theorist and a classical Greek scholar, I shall engage the ancient Greeks – the Athenians – in their intellectual and cultural system of "humanistic *paideia*" to comment critically on contemporary modernist educational and knowledge trends in the imagined European knowledge society. In order to minimize the perhaps unavoidable elements of "presentism" and "didacticism" in such an approach, and to minimize the monumentalizing or idealizing of the "glory that was Greece," my cautious and hopefully unbiased engagement with the ancient Greeks on *paideia* will be "hermeneutic": I shall bring and use the responses we receive from this discursive enterprise and interrogation of ancient Greek educational "texts" to

speak to modernist educational preoccupations and concerns. My aspirations in this comparative-historical discursive encounter will be (a) to make the juxtaposition of ancient Greek and modern European and American educational ideas and cultures "generative," i.e., to what extent does such juxtaposition offer some perspective that invigorates contemporary scholarly educational debate and (b) to echo Euben, "to treat the study of the Greek past less as a project of extrapolating items of knowledge than as an enabling device to bring depth to the questions we ask and provide direction for reflection and argument" (Euben 2005: 17). Or as the eminent Greek intellectual, Cornelius Castoriades, has pertinently written:

> Ancient Greece is not a prototype, nor can it be a model for imitation, as indeed no historical work on any subject can ever be. But I believe that for us today it can function as a fertilizing sperm, given that it allows us to see in their inception, so to speak, a plethora of always timely elements—it can and must constitute for us a stimulus, an inspiration and source, a fountainhead of ideas (Castoriades 1986: 11).

Now, why engage the ancient Greeks? And pertinently for this symposium on education and pedagogy, why are the Greeks worth engaging? Let me cite Euben again. A blunt empirical answer, according to Euben, is that "we have no choice but to engage the Greeks because we have done so in the past and continue to do so today." More substantively, Euben adds, there is considerable evidence that the Greeks have been and continue to remain "a repository of knowledge, experience, inspiration and above all authority both inside and outside the academy" (Euben 2005: 16).

The ancient Greek tragedies and comedies were a significant part of the Greek educational cultural system of humanistic *paideia*, which originated in the democratic *polis* of Athens during the classical period of its history – the fifth and fourth centuries BC – and subsequently became an essential component of Western "Eurocentric" – European and American – civilization. In this modern symposium, fortuitously held in modern Athens, I shall engage the ancient Athenians in their educational culture of "humanistic paideia" because in that intellectual and cultural arena classical Athens is indeed "a repository of knowledge, experience, and inspiration" (Euben, 2005). And, related to this, to refer to Castoriades quoted above, "it can and must constitute for us a stimulus, an inspiration and source, a fountainhead of ideas" (Castoriades 1986: 11).

## *What Is Education and for What Purpose? The Classical Greek Paradigm of* Paideia

In his politics (*politika*), Aristotle spoke about *paideia* and its significance for the different polities/constitutions (*politeies/politeumata*), e.g., oligarchies, tyrannies, monarchies, and democracies, and the contemporary controversies about the aims of education. "Education," Aristotle averred, "must be a public concern" and "must be related to the special character/*ethos* appropriate to each *politeuma*..." He went on:

> But we must not forget the question of what that education is to be, and how one ought to be educated. For today there are opposing views about the [educational] tasks/the program to be set, for there are no generally accepted assumptions about what the young should learn, either for virtue (*arête*) or for the best life [the "good life"/*to eu zein,* in Aristotle's meaning of the term]; nor yet is it clear whether education ought to be conducted with more concern for the intellect/the mind (*dianoia/nous*) or for the formation of the character or the *ethos* of the *psyche*. This complex and confusing climate of opinion prevents finding out what the right education should aim at; whether it should aim at things useful in life (*ta chresima pros ton vion*) or at those conducive to virtue or at dispensable ornamental accomplishments (Aristotle 1987 *Politika,* 1337a, 27–37, 1337b, 1–5).

In the same text, Aristotle articulated his own ideas about *paideia*, the type of education that befitted a "free citizen" of the Greek *polis*, in Aristotle's terminology the *zoon politikon* ("political animal"). For the education of the young, Aristotle referred to the teaching of traditional subjects, viz., "letters" (reading, writing, and elementary mathematics – what we would today call the three R's), physical education, music, and, for some, drawing, which traditionally were taught mainly for "practical" or "useful" purposes, i.e., "for life" (*zein*). Of these, Aristotle noted critically, music (*musike*) – which in classical Greece also included poetry and, as discussed below, in the history of Western civilization was an integral part of the "liberal humanistic pedagogical canon" – should not be taught as a subject that was "useful for life," but "useful for the good life"(the *eu zein*) or for *eudemonia*. If all subjects in an educational system were taught for practical or what in modern discourse would be referred to as "utilitarian" purposes, then, according to the philosopher, there would always be the danger of making the learner *banausos*, a term that can be rendered as meaning "crude" or "vulgar." As Aristotle explained: "For we should regard a *banausic* activity (*techne*) and *banausic* learning those things that render the *psyche* and the *nous* of the free human being and citizen (*anthropos-politis*) useless for the exercise and practice of virtue (*arête*)." Music, according to Aristotle, should be taught not just for relaxation and amusement, but as an essential element of *paideia*; and as such, it should be taught to "our sons" not "for practical purposes or because it is necessary," but "because it is an education that befits free, well-educated, and good, i.e., virtuous citizens." Music, in short, contributed to the acquisition of *arête*, to the cultivation and ennoblement of the ethical part of the human *psyche*, which, according to Aristotle, was the seat of both intellectual and ethical attributes or moral "virtues." Finally, in this text, Aristotle extended his educational philosophy about "liberal education" and *banausic* or utilitarian education to higher studies or *epistemai* where he drew a distinction between higher and more prestigious "liberal sciences (*eleutherioi epistemai*)" and lower in educational value "illiberal," and essentially practical or *banausic epistemai* (Aristotle 1987 *Politika,* H 1337b and 1338a).

In engaging Aristotle on education, from our comparative-historical perspective, we could point to certain issues and key ideas about education and pedagogy in the democratic *polis* of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, which are significant for us today. They are significant not for imitation, but in that they can help us reflect more deeply and critically on contemporary issues, discourses, and practices; and

this, despite the differences in the political, economic, social, and cultural contexts of ancient Athens and contemporary Europe and America. The three related key ideas I shall discuss first at this Symposium can be summarized as follows:

a. First and foremost, the classical Greek (essentially Athenian) conception of *paideia* and *pedagogia* (pedagogy), particularly the *paideia* and pedagogy of the soul (*psychagogia*).
b. Second, the type of *paideia*, viz., the knowledge and pedagogy that the Athenians considered to be necessary for the formation of free and "virtuous" (cultivated in *arête*) Athenian citizens, what might be called "virtuous polis-citizens."
c. Third, the distinction the ancient Greeks made between *paideia* and *techne*; between "culture" or "knowledge of the heart" (moral, aesthetic, and emotional knowledge and "knowing what to feel") and scientific–technical, informational, skill-forming, and practical or "useful" types of knowledge; and between "liberal" and "illiberal studies."

## The Paideia/*Educational Culture of the Athenians*

If one were to apply modernist terminology, one would say that education in ancient Athens, but for certain extenuating circumstances, was basically a private than a state/public affair. The main educational agents, as Protagoras, the sophist, in Plato's dialogue bearing the same name, noted, were (a) the family (parents, nurses, and pedagogues who often were slaves), (b) the schoolteacher (the *grammatistis*/language master, the *kitharistis*/harp teacher, and the *paidotrivis/*sports instructor), and (c) the *polis* itself with its laws (Plato, *Protagoras*, 326b–326d), and one should add, with its democratic institutions and its state-sponsored and citizen-supported cultural activities and institutions (e.g., the yearly festivals like the Great Dionysia, the theatre, and the public buildings and temples like the Parthenon). As sites of "nonformal education," one could also include the aforementioned symposia, the *gymnasia*, and last but not least, the public *agora* at the foot of the Acropolis (Markantonatos 1998: 121; Hourdakis 1990). In reality, the education of the Athenian citizen developed after finishing school through his participation in the life of the *polis* in the aforementioned sites. It was inseparable from his political life (Agard 1960: 117): it was actual participation in the political, social, and cultural activities of the state and in accordance with the constitution of the *polis.* As Simonides (556–468), the Greek lyric poet, noted, "the polis teaches the man" (*polis andra didaskei*) (Pomeroy et al., 1999: 267–268, Hourdakis 1990: 30). And as Pericles famously eulogized in his *Funeral Oration*, as reported by Thucydides:

> An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone

regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy" (Thucydides 1942: 649–650).

An important aspect of the Athenian educational culture was the distinction drawn between *paideia* and *techne.* In Plato's *Protagoras*, Socrates, in advising young Hippocrates, an aspiring statesman, identifies two types of education: one that aims at some *techne*, i.e., technical *training* for a profession and another that aims at *paideia*, the perfection of the personality, the cultivation of the mind, and the soul of the individual as a private citizen and a free man, and according to Socrates, at the acquisition of *arête* (Plato *Protagoras* 312b).

Related to the above, classical Athenian education emphasized "cultural humanistic knowledge," viz., the cultivation of letters and the arts, "moral knowledge," "aesthetic knowledge," and "emotional knowledge," i.e., "knowing what to feel," to use Roger Scruton's apposite epistemological terminology (Scruton 2007). And according to Pericles, the Athenians loved "wisdom" and cultivated the letters, the sciences (*epistemai*), and the fine arts. In his famous words, "for we are lovers of the beautiful, yet with economy (without extravagance), and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness (without flaccidity)" (Thucydides 1942: 649–650). To these, Isocrates, the great Attic orator–philosopher, would have added that the Athenians also cultivated the "art of discourse" (*He ton logon paideia*) (Isocrates 1956 *Antidosi*s: 250–256).

No exposition of classical Athenian educational thought and culture would be credible or complete without reference to *pederastia* or *paidophilia*, which was mentioned prominently in the introduction to this essay. Literally translated as the "love of boys," *pederastia* was a socially recognized and accepted institution in classical Greece, not an aberration, although there were some strong voices, e.g., Aristophanes, against it. In the Greek literature, as Flaciere points out, *paidophilia* is used to refer "both to pure disinterested affection (*philia*) and to physical homosexual relations" (Flaciere 1962: 43). For our purposes here, such a homosexual relationship occupied an important place in the Athenian "*paideia* of the soul/*psyche*." "The Greek philosophers," Flaciere has noted, "always defined homosexuality with pedagogy in view," adding: "the Greeks mistrusted knowledge derived entirely from books... in their opinion the best teaching was always oral, a communication between minds by word of mouth" (Flaciere 1962: 63). Echoing the same idea, I. Sykoutris has noted that *pederastia* "was an important element in the intellectual and moral education of the citizen of the *Polis*" (Sykoutris 1934: 34–35). E. P. Papanoutsos, a twentieth-century Greek educational philosopher and reformer, has eloquent*l*y summarized pedagogical *eros* in ancient Greek educational culture as follows: "If we accept Plato's concept of *Eros*, namely, that it is a drive towards perfection... and a primary incentive for intellectual creativity... *pedagogia* (the education of the young), according to this conception, becomes a deep and fundamental intellectual need, rooted in the mind itself. In every intellectual creation, be it artistic, theoretical/scientific or ethical, there is always, Plato teaches us, a powerful pedagogical tone" (Papanoutsos 1977: 113, translated from the Greek).

### Psychagogia/*Paideia of the Soul*

The conception of the soul and its cultivation occupied a central position in the Greek educational and pedagogical texts and discourses of fifth- and fourth-century Athens, especially in the thought of the three dominant philosophical figures of classical Greece, namely, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Indeed, according to A. E. Taylor, "it was Socrates, who so far as can be seen, created the conception of the *soul* which has ever since dominated European thinking" (Taylor 1956: 132). As the wisest philosopher–citizen of Athens – that is how the Pythian prophetess of Delphi characterized him – Socrates considered the *raison d'etre* of his existence as an apostolic mission to "educate" his fellow Athenian citizens (Plato 1956 *The Apology*). True or good education, in short, according to Socrates, was the "paideia/pedagogy of the soul," in the words of Peter Abbs, "that inner process through which the individual moves from naïve consciousness and ego to reflection and identity" (Abbs 1994: 21). Stated differently by us, the Socratic theory of "paideia/pedagogy of the soul" entailed a pedagogy or teaching that emphasized quest for truth, critical and consistent thinking, questioning, philosophizing, critical self-reflection, reasoning, exhortation/*elenchos*, and "examination" ("know thyself" and "the unexamined life is not worth living").

### The Soul (**Psyche***)*

What exactly did the ancient Greeks mean by *psyche*, particularly Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle whose ideas continue to be of interest to us moderns and a source of inspiration? Let us begin with Socrates, who pertinently called himself a "physician of the soul."

By *psyche*, Socrates, according to A.E. Taylor, meant "the seat of normal intelligence and character... the conscious personality which may be wise or foolish, virtuous or vicious, according to the care and discipline it gets." The "work" or "function" of the Socratic notion of the *psyche*, Taylor explained further, "is just to *know*, to apprehend things as they really are, and, in particular, to *know* good and evil, and to *direct* or *govern* a man's acts so that they lead to a life in which evil is avoided and good achieved." Thus, what Socrates was concerned with "is neither speculative nor empirical psychology, but a common principle of epistemology and ethics" (Taylor 1951: 146–147). *Psyche* for the Platonic Socrates and Plato himself, as stated in the *Republic*, meant further "the true self in harmony with itself," the rational personality, and the intelligent mind/intellect (Plato *Republic* 353d).

In the *Republic*, it should be noted here, Plato in his inimitable allegorical style employs the famous myth of the cave to explain to young Glaucon, that *paideia* is the "turning around," the "conversion of the soul" (*periagoge tes psyches*) from a state of darkness/ignorance/non*paideia* (*apaideusia*) and non-knowledge to that of light, *paideia*, and true or real knowledge. Another way of deconstructing the parable is that, according to Plato, *paideia* is the ascent of *psyche* from a state

of opinion (*doxa*) to one of knowledge, of forms, or of ideas (Plato *Republic* Book VI).

There was yet another dimension in the Platonic/Socratic conception of the human *psyche*, a "nonintellectual" one, that is particularly emphasized in the already referred to *Symposium* where, as David Melling has pointed out, "the human soul is also the seat of love and desire" (Melling 1987: 72). Finally, according to Chris Emlyn-Jones, " For Plato/Socrates... (the soul) represents the essence of the person, his or her moral value, that part which is affected by the way in which the life of the individual is conducted" (Emlyn-Jones 2004: xxvi–xxvii).

Aristotle conceptualized the human soul as consisting of three parts/faculties: (a) a purely irrational part, (b) a purely rational part, and (c) a part that consisted of both rational and irrational elements. The first part, Aristotle explained, has to do with "nutrition and reproduction" and, therefore, has nothing to do with virtue (*arête*); the third part, which he termed "appetitive" or "desiring" (*epithymitikon*), has to do with the "ethical/moral virtues" that describe the "human character"; while the second, which refers exclusively to the rational, relates to the "intellectual virtues."

Corresponding to this psychological differentiation of the soul, Aristotle theorized that there was an ethical differentiation of virtue (*arête*) into "intellectual virtues" (*dianoetikes arêtes*), viz., wisdom (*sophia*), intelligence (*synesis*), and prudence (*phronesis*) and "moral/ethical virtues" (*ethikes arêtes*), viz., liberality (*eleutheriotita*) and temperance (*sophrosini*).

Following the above, Aristotle commented on how the two forms of virtue are produced or engendered: the intellectual virtues by "instruction" (*didaskalia*) and experience (*empeiria*) and the ethical moral virtues by "habit" (*ethos*) and practice. The cultivation of ethical virtues through "habituation" and "practice," Aristotle averred, and *pari passu* the formation of "moral character," is a quintessential attribute of the "educated man" (*anthropos*) and the "citizen (*politis*)" (Aristotle Ethika Nikomacheia, 1926/1956: II, i, 4–8).

## Paideia of the Soul/Psyche and Civic Virtue, an All-**Polis** *Affair (tis olis politeias hypothesis)*

Caring for and cultivating the soul and "making it as 'good' as possible" were also the concern of other public discourses, institutions, and "texts": poetry, drama (tragedy and comedy), social and political/civic institutions (e.g., symposia, the civic theatre, the *agora*, religious/political cultural festivals like the Lenaea, the Panathenaea and the City or Great Dionysia, the *ecclesia* of the *demos,* laws and the courts, and *gymnasia*), monuments like the Parthenon, and more broadly the political culture of Athens itself. Reference has already been made to the discourse on pederasty and "pedagogical *eros*" in Plato's *Symposium*, to which one could add the erotic poetry of "beautiful Sappho," as Socrates called the famous poetess from Lesbos. Concern with the soul and coextensively with the cultivation of

"civic virtue" were especially salient in the *polis*/state-organized and subsidized dramatic performances in the Theatre of Dionysus during the yearly City or Great Dionysia, in honor of the God Dionysus. Of these, the pedagogical significance of tragedy deserves special attention in our engagement with ancient Greek educational thought and culture.

## The Athenian Theatre and the Paideia of the Soul – Aristotle's Katharsis of the Soul

"The theatre as we understand it in the West today," Paul Cartledge, the classical Greek scholar has written, "was invented in all essentials in ancient Greece, and more specifically in classical (democratic) Athens." And the democratic *polis* of Athens, according to him, could pertinently be described as "the theatre-state." The Athenian tragic drama was always a mass social phenomenon and it was a civic affair with political significations (Cartledge 1997: 3–6). To Cartledge's last point, we would add that the Athenian tragic drama was a civic affair with "educational/pedagogical significations" as well. The Athenian Theatre of Dionysus was what in modern times we would call an "open university." Indeed, the dramatist, who was also the producer, was referred to as *didaskalos* (teacher).

The pedagogical signification of the Athenian tragic drama is implied in Aristotle's definition of tragedy and its effects on the *katharsis* of the soul:

> Tragedy is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper *katharsis*, or purgation, of those emotions. . . (Butcher 1951: 241).

What Aristotle meant by *katharsis*, i.e., the purgation of the human passions, and what the moral and by implication the pedagogical effect, which tragedy produces through *katharsis*, have been variously interpreted. We find the interpretation of E. P. Papanoutsos quite credible. According to Papanoutsos, "tragic poetry... purifies the passions of pity and fear" and in so doing, it "elevates the human being to a higher emotional and ethical sphere" (Papanoutsos 1977: 300). In the same vein, according to Butcher's interpretation, by *katharsis* Aristotle meant the transformation of the feelings, "the expulsion of a painful and disquieting element"; *katharsis* exercises a "curative and tranquillizing influence" and it provides an "aesthetic satisfaction" (Butcher 1951: 243–245, 254–255).

Imagine the effects on the souls – the *katharsis*, to refer to Aristotle's theory, of the Athenian spectators – men citizens, women, even prisoners, and slaves – watching in agonizing bewilderment tragic scenes from performances of such tragedies as Euripides' *The Trojan Women* and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (see, for example, Euripides, 1999 *The Trojan Women*, 1156–1193, and Sophocles, *Oedipus the King*, 1307–1414)!

## *Athenian* Paideia – *An Epilogue*

Ancient Athenian *paideia* may be epitomized in terms of the following mixture of institutions and magma of significations: *philosophia* (love of wisdom*)*; the cultivation of "letters and sciences," the "fine arts," and theatre/drama, in short, "general humanistic culture"; the Parthenon; the conversion of the soul (*periagoge tis psyches*) (Plato); caring for the soul (Socrates); character/*ethos* (Aristotle*)*; the art of discourse (Isocrates) and oral communication, viz., *logos*, *dialogos* (dialogue); critical humanism (Socrates); the *paideia* or pedagogy of the soul; and *paiderastia* (pederasty) and pedagogical *eros.*

## The Modern World/*Kosmos* We Live in and Education

The modern world/*kosmos* we live in today is quite different from the classical Greek, politically, socially, economically, and culturally. Unlike the ancient Greek world of city-states (*poleis*), the modern world is one of nation-states, what we would call *ethnopoleis*, and in some areas, e.g., the European Union, the modern world is organized in the form of "international" or "supranational" political cum economic formations, what we could call *cosmopoleis*. Politically also, modern liberal democracies are in many respects different from the Athenian democracy. In modern democracies, government or "rule" is carried out by representatives, who in some cases, e.g., the United States, are elected by less than 50% of the citizens. In contrast, government or "rule" in the ancient democratic *polis* of Athens was carried out by virtually all the Athenian citizens.

In contrast to the premodern agricultural Athenian society, today's modern societies have been described as industrial, even postindustrial knowledge societies, or knowledge-based economies, and the world we live in as "a 'knowledge-based' technological world constructed on a new informational epistemological paradigm" (Castells 2000: 66–67). From another epistemological viewpoint, the modern *kosmos* has been characterized as an "internationalized commodity culture promoted by an increasingly networked global telecommunications system" and as "a masculinized world of high technology and finances" (Stromquist and Monkman 2000: 4, 9).

Central in much of the discourse about the new world or "new cosmopolis" that is taking shape are such concepts as: "globalization," "global civilization," and "global education"; "global informational economy" and "knowledge-based economies"; and "learning and information societies," "knowledge society," "network society," and "culture of real virtuality" (Castells 2000, Lofstedt 2001, Barney, 2004). Among such constructions, the concept of Knowledge Society (KS) is particularly prominent. As J-I Lofstedt has observed, the globalization of the economy transforms the "new cosmopolis" into the "Knowledge Cosmopolis," where "knowledge becomes ever more important as a prerequisite for participation in basic human activities," for "international competition in the global market economy and for economic development and welfare" (Lofstedt 200l).

Discourses about KS, globalization and "the new world that is taking shape" invariably include discussions about education and training and references to the sites that traditionally have been responsible for the production and dissemination of knowledge and culture, namely, schools and universities (CEC 2003: 1, 11). Such discourses have been clearly manifested with respect to the political and economic robustness, viability and development of the European Union (EU) and its member states. As the French, German, Italian, and British Ministers of Education stated in the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998: "The Europe we are building is not only that of the Euro, the Europe of Banks and the Economy; it must be a Europe of Knowledge as well" (Sorbonne Joint Declaration 1998).

The need for the creation of a competitive economy based on "knowledge" is underscored in several European Union official documents (White and Green Papers, Resolutions, Directives, Action Programs, etc.). For example, in the first and defining text, the White Paper titled *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment*, published in 1993, it is stated that in view of such changes in the world as globalization, the coming of the information society and the rapid development of techno-science, it is imperative that the European Union be transformed into "Knowledge-based" and "Information" Societies (Commission of the European Communities 1993). And in the much publicized and influential White *Paper on Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* (1995), we read: "Be that as it may, the countries of Europe today have no other option. If they are to hold their own and continue to be a reference point in the world, they have to build on the progress brought about through closer economic ties by more substantial investment in knowledge and skills" (CEC 1995: 1). Other relevant texts include: *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* (1997), *The Future Objectives of European Education Systems (2001), Education and Training 2010 (2002),* and *Entrepreneurship in Europe (2003).*

The contemporary discourse (*logos* and *praxis*) about a European KS, and coextensive discourses such as "information society," "knowledge-based economies," and "learning society," raise two related questions: (a) What type of society is the imagined European KS? and, pertinently for our purposes in this Symposium, (b) What type of education and knowledge for this modern Knowledge Cosmopolis?

## *The Imagined European Knowledge Society*

Andy Hargreaves has conceptualized Knowledge Society (KS) in terms of three dimensions: "First, it [KS] comprises an expanded scientific, technical and educational sphere... Second, it involves complex ways of processing and circulating knowledge and information in a service-based economy. Third, it entails basic changes in how corporate organizations function so that they enhance continuous innovation in products and services, by creating systems, teams and cultures that maximize the opportunities for mutual, spontaneous learning" (Hargreaves 2003: 9).

From a Marxist perspective, C. Stamatis, a Greek scholar, has conceptualized KS and education in such society, as follows:

> The conceptual nucleus of 'knowledge society' echoes, in substance, an actual capitalist trend, which it also ratifies ideologically. It signifies the use of knowledge as a productive force in the labor process under the conditions of late capitalism. The type of education that is cultivated in educational institutions is accordingly called upon to be adapted to such knowledge use (Stamatis 2005: 115).

## Education and Knowledge for the Knowledge Society

A critical analysis of the European Union relevant texts shows that in the imagined European KS an educational discourse is promulgated, which emphasizes the following types of knowledge and the development of "skills" and "competencies" to meet the economic needs of the Single European Market, an integrated European society and a European "knowledge-based competitive economy":

- Development of ICTs and sophisticated learning technologies, the rise of what Manuel Castells has called the Network Society and the Information/Technology Epistemological Paradigm (Castells 1998, 2000).
- Knowledge as a factor of production. Emphasis on information technologies and what D. Guile has called "codified knowledge" for the accumulation of capital and for sustainable development in a competitive global economy (Guile 2002).
- Techno-scientific instrumental rationality: Knowledge and cognitive skills in techno-science and mathematics (EC 1995).
- Knowledge as a trading commercialized commodity.

The EU discourse on education and training is pervaded by an instrumentalist ethos that treats knowledge and culture as a means of achieving economic objectives, as shown, for example, in the European Commission's Green Paper characteristically titled *Entrepreneurship in Europe* (2003). The Green Paper defined entrepreneurship as "a mind-set and as a way of creating and developing economic activity," and significantly for our purposes here, it urged that schools and universities should seek to develop entrepreneurial skills and competencies and that entrepreneurship should be included as a subject in the school curriculum (EC 2003).

Perhaps the best source to get a comprehensive picture of the EU's conception of education and training for the European KS is the widely quoted and influential White Paper entitled *Teaching and Learning – Towards the Learning Society* (1995). This seminal text pays homage to globalization, viz., the "internalization of trade, the global context of technology, and, above all, the arrival of the [global] information society." In the global "learning society" of the future, as predicated by the authors of *Teaching and Learning*, knowledge and cognitive skills will be of pivotal importance, especially knowledge and skills in techno-science and mathematics,

particularly for purposes of economic growth and prosperity. However, the White Paper urged that education and training in the "learning society" (also read "knowledge society") should not be narrowly instrumental, but multipurpose. It should (i) focus on "a broad knowledge base" and emphasize breadth and flexibility rather than narrowness, (ii) build bridges between schools and "the business sector," (iii) combat "social exclusion," (iv) develop proficiency in "at least two foreign languages," i.e., in "three Community languages," and (v) "treat capital investment and investment in training on an equal basis." The White Paper, further, talked about the importance of "personal development," the "passing of cultural heritage," and "the teaching of self-reliance." Finally, it referred to the development of "human values" and "citizenship," which, according to it, "is essential if European society is to be open, multicultural, and democratic" (Commission of the European Communities 1995: 5–30).

It is interesting to note that in this text reference is also made to "solid broad-based education," to a "broad knowledge base," to "human values," and to the need for "personal development," "social learning," and "active citizenship," i.e., to cultural knowledge and noncognitive skills. Related to such liberal humanistic cultural aspects of education, in other EU texts there appears to be an ostensible symbolic attachment to the European humanistic cultural tradition as reflected in the nomenclature used for the various EU Action Programs and initiatives, viz., SOCRATES, ERASMUS, LEONARDO DA VINCI, ARION, and COMENIUS. Yet, from a closer reading of the relevant texts, it is clear that in the imagined European KS greater emphasis and space are given to the acquisition of certain kinds of knowledge and the development of cognitive and vocational skills that would be instrumental for the productive employability of the worker, for economic growth and accumulation of wealth, and for national and global prosperity.

In this connection, John Field's critical observations of the reformist orientation of *Teaching and Learning – Towards the Learning Society* (1995) are well taken: "Although the White Paper paid lip-service to the need for personal development and social learning, and even active citizenship, as well as training, there was no sign that the Commission had any concrete proposals in these areas." In fact, Field has added, "the White Paper simply replicated the established boundary between vocational training and general education" (Field 1998: 75). And on the same subject, Joel Spring, an American comparative historian, has observed that even subjects such as literature and philosophy, not to mention science and mathematics, are viewed not for "their intrinsic beauty or personal satisfaction," but "for their instrumental value in improving Europe's position in the global economy" (Spring 1998: 5. Also see Grollios 1999: 43–51).

What is salient, therefore, in the European Union's reformist educational discourse for the imagined modern European Knowledge Society is the privileging of certain kinds of knowledge, skills, and competencies (e.g., education in ICTs, techno-scientific instrumental rationality, and vocational skills) for "competitive advantage," so that, as the Lisbon Council put it in 2000, the EU by 2010 will become "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth accompanied by quantitative and qualitative

improvement of employment and of greater social cohesion" (Conclusions of the Lisbon Council 2000. Also see CEC 1995 and CEC 1997). There is less emphasis on certain other types of knowledge, educational culture, and training, which since ancient Greece have been intrinsic in Western civilization, the Western educational tradition, and the Western ideal of the educated human being, to wit: *paideia* (in Greek), *culture* (in French), *Bildung* (in German), "culture" (in English), particularly what in our reflective encounter with the Greeks, we have called the *paideia/pedagogy* of the soul (*psychagogia*); moral and aesthetic knowledge; the cultivation of ethical dispositions, the emotions, values, and civic virtues; in other words education and knowledge befitting a human being.

## The Imagined "Brave New European Knowledge Cosmopolis/Society": A Dehumanized Technopolis? A Nonhumanist *Dystopia*? A Philistine Empire? A Modern "Virtual Cave?"

From the above, it can be argued that the imagined European Knowledge Cosmopolis and the educational culture it entails are a "dehumanized knowledge technopolis," a "nonhumanist knowledge *dystopia*," or what the English sociologist Frank Furedi would call a "Philistine Empire" (Furedi 2004). In such a Knowledge Society, educational institutions, especially colleges and universities, are foreordained to emphasize "techno-scientific knowledge," "instrumental rationality," and what Lyotard has called "performativity" (Lyotard, 1984), at the expense or sacrifice of "humanistic knowledge" and "culture," and what the ancient Athenians meant by *paideia*, especially by "*paideia* of the soul/*psyche*," as analyzed above, and the Romans by *humanitas* (Proctor 1988/1998). From educational cultural enclaves, a main function of which has been holistic education of persons and citizens with cultivated "minds and souls," potentially they are being metamorphosed into sites for the production of instrumental knowledge and the acquisition of marketable skills. Stated differently, from sites of *paideia*, higher educational institutions are metamorphosed into what Henry Aronowitz, an American sociologist, referring to the American universities, has called "knowledge factories" (Aronowitz 2000) or into places for what Jane R. Martin, an American educational philosopher, has called education for mainly "productive processes" (Martin 1985). In such a transformation, their main mission becomes less the formation of a *homo humanus* and *homo civilis* type of citizen (Nussbaum 1997), and more the construction of a *homo oeconomicus* type, namely, the informed, efficient, and skilled entrepreneur worker in the competitive global economic system.

In his *Teaching in the Knowledge Society: Education in the Age of Insecurity* (2003), Hargreaves comments critically on the contemporary reform discourses and strategies on teaching (and education) in the Knowledge Society and the related knowledge-based economy in North America and the United Kingdom, but his thoughts on the subject could easily apply to the educational reform discourses in

the EU. Hargreaves argues that contemporary capitalist societies, which are also knowledge-based economies, serve primarily the private good rather than the "public good," and their schools are geared to develop primarily cognitive learning, instrumental skills, and competencies for a knowledge society and a knowledge economy. But a knowledge-based economy, he declares, is a "force of creative destruction." On the one hand, "it stimulates growth and prosperity," but on the other, "its relentless pursuit of profit and self-interest also strains and fragments the social order." In the knowledge-based economy, school systems "have become obsessed with imposing and micromanaging curriculum uniformity," instead of "fostering creativity and ingenuity." Hargreaves adds: "In place of ambitious missions of compassion and community, schools and teachers have been squeezed into the tunnel vision of test scores, achievement targets and league tables of accountability. And rather than cultivating cosmopolitan identity and the basic emotion of sympathy, which Adam Smith called the emotional foundation of democracy, too many educational systems promote exaggerated and self-absorbed senses of national identity" (Hargreaves 2003: xvi–xvii, 9).

To refer to Plato's famous allegory of the cave (Plato, *Republic*, Bk VII), a KS, as conceptualized above, places the individual in a "virtual cave," where the individual is held captive of a "virtual reality" that is devoid of "humanity/humanness," i.e., dispositions, emotions, feelings, and aesthetic qualities. In short, it imprisons the individual in a cave of "non*paideia*", where by *paideia*, as indicated above, is meant the cultivation of minds and souls. Viewing the European Union discourse from a similar viewpoint, Moulaert and Gonzalez (2003) argue that it "depicts a society that is in fact an economy solely based on rational behaviour with positivist scientific underpinnings." It does not depict a culturally diverse and, we might add, a human social Europe.

## Humanizing the Brave New European Knowledge Cosmopolis/Society – Engaging and Learning from the Ancient Greeks, and the Re-enchantment of the "*Paideia of the Soul/Psyche*"

Such reflections about educational knowledge and pedagogy in contemporary modernist societies echo our own reflective educational and knowledge encounters, as expounded above, with the ancient Greeks – the Athenians. In the same vein as Hargreaves, we would argue that, in transforming the envisaged Europe of Knowledge into a "human" and, we might add, "humane" Brave New European Cosmopolis, to paraphrase Aldous Huxley's famous *Brave New World*, the European Union modernizers/modernists might seriously consider "re-inventing"/"re-conceptualizing" or "re-imagining" and promoting aspects of the classical Athenian educational culture of "*paideia*," particularly what we have called the "*paideia* of the soul/*psyche.*"

As investigated earlier in this essay, the ancient Greeks were the first humans to theorize and philosophize about education, in the broad cultural meaning of *paideia*, as a quintessential prerequisite for the formation of "character" (*ethos*), the good and virtuous (*kaloskagathos*) man, and the active citizen (the *polypragmon politis*). Since ancient times, the classical Athenian idea of *paideia* as involving not only intellectual culture and the formation of "minds" but also moral and aesthetic culture, and the formation of "souls," has been germane to Western educational thought and, more broadly, Western civilization.

## The Modernist Course of the Classical Concept of Liberal Humanistic Education and the Contemporary Crisis in the Paideia of the Soul

In the modern, post-Enlightenment period of the nineteenth century, the classical concept of "liberal humanistic *paideia*," first with classical studies as its core and later with a broader epistemic content, with a nonpractical, nonutilitarian, and noneconomic instrumentalist orientation, was re-constructed and promoted in the European and American education (in secondary schools, colleges, and universities). In England, it took the form of "liberal humanistic education," in France, c*ulture générale*, in Germany, *Allegemeine Menshenbildung*, and in Greece, «*klassiki anthropistiki paideia*» (classical humanistic education) (Kazamias 1960: 264; Halls 1965: 2; McLean 1995: 24; Sorkin 1983: 63; Dimaras 1973: 60–67; Antoniou 1987: Vol. I). In the United States, "the schools and colleges were the nurseries of classicism until the late nineteenth century," a classicism not defined narrowly but in the broader holistic sense of *paideia*, namely, "the process of realizing the full potential (intellectual and moral) in human nature through education." It was believed that classical humanistic *paideia* was fundamental in cultivating the minds and "in forming ethical human beings and upright citizens." Further, it was believed that classical humanistic *paideia* would help combat the worst effects or "cancers" of "modernity," such as "industrialization, materialism, civic decay, specialization, and anti-intellectualism" (Winterer 2002: 1–4).

With the advent of modernizing developments such as industrialization and democratization in the nineteenth century, and the attendant political, economic, intellectual, and sociocultural changes, the hegemony of the Eurocentric "liberal humanistic culture," defined mainly in terms of classical (Greek and Latin) humanistic knowledge, as the staple of the content of the curricula of secondary and higher educational institutions, began to be contested in England, France, Germany, and the United States. The "liberal humanistic canon" was questioned on the grounds that classical humanistic *paideia* failed to meet the new demands of an industrial society (For France, see Talbot 1969: 14; for Germany, Albisetti 1997: 182–183; for the United States, Tozer et al 2002). In the nineteenth-century knowledge controversy and "conflict of studies" in industrialized England, which was occasioned by the publication of Herbert Spencer's famous essay "What Knowledge is of Most

Worth?" in the *Westminster Review*, the sociologist Spencer and distinguished scientists like T. H. Huxley, M. Faraday, and J. Tyndall, among others, argued strongly in favor of the study of science (e.g., physics, chemistry, zoology, biology, and botany) as equally worthy of study as the classics for disciplining the mind, cultivating the human being, and even for building character (Kazamias 1960; Jordan and Weedon 1994: 23 ff.).

In Western Europe and America, the Spencerian question "What Knowledge is of Most Worth? and the associated "conflict of studies" debate continued to be subjects of discussion at different historical junctures in the twentieth century. From a review of the literature, it is clear that by mid-twentieth century, at least in the Anglo-Saxon world, it could no longer be said that "humanistic *paideia/*culture," either in its classical meaning (cf. Winterer 2002) or indeed in the modern broader sense of "education in the humanities," held a preeminent position in the "liberal or general education" of citizens in a free democratic society. The classics – Greek and Latin – all but disappeared in the United States, while the "humanities" in traditionally "humanist Europe" were "demoted" at best to an equal status with the natural sciences and the "social studies." At worst, humanistic *paideia/culture* was devalued in terms of its "usefulness" and instrumental worth in the developing postindustrial and increasingly techno-scientific world, compared to the ascendant "sciences."

The controversy over "what knowledge is of most worth" – this time in the postindustrial KS and the unfolding *kosmos* of late modernity – and over the place of "humanistic *paideia*" in such a *kosmos* continued, with varying degrees of intensity, in the ensuing decades of the twentieth century. Liberal arts scholars, particularly humanist scholars, were deploring what they perceived to be a "crisis" in "humanistic *paideia*" in the last quarter of the twentieth century and were reasserting the perennial significance of the liberal humanistic ideal of education, particularly in the epistemic areas of knowledge known as "humanities." Calling the tradition of the humanities "education's great amnesia," Robert Proctor, an American scholar has written: "The humanities have had a strangely cyclical history. They degenerated in the late Renaissance, came back to life in the early eighteenth century, and have degenerated again in our own time." (Proctor 1988/1998: ix, 87). In the contemporary "inclusive university," according to Graham Good, a Canadian scholar, "the liberal humanist ideal is being eroded" (Good 2001: 103). And in a collection of studies, written by "philologists" from Europe and America, Seth Schein has written: "In our days in the United States and in other countries of the West classical studies as an academic branch of learning and as an educational tradition appear to be out of fashion at the margins of society in general and of the university, in particular" (Schein 2002: 213; also see Kronman 2007).

## What Is to Be Done?

Interpreted in terms of knowledge and areas of study, a re-conceptualized humanistic *paideia* for the cultivation of the mind, but more so of the soul/*psyche*, would

include what are usually referred to as "arts and humanities," viz., language, literature, poetry, drama, philosophy, history, music, and the fine arts, that is, a broader spectrum of cultural subjects than what in the Western civilization was meant by "liberal humanistic culture" right up to the end of the nineteenth century. As "epistemic" areas, the arts and the humanities represent different forms of knowledge and experience from techno-scientific studies and empirical social science. In his essay "Aesthetic Modes of Knowing," Elliot Eisner, an American educational philosopher of art, has argued that areas such as literature, music, and art represent "aesthetic knowledge" that is different from the more widely accepted "scientific knowledge." Viewed this way, according to Eisner, "both artist and scientist create forms through which the world is viewed... both make qualitative judgments about the fit, the coherence, the economy, 'the rightness' of the forms they create." (Eisner 1985: 26–30).

The epistemological, ethical, aesthetic, and *a fortiori* humanizing potential of the study and teaching of literature – poetry, drama, novel, and biography – in a democratic society, especially in the contemporary turbulent, uncertain, insecure, and problematic world, has been eulogized by Louise Rosenblatt in her influential *Literature as Experience* (1995). Echoing Henry James, the province of literature, according to Rosenblatt, is the human experience, "everything that human beings have thought or felt and created." She explains: "The lyric poet utters all that the human heart can feel. . .The novelist displays the intricate web of human relationships with their hidden patterns of motive and emotion...The dramatist builds a dynamic structure out of the tensions and conflicts of intermingled human lives" (Rosenblatt 1995: 5–6).

In the same vein as the above, the cultural philosopher Roger Scruton in his defense of "the culture of Western civilization," conceptualized as the art, literature, poetry, music, and philosophical reflection through which Western civilization rose "to consciousness of itself" and defined "its vision of the world," argues that as "aesthetic knowledge" or "knowing what to feel," the teaching of Western culture "educates the emotions" and "what to feel"; it "cultivates the heart," which, in Scruton's way of thinking, "is critical to moral education." In his provocative treatise *Culture Counts: Faith and Feeling in a World Besieged*, Scruton has averred: "In short, we should see culture as Schiller and other Enlightenment thinkers saw it: the repository of emotional knowledge, through which we can come to understand the meaning of life as an end in itself. Culture inherits from religion the 'knowledge of the heart' whose essence is sympathy" (Scruton 2007: 42). And again:

> Unlike science, culture is not the repository of factual information or theoretical truth, nor is it a kind of training in skills, whether rhetorical or practical. Yet it is a source of knowledge: emotional knowledge, concerning what to do and what to feel. We transmit this knowledge through ideals and examples, through images, narratives, and symbols (Scruton 2007: x).

Finally, in this connection, it would be pertinent to refer to a recent widely publicized defense of the humanities by A. T. Kronman of Yale University (United States). Noting that, in contrast to the hegemony of science, the humanities today stand at the bottom in the hierarchy of academic authority and prestige in the

American colleges and universities, Kronman makes a strong case for the revival of the lost tradition of the humanities, which sought to prepare young people "to address life's most important question: What is living for?" To the questions: "What do we need them (the humanities) for?" and "What can their purpose and value be?" Kronman, a professor of Law, answers: "The answer is that we need the humanities to meet the deepest spiritual longing [and emptiness] of our age, whose roots lie in the hegemony of science itself." And he eulogizes further:

> The humanities study [human] nature...They meditate on its meaning...they invite—they compel—us to confront the truth about ourselves... [their] subject is always man...Only they can restore the wonder which those who have glimpsed the human condition have always felt, and which our scientific civilization...obscures through the production of a different kind of wonder that blinds us to our mortality and encourages us to forget who we are (Kronman 2007: 238–239).

### Epilogue – "Tending to the Soul": Socrates and Today

In his defense/apology at the trial at which he was indicted and condemned to drink the hemlock for his alleged "impiety," specifically for preaching "new demons/ideas," different from those of the state, and for "corrupting the youth," Socrates, the "humanist philosopher – citizen" of democratic Athens, refused to obey the dictates of those in power and give up philosophy, which he considered to be a *sine qua non* for the cultivation of the "minds" and "souls" of the democratic *anthropoi-polites* (citizens–persons). In his defiance at the trial, he reiterated that he would prefer to die rather than cease to say to whomever he met: "How can you, my friend, an Athenian citizen of the greatest, wisest, most glorious and most powerful city, not be ashamed for caring more about how you acquire honor, glory and riches, and not be interested in your intellectual development, in truth and in tending to your soul?" (Plato *Apology*: 27D–29E).

Our re-conceptualized "humanistic *paideia*/pedagogy" for the creation of democratic citizens with "minds and souls" in the imagined European Knowledge Society/*Cosmopolis* of the twenty-first century may be epitomized in terms of the following key ideas: not only character, community, inclusiveness, integrity, cosmopolitan identity, sympathy, and democracy (Hargreaves 2003, Nussbaum 1997), but also justice, wisdom, friendship, and critical thinking.

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# Chapter 2
# Implications of the New Social Characteristics of Knowledge Production

**María José García Ruiz**

## Introduction

In July 2002, the CESE Conference was organised at the Institute of Education, University of London. The themes of the working groups that were dealt with in this conference touched upon some key questions that still remain of crucial interest today and which have yet to find definitive answers. One of these working groups, to give an example, dealt with the *new pedagogies and sites of learning.* One of the questions posed then and yet not fully resolved was, How do new modes of learning and teaching affect traditional modes of professional control? (CESE 2002). Another working group dealt with the issue of the *changing notions of knowledge and educational systems.* In this respect, one of the questions posed, also of great interest currently, was, Is the balance of information, data, learning, school knowledge, scholarship and research as concepts of *being educated* changing and in what directions? What is a teacher in such a context? Finally, another working group dealt with the subject of *the transfer of educational practices and international pressures* and posed the question: Are we heading towards the end of education systems? This was also the title of the 2002 CESE Conference: *Towards the end of education systems? Europe in a world perspective.*

This question was not just a provocative statement posed to promote debate among academics. There are some contextual developments currently taking place at the beginning of the twenty-first century that render certain plausibility to a trend in this direction. Thus, it can be argued that the impact of the rapid development of communication technologies together with the irreversible trend of massification of education in the globalised western world have produced some new patterns in the old structures of education systems – such as the new pedagogies and sites of learning – that are questioning the suitability of the historical physiognomy of education

M.J. García Ruiz (✉)
Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Various cities, Spain
e-mail: mjgarcia@edu.uned.es

systems. Indeed, at school level, we have been witnessing for some years now the increasing development of the *homeschooling* movement (Asenjo 2008: 28), which is a model of instruction at home rather than at school. Parents defending this movement claim that their condition as first educators of their children is prior to the State educational function, as consecrated in many Constitutions, and expound several reasons (axiological and otherwise) in their demand to undertake the education of their children at home. In Spain, this movement is fairly extended in Catalunya, the Balearics and the Basque Country. A further strengthening of this movement would indeed be a very serious threat to the education systems.

The question of whether we are moving towards the end of education systems can also be posed at the tertiary education level. Indeed, at the university level too there are certain authors, for example the postmodern academic Peter Scott, who, for some time now, have posed questions in numerous debate forums exploring "the death of the university" (Scott 1997: 106). However, in an age in which one of the main educational paradigms is *lifelong learning*, the disappearance of the university as an institution seems highly unlikely, either in real or in symbolic terms. Indeed, in the knowledge society of the first years of the twenty-first century, university degrees are the necessary condition and the departure point of a life consecrated to the ever-increasing acquisition of knowledge by citizens, wherever they may be employed. On the other hand, since "lifelong learning has become the latest form of social control" (Field 2000: 119), and the university is the necessary formal previous level to that, it would appear that universities will continue to thrive in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, due to the pressures of massification of education and of the competition with other knowledge-producing institutions, the university will perhaps lose its predominant and hegemonic position in society.

Despite the increasing amount of literature dealing with the subject of the *postmodern university* (Smith and Webster 1997), there is no consensus among academics on the extent to which the university institution has, in fact, modified its ethos, its objectives and its traditional social functions, nor is there consensus on whether the university is in an evolutionary process leading to such changes. As Paul Filmer has stated, "the logic of the *post's* is one which informs speculative theorising, but is not yet a socio-logic; nor, therefore, does it have substantial social or cultural institutional correlates, and so cannot provide for an adequate consideration of the social role of higher education" (Filmer 1997: 57). Consequently, in a debate organised by the British Magdalen College and the University of Oxford on the subject "*The postmodern university*" in July 2006, Paul Filmer, in line with Cardinal Newman's thinking, came out in favour of the feature of *disinterestedness* in university teaching and research and recommended the function of cultural reproduction in the university. Against this, the postmodernist Peter Scott argued for a teaching and research function in the university that would not only aim at the "education of the minds of the students" (Newman 1976) but also be responsive to market demands. He also emphasised the role of the university as an agent of social change and argued for the assumption of yet new social functions by the university, such as the functions of lifelong learning and leisure activities.

It seems that nowadays, the imperatives of globalisation – mainly what has been called the "end of the Nation-State" (Delanty 2000: 84) – together with the

democratic deficit of the European Community, lead to a deficient recognition of the significance of the academic debates taking place inside the university communities of the Member States or even in European forums, such as this CESE Conference. Frequently, the priorities in the economic and political agendas of supranational institutions seem to overlook the demands of the countries and of the entities belonging to them. The economic imperatives, for example, of the agenda designed by the European Union seem to ignore the arguments for or against the current changes in the university and seem to favour a reform of the university along the lines of the postmodern views. Such is, at least, the vision of the document *The role of the universities in the Europe of knowledge* (European Commission 2003), with its proposals directed to the integration of the university functions of education, research and innovation.

## Towards a Change of Traditions?

Is the *postmodern university* merely a theoretical construct of some progressivist academics, or is it a genuine development really materialised in a sufficient number of university institutions? This question does not have a clear answer yet. What can be stated is that we are witnessing a crucial change of traditions from that exemplified in the emblematic British Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education 1963) to the one depicted in the Dearing Report on *Higher Education for the 21st century* (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education 1998). I take the British example because, in fact, European universities seem to be moving in the direction of the British universities (Smith and Webster 1997).

The Robbins Report was produced in the historical, economic and social contexts of the 1960s, in the late postwar years, and in the wake of the expansion of higher education that was then taking place in the industrialised countries. What is of interest to our discussion here about the Robbins Report is its conception and spirit concerning the aims of higher education and its vision of the autonomy of the university. Keeping in mind the attribute of *disinterestedness* as the identity feature of the modern university, it can be stated that the Robbins Report codifies the paradigm of such a university, in the sense that it claims that the aims of higher education are "to promote the general powers of the mind" and "to produce (. . .) cultivated men and women" (Committee on Higher Education 1963: (6)). The Robbins Report devotes a whole chapter to the subject of "academic freedom", advising that a balance should be kept between the academic freedom in universities and the imperative that they should serve the nation's needs. Nevertheless, the Robbins Report clearly advocates for those aspects of academic freedom that relate to the appointment of staff, to the configuration of curricula and standards, to the admission of students, and to the balance between teaching and research and development (Committee on Higher Education 1963: 229–235), stating that the limitation of university autonomy would diminish its efficiency. It exemplifies the principle pertaining to the workings of the University Grants Committee as the essential ingredient of any future management of higher education. This principle is seen as a safeguard for academic freedom in the university, in that the University Grants Committee assigns its main grants to

recurrent expenditure in the form of block grants, with no detailed specification of the uses to which they may be put. In brief, then, it could be said that the Robbins Report represents the modern vision of the university as an autonomous institution devoted to the education of the mind.

In contrast with the position of the Robbins Committee, there is the vision proposed by the Dearing Report, written 35 years later. The political, economic and social contexts of the 1990s was this time marked by increasingly competitive international markets and the predominance of the two neoliberal principles of responsiveness to the labour market and of accountability, long promoted in the thatcherian era and rapidly incorporated in certain western states' policies in the wake of globalisation. Indeed, the Dearing Committee states in the foreword of the Report that "much of it is concerned with (...) the central role of higher education in the economy" (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education 1998: 1). As concerns the aims of higher education, the Dearing Report states that it should operate "to sustain a learning society" and, specifically, "to increase knowledge and understanding for their own sake and to foster their application to the benefit of the economy and society" (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education 1998: 1). With regard to the issue of institutional autonomy, the Dearing Report advocates the respect of institutional autonomy and the protection of academic freedom. Nevertheless, at the same time, it states that institutional governance arrangements should be responsive and open to the review by such organisations as the *Quality Assurance Agency*, as a pre-condition for public funding. Academic freedom is, in this report, filtered by the demands of national economy. Thus, this freedom is now subjected to and complemented by the employers' views on various aspects of higher education, such as the curriculum, where key skills widely valued in employment – like communication and numeracy skills, the use of communication and information technology, and learning how to learn – are seriously taken into consideration.

To sum up, it can hardly be said that the *ethos* of the Dearing Report constitutes the postmodern counterpart of the Robbins Report, since the Dearing Report is not so radical in its proposals. Still, it can be asserted that the Dearing Report supplants the Robbins vision with a position conditioned – in its conception of the aims and institutional autonomy – by the principles of responsiveness and accountability. Against the Robbins vision, university aims are now invested with an additional answerable and professional duty, and institutional autonomy and academic freedom are now constrained by the imperatives of the market, the requests of employers and society, and the creation of institutions and agencies designed to ensure the university's accountability.

## A Key Development: Massification in Higher Education

Academics such as Gibbons et al. have strongly underlined the crucial role of a key development, namely the massification of teaching and research, as the main factor of the current changes in the mode of knowledge production in the university. The

massification of research refers to the fact that, up to now, the university departments have been the main locations of research. But, increasingly, research is also being undertaken in other sites, such as enterprises. If only very briefly, it is very interesting, for our reflection on the new social characteristics of knowledge production and its implications, to refer to the nature of the shifts that have taken place due to the massification of higher education, as they have been specified by some of the proponents of the postmodern university (Gibbons et al. 1994: 76–80). The following are shifts that have been taking place as a consequence of massification in higher education and that, in turn, promote this massification process even further (Gibbons et al. 1994: 76–80)[1]:

(a) One of the shifts taking place nowadays is the "*diversification of functions* in higher education". In this respect, it can be stated that "universities increasingly serve a growing variety of functions from the most abstract research to the most utilitarian training force". One of the consequences of this trend is that "the total mission of higher education has become fuzzier and more diverse, more difficult to define and defend" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 76–77).

(b) Another operative trend linked with the massification of higher education has to do with the "*change in the social profile of student populations*". In this sense, the main modification has to do with the "democratisation of graduate origins and destinations of students", which also means that "the core skills and liberal values of higher education are being reinterpreted in different ways" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 77).

(c) "*Education for the professions*" is another shift currently taking place in higher education. Seemingly, "technical sciences, information sciences, enterprise professions, centred upon business, management and accountancy, and environmental sciences are overlaying the traditional arts and the sciences in modern higher education systems" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 77). So there is a shift from liberal education to professional training.

(d) Another change apparently taking place currently is the leaning of higher education towards research, away from teaching, thus increasing the *"tensions between teaching and research"* (Gibbons et al. 1994: 78).

(e) The "*Growth of problem-oriented research*", against research inspired by the *ethos* of free enquiry and curiosity, is an additional shift manifested by the proponents of *Mode 2 knowledge* in the academia (Gibbons et al. 1994: 78).

(f) In the knowledge society, "knowledge is generated across rather than in self-sufficient and inner-directed institutions. Universities form part of a larger and denser network of knowledge institutions that extends into industry, government and the media. Therefore, another transformation in higher education relates to the *broadening of accountability* of higher education and of the knowledge generated in this institution" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 78–79).

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[1] All the italics in this section appear in the original text.

(g) A trend that does seem to be gaining momentum and which is, to a great extent, irreversible is the use of "*technology for teaching*" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 79) and the establishment of open and distance learning mechanisms, devices and courses in higher education.

(h) At the same time, "*multiple sources of funding for higher education* are emerging, with non-state income becoming more significant". The proponents of the postmodern university maintain that the "greater pluralism of research funds will also contribute to intellectual diversity" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 79).

(i) Finally, the academics cited above name the changes that have taken place in the organisational development of the modern university. "*Efficiency and the bureaucratic ethos* have permeated university faculties and departments, the faculties becoming organisational rather than intellectual categories; and departments becoming largely administrative units rather than intellectual centres, the real academic unit becoming the research team". Apparently, this shift, together with the process of specialisation and fragmentation inherent in the subdivision of knowledge, is leading to a highly dangerous development, namely, the tendency of the universities to "abandon most moral and cultural claims transcending the accumulation of intellectual and professional expertise" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 79–80).

Finally, of most interest to our present reflection are the changes in the mode of knowledge production in the university that the process of massification has, according to Gibbons et al., signalled.

## Conflicting Modes of Knowledge Production

In his book, *The new production of knowledge*, Gibbons et al. pinpoint the emergence of new social characteristics in the process of knowledge production in science, technology, the social sciences and the humanities (Gibbons et al. 1994: vii). Indeed, the numerous debates on the institutional transformation of the university and on the change of epistemological paradigms nowadays taking place nationally and internationally, seem to indicate that new social characteristics emerge in the process of knowledge production. The question is to what extent these new social characteristics will demand drastic changes in the *ethos*, the objectives and the functions of the universities in contemporary society? As we will analyse next, what seems clear is that the imperatives of the market, and its dynamics of supply and demand forces, have influenced the knowledge production process both in the academia and elsewhere. Numerous questions arise as we analyse the attributes of the new mode of knowledge production. They are open-ended questions with no clear or definite answers to them. Most probably, in the next CESE Conference we will still be debating some of them. This chapter merely attempts to contribute to the open debate on knowledge production by giving cause for some reflections on the subject.

First of all, it must be stated that the proponents of the new mode of knowledge production (i.e., Gibbons et al.) have used the term *Mode 2* to describe the new mode of knowledge production. Other conventional terms, such as "applied science", "technological research" and "R&D", seem inadequate to them. They have specified that if the new mode of knowledge production were to become a permanent feature on the epistemological landscape, a new vocabulary would emerge to describe *Mode 2*. In this context, they also use the terms *knowledge* and *practitioners* in lieu of the conventional terms *science* and *scientists.*

It should also be said that the legitimacy of the new epistemological paradigm is not yet fully established or recognised. At one point of their publication, the proponents of Mode 2 knowledge production state that, by constituting a response to the needs of both science and society, Mode 2 knowledge production is irreversible (Gibbons et al. 1994: 11). But at another point of this same publication they display a doubtful attitude when they appear uncertain as to "whether the set of cognitive and social practices that are beginning to emerge are sufficiently different to require a new label of its own, or whether they can be regarded as developments that can be accommodated within existing practices" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 3).

Second, some attention should be paid to a reflection on the reasons why this mode of knowledge production has emerged. The answer to this question points at the direction of both the process of massification of education and research and the development of communication technologies. As Gibbons states, "(. . .) to the extent that universities continue to produce quality graduates, they undermine their monopoly as knowledge producers" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 11). The increasingly large "number of graduates grounded in the ethos of research that cannot be absorbed within the universities and the disciplinary structure" has led them to join alternative sites, thus multiplying the "number of sites where competent research can be carried out: government laboratories, think-tanks, consultancies, industry" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 10), etc. On the other hand, the "development of communication technologies has created a capability which allows these sites to interact" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 10). Mode 2 is critically dependent upon the emerging computing and telecommunication technologies. The outcome is described as a "socially distributed knowledge production system: the diffusion of knowledge production and different contexts of application or use over a wide range of potential sites" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 168).

Third, in order to analyse in depth the implications of the new social characteristics of knowledge production, it would be helpful to contrast more closely the five attributes of the two conflicting modes of knowledge production, as identified by Gibbons et al. (*vid.* Gibbons et al. 1994: 3–8):

(1) In contrast with the disciplinary and primarily cognitive context within which knowledge is produced in the academia (what is known as Mode 1 knowledge production), "Mode 2 knowledge production is generated within a context of application. The imperative of usefulness is present from the beginning, and knowledge production is intended to be useful to someone (industry, government, society), or other agent ready to consume it. Mode 2 knowledge

production is the outcome of a process in which supply and demand factors operate" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 3–4). So the first attribute of Mode 2 knowledge production is a teleology of application and consumption.

(2) In contrast with the homogeneity of the wider academic community in which Mode 1 knowledge is produced, "Mode 2 knowledge production is heterogeneous in terms of the skills and experience people bring to it. In Mode 2 knowledge production there is an increase in the number of potential sites where knowledge can be created (that is no longer limited to universities), linked together in a variety of ways (electronically, organisationally, socially, informally). Knowledge production moves away from disciplinary activity into new societal contexts, in which problems of a transitory nature are dealt with" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 6).

So the second attribute of Mode 2 knowledge production is heterogeneity of the community of practitioners and of the sites where knowledge can be produced.

(3) In contrast with the context marked by the largely academic canon of a specific community in which problems are set and solved in Mode 1 knowledge production, "Mode 2 knowledge production is characterised by a set of theoretical structures, research methods and modes of practice which may not be located on the prevailing disciplinary map. The shape of the definitive solution will normally be beyond that of any single contributing discipline" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 4–5). The third main attribute of Mode 2 knowledge production is thus "transdisciplinary knowledge" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 4–5).

(4) In contrast with the definite cognitive and social norms that guide Mode 1 knowledge production and that determine exactly "*what* shall count as significant problems, *who* shall be allowed to practise science and *what* constitutes good science" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 3), Mode 2 knowledge production is characterised by "social accountability and reflexivity" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 7). Social accountability refers to the fact that "sensitivity to the impact of research and to the broader implications of knowledge production is inbuilt from the beginning. This is reflected not only in the interpretation and diffusion of results, but also in the definition of the problem and the setting of research priorities" *(*Gibbons et al. 1994: 7). Reflexivity, on the other hand, refers to the "reflection on the values implied in human aspirations and projects. Knowledge production tries to operate from the standpoint of all the actors involved" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 168). "Groups traditionally outside the scientific system can now become active agents in the definition and solution of problems and in the evaluation of performance" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 7).

(5) In contrast with the well-structured process of quality control established in Mode 1 knowledge production, by which "quality is determined through the peer review judgements regarding the contributions made by individuals", and by which "control is maintained by careful selection of those judged competent to act as peers" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 8), in Mode 2 knowledge production "additional criteria are added in the process of quality control and through the context of application which incorporates a diverse range of intellectual interests as well as other social, economic or political ones" (Gibbons et al.

1994: 8). Some of these additional criteria have to do with questions such as "Will the solution, if found, be competitive in the market?" "Will it be cost effective?" "Will it be socially acceptable?" "In general terms, good science is more difficult to determine in Mode 2 knowledge production" (Gibbons et al. 1994: 8).

These are the main new social characteristics of the seemingly new mode of knowledge production as stated by their main proponents, Gibbons et al. What are the implications of the new social characteristics of knowledge production? The first reflection that comes to my mind is Paul Filmer's idea that "the logic of the *post's* is one which informs speculative theorising, but is not yet a socio-logic; nor, therefore, does it have substantial social or cultural institutional correlates, and so cannot provide for an adequate consideration of the social role of higher education" (Filmer 1997: 57). I would alter some terms in this statement to make the statement say: "the logic of the *modes* is one which informs speculative theorising, but is not yet an epistemo-logic; nor, therefore, does it have substantial social or cultural institutional correlates, and so cannot provide for an adequate consideration of knowledge production in higher education". I make this assertion since some of the implications of the seemingly new social characteristics of knowledge production still appear too far away from the current practices in the academia and it is far from clear whether they will ever have a real effect on the university. It is my view that we are not moving from a modern to a postmodern university model, but rather, we are in an era of coexistence of a plurality of institutional models, ranging from the one represented by the University of Oxford to models such as the University for Industry created in Great Britain in 1998, neither model being more legitimate than the other. The institutional co-existence of models with opposite ethos is projected in the epistemological co-existence of opposite modes of knowledge production.

In any case, I will attempt to reflect on some of these implications by bringing out some concerns derived from the new social characteristics of knowledge production.

(1) As stated by the proponents of the postmodern paradigm of current epistemological processes, knowledge creation is nowadays closely subjected to the economic and political demands of several agents in industrial western societies. Indeed, this does not only apply to Mode 2 knowledge, but is increasingly true for the research being developed in the academia. Let me cite an example: In the UNED Department of History of Education and Comparative Education, we are currently developing a Research and Development Project under the title *Spanish Foreign Educational Policy*. The aim of our R&D Project, as stated in the application for the project, was to analyse, from a theoretical point of view and within a comparative framework, the purpose and intentions of the linguistic, educational and cultural projection of Spain in the world. The objective was to contrast this action with homologous actions taken in other countries by institutions comparable to the Instituto Cervantes, such as the Alliance Française, the British Council and the Fulbright Foundation. In the assessment report of the project, which we had to provide in order to extend the financing of our

research, the first two pieces of evidence we had to provide were (a) indication of the participation of, or support by, an enterprise or socioeconomic agent retaining an interest in the project and (b) collaboration with non-academic entities. The seemingly compulsory relations or collaborations with other non-academic sectors have obliged us to start a search of national entities, such as publishers and the Ministry of Education, potentially interested in our research. In case we succeed in getting the support of a social agency, this will have yet unknown epistemological consequences in our R&D project. Yet the aim of the entity summoning the R&D projects, in this case the Ministry of Science and Innovation, is clearly double. First, to share research costs with other agents in society which, from the authorities' point of view, must also contribute economically to finance the development of an institution, the university, which is of crucial importance for national competitiveness. Second, to drive research more closely to the current issues and problems of social agents. Pure research seems to be a luxury hardly permitted in our times of severe global financial crisis. The financing of knowledge creation tends, therefore, to reward those proposals that directly respond to the demands and needs of social agents. The increasing connection of the academia with industry poses several questions with no clear or definite answers yet. Some of the questions arising from the promotion of this new pattern of knowledge creation are does Mode 2 knowledge production favour certain "top sciences" (e.g., Environment, Health and Communication) and issues within sciences (e.g., gender issues in education) to the detriment of other sciences and issues? If this is so, what is the future of the neglected sciences?

It is my thesis that Mode 2 knowledge production seems to favour inductive rather than deductive methodology in research. According to Holmes, induction as a method of scientific research implies that "the researcher should first observe, collect, and classify objective facts before inducing tentative causal hypotheses" (Holmes 1986: 182). On the other hand, the hypothetico-deductive method proposed by Holmes implies that the "scientist starts from a problem, formulates hypothetical solutions, and tests them by comparing logically predicted events with those that can be observed" (Holmes 1986: 183). Reflecting on the specificities of both methods of research as proposed by Holmes, it seems to me that we can infer that the use of the deductive method of research is based on and inspired by a more thorough theoretical background and teleology, than its inductive process counterpart. As Holmes states, in the induction method "(. . .) universal panaceas can be proposed from an objective study of educational *facts*" (Holmes 1986: 182). In this type of research, "(. . .) general laws are stressed at the expense of *particular* [. . .] *circumstances*"[2] (Holmes 1986: 182). In this sense we could state that the inductive method of research is a systematic and rigorous process of knowledge creation, but it is also, fundamentally, a more empirical and practical model of research than the deductive

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[2] The italics are mine.

model – at least in terms of the action generated by the inductive process, which is preoccupied with *facts* and *particular circumstances.* On the contrary, *theories and models*, stated with the aim of hypothesis testing and refutation, constitute the guidelines of action and the main objectives of the hypothetico-deductive method of research. From my point of view, the different stakeholders who are now increasingly engaged in research (government laboratories, industry, etc.) will not, seemingly, advance knowledge by means of contrasting theoretical hypotheses that correspond to theoretical frames. They are not likely to start their inquiries with an array of theories and models, simply because the nature of the problems they have in hand in government and industry tends to be of a more daily and current character. I also think that most current social agents working in government and industry are likely to lack the training in social sciences research necessary to engage in a research conducted by the deductive method. They also lack the time to do so, and, in many ways, I think they also lack the interest to do so. The new practitioners involved in Mode 2 knowledge creation are not likely to engage in endless debates about the evolution of theories or about the questioning of paradigm shifts that inform academic work. The new Mode 2 knowledge production – which not by chance has been named *applied science* – has a more urgent and practical teleology, oriented to application and consumption. Crossley and Watson have termed such type of research as "action-oriented" or "applied" (Crossley and Watson 2003: 123). They have denounced such a research as "presentist" and displaying a great deal of "context insensitivity" (Crossley and Watson 2003: 119). Those critiques have been addressed specifically to the "methodological and theoretical limitations of the IEA studies" (Crossley and Watson 2003: 120). The same critique has been made by Goldstein (Goldstein 2004) in relation to the lack of consideration of contextual and cultural factors of studies in fashion, such as the OCDE PISA reports. Beattie and Brock have urged comparativists to remind decision makers "to take more sweeping views [in their studies], not necessarily tied to this month's policy problem" (Beattie and Brock 1990: 4, cf. Crossley and Watson 2003: 119). Indeed, the rapprochement between the theoretically constructed research in Comparative Education, and the applied and action-oriented expertise of this discipline, has been signalled by Crossley and Watson as a key element of the necessary reconceptualisation of comparative research (Crossley and Watson 2003: 120–121).

More precisely, I would say that Mode 2 knowledge production seems to promote those disciplines which typically use an analytical approach in their academic development, to the detriment of those which normally utilise a synthetical perspective in the construction of their epistemic corpus. García Garrido has established a taxonomy of knowledges that form the educational sciences, on the basis of the specific object of study of each educational science, and the methodology it uses in the study of this object. Basically, the classification proposed by this scholar establishes three types of educational sciences: analytical sciences, synthetical sciences and analytical-synthetical sciences. The analytical sciences are those whose object of study is a part or an

aspect of the educational reality, and which employ for their gnoseological construction a "methodological principle that obliges them to make an analytical effort" (García Garrido 1996: 207). Analytical sciences are knowledges such as Biology of Education, Psychology of Education or Economy of Education (García Garrido 1996: 209). The synthetical sciences are those whose object of study is the whole educational reality. These sciences use for their epistemological construction a "methodological principle that obliges them to make a synthetical effort" (García Garrido 1996: 207). García Garrido considers as synthetical sciences knowledges like General Pedagogy (García Garrido 1996: 209). Finally, the same scholar classifies Comparative Education among the so-called analytical-synthetical sciences of education. These sciences base their research, first, in analytical studies, but consummate their academic work with a synthetic approach. García Garrido points to two limitations implicit in all efforts to taxonomise the educational sciences: "the first is its inexhaustibility; the second is its provisional nature" (Ferrater Mora 1958: 226 cf García Garrido 1996: 207).

We could establish a certain parallelism between the analytical sciences and the inductive method, considering that the principle of action that orientates the analytical sciences is the study of concrete educational realities, usually referring to particular aspects of education, as is, for example, the case of the Economics of Education. The same parallelism could be established between the synthetical sciences and the deductive methodology, considering that the epistemological development of sciences such as General Pedagogy starts from and is based on educational theories and models that look on education as a whole from a philosophical and theoretical perspective.

As already argued, the new epistemological paradigm of knowledge creation proposed by Gibbons et al. is more responsive to market demands and pertains to a teleology of application and consumption. Typically, the agents (industry, government) which are ready to consume the knowledge created in different places seek an immediate and ready answer to the specific and mostly transitory problems which they have in hand. It is my thesis that this rapid and empiric approach to problems is more likely to be dealt with by analytical sciences than by synthetical, long-term and more theoretical sciences. I make this assertion taking into account that it is the analytical sciences those that deal to a greater extent with concrete educational realities within particular circumstances, especially those that are of interest to policy makers and decision makers. Let me cite an example: In the methodological and sociological justification of the OECD approaches used in the 2006 PISA survey (OECD 2009), we cannot see any contribution of the synthetical educational sciences. Rather, the main scientific frame of reference used by the OECD for the justification of its objectives lies within the confines of the analytical educational sciences and is particularly utilising the methodology of the analytical sciences.

One of the consequences that I could make of this trend is that, increasingly, the majority of the components of the science created in different sites will be mostly formed by the operations of the analytical sciences rather than by

the synthetical sciences theories. In this sense, we can ask ourselves: What is the fate of the academic disciplines that typically use a deductive methodology in their knowledge creation process (i.e., Philosophy, Theology and General Pedagogy)? Gibbons et al. state that Mode 1 knowledge production is generated within a disciplinary context and is carried out in the absence of a practical goal. The disciplines of Philosophy and Theology, for example, have typically developed their knowledge production within a disciplinary and cognitive context in the seemingly absence of a practical goal. Nevertheless, I think that it would be misleading to assume that the main human questions dealt with in these disciplines (such as those related to the meaning of existence, the relationship with God and human happiness) are not relevant and have no practical usefulness for the human being.

(2) The second attribute of Mode 2 knowledge production in both modes, related to the heterogeneity of the community of practitioners and of the sites where knowledge can be produced, poses other questions which have no clear answers too. Referring to the context and the composition of the members involved in Mode 2 knowledge production, we can ask ourselves: What is the future of university departments as stable units of teaching and research with inner coherence? In the university where I work, the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, we are, at present, designing university degrees according to the Bologna Process, as I imagine most universities do. For the first time in decades, studies in my faculty at the Bachelor, Master and Doctoral levels are integrating academics who belong to the most diverse fields of study (Law, History, Philosophy, etc.). Although we are only in the first stages of this heterogeneous composition of the knowledge production context, it does not seem very venturesome to imagine that, in the future, all our university departments will undergo a similar reorganisation. And this applies not only to our departments. I also think at our national and international academic societies: Sociedad Española de Educación Comparada and the *Comparative Education Society of Europe.* In the new spirit of *Mode 2* knowledge production, which is also the spirit being promoted by the European Union, these academic associations are likely to open their membership and composition and incorporate current Ph.D. holders, academics from other fields of study and even professionals from enterprises and industry, to a larger extent than before.

There is another element in this second attribute that also provokes concern. This is the issue of the transitory nature of the problems addressed by Mode 2 knowledge production. It is certainly legitimate that a particular discipline, say, Comparative Education, tackles crucial problems currently prevalent in society, e.g. issues of identity, culture, race, gender and class (Watson 2001: 55). Nevertheless, in every academic field, Comparative Education included, there are problems of a more permanent – and not only of transitory – character, whose study must always be pursued in order to maintain the epistemic structure of the discipline. I think, particularly, of the methodological issues.

(3) One of the main reflections that arise from the analysis of the fourth attribute of Mode 2 knowledge production is that this epistemological process is mainly

dependent on its operation, on the needs and the preferences of groups traditionally outside the scientific and technological domains as well as on the preferences of society. That is, research increasingly depends on what these groups and ultimately on what society consider worthwhile doing. The question that this fact inevitably poses is to what extent must academics and researchers slavishly follow the research agenda imposed by the market, the polity and the society? Are these three agents the most competent to dictate what problems are significant and what constitutes good science? Surely the academic community and its professionalism are better qualified to determine this. As previously stated, society is often concerned with problems of a transitory nature, and therefore, if it were to set the agenda, this would in the long run leave a regrettable mark on the epistemological trajectories of our disciplines. Very often academics take a long-term view in analysing matters, something which helps to diagnose and prevent future problems in society from arising. When academics are asked to work on concrete problems, the process taking place leads actually to the redefinition of the functions of the academia: from being devoted to the development of an intellectual culture (both in teaching and in research), as Cardinal Newman conceived the role of the university, to the task of providing practical responses to societal needs – something that has traditionally been the attribution of politics. Academia is actually being asked to change its *ethos.* Had it really done so, society would suffer the consequences because, despite the growth in the number of sites devoted to knowledge production and research, the academia is, in principle, the only agent with the explicit mission of teaching students to think critically with regard to society. The threat against the autonomy of the university is also a threat against the academia's crucial role to teach people how to think critically with regard to society. If the university is no longer going to carry out this function, this implies a serious abdication of its first mission towards society. If the university would fail to fulfil this mission, what agency would assume responsibility (because someone has to)? Otherwise, society would be seriously impoverished both morally and cognitively.

In making these reflections, we are also aware of the largely compulsory nature of the adoption of Mode 2 attributes by the academia. Nowadays, academics seem to have little room for protestations in this respect. There is always the risk that the academic who would not comply with the new social and epistemological rules will gradually be left aside. To cite only one example demonstrating the imposition of Mode 2 upon academics, let me refer to our experience from applying for a Socrates/Erasmus Intensive Programme (IP) in Comparative Education. From the very start, when we first formed a group of academics to organise the IP and to select the theme that would be included in the application, we were aware that we should exclude certain cognitive aspects (e.g., methodological) from our application, for they would most likely be refused. Instead, we devoted much time in our preparatory meetings to thinking of subjects that would appeal to the European Commission. Thus, since the early days of our IPs, themes that have been successful were

European Identity, Economic Competition and Education

Knowledge Societies, Lifelong Learning and Changing Higher Education

Borders, Mobilities, Identities – European Educational Action

For the year 2009–2010, we have successfully applied for an IP in Education and Democratic Citizenship – Dealing with the Challenges of Multicultural Society

In all cases, the lack of real freedom in the selection of the themes to be developed is manifest.

Globalisation and the imperatives of the economy are also making huge advances in our research agendas at home: proposals seeking financial support from R&D programmes must be carefully designed in order to comply with the descriptors and the priorities of our national research institutions. This trend can also be detected in the requirements that enterprises, such as Thomson Scientific, and academic platforms, such as the Web of Knowledge, are posing to our academic journals – I am thinking of the Spanish Comparative Education Journal – if we opt to be cited in databases such as the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI).

In the fields of knowledge production and academic development, we seem to be entering an era of constrained autonomy. In this respect, my main concerns refer to three areas, which I think deserve our attention:

(1) Are the two modes of knowledge production real epistemological processes currently operating in the academia, or are they rather confined to what has been called *the myth of the modes* (Jacob and Hellström 2000)?

(2) Are we entering an era when professional education predominates to the detriment of academic education, or are we inaugurating a new age of balance and approximation between the two?

(3) If Mode 2 knowledge production becomes a *real* entity in the academia, which agency in society will develop the mission of teaching to think critically regarding society?

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# Chapter 3
# University Reform in Greece: A Shift from Intrinsic to Extrinsic Values

**Eleni Prokou**

## Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse and interpret recent higher education policies – with special reference to the introduction of an evaluation and quality assurance framework – in Greece, against developments in higher education in the European space, as well as against the Greek university tradition.

It will, thus, be argued that the reforms that are currently being implemented represent a major shift in the role of the university in Greek society. This shift has to do with the dominance of extrinsic qualities, which are described by concepts such as *university (or faculty) productivity*, *market responsiveness*, attribution of greater *autonomy* to universities to meet certain pre-specified *objectives*, *evaluation*, *accountability*, and *quality assurance*, concepts, that is, which are associated with the dominance of the *state supervision model*, or else, the *evaluative state*. It will be further argued that such developments are closely related to the imperative that the Greek universities should follow the guidelines set out by the Bologna Process (in which institutional autonomy and quality assurance are two central issues) and that this imperative has also been sustained for reasons linked with the nature of the Greek University and its relation to the State; strong governmental control in Greece has been traditionally associated with partisanship in university life. Hence the policies introduced would also assure meritocracy. Greek reforms of the early 1980s had democratised the university system, with the modes of evaluation remaining of an internalist nature, associated with the Humboldtian model of the University that the Greek University has followed since its constitution. However, the 1980s reforms had not challenged tight governmental control and the involvement of partisanship within the University. The 2000s reforms aspired to increase university autonomy, make the University more responsive to the needs of society and safeguard meritocracy. Nevertheless, a context analysis of the two major higher education laws in the

E. Prokou (✉)
Department of Social Policy, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens, Greece
e-mail: eprokou@panteion.gr

mid-2000s shows that Greece seems to be following developments in the relationship between the state and higher education that have taken place in many western European countries since the 1980s.

## The Emphasis on the Extrinsic Values in European Universities

In clarifying the concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic values, it should be noted that the historical persistence of universities has been the result of a well-balanced combination of the intrinsic and the extrinsic qualities of higher education. The intrinsic qualities refer to the search for truth and the pursuit of knowledge per se, while the extrinsic qualities refer to the ability of universities to respond to the needs of societies of which universities are part (Maassen 1997: 112). Until the 1980s, in most European higher education systems, the intrinsic values were dominant. In the name of *trust*, governments were giving institutions a large measure of *autonomy* in the use of the funds they provided (Trow 1996: 310–311). Furthermore, the emphasis was on *faculty work*, which was based on the principles of professional authority, namely, autonomy, merit, peer review, tenure and academic freedom (Slaughter 2001: 393). At the heart of higher education were the functions of *internalist evaluation* and the mode of evaluation was connoisseurial peer review (Henkel 1998: 291–292). However, since the 1980s, there was a shift of emphasis to the extrinsic qualities of higher education systems, and it was within this context that evaluation/quality assurance policies were given particular importance.

In the framework of a retreat from welfare states, public expenditure constraints and scepticism about public service professions (Henkel 1998: 291), *faculty productivity*, according to which the central question was how to get more labour from faculty so as to reduce institutional costs, came to the fore. *Accountability* and *quality assurance* were considered as necessary for legitimacy, for justifying public funding (and in some cases student tuition) and for guaranteeing the product (Slaughter 2001: 393–394). The state began concentrating on the output of higher education, which was expected to respond to the needs of the *market*, and it was within this context that greater *autonomy* was given to higher education institutions to meet certain pre-specified objectives to be assessed a posteriori (Prokou 2003a: 82). Such an approach was consistent with the *state supervision model*. This meant that the details about the missions and goals of higher education – related to social relevance – as well as the means to achieve them were left to the institutions themselves, while governments set the broad parameters in which these goals were to be pursued (van Vught 1993: 37–39). In many European systems, state supervision of universities' administration was giving way to more remote steering: New responsibilities and managerial freedoms were ceded to the universities by governments, including those for attaining certain elements of national strategic planning, which required a commensurate increase in a posteriori external accountability and evaluation (King 2007: 412–416). The emphasis on accountability had various specifications: external, internal, legal and financial, and academic (Trow 1996: 315–316). In several continental countries, accountability was discharged

mainly through financial and (increasingly) academic audits, rather than through direct assessments of those aspects of the work of the institutions linked to funding. Governments could use accountability as a regulatory device by setting the criteria expected to be met and by demanding reports on past actions from the universities. Such practices could vary from a broad steering, leaving to the institution a measure of autonomy over the implementation of policy, to the direct commands of an external regulatory agency (Trow 1996: 310–315). Neave has described these processes as the rise of the *evaluative state*. He has argued that the so-called *intermediary bodies* derived from the evaluative state, in parallel to bureaucracy, which was not so much at the service of the citizens and the nation as at the service of the market and the consumers. Intermediary bodies, which tended to become semi-private bureaucracies, had the power to define what was going to be evaluated and in what way. Thus, less governmental control meant greater autonomy to institutions which, in the end, were however restricted by the evaluation procedures co-ordinated by these independent bodies (Neave 1998: 278–279).

Within this context, universities became accountable for the quality of their activities with a tendency of separating teaching from research, and the state intervened basically through two model systems of evaluation, namely, direct measurement systems and accreditation systems (Cowen 1996: 1). In the name of European co-operation in the setting of mutually shared criteria and methodologies, accreditation and quality assurance (both internal and external) became central in the Bologna Process. Henkel has argued that traditionally, most European governments sought to place peer review and self-evaluation at the centre of their policies: Official forms of evaluation, such as performance indicators, were often derived from peer judgements. At the same time, however, in particular during the 1990s, several European governments were looking to the disciplines of management and to the market to make higher education robust (Henkel 1998: 291–293). There was thus an emphasis on external evaluation procedures for quality assurance and an incitation for the creation of self-regulating systems of higher education. In Europe, the emerging entrepreneurial university was called upon to actively innovate in how to go about its business (Clark 1998: 3–5). Such an entrepreneurial behaviour would be assured if governments would abandon the rigid detailed higher education laws and gradually replace them by framework laws (Maassen 1997: 124). There was, thus, a move away from steering on the basis of *hard* regulations and laws and a growing reliance on steering on the basis of *soft* contracts, targets, benchmarks and indicators. Consequently, the important task for institutional managers resulting from this trend was to steer intra-institutional teaching and research activities accordingly. Thus, the academic discretion associated with teaching and research became narrower. At the same time, as higher education institutions were becoming more autonomous for accountability reasons, the level of conflict within institutions for resources and funding was increasing (Maassen 2006: 16–17). The accession of *new managerialism* in university affairs resulted not only in the desirability of a number of organisational changes, but also in *academic capitalism*, a situation, i.e. in which academics were expected to expend their human capital stocks increasingly in competitive situations to attract funding (Deem 2001: 10–12).

    As Lock and Lorenz have argued, the commercialisation of European higher education and research meant in reality their hyper-bureaucratisation, via the imposition of the so-called evaluation, assessment and accreditation schemes, the latest avatars of the managerialist ideology (Lock and Lorenz 2007: 405). Cowen has argued that as the University was becoming increasingly important in a knowledge economy, it started functioning in the framework of the market and it began being understood as a corporation, in which management is essential because good management maximises the measurable product. The product was determined by national rules – in research and teaching – which also prescribed *excellence*. The dominant discourse started using the vocabularies of the market: *competition*, *choice*, *quality control* and *excellence*. The new discourse also signified a shift of power in decision making within the University: from the academics to the managers. On the other hand, the discourse shifted from a definition of quality as the creation of individual intelligence – understood as such through proper criteria of excellence posed by the experts in a certain discipline – to the definition of quality as an institutional virtue in terms of what can be measured by the managers (the non-experts) (Cowen 2000: 20).

    In what follows, the chapter attempts to interpret the most recent higher education reforms in Greece on the basis of the vocabulary used in this section to describe the transformation of the European universities during the last two decades or so. But before such an interpretation takes place, a background approach to the university tradition in Greece will be offered.

## An Account of the University Tradition in Greece

For a more comprehensive interpretation of the reforms introduced in the 2000s, it is useful to go back in time and trace the historical evolution of the Greek University. The constitution of the first Greek university in Athens (in 1837) was undertaken by a group of Bavarian counsellors of the throne. As the country had no university tradition, unlike many other European countries, the counsellors' choices expressed the German influence and perspective: the emphasis on teaching and research; the division of the University in Schools; the statute of the Chair; the power of the Professor; the appointment of professors, deans and the rector by the king; the legislative control by the state; and the economic dependence on the state (Mattheou 2001: 242–243). Most of these characteristics remained practically the same until the early 1980s. One could notice the particularly centralised character of the administrative authorities of the University, their dependence on governmental authority and the exclusive prerogative of the professors, especially the senior ones, to elect the administrative bodies of the University (Fyrippis 2002: 320). State intervention was particularly intense, despite the transition from a *direct supervision* by the state-to-state *control* after 1911. The autonomy of the University was on several occasions restricted by legislative regulations, direct appointments of the teaching staff and the university authorities by the state, dismissals of the teaching staff on political grounds, etc. Such a state of affairs had obviously a number of negative implications concerning the quality of university studies: Political interventions as

well as the dominance of the Chair did not always permit the election of the best academics, while junior academics already working in the University were exhibiting conformity and were not always pursuing their research interests if these differed from the interests of the professor holding the Chair (Mattheou 2001: 242–244).

Nevertheless, it should be noticed that the Greek University had greatly contributed to the founding of the Greek state and had successfully served the national interest. During the postwar period, it was expanded and played an important role in the modernisation of Greek economy and society. To fulfil its mission, the University itself had to be democratised, and reform efforts in this direction were undertaken in the mid-1960s. Yet, those reforms were actually reversed by the dictatorship (1967–1974) (Mattheou 2001: 244–247).

The quest for the democratisation of the Greek University was particularly intense after the fall of the dictatorship. Democratisation was mainly associated with the participation of all members of the academic community in the administration of the University, as well as with the abolishment of the omnipotence of the Chair. However, it was only in the 1980s that those demands for change were satisfied. A major Law (Number 1268) was enacted in 1982 to address, among others, the following issues: (a) the rationalisation of the administrative and educational functions of the University, (b) the participation of all members of the academic community in the election of all the administrative bodies of the University and (c) the abolishment of the Chair (Mattheou 2001: 247–251). In the framework of Law 1268/82, university evaluation was confined to the evaluation of teaching and research on the part of the individual members of the staff. The evaluation of their work was to take place at the times of their election, academic advancement or permanency on the basis of mainly academic criteria (although "democratic behaviour" and "service to society" were also criteria to be taken under consideration), that is, research work and original publications having being produced by such research work. Evaluation was now undertaken by a three-member committee, consisting of academics of the same discipline at a higher academic position, with the final decision resting with the electorate body, which would be composed of all senior members of the academic staff of the University Department. Thus, the major evaluation procedures remained of an internalist nature, but were now, after the abolishment of the Chair and the decrease of the power of the Professor, more democratic. Another element of evaluation (which however remained in practice inactive in many University Departments), still of an internalist character, had to do with the evaluation of the teaching capacity of academics by students, through the completion of questionnaires (Kladis and Panoussis 1993: 87–107).

Law 1268/82 was enacted, with some difficulty. It had been presented in the Parliament without a previous consultation that could have eased the conflict between its proponents and adversaries. Even after its enactment, the unresolved conflict delayed its implementation. Furthermore, in the years that followed, contentious party politics – rather than creative consensus – favoured by the tight state embrace of the University which had not been relaxed (Papadakis 2007: 67–71), put academic independence at risk and legitimated the involvement of partisanship within the University (Papadakis 2007: 76). Thus, a number of problems in the academic life emerged, which successive reparative attempts since

1982 had failed to resolve. These problems were captures of university buildings, partisanship, violent demonstrations of minority militant student groups, backstage favouritism, as well as violation of the principles of meritocracy in the framework of mutual favours (Mattheou 2001: 252).

At the beginning of the 1990s, the modernisation of the Greek University came to the fore under a neo-liberal rationale. Measures aiming at the restriction of bureaucracy through the simplification of managerial procedures and the strengthening of the University's competence on financial matters were projected as relieving the University from oppressive state control. By the same token, the introduction of university evaluation was justified on the basis of *social accountability*, the development of a healthy and creative competition among institutions and providing a criterion for the distribution of additional special funds to certain universities in accordance with their academic performance (Mattheou 2001: 255). More specifically, Law 2083/92 made it clear that evaluation would cover the educational, research and administrative work of universities, at the institutional and the departmental levels. The state was committed to take into consideration, first, the planning carried out by the universities themselves and, second, the outcome of evaluation for the distribution of special funding (beyond the fixed one) to universities. The government also stressed that since evaluation had been thus far an unknown procedure in Greek universities, they should be given the time and help to adapt to the international practices (Kladis and Panoussis 1993: 33: 51–52). However, due to strong opposition on the part of certain sectors of the academic community, the evaluation of the Greek universities was not finally implemented.

In the years that followed, the Bologna Process would become the main driving force behind the reform of higher education in Greece, especially as concerns the implementation of an evaluation and quality assurance framework (Mattheou 2004). Accreditation and quality assurance were after all two of the main recommendations of all the Communiqués, including those in Prague (The Bologna Process, 2001), Berlin (The Bologna Process, 2003), Bergen (The Bologna Process, 2005) and London (The Bologna Process, 2007).

Greek government's commitment to participate in the Bologna Process pushed higher education reforms in the mid-2000s (Kladis 2007). Institutional self-governance was certainly at the forefront; after all, this has been a main point stressed in the Bologna Process. Nevertheless, there were also internal reasons that sustained the reforms. Academics argued that universities should be given a greater measure of autonomy (financial and managerial), as governmental control was particularly tight in Greek higher education. The aspired autonomy would contribute to greater meritocracy, in view of the phenomena of partisanship (e.g., election and promotion of the academic staff on the basis of political criteria) in university life which were accentuated by tight governmental control and the traditional clientelistic characteristics of the Greek state. However, it was not made clear how meritocracy would be achieved in this way.

Apart from the self-governance issue, higher education evaluation too became particularly prominent in political discourse during this period. A large number of academics formed the so-called Greek Academics' Initiative. They viewed evaluation and quality assurance as a means for the strategic upgrading of the public

University, and not as a means of state surveillance of the University and the academics. They proposed a qualitative system of evaluation which would take into consideration not only the international experience but also the existing conditions in the Greek University (funding, infrastructure, etc.) as well as the peculiarities of each academic discipline. These academics also sustained accountability, the obligation that each university would have its work assessed by more than one experienced and independent evaluators and that it would publish a yearly report on its activities. They argued that society, which funds higher education, has the right to know the output of the universities (Greek Academics' Initiative 2007). The official trade union of Greek academics was critical of the reforms introduced and opposed the implementation of the *quality assurance* system of higher education. They viewed the reforms as introducing the standardisation of teaching and research, thus contributing to the commercialisation of education and scientific research. They were very critical of the external evaluation by experts and proposed internal forms of evaluation, which would be publicised (POSDEP 2006: 11–13).

Apart from academics, political parties too had their reservations on the evaluation procedures. The Greek Communist Party viewed the proposed form of evaluation being based on market criteria (KKE 2007). "Synaspismos" (the pro-European party of the Left) was also critical of the proposed system of evaluation on the grounds that it followed the Bologna Process and other international organisations' directives and suggested a system of evaluation based on the criteria that the academia itself had already set (SYRIZA 2008). PASOK, the socialist party, proposed a system of evaluation that would promote social accountability. It suggested that every university should be evaluated on the basis of aims, which should be agreed between the university and the state and consequently publicised. The results of the procedure would be evaluated by an Authority of Assessment and Accreditation (PASOK 2007: 18). As one would expect, the neo-liberal party (the governing party since 2004) sustained strongly the reforms in question and viewed evaluation as a means of enhancing the status of the universities at the international and the European level. It viewed the model of 4-year economic university planning that the law introduced as the basis for funding, as contributing to a more efficient co-operation between the state and the universities and to the strategic and more transparent, efficient and effective economic management (ND 2008).

In this context of partisan controversy, the Bologna Process became the light motif. Many among the Greek state officials underlined the State's statutory obligation as a signatory member of the Bologna Declaration to follow its recommendations (Kladis 2007).

## Evaluation and Quality Assurance Policies in Greek Universities in the 2000s: An Interpretation

The aim of this section is to analyse and interpret the most recent Greek higher education policies – with special reference to the evaluation and quality assurance framework which has recently been introduced – by focusing on concepts such as the aforementioned: *faculty productivity*, *accountability*, measurable *quality*,

*state supervision* (or *evaluative state*) which emphasises the accomplishment of pre-determined *criteria-based evaluation* by an *intermediary evaluative body*, *new managerialism* (*entrepreneurial university*) and *academic capitalism*. As has been previously argued, these concepts express the dominance of the extrinsic qualities of European higher education systems and can thus contribute to an interpretation of the basic priorities, as they derive from the basic Greek legal texts, namely Law 3374/2005 and Law 3549/2007, that refer specifically to the issues of evaluation/quality assurance in Greek higher education.

According to Law 3374/2005, generally acceptable and objective criteria were to be used in evaluation. They were to be expressed through quantitative and qualitative indicators, and refer to teaching, research and curricula as well as to other services provided by the University. Furthermore, following the Bologna Process recommendation, Law 3374/2005 provided for the creation of *a system of transfer and accumulation of credits*, associated with the *Diploma Supplement*, both of which were, in the eyes of the law, the main components of the efforts for the creation of the *European Higher Education Area*. In a sense, the Greek state seemed to be moving in the direction of the *state supervision model*, placing now more emphasis on the output of universities, which were henceforward expected to meet certain pre-specified *objectives*, or *criteria*, expressed to a large degree in quantitative terms, i.e. through indicators. In this way, Greek universities could be *assessed* and hence measurable quality could be assured.

Law 3374/2005 also stated that following the results of the evaluation process, academic institutions and the state would take the necessary steps for the assurance and enhancement of the quality of the work undertaken by higher education institutions. The results of the evaluation and the steps for quality assurance and enhancement were to be publicised. More specifically, the evaluation of each institution of higher education was to be based on the evaluation of its constituent academic units, as well as on the basis of the evaluation of the overall functioning of the institution. It can therefore be inferred that the *quality* of the activities of the Greek universities became central to the objectives of the Greek state. On the other hand, the state started being interested in evaluation as a means to promote, through the publication of its results, the social accountability of universities (a concept that appeared much more intensely in the Law 3549/2007 that followed).

Furthermore, according to Law 3374/2005, the evaluation of Greek higher education institutions was to take place in two stages. The first stage referred to the self-evaluation of the academic units of higher education institutions, with regard to their mission and aims. This stage of internal evaluation was a process which was to be repeated periodically and in which both members of the academic staff and students were to participate (e.g., the students would be answering questionnaires on the teaching capacity of the university staff). After the first stage was completed successfully, the second stage that referred to the external evaluation was to follow. External evaluation was the critical–analytical examination of the results of internal evaluation by an ad hoc committee of independent experts, the so-called *Committee for the External Evaluation*. The process of evaluation (internal and external) was to be repeated at the latest every 4 years. In addition, the evaluation

processes of higher education institutions were to be co-ordinated and supported, at the national level, by an independent authority, the *Authority for the Quality Assurance of Higher Education*. At the university level, a *Quality Assurance Unit* was to be established in order to co-ordinate and support the evaluation processes in the university itself. It is therefore clear that the evaluation procedures promoted by the Law are based on *criteria*, expressed in terms of loose indicators, thus, attributing certain measurable characteristics to quality assurance. Furthermore, internal evaluation is subjugated to external evaluation. Therefore, the mode of evaluation that is promoted by the law seems clearly to resemble to the *state supervision model*, in the sense that it is based on *objectives* and that it is carried out by an *intermediary body*. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there is not a radical departure from traditional principles and forms of university evaluation. Evaluation remains a peer-review process and respects the disciplinary character of scientific domains, while teaching and research, and not fund raising, remain the sole evaluation criteria. Thus, certain elements of the Humboldtian model of the University are kept[1].

On its part, Law 3549/2007 orders that every university is obliged to construct an *Internal Regulation* for its functioning, following the specifications of the law. In addition, every university, as part of its strategic planning to realise its mission and its specific aims, has to formulate a *4-year academic-developmental programme*, taking state funding into consideration. Four-year academic-developmental programmes (a) are to be formulated following the institution's Internal Regulation Scheme and (b) to be a constituent part of the general plan for the development of Greek higher education. The frame of reference for these programmes should include: (a) the specification, hierarchisation and prioritization of the objectives of each academic unit, (b) the definition and planning of the steps to be taken for the development and support of the educational and research activities of each university, (c) the development of infrastructure, (d) the improvement of other non-academic services (e.g., administrative, student welfare) provided, (e) keeping the academic, educational and research activities of each university in pace with similar developments in universities abroad, in the European Union in particular, and (f) the number of student intake in every department of a higher education institution. Nevertheless, in the *4-year academic-developmental programmes*, special emphasis is attached to financial issues as well. The 4-year academic-developmental programme of each university refers to: (a) its operational cost, (b) capital investment expenditure, (c) human resources, (d) a full record of how the university real estate and other assets are being utilised and (e) additional (other than the state) funding resources. The results of the processes of evaluation are also to be taken into consideration by the Ministry of Education in its evaluation of each 4-year academic-developmental programme. As long as the programme is approved on its financial side, the Ministry of Education and the university sign a *contractual agreement* for its implementation. If a university does not submit a 4-year academic-developmental programme, then state funding is withdrawn (with the exception of the resources for staff salaries, functioning expenses and student support). In general terms, the law clearly states that universities are institutions financially supported by the state for the fulfilment of their mission. Financial support is provided on the

basis of general goals that are determined in co-operation between the state and higher education institutions, and by taking into consideration the 4-year academic-developmental programmes and the contractual agreements. In case there are delays in the application of these programmes, the Ministry of Education together with the Ministry of Finance may decide to transfer developmental programme resources from one university to another. Resources may also be transferred from one financial year to the next[1]. A system of internal financial control is also created in every university so as to prevent misuse of resources. Finally, in order to underline the significance attributed by the Greek government to institutional efficiency, a permanent position for the *Secretary of the Institution* is created in every university. The role of the Secretary is to assist the academic bodies and to effectively coordinate and administer the work of the financial and administrative departments of the university. Thus, the state's *trust* in the universities is questioned and the footprints of *new managerialism* and the *state supervision model* that exerts control from a distance are clearly visible in the law. They can be traced in the obligation of universities to formulate academic-developmental programmes. They can also be traced in the emphasis on economic efficiency that impels the Minister of Education to sign *contractual agreements* with the universities for them to effectively achieve their goals. The importance attached to the economic efficiency of higher education institutions points to a shift of emphasis from *faculty work* to *faculty productivity* (associated with the interest in the output of the institutions as described earlier). Yet there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that the Greek University is becoming a market-driven institution, in the sense that it relies substantially for its income on the private sector. However, failure in the fulfilment of the aims set in the contractual agreements – which means a reduction of funding – increases the chances that the University would perhaps seek in the future financial resources beyond the state.

According to the same Law, to meet their mission, universities have to assure and to improve in every possible way the quality of their services and to publicise all their activities. The management of the Greek universities is therefore expected to submit a complete record of the academic, financial and managerial work of the institutions. Within the logic of the *social accountability* of the universities, until the end of April of every year, the Minister of Education brings a yearly report on the situation in higher education to Parliament, for discussion. The report should include: (a) the elaboration of the universities' programming and reports, (b) an overall evaluation of the situation in higher education and an estimation of its further perspectives together with relevant proposals, and (c) an evaluation of the effectiveness of state funding, in terms of achieving aims and opening new perspectives. In this sense, Greece too seems to be making use of accountability as a regulatory device and as a means of legitimacy, transparency, justification for public funding and guaranteeing university *productivity*.

Overall, in the case of Greece, the two aforementioned framework laws constituted an expression of the need that Greek higher education should respond to

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[1] According to Law 3549/2007, the resources transferred cannot exceed a 20% of the yearly budget of operational expenses.

extrinsic values. It remains to be seen whether in the future the emphasis on the economic efficiency of the universities (and the incitement to seek funding from sources other than the state), associated as it is with new *managerialism*, would prepare the ground for the development of *academic capitalism* as well in Greek university life.

## Conclusions

To sum up, this chapter was an attempt to interpret recent higher education policies in Greece. It was argued that in the mid-2000s, Greek university reform marked a shift of emphasis from the intrinsic to the extrinsic qualities of higher education, as this has already taken place in several western European higher education systems since the 1980s. Part of the public and of academic circles stressed that this was a necessary change that would increase institutional autonomy and would steer the higher education system to become more responsive to the needs of society. Evaluation procedures should serve this important aim. Institutional autonomy, less governmental control and an evaluation framework were considered to be very important in view of the long Greek university tradition: Since its constitution in the early nineteenth century, the Greek University was characterised by a centralised administration, associated with tight governmental control, partisanship and the power of the Professor. Greek reforms of the early 1980s were a move towards the democratisation of the system, epitomised in the abolishment of the Chair and in the wider participation of all members of the academic community in decision making. The decrease of the power of the Professor and the democratisation of the evaluation process of the work of individual academics left the internalist character of evaluation intact. On the other hand, tight state control also remained intact while partisanship within the University was further advanced.

At the beginning of the 1990s, with a neo-liberal government in office, attempts were made towards the restriction of bureaucracy and the expansion of university financial autonomy. Evaluation (both internal and external) was introduced with the intention to increase social accountability and to bring institutions into competition for funding. This policy was justified on the basis of international experience, but it was not generally implemented in practice. Later on, the Bologna Process would reactivate higher education reform policies in Greece towards the establishment of an evaluation and quality assurance framework, policies that would culminate in the mid-2000s. As institutional autonomy and quality assurance were two central issues in the Bologna Process and as Greece had committed itself to implement its recommendations, the Greek government had to conform. There were however internal reasons too that sustained these reforms. In view of the long-standing tight governmental control academics were requesting increased financial and managerial autonomy. Some among them viewed the diminution of governmental control, combined with the establishment of an evaluation and quality assurance framework, as a guarantee for meritocracy and as a barrier against phenomena of partisanship in university life, inherent in the clientelistic character of the public sector in Greece (universities included). Nevertheless, a great part of the academia and the political parties of the Left were very critical on the introduction of an evaluation and quality

assurance framework, because in their view this would create a market-driven higher education system.

This chapter has further argued that Greek higher education policies in the mid-2000s marked a shift of emphasis from the intrinsic to the extrinsic qualities, following the general trend that had developed in several western European countries. This was certainly not accidental. The Bologna Process, which for some was an expression of the wider transformation of the University in many western European countries since the 1980s towards a market-driven institution, had probably played an important role in the formation of Greek higher education reforms. Thus, the emphasis on the extrinsic qualities in higher education took place through two major framework laws. Laws 3374/2005 and 3549/2007 reveal the Greek government's intention to place emphasis on faculty productivity and the output of universities, which were thereafter expected to meet certain pre-specified objectives. Greek universities would be assessed in meeting certain criteria for the measurable quality assurance to take place. The emphasis on quality was associated with the special interest of the state in evaluation (both internal and external) procedures. Internal evaluation was a phase preceding the external evaluation, which was at the centre of the endeavour. External evaluation would be exercised by a committee of independent experts, the so-called Committee for the External Evaluation. The dominance of the state supervision model was however expressed through the formation of an intermediary body, the Authority for the Quality Assurance of Higher Education. It is however fair to recognise that certain elements of the Humboldtian model of the University were left intact, like peer review of disciplinary knowledge.

Accountability, new managerialism and entrepreneurialism, associated with the advent of the state supervision model that exerts control from a distance, were also identified in the obligation that every university should submit a 4-year academic-developmental programme, after having formed an Internal Regulation Scheme and taken state funding into consideration. Financial issues were central to the formation of the 4-year academic-developmental programmes; their approval by the Minister of Education would depend on the results of the evaluation procedures. Upon the approval of the programme, the Minister and the University would sign a contractual agreement for the fulfilment of the aims of the programme. If a university did not submit a 4-year academic-developmental programme, state funding would be partly withdrawn (in which case, the possibility that the University would seek resources beyond the state budget would increase). To increase the economic efficiency of higher education, the post of the Secretary of the Institution was created; she/he would co-ordinate and administer the work of the financial and administrative services of the university. Furthermore, the management of the Greek universities was expected to submit a complete record of the academic, financial and managerial work of the universities, which would consequently be publicised, while the Minister of Education would present a yearly report on the situation in higher education to Parliament. Thus, in the name of legitimacy and transparency, accountability was increasingly becoming a regulatory device.

The developments in Greek higher education, described so far, were not enacted, let alone implemented, at ease, to a great extent due to the unwillingness of a great part of the Greek academia. Apart from the ideological objections to the reforms in question, many were sceptical as to the advisability of the Bologna Process[2]. As Neave (2005) being critical to the Bologna Process – on the part of the Euro-sceptics rather than the Euro-phobics – has argued the restricted participation of the academia in the Process, and the top-down nature of its policies were two generic obstacles to its implementation that the Greek academia was not ready to overcome.

In the particular case of Greece, the absence of an active involvement of the academia in the policy formulation could not but lead to opposition in the implementation of the laws. Opponents of the aforementioned laws were critical on the emphasis they attributed to the economic efficiency aspect of higher education institutions in Greek society. On the other hand, the proponents of the laws argued that through these laws Greek higher education institutions could – and should – become more responsive to the needs of the society and the economy. Proponents were also stressing the increase of institutional autonomy brought about by the reforms (over-looking the state supervision element in them) and the convergence of Greek higher education in matters related to quality assurance, with the relevant developments in European higher education. What can be derived from the analysis in this chapter is that the case of Greece seems to be following – with some delay – the general European trend as concerns the relationship between the state and higher education. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Greece presents certain particularities. Policies towards the creation of an entrepreneurial and market-driven system of higher education are not that strong; for the time being academic capitalism appears to be a remote perspective, yet a possible long-term outcome of the newly introduced reforms. However, it should also be stressed that what both sides (proponents and adversaries of the laws) seem to overlook is the nature of the Greek state and society as well as the nature of the university tradition in Greece. Time and again history has clearly demonstrated that the Greek social formation, the close links between the state and the universities, the active and on occasions impulsive involvement of various social actors in educational politics, and public respect for the Greek university tradition have proved to be strong determinants in educational policy making and policy implementation.

## Notes

With the enactment of the most recent Law (3549/07), the procedure of judgement for the election, academic development or permanency of the Teaching and Research Staff of a University Department has been kept with the main characteristics of the previous Law (1268/82), thus keeping the major characteristics of the intrinsic values: *university work* and *peer review*. The procedure has also become

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[2] For more information on the relevant debate of the Greek academics see POSDEP - Hellenic Federation of University Teachers' Associations 2008.

more democratised as there is now a participation of external electors in the electoral bodies: one-third of the electoral body consists of members of the academic staff from other departments and the rest two-thirds consist of members of the academic staff from the department concerned. The formal appointment of an elected academic is now the responsibility of the Rector and not of the Minister of Education as it used to be the case so far. This gives witness to an increase of university autonomy vis-à-vis the state.

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# Chapter 4
# Universities and Pricing on Higher Education Markets

**Christine Musselin**

It is more and more frequent to read that higher education is being transformed into an industry (or should be turned into an industry, European Commission 2005) and that market forces are driving the development of higher education systems.

Two main arguments are generally mobilised to document this evolution. The first one deals with the transformation in the nature of the products provided by higher education institutions. A few decades ago, it was generally taken for granted that training and research are (or should be) common goods, i.e. goods that are non-rival (their consumption do not prevent consumption by others) and non-excludable (those who do not pay for it may nevertheless consume it). As a result, the idea that training should be accessible to the largest share of the population and that the cost for massification should be borne by the society at large because it benefited the society at large was dominant in many countries. Massification and free access became a motto. Research discoveries were not the ownership of those who were the authors but should benefit everyone and be diffused freely. Of course, there existed many exceptions to this general trend. In countries like the United States, for instance, private higher education institutions developed before public universities and families were accustomed to the idea of paying for their children's university education. Another exception was provided by the restrictions in the diffusion of sensitive research results in nuclear physics, which occurred because of conflicts between large regions of the world (Mallard 2006). But exceptions today tend to be the rule and this evolution is supported by the development of new discourses and rationales. On the one hand, the failure of free access in achieving democratisation and the argument that the lower and low middle classes are paying for upper and upper middle-class children who attend higher education provided grounds for the introduction of fees. It is therefore argued that the collective gain expected by the society from the individual training of a student was lower than the personal gain this student could expect for him/herself in acquiring a university degree. He/she

C. Musselin (✉)
Centre de Sociologie des Organisations, Paris, France
e-mail: c.musselin@cso.cnrs.fr

should then pay for this investment in human capital. On the other hand, the potential applications derived from fundamental research and their transformation into innovation and industrial products led to the extension and generalization of intellectual property rights in order to protect the use of new applications and generate funding for those who developed them. As a result, contractual research expanded and the products of these contracts are no more considered as non-rival and non-excludable: delays for their diffusion may be introduced and access to them may be restricted by patenting and licensing agreements.

This evolution in the conception of training and research as well as in concrete practices leads some authors to argue that higher education is undergoing a process of marketisation (Charle and Soulié 2008) and that academic capitalism (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Rhoades and Slaughter 2004) is expanding. According to them, seeking profit becomes more and more important in academic life thus leading academics to adopt economic behaviours and norms.

Along with this first argument based on the transformation of training and research into private goods, a second argument points at the transformation of the national higher education systems into highly differentiated systems providing the basis for the emergence of different competition sets (Lant and Baum 2003). This process first of all concerns continental Europe where university systems developed according to a predominantly egalitarian rhetoric. France is probably the most representative of such egalitarian models, where each university was supposedly equal to the other,[1] thus delivering the same degrees (as guaranteed by the agreement delivered each 4 years by the national ministry), allocating public funding all on the same basis (through a mathematical formula), etc. Of course this equality was more hypothetical and declared than real (the degrees granted by a Parisian university often had more prestige), but all higher education policies explicitly aimed at safeguarding and reinforcing the egalitarian principles (Musselin 2001/2004, Chapter 4). This is no more the case (Aust and Crespy, forthcoming) in France as in other continental European countries as well. In the 1990s, universities have been asked to become "organisations" (Brunsson and Shalin-Andersonn 2000, Musselin 2007, Krücken and Meier 2006) and to highlight what makes each of them special, different and attractive. Asked to write strategic plans and mission statements, each institution is no more urged to demonstrate its conformity with the national system, but to point out its strengths and differences with others. In the 2000s, the identification of few universities selected to receive massive funding is becoming the norm, as can be observed in Germany with the *Exzellenzinitiative* or in France with the *Plan Campus*.[2] Universities are thus encouraged to compete with one another and to identify/choose their profile. Population ecologists would say they are defining

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[1] While equality and uniformity were the main characteristics of the French university systems, differentiation and diversity by contrast prevailed in the sector of the so-called Grandes Ecoles in France!

[2] The two processes aim at selecting top projects and universities which will receive funding, but the German process is more selective, is more research oriented and more money is at hand than in the French case.

their niches, and neo-institutionalists would speak of the emergence of competition sets. In more banal terms, one describes this evolution as the development of a market.

My point here is neither to contest the reality of the evolution described above, nor to judge them and decide whether they are good or not. It is rather to discuss the fact that in order to describe these trends, it becomes trivial to say that there exists a "market" of higher education. While it is certainly useful and relevant to use the term market as a metaphor, one should nevertheless wonder whether it is analytically well suited. Or to put it another way: One should at least define what is understood by the term market and question when and how this definition authorises us to speak of markets (and thus of marketisation) in higher education. This is what will be done in the first section of this chapter: I will propose a definition of the market and, building on it, I shall identify two domains where market relationships are developing (at least in some countries). The more precise question addressed in the following sections will then be what can we say about the behaviours of universities on these markets? What are their specificities? How can they be characterised?

## Marketisation Versus Increased Competition?

The main argument in this first section is that we should be more careful in the use of the word "market" in terms of higher education and first define this notion and then consider how it applies to higher education.

There are of course many definitions of what a market is. As stated by P. François (2008: 60), some definitions point at the formal characteristics of a market while others focus on the contents of the relationships, but the strength of the definition of markets by Weber (1995/1922) is to simultaneously consider the form and the contents. Swedberg (1998: 43) points at the same conclusion when he writes that "the heart of Weber's analysis of the market consists of the idea that its core is made up of one type of economic action – exchange – which is simultaneously oriented in two different directions: toward one's exchange partner ('struggle over the price') and toward one's competitor ('struggle between competitors')". Thus "market is different from other forms as it is the layout of two sets of interactions, an interaction of exchange and an interaction of competition" (François 2008: 60).

According to this definition these two main mechanisms have to be simultaneously present in order to speak of market. Suppliers have to compete one with another to obtain access to buyers, while buyers compete one with another to get access to suppliers, and there must be an economic relationship between a buyer and a supplier.

One of the consequences of this definition is that exchange without competition and competition without exchange should not be called a market. It is therefore excessive for instance to speak of a market for grants in higher education. It is "only" competition: When different research councils or foundations launch calls for proposals, project leaders are competing one with the other to obtain funding while research funders are competing one with the other to attract the best projects, but

no exchange follows this process. Funding agencies allocate an amount of funding, but there is no negotiation or "struggle". Conversely, it is excessive to describe the introduction of contractual agreements to allocate public funding as a market mechanism. In such contractual processes, there is exchange but no competition among suppliers (there is only one: the concerned public authority) and no competition among buyers (they all have access to the supplier and first have to convince him to fund their project during the exchange relationships).

By contrast, some other situations can be qualified as markets in higher education according to Weber's definition, at least in some countries. Two of these situations are expanding today and are of high relevance. The first one concerns the recruitment of academics in countries where there is a negotiation with the candidate being recruited on his/her "price".[3] This is not the case everywhere. While in all places (or almost all) there is competition (competition among universities to attract the best candidates and competition among the latter to obtain access to the best universities), exchange on the "price" at which the recruitment will be concluded occurs only in some countries.[4] But when competition and exchange interactions occur simultaneously, we shall speak of a market for professors.

The same holds true for tuition fees when they are set by the individual institution and are considered as a total or partial equivalent to the training provided for the fees. Again, there exists competition for students almost everywhere in the world,[5] but exchange is rarer and occurs only in countries where fees vary. In these countries, it is relevant to speak of a market for students: Universities can select their students and students compete for access to universities, and the service delivered by the university is identified with a "price" which differs from one university to another.

The definition of the market which we suggest is therefore more powerful in order to discriminate among situations. It also helps to identify the degree of diffusion of market relationships in higher education. As noted for recruitments and fees, it is only in some countries that we can speak of a market for professors or students. The existence of fees or hiring processes is not sufficient per se.

In these two cases, it is the existence (or absence) of the exchange process which allows (or prevents from) speaking of a market. Therefore, we will concentrate on exchange rather than on competition in the rest of this chapter and more precisely focus on pricing. In other words, we will look at how universities define the price they offer a professor and how they set the level of fees they require from their

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[3] It is moreover relevant to speak of "price" as not only the salaries are negotiated between the candidate and the university but also the working conditions which will be at disposal (budget for books, number of research assistants, access to secretariat, etc.) and in some countries some personal benefices (preferential loans to buy a house, help in finding a job for the spouse, etc.)

[4] In France, for instance, such negotiations almost never occur in universities. The salary is set according to a national non-flexible scale.

[5] Even in France where all *baccalauréat* holders can attend a university, competition for students exists between the universities and the *grandes écoles* on the one hand and between the few selective and the many non-selective training programmes within universities.

students. These are the two points which will be developed in the next two sections, in order to explore the nature of the markets in which universities are involved and their behaviours as economic actors.

## How Do Universities Set the Price of a Professor?

To investigate how universities set the price of their academic staff, I will mainly rely on a study I led on recruitment processes in France, Germany and the United States (Musselin 2005), focusing only on the last two countries, i.e. the two in which competition and exchange[6] can be observed.

   The study relies on in-depth interviews led in 22 departments (11 in History and 11 in Maths) in the three countries (10 in France, 8 in Germany and 4 in three American private research universities). The aim of this research was threefold. First, it consisted in studying how academic positions are managed (created, suppressed or reoccupied when vacant) in the three countries. Second, it was intended to understand how hiring committees make decisions and rank candidates. Third, in Germany and the United States, it also focused on the negotiation which takes place between the university and the candidate who is ranked first.

   Three main results will be discussed here. First, I will argue that the market for professors is an "economy of quality", i.e. a market where quality, not pricing, is the operator through which supply meets demand. Second, I will question how this pricing occurs on such markets and show that there exist quite different mechanisms in the two countries under study. Third, I will discuss the specific relationships between quality and price on these markets.

### *Academic Labour Markets as an Economy of Quality*

The notion of economy of quality (or economy of singularities) has been developed by the French sociologist Lucien Karpik (1989, 1995, 2007) since the late 1980s. Looking at the importance of quality on market relationships was already common in economics in papers focusing on the effects of asymmetric information, the information on the "real" quality of a good (or the real competence of a person) being one of the causes for asymmetry. The fundamental contribution of L. Karpik is to refuse to consider such situations as deviant variations of perfect markets. He argues that this is an alternative form of market characterised by the fact that quality, not pricing, allows supply and demand to meet. For Karpik, this happens in exchange situations where uncertainty on the quality of the supply side is high.

   L. Karpik developed this notion in a seminal paper published in 1989, where he tried to understand how lawyers who are not allowed to advertise by providing

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[6] More recent, but also less extended, fieldwork in Germany will complete this previous study.

information about their previous accomplishments or the place where they were trained may attract clients who beforehand had no information about the quality of the lawyers (Karpik 1989). He showed that confronted with this uncertainty, clients utilised personal networks to make up their mind and identify a reliable lawyer. As a result, it is only in a second period of time, after the supply (lawyer) and the demand (client) have met, that a price is set. In the last part of the paper, Karpik explains how this price is determined and why the lawyers propose reasonable honorariums despite the fact they could overestimate them, as they benefit from a situation of asymmetric information over their clients.

The distinction between the match of supply and demand and the process of pricing, as well as the uncertainty on the quality of the candidates, are also observable in the area of academic labour markets (Musselin 1996). They are therefore a form of economy of quality. In the countries under study, two different phases run by different actors can be identified. First, a phase of judgement, characterized by the fact that the peers assess the quality of the applicants and come to a ranking. Supply and demand have met. Second, a phase of negotiation on the price offered to the candidate ranked first: The main actors of this phase are the candidate and the university leadership and they set a price. As for the lawyers, quality is the main operator for the supply to meet the demand. Pricing comes next.

Following L. Karpik's conclusion, I thus argue that academic labour markets are a specific kind of market. Yet this notion of economy of quality raises an interesting puzzle about pricing. If the price is not the operator (and thus is not set when supply meets demand), how is the price set? While Karpik raised and discussed this point in his paper, most of the authors working on quality issues focus on the first face of the puzzle, i.e. how to make a judgement and overcome the uncertainty on quality. They surprisingly neglect pricing (Musselin and Paradeise 2002). This is precisely why I will now raise the following question: How is a price determined if you already know the result of the match between supply and demand?

## Different Mechanisms of Pricing

The comparison between Germany and the United States first reveals that pricing mechanisms vary from one country to another. There is not one single and common way to set the price of academics in countries where there is a market for professors.

In Germany, the study was led before the important reforms introduced in 2002. Before mentioning the transformations introduced by the latter, let me sum up the main characteristics of the negotiation process by the late 1990s. It is important to start by mentioning the narrowness of the field of negotiation because of the many restrictions delimiting it. Such processes occur only for the tenured professors and among them primarily for the full professors. They concern the working conditions and almost never the salaries, the latter being set according to salary scales. The possibility to outbid competitors is also restricted: A professor is allowed to negotiate with his/her university and with the recruiting institution, but if many universities

ranked him/her first, he/she cannot simultaneously negotiate with all of them and have them compete for him/her. As a result, the scope of negotiation is furthermore contained.

The negotiation is then closely linked to the situation of the recruiting university and to the "standards" the latter has developed. In most cases, there exists a sort of tariff the institution had agreed upon, setting the average package (number of assistant positions, budget for books, etc.) to be offered according to the concerned discipline and the status (full professor or not) of the candidate. The possibilities for deviation are rather limited. There must be exceptional circumstances for the institution to propose much more/less. Therefore, I suggest speaking of the "price of the institution" in the German case.

Up to recently, this price (i.e., the working conditions package) worked as an investment, or a bet, made by the university. The package offered by the institution during the recruitment negotiation process was attributed whatever happened next. If the professor decided not to work intensively anymore, the university had made the wrong investment. If the professor obtained impressive results, the university was right in making this investment. The university could not come back on the decision it took. The only possibility for renegotiating was in the hands of the professor: He/she could apply for another position and if he/she were ranked first, he/she could renegotiate or leave. His/her university could then decide to invest again and more (and try to keep the professor by offering as much as the recruiting university) or not.

The reforms introduced since 2002 have transformed this system of pricing in various ways. First, some of the existing restrictions have been relaxed. The introduction of merit-salaries for instance allows for negotiations on salaries[7] and part of this salary is merit based. Second, the negotiated price (in salaries and in working conditions) can be regularly renegotiated. This means that internal labour markets (Doeringer and Piore 1971) have been developed in German universities and that the negotiation of the price is becoming one of the instruments of these internal markets (Musselin 2004). Nevertheless, the price set during the recruitment remains first of all the price of the institution.[8]

In the United States, by contrast, one must speak of the "price of the market", and the scope of negotiation is by far less contained than in Germany (Sørensen, 1993). Such negotiations occur for all tenure-track positions (not only for tenured positions); the candidates may outbid if they have different offers; the price includes the

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[7] Up to now, only a limited share of the professors is concerned as merit-salaries and the new salary scales are introduced only for those newly becoming professors and for the already professors moving from one institution to another.

[8] It is all the more so that in order to introduce more flexible wages, a range of min and max salary for a professor has been defined for each university, based on the income budget they had for their professors before the reform. This range of salary thus varies from one institution to another, from one Land to another, depending on the more or less wealthy situation of the institution before.

salary, working conditions, personal benefits, etc. What happens when an assistant professor[9] is recruited and how is this price set?[10]

It is first interesting to note that there is no direct negotiation between the candidate ranked first and the university. This negotiation happens between the chair of the recruiting department and the dean. As a result, the former is interested in getting the highest price for the candidate for two reasons. First, the chair wants the candidate to remain in the long run. If the price is too low, he/she will be tempted to leave the university very soon, thus provoking a new deal with the dean about the position, a new application, a new recruitment process, etc. Second, if the price is high, the chair will be able to negotiate a salary increase for all academics of the department in order to adjust. The dean knows that he/she cannot make too low an offer because he/she risks losing the candidate, but he/she also wants to limit the level of price, knowing the consequences it may have. Nevertheless, there is clearly a rather inflationist game situation.

Nevertheless, the dean and the chair do not negotiate from scratch. For the salary part of the price, for instance, they rather start from the "price of the market" and have to decide how much they go upper or lower this level. The "price of the market" consists of the salary proposed by departments of the same discipline which the chair and the dean consider as equivalent in reputation and quality to their department. This list of "equivalent" departments is not official and formal. It is "common knowledge" among the members of the same department. They have an idea of the salaries in the departments they consider as equivalent. The way they know about it is very informal. They call a colleague they know well or have informal talks during conferences, etc. Thus, as the producers described by H. White (1981), they observe one another and set their salaries according to what the others practice.

The non-salary part of the price follows by contrast a more open process. There is indeed an average package which the chair and the colleagues of the department tell the candidate he/she can request, but there are also possibilities to negotiate for specific elements, which are directly linked to the individual situation of the candidate, or to compensate a low salary offer with attractive conditions. Therefore, they are probably more variations and discrepancies on this part of the price than on salaries, but they are also more difficult to evaluate as they are often more difficult to translate into monetary terms.[11]

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[9] Assistant professor is the first available positions "on tenure track", i.e. on the career path leading to a tenured position.

[10] I will focus on negotiation for assistant professors because these are the more common negotiations occurring. It is rarer to recruit senior professors and for that reason the number of cases of senior recruitment I could work on is very limited and not reliable enough.

[11] How for instance compare the value of getting help for your spouse to find a job with an agreement to spend the first year away in order to reinforce your research capacity and start teaching only 1 year latter?

## *Universities, Academics, Price and Quality*

Two main conclusions have been drawn at this stage. First, the market for professors is a specific market which can be qualified as an economy of quality. Second, on this kind of markets, the mechanisms of pricing differ from neoclassical mechanisms (the price is not set when supply meets demand) and they are not the same on different national academic labour markets. German universities define their prices under institutional constraints and rules. American universities look much more at the prices practised by their competitors and use this "price of the market" as their price.

   This shows that the relationships between the price of the new professor and his/her quality as assessed by the hiring committee are rather loose. In the German case, the importance attributed to the discipline concerned and the "tariff" the recruiting institution is able to propose are more important than the "value" of the candidate. In the United States, the quality attached to the department, and the equivalence made with competitor departments, is also more important than the judgement led by the hiring committee on the candidate.[12]

   Such economic behaviours and types of labour market are probably not only observable in universities, but one can nevertheless suggest that such characteristics derive from their organisational specificities. They, more than other structures, have to manage the interactions and tensions between organisational and professional features, and this is reflected in the distribution of the roles during the recruitment process and in the separation between judgement and pricing: The peers (profession) decide about whom will be integrated in the professional community while the leaders (organisation) behave as employers. The peers assess the academic (professional) value. The leaders are more aware of the institutional value.

## How Do Universities Set the Level of Fees?

In this third section, I focus on the other market identified in the first section and consider the market for students. As for the market for professors, I shall focus on pricing and therefore look at fees. This time, I will not rely on original fieldwork, but much more I will set the basis for a new potential research programme aimed at investigating the decision-making process developed by universities to set their fees. Up to now, no study looked at this concrete process of "pricing in action". The available literature, on which this third section draws upon, is essentially interested in the results of this process (how high are the fees) and the evolution of these results (do fees increase or not), rather than in pricing as a process or in the

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[12] This not to say that the quality of the candidate does not play at all. Candidates who are ranked first by two or more institutions can of course bargain more.

rationales of the actors involved in the determination of fees in higher education institutions.

Two main conclusions about fees may be derived from the existing literature. The first one concerns the increase in the level of fees as well as the expansion of the number of higher education institutions asking for fees, and thus the development of markets for students. The second deals with the underlying rationales that can be deduced from reading the existing literature on fees.

## The Expansion of the Market for Students: Introduction and Increase of Fees

According to the definition of market developed in the first section of the chapter, many countries are still not experiencing a market for students. Higher education institutions compete for students, but there is often no exchange around fees (or fees are often not considered as a price to pay for the training received). In France, for instance, the level of fees first aims to cover the administrative costs implied by the registration of the students. But this situation is always changing. Two main evolutions have been occurring within the last decades. First, in many countries fees have increased and they tend to be more and more conceived as reflecting (a share of) the cost of the training received. Second, fees have been introduced in countries where there were none. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the idea that training is a private good has spread.

Starting with countries where fees already existed, they experienced a rather important increase. In the United Kingdom, for instance, after having introduced the idea of full cost for overseas students, the British governments started raising the limit of the maximum fees for undergraduates and proceeded by steps. The upper limit was first set at 1000£ in 1997, but since the 2004 Act higher education institutions have been allowed to ask to up to 3000£. This limit could disappear after 2010. While the last increase was accompanied by a reform of students' aid and by a policy in favour of access, the arguments justifying this evolution clearly revealed a conception promoting the transformation of students into consumers (Naidoo 2008), buying the positive gains they will individually get from training.

In the United States, the transfer of the cost of education from the states to the families has also been massive within the last decades. In this country, the tradition for fees is well known and not new, but a significant increase has been experienced over the last decades by the American system. According to the authors of a report published in 1999 by the Institute for Higher Education Policy (1999), nominal fees were multiplied by 5 between 1976 and 1996 and almost doubled after adjusting for inflation. Increases in percentages and in dollars were higher in private institutions, but the public sectors were also concerned. D. Ward and J. Douglass (2006) for instance estimate that between 1987 and 1997 fees increased by 60% in Texas, 57% in North Carolina, 44% in Illinois, etc. The 1999 report mentions that the share of fees in the resource structure of public universities

went from 13% to 18% between 1980 and 1995 and from 13% to 43% in private institutions.

The figures observed in Germany are by no way comparable with the 30,000–35,000 dollars frequently asked by American private research universities, but the introduction of fees in some of the *Länder* is nevertheless a major change in a country where they did not exist before. Indeed, the Constitutional court decided in January 2005 that the *Länder* were responsible for introducing fees (or not), after five of them petitioned being recognised this right. Since September 2006, fees have thus been introduced in some German universities and today 7 out of 16 *Länder* ask for fees. In some cases, the public authorities of the *Länder* have fixed the level of fees by semester and in others they left rooms for the institutions to decide about what they will ask, but in fact all (or almost all) opted for the same amount of 500 € per semester (Ebcinoglu and Leszczensky 2008).

The variation among countries is thus considerable. Because there are no objective reasons for the price of training to be different between Germany and the United Kingdom, or between the United Kingdom and the United States, it is highly relevant to investigate the rationales behind the determination of the level of fees.

## Fees, a Price of What?

A quite similar issue has been raised by D. Ward and J. Douglass (2006) in a paper I will quite often quote in the following pages and in which they describe four models which can be used by leaders of a national/public higher education system to set the level of fees. They thus distinguished between the public versus private benefits model, where prices should be set according to the private gains students can expect from their studies, the model of what the market will bear (as a complement of what the state bears), the model of national/international comparative norms and a model linked to some economic indicators such as the cost of living for instance. As stressed by these two authors, these models could be combined, but it is also already possible to identify some country with a specific model.

My point of departure here will not be the same, as I will not consider this issue from the perspective of the public authorities, but rather identify the different rationales that can be derived from the observation of the existing fees. Some of these rationales are comparable to the first three discussed by D. Ward and J. Douglass, others are rather different. There are also more than four.

### A Political Rationale

Even if the fees vary across countries in terms of level, they are everywhere influenced by the rationale of the "acceptable price", i.e. the price that payers can afford and accept. As a matter of fact, fees are a political issue. Notwithstanding the financial capacity of German families, it was of course impossible for the *Länder* introducing fees to go from 0 to 30,000 €. We observed above how the United Kingdom experienced a progressive installation of increasing fees. Arguments,

negotiations and rhetoric of different kinds[13] have to be deployed in order to convince students, parents and the public opinion that training is a product that must be bought, and this takes time. It also takes time for the families to include and anticipate higher education expenses in their education budgets. It is highly probable that only very few German families would have saved 30,000 € in case high fees would be introduced. The issue of affordability therefore provides meaningful explanations for the huge differences observed among countries: Those with the longest tradition can practice the higher fees and it is easier as well to transform fees into a price.

### Fees to Compensate the Increase in Budget and the Decrease in Public Funding

The acceptability of the level of fees is not the only determinant. Further mechanisms can be observed from looking at the data. Another one can be described as the compensation of decreasing public funding in time of increasing training expenses.[14] Data in the United States show a clear correlation between the evolution of the public budgets and the level of fees. D. Ward and J. Douglass (2006: 7, graph 1) show that the California state recession in the public budget was followed by an increase in fees for public institutions. This is coherent with the evolution in the structure of resources of public and private universities reported by the Institute for Higher Education Policy (1999: 14).

| Evolution of the structure of resources in public and private American universities (built on Institute for Higher Education Policy, 1999: 14) | | |
|---|---|---|
|  | 1980–1981 | 1994–1995 |
| **Public Universities** | | |
| Public revenues | 63% | 51% |
| Fees | 13% | 18% |
| **Private Universities** | | |
| Public revenues | 22% | 17% |
| Fees | 37% | 42% |

In Europe, the necessity of introducing fees is also often associated with the limitation of public resources, the latter being one of the arguments for the recourse

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[13] For instance, about the limits of the state budget, about the unfair social redistribution provoked by the absence of fees, about the inefficiency of the no fees policy to fight against elite reproduction, etc.

[14] Expenses increase in all countries for different reasons. First, because of the massification of higher education (Frank and Meyer, 2006) training has to be provided to more and more students. In countries with a free public system, this mathematically increases the higher education budget. Furthermore, the training technologies are more and more expensive. Blackboard and chalks are for instance no more sufficient. All classrooms have to be equipped with video projectors, computers, Wi-Fi, etc.

to individual private contributions. Rather than "what the market bears", the crucial point here is about what the state can bear.

**The Price of Institutions to Which One Wants to Be Compared**

A third mechanism, which is compatible with the previous one, consists in anticipating the behaviours of other higher education institutions to set the price of one's own institution. This is again very close to the process described by H. White (1981) among producers looking at other producers to set their prices. It is exactly what happened in the United Kingdom when the maximum of fees has been fixed at 3000£. Data show the strength of such mechanisms as almost all institutions decided to go up to 3000£. This resulted from two converging phenomena. The first one is the tendency of institutions to overestimate their reputation and quality. This had already been observed by Caplow and McGee (1958) when they asked university departments to cite departments they consider as equivalent to theirs in terms of reputation and attractiveness for job applicants: They tended to cite departments which were considered as better than theirs by external observers. I also noticed this bias in the departments where I led interviews in the United States about the price of academics: The departments they cited as their reference for the salary to be offered to an assistant professor were always more prestigious than theirs. The second phenomenon is less a question of cognition (in which category of departments do I locate myself) than a tactic: Fearing that all other institutions will ask for the maximum, each institution decided to do the same in order not to be considered as of lesser quality if they were not asking for as high fees as the others.

The same mechanisms of comparable levels of fees is observable in the United States, but there the more formalised classification of institutions (research universities versus comprehensive versus etc.) and the increasing division between private and public within each class of institutions lead to clustering effects: The private institutions of the same class (for instance, research universities) propose roughly the same fees, while the public universities of this class also propose similar fees but which are lower than those of the private universities. Comparing the fees for undergraduates required by 11 private research universities in 2003 and 2004, Ward and Douglass (2006: 12) for instance showed that they vary from 28,400 to 31,040 for 10 of them. But as for salaries, the relationship between the price and quality is not simple. The more reputed are not more expensive than the others. Brown university (which was ranked 82nd in the 2004 Shanghai ranking) for instance asked for $29,846 in 2003–2004 while Harvard (which ranked first) asked for $29,060.

**Fees According to the Expected Individual Gains for the Students**

A fourth mechanism which can be derived from the data consists of linking fees with the expected gains of the students in terms of subsequent salaries. This is not clearly implemented in all universities, but, again, the figures provided by D. War and J. Douglass (2006) about the United States are very helpful, as they display the fees required by type of studies in 11 private and 14 public research universities. Some

programmes are considerably more expensive in law than in nursing or theatre and film (in one of them the ratio is of 1 to respectively one-fourth and two-thirds), but in many the difference is very little if any.

In Europe, the introduction of the two-tier structure has led to a comparable trend and to a stronger distinction between the undergraduates courses where fees are low and the master programmes for which more differentiated prices are available in the same institution for different disciplines. Here again the fees may be read as a mirror of the expected gains. Gains in the future: In a continental Europe university, for instance, the fees for an MBA reach 26,000 € per year while a Master in Modern European language can be obtained for about 1600 €.

### Fees According to the Costs of Production

A fifth mechanism influencing the level of fees is the cost of a training programme. The differentiated costs of a class in science and a class in humanities were often taken into account by public authorities in their allocation of public funding. In France, for instance, the budgets have long been calculated according to the number of students, and the cost by student varied according to the disciplines. Conversely, one could expect more expensive programmes to ask for higher fees. But it is still rare to calculate fees according to the level of "full costs" of a training programme.

### Fees According to Marketing Strategies

In the competition for students, fees are also used in order to attract some categories of students rather than others. This is very close to the "the price of institutions to which one wants to be compared with" in the sense that fees (and the financial aid programmes) are used as a signal to identify the kind of institution the student will attend (Kraatz and Ventresca 2003).

### Fees to Make Profit

Last but not least, fees may be set, not only to cover (totally or partially) the costs, but to increase the benefits, as can be expected from for-profit private institutions.

All these observations converge to show that when it is possible to speak of a market for students (i.e., when fees are considered as reflecting, partially or totally, the price of attending a training programme), we may observe rather different ways about calculating this price.

From this point of view, we are confronted with an interesting but puzzling market. Further research on the process by which institutions set their price would help better understanding on how prices are decided upon within these institutions and how these rationales are mixed and combined.

## Conclusion

The two main arguments of this chapter can be summed up as follows. First, we should be more analytical in our analysis of markets in higher education and not

confound competition with markets or exchanges with markets. Both conditions (competition and exchange) have to be present to speak of markets.

Second, when there are markets, one needs to look at how they concretely work. As for other markets, markets in higher education display a pretty wide range of alternatives and are quite far from being perfect markets according to the definition of neo-classical economics. We observed that academic labour markets are an interesting form of an economy of quality on which institutions set their own price or look at the price of the market.

Markets for students are even more particular. They are characterised by the multiple ways and rationales which can lead to a price, as if no single calculation could be identified. This links of course to the political nature of the fees and their link to issues of access, equality and equity. But even when these aspects are less pregnant, there remain competing possibilities, probably because of the ambiguous nature of training as a product.

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# Part II
# Access and Transitions

# Chapter 5
# Providing Access to Education: Intercultural and Knowledge Issues in the Curriculum

**Jagdish Singh Gundara and Namrata Sharma**

## Introduction

One of the goals of *The Dakar Framework for Action* which relates to educational opportunities for adolescents is

> Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes (UNESCO 2000: 8).

In terms of access, the most important issue is the provision of basic education to vast numbers of children who do not receive any education. A few years ago, there were around 103 million children who did not attend school (United Nations 2008: 15). Through determined efforts by many agencies at international and national levels this number has now been reduced to 73 million children in 2006 (United Nations 2008: 15). To provide education to these children, at least 18 million teachers need to be educated and trained (United Nations 2008).

This chapter will not discuss this issue of basic education, but will raise substantive questions about the substance of what children need to be taught and what they need to learn. This chapter through the use of comparative and intercultural examples will discuss the following: How do we negotiate the curriculum to make it genuinely inclusive? A curriculum centred on the knowledge of dominant groups does not serve the needs of socially diverse polities. This is necessary because, as Edward Said states, civilisation is a "many-windowed house of human culture as a whole" (Said 1993: 312). Therefore, issues of teaching and learning languages and knowledge from diverse groups in society have implications for access to education and merit some analysis.

The key argument this chapter makes is that if the curriculum remains exclusive and largely represents the knowledge of the dominant groups in society, it will not be seen to be relevant by those people who come from subordinated and minority

J.S. Gundara (✉)
Institute of Education University of London, London, UK
e-mail: j.gundara@ioe.ac.uk

groups. It would also deny them access to education and continue to lower educational performances of children from these communities. The important question this chapter will begin to answer is what can be done about the linguistic and curricular issues in complex and unequal communities so that all groups can feel that they have a stake in society?

This chapter will use examples to argue that there are huge barriers to access for disadvantaged groups in most societies. However, in qualitative and quantitative terms these barriers are deeper within the so-called developing countries. The *Millennium Goals* and the initiatives of *Universal Primary Education* and *Education for All* are illustrative of the enormity of the absence of educational provision and access at universal levels.

Examples taken from the Indian sub-continent highlight barriers of physical access, as well as gender and caste barriers. There are also problems of access to learning in the more developed countries, as examples from the European continent show, where the knowledge of subordinate or minority groups is not adequately represented in the mainstream curriculum. This is true both within the old and new member states of the European Union. However, issues of access are far more serious in societies where violence, conflict and wars impede access to safe schools within safe communities.

## Intercultural Issues in a Developing Country Context

Access to the educational provision in India is a complex issue and has both historical and contemporary dimensions. At the present time, a vast majority of the youth in India do not have access to education. Andre Beteille (2007) traces its historical roots as follows:

> Indian society had a deeply hierarchical structure in which life chances were most unequally distributed than perhaps in any other society in the world. Even after the adoption of a modern system of education with its schools, colleges and universities in the middle of the 19th century, access to education remained highly restricted for a 100 years, not only on account of severe economic inequalities but also because of strong and deeply-rooted social prejudices against women and against disadvantaged castes and communities. Colonial rule served to ease some of the social prejudices but did little to address existing inequalities in the distribution of material resources (Beteille 2007: 40).

Today *Education for All* is an important concern for Indian education as the all India literacy rate as per the 2001 census is only 64.8%. However, the drop-out rate between classes I and X is around 70%, and only 40–60% pass class X and XII examinations (Government of India 2001: 8).

In the developing world, there are added barriers to access to education as compared to the developed countries. First of all, there is the difficulty of physical access to schools. Gender and location determine physical access to education at all levels. A UNESCO study identifies several problems related to the location of schools and the very absence of schools in remote, rural and mountainous areas (Robinson 2004:

22). In many places, there are simply not enough middle schools or schools are frequently distant from homes, while in many cases, there is inadequate infrastructure as well as lack of teachers in many schools. On the other hand, where new schools are built, adolescents do not want to enrol in grade I together with much younger children (Robinson 2004: 22). Gender-related problems also emerge as a hindrance to access. The same UNESCO study reveals that "in India, Nepal and Pakistan, girls are exposed to the danger of harassment on the way to school, or are stared at by men and boys" (Robinson 2004: 21). Further, in some areas caste discrimination and reinforcement of low self-esteem stand as barriers to education (Robinson 2004).

It is true that some civil society organisations like the *Mahila Samakhya* in India are doing useful work by providing equal access to education facilities for adolescent girls and young women. However, it has been difficult to provide access to the schedule-tribe minority groups which are by far the most disadvantaged sections of the Indian society.

In addition to the physical limitations, a second major difficulty in providing access to education is the inadequate acknowledgement of the minority languages. The eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution recognises 22 scheduled languages; yet there are over 200 languages with almost 1600 dialects that exist in the country. Children from disadvantaged communities are often unable to gain access to the curriculum in multilingual contexts where the children's languages are largely ignored. Although Article 350a of the Indian Constitution makes provision for instructional material in the mother tongue at the primary level of education, tribal languages, for instance, continue to face the challenge of "lack of educational facilities such as textbooks, teachers, and schools with the tribal language as the medium of instruction, marginalisation or exclusion from the major domains of social behaviour" (Kundu 1994 cited in Pandharipande 2002: 219). Those responsible for reaching out to minority groups however make the situation even worse. As Virginius Xaxa (2005) points out:

> Yet, no effort whatsoever has been made so far by the federal state or the provincial states towards safeguarding tribal languages, let alone promoting them. Education in all provinces/states, even at the primary level, has been imparted in the language of the dominant community. There were, of course, instances in states like undivided Bihar where primers were prepared in some tribal languages for pedagogic purposes in the mother tongues but these were allowed to rot in government godowns (Xaxa, 2005: 1368).

Children often use their first language to build links in learning the second language (Gundara and Sharma 2009; Piaget 1932). This also holds good for children from tribal groups and for those whose mother tongue is one of the minority languages. Failure to appreciate this leads to a curtailed access to education. For example, in Goa, the abrupt transition from the local languages of Konkani and Marathi in primary schools to English in Standard V has put tremendous pressure on children from rural communities. By the time these learners reach the crucial higher grades, nearly half of them drop out of school (Chinai 2007). As Pandharipande (2002) argues, there are also several other barriers to speakers of minority languages, one of which is that most minority-language communities have been assimilated with

the majority or dominant languages (Pandharipande 2002: 219). Using examples from across the Indian diaspora, he argues:

> A similar situation exists with Yerva in Kerala, or Bhumj and Rajbamshiin in West Bengal. The adoption of multiple strategies (using their language at home and the dominant language at school and other public domains) to maintain their languages is seen among the minority languages in diaspora. These languages have a stable cultural and linguistic base elsewhere that provides a constant motivation for their retention (Pandharipande 2002: 219).

As a way of combating some of these challenges, a "three-language formula" was adopted by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1957 and this came into action in 1961. The languages were introduced at different levels of school education. At the lower-primary level (grades I–IV), either the mother tongue or the official language was to be used. At the higher-primary level (grades V–VII), two languages, the mother tongue or the regional language and Hindi (national language) or English, were recommended. At the lower-level secondary level (grades VIII–X), three languages – mother tongue/regional language, Hindi and English – were to be used. At the higher-secondary level (grades XI–XII), any two languages including a classical language were to be used.

There have also been constitutional safeguards since independence to protect tribal languages (Pandharipande 2002: 220–221). However, as Pandharipande points out, there has also been a subsequent change in the lifestyle of many people living in tribal areas who are now integrated within the mainstream population due to the changes in their occupations, which has resulted from India's move from a largely agrarian country to an industrial and technological power (Pandharipande 2002: 221). It can be argued that many of the issues that concerned champions of minority groups, like Mahatma Gandhi, in a colonised, agrarian, largely rural country seem to have been hardly effective in a nation that is now independent and has economically progressed, rapidly urbanised and become a nuclear power. The issues of untouchability, caste and poverty are being replaced by the novel problems of globalisation, class and income disparity, environmental pollution, and communal and caste politics. There are also issues related to the new role of women, the new forms of dominance by Western economies and their effect on education (Sharma 2008: 96). For instance, the use of English by multinational corporations situated in India and by trans-national corporations and call centres which recruit workers from India has given further boost to the usage English over other Indian languages in the labour market.

In developing countries like India, disadvantaged groups in the educationally backward states face yet an additional problem. Apart from the fact that the knowledge of these minority groups is mostly not represented in the curriculum, there are also barriers to their access related to several "myths" around why parents from disadvantaged groups do not wish to educate their children. Dreze and Sen (2002) expose some of these "myths" which have "tended to cloud official thinking and public debates" on "why so many Indian children are out of school" (Dreze and Sen 2002: 155). One of the "myths" surrounding the "discouragement effect" for youth is found to be the belief that Indian parents have little interest in education. Citing

the PROBE survey, Dreze and Sen bring to the light the fallacy of this "myth" by pointing out that in India's most educationally backward states, the proportion of parents who considered it "important" for a child to be educated was as high as 98% for boys and 89% for girls. Furthermore, high educational aspirations are also consistent with the constitutional goal of universal elementary education: Only a small minority of respondents demanded less than 8 years of education for their sons and daughters, and only 3% of parents were opposed to compulsory education at the primary level (probe team 1999: 14–24).

At the same time, there has also been a great deal of emphasis on mainstream curriculum through distance education and the media languages and dialects which have hitherto prevented many learners from gaining access to education. However, in the Indian context, providing access to those who speak the less widely spoken languages through distance learning, as proposed by the Commonwealth Secretariat (2007: 35), has not as yet led to bridging the gap between speakers of English and Hindi on one hand (who are in a relatively better position to get jobs) and the "other languages".

In this context, it is critical for the success of any learning strategy to appreciate the prejudice that lies behind many children's refusal to accept rational reasons and explanations for issues like poor social conditions, diversity and inequality. Children's understanding goes beyond classroom walls into playgrounds and communities. There may be extremely entrenched xenophobic, chauvinistic and fundamentalist negative views and imaginations in these contexts, which are nurtured not only through peer group cultures, but also by families, politicians and the media. Hence, it is not strange that in a diverse classroom, teachers' rational interpretations of such issues like inequality, the existence of refugees or immigrants within communities, have proved thus far to be too simplistic and ineffective to combat such prejudiced views. Measures like the implementation of well-structured learning involving the learners own creativity may provide ways of working in this controversial field (Cohen 1991).

## Intercultural Bilingual Education in Multilingual Contexts

In the United Kingdom, policies which exclude children's first languages from the curriculum have depressed the educational potential of subsequent generations of children (Gundara 1986). One such example is that of the black communities for whom Creole has been the first language and yet for decades schools and teachers did not recognise this. The first few generations of children from the communities that migrated from the Caribbean region were consigned to educationally sub-normal schools. This led to denying them any opportunity in improving their life chances and consigning them to the margins of British society. There is hardly any research on the educational and the long-term social implications this exclusion has had upon the educational outcomes and the long-term life chances of this community. This has also led to the loss of the rich linguistic repertoires of the people from the Caribbean region within British society. Therefore, the potential

of multilingualism and bilingualism from these communities has been lost within a few generations after they immigrated to these islands (Gundara 1986: 19).

Recent international efforts focussing on the role of intercultural bilingual education (IBE) can help in strengthening and stabilising the multiple linguistic, community and societal identities thus acting as a form of integrative glue in society. The case of Peru, during the post colonial period, is an example in this respect. The IBE model has been used there following the identification through educational research of the long-term effects of colonialism. These effects are reflected in the prevailing social inequalities, lack of economic development and the low value ascribed to the first languages of subordinated minorities (Nieroda 1995). Consequently, there have been pressures and demands to push forward an agenda that would provide greater use of indigenous languages like Quechua. In certain quarters, suggestions have also been made for using the theoretical understandings of intercultural education in teacher training programmes (Nieroda 1995; Trapness 2003).

Largely speaking, the benefits and advantages of IBE in linguistically diverse contexts have been fairly soundly argued and developed (Aikman 1999). In the first place, it has been argued that the first language can be used as a building block to learn a second (or more) language and as a means that would provide access to the curriculum. Second, while being directly relevant to minority linguistic groups, IBE had also value for the majority groups, especially if they were monolingual, by enhancing the values of living in bi- and multicultural communities. This is the case because IBE is not about destroying but about developing and enhancing linguistic diversity and repertoires of the different linguistic communities.

In the formal education process, by using IBE methods, teachers can bring thematic areas from the diverse cultures into the curriculum in a non-conflictual and non-substitutive way and thereby assist the process of enhancing intercultural understandings. IBE can also enhance the sense of belongingness of each group, as well as its knowledge and values in a school. An international collaboration and replication of good IBE practices can be drawn upon by educators to obviate conflicts between linguistic communities while enhancing good educational access and outcomes for all the groups (Aikman 1999).

In practice, there are however major problems in implementing IBE because social inequalities tend to deepen linguistic inequalities as well. In many societies, where substantial socioeconomic inequalities exist, not all of their cultures and languages enjoy the same status as those of the majority, dominant or powerful groups in society. The state education system and schools are therefore less likely to employ the languages of minority groups in the school curriculum. For example, the languages and cultures of the nomadic groups and small and isolated marginalised minority communities are especially vulnerable to being ignored within the school systems. While the languages of even the settled minority communities may not be taught in school, people like the Roma and the Travellers in Europe or the Masai people in East Africa suffer even greater levels of educational exclusion and disadvantage since there are few mobile schools and little alternative educational provision for such groups. These high levels of lack of access

to educational provision raise a major public policy issue within the state systems. Such groups receive neither locally relevant education nor general national education which could create conditions of linguistic parity or greater levels of equality.

In many European Union member states, a privileged position is given to "autochthonous" languages which are considered indigenous and a lower status to "allochthonous" or non-indigenous languages. Hence, while Welsh language is being taught in Wales, the languages used by long-settled immigrant communities do not receive the same consideration. In a number of other member states of the European Union too, immigrant languages are taught neither as the first language of the child nor as a (second) modern language. This is also an issue in many other parts of the world, since new immigrants normally have a very low socioeconomic status or arrive as undocumented labour. This creates an arbitrary division between languages in linguistically diverse communities. Such a division does not only divide the languages from each other but is also inimical to the development of cohesive language policies and practices in schools (Pattanyak 1987). It is not therefore surprising that even amongst the long-settled immigrant communities, there are those whom the intellectual mastery of the national language and culture has prevented from gaining access to education and hence from becoming socially mobile. Nor is it surprising that in such cases, issues of educational disadvantage and limited access to social mobility have become deeply entrenched in social class terms and reinforced educational and socioeconomic exclusion.

It is possible that the national political elites and the leaders at the European Union level may consider the languages and the cultures of the non-European immigrants as a minor issue as these groups comprise "the other". This type of Eurocentrism, however, may also have implications for some of the smaller linguistic communities which are considered as "nationals". The languages and traditions of the Basque, the Catalan, the Gaels, the Samish and the Romany peoples also remain excluded to a substantial degree (Bochaca 2006). Hence, issues of limited access to a more inclusive curriculum are of much broader significance for national and European Union decision makers. At the European level, unilateral linguistic policies not only reinforce a "Fortress Europe" but also contribute to the development of a "linguistic fortress", with a greater importance being attached to major European languages. This is particularly obvious in the case of the European Union elite personnel and of the executive personnel of both the private and the public sectors, who are all trained in the use of the major European languages to the detriment of the less powerful European languages and certainly of the non-European languages (Bourdieu 1991). Conversely, the member states of the Council of Europe adopted in 1992 the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages. Since the loss of any language, however small, was considered to constitute a diminution of "our" common humanity, the subsequent question ought to have been, how the diaspora languages could receive similar protection in Europe? However, most of the "allochthonous" languages that are spoken by the minority immigrant communities still continue to have a lower status in the national hierarchy of languages than those which are perceived to be "native" European languages (Sjögren 1997).

Governments which favour integration, like the United States or France, do not accord full recognition to languages other than that of the major community, while others like China and India recognise a number of languages. Countries like Kenya or Uganda involved in nation-building may use only one national language to minimise the risks of disintegration. On the other hand, in terms of official educational policy, some governments (like Canada) favour bilingual education as a reflection of their acceptance of a pluralist society; others offer bilingual education in order to facilitate sending migrant workers back to their countries of origin (UNESCO 2003).

In addition, the loss of languages is also a widespread problem across the world. Referring to Michael Krauss' prediction, Sheldon Schaeffer (2003) mentions the possibility that 90% of the world's languages will disappear. With the disappearance of these languages, their lexical rainbow, registral styles, textual ranges, knowledge bases and traditions will also disappear. Parenthetically, David Bradley (2003) has shown that contrary to the trend in the context of Yi and Lisu, there are ethno-linguistic minorities who have successfully braved the great challenges to maintain and promote their languages by linking the languages with education.

This kind of language loss is a major concern in the developed world, as there has already been erosion of the multilingual base in many countries. Theodore Wright (2002) compares a number of cases across the globe and shows that contradictory forces are at work. In some States, former languages of power have lost to others and hence are facing further dangers of extinction: Manchu in China, Coptic in Egypt, Gaelic and Latin in the British Isles, Quechua in Peru, Arabic in Spain, German in Eastern Europe, and Urdu in India. In some cases, the colonial languages won over, although these colonial languages lost their link with power as dynastic states or colonial powers were overthrown (Wright 2002). On the other hand, there are other cases where, even after political changes, former languages of power became even more successful. This is the case of Spanish and Portuguese in Latin America.

## Knowledge Representation in the Curriculum

In multilingual contexts, the curriculum content should take into account the learners' subjective knowledge which they bring to the school. For instance, in India the Yash Pal Committee (1993) found that "a lot is taught but a little is learnt", as the learners' understandings are not being taken into consideration. This concern has been echoed within the debates by the National Council for Education Research and Training (NCERT) (Pal 2005).

Yet, despite these concerns, subjects such as history and social sciences have continued to be contentious. For instance, in 2001 the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as part of the government cleverly sought to introduce Hinduism in the schools that follow the State curriculum and was in direct violation of the constitutional provisions. To this end, it mobilised its allies in the NCERT and CABE (Central

Board of Education), the main governmental bodies that undertake the publication of model textbooks. In the textbooks, Muslims were shown as invaders and Hindu "macho-ism" was highlighted.

History teaching in British schools is also largely Anglocentric. Visram (2002) has written about the 400 years of history of Asians in Britain, which has largely been ignored in the mainstream history curriculum. The curriculum only acknowledges tokenistic aspects of Black and Mughal history. The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority decision to teach this type of superficial "multicultural" history at the secondary school level is not a sufficient basis for making knowledge of all groups relevant to all the students (Garner 2008).

Similar issues are relevant within the broader European context. The new Estonian curriculum, for example, prepared in 2001 articulates the need for a multicultural approach. Yet much work remains to be done in recognising in the Estonian curriculum minority groups, the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Jews and the Germans. The same is true for the Latvian curriculum. As argued in a recent study:

> When approximately one-third of the student population in both countries is Russian-speaking, it is odd that the formulation of the inevitable educational special needs of minority with a rich cultural heritage has been ignored. The issue has another facet: to achieve successful internal integration, the Estonian/Latvian students should not be alienated from Russian culture and give up learning the language (Asser et al. 2004: 40).

On the other hand, the Nordic countries have moved towards a more non-centric curriculum. The Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian curricula emphasise a more "intercultural, multicultural and international education", which, as the above authors suggest, could be used as a model for the Baltic countries. For instance, the "specificity of teaching Roma individuals and the role of Swedish as a first language in the educational process" have been added to the chapter on "Assessment on immigrants" in the Finnish curriculum revised in 1997 (Asser et al. 2004: 40). However, the specificity of teaching the Roma is delimited to the Roma children and not to the general school population and hence it leads to little intercultural understanding or appreciation of the value of the culture of the Roma peoples on the part of the Swedish society as a whole.

Other studies also show that there are different educational approaches concerning the schooling of "ethnic minorities" in the European Union member states, as well as differences in the handling of issues of cultural diversity (Luciak 2006). For example, while Roma, whose status as a minority group is recognised in several old and new member states, have attained the right to minority education, this right has not frequently been exercised in practice. In contrast, minority groups such as the Hungarians benefit from minority schooling in Slovakia or Romania, both European Union member states. Further, indigenous groups in the old member states also encounter different educational opportunities. While the Sami in Finland and Sweden or the Muslim minority in Greece have access to minority education programmes in designated regions, the Travellers in Ireland are offered far fewer opportunities. Furthermore, the wide spectrum of minority education also includes

the schooling of territorial language minorities such as the Italian and Hungarian minorities in Slovenia, the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland or the Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden. The maintenance or language immersion programmes in parts of Canada, Finland and Sweden are important models for English-speaking countries like the United States and Britain (Swain 1996). These programmes were originally designed to educate minority groups in majority languages in the multi-cultural states in Europe and North America. This type of education is very popular in Canada because the nation has two official languages, English and French. Language immersion programmes use second-language (L2) methodologies which do not focus on the teaching of the L2 but focus instead on teaching regular school subject matter in the L2. In language immersion programmes, students learn all of the subject matter in the L2. These programmes offer students the greatest opportunity of having as much time as possible to use and perfect their L2 skills (Swain 1996).

It must be acknowledged, on the other hand, that the issue of designing an intercultural curriculum is complex. In the case of Bosnia, attempts to develop inter-cultural understanding and common citizenship entail bringing Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian children into the same school and sharing the same textbooks. There is, however, no agreement on a locally developed curriculum or common set of text-books because of the bitter memories of the three groups. Hence, they use curricula and textbooks developed by an external agency called the Atlantic College. Work undertaken in Kosovo by Jack Peffers and Jagdish Gundara from the University of London (for UNICEF) was faced with similar problems, when it came to agreeing on a common curriculum between all the groups in Kosovo, mainly the Albanian and the Serb communities (Gundara and Peffers 2005). A key issue here was that biologically derived notions of the nation's "blood and soil" only tell a narrow and singular version of the story of nation states. The substantive historical and contem-porary realities necessitate in the telling of much broader stories which would be inclusive of good citizenship values, derived from diverse sources in complex mul-ticultural societies. Such initiatives can strengthen access of all students to the good values and to the best knowledge from all communities and strengthen the social affinities between different groups.

In situations where violence, conflict and wars have separated communities on an "ethnic" basis, the issue of developing a common and shared curricu-lum in common and shared schools remains an extremely serious issue. Failure to do this can lead to reinforcing the myths of singular and triumphalist pasts, which can in turn lead to further political de-stabilisation and to the denial of access to good inclusive educational goods and to the deepening of intercul-tural conflicts. In such cases, the formal educational systems may be playing a role in "miseducating" whole societies. Societies in southeast Europe do not seem to have learnt the negative lessons of "ethnic cleansing" and countries like Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sri Lanka provide ample evidence of political systems which perpetuate unequal access and exclusive educational provision.

## Conclusion

There are also some positive examples of intercultural dialogue in human history. One example can be found within the Ummayyad Caliphate which functioned in eleventh-century Andalusia. In this Caliphate intercultural dialogue and cooperation took place between the peoples living in the North African region and the northern, European part of the Mediterranean Sea; between Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Scholars like Al Kundi, Averroes and Avicenna represent those who translated Aristotelian philosophy into Arabic, those translations having been subsequently used as a basis for translations into Latin. The commonsense understanding is that the intellectual regeneration during the Renaissance was based on ancient Greek texts directly translated into Latin. The fact is, however, that many of the translations from Greek were made into the Arabic language and then into Latin. This intercultural transmission of knowledge through the twelfth-century Andalucía and other parts of southern Europe could be used as precedence for an inclusive and universal curricular renaissance in the new millennium.

Another more recent and hence more relevant example is the Tbilisi Initiative of the Council of Europe which deserves a special mention here because it tried to develop a non-triumphalist and non-militaristic history curriculum in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and the Russian Federation (Tibilisi 1997). Yet, this academic and educational initiative was undermined within the Council of Europe by the politicians of the nation-states in this region and has exacerbated political problems at the regional level.

It is certainly expected that the development of an intercultural curriculum would entail major intellectual challenges for policy makers and curriculum developers. The UNESCO commissioned eight-volume series on the History of Africa gives witness to the fact. For the most part, Africa's contribution to universal knowledge presented in this series has not been integrated within the main body of universal historical knowledge in any educational system. There are a number of other important UNESCO projects too, like those on slave trade, the silk route, the culture of peace and education for international understanding that have not also been successful. As there are very few monocultural societal systems at the present time and as most of these systems are based on layers of inclusions and exclusions throughout their history, educators should carefully examine the reasons behind the misgivings about implementing such intercultural projects. In a multicultural society, constituent cultures cannot be ignored in developing inclusive and non-centric curriculum. Failure to appreciate it could have far-reaching implications for social cohesion and intercultural understanding (Gundara 2003: 10).

This chapter has raised questions in relation to linguistic and curricular issues in complex communities and has provided examples of exclusions of minority groups whose languages, history, literature and knowledge are not adequately represented in the national curriculum. The exclusion of knowledge and languages of large numbers of peoples leads to a diminished access to relevant and broader basis of knowledge and reinforces educational disadvantage and exclusion at a systemic

level. The aim of education and school systems should be to include the knowledge of all groups in a society. This issue represents an important challenge in providing equity and equality in educational terms. However, the important unresolved issue remains: How can education systems rationally select from the vast pool of local and universal knowledge to ensure that the mainstream curriculum is inclusive of the best knowledge of all groups?

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# Chapter 6
# Access and Transitions in Education

**Ana Bravo-Moreno**

## Introduction

According to an OECD report (OECD 2008), immigrants and minority groups are, in many cases, less likely than others to participate in early childhood education and care, more likely to be in special education and more likely to drop out or end up in low-status educational tracks and streams. For some "visible" minority groups, labour market discrimination is sometimes extensive (Wolfe 2001). This may limit employment prospects and may reduce the incentives to obtain qualifications (Conchas 2001). In most countries, immigrant students of first and second generation tend to perform less well than their native counterparts in the PISA assessments of mathematical literacy and problem solving, scientific literacy and reading literacy, while second-generation students tend to outperform first-generation students (PISA 2005). How do we explain these results? Analysis suggests that much but not all of this is explained by social background factors (Conchas 2006). However, this article argues that migration policies too, economic inequity and sociocultural exclusion, all have an impact on the unequal access to education for immigrants' children. This article is divided into three parts: The first one attempts to contextualise the phenomenon of immigration, touching briefly on Europe and analysing the case of Spain; the second part examines education and racism in Spain; and the final part reflects on Eurocentric values, multicultural education and migration.

## *Immigration in Europe: Political Context*

In 2006, following an initiative of Mr. Sarkozy, the interior ministers of France, Spain, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Poland (the so-called G6) agreed to examine the possibility of asking potential EU immigrants to sign an "integration

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A. Bravo-Moreno (✉)
University of Granada, Granada, Spain
e-mail: bravo_ana@yahoo.co.uk

contract". The *Financial Times* quoted the UK Home secretary Mr. Clarke as saying that he supported the move towards an integration contract, which could be used as a check that "new immigrants live up to the values of our society" – with expulsion being a possible consequence if they did not. Spain convinced other members to abandon plans for a compulsory "integration contract" for immigrants, which, if adopted, would require third-country nationals (TCN) to conform with the local "national identity" in order to settle in the EU. The paragraph on the "integration contract" in the document initially presented to EU capitals by French Immigration Minister reads as follows:

> The European Council recognises the interest of the integration contract for third-country nationals admitted for long-term stays and encourages the member states to propose such plans in a national context. This integration contract should be obligatory. It will include the obligation to learn the national language, national identities and European values (Hortefeux 2006).

Two years later, in October 2008, the foundations of a European immigration pact were already starting to see the light of day, with the recent adoption of a European "Returns Directive" (European Parliament 2008) setting EU-wide standards for deporting irregular immigrants to their countries of origin, a move which has angered human rights groups and countries in Latin America. In the meantime in Buenos Aires, Latin American leaders voiced their strong opposition to the recently adopted EU Returns Directive. "Presidents of the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) member states and associate states reject any attempt to criminalise irregular migration and the adoption of restrictive immigration policies, in particular, against the most vulnerable sectors of society, namely, women and children" (Mercosur 2008) read the summit conclusions. "South America welcomed with generosity and solidarity millions of European migrants in previous centuries" (Mercosur 2008), so the EU decision appears even more unfair, the statement said. The main criticism concerns the 18-month-long possibility for retention, the removing of children from EU territory and the repatriation to the transit country. Amnesty International argues that the added value of this EU directive is hard to see (Amnesty International 2008). At the same time, it risks promoting prolonged detention practices in EU Member States and impacting negatively on access to the territory. Taking into account the present political context that immigrants have to confront when they arrive in the EU, aspiring to "a better future" for their families, what form do these challenges take more specifically in the case of their children in the Spanish educational system? The next two sections give a picture of the situation of immigration in Spain and analyse how the Spanish educational system has dealt with this new population.

## Spain's Growing Immigrant Population

Spain was traditionally a country of emigrants before and during Franco's dictatorship who left in their millions to find work in Europe and South America

(Bravo-Moreno 2006). It was not until the late 1990s that large-scale immigration began. During the past 10 years, the number of immigrants has increased ninefold. According to data published by the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE 2008), of Spain's 46 million inhabitants, nearly 11% are now foreign-born. Their nations of origin are mainly Morocco, Romania, Ecuador and Colombia. All in all, Spain now has a total of 5.2 million immigrants. Few countries have seen such a dramatic change in their population in such a short period of time. Up until early 2005, when a regularisation programme took place, half of all immigrants were irregular immigrants. Today irregular migration to Spain continues, mostly through visa overstaying; the smaller but most visible flow is across the dangerous maritime passage from North Africa. Recent statistics also show that there is an estimate of over one million irregular immigrants.

During his last visit to Mexico, the Spanish Prime Minister, Mr Rodríguez-Zapatero, stated (cited in Kern 2007) that there was no wall that could obstruct the dream of a better life. However, the "wall" that the Prime Minister was certainly not referring to was the wall that runs along parts of the 3200 km border between Mexico and the United States or the twin razor wire-topped fences that separate the Spanish North African colonies of Ceuta and Melilla from Morocco and the rest of Africa and that dissipates the dream of those seeking a better life in the European Union.

The Spanish economic boom of the last decade was partly built on the cheap labour from South America, north and sub-Saharan Africa, and Eastern Europe (Oliver 2006). In fact, hundreds of thousands of low-paid immigrants fueled three of Spain's most important industries: agriculture, construction and services. The latter is populated by an army of immigrant women working as cleaners, nannies and elderly people caregivers, a state of affairs that feeds the underground economy. On the other hand, with a birth rate of 0.7 children per woman, Spain has one of the lowest birthrates in the world, and studies show that to keep the Spanish pension system from bankrupting, immigrants will have to make up 20% of its population by 2030 (Sebastián 2006). Thus, the country's constantly changing demands for different kinds of labour can only be met through immigration. Yet, the Spanish government is proposing that the European Union dedicates a substantial part of its 2007–2013 frontier control budget to the southern border, following the steps of the three common migration policy responses implemented by the European Union: prevention, detention and deportation. In the mean time, the increase in immigrant population notwithstanding these proposals over the past 10 years begs the question of how the Spanish educational system has accommodated these new students.

## Immigration and Education in Spain

Despite the inflow of immigrants, Spanish governments have not produced any specific legislation to deal with immigrant students. Immigrant pupils now account for 10% of the students in primary and secondary schools in Spain and many of them come from countries with languages other than Spanish and with education

levels that are generally lower than those of Spaniards (PISA 2005). The dropout rate is higher among these immigrants, and only a minority of them moves on to high school, or sign up for vocational training. According to the PISA study (PISA 2005), their grades are lower than those of Spanish children. In primary education and compulsory secondary education (up to the age of 16), the percentage of immigrant students has increased from 1 to 10% of the pupil population during the last 10 years (PISA 2005). However, this average increase does not reflect the situation at present. In the 1997–1998 and 2000–2001 school years, the largest annual increase was 40,000 students; in the first three years of the twenty-first century, the increase was some 100,000 students per school year. In the last few years, since 2003–2004, the increase has been around 70,000 students per year (PISA 2005). Only 33% of immigrant youth aged between 16 and 18 years old is enrolled in school compared to 83.6% of Spaniards. Only 1 in 50 continues into post-compulsory secondary education (2 years) or into intermediate vocational training. Thirty percent of immigrant students fail and do not finish compulsory school. These students are also marked by a high level of absenteeism (PISA 2005). They may experience family circumstances and economic inequality that hinder their education. Consequently, both the education and the labour market situation of these young people remain a concern. One-fifth of the population aged 15–19 is not in education, the eighth highest percentage among OECD and partner countries (Ombudsman's Report 2003).

Nevertheless, the problem of immigrant education was not specifically addressed in the most recent education reform in Spain, the controversial Constitutional Law of Quality of Education (LOCE 2002). The aim of this law was to reduce dropout rates and improve the quality of education. Yet this reform only vaguely touched upon the issue of immigrant education, simply stressing that the law would also benefit immigrant students (BOE 2002). Scant attention was paid to their special needs and to the special training teachers of immigrant students should undergo. More importantly, the law presented itself as being based "on the humanistic values of our European cultural tradition", a phrase which gives an indication of its ideological orientation. None of the "values" on the basis of which the new law was formulated makes any reference to multiculturalism or diversity as a crucial component of education. Instead, individual effort, quality of education, rigorous methods of assessment, social consideration for teachers and autonomy of the institutions are the main points addressed.

The law simply offers vague guidelines as to how the regional administrations should deal with immigrant education, but provides no specific indication of any financial support from the central administration or, for example, of significant changes in the curriculum. This means that autonomous communities have been left to their own devices to resolve the issue of immigrant education. Taking into account that the Ministry of Education still regulates 55–65% of the curriculum and monitors assessment methods throughout the country, more specific guidelines should have been forthcoming in the new reform. This is particularly self-evident given the obvious failure of both the Spanish authorities and the education system to adapt thus far to the new realities of immigration. The result of this lack of guidelines on the part of the central government is that the Spanish education system

is reacting in a number of ways, which differ from one region to another (Cachón Rodríguez 2003). However, it would appear that the lack of a common strategy for their integration in the Spanish society is making immigrants' lives more difficult, since there is no proper funding and teachers have not received proper training or obtained relevant specific national qualifications (Cros et al. 2004).

Second, variations in education spending within Spain cause disparities in the level of provision. Indeed, public expenditure on education (other than universities) in the two autonomous regions, with the highest and the lowest spending on education per student, is as follows: Annual expenditure per student in euros in the Basque Country is 4800 (expenditure as a percentage of GDP: 3.6) and in Andalucía 2400 (expenditure as a percentage of GDP: 3.2), while the average annual expenditure per student in euros in Spain is 3100 (average expenditure as a percentage of GDP: 3.3). Therefore, Spain needs adequate mechanisms to redistribute resources so as to minimise regional inequalities of provision and to make sure that minimum standards are met everywhere.

Third, the most complete and reliable survey on the situation of immigrant students in Spain was released in April 2005 by the Spanish Ombudsman in cooperation with UNICEF. The main concern expressed in this report refers to the high level of concentration of immigrant students in state schools, like those which are located in disadvantaged environments, which create spaces of exclusion. In fact there is a high concentration of immigrant children in state schools in Madrid and Barcelona. It is very significant that 82% of immigrant students from Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia attend state schools. Since private Catholic schools are fully subsidised by the state and/or autonomous regions, it would be expected that they would share the responsibility of educating immigrant students.

However, this is not being the case due to the admission procedures which filter Spanish from foreign students. Although the Spanish Constitution (Article 27) states that everyone has the right to education and that compulsory education is free, this becomes confusing in the case of the fully subsidised private Catholic schools, *Centros Concertados*, since these impose fees concerning, for example, school uniform, school material, travel, sports and miscellaneous activities that are not supposed to be compulsory. Nevertheless, parents must meet these payments if they want their children to attend those schools. In fact, the attendance to "private" but fully subsidised Catholic schools is perceived by many low- and middle-class families as a symbol of social status (Jacott and Maldonado 2004). The "imposition" of extra fees for those services deters the access of immigrant families to that type of school as they are usually low-income earners. In addition, these schools may refuse entry of immigrant children due to their qualifications in their country of origin.

Indeed, this is a way to guarantee Spanish parents that their children will not mix with immigrant students. This controversial situation is in opposition with some of the basic principles for schools in Spanish legislation. The LODE Act of 1985 (the Organic Act on the Right to Education) established that both state education and private education financed by the State were to be free of cost and that both types of schools would have the same criteria regarding the admission of pupils.

   In recent years, there has been an increase in the demand for fully subsidised Catholic private schools. On the one hand, some regional governments with neo-liberal policies like Madrid have preferred to increase public funds to subsidise private Catholic schools. And on the other hand, the state schools are decreasing in demand due to the presence of immigrant children. In fact, only one in five immigrant students is registered in fully subsidised private Catholic schools (Ombudsman 2005). Thus this unequal access to state-funded schools needs to be audited and revised to assure that equal opportunity is respected and immigrant students are equally treated. The problem of concentration of immigrants in state schools in deprived areas means that these children are excluded socioeconomically and educationally. Standards and density of housing, poverty rate and family employment all may affect the well-being of children. Moreover, very high concentration of immigrant students in certain schools, which are often in underprivileged neighbourhoods and have bad reputations, may result in having higher dropout and expulsion rates (Collicelli 2001).

   According to the figures provided, in state schools where immigrant students represent more than 30% of the total number of students the opinion of teachers and Spanish students on the quality of education is negative, whereas in institutions where this figure drops to below 30% the opinions are more positive. Teachers are generally unhappy with the resources provided by the authorities to deal with immigration, especially in institutions with more than 30% immigrant students (Ombudsman's Report 2003). According to the Ombudsman's Report, the existing imbalance in the admission of immigrant students in state schools and in fully subsidised private Catholic schools and therefore the high concentration indices of immigrant students in state schools are having a negative effect on the right of students to an education (Ombudsman's Report 2003).

## Immigration, Equality and Higher Education in Spain

According to an OECD report (OECD 2008), access to higher education in Spain is among the most equitable in OECD countries. Spain provides highly equitable access to higher education compared to other OECD countries and has one of the most equal between-school differences in PISA 2000. Forty percent of students in higher education in Spain come from families where the father has a blue-collar occupation. This is an indication that with regard to higher education there is considerable socioeconomic mobility. In other countries such as Austria, France, the United Kingdom, Germany and Portugal, the proportion is much lower, an indication of the considerable extent to which family socioeconomic characteristics' impact upon students' education is found to be of considerable importance. Differences in student performance in primary and secondary education are less explained by which school a student attends than is the case across OECD countries. However, there are no studies with respect to immigrant students in tertiary education. On the other hand, irregular immigrants have no access to higher education due to their irregular status, and until recently children whose parents were irregular

immigrants did not receive a certificate upon the completion of their compulsory education.

According to an OECD (2008)report on Spain and international migration, productivity suffers from mismatches between training levels and skills requirements, a problem which can be partly attributed to the slow or total absence of recognition procedures of foreign-obtained credentials, an issue which has not been addressed as yet. For example, 40% of immigrants have a higher educational attainment than the average Spaniard, but although they have relatively high levels of training, they hold only 1% of the jobs that require a high level of qualification (Ombudsman 2005). On the other hand, as concerns university degrees, the transferability of foreign university degrees in order to obtain corresponding Spanish degrees continues to be a central topic of the Ombudsman's annual report (2005) as it has been for more than 10 years. The Ombudsman continues to report delays that have been taking place for a very long time in the acknowledgement and issuance of certain Health Science specialist degrees as is the case, for example, with biologists, biochemical specialists and clinical psychologists.

In addition, another element that may hinder the education of immigrant children as well as minorities in the Spanish educational system is racism, the focus of the next section.

## *Immigration, Racism and Education*

In the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights Report (FRA 2008) that provides information related to racism and xenophobia in the EU for the year 2007, no application of sanctions regarding ethnic or racial discrimination was identified during 2006–2007 in Spain as was also the case for other countries like Denmark, Greece or Portugal. The data from the Report suggest that civil or penal sanctions are absent or rare in countries in which the "equal rights" bodies do not have the power to support victims of discrimination in proceedings which lead to sanctions. This may be due to the fact that the equal rights bodies have no power to issue sanctions themselves, or if they have these powers, they do not use them (FRA 2008). By the end of 2007, there was a complete absence of equality bodies in Spain, Luxemburg and the Czech Republic. On the other hand, in Germany, for example, an equality body started to work only during 2007. The employment, housing and health sections of 2008 FRA's Annual Report as well as similar evidence from previous years all show clearly the existence of the problem of ethnic discrimination in its various manifestations. One reason for the scarcity of juridical action against discriminations is the lack of immigrants' awareness about the possibilities of legal resolutions that are open to the victims of discrimination. For some member states, there has been little public debate on these issues and no evidence of any public campaigns to raise everybody's awareness of the national measures that were instituted following the incorporation of the EU Racial Equality Directive (Directive 2000/43/EC). Spain prides itself on its welcoming a broadly liberal approach to immigration, and education authorities have tried to steer a middle course policy

between the multicultural approach adopted in the United Kingdom and the assimilation model in France (Bonal and Rambla 2003). Nonetheless, recent figures show that rising unemployment climbed more than four million, that is, 28.39% from 13.9% in the first quarter of 2008, according to the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE 2009). The increase in the ranks of the jobless was the largest quarterly increase in more than 30 years. This rising unemployment hit the immigrant population hardest. There are now more than 1.057 million unemployed foreigners more than double since last year, mainly from Latin America, Morocco and Eastern Europe (INE 2009), a cause of concern to those who fear exclusion. "We have as many racists in Spain as anywhere else in Europe," says Mr. Ibarra, spokesman for the Movement Against Intolerance. "But my concern is that the authorities seek to minimise the problem. We believe that there are 4,000 hate crimes each year in Spain" (Ibarra 2008: 33). This contrasts with the official line, which does not deny the problem, but says it is very small. The government established an observatory to examine racism, but the observatory has no powers; there is no prosecutor responsible for racism and xenophobia.

   In regards to racism in education, research conducted in Spain (CIS 2002, 2003, Calvo Buezas 2003, Ombudsman 2005) shows that the most negative public attitudes are associated with the North African immigrant group. Other studies on stereotypes show that the most rejected groups are the gypsies followed by North Africans and then the sub-Saharan immigrants (Díez Nicolás and Ramírez 2001). Finally, these studies confirm that, in general, those who avoid being in contact with immigrants and who have a negative perception of their character hold negative opinions about the presence of immigrants in the classroom and consider that multiculturalism at school brings negative consequences. This fact is of utmost importance in the educational setting, since personal beliefs held by the teacher regarding immigration will affect how immigrant children are treated and therefore their school performance (Schneider et al. 2006). Classroom behaviour as well as the quality and the frequency of teacher–pupil interaction will be determined by expectations, stereotypes, attitudes and motivations that the teacher holds with respect to his or her students (Rumbaut 2005). These issues that fall under the theory of self-fulfilling prophecy are manifest above all in school problems related to the integration of certain school groups: ethnic and racial minorities and immigrants. The current multicultural situation in Spanish society requires that teachers be prepared to act suitably in multicultural contexts in their professional practice. As in other educational settings involving values, the teacher is a key figure to an education process pertaining to cultural diversity without failing to recognise the role of other school functions as well. For Cros et al. (2004), public authorities and, in particular, the University should train education professionals in "intercultural pedagogy", incorporating this course in the study programmes for initial teacher training. Currently, there are few courses on "intercultural education" or "sociocultural diversity" included in these programmes. Thus, it is necessary to sensitise the teacher as to the importance of his or her beliefs towards immigration and as to how these may influence student performance and behaviour. This approach may enable teachers to identify more clearly racist discourses as forms of symbolic violence inherent in

educational systems to which students may react. To the extent that racist discourses deny rights that victims consider fundamental, for example, the right to share the same space, to relate with classmates in a positive way and to live in the country in which they have been born or are residing, these discourses may be experienced as forms of violence.

Therefore, by leaving the cause of violence intact, teachers' responses may not have an impact on the broader student body or eliminate the hegemony of racist discourses and the rejection and isolation of immigrant students. Intervention strategies ought to be devised in order to help all students and teachers to interrogate racist attitudes and discourses; this could enable them to transform these discourses and the violence they perpetuate. Such strategies transcend the discussion of cultural diversity to address the political dimensions of racism and racist violence as a means of understanding and improving intercultural relations.

## *Eurocentric Values, Multiculturalism and Immigration*

Under Spanish rule, the Law of the Indies and the Black Codes of Spanish America (Salmoral-Lucena 1996) determined the manner in which Indian and black population assimilation would aid colonisation. Likewise, the US federal and state laws were used to manipulate racial hierarchy so that Anglo-Americans achieved the greatest benefits in the state. Both Spanish colonisers and Anglo-American settlers used a racial caste system to their advantage; both saw colonised peoples as a means of exploitable labour or as scapegoats (Wolfe 2001, Salmoral-Lucena 1996).

Nowadays, the exploitation of immigrant labour continues helping the economy and the social welfare of the host countries. Racial discourses continue to matter as "Eurocentrism" (Walsh 2006, Mignolo 2003), understood as that complex of ideas, values, languages and institutions that has been developing in Western Europe from the Reformation to the Enlightenment and onwards, still maintains its cultural and institutional control in the Western world. Racial discourses and legal status (i.e., irregular immigrant, resident and citizen) involve the allocation of hierarchies of rights, as well as access to economic and education resources. This cosmology asserts the values of individual merit, autonomy and dignity; at the same time that it has treated those considered non-whites not as individuals but in terms of a racially defined people (Rattansi and Westwood 1994, Said 1994, Said 1978). This contradiction has contributed to the failure of "colour blind" integration and the continuing discriminatory significance of race and ethnicity, which is sustained by pervasive racial and ethnic inequalities in the educational, economic and social spheres (Conchas 2006).

Pressures on non-European immigrants to assimilate to the Eurocentric world remain powerful today in the twenty-first century, as manifested in the attempt to create the aforementioned compulsory "integration contract" for Third-Country National immigrants in the EU. Cultural homogenisation and not greater cultural diversity is the essence of hegemony, and it is the long-term result that is likely to last unless Eurocentrism itself undergoes a dramatic transformation. The intention

underlying Eurocentrism is assimilation (Walsh 2006, Mignolo 2003). This intention is rooted in the Enlightenment values of rationality and science as the keys to progress (Foucault 1984) and as a discursive rationale for colonialism that justified European conquest and imperialism in America, Africa and Asia (Darder et al. 2002). Assimilation to the Eurocentric ideal means the transcendence of cultural, racial and gender differences and a commitment to individualism based on equal opportunity and merit (Comte 1971). This means that merit, success and achievement would depend on the individual student, her dedication, intelligence and ability regardless of her family background, social class or economic capital. Yet Eurocentric individualist ideals have always been refracted through the lens of racial and ethnical differences in a way that has legitimised slavery and conquest all the while supported by its rationality and science (Grinberg 2009, Smith 1998).

According to Gollnick and Chinn, multicultural education focuses on "the different micro-cultures to which individuals belong with an emphasis on the interaction of membership in the microcultures, especially race, ethnicity, class and gender. It also calls for the elimination of discrimination against individuals because of their group membership" (Gollnick and Chinn 1998: 27). Consequently, multicultural education is based on the inclusion of the interests of all groups that have faced and are facing discrimination.

Nevertheless, multicultural programmes have not yet been designed to alter substantially educational, economic, social and legal status inequalities, although critical models of multicultural education have emphasised the critique of economic inequalities resulting from capitalist production relations (McLaren and Muñoz 2000: 43–46). Multiculturalism may be capable of exposing the extent to which Eurocentric thought has always been linked to "whiteness". Eurocentric thought can be defined in relation to migration policies and practices of racism and nationalism. Whiteness turns blackness and brownness into signifiers of deviance and criminality within social, cultural, cognitive and political contexts (Chávez 2008; Calavita 2005). This can be seen in schools, in migration policies, in the health and the criminal justice systems, and in the so-called G6, IMF, the World Bank and other structures of power. It is the case of migration policies that focus on prevention, detention, and deportation and undermine the dignity of migrants in the receiving countries by penalising irregular migrants on entry. Punishing irregular migrants who cannot be equated to criminals, particularly if their only "offence" is that they seek a better life for themselves and their families, is problematic from a human rights perspective. Furthermore, the term "illegal migration" refers also to connotations relating migrants with criminality, unemployment and social pathology. To what extent can we seriously talk about multiculturalism in schools when political, economic and social realities speak for themselves?

Multicultural education requires more than noble aims to accomplish its purpose. It needs revolutionary practices and guidelines from policy makers, educators and educational communities informed by an ethics of social justice, an ethos based on social cohesion and a language of critique against exploitation on all fronts. Thus education needs to be treated within a broader ideological and political framework and as a catalyst for thinking about social democratisation, equality and citizenship.

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# Chapter 7
# Educational Inequalities in Greece, Sweden and the United Kingdom: A Comparative Analysis of the Origins

**Maria Papapolydorou**

## Introduction

The analysis of the PISA results indicates that both Greece and the United Kingdom show a degree of inequality in students' achievement, whereas Sweden demonstrates comparatively high levels of educational equality. Educational inequality can be measured in two ways: standard deviations which give the spread of scores in a given country and the socioeconomic gradient which measures how far social origin effects influence individual achievement. According to results from PISA, the overall variation in student performance is much higher in the United Kingdom and Greece than in Sweden (OECD 2001:253, Table 2.3a) and the relationship between student performance and socioeconomic background is again considerably stronger in the first two countries (OECD 2001:308, Table 8.1).

Moreover, variation in performance can be broken down into within-school variance and between-school variance. The sum of the two determines overall variance. Results from PISA show that between-school variance in Greece and the United Kingdom is 50% and 29%, respectively, of the total variation in student performance in reading literacy, while in Sweden the proportion of between-school variance is just 9% (OECD 2005b:27–28, Figs. 2.2 and 2.3). Between-school variance – when controlled for school intakes – gives evidence regarding the extent of the variance that can be attributed to schools. Therefore, it can be used as an indicator of the effect that schools have on educational attainment in each country.

In order to understand the variation of educational equality levels in the three countries, this chapter engages in a discussion of factors related to education in both an overt and an implicit way. Particular attention is drawn on the politico-historical framework of the countries, especially after the Second World War. In the first section, it is argued that several political-historical incidents have been considerably influential as to the form that both the educational systems and the Welfare State

M. Papapolydorou (✉)
Institute of Education, University of London, London, UK
e-mail: mpapapolydorou@ioe.ac.uk

have today. In turn, the current state of the educational systems and the role of the welfare state are examined in the second and third sections, respectively, to inform the discussion regarding educational inequality.

## Methodology

This chapter employs the Method of Logical Comparative Analysis and specifically the Indirect Method of Analysis. The Indirect Method of Analysis "compares two classes of instances agreeing in nothing but the presence of a condition on the one side and its absence on the other" (Mill 1888: 211). Both Greece and the United Kingdom, unlike Sweden, exhibit low levels of educational equality. Hence, Sweden is used as a negative case (*outcome: equality*), whilst Greece and the United Kingdom are considered the positive cases (*outcome: inequality*). Various aspects/conditions are examined in both the negative and the positive cases in an attempt to find similarities and differences which in turn highlight factors that are likely to have an impact on the levels of educational equality.

## Politico-Historical Framework

Issues related to education, such as inequalities of attainment, are never independent from the general societal context in which they exist; on the contrary, several researchers have seen education in the framework of politics, the economy and the welfare state (Tomlinson 2005, Whitty and Power 2000, Brown and Lauder 1996). Therefore, in order to explore the reasons behind the difference in the levels of educational equality in Greece, the United Kingdom and Sweden, it is essential to examine the formation of their educational systems in respect of their political context, both the present and the past one. The focus in this case lies on the years after the Second World War, not because it is perceived that the previous years have not been influential to the current state of education, but merely because the space restriction necessitates the drawing of a time line.

Looking retrospectively at the ways in which the three countries developed their educational systems, some striking similarities between the cases of Greece and the United Kingdom become evident. First, Greece and the United Kingdom, unlike Sweden, were actively involved in the Second World War, and by its end they were both in ruins. Moreover, Greece suffered a 3-year Civil War (1946–1949) and later a dictatorship which lasted 7 years (1967–1974). Problems of infrastructure combined, in the case of Greece, with the malfunction of the political system that was ruled by the emergency laws of the Civil War in the 1950s and the early 1960s detained both countries from democratising their institutions and educational systems.

Furthermore, the political parties that were in power after the Second World War have been very influential in the formation of the educational systems. In Sweden, the Social Democrats were in power for four consecutive decades and exercised

an important role in generating high levels of educational equality. Conversely, the political terrain in the United Kingdom and in Greece was characterised by a rotation of political parties in power between the Right Wing party and the Socialist/Centre Left parties. The Socialist/Centre Left parties in the United Kingdom and Greece have not been as decisive as the Social Democrats in Sweden on the issue of democratic educational reforms and recently made a shift to Third Way and neo-liberal practices (Georgiadis 2007, Grollios and Kaskaris 2003, Power and Whitty 1999) which rendered the target of educational equality more distant. The educational system during the 1940s[1] and 1950s was as discussed herein below, highly selective in Greece (Bouzakis 2005) whereas both selective and elitist in England (Morris 2004, Jones 2003).

In the United Kingdom, the IQ tests were broadly used for the distribution of students into different types of schools according to their "ability". Children were placed into different types of schools of allegedly equal status, according to their performance in IQ tests, reading literacy and mathematics. The 1944 Education Act, despite introducing some progressive measures, had many conservative features which encouraged educational inequalities. The establishment of a tripartite system of schooling which comprised of three different types of schools (the grammar, the modern and the technical school) and the introduction of the 11+ examination – upon which students were allocated to the appropriate school – solidified the selectivity of the system and made possible the existence not only of different schools but also of different streams within the same school (Angelis 2003, Hargreaves 1967, Lacey 1970). This new situation perpetuated social class inequalities (Halsey et al. 1980) and as Simon (1991) argued, safeguarded the social status quo.

Compulsory schooling in Greece was restricted to the education provided by the 6-year primary school (*dimotiko*). The 6-year *Gymnasio*, with its mainly humanistic orientation, was the only form of general secondary education. Not all primary school graduates were enrolled in the *Gymnasio*, just those who succeeded in the special examinations held among the graduates of primary school. This aspect of the Greek education resembles the selectivity of the English system, at that time, with the 11+ examinations. The difference is that whereas in the United Kingdom the 11+ worked as a mechanism for streaming all students into different types of schools, according to their "ability", in Greece the respective exams gave passport to a single form of secondary education to only a part of primary school graduates. In the 1950s, failure to perform well in the exams did not merely imply the allocation of a pupil to a type of secondary school with lower status and less academic character – as in the case of the United Kingdom. If students were not determined to reseat the examinations the following year, it meant the end of formal education.

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[1]It should be noted here that the educational system in Greece was interrupted for most of the 1940s as a result of the German/Italian occupation and the civil war. Bouzakis (2005) mentions indicatively that students attended school for just 3 months during the academic year 1940–1941 and just 30 days during 1941–1942.

    After the Second World War, the Swedish authorities were particularly focused
on the improvement of the societal conditions, in terms of equality and democ-
racy. The role of the Social Democrats has been central to implementations made
in this direction. Moreover, by the end of the Second World War, Swedish educa-
tion was already more equitable and accessible than the Greek or the UK education
during the same period. In Sweden, there was a single-linear educational system
since the beginning of the twentieth century – due to the legislation of 1905 and
1906 – "as opposed to the parallel education systems that persisted often until
the mid-twentieth century in other European states such as the UK, France and
Germany" (Green and Wiborg 2004: 229) but not in Greece. This linear educa-
tional ladder as well as the fact that the greatest majority of the schools were public
was, according to Wiborg (2004), determinative for the comprehensivisation of
the Swedish educational system. The implementation of comprehensive education
started as soon as 1950 and was fully introduced by 1962. The 1962 Education Act
introduced 9-year compulsory education which was provided by a single school,
the *Grundskolan*, of a totally comprehensive nature. In the early 1970s, the divided
post-compulsory education was unified with the establishment of a new school,
the *Gumnasieskola*. The *Gymnasieskola* integrated the old *Gymnasium*, *Fackskola*
and *Yrkesskola* and acted as a bridge between the general and vocational education
(OECD 1995).


## The Current Form of Educational Systems

### *Greece*

The 1997 Education Act introduced the Comprehensive Upper Secondary School
and the Technical and Vocational Education Schools – the so-called *TEE* (Ministry
of National Education and Religious Affairs 2007). Nevertheless, despite the name
of the school, – *Eniaio*, that is to say Comprehensive – upper secondary education in
Greece remained segregated as a result of the profound differences in terms of both
status and orientation of the two schools. On the one hand, the comprehensive upper
secondary school retained an academic orientation leading to universities while,
on the other hand, *TEE* graduates were not eligible for admission to universities,
but only to the vocational *Technological Education Institutions*. The latter, despite
being recently recognised as ISCED level 5A (Eurydice 2005), are still considered
as second-class institutions by the employers and the general public. Moreover,
working-class students, who usually achieve less than middle-class ones, were over-
represented in *TEE* and they either did not proceed to tertiary education or, if they
did, were likely to acquire a degree from Institutions which "possess a different
rank in the academic hierarchy and offer degrees with different value" (Sianou-
Kirgiou 2006: 3). The educational law of 2006 introduced some changes to upper
secondary education, establishing the *Geniko Lykeio* in the place of the old *Eniaio
Lykeio* and the *Epaggelmatiko Lykeio* (*EPAL*) in the place of *TEE*. According to the

Official Gazette of the Greek Government (2009), *EPAL* graduates are now eligible for admission not only to the vocational Technological Education Institutions but also to universities. Yet, whether this reform will promote equality of access to higher education is a matter for research, especially taken that students studying at *EPAL* and at *Eniaio Lykeio* are still taught on the grounds of different curricula whilst at the same time they are expected to sit the same exams and compete for the same university places.

Pre-school education seems to be rather insufficient in Greece as childcare coverage is well below the 2003 Barcelona targets at both age groups: namely Greece scores below 10% as opposed to 33%, set by the 2003 Barcelona targets for children under three, whilst childcare provision for children between 3 years old and the compulsory school age is approximately 60% as opposed to 90% indicated by Barcelona target (Plantenga and Siegel 2004). The results of the recently enacted Law 3475/2006 that made pre-school education for the 5-year-olds part of the compulsory education still remain to be seen.

Furthermore, the geographical placement of a school is also a significant factor for the students' educational attainment. OECD (2001) reveals that variation explained by geographical/systemic/institutional factors is astonishingly bigger in Greece than in other countries – 33.3 as opposed to 2.3 in Sweden and 7.3 in the United Kingdom (OECD 2001: 257, Table 2.4). In Greece, there are severe inequalities between urban and rural areas. Schools situated in rural areas are often "second-class" schools as they are disadvantaged in terms of resources. Greek rural areas are usually poorer compared to urban ones and their residents' main occupation is either agriculture or pastoralism. "Public schools in poorer areas are considerably less well equipped in terms of infrastructure than public schools located in more prosperous areas ... " (Katsikas and Kavadias 1994, cf. Tsakloglou and Cholezas 2005: 4).

Even though the number of private schools in Greece is considerably small, there exists a different form of private education which further increases educational inequalities. The so-called *phrontistireia* – private cramming courses – are particularly associated with upper secondary education as they assist students who wish to get admitted to universities. The majority of upper secondary students attends *phrontistireia* in the afternoon and therefore spends a large amount of money for this purpose. This kind of parallel education system enables social class inequalities to thrive in the framework of education, as students from higher socioeconomic strata are able to attend more expensive and thus better quality cramming courses, whereas students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are disadvantaged with unfavourable effects on their educational attainment and often on their admission to university.

Finally, Greece's expenditure on education is among the lowest in Europe, with just 3.9% of the GDP (Eurydice 2005: 161, Fig. D1). Overall, the Greek educational system despite being formally comprehensive is characterised by high levels of inequality. In fact, statistics show that Greece is the second most inequitable country after Germany in terms of the increase of inequality between primary and secondary education, as measured by the difference between standard deviations of

primary and secondary school tests (Hanushek and Wößmann 2006). In addition, the correlation between parents' occupational status and student performance in reading literacy is stronger in Greece (0.31) than in other "non-selective" countries, such as Sweden, Norway and Finland (0.28, 0.25 and 0.21, respectively) (OECD 2005b: 57, Fig. 4.5).

## United Kingdom

United Kingdom has one of the most segregated educational systems in Europe. Different types of schools run alongside the comprehensive and they all award the same diploma (GCSE). The existence of private independent and selective grammar schools never ceased to exist despite attempts for the implementation of a single-type comprehensive school. Segregation exists also within schools themselves. Same age students are often allocated in different classes – sets according to their achievement. This prevents students of different achievement from interacting with each other and creates different-speed classes within each year group (Hallam 2002).

Moreover, contemporary educational policies have further attacked the notion of comprehensive education (Hatcher 2006) through systematic attempts to promote parental choice, marketisation of education and between schools competition (Fitz, et al. 2006, Whitty and Power 2000). The role of LEAs (Local Education Authorities) has been significantly undermined whereas the interference of business in education has been greatly encouraged – at both the level of funding and management – through initiatives such as the Education Action Zones and the Academies programme, creating thus *quasi-markets* in education (Whitty and Power 2000). Ultimately, competition among schools has increased to such a degree that actually promotes selectivity. When parents are free to exercise choice and select their children's school, highly demanded schools are practically free to be selective, especially if they are not under the public sector control. Today, even state schools are allowed to select up to 10% of their intake based on students' aptitude (Coldron et al. 2009).

In terms of pre-primary education, even though it has been improved significantly, there is still, according to OECD (2005a), a long way to go. The cost of childcare is currently still very high and many parents cannot afford it. Free early education for 3–4-year-old children is rather insufficient as it is restricted to just 2.5 hours per day, unlike Sweden, where childcare is offered by municipalities for children from 0 to 5 years and on a full-day basis (from 7 am to 6 pm) (OECD 2005a, Table 4.1). It is worth mentioning that the overall spending of the UK government on all childcare services[2] is equal to 0.4% of the GDP, as opposed to Sweden where

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[2]Childcare services include childcare, pre-school education and out-of-school care.

the spending is 2%. In general, public childcare in the United Kingdom is not universal and sufficient. Consequently, a number of parents resort to the private sector which is very expensive.

The United Kingdom's total public expenditure on education is 4.7% of the GDP, a proportion noticeably bigger than that of Greece's (3.9%), but also considerably smaller than Sweden's (7.3%) (Eurydice 2005: 161). Public expenditure on education has been considerably reduced between the years 1995 and 2001 by 0.5% of the GDP (Eurydice 2005: 163). All things considered, the United Kingdom is a country with a very segregated educational system, a fact that encourages inequalities among students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Even though comprehensive schooling exists both as an idea and as an institution, its actual form is far from being the one dreamt by those who fought for it. Comprehensive education as such was never fully implemented, as the parallel existence of other types of schools has never ceased.

## Sweden

Despite some recent neo-liberal reforms, the educational system in Sweden is one of the most equitable in Europe. There are many educational factors that have contributed to this outcome, including the presence of a small private sector and the existence of a strong comprehensive education ideology. Sweden's comprehensive schools (*Grundskola*) comprise the main type of education in Sweden for students between the ages of 7 and 16, covering all 9 years of compulsory education. Comprehensive school provision prevents the segregation of education and minimises educational inequality (Green and Wiborg 2004, Hattersley 2004). All students are basically taught in mixed-ability classes, with absolutely no setting or streaming at any level. Hallam argues that "mixed-ability teaching can provide a means of offering equal opportunities, can address the negative social consequences of structured ability grouping by encouraging cooperative behaviour and social integration, [and] can provide positive role models for less able pupils ..." (Hallam 2002: 88).

Upper secondary education in Sweden is not diversified either into vocational or general schools – as in Greece – or into different types of school with different status and occasionally different orientation – as in the United Kingdom. On the contrary, Sweden has a unified upper secondary education system, which since 1971 consists of both academic and vocational programmes. This arrangement further diminishes educational inequalities in the sense that it keeps students together in the same building, with no selection being made at any point.

Equality provisions in Sweden begin much before the primary school, as early as the birth of each child, in the form of public childcare services. "Early childhood education and care (*ECEC*) in Sweden has been given high priority for nearly three decades and is one of the cornerstones of Swedish family policy. Reforms in this area have also been widely supported in the Swedish Riksdag (Parliament)"

(Ministry of Education and Science of Sweden 2000: 1). Unlike in the United Kingdom, pre-school (*förskola*) education in Sweden is universal and free of charge for all 4- and 5-year-old children, as of 2003. The same right is also given to younger children (age one to five) whose parents are "unemployed or on parental leave" (Ministry of Education and Science of Sweden 2004: 6). According to OECD (2005a), the participation of children in formal childcare is much higher in Sweden than in the United Kingdom. This is strongly related to the actual aim of childcare in Sweden which is twofold: first, to enable parents to work or study undistractedly and second, to "support and encourage children's development and learning and help them grow up under conditions that are conducive to their well-being" (Skolverket 2000: 3).

Finally, funding is another aspect in which Sweden surpasses Greece and the United Kingdom. The total educational expenditure in Sweden, namely, 7.3% of the GDP, is almost double than that of Greece (3.9%) and considerably bigger than that of the United Kingdom (4.7%) (Eurydice 2005: 161). The Swedish government invests a lot in education as it considers it to be a vehicle towards social equality. Therefore, a significant amount of money is spent annually on education, distributed to regions and schools according to their needs, so as to minimise educational inequalities.

## Welfare State

### *Greece*

Based on Esping-Andersen's (1990) distinction of Welfare State Regimes, Greece falls in the category of the *Conservative Welfare Regime*. Even though Greece was not used by Esping-Andersen as an example, we are entitled to assume that it falls into this category as it has indeed many of the main *Conservative Welfare Regime* characteristics, as defined by Esping-Andersen. Indeed, other authors (Fenger 2007, Powell and Barrientos 2004) who used the same categories as Esping-Andersen classified Greece as a Conservative Welfare State.

First, the role of the market in Greece is marginal like in many other Conservative Welfare Regime States. Second, according to Esping-Andersen, the "passage from origins to post-war welfare capitalism" for *Conservative Welfare Regime* countries has been "guided primarily by Christian Democratic or conservative coalitions (in some cases with a Fascist interregnum)" (Esping-Andersen 1999: 82). This is definitely the case in Greece, as the political hegemony after the Second World War was mainly held by centre-right Parties. In addition, the 7-year dictatorship held Greece back from developing institutions of welfare provision. Another main characteristic which appears to be strong in Greece as well as in other *Conservative Welfare Regimes* is "etatism", that is, strong state interventionism (Charalambis et al. 2004, Pakos and Paleologou 2003).

Unlike Esping-Andersen, Vogel (1999) argued that Greece as well as Portugal, Spain and Southern Italy share certain characteristics that distinguish them from

the countries of Continental Europe which belong to the *Conservative Regime* category. He established a different category, the *Rudimentary Welfare State Regime*, in which he placed all the aforementioned southern countries. The *Rudimentary Welfare Regime* is "found in countries where there is no history of full employment; but a recent history of authoritarian politics where welfare politics is minimal and left to the household subsistence economy and large informal sector" (Vogel 1999: 252). The characterisation of Greece as a "rudimentary" Welfare State is fairly accurate, as social provisions are mostly underdeveloped. For a brief outlook of the welfare provisions in Greece, it would be best to quote Venieris at length here:

"The Greek welfare 'state' provides mainly inadequate insurance cash benefits and meagre universal health services. The employment market suffers from structural deficiencies and cultivates an expanding uncertainty. In a word this is a residual and old-fashioned welfare system. Poverty, long-term unemployment and social exclusion remain rather sophisticated issues for policy-making to contemplate" (Venieris 2003: 144).

The Greek Welfare state is rudimentary in many aspects including the parental leave system, the unemployment rates and the income distribution. To begin with, parental leave system in Greece is rather insufficient. According to OECD (2007) the aggregation of all types of paid leave provided to parents, namely maternal, paternal and parental leave, equals 17.4 weeks compared to 69 in Sweden. In addition, single-parent provisions are particularly low in Greece. Even though the proportion of single parents is significantly lower compared to other EU countries, the inexistence of relevant provisions renders the single-parent family exclusively accountable for all expenses and responsibilities of children upbringing.

Furthermore, the unemployment rate in Greece is quite high. According to the United Nations' Human Development Report (2006), the total unemployment rate in 2005 was 10.6% of the labour force, the third highest among OECD countries, after Slovakia and Poland (United Nations 2006: 352, Table 20). Moreover, as argued by Tsakloglou and Cholezas "unemployment benefits are quite low, virtually flat, and provided for a limited period of time. Additionally, Greece is one of the few EU countries without a minimum income guarantee scheme, and active labour market policies are rather underdeveloped" (Tsakloglou and Cholezas 2005: 9). The working conditions too seem to be rather poor; Eurostat (1998) revealed that satisfaction with working conditions in Greece is the lowest among all European Union countries (Eurostat 1998: 150, Table 8).

On the whole, the Greek Welfare state lacks universalism at the provisions level and this enables socioeconomic inequalities to thrive. In Greece, the income inequality, as measured by Gini index, is 34.3, lower than that of the United Kingdom (36), but considerably higher than the just 25.0 of Sweden (World Bank 2006, Table 2.8). Furthermore, the "inequality between manual and upper non-manual workers" is 22 in Greece while in Sweden it is just 17 (average index score) (Vogel 1999: 284, Fig. 7F). The Greek Welfare State, regardless of its place to either typology – *Rudimentary* or *Conservative Welfare Regime* – is deficient in providing accessibility to and equality in the various services. Over the past few years, considerable steps have been made by the Greek authorities in a neo-liberal

direction (Georgiadis 2007, Grollios and Kaskaris 2003). Yet as it is argued herein below, the *Liberal Welfare State Regime* is not seen as a source of equality either.

## United Kingdom

According to Esping-Andersen's (1999) classification, the United Kingdom falls within the category of the *Liberal Welfare State Regime*. Esping-Andersen argues that "the liberal social policy prevails in countries where socialist or Christian democratic movements were weak or de facto absent" (1999:75). In addition, the *Liberal Welfare Regime* just like the *Conservative* one is characterised by marginal social provisions. Yet in the *Liberal Welfare Regime*, government intervention is particularly low whereas market intervention is encouraged greatly. Thatcherism was a milestone in the encouragement of market intervention in the socioeconomic terrain as well as in introducing "individualism". The famous quote "there is no such thing as society" is indicative of the Tories intention to revoke the state's duty as people's welfare provider (Thatcher 2007).

The parental provisions in the United Kingdom are considerably lower than in Sweden. Even though the full-time equivalent of paid maternity leave in the United Kingdom is 12 weeks, exactly as in Sweden, the full-time equivalent paid paternity leave is just 0.5 weeks as opposed to 9.2 in Sweden. The full-time equivalent paid parental leave does not exist in the United Kingdom, whereas in Sweden is up to 40.8 weeks. Moreover, single-parent provisions are rather deficient as "around 50 percent of single-parents in United Kingdom [ … ] can be classified as having a 'low income'" (PES 2006: 4).

Unemployment in the United Kingdom has fallen in the last few years to 4.8% of the labour force in 2005 (United Nations 2006: 352, Table 20). Yet long-term unemployment is higher in the United Kingdom than in Sweden (United Nations 2006: 352). Also, paid absence in the United Kingdom is considerably lower than in Sweden. Additionally, the decrease of unemployment in the United Kingdom is rather elusive, given that a great proportion of the labour force is employed part-time. Part-time and flexible employment has particularly increased in the United Kingdom, as a response to the neo-liberal wave of globalisation. The UK government is encouraging people to take up part-time jobs (Millar et al. 2006). Those in part-time jobs are not classified as unemployed but are nonetheless deprived of certain working rights and are more likely to face poverty than full-time employees "due to their lower lifetime earning, inability to save for retirement, and failure to accrue rights to contributory benefits" (Working families 2006: 4). In fact, "households with only part time workers have the highest poverty rates of all working households with 14 percent having incomes below 60 percent of the median" (Working families 2006: 4).

All things considered, the United Kingdom experiences low social provisions and, just like Greece, shares rather high proportions of income inequality. According to the World Bank, the income inequality in the United Kingdom is 36.0, as opposed to 34.3 in Greece and just 25.0 in Sweden (Gini index) (World Bank 2006,

Table 2.8). What is more, the "inequality between manual and upper non-manual workers" is 25 in the United Kingdom while in Sweden it is just 17 (average index score) (Vogel 1999:284, Fig. 7F). It seems that the Liberal Welfare State of the United Kingdom in conjunction with the low social provisions encourages class inequalities and social exclusion.

## Sweden

Sweden along with the other Nordic countries comprises a good example of what Esping-Andersen (1990) has called the *Social Democratic Welfare Regime*. The presence of the Social Democrats in power for four decades has undoubtedly been a milestone in the configuration of this type of Welfare State. The Swedish *Social Democratic Welfare Regime* is known as "People's Home" as it is distinctive for its universalism. As a result of the bountiful benefits and services provided to all people, the level of social equality – as measured by income equality – is one of the highest not only in Europe but also in the whole world (United Nations 2006, World Bank 2006). The Swedish Welfare System, which is based on high taxes, is committed to "equality of access or opportunity" and "equality of treatment" (Ministry of Education and Science of Sweden 2004: 4).

A main characteristic of the *Social Democratic Welfare Regime* is the high level of decommodification, that is to say the marginalisation of the market. Sweden, unlike the United Kingdom and other neo-liberal Welfare States, attempted to keep dependency from the market low in order to maintain high levels of equality (Esping-Andersen 1999).

The parental leave system in Sweden is considered to be one of the most developed in Europe. Mothers are entitled to 12 weeks paid leave, exactly as in the United Kingdom and 5 weeks less than in Greece. However, Sweden provides parents with a full-time paid paternity leave, equal to 9.2 weeks (the highest among all OECD countries), while Greece and the United Kingdom provide just 0.4 and 0.5 weeks, respectively. Furthermore, Sweden is the only country, out of the three, which provides an additional full-time equivalent paid parental leave of 40.8 weeks. What is quite distinctive about the parental leave institution is the fact that Sweden along with Norway and Iceland "have introduced father quota in parental leave systems: a period of leave that is reserved for the exclusive use by fathers on a 'use it or lose it' basis" (OECD 2007:3, Table PF7). The father quota in Sweden is 60 days. This has been introduced to safeguard gender equity by avoiding the exclusive use of the leave by mothers. The overall full-time equivalent paid leave that is provided to parents, including maternal, paternal and parental leave, reaches 69 weeks compared to 53 in the United Kingdom and 49.4 in Greece (OECD 2007).

Furthermore, in Sweden the existence of "child allowance" which equals to "SEK 950 per child and month" intends to "level out costs between those who have children and those who do not" (The Swedish Presidency 2001). Moreover, the majority of single parents in Sweden, unlike in the United Kingdom, do not face poverty as they are particularly relieved due to efficiency of taxes and transfers.

According to Vogel, the employment rates were "extremely high in Sweden for men as well as women" between 1975 and 1995 (Vogel 1999: 259). However, during the last decade, the Swedish economy underwent many changes including a deep recession. As a result, the employment rates fell considerably and Swedish unemployment is now much higher than it used to be, namely 5.6% of labour force in 2005 (United Nations 2006: 352, Table 20). Yet the Swedish unemployment rate is still significantly lower than many other OECD countries such as France, Finland and Canada (United Nations 2006: 352, Table 20). Besides, the unemployment benefits (basic insurance and complementary income-related insurance) are effective in eliminating poverty caused by unemployment.

To conclude, Sweden, as a *Social Democratic Welfare Regime*, provides its people with considerable services and benefits, which have made the celebration of high levels of equality and prosperity possible. Income inequality in Sweden is the lowest among all high human development countries, with just 25.0 Gini index (World Bank 2006, Table 2.8). Nevertheless, during the past few years a new situation has evolved in Sweden: several policies encouraged deregulation; the market assumed a more important role in the socioeconomic system; and deep recession hit the Swedish economy. In the light of these, the equality target was challenged and poverty levels were amplified (Vogel 1999). Of course, even so, Sweden still holds high levels of equality and its people enjoy significant benefits in the context of prosperity compared to other European countries.

## Discussion

Summarising all the above, we can see some patterns that correspond to the levels of educational inequality in the three countries. Greece and the United Kingdom share similar characteristics at both the educational and the welfare provisions level and are characterised by striking differences when compared to Sweden. First of all, the recent political history of both Greece and the United Kingdom seems to have detained the countries – at least to a certain degree – from fully developing their democratic institutions in the direction of equality. Second, as concerns education, the lack of really comprehensive education at both the lower and the upper secondary levels and the presence of strong private education appear to be the case in both Greece and the United Kingdom but not in Sweden. Finally, at the level of the welfare state, the lack or insufficiency of free universal welfare provisions characterise Greece and the United Kingdom but not Sweden. On the whole, the pattern of Welfare State seems to correspond to the educational one, in all three countries, when it comes to the consideration of equality and universal provisions. The relatively high level of educational inequality in Greece and the United Kingdom appears to coincide with income inequalities and low social provisions and benefits. Conversely, Sweden enjoys high levels of educational and societal equality, with abundant universally distributed benefits and services.

Taking all these factors into account, it could be argued that Sweden, unlike Greece and the United Kingdom, is very good at preventing educational inequalities at three levels. First of all, the universal welfare provisions in Sweden minimise overall societal inequalities. The case of single-parent provisions available in Sweden exemplifies how educational inequalities are inter-related with welfare provisions: In the United Kingdom, there exists a strong relationship between single-parent families and students' underachievement, mainly due to economic deprivation (Pong et al. 2003). In Sweden, this effect is mediated as the provisions are effective in preventing single-parent families from falling into poverty.

Second, the bountiful parental leave system and especially the free universal childcare in Sweden provide all kids with what Bourdieu (1986) called cultural capital. That, says Esping-Andersen (2004), enables children in the Nordic countries to socialise from a very tender age and compensates for the lack of cultural capital that some children would have potentially had, had the family taken exclusive responsibility for their upbringing. In this case, when children first go to primary school they are not characterised by significant differences, but they somewhat all start from the same level.

Finally, Sweden is efficient in preventing the exacerbation of the achievement gap, which takes place as students proceed through the educational ladder. Due to the fact that the educational system in Sweden is not segregated and private provision is limited, all students receive the same education. All students are taught in comprehensive schools and mixed-ability classes and that seems to prevent educational inequalities to thrive (Green and Wiborg 2004, Hattersley 2004).

## Conclusion

All things considered and by employing comparative logic, one can suggest that the reasons of educational inequality are far from lying strictly within the educational system. On the contrary, they must be sought in the broader socioeconomic context of each country. In the country-cases employed in this analysis, educational inequalities seem to coincide with general income inequalities, low state social provisions and lack of universalism on services. As for the reasons relevant to the educational system itself, it seems that the lack of organised and universal childcare, the existence of tracking and setting, and the increased role of the private sector in education can exacerbate educational inequalities.

This chapter is by no means an attempt to cover the topic exhaustively. Educational inequalities comprise a very broad topic which occupies an important place among academic and political discourse. To suggest that it is possible to cover it entirely in a paper would simply underrate its complexity and importance. Yet, the conclusions drawn by this analysis can be quite suggestive in pointing out the

reasons that cause the different levels of educational inequality in the three countries and they may well be used to inform contemporary policies in the direction of educational equality.

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# Part III
# Old and New Solidarities

# Chapter 8
# Public Education, Migration, and Integration Policies in France

**Leslie J. Limage**

## Public Education in France: Equality as Identical Treatment

The highly centralized school system has always been perceived as the best means to promote equality and national unity in France. The "modern" French state began to take shape in the late eighteenth century (Furet 1978).[1] Until the French Revolution, France consisted of linguistically and culturally diverse regions with differing interests, and French administrators have long argued that only a highly centralized system could and would effectively redistribute the nation's wealth to reduce regional disparities. Yet, in spite of 200 years of governmental centralization, imposition of the French language and enormous efforts to promote a notion of a single state administered in an ostensibly equal manner, contemporary France remains fundamentally diverse (De Certeau and Revel 1975).[2] Starting in the 1960s, social science studies have demonstrated that centralization and social reproduction have had little long-term impact on the organization and administration of schools, or on pedagogical methods (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970). Other research has further confirmed that the school system contributes to wastage and underachievement by creating failure (*échèc scolaire*) at an early age, and as a result, it has hardly challenged French notions of equality of opportunity (Baudelot and Establet 1989). Finally, more recent studies have concluded that the disparities between resources allocated by the central state school system to different regions, combined with the relative poverty of local authorities, have yet to alter the conventional philosophical debate on the role of schooling (Dubet and Duru-Bellat 2000). Decision makers, intellectuals, trade unions, and school administrators appear immune to the growing evidence that material conditions of teaching and learning vary from one part of

L.J. Limage (✉)
Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, USA
e-mail: leslie.limage@wanadoo.fr

[1]Unless otherwise noted, all translations from French are by the author.

[2]The situation in the post-French Revolution context was one where the French language and a unified culture were imposed on a regionally and linguistically diverse nation.

the country to another or that the inequality of resources dominates school provision. Parents and pupils, for one, have very little say in determining the allocation of resources to schools (Fernoglio and Herzberg 1998; Gurrey 1998).

In the "Declaration of Human Rights and those of the Citizen" of 1789, Stasse identifies the origin of "equality before the law" in the statement that "all men are born and remain free and equal under the law" (Stasse 1997). The notion of equality progressively came to mean that all citizens confronted by a similar situation should be treated *identically* under the law. However, this definition of "positive discrimination," whereby no distinctions can be made between citizens on the basis of race, religion, or origin, has a basic weakness: Equality before the law does not address economic, social, or cultural inequalities. Accordingly, after the Second World War, the Council of State (*Conseil d'Etat*) – France's highest administrative jurisdiction – began to address equality of opportunity as a form of social solidarity. Most of the post-war social welfare measures, and those under debate today, were developed with this later conception in mind. More recently, equity as "equality of condition" has also entered the arena of political debate, with critical implications for French schooling. Yet the government's position remains extremely hesitant. The overriding principle that equality implies providing all citizens with the same instruction or access to schooling does little to address the issue of individual ability or interest in taking advantage of that instruction or body of learning.

The French school system was founded in the latter part of the nineteenth century on the principle of equal access to the same education for all at the stage of primary schooling. But it took nearly a century for the notion of positive discrimination to gain ground. Educational Priority Areas or *Zones d'éducation prioritaires* (ZEPs) based on the British model were developed over the last 20 years. The rationale behind the creation of ZEPs is that more educational resources in terms of teachers, ancillary staff, security personnel, or building repairs are needed for the particularly disadvantaged schools in designated zones. But these measures are seen as temporary and fraught with the risk of further stigmatizing or marginalizing the populations they are meant to serve. The argument in France remains that special measures must lead back to the mainstream view of equality: the ability to participate on the *same* footing with all other young people, regardless of socioeconomic origin; the *same* access to the *same* body of knowledge. This philosophical position is critical to understanding the current debates on schooling and how French schools operate. It plays a critical role in the experience of children of first-, second-, or even third-generation immigrants in French schools and frames the discourse concerning the "integration" of communities of differing religious, geographic, or socioeconomic backgrounds.

## Teachers in France

Most teachers in France are civil servants. It has long been a corollary of the basic principle that the state is responsible for providing equal instruction for all and that the best way to fulfill this responsibility is through a civil service. The civil

service is viewed as the best means for ensuring that teachers remain independent of outside pressures, be they political or religious views, or the influence of families and schoolchildren. In the eighteenth century, Condorcet designed a system of instruction free of all outside influence in which all students had access to a body of knowledge based on the truth as it was understood in a specific historic context. In other words, while the school was meant to convey a single idea of truth, Condorcet also allowed for the fact that truths may change over time. Therefore, the school system and its teachers were the best neutral judges for determining the body of knowledge to be included in the centralized curriculum. Accordingly, the French primary school teacher of the late nineteenth century was seen as a moral authority to promote the Republican ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity in an atmosphere of secularity and neutrality. French teachers in the twenty-first century still take these principles seriously. Teachers' unions defend both working conditions and safeguard the teacher's role to convey a body of knowledge rather than to engage in pastoral care or outside activities with pupils or parents. Relations with parent associations are formal: teachers "instruct;" parents "educate;" pupils receive "knowledge" – successfully or otherwise.

## Violence and Diversity in Society and Schools

Violence has lately become a major preoccupation throughout the world, especially with respect to schools. A major crisis in France in 1999 prompted the then Minister of Education Claude Allègre to draft a national action plan against violence in schools. His successor, Jack Lang, also made "security" the top political issue with respect to education. As Hugh Starkey once observed: "The school is one of the central institutions of the French Republic and violence directed against the school is, as well as a symptom of crisis, a direct attack on the State by its youngest citizens who are also its future" (Starkey 2000). He notes that the French Republic was founded on, and is therefore still dominated by, the notion of "undifferentiated citizenship." A French citizen has quite distinct public and private lives. These spheres are not watertight, but they are separate. Starkey has argued that education for citizenship in the twenty-first century could not be effective in outmoded institutions. He writes "Republican schools need... to be based not just on the transmission of a culturally hegemonic body of knowledge, but on a recognition of and respect for the varied communities in which their pupils live. That in itself would constitute something of a revolution."

National reports on violence in schools have been commissioned by the French government since the early 1990s. The European Observatory of Violence and Schools under Eric Debarbieux argued that violence might be a major media issue, but its occurrence is relegated to a smaller number of schools and areas than appears to be the case. While recent events may not support Debarbieux's view, he and this author agree that the nature of institutional violence, or the violence, and lack of respect for pupils by the school system and its actors are rarely taken into account, much less the dimensions of direct, indirect, repressive, or alienating

violence that education systems might perpetrate (Salmi 2001). A growing number of pupils no longer have confidence in the school as a safe and effective place. Michel Wieviorka finds that teachers and their unions also orchestrate perceptions of violence (Wieviorka 1999). Since French schools are structured so that teachers are not responsible for any pastoral care or discipline, they are loath to give up their free time for any non-instructional activity outside class time. They are unlikely to provide a model of mutual respect for pupils.

A few observers are sensitive to the lack of democracy and mutual respect in schools as institutions. Bernard Defrance, Francois Dubet, and Marie Duru-Bellat are among the rare authors to have raised such issues (Defrance 1993; Dubet and Duru-Bellat 2000). Defrance argues that children and especially adolescents attend schools where they have no voice. They have no independent authority to whom they can submit cases of perceived injustice at any level. School councils function to the advantage of teachers. Head teachers lack the authority and the will to arbitrate fairly, and sanctions vary from teacher to teacher. Studies by Limage and Starkey draw attention to the republican origins of this apparently unfair situation in an attempt to look at the strengths and weaknesses of different models of schooling for the promotion of democracy (Limage 2001; Starkey 2000). The French model appears assimilationist rather than integrationist: State education involves initiation into a common culture through a single curriculum; it does not recognize difference. The curriculum is therefore undifferentiated, and although equal resources are to be allocated, the fact that they are allocated to a diverse group of pupils with diverse abilities living in unequal communities, with consequent inequality of outcome, remains largely unquestioned. Only in rethinking the educational priority zones, or ZEPs, has there been a discourse about greater community and family participation in the non-pedagogic aspects of school or consideration of including differentiated teaching and learning in the curriculum (Simon and Solaux 2000).

There is enormous resistance in France to any notion of pluralism. The overriding concern remains a fear that society may break up into ghettos of religious, ethnic, or cultural and linguistic communities. This fear runs throughout all discussions on the role of diversity in French society. Long-standing as well as more recent minorities are reluctant to address themselves as distinct, and the term "communautarisme" is a pejorative one attached to Muslim, Christian, Jewish as well as other identifiable groups. In an article entitled "Towards a democratic mutation of Islam" (*Vers la mutation démocratique de l'Islam*), philosopher Abdennour Bidar argued that there is no such thing as a "typical" Muslim in France because all Muslims are "atypical" (Bidar 2006). The notion of a "Muslim community," according to Bidar, is a sociological misconception that hides the reality that Islam, especially in Europe, is a personal conviction that informs the construction of Muslim identities in the civic space. It is therefore misguided to try to constitute positive discrimination based on a representation of a Muslim community which is in some way a separate, socially distinct, and homogenous group. In brief, he sees the constitution of what he calls a "self-Islam," where individuals make personal choices about which, if any, Muslim cultural or religious practices they engage and about the regularity with which they should do so. He considers it urgent for both the general French public and

Muslims to refuse to create a Muslim cultural ghetto that would be propitious for the development of fundamentalism or terrorism. He concludes forcefully:

> The "self-Islam" is effectively the expression of a culture which has radically mutated from its original authoritarian form and has become democratic through a process of individual appropriation, by each European Muslim conscience, of the question of its identity. Let us now recognize this change and adjust our understanding of European Islam while working to deconstruct the fantasy of (non-existent) "community" (Bidar 2006).

The controversies associated with *communautarisme* have grown since 2000, fueled by international conflict and the latent weakness of the French approach to diversity. Even in 2004, France was not prepared to recognize its linguistic diversity sufficiently to give regional languages a full place in school curricula. However, the situation since 2000 has been aggravated by much larger international issues which it is not possible to fully analyze in the space of this chapter. First, there is no doubt that societal violence has increased in a measurable manner. Data from the Ministry of the Interior for the year 2005 indicate increasing violence associated with most forms of criminal acts (Ministry of the Interior 2006). Second, the increased vigilance by official reporting systems put in place to track acts of overt discrimination or anti-Semitism also contributed to awareness of related forms of violence. Third, passions have been distinctly raised by reaction to events in the Middle East, whether they were related to Iraq, Israel, Palestine, or Afghanistan. Already by its very history, France has been the partial site of all conflict and concerns in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, not to mention other formerly colonized sub-Saharan African countries.

## School-Based Knowledge and Civics

Since school-based knowledge remains exclusively the domain of the state, and is "transmitted" by teachers, there are only highly formalized means for including new or alternative issues, events or changes in the curriculum. History and civics education, in a highly compartmentalized system of disciplines, are the content areas of particular interest in this discussion. Over the past 20 years, successive ministers of education have tried to give civics education a real place in the secondary curriculum. However, civics education has been consistently the most difficult subject to define in France. There is no question of American-style "social studies" or "current events" types of programs. There is no agreed place for examination of cultural, religious, or linguistic diversity in school curricula. Recent independent inquiries conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Education have confirmed popular support for maintaining a secular curriculum in primary and secondary schools (Ministry of the Interior, 2006). Centennial Celebrations of the Law of 1905 on strictly secular public institutions, especially schools, have reinforced that position.

The most non-controversial subject treated in civics education has been the study of the institutions of government. The school as a space for the practice of democracy is in itself quite limited to the highly formalized school councils where students

have a representative. As a result, the practice of democracy and participation has little place in schools. The relative authority of teachers and the school administration makes it very difficult to envisage a civics education based on a shared view of individual and collective responsibility. The only response possible for many young people is to retreat into indifference or insolence (Defrance 1993; Gurrey 1998; Limage 2001). With increased societal violence in and around schools in recent years, teachers too are feeling threatened.

In fact, school climate in both inner-city and suburban areas is increasingly reported to be one of incivility and verbal violence for both children and adults alike. In 1995, the major film "La haine" chronicled the violence, especially among disaffected youth, in and out of gangs in Parisian suburbs, highlighting their particular language and communication based on code, humiliation, and insult. Specialists on violence in schools, such as Debarbieux and Wieivorka, recognize the spiral of verbal violence among young people that is capable of quickly degenerating into physical abuse. Secondary school history teacher and author of several books on school climate and history teaching, Barbara Lefebvre noted with alarm that French schools are becoming laboratories of hatred for others, where constant verbal violence leads to physical attack (Lefebvre 2006). Her article "From barbarian expressions to barbarian acts" refers to the gang who recently kidnapped, tortured, and murdered a young Jewish man and called themselves "the barbarian gang." She writes about the insulting language which is routine, virtually unconscious and thus barely noticed as dangerous: calling girls indiscriminately by slang terms for prostitute ("*pute*," "*salope*"); calling anyone a "Jew" as an insulting term or referring to a young person of North African origin as a "bougnoule."

## Immigration in France

France's declining demographic situation over the past 100 years until the early 1970s made it a more likely destination for both political and economic immigration than other western European countries. The need for an enlarged workforce led to a continuing growth of clandestine as well as official immigration.

With the onset of economic crisis in the early 1970s, most European countries drastically curtailed immigration. France was among the last to place such restrictions and confine immigration to family reunification, especially among North Africans and, to a lesser extent, sub-Saharan Africans from former colonies. France was seen as the most open for both immigration and naturalization compared with other European countries, especially Germany. Sociologists easily discovered that immigrants were most likely to seek permanent residence in countries that welcomed them on at least official level and least likely to do so where both reception and conditions of stay were most restrictive (Cesari 1997a; Granotier 1970; Limage 1984; 2001). Both countries of origin and countries of immigration have attempted to regulate movements of populations with varying degrees of success. As deteriorating political and economic conditions have continued on a global scale, these attempts have taken the form of incentive measures – i.e., sums of money

to encourage voluntary departures – and more spectacularly in very recent times in France, of forced departures for clandestine immigrants or those whose residence and work permits have expired. Countries of origin have long sought ways to maintain contacts with their expatriate populations without encouraging return migrations. These means have included formal agreements with the host country to organize language and culture classes, associations for mutual support and cultural celebrations, and, to some extent, assistance in developing places of worship. This chapter addresses primarily such measures for Muslim immigrants to France.

## Muslim Immigrants: Diversity of Populations, Diversity of Aspirations

The major characteristic of the Muslim population in France is its diversity. Moroccan and Tunisian immigration is slightly more recent than that of Algerians. Moroccans for the most part came to France during the 1960s until about 1973. Tunisian immigration, which has always been on a smaller scale, began in the mid-1960s and also ended around 1973. Tunisian immigration also has a fairly specific socioeconomic character. Tunisians have been more likely to run small businesses and shops. Similarly, Moroccans were more likely to arrive with a small amount of capital to start businesses. Algerian immigration, on the other hand, has been on a much larger scale over a much longer period of time and with a greater impact on French society. The category "French from Algeria" or "Maghrébins français" covers an even greater diversity. First, a large European population has settled in North Africa – Algeria in particular – over several generations. When obliged to return to France at each country's independence, these populations constituted groups known as "pieds noirs." A second category of Jewish North Africans were readily granted French citizenship and immigrated massively at the time of each North African country's independence. While these two groups have received privileged treatment when compared to other North African immigrants, they have nonetheless encountered difficulties in integration and assimilation. Berber populations of Algeria (Kabylie) and Morocco have distinct migration patterns. The repression of their languages and cultures by the Arab national elites has not contributed to bringing them closer to other Arab immigrants in France, nor to the more recent Muslim national representative body installed in 2004. In any event, the French public does not necessarily note this diversity.

The group that has encountered the greatest amount of misunderstanding, disappointment and discrimination has been the "harkis." Even the term "harki" covers a wide range of people and is frequently used in a pejorative sense. The North African, mainly Algerian, populations who composed the administration, officers and soldiers working on behalf of France before Algeria's independence are known officially as *Rapatriés d'origine nord-africaine* (RONA). Their motivations for working with the colonial power and then seeking asylum in France after being perceived as traitors by the victorious Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) have been the object of less publicity and even less justice in France (Geisser

1997; Hamoumou 1994).[3] The Algerian war of independence was characterized by extreme violence on all sides and has left lasting bitterness on both sides of the Mediterranean. The Muslim populations who sought protection from the retreating French felt betrayed, and many who eventually reached France were placed in camps. These camps were often in isolated areas and remained homes to these populations for more than 20 years. Their children grew up there and attended separate or segregated schools for the most part. Unemployment remains particularly high among this population (Bruno 1997; Cesari 1997b; Hamoumou 1994). In 2005, French law finally officially recognized the contribution of the *harkis* to French society. However, the law contained a reference to the positive effects of French colonization on its former colonies and stipulated that such effects should be taught in the French school curriculum. This controversial point gained more public attention and controversy than the belated recognition of the *harkis*. Other immigrants of Muslim culture and of Algerian origin who have immigrated over the past 50 years should also be analyzed with respect to their period of immigration, generation, and nationality. There are a considerable number of Muslims of Algerian origin who immigrated prior to the 1962 war of independence. They have mainly taken French nationality and cannot be counted. Similarly, second- and third-generation Muslims of Algerian origin with French nationality are not considered as "foreigners." Because of French constitutional refusal to identify individuals by race, religious or other cultural distinction for census or other data-gathering purposes, it is very difficult to estimate the actual size of these populations.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the growth of urban "slums" (*bidonvilles*) and the decay of suburban townships (*banlieues*) were brought to the attention of the French public (Granotier 1970). Differing experiences led second- and third-generation Muslims of Arab descent (*les beurs*) to develop new identities and a certain pride. *Beur* culture is a combination of distant ties to North Africa and current search for identity somewhere between French cultural norms and the reality of disadvantaged suburbs characterized increasingly by insecurity, violence, unemployment, and new forms of solidarity in gangs or community-based associations. North African immigrants who have come as university students, intellectuals, and artists seeking freedom of expression or wide professional possibilities constitute elites who find it easier to assume both their origins and their current status in France. Vincent Geisser finds that elites of North African origin who take French nationality are quite active politically and give priority to French republican processes (Geisser 1997). They seek to mediate between the larger Muslim-origin community and the French public institutions. However, Geisser concludes that they are not effective in their mediation role and that the French political parties on the Left (Socialist and Communist) have been no more successful in relating to Muslim-origin populations than the Right.

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[3]Hamoumou documents the diversity of motivations and backgrounds of Algerians who worked with the colonial power in many cases with no particular political attachments.

## Educational Responses

In the aftermath of the events of May 1968, the French Left began to champion the most visible disenfranchised population: the immigrant workers. Numerous associations and solidarity groups were created to "accompany" this heterogeneous population. The entire movement for adult literacy (*Alphabétisation de travailleurs migrants*) quickly developed to promote what was, in fact, French as a second language. This discovery of literacy issues among the immigrant population created both a service and a disservice. Until the creation in 1983 of the Inter-ministerial Body for National Literacy (*Groupe interministeriel permanent de lutte contre l'illettrisme*), all literacy difficulties were officially associated with immigrants, especially North Africans, and no attention was given to the broader French public (Limage 1975; 1986). The service consisted of a series of networks of training for adult immigrants to acquire basic written and spoken French. Initially, the French Ministry of Education took some responsibility but quickly returned it to non-profit as well as for-profit associations. The financing for most of these programs came from a fund composed of social welfare benefits withheld from mainly male immigrant workers whose families had not rejoined them in France.

As family reunification became the main source of official immigration from the mid-1970s, countries of origin of immigrants entered into bilateral agreements with France to offer instruction in "mother tongues" or official first languages of children of immigrants. The French Ministry of Education resolutely insisted that these classes were not their responsibility, and governments of countries of origin eager to demonstrate their continued links with their expatriate populations financed teachers and rented space in public schools in order to provide such instruction outside class time (Limage 1980; OECD-CERI 1983). Thus, children whose families wished to maintain some form of contact with the languages and cultures of origin attended classes outside regular school time with no cooperation from French teachers or involvement of French children in the classes. For the most part, this situation has not radically changed. While some initial reception classes are maintained for French language learning, grade repetition and other more traditional means are still the primary measures available to bring non-French-speaking children up to an "educational standard." By and large, children of immigrant origin appear to have had the same treatment but with greater frequency than French children of French background. The public school maintains its primacy concerning legitimate knowledge and the means to transmit it in the name of republican ideals of neutrality, secularity, and equality. The notion of individualized instruction, cooperative learning, or making the school more responsive to the child has received little response as diversity in need, interest, and ability remains an out-of-school matter.

## Development of a "French Islam"

The attempt to regulate or institutionalize relations between the French government and Islam in France has been a long process. French officialdom has increasingly

recognized the impact of Islam in every aspect of French society. Islam is the second largest religion in France, numbering four million Muslims, half of whom are French citizens. Since this population is so diverse and continued foreign influence from their countries of origin is viewed with alarm, there has been a long effort to encourage the means for religious or cultural expression in harmony with French republican principles. The French government recognized various forms of Muslim inequality in relation to other religions, for example, lack of mosques, *imams*, designated space in cemeteries, and representatives in the various official relations with the state. In 1989, a process began to assist in the creation of a representative body for Islam in France. The first initiative under Pierre Joxe, then Minister of the Interior, failed. A second by his successor in 1995, Charles Pasqua, was also unsuccessful. However, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, Minister of the Interior in the Socialist Government, renewed negotiations with the National Consultation of Muslims of France, which led in April 2003 to the election of a French Council for Islam (*Conseil français du culte musulman*, CRCM) and the election of 25 Regional Councils to address concrete problems related to practicing Islam in France.

The history of relations between Muslims and the French state goes back to World War One when many North African soldiers fought on behalf of France. The Great Paris Mosque was built by the government between 1921 and 1926 in their memory. Muslim soldiers also fought during World War Two. With growing immigration and subsequent family reunification, successive governments began to consider how to create a representative Muslim body with which to dialogue. In the case of the other major religions in France (Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant), such bodies exist. In the case of Catholicism, the matter is simpler since it is a highly institutionalized religion. However, with respect to Judaism, much greater diversity in cultural and religious expression exists and the recognized body was created long ago on the basis of negotiations. One of the reasons why the first two initiatives by Ministers of the Interior mentioned above failed was because of the great diversity of schools of thought in Islam. The other major reason seemed to lie in the lack of religious legitimacy of any body that might be seen to have been created by the French state. The *nature* of the institution to be created was also in doubt; would it address matters of both religious practice and culture, or only the former? Further, the diversity of Muslim thinking in France is greater than in many other European countries. While there are few Shiites, the Sunnis are divided and primarily organized into different federations. These federations include the Coordination Committee for Turkish Muslims; French Federation of the Islamic Associations of Africa, the Comoros and the West Indies (FFAACA); the National Federation of Muslims of France (FNMF), representing primarily Moroccans; the Great Mosque of Paris (GMP), which mainly groups Muslims of Algerian origin; the Union of Islamic Organizations of France (UOIF); and two transnational religious movements, the Invitation for Faith and Practice and the Tabligh and Dawa Association. These different bodies and currents have found it extremely difficult to dialogue among themselves, let alone with the French government.

At the end of 1999, Minister of the Interior Chevènement brought together a first consultation of Muslims of France with six federations, six mosques, and six well-known figures (Sevaistre 2004; Limage 2001). Chevènement committed himself to solely providing technical and legal assistance. He considered himself to be taking the appropriate position in relation to a major French law of 1905, which guarantees free religious expression but does not recognize any specific religion. However, every step of the process was fraught with misgiving, delay, and lack of confidence between the different representatives of the Muslim organizations. It became clear by December 2002 that the body to be created would not be an instrument of religious government, as in an institutionalized church, but rather a body that would act by majority vote, denying the existence of minority or divergent voices. Second, all members of the consultation agreed to speak of each other respectfully in order to improve the image of Islam in France and among the Muslim communities themselves. The consultations, negotiations, and elections concerning the future French Council of Islam (*Conseil français du culte musulman*) took until the beginning of the summer 2003 to finally reach their conclusions. The objectives of the advisory body were twofold: first, to engage in dialogue on behalf of French Muslims with the government concerning priority needs, second, to facilitate internal dialogue between different currents of Islam.

The pressure on the newly created CFCM was immediate. As soon as it was formally created, it was asked to give its positions on many issues, like the "Muslim headscarf" at school or in other public institutions. It is widely considered that the pressure on this fragile and relatively recent institution is greater than that on the other representative bodies. It has to respond to the extreme positions of a part of the organized Islamic community on the one hand and to defend republican principles on the other (Sevaistre 2004). These compromises are far from easy to make. The CFCM could find itself taking a position that goes against recognized justice in France in order to suit extremists. Or it could side with the extremists and lose credibility elsewhere. Or it could avoid taking a position and find itself irrelevant. The French government is most interested in its dealing with the concrete problems that face the other recognized religions in France: convincing mayors to allow mosques to be built; creating recognized spaces in cemeteries; organizing the "halal" or ritual animal slaughter; examining the training of *imams* and their social status in France, etc. It considers the creation of this council to be a success story for secularity, if not a model for other European countries and their Muslim populations (Sevaistre 2004). However, the CFCM is caught in the highly charged public debates about terrorism, conflict, Islamophobia, and growing anti-Semitism in France.

The CFCM has been marked by the strong influence of the major countries of origin on its institutions. By May 2008, the Algerian-dominated Fédération nationale de la Grande Mosquée de Paris (FNGMP) had decided to boycott the elections for the CFCM representative council, although the Grand Mosquée imam had been at the CFCM head since its creation. Conflicts between Muslim organizations had led to this protest withdrawal. Another explanation is that Algerian-origin populations in France are generally more secular than those of Moroccan or other origins. Further, Moroccan governmental authorities are investing more in both

security (antifundamentalist groups) and religious matters. In the June 8, 2008, elections, and in the absence of the Grande Mosquée de Paris, the Moroccan-supported Rassemblement des musulmans de France took 43% of the votes and is foreseen to take the CFCM presidency. There is thus little sign that the CFCM will lead to a "French Islam" in the near future, while Algeria, Morocco, and Turkey continue their influential roles (Le Bars 2008).

Indeed, the CFCM's first pronouncement in 2004 reflected the strong influence of the outgoing CFCM President, Dalil Boubakeur, on adapting to secular French society. But this approach may well change with the new leadership and in a climate of growing unemployment and insecurity. The CFCM's first pronouncement took place in the context of the very passionate debates surrounding the wearing of conspicuous religious signs in schools.

## Reaffirmation of Secular Principles: The "Muslim Headscarf" Issue

Since 1989 the reaction of school authorities, parents, pupils, and the larger French community to the wearing of headscarves in school by a handful of Muslim girls has prompted a major political and social debate. The controversy was resolved by legislation in 2004. However, the "headscarf" issue in France has been highly politicized at home and abroad. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the French state and its public schools are seen as the repositories of neutrality, secularity, and equality before the law of all citizens. Schools are intended to form pupils to become responsible citizens through access to the same knowledge. There should be no outside influence by parents, community groups, or political or religious organizations. Religion is considered a very private matter, and proselytism is absolutely forbidden in the institutions of the French Republic. All the more, teachers and other civil servants are bound to adhere strictly to these republican values.

Thus, when a few adolescent girls in several cities began wearing headscarves to school in 1989, the reaction was immediate. In addition to wearing the headscarves, the girls refused to participate in physical education. They were supported in their initiatives by Muslim associations. The reaction of principals and teachers alike was to request the removal of the headscarves and the insistence that the girls participate like all other pupils in obligatory school classes. The refusal to remove their headscarves or participate led in most instances to the girls being sent home. In a few cases, they were temporarily grouped in school libraries. The first demonstrations for and against tolerance of headscarves in public schools were and remained intense. Initially, the Council of State rendered a judgment that reminded the French public that it is the civil servants of the state who must remain neutral in all their official responsibilities, not the clients or pupils. Religious affiliation may be discreetly displayed as long as there is no proselytism or disturbance of public order. The State Council left it to the Minister of Education to advise schools how to deal with the phenomenon. The Minister reaffirmed the principles of neutrality and the secular nature of the school system. He asked, however, that each school principal

and the teachers handle the cases on an individual basis. He advised discussion and consultation with the girls and their families in order to reach a negotiated solution.

Unfortunately, French school administrators, especially principals, are unused to authority over the teaching staff, let alone dealing with sensitive issues of cultural and religious conviction (Allaire and Frank 1995; Gruson 1978). Decision making, however, was placed in their hands, and as a result, for the next 10 years, the courts heard a number of cases of girls who had been expelled from school for refusing to remove their headscarves. By and large, the courts overturned the expulsions unless the refusal to remove the scarf was accompanied by a refusal to participate in physical education classes or were found to be associated with protest by outside organizations (Kessler and Bernard 1997; Lorcerie 2005). The argument was seen from two perspectives. First, religious neutrality and the secular public school are fundamental to the constitution of France and should be firmly upheld. Second, the issue was more sociological: The status of women in Muslim countries and cultures predates Islam and reflects a strong patriarchal order. International and internal conflicts, especially the civil war in Algeria where women and children have been victims of rape, massacre, and humiliation, have made a very strong impression on French public opinion. The wearing of the headscarf has been interpreted as a sign of girls' and women's lack of equal rights with men. Above all, it appears to threaten the hard-won rights of women, since for the most part, North African women have been less frequently veiled, cloistered, or secluded than Muslim women in the Mashriq, the Sudan, or sub-Saharan Africa. Until approximately 10 years ago, all three Maghribi countries maintained a family code based on the *shariah*, and French public opinion remains resolutely against young women, most of them with French nationality, being subject to constraints in the Republic. It is understandably complex to decide whether the young woman is wearing the scarf voluntarily, because of religious conviction, under force, or as a sign of expressing her complex cultural identities. Cases of young Muslim girls being kidnapped, raped, burned, and even murdered by suburban gang members have been reported, and many French women's groups have subsequently sought to protect the former from the violence inflicted on them (Creaux, 2006). The association "Neither whores, Nor submissive" (*Ni putes, ni soumises*) gained especially strong support when girls who had been attacked and raped organized themselves and demonstrated throughout France. One aspect related to the headscarf issue is that young women in these suburbs dress as conservatively as possible in order to try to deflect violence of which they are daily victims. They talk about adopting conservative "Islamic" dress or wearing loose, long clothing not out of religious conviction, but to distract attention from themselves.

Matters came to a head in 2003. In the spring of that year, President Jacques Chirac called for a law forbidding the wearing of any conspicuous religious signs in schools, including the headscarf. It became a hotly debated political issue. Some 1500 cases of girls who had tried to wear headscarves in school had been reported to the Ministry of Education and were handled on an individual basis (Lorcerie 2005). However, it was increasingly perceived that headscarves in other public places of work were becoming an issue. President Chirac commissioned a report

that was made public by Jean-Louis Debré, President of the National Assembly, on November 12, 2003. It called for a law forbidding any conspicuous sign of religious or political affiliation in public schools.[4] Then the Stasi Commission reported to the President on December 11, 2003, with a series of quite specific measures. This commission was composed of a culturally, religiously, and intellectually diverse group of eminent figures. It recommended that all conspicuous signs of religious or political affiliation be banned from schools, explicitly mentioning a large cross, the headscarf, or the *kippa*. On the other hand, it proposed that discreet symbols, such as medals, small crosses, Stars of David, hands of Fatima, or small replicas of the Quran, be allowed.

Positions regarding a formal law were diverse. Teachers and school administrators strongly supported the law for two reasons. First, they defended the neutrality of the school space. Second, they were adamant that they should not be confronted with case-by-case negotiations that they did not feel qualified nor mandated to undertake. The CFCM had just been created with enormous difficulty. Its constituent organizations were far from unanimous, but they were generally opposed to the adoption of a new law. The Representative Council of French Jewish Institutions (*Conseil représentatif des institutions juives de France*, CRIF) generally supported the law, including the forbidding of the *kippa* in public schools. It was not seen as a threat to observant Jewish families, who in any case chose a private Jewish school for their children if need be. The French Jewish community is highly assimilated and is generally at ease with the maintenance of religion in the private sphere.

International attention to the French "Islamic headscarf affair" may have also influenced passions, in addition to the actual adoption of the law. Most countries of the Arab world took very strong positions against the French law (Lorcerie 2005). The reaction of other western European countries and Canadian was mixed and often incredulous. However, French public opinion was ready for a clear position by the government. The Law no. 204–228 of March 15, 2004, was adopted and took force in September 2004, the beginning of the school year. The law is brief and states

> In primary schools, as well as in lower and upper secondary schools, it is forbidden to wear signs or clothing by which students "conspicuously" show religious affiliation. It is recalled that the internal school regulations require dialogue with students prior to any disciplinary action being taken (Journal official de l'Education nationale 2004).

The law of course only applies to public schools in France. It was adopted to the general satisfaction of all political parties, but with mixed views by associations and non-governmental bodies of different persuasions. The diverse Muslim organizations including the CFCM mobilized to protest and resist at the beginning of the 2004 school year. However, during the summer, the kidnapping of

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[4]Assemblée Nationale, *Conclusions de la mission de'information de l'Assemblée Nationale sur la question des signes religieux à l'école*, 12 November 2003.

two French journalists in Iraq threatened with execution if the French law was not repealed, radically changed French Muslim attitudes. Delegations of French Muslims went to Iraq and joined other Arab leaders in appealing for the journalists' lives. The French Muslim community called on families to avoid confrontations in school. As a result, the headscarf issue seems to have lost its earlier mobilizing power.

## Current Complexities and Tensions

### The Secular School Space: What Can It Contain?

There is little doubt that the French secular school space will remain basically a place where constitutional principles remain unchallenged. There is no real public support for creating a "multicultural" environment as in the American or British contexts. This position is supported by individuals and groups of virtually all religious or cultural interests in France as well. This chapter has looked at the ways powerful external pressures and passions have actually been mediated by the French school system and other public institutions. This is not to say that the response has led to effective integration according to existing French republican values of liberty, equality, and fraternity. However, at each moment of crisis since 2000, there has been a return to the shared view of the public and private sphere. The discussion of "le fait réligieux à l'école" will probably go forward, but it is unlikely to lead to a place for any form of religious instruction or proselytism within schools.

### The French Colonial Heritage in the Public Sphere and in Education

All countries have been dealing with the way they present their own history to the next generation of youth. Within the past 10 years, France has officially recognized its own role in collaborating with the Nazi regime to deport its Jewish population; that the independence of Algeria effectively took place following a war, "la guerre d'Algérie," during which the French military engaged in torture; and that the *harkis* made a major contribution to France. In 2005, when the recognition of the *harkis* took place, an article in the law also stipulated that French schools should teach the "positive contribution" of French colonialism. As discussed earlier, that article was protested so massively that it was finally withdrawn from the law. While much has been written about the bias of one sort or another in the French history curriculum over the years, the protests in 2005 around this article of law bear witness to the fact that the French curriculum is still developed on principles that go back to Condorcet's. The school conveys a body of knowledge that is revised over time, but will be taught with the critical tools with which to analyze it, independently of the "political" passions of legislators.

### *Domestic and International Violence: A Security Approach?*

Since 2000, violence in French society and schools has been increasingly visible. An earlier section of this chapter raised some of the dilemmas created by treating violence in schools as a security issue. However, the government approach has tended primarily in that direction. It could be reasonably argued that the French approach is not different from those taken by other European countries, as well as other countries globally. In the foreseeable future, it is hard to envision the contours of real alternative policies. Three major reports in March 2006 addressed the issue from complementary poles. On March 8, 2006, the US State Department issued its annual *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* in which France was found to have increasing problems with excessive use of force by law enforcement officers, overcrowded prisons, lengthy pre-trial detention, protracted trial proceedings, anti-Muslim incidents, anti-Semitic incidents, societal violence against women, child abuse and child marriage, trafficking in persons, and discrimination based on ethnic origin. All these categories refer in one way or another to the situation of minorities, including those of Muslim background.

The second document validated on March 8, 2006, is the French Government's *White Paper on National Security and Terrorism*. This document complements legislation in 2004 and further proposes laws that outline France's determination to engage in preventive measures against any perceived terrorist threat. The document states that France is open to potential threat because of its colonial history, military presence in Muslim countries, support for "unpopular" regimes in North Africa, official secular republican institutions, its efforts to organize Islam according to a national model (CFCM), and its determination to neutralize potential threats by firm police and security action.

The third report is that of the International Crisis Group on *France and its Muslims: Riots, Djihadism and De-politicization* published on March 9, 2006. This report argues that Muslims in France are highly individualistic and find neither traditional political parties nor various Muslims associations that have emerged or evolved in recent years of ready relevance to their needs or current aspirations. They not only direct their protests against the state but they also seek the redress of wrongs through that same state, rather than through community- or religious-based groups.

The tensions discussed in this chapter are therefore likely to be reinforced in the foreseeable future. It is difficult to see how the education system can become more responsive and flexible in an increasingly polarized environment, particularly when that system has always been conceived to protect youth from outside influence and create a "safe haven."

### *"Communautarisme" or Integration?*

In conclusion, the French model has its greatest strengths and weaknesses in its relatively unique approach to internal diversity and promotion of mutual respect within individual religious and cultural identities. Even under crisis, the "undifferentiated

citizen" is a model that receives nearly universal support. The very term "community" is widely rejected. Even the most dispassionate analyses of the violence taking place since the autumn of 2005 reject simplistic identification. The gangs that are so visible in French suburbs appear to act with a combination of complex motivations, of which the ethnic, religious, or "community" origin is important, but not the sole reason. However, unwillingness in the education system to take that element into account objectively, or, even worse, to refuse to recognize it altogether, carries grave risk for the future.

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# Chapter 9
# The Inclusion of Invisible Minorities in the EU Member States: The Case of Greek Jews in Greece

**Angelyn Balodimas-Bartolomei and Nicholas Alexiou**

## Introduction

As EU societies become increasingly multicultural, multiethnic, and multireligious, the recognition of *otherness* has become a main priority in the objectives for education and training programs in the EU (European Commission 2006a). Over the years, the European Union has encouraged intercultural dialogue to raise the awareness of all those living inside and outside of the EU through various programs and initiatives (European Commission 2008a). Consequently, 2008 has been designated as the "European Year of Intercultural Dialogue" by the European Parliament and Member States of the European Union. The initiative aims at raising awareness and a deeper understanding of the identity of European citizens and of those individuals and groups belonging to different cultures, ethnicities, and religions. The proposed projects in each EU country will be implemented in schools and various cultural, athletic, and civil society organizations throughout the Union.

This study examines the case of Greece and its proposed project for the 2008 Intercultural Dialogue. The national strategy aims at "acquainting Greek people with the cultures of others and also in acquainting others with the various ethnic groups within the Greek territory (DG EAC, 2008). It is intended that such objectives will be met through theatrical and musical performances, museum exhibits, and educational means (DG EAC 2008). Although intercultural education has emerged as an integral dimension of Greek Educational Policy, difficulties and obstacles still exist in its promotion. The existence of several ethnic communities, immigrants, and minorities (Asians, Eastern Europeans, Jews, Muslims, and Roma Gypsies) within the Greek society remains inconspicuous in the national curriculum and didactic material (Dimitrakopoulos 2004). In reality, a number of these communities have constituted the country's population for thousands of years; among them, the Greek Romaniote Jewish community whose existence dates back to the Hellenistic period (Ikonomopoulos 2006–2007). Throughout time, the "Greek

A. Balodimas-Bartolomei (✉)
School of Education, North Park University, Chicago, IL, USA
e-mail: abartolomel@northpark.edu

citizens of Jewish faith" have lived harmoniously with the Greek Christians and have made many contributions to the Greek state (Constantopoulou and Veremis 1999: 9).

This study explores the status and representation of the Greek-Jewish community in Greece and the United States (mainly NY) from an educational, historical, religious, social, cultural, and political perspective and examines both the legal policies regarding minorities in Greece and the European Union, and the depiction of diversity in Greek didactic material.

## European Legal Polices and Definitions of Ethnic/National Minorities

The increasingly changing face of the European Union has brought on new challenges for the social inclusion, status, and categorization of minorities in all Member States. The preservation and promotion of cultural diversity is an integral part of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union which was proclaimed on December 12, 2007, legally binding all EU countries except Poland and the United Kingdom (European Union-Europa 2007). The document contains human rights provisions through Article 21 that prohibits discrimination against a national minority, language, religious belief, or nationality and Article 22 that emphasizes respect for the cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity (European Union-Europa 2007: 7).

The promotion and protection of Europe's cultural identity and diversity is also a main objective of the Council of Europe that was founded in 1949 and strives to foster the understanding and promotion of ethnic diversity within each country (CoE 2008).

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Recommendation (CoE 2001a) stresses "the importance of effectively protecting the rights of minorities in Europe" (CoE 2001b: 1). Furthermore, it "condemns the denial of the existence of minorities and minority rights in several Council of Europe member states" and emphasizes that "the protection of minorities is essential to the implementation of fundamental human rights, stability, democratic security and peace on the European continent" (CoE 2001b: 1).

To date, numerous legal policies such as those of the Maastricht Treaty and the provisions of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF – HR) have created frameworks for mutual respect, tolerance, and protection of diverse people within Europe, North America, and Central Asia (IHF-HR 2007). While a number of international and European bodies and organizations have been established to monitor the protection and integration of minorities and immigrants, the process is very complex due to the diverse situation, government policy, and linguistic differences that exist within Europe (Phillips 1995). Although all EU countries are characterized by varying degrees of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity, there is still no universally accepted definition of the term "minority." There is often elusiveness in the varied style of interpretation when distinguishing the difference between a *national* and an *ethnic minority* (Benedikter 2006: 2; Ferle

and Šetinc 2004: 6; Hughes and Sasse 2007: 5; Jovanovic 2007: 21). Economic, social, historical, ethnic, and political factors have all contributed to the lack of adopting a universal definition, thus leaving significant numbers of people without minority rights. Ferle and Šetinc accentuate the complexity of defining these two terms in stating that quite often they act as "synonyms but sometimes also create incompatible or even excluding set of concepts" (Ferle and Šetinc 2004: 6). Jovanovic (2007) clarifies that international enactments (multilateral conventions, bilateral treaties, and resolutions of international organizations) appear to incorporate the words *ethnic*, *religious*, *or linguistic* when referring to minority groups, whereas European initiatives emphasize the term *national* for EU minorities (Ferle and Šetinc 2004: 8).

The complexity in finding a widely accepted concept of a minority is nothing new. If we examine the first minority treaties, we see that in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles minorities were referred to as "those different from the majority of population in terms of race, language or religion" and that the Treaty of Saint-Germain refers to such people as "ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities" (Ferle and Šetinc 2004: 7). Even though both of these documents give mention to religious and linguistic characteristics, they differ in including race and ethnicity as an ingredient of one's individual identity. This ambiguity continues to occur in later UN documents for the protection of minorities. Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1971) states that "in those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their language" (OHCHR 1971: 1). Majtenyi (1997) claims that "by using the adjectives ethnic, religious, and linguistic together, as in this Article, international documents seek to avoid situations when it would be necessary to take a stand on which of this adjectives describes a given minority best" (Majtenyi 1998: 6). The complexity of finding a widely accepted definition of minority is further aggravated by the interchangeability of the terms "ethnic" and "national." An example of this is the Hungarian decree that ratified Article 27 of the official text using the word *national* in the place of *ethnic* (Majtenyi 1998: 5–6).

Although Article 27 of the International Covenant was embraced and accepted by many, the connotation of minority did not meet the needs of all nations. In 1976, Francesco Capotorti was elected as Special Rapporteur of the Subcommission to further work on a definition for Article 27. He defined the term "minority" as:

> A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of the state, in a non-dominant position, whose members – being nationals of the State – possess ethnic, religious of linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language (Capotorti 1991, as cited in Castellino 2003).

Unfortunately, this definition also failed to achieve a general approval and was criticized by a number of governments such as Greece, for being too vague and irrelevant in defining the diversified minority situations in Europe (Jovanovic 2007).

In recent years, the Council of Europe (COE) has played a crucial role in addressing and promoting minorities and minority rights by developing standards and mechanisms in Europe. The 1993 Parliamentary Assembly's Recommendation 1201, on an additional protocol on the rights of national minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights ( CoE 1995: 3), presented the concept of a national minority (referring to a group of persons) in a state as those who:

- reside on the territory of that state and are citizens thereof;
- maintain long-standing, firm, and lasting ties with that state;
- display distinctive ethnic, cultural, religious, or linguistic characteristics;
- are sufficiently representative, although smaller in number than the rest of the population of that state or of a region of that state;
- are motivated by a concern to preserve together that which constitutes common identity, including their culture, their traditions, their religion, or their language.

The current European website My Europe – Minorities in Europe (2005), which is a web-based site aimed at helping teachers raise their pupils' awareness of European youth, defines minority groups (the term minority tends to refer to groups of people who, according to a particular set of criteria, are fewer in populations than other ethnic groups) (Europe 2005: 1) as follows:

1. An ethnic group is a cultural group, whose members are readily distinguishable by outsiders based on traits originating from a common racial, national, linguistic, or religious source. If their number is a smaller one and if they do not have their own national state, they are called an ethnic minority.
2. A national minority lives in another nation, but their ethnic group has got its own government in another national state, e.g., Danish people living in Germany or Hungarians living in Romania.

To date, there continues to be a lack of consensus on the definition of minority, and ambiguity still exists in such words as national and ethnic, along with the identifying cultural markers that constitute such groups. Table 9.1 (see Appendix) provides a classification of concepts/definitions used in official documents.

## Minorities in Greece

Given that the focus of this chapter is on the Romaniote Greeks, it is necessary to first examine the stance of *minorities* and the definitions used for the various *ethnic groups* in Greece. As previously mentioned, the process of identifying ethnic and national minorities varies in each country due to the diverse situation, government policy, and linguistic interpretation. In this sense, Greece is a good example of such variations. In a document prepared by the Minority Rights Group-Greece (MRG-G) (2000), Greece is described as a "unitary state maintaining an official ideology that has been built almost exclusively around the concept of a single nation, with a common creed [Greek Orthodox] and [Greek] language" (Stavros

1996: 117). This unitarian principle is reflected in all the Greek constitutions since Greece's independence and explains why even though minorities exist, the Greek state acknowledges the existence of only one official minority group; the Muslims of Thrace – *Mousoulmaniki Meionotita* (1.3% of the population according to the CIA Factbook 2008) whose rights have been guaranteed by the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. There are no other official ethnic minorities in Greece. However, the approximately 35,000 Armenians and 5500 Jews are often recognized as minorities in country profiles and various references ( Wiki/Greece 2008: 5–6). Ninety-three per cent of the population is Greek and 7% are foreign citizens (percentages represent citizenship, since Greece does not collect data on ethnicity) (CIA Factbook: 2008). However, the Greek Helsinki Monitor (GHM) and Minority Rights Group Greece (MRG-G) state that 7% of the population claiming a Greek national identity also maintain an ethnolinguistic and/or religious specificity (Greek Helsinki Monitor 1999). In the same document, the Greek Helsinki Monitor (1999: 4) defines minority in Greece as:

1. Those bearing one major distinctive feature (religion, language, cultural ties)
2. Those presenting more than one major differences with regard to the rest of the population.

Thus, the Romaniote Greeks could then be categorized in the second definition since they bear two distinctive features – religion and cultural ties.

In contrast, Dimitrakopoulos (2004) in the *Analytical Report on Education: National Focal Point for Greece* states that there is no official definition for "Greek citizens of Jewish faith," since they are not considered legally as a minority, but as a religious community (Dimitrakopoulos 2004: 41). However, Tsitselikis (2004) claims that legally there are three religious minorities in Greece, namely, the Catholics, the Muslims, and the Jews (Tsitselikis 2004).

It is evident that depending on the source, the concepts of "official," "ethnic," "national," "religious," and "recognized" minority continue to be inconsistent within the Greek State (refer to Table 9.2). Richard Clogg (2002) states that the terms "national" and "ethnic" remain unclear and are often indistinguishable. "Until recently there was no unambiguous expression in Greek for 'ethnic minority', despite the fact that the word 'ethnic' in English is clearly of Greek derivation" (Clogg 2002: xv). Thus, the original term *ethniki meionotita* used to describe *national minorities* was unsatisfactory since the expression has different connotations than the term *ethnic minority* (Clogg 2004). Clogg adds that the current term *ethnotiki meionotita* – ethnic minority – is still not widely understood. Table 9.2 (see Appendix) illustrates the inconsistency in definitions on official documents of Greece.

The Hellenic Republic-Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2007) states that "as the birthplace of democracy, Greece attributes fundamental importance to the protection of human rights, fundamental freedoms, the consolidation of democratic institutions and the rule of law" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2007: 1). However, throughout the years Greece has been criticized for its position on human rights and the non-recognition of religious and ethnic minorities in reports from the European

Parliament and organizations such as the Helsinki Watch (Andersen 1996). Paskal Milo (1997), Deputy of the Assembly of the Republic of Albania, writes that authorities and official sources tend to extract manipulative figures from the data collected from minority sources, thus leading to incorrect numbers and information. Beneditker (2006) also stresses that by denying the existence of its national minorities, the Greek state opposes the real implementation of modern minority protection provisions. In 1998, Professor Christos Rozakis, former deputy foreign minister of Greece (as cited in Greek Helsinki, *Minorities and Media in Greece* 2000) stated that although it is apparent that there are minorities in Greece, the exact number of members of each group is not easily discernable. This is due to the fact that "recent censuses have not addressed the issues of national/ethnic origin, language and religion" (Greek Helsinki 2000: 2). He adds that "it may be assumed that this attitude of not including questions in recent censuses about even the linguistic and religious preferences of the population is consistent with a more general policy to discourage discussion on issues concerning ethnic, linguistic or religious differences in Greek society" (Greek Helsinki 2000: 2). Tsitselikis (2004) insists that such failure in acknowledging groups claiming to have a different ethnic or national character is "the biggest impasse on the Greek minority legislation" (Tsitselikis 2004: 1).

## Romaniote Jews

As one of the main focuses of this chapter is that on the Romaniote Jews, in what follows, a brief history about this group, both in Greece and in the United States, is presented.

Romaniote Jews have lived in Greece since the third century BC tracing their origins to the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. The first documents give evidence of their presence in Thessaloniki, when Kassandros, the brother-in-law of Alexander the Great, invited the Jews from Alexandria to settle in the city (Ikonomopoulos 2006–2007).

The Romaniotes are the oldest European Diaspora Jewish community and are distinct from both Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Of the 2300-year presence of the Jews in Greece, the Jewish population was comprised of only Romaniotes for the first 1800 years. Marcia Haddad Ikonomopoulos explains that the term Romaniote is a historical term dating back to the Roman Empire. These Hellenized Jews spoke Greek and were citizens of the Roman Empire and thus were named Romaniotes. The Greek-speaking Jews, like Jews throughout history, were and still are a small minority surrounded by non-Jewish majorities. They absorbed many of the attributes, customs, traditions, and the language of the surrounding Greeks, the non-Jewish majority. In addition, they adopted Greek family names and conducted their religious services in the Greek-Judeo language and continue to sustain it to this today.

After the Expulsion Order of 1492 in Spain, the Sephardic Jews entered Ottoman Greece. The Romaniotes incorporated elements of the Sephardic culture into their own but remained Greek speaking and maintained their distinct synagogues.

Thessaloniki became home to the Sephardic Jews and eventually grew into one of the largest Jewish communities in the world for nearly two centuries and thus it was called Mother Israel by many (Jewish National Library 2009). By the second decade of the twentieth century, there were 24 official Sephardic communities in Greece (Foundation for the Advancement of Sephardic Studies and Culture – FASSAC 2008). A few remaining Romaniote communities were located west of the Pindos Mountain Range, and in the course of time the city of Ioannina (Yannina-Janina), northwest of Greece near the Albanian border, became the largest Romaniote community. The Romaniotes would continue speaking Judeo-Greek or Yevanic, using a mixture of Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Turkish words that were also incorporated into their Orthodox liturgy (Connerty 2003). Two synagogues existed in Ioannina, one inside the *kastro* (the fortified part of the city) named Kehila Kedosha and one outside. Kehila Kedosha is the only synagogue that remains today.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, about 2000 Romaniotes lived in Ioannina. Most of these people were poor, conservative Jews who engaged in trade and crafts. During the first massive wave of emigration from 1881 to 1924, several Romaniotes emigrated to America, where the majority settled in New York. Many left Greece for economic or political reasons, since the Epirus region was a combat zone in the struggle between Greece and the fading Ottoman Empire (Alexiou 2006–2007; Ikonomopoulos 2006–2007). Those Romaniotes were fortunate as their fate would prevent them from becoming victims of the Holocaust.

At the onset of World War Two, there were only 1950 Romaniote Jews living in the city. During the Holocaust, 1860 of them were eventually deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau and most never returned. Although the Holocaust did not distinguish between Spanish-speaking Sephardic Jews and Greek-speaking Romaniotes, 87% of Greek Jewry would perish in the Holocaust (Ikonomopoulos 2006–2007). In the mid-1950s, a small group of Romaniotes, who had survived the Holocaust, emigrated to America after a series of catastrophic earthquakes that devastated many areas of the country (Alexiou 2006–2007). Most of the men who emigrated to America during the various migration periods engaged in some aspect of the textile industry.

In the course of time, a small number of Sephardic and Ashkenazi congregations were established in the Lower East side of New York City. However, the Romaniotes had difficulty worshipping in these synagogues. The Ashkenazi synagogues used different prayer liturgies, Torah services as well as an uncommon language in the liturgy. Even though the liturgy of the Sephardic was similar to that of the Romaniotes, the language of the former was Judesmo-Ladino and not Romaniote Greek. While traditional Hebrew is used in both cases for most of the services, piyyuttim – distinctive poetry that is strictly Romaniote – is inserted into the Romaniote liturgy (Alexiou 2006–2007; Ikonomopoulos 2006–2007). Thus, the language dilemma was the deciding point in establishing a Romaniote synagogue in New York.

In 1927, Kehila Kedosha Janina Synagogue (the Holy Congregation bearing the same name as the synagogue in Ioannina) was erected on Broome and Allen Streets, in the Lower East side of Manhattan. Nestled among decorative embroidered

parochets (curtains) made by the Romaniote women, handmade wooden furnishings crafted by the Romaniote men, and hanging illuminated lamps, Kehila Kedosha Janina (KKJ) would be the setting where the Romaniote Jews would perpetuate to future generations, the traditions, culture, heritage, and language brought over from their motherland. Although the synagogue was built with the typical Romaniote Orthodox characteristics that are found in most Romaniote synagogues, such as benches facing each other and an upstairs balcony where women sit, the synagogue also incorporated some unique features. In contrast to Romaniote synagogues that run east to west, KKJ was built running north south and the *bimah* (area of the synagogue where the services are conducted – the word originates from the Greek *vima*, meaning rostrum) was placed on the north side instead of on the west. A Torah scroll that was brought over from Ioannina still sits in the Aron Kodesh (Ark-area where the Torah scrolls are kept) today.

As the congregants began moving away from the Lower East side, other Romaniote Synagogues were established in Harlem and the Bronx; however, none stand today. Kehila Kedosha Janina is the only remaining Romaniote synagogue in the western hemisphere. KJJ is now a historical landmark designated by the City of New York and is on the state and national registry. In 1997, a museum was added to the balcony where the women sit. It displays artifacts of the Romaniote Jews such as costumes, religious articles, archival records, and photographs. It also contains a gift shop and a library.

The museum within the synagogue attempts to convey the history, story, and culture of Greek Jewry and most specifically that of the Romaniote Jews. From the time of their arrival to America, although the Romaniotes continued to be torn between their dual Greek–Jewish identities, they managed to maintain and preserve their religion, culture, and language in America. During the 1940s and 1950s, Romaniote children attended Greek Schools at Greek Orthodox churches. They were often discriminated against by fellow Jews for not knowing how to speak Yiddish. Their Greek Jewish pride led to the establishment of Pashas, an organization of Romaniote Greek Jews that aimed to preserve and perpetuate Romaniote culture which included the language, traditional Greek and regional Epirotiki dances, and their traditional Kosher Greek meals which are still today predominant in holiday meals and daily diet.

In 2001 and 2002, Professor Nicholas Alexiou performed a study/interview on 20 Romaniotes in New York. He found that the Romaniotes continue to identify and refer to themselves as Greek Jews and incorporate many Greek cultural elements into their lifestyle. Seventy percent of the respondents reported a strong or extremely strong attachment to Greece and to their Greek identity. In addition, all participants had visited Greece and 75% visit it annually. Greek food is an integral part of their diet. Ninety percent asserted that they understand Greek and 40% were able to speak it comfortably. Over a third reported that they could read Greek satisfactory. As Alexiou states, these percentages are quite high for second-generation – 75% of the respondents were American born – descendents of immigrants of the Great Migration, especially when compared to other Greek Americans. Alexiou asserts that amazingly the Romaniotes have chosen to define themselves as Greek

Jews, identify with the motherland, and keep their ethnicity. Ikonomopoulos adds that a large number of Romaniotes are currently in the process of trying to obtain Greek citizenship – a right extended to the children or grandchildren of Greek-born citizens.

In addition, Alexiou maintains that although the Romaniotes comprise a small community, they, along with other Greeks who maintain non-Greek Orthodox religions, have been mostly ignored and missing from Greek American Studies. The Romaniotes are underrepresented in American Jewish bibliographies and official records as well. Moreover, Greek Jews are not adequately presented in Holocaust museums around the world (Alexiou 2006–2007), although Greece suffered one of the highest percentages of losses in Jewish population due to the Shoah. They are the "minority of minorities" (Nachman 2004, p. 6) and the "under-told and often misquoted story of Greek Jewry" (Dostis as cited by Nachman 2004: vii).

## Greek Jews in Today's Greece

Today, it is estimated that there are about 5000 Jews living in Greece, from both the Romaniote and the Sephardic subgroups (Greek News Agenda 2008). Very few who come from Romaniote backgrounds are familiar with the Judeo-Greek language and distinctive liturgy (Ikonomopoulos 2006). Mixed marriages, aging population, and younger generations who no longer see the benefits in officially declaring themselves Jews have contributed to the decline of the Romaniote identity. The Jews that identify themselves as Romaniotes live mainly in Athens. Only about 58 Jews live in Ioannina.

The educational rights of the Jewish community were granted through Law 1623 of 1882 (Dimitrakopoulos 2004: 41). Today there are three Jewish primary schools in Athens, Larissa, and Thessaloniki. One hundred and thirty pupils (Sephardic/Romaniote) attend all three schools. Classes follow the national curriculum and in addition they include the teaching of the Jewish religion, Hebrew, and Jewish history. Religious instruction in the Greek Orthodox dogma is mandatory for all students in public elementary and secondary schools, but the non-Greek Orthodox students are exempted from this requirement. Freedom of religion allows the Jewish community to establish places of worship. There are about 10 synagogues in Greece. All are Sephardic, except for one Romaniote Synagogue in Ioannina and one in Athens (across the street from the Sephardic Synagogue) which only opens for high holidays. Several non-functioning ancient synagogues can be visited throughout the country.

The *Kentriko Israilitiko Symvoulio* (Central Board of Jewish Communities or KIS) is the governing body of the Greek Jewry in Greece. It is a Legal Body under State Law, under the jurisdiction of the Greek Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, and represents the Jewish communities and organizations in Greece before the Greek Authorities and foreign organizations (KIS 2008). Among these domestic organizations is the Jewish Museum of Greece, which was first established in a small room next to a synagogue in Athens. The museum soon outgrew its premises and

for a number of years was situated in various other buildings. It eventually acquired its legal status as a non-profit foundation, leading to the purchase of a nineteenth-century neoclassical building in Plaka (the old city of Athens). The building was renovated and then in 1998 it was inaugurated, opening its doors to the public. The museum's outstanding collections include more than 8000 original artifacts that manifest the 23 centuries of Jewish presence in Greece. Through its numerous exhibitions, educational seminars, and publications, the museum continues to pass on to many the meaning and importance of the Greek Jewry (Jewish Museum of Greece 2007).

## Intercultural Education in the European Union

In the increasingly multicultural European society, the urgent need for the development of intercultural skills of European citizens, through the promotion of intercultural education, has become one of the European Union's strategic priorities and a basic key to European integration. The Treaty of Lisbon (Eurostep-EEPA 2008) states

- the Community should contribute to the development of quality education... while fully respecting the responsibility of Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity (Article 149 par. 1)
- the Community shall contribute to the flowering of cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bring common cultural heritage to the fore (Article 151 par. 1).

At the twenty-first Session of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education held in Athens (November10–20, 2003), the European Ministers of Education called on the Council of Europe to enhance "the quality of education as a response to the challenges posed by the diversity of our societies, by making democracy learning and intercultural education key components of education reform" (CoE 2003: 4). The Council highlights the importance of intercultural education by stating that the encompassing themes of "inclusion, participation, and learning to live together provide the means of handling the challenges posed by multiculturalism in a context that promotes democratic standards for conflict resolution" (Batelaan 2003: 3, also cited in the Council of Europe 2003: 4). Wilson emphasizes that "education can help avoid the fracturing of society along cultural, ethnic, linguistic or religious lines by being inclusive to the greatest extent possible" (Wilson 2002: 7). The Lifelong Learning Programme of the EU Commission (2006) encourages member states to exchange best practices, to develop models for integrating culture in education, and to build synergies between the world of culture and education systems (European Commission 2006b). Additionally, the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2007 and 2007) accentuates in its preamble that the Union should "contribute to the preservation and to the development of these common values (human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity),

while respecting the diversity of the cultures and the traditions of the peoples of Europe as well as the national identities of the Member States" (European Union Europa 2004).

Thus, from the above-mentioned documentation, it is evident that the notion of respecting and promoting cultural diversity has undertaken greater significance. This is manifest in various programs, such as the Lifelong Learning Programme, the new Cultural Programme, the Youth in Action Programme, and the Europe for Citizens Programme (European Commission 2008b). However, although several models and programs have been developed and implemented in the educational systems throughout the Union, the acceptance and inclusion of minorities still remains a problem educationally, socially, and politically. As in all parts of the world, minorities have encountered and continue to encounter disabilities of various kinds (Clogg 2002). Therefore, as Ambassador Mr. Dirk Jan van den Berg, Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the UN on behalf of the European Union, quoted on December 10, 2004, it is imperative that education is directed to the "full development of the human personality and to strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (European Union 2004: 1).

## Greece – Dilemmas in Recognition and Representation of Minorities

The social, political, and economic changes in Europe have posed new demands on the educational system of Greece (UNESCO 2004). Scientific and technological innovations along with the necessity to develop a new European identity have prompted educational policy makers to rethink the curriculum (UNESCO 2004). Accordingly in 1996, the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs (MNER) redesigned the curriculum to meet the educational needs of social groups with a particular social, cultural, or religious identity (MNER 2008). The MNER adopted a cross-cultural education policy that takes an interest in the education of young people with diverse educational, social, or cultural identities and also introduced an intercultural education approach in the national curriculum. The Pedagogical Institute of Greece asserts that the current school curriculum raises awareness of the cultural and linguistic identity issue in the context of a multicultural society (MNER 2008). In the past decade, numerous intercultural projects have been implemented in schools throughout the country by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in cooperation with the European Union, UNESCO, the Associated Schools Project Network, and the Council of Europe (European Commission Eurydice 2005/2006). In 2005, in the framework of the European Year of Citizenship through Education, Greece developed activities aiming at familiarizing pupils with the need to fight against social exclusion and all forms of discrimination (European Commission Eurydice 2005/2006). However, while the government has made great strides in the development and implementation of intercultural education, it was also confronted with new challenges, issues, and criticism in the areas of curriculum, textbooks, and teacher training (Damanakis 2005; Dascalopoulos 1998; Mattheou 2003).

In the past, critics have expressed their concern over the lack of Holocaust education and the underrepresentation of Greek Jews in school textbooks. In 1997 Professor Anna Frangoudaki wrote about the "inexplicable… nearly complete absence of Jews in Greek schoolbooks" (Frangoudaki 1997: 13). In 2002, the Greek Helsinki Monitor claimed that what Frangoudaki had confirmed to be happening over the years still was going on, as the current history textbooks still make no reference of Jewish communities and to their economic or political contributions to Greece (Greek Helsinki Monitor 2002).

Tsitselikis (2005) asserts that mainstream education does not really provide knowledge on immigrants, minorities, or any other kind of otherness in Greece, since the system, according to Pavlou, is still based on "exclusion rather than inclusion and on ethnocentrism rather than on multiculturalism" (Pavlou 2007: 9). The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2004) claims that "there are still no provisions for the promotion of diversity in Greek education and that the language, history and culture of ethnic minorities are nonexistent in instruction" (EUMC 2004: 90). The Greek Helsinki Report (1999) accentuates the absence of reference to minorities in several University curricula as well (Greek Helsinki Monitor 1999).

The social anthropologist Giorgos Tsimouris argues that teachers in Greek intercultural secondary schools lack the training in understanding and teaching immigrant students. In addition, they don't know how to teach non-Greek pupils. He also adds that the Greek curriculum is still ethnocentric (KEMO 2006).

Lastly, a number of documents and scholars have addressed the fact that the state has taken no proactive measures to present minorities, immigrants, and diverse groups in Greek textbooks and when the latter are represented in history textbooks, the image is often negative (Clogg 2002; Dimitrakopoulos 2004; Greek Helsinki Monitor,1999). Such negligence violates Article 6 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995), which states that countries should "take effective measures to promote respect and understanding of all persons living on their territory, irrespective of those persons' ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, in the fields of education, culture and media" (CoE 1995).

## The Representation of Greek Jews in the National Curriculum

In October 2002, the Ministers of Education of the Council of Europe passed a resolution stating that a "Day of Remembrance" should be instituted in all EU schools to commemorate the Holocaust (Yad Vashem 2006). In addition, on November 21, 2005, the United Nations unanimously adopted a resolution designating January 27 as International Holocaust Remembrance Day. The resolution urges every country to honor the memory of Holocaust victims. It also encourages the development of Holocaust educational programs in schools throughout the world. To date several EU countries have legislated January 27 as National Remembrance Holocaust Day

and have also implemented Holocaust education within the framework of formal education.

In the past 4 years, the Greek Ministry of Education has been highly committed to the promotion of Holocaust Education (Hellenic Republic Embassy of Greece in the United States 2007). Since October 2004, the Ministry in conjunction with the Jewish Museum of Greece (Athens) has conducted an annual seminar, *Teaching the Holocaust in Greece*, for elementary and secondary school teachers. The seminars have provided educators with the necessary means for teaching about the Holocaust and have also resulted in the distribution of the Holocaust materials which are used in schools around Greece (Jewish Museum 2008).

The Ministry was also engaged in several other initiatives, such as distributing circulars to all Greek schools that encourage students to attend programs at the Jewish Museums of Athens, Thessaloniki, and Rhodes. In 2006, it sent an open invitation to all teachers to attend a seminar at Yad Vashem – the International School for Holocaust Studies. Eighteen teachers participated in this event. In January 2006, it sponsored a pan-Hellenic essay writing competition "The Greek Jews and the importance of the remembrance of the Holocaust" for all Greek students across the country. The Pedagogical Institute also encourages scholars to engage in research on Holocaust education.

While there are no specific legal directives pertaining to Holocaust education in Greece, it is now a mandatory part of the history curriculum under the topic of World War Two. These parts of history of the Holocaust are taught from the sixth grade of primary school to the third grade of Lyceum (senior high school). The Holocaust theme is also incorporated in the fields of literature, sociology, political science, and religion (Hellenic Republic – MNER 2006).

In addition to teaching about the Holocaust, the Greek school curricula from sixth grade of elementary school onward also include segments on the History of Greek and Spanish Jews, Judaism, the Jewish contribution to civilization, and the culture of the Jewish nation (MNERA, 2006). The history textbook of the third grade of *Gymnasio* (junior high school) focuses on the history of Thessaloniki, providing opportunities to students to learn about the once-prosperous Jewish community through maps, photographs, and personal testimonies of Holocaust survivors. The module aims at helping students realize the loss caused by the extermination of one of Greece's minority groups (Hellenic Republic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs – MNER 2006). Furthermore, supplementary material is available for distribution to all schools from the Jewish Museum of Greece, various Greek universities, and the Pedagogical Institute (Hellenic Republic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs – MNER 2006).

## Project

In this context, a small research project has been recently conducted. One of the main objectives of this study was to examine the representation of Greece's Jewish

Community, and in particular the Romaniotes, in the field of education, through the analysis of current Greek textbooks and other didactic material.

## Procedure

Information was taken from the *Report of Teaching of the Holocaust in Greece* 2006, by analysis of textbooks (Published by the Pedagogical Institute, the Jewish Museum of Greece, and the Universities of Athens and Crete) and other didactic material (CDs) from sixth-grade curriculum of the *Demotiko Scholeio* (elementary school), the *Gymnasio* (junior high school), and the *Lykeio* (senior high school). The materials were categorized according to: the type of textbook (history, literature, religion); the designated level (elementary, junior high, or senior high school) of textbook; the specific theme of the lesson and its objectives (if listed); and its thematic focus (community, Holocaust, religion, culture, mythology).

## Results Concerning the Inclusion of Romaniote Jews in the National Curriculum

As can be observed from the relevant Tables in the appendix, the Holocaust theme is incorporated in several history, literature, and religion textbooks of the elementary, junior high, and senior high schools. The contribution of the Jewish nation to both civilization and Greek nation is included in the junior and senior high school textbooks. The religion of Jews is discussed in the elementary school religion textbook as well in the history textbook and the supplementary materials for the junior high school. These supporting materials provide the opportunity to students to learn about the culture and mythology of the Jewish people. Some University Faculties of Theology too offer Hebrew language classes. The junior high school history textbook and the CD, along with the senior high school history textbook, give references to a handful of Jewish communities in Greece such as the Jews of Thessaloniki, Corfu, and Kavala. However, the recognition of the Romaniote Jews in Greek textbooks is not much discussed. Moreover, the textbooks do not bring out the Romaniote Jews' contribution to the Greek society and their uniqueness.

## Summary

Several EU documents, initiatives, and programs have successfully brought out the importance and need for intercultural education throughout the Union. Such initiatives are helping the citizens of Europe to understand the concept of "otherness" and the necessity for incorporating such themes into school curricula. The 2008 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue has motivated each of the 27 Member

States to design projects that will raise awareness and a deeper understanding of the identities of European students (European Union Education and Culture 2007).

Whereas much progress has been made throughout the Union, the complexity of defining citizenship and minority status continues to make this progress elusive. Even though all Member States are striving to establish minority rights, political, historical, and social factors prevent minorities from fully participating in the society of the majority. Thus, minorities continue to encounter educational, social, and political problems.

Greece has made remarkable progress in the adoption of programs that focus on "otherness" and on cultural diversity in both the educational and the social domains. The National Strategy for the 2008 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue had several promising objectives that aimed at raising the awareness on the existence of diverse groups within the Greek society. In fact, one of the objectives focuses on promoting the recognition of the country's existing Jewish communities. In the past, Greece has been heavily criticized from scholars and international and European organizations on its stance toward immigrants and minorities. Throughout the last decade, the Ministry of Education has also done an outstanding job in incorporating the Holocaust theme throughout all levels of education and in collaborating with the Jewish Museum in teacher training seminars. However, there is still room for the inclusion and presentation of invisible minorities in the Greek educational framework.

Lastly, the Romaniote Jewish community in New York continues to perpetuate the heritage of its people – the invisible minority – that was once a thriving community in Greece, but, which unfortunately, is still generally so unknown to many throughout the world. This group along with so many other diverse groups in the world is attempting to foster its identity and rich cultural heritage. It is through initiatives such as the Holocaust project in Greece, the 2008 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and textbooks which clearly present the diverse minorities of the Union, that EU students will be given opportunities to raise their awareness and develop a deeper understanding of the identity of European citizens and of those individuals and groups belonging to different cultures, ethnicities, and religions.

# Appendix

**Table 9.1** Official documents/categories/definitions characteristic of minorities/ethnic groups

| Source | Category/Definition | Characteristics | Jews |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1919 Treaty of Versailles | *Minority* | Race, language, or *religion* | Yes |
| Treaty of Saint-Germain | *Minority* | Ethnic, *religious*, and linguistic minorities | Yes |
| In 1993, the Parliamentary Assembly's Recommendation 1201 | *National Minority* . . . reside on the territory of that state and are citizens thereof . . . are sufficiently representative, although smaller in number than the rest of the population of that state or of a region of that state | . . . display distinctive ethnic, cultural, **religious,** or linguistic characteristics . . . are motivated by a concern to preserve together that which constitutes their common identity, including their culture, their traditions, their religion, or their language | Yes |
| My Europe | *Ethnic Group* When their number is a smaller one and they don't have their own national state, they are an *Ethnic Minority* | Racial, national, linguistic, or *religious* | Yes |
| My Europe | *National Minority* . . . live in another nation, but their ethnic group has got its own government in another national state | Racial, national, linguistic, or *religious* | No |
| UN (Capotorti 1991) | *Minority* Compactly or dispersedly settled on the territory of a state Smaller in number than the rest of the population | Which have ethnic**,** linguistic, or cultural features different from the rest of the population | Yes |

**Table 9.2** Greek definitions of minority

| Source | Category/Definition | Characteristics | Jews |
|---|---|---|---|
| Richard Clogg (2002) | National Minority – ethniki meiontita<br>Ethnic Minority – Greece *ethnotiki meionotita* | | Yes |
| Greek Helsinki Report (2000) | *Minority* | 1. Bearing *one* distinctive feature (*religion*, language, or *cultural ties*)<br>2. Bearing more than one major difference with regard to the rest of the population | Yes |
| Tsitselikis (2004) | *Official Minority* | Muslims of Thrace | No |
| Tsitselikis (2004) | *Legal Minority* | Catholics, Muslims, and Jews (*Religious*) | Yes |
| Antigone-Information and Documentation Centre (2004) National Focus Point for Greece | *Jews legally are not a minority* | They are a *Religious Community* | Yes |

# Tables Providing Information About Greek Curriculum Materials Concerning Jewish Communities

**Table 9.3** Textbooks and circulars for Greek schools

| Institution | Textbook | Grade | Area | Objective/theme |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pedagogical Institute | Special text | NS | *Contribution* *Holocaust* | Contribution of Jewish Community to economic and social life in Greece<br>Tragic fate of World War II<br>Efforts of Greeks to save them |
| Jewish Museum of Greece | Ordered by MNERA | NS | *Holocaust* | For distribution in all school libraries as supported material in teaching |
| General Secretariat for Youth Funded | 2006 | NS | *Holocaust* | For teachers and students at both the national and local levels |
| Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece | The Holocaust of the Greek Jewry-Monuments and Memories | | | |
| Textbooks Elementary School – Sixth Grade | | | | |
| Pedagogical Institute | History: Modern and Contemporary Times (p. 109) | Sixth | *Holocaust* | Concentration Camps Jews-Extermination |
| Pedagogical Institute | *Language:* War and Peace (pp. 74–75)<br>Life is Beautiful (p.87) | Sixth | *Holocaust* | Excerpt from Anne Frank's Diary<br>Recommended to watch Roberto Benini's film<br>Search websites on human rights |
| Pedagogical Institute | *Religion:* Religion-Searching for Truth in Our Life (pp. 104–106) | Sixth | *Religion* | Jews and Their Religion |

**Table 9.4**  Textbooks and CDs: Gymnasio – Junior high school

| Institution | Textbook | Grade | Area | Objective/Theme |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pedagogical Institute | *History:* History of Ancient Times (pp. 19–20) | First-G | *Contribution Religion* | History of Jewish Nation and its contribution to civilization<br>Quote from Old Testament how God through Moses helped the Jews escape from the Egyptians |
| Pedagogical Institute | *Religion* (p. 116) | First-G | *Holocaust* | Extermination of Jews during World War II |
| Pedagogical Institute | *Literature* | Second-G | *Holocaust* | Large excerpt from Anne Frank's Diary<br>Websites in teacher's book (p. 36) |
| Pedagogical Institute | *History* (p. 334) | Third-G | *Holocaust* | Reference to Holocaust and relation with ideological origins of racism and Nazism<br>New textbook contains long account of persecution of Greek Jews<br>Several photos, authentic literary texts, personal testimonies, and references to relevant books and films |
| Pedagogical Institute | *History:* Local History (pp. 157-160) *CD* | Third-G | *Community* | *Jews of Thessaloniki* and their tragic fate<br>*History of Jewish Community in Corfu*<br>CD – containing information and photographs about *Jewish Community of Kavala* |
| Pedagogical Institute | *CD* | JH | *Holocaust Community/ Holocaust* | Photographs relating to Jews persecution<br>*Map of Jewish Communities in Greece* that was dissolved during the war |

**Table 9.5** Textbooks and CDs – Lyceum

| Institution | Textbook | Grade | Area | Objective/Theme |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pedagogical Institute | *History:* European Culture and Its Roots (pp. 68–70) Optional Course | First-L | *Community-Spain* | History of Jews in Spain |
| Pedagogical Institute | *History* (pp. 37–41) | First-L | *Culture* | Culture of the Jewish Nation |
| Pedagogical Institute | *History:* Topics of Modern Greek History (p. 48) | Third- L | *Contribution* | Contribution of Jews to Labor<br><br>Union and first multinational trade union in Thessaloniki (the Federation) |
| Pedagogical Institute | *History* (pp. 234 and 261) (p. 260) | Third- L | *Holocaust* | Photographs of concentration camps<br>Excerpt of Poliakof-Wolf's book "The Third Reich and the Jews"<br>New textbook includes special section on "War Crimes-The Holocaust" |
| Pedagogical Institute | *Language Book:* The Bitter Acquaintance with Racism (p. 234) (pp. 244–247) | L | *Holocaust* | Cruelty of racism to the Jews<br>Analysis of racism and intolerance in European History-Third Reich era |
| Pedagogical Institute | *History:* History of Modern and Contemporary World (pp. 120, 122) | Tech. Voc. L<br><br>Second L | *Holocaust* | Reference to concentration camps, extermination of the Jews, and the Third Reich's overall planning |
| Pedagogical Institute | *Kallipateira Programme* | All | *Holocaust* | Protection of human rights and principle of equality |
| University of Crete | Roots of History | Schools Abroad | *Community* | *Greek Jews of Thessaloniki* Federation and election of a Jew as member of Parliament in Northern Greece – Jan. 1920 |

**Table 9.6** Supplementary textbooks and CDs

| Institution | Textbook | Grade | Area | Objective/Theme |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| University of Athens Intercultural Education Centre | *History of People* (pp. 100–105) Teacher's Guide (pp. 309–321) | Elem. School | *Community* | Information about the Jews |
| University of Athens Intercultural Education Centre | *Religions and Arts* (pp. 38–39) | Jr. High | *Religion* | Judaism |
| University of Athens Intercultural Education Centre | *The Child Through the Centuries and Civilizations* (pp. 77–79) | Elem. School | *Holocaust* | Children under Nazi rule and the Holocaust |
| University of Athens Intercultural Education Centre | *Wall Multicultural Calendar 2007* | | *Religion* | Religious festivals in which Judaism is included |
| University of Athens Intercultural Education Centre | *Multicultural Calendar 2006–2007* (pp. 22–23) | | *Culture* | Geographical data about Israel and information on Jewish holidays |
| University of Athens Intercultural Education Centre | *CD: Music of the World* | | *Mythology* | Sixteen songs from the Jewish Tradition |
| University of Athens Intercultural Education Centre | *Book: Mythologies of the World* (pp. 280–295) | | *Culture* | Chapter on Canaanite Mythology |
| University of Athens Intercultural Education Centre | *CD: Tales of the World* | | *Culture* | Tales from Israel |

**Table 9.7** Seminars/presentations/invitations/events

| Institutions Involved | Program | Participants | Area | Objective/theme |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MNERA-Ministry of Education | *Circular 2005–2006* | | *Culture/ Holocaust* | Circular sent to all Greek schools recommending students to visit the Jewish Museum of Greece/Athens and the Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki |
| Organized by Jewish Museum of Greece Co-funded by MNERA MNERA-Ministry of Education | *Seminars 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007* | *Greek Teachers* | *Holocaust* | Teaching of the Holocaust |
| MNERA-Ministry of Education | *Seminar "Racism-Anti-Semitism-Holocaust" March 31, 2006* | | *Holocaust* | Education of repatriated Greeks and foreign students programs |
| MNERA Sent Open Invitation | *Yad Vashem July 2006* | *18 Greek Teachers Participated* | *Holocaust* | Teaching the Holocaust |
| MNERVA | *Panhellenic Essay Competition* | | *Holocaust* | The Greek Jews and the importance of the remembrance of the Holocaust |

University Courses

| Institution | Course | Departments | Area | Objective |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| University of Athens | Jewish Language | Social Theology Theology | *Language* | Language instruction |
| University of Thessaloniki Intercultural Education Centre | Jewish Language | Theology Pastoral and Social Theology | *Language* | Language instruction |

**Table 9.7**  (continued)

Results

Additional Publications – Grade Not Specified

| Type | Holoc. | Contrib. | Hist. | Culture | Religion | Commun. | Language | Inclusion of Rom. Jews |
|------|--------|----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|----------|------------------------|
| Book | X | X | | | | | | NO |
| Circular | X | | | | | | | NO |

Elementary School Material

| Type | Holoc. | Contrib. | Hist. | Culture | Religion | Mythology | Language | Inclusion of Rom. Jews |
|------|--------|----------|-------|---------|----------|-----------|----------|------------------------|
| Hist. sixth | X | | | | | | | NO |
| Lan.sixth | X | | | | | | | NO |
| Rel.sixth | | | | | X | | | NO |

Gymnasio – Junior High School Material

| Type | Holoc. | Contrib. | Hist. | Culture | Religion | Commun. | Language | Inclusion of Rom. Jews |
|------|--------|----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|----------|------------------------|
| Hist. | | X | | | | | | NO |
| Hist. | | | | | | X | Thess/ Cofu/ Kavala | NO |
| Hist. | X | | | | | | | NO |
| Liter | X | | | | | | | NO |
| Rel. | X | | | | | | | NO |
| CD | | | | | | X | Thess/ Cofu/ Kavala | NO |
| CD | | | | | | X | Map of Greek Communit. | NO |
| | | | | | | | Dissolved | |

Lyceum – Senior High Material

| Type | Holoc. | Contrib. | Hist. | Culture | Religion | Commun. | Language | Inclusion of Rom. Jews |
|------|--------|----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|----------|------------------------|
| Hist. | X | | | | | | | NO |
| Hist. | X | | | | | | | NO |
| Hist. | | | | X | | | | NO |
| Hist. | | | | | | X | Spain | NO |

**Table 9.7**  (continued)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hist. | | | | | X | | NO |
| | | | | | Thessal. | | |
| His | | X | | | | | NO |
| Liter. | X | | | | | | NO |
| Hum. Rgt | X | | | | | | NO |

Additional Sources

| Type | Holoc. | Contrib. | Hist. | Culture | Religion | Commun. | Mythology | Inclusion of Rom. Jews |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elem-His | | | | | | X | | NO |
| Elem-His | X | | | | | | | NO |
| Jr.Hg-Rel | | | | X | | | | NO |
| Book | | | | | | | X | NO |
| CD | | | | | | | X | NO |
| CD | | | | X | | | | NO |

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# Part IV
# Learning and Teaching, Quality and Assessment

# Chapter 10
# Education Quality: Research Priorities and Approaches in the Global Era

**Angeline M. Barrett and Leon Tikly**

## Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to develop a critical view of education quality appropriate for sub-Saharan African countries facing the challenges of globalisation in the twenty-first century and to discuss the implications of such a view for research. The chapter begins with a review of existing approaches to conceptualising education quality within the Education for All (EFA) movement, most especially the framework presented in the 2005 EFA Global Monitoring Report, *The Quality Imperative* (UNESCO 2005). This will be used as a basis for setting out our own approach which draws inspiration from Sen's (1999) notion of capabilities and for considering the research implications of this through a focus on the research processes and approaches of the Implementing Education Quality in Low Income Countries (EdQual) Research Programme Consortium (RPC). Before proceeding, however, and in order to contextualise the debate, it is worth setting out some of the basic features of the EdQual RPC and what we understand by a capabilities approach.

EdQual is funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for 5 years and commenced in 2005. It is one of three such education RPCs and one of a total of 18 across the development field. The aim of the RPC is to generate new knowledge to assist governments in low-income countries, DFID and the international development community to implement initiatives that will improve the quality of education in ways that will benefit the poorest people in the world and will promote gender equity. The consortium will also aim to create a sustainable resource through supporting African partner institutions to become regional centres of excellence in one or more areas of education quality and through strengthening capacity within organisations to successfully implement change. The partners in the consortium include the Universities of Bristol and Bath (United Kingdom), the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (SA), Cape Coast (Ghana), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and the Kigali Institute of Education (Rwanda). We also have associate partners in

A.M. Barrett (✉)
University of Bristol, Bristol, UK
e-mail: angeline.barrett@bristol.ac.uk

the Aga Khan University (Pakistan) and in the Universidad de La Frontera (Chile). We have five main research projects in the areas of:

- school effectiveness (Bristol);
- language and literacy (Tanzania, Ghana);
- ICTs in basic education (Rwanda, South Africa and Chile);
- Implementing science and maths curriculum change (South Africa, Rwanda and Pakistan);
- leadership and management for quality improvement (Ghana, Tanzania and Pakistan).

Whilst the school effectiveness project uses multilevel modelling to perform secondary analysis of the SACMEQ[1] II data set, the remaining projects are intervention studies based on action research methodologies. There are also three small-scale projects in the areas of inclusion, school buildings and the use of ICTs in education to support community empowerment. The areas for research were identified through a series of national consultative workshops with policy makers and practitioners. EdQual currently funds 10 PhD students and has undertaken several research training, project management and administrator training workshops targeted at building capacity amongst project partners to undertake research.

Developing a conceptual understanding of education quality and its contribution to poverty reduction is a key objective and will, necessarily, be an ongoing iterative process incorporating the views of different stakeholders and grounded in our empirical research in a range of very different contexts. This chapter should be seen as one component of that process. Central to our approach which we set out below is the view that issues of education quality cannot be understood in a simple "technicist" sense and must make clear its underpinning values and theoretical starting points. In the case of our own emerging understanding of quality, we have found Sen's work on capabilities to be a useful point of departure.

In his seminal work "Development as Freedom", Sen 1999: 18) called attention to the "capabilities" of persons to lead the kind of lives they value and have reason to value. He proposed that the success of a society could better be evaluated by the substantive freedoms its members enjoy than by traditional measures of economic wealth, such as per capita income. However, as well as ends in themselves, Sen sees freedoms as means of development, as greater freedom enhances the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world. One of his central pieces of evidence is the fact that there has been no recorded famine within a functioning democracy. Sen is careful to distinguish between the various "capabilities" that an individual or a society has reason to value and "functionings", those capabilities that are actually realised. He deliberately avoids prescribing which capabilities

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[1] In 2002, Southern and Eastern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality collected pupil-, class- and school-level data from around 40,000 Year 6 pupils across 14 countries, namely Tanzania (Mainland), Zanzibar, South Africa, Botswana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, Swaziland, Uganda and Zambia.

should be valued. Rather he believes that societies should determine which capabilities they value through public participation and dialogue. As Unterhalter 2003: 666) explains, any framework of thinking needs to be open enough to be utilised in diverse settings. Hence, when we say that we draw on the capabilities approach we are saying two things about education quality. First, we are saying that a quality education should expand the meaningful opportunities that individuals and groups have in terms of their livelihoods and lifestyle. Second, we are saying that educational outcomes should be a matter of dialogue, subject to debate throughout society. There are implications for how we do research. Our research should open up dialogue on educational issues amongst the policy makers, practitioners, learners, communities and parents with whom we interact to debate what they value in a basic education. In this respect, understandings of education quality need to be grounded in the realities and perspectives of African-based policy makers, researchers, practitioners, learners and communities. The EdQual programme is seeking to put this into practice by working closely with practitioners to design initiatives and, where appropriate, inviting communities to join us in debate and dialogue. At the same time, it is building relationships with policy makers. For example, at the very beginning of the programme, EdQual solicited the views of policy makers in the main countries in which it is conducting research on a research agenda for education quality, and the outcomes of these workshops informed the design of our research projects.

Our view of capacity building is also closely related to a capabilities approach in that both emphasise the rights and freedoms, particularly of the most disadvantaged groups. Following Eade (1997) writing for Oxfam, "capacity building is an approach to development not something separate from it. It is a response to the multidimensional processes of change, not a set of discrete or pre-packaged technical interventions intended to bring about a pre-defined outcome" (Eade 1997: 24). The nature and extent of capacity building depends very much on context and needs to be determined by the needs of the groups themselves. Thus building capacity within the context of a capabilities approach may involve supporting organisations to develop a range of intellectual, organisational, social, political, cultural, material, practical or financial capabilities. First, however, we turn to a critique of existing models of quality.

## EFA Frameworks for Conceptualising Quality

The aim of this section is to describe how our own approach to understanding quality draws on and extends existing quality frameworks. The main argument advanced in this and the next section is that whilst existing models usefully highlight a range of factors and processes that need to be taken into account when thinking about education quality, they are insufficient for supporting our overall goal which is to provide a contextually relevant understanding of quality linked to the realities of twenty-first century Africa in the global era.

From the inception of the current push for EFA, in the early 1990s an emphasis has been placed on the quality of education provision. The World Declaration

on Education for All makes it clear that providing educational opportunities for every individual on the planet is a worthwhile endeavour so long as the quality of education is sufficient to meet basic learning needs, defined as follows:

> These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. The scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably, changes with the passage of time (World Conference on Education for All 1990: article I).

This short paragraph illustrates that it is impossible to discuss what is meant by education quality without taking a position on the goal and outcomes of education. As education is both a means and an ends of development (Sen 1999), discussion of education quality must also take a position on human development and, as the last sentence in the quote above acknowledges, national development.

Quality is a cross-cutting issue that touches on every aspect of education. Hence, frameworks for conceptualising education quality tend to constitute mappings of an idealised education system. The most persistent underlying pattern for such mappings is what we will call the basic process model of education, illustrated in Fig. 10.1 DFID has divided its funding for education research between three RPCs in a way that can be crudely mapped onto this model. The access RPC, the Consortium for Research on Equity, Access and Transitions in Education (CREATE), is concerned with getting individuals into school. The quality RPC (EdQual) looks at what goes on within the "black box" of schools and classrooms. Lastly, the outcomes RPC, Research Consortium on Educational Outcomes and Poverty (RECOUP), is concerned with how education impacts on development. The framework for understanding, monitoring and improving education quality presented in the 2005 EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR 2005), *The Quality Imperative* (UNESCO 2005), is essentially an elaboration of the process model (see Fig. 10.2).
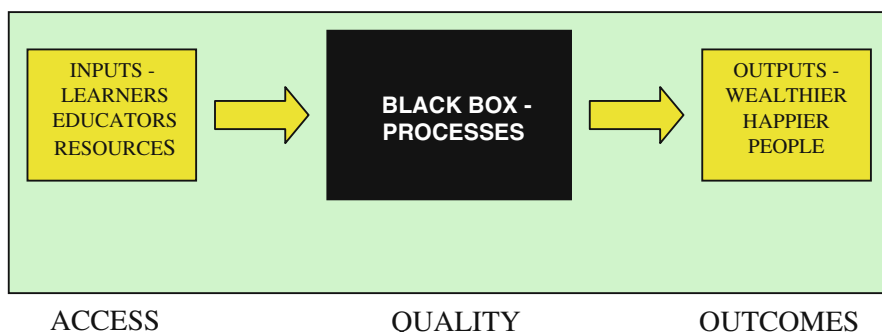


**Fig. 10.1** The process model of education

**Enabling inputs**

**Teaching and learning**
- Learning time
- Teaching methods
- Assessment, feedback, incentives
- Class size

- Teaching and learning materials
- Physical infrastructure and facilities
- Human resources: teachers, principals, inspectors, supervisors, administrators
- School governance

**Learner characteristics**
- Aptitude
- Perseverance
- School readiness
- Prior knowledge
- Barriers to learning

**Outcomes**
- Literacy, numeracy and life skills
- Creative and emotional skills
- Values
- Social benefits

**Context**
- Economic and labour market conditions in the community
- Socio-cultural and religious factors
- (Aid strategies)

- Educational knowledge and support infrastructure
- Public resources available for education
- Competitiveness of the teaching profession on the labour market
- National governance and management strategies

- Philosophical standpoint of teacher and learner
- Peer effects
- Parental support
- Time available for schooling and homework

- National standards
- Public expectations
- Labour market demands
- Globalization

**Fig. 10.2** GMR2005 Framework for understanding education quality (UNESCO 2005: 36)

GMR2005 identified five main elements of education systems that interact to determine quality. *Learner characteristics*, their capacities and experience influence how and how quickly people learn. Hence, early childcare and child health programmes, interventions such as distributing vitamin tablets, can be viewed as raising quality (Abadzi 2006). However, many agencies promoting EFA look at learners and education quality from the other direction, requiring that a quality education meet the diverse needs of learners (e.g., GCE 2002; Inter-Agency Task Team (IATT) on Education 2006; UNICEF 2007). GMR2005 identifies several levels of **context** including the global (e.g., globalisation, aid strategies), national (e.g., national governance; public expectations), local/community (e.g., economic and labour market conditions in the community) and family/household (e.g., time available for schooling and homework, parental support). Links between education and context are two way. "Education can help change society... however, education usually reflects society rather strongly" (UNESCO 2005: 35). Opportunities to increase resources for education depend on economic affluence.

GMR2005 and similar process models, notably school effectiveness models (Heneveld 1994b; Scheerens 2000), represent schooling as we experience it as individuals, i.e. progressively along a time line. We enter school as young children with certain capabilities and some experience acquired in our home environments. As we progress through the levels of education, we interact with other learners and teachers, interact with materials such as textbooks and perform actions. As a result of

our interactions and actions, we acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes that should equip us to be productive members of our societies, communities and families to live harmoniously with others and to carry on learning and adapting to our changing environments. However, whilst as individuals we experience education along a time line continuum, communities, nations and societies witness successive education cycles on successive generations of learners. A historical perspective shows us how the processes and outcomes of education act on the broader social, cultural, economic and political contexts.

Two main schools of thought can be traced within the GMR2005 framework. One is the school effectiveness models that have been developed by Schereens (1992; 2000), amongst others (e.g., Creemers 1994; Heneveld 1994a; Sammons et al. 1995). These have been reviewed elsewhere by EdQual researchers (Yu 2006). The other influence is the framework adopted by UNICEF (2007) and the Global Campaign for Education (GCE 2002) based on a learner-centred view of education quality. It is organised around the five dimensions of what students bring to learning (what experiences does the learner bring to school, and what particular challenges does she face?); environments (are they healthy, safe, protective and gender-sensitive?); content (are curricula and materials relevant?); processes; and outcomes. GCE (2002: 4) included a sixth dimension of responsiveness, explained as being responsive to individual learning needs of learners, being responsive to local needs of communities and being accountable to parents, communities and taxpayers for education outcomes.

UNAIDS also places the learner firmly at the centre of its framework for considering HIV&AIDS in relation to quality education (see Fig. 10.3) and raises a similar set of questions. At the level of the learner, it asks that an education system seek out learners; acknowledge what the learner brings; provide a conducive environment; consider the content; and enhance learning processes. At system level, it asks questions of policies, legislation, resources, outcomes, management and administration.

Learner-centred frameworks such as that developed by UNICEF and UNAIDS ask searching questions about how well our education systems are meeting the needs of particular groups of disadvantaged learners. However, in privileging learners' needs both frameworks tend to atomise learners, rendering them as independent units isolated from the economic and social forces that influence what they bring to learning and their experiences of schooling. A few less mainstream perspectives on education quality do attempt to locate learners within communities. At the level of Early Childhood Care and Education, the child is considered together with his/her carers and community. Hence, Myers (2004: 16) includes "the quality of relationship between an ECCE programme and its immediate environment of parents and community" in his four dimensions of quality. Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) is growing in prominence and demanding that a quality education contribute to the capabilities of future generations as well as today's learners (Barrett et al. 2006: 17; Nikel 2007). Influenced by capabilities and livelihoods approaches, ESD focuses on what education does for households and communities.
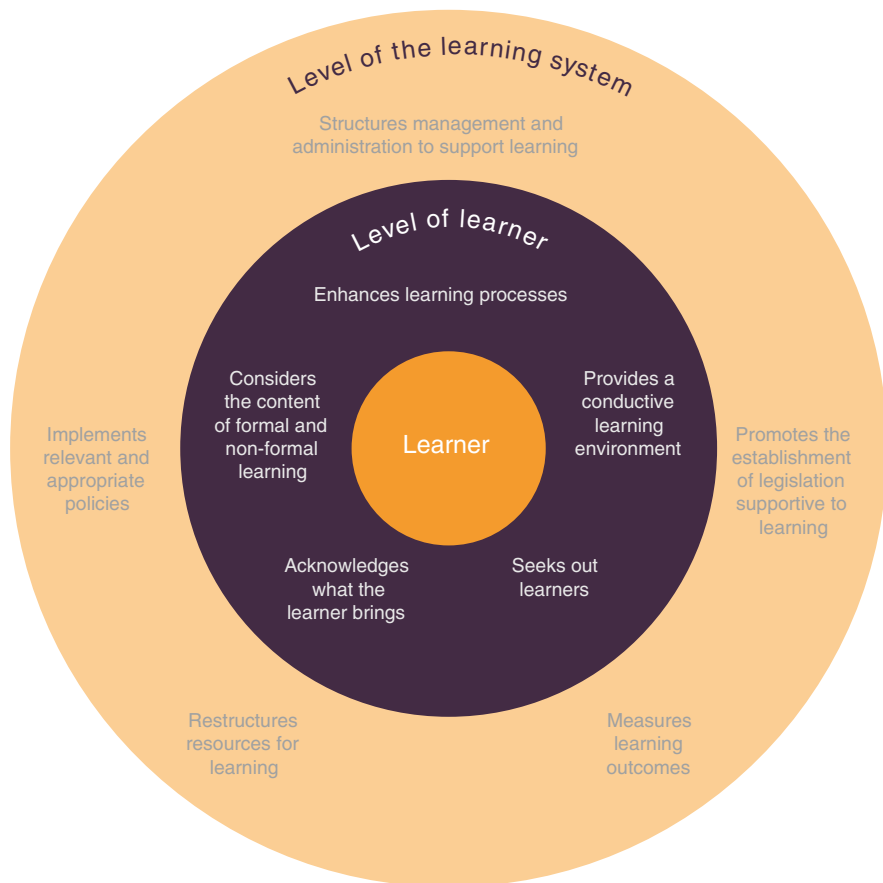
**Fig. 10.3** Framework for considering HIV&AIDS and the quality education (Inter-Agency Task Team [IATT] on Education 2006: 9)

## Limitations of Process and Learner-Centred Frameworks

Elaborated progress models of education such as the GMR2005 framework and those developed by school effectiveness researchers provide us with powerful tools for reflecting on how educational outcomes are influenced by educational processes, the resources invested in education and the broader context. However, as with any model, they have their limitations. Process models tend to assume a technical approach to analysing education quality that does not make explicit their normative basis. This is in contrast to the learner-centred frameworks that take a human-rights approach to understanding education quality as their starting point, leading them to focus on the rights of the individual child to have her/his basic learning needs met. We hold that a framework for conceptualising education quality is necessarily guided by educational values and, as far as possible, these should be made explicit.

A strength of the GMR2005 framework is its recognition that processes and outcomes are both suffused by broader contexts and act on those contexts. In designing interventions to be implemented in specific local contexts, it is absolutely essential that issues of education quality should be contextualised in relation to local contexts and the lived realities of learners and educators. This may mean that frameworks for conceptualising education quality designed for international audiences need to be refined or re-designed for application in local-level initiatives. Even national-level reform or interventions need to be refined by managers and educators who are responsible for its implementation in specific local contexts. As the local, national and international contexts for education are not static and always in flux, a framework for education quality also needs to be suitable for analysing change processes, including the way that quality initiatives are developed and implemented.

We have seen how human-rights-based attempts to conceptualise education quality tend to atomise individual learners. We still lack a framework that can usefully facilitate an analysis of how educational processes impact on outcomes for different groups of learners in different settings. One of the greatest challenges of tackling poverty in the African context is the often multiple forms of disadvantage faced by learners and the way that issues of class, gender, rurality, "race", ethnicity and disability often intersect. Unpacking the impact of quality on the multiple forms of disadvantage has methodological implications. In taking account of the needs of both groups and individuals, concepts of quality need to avoid essentialism and an overly homogenous view of group and individual identities. Rather, they need to recognise and address multiple forms of disadvantage.

Whilst recognising interaction with context, the EFA in general tends to shy away from an analysis of the broader historical and socioeconomic contexts in which educational processes are situated. We hold that such an analysis is necessary for two reasons. First, a critical understanding of how the colonial histories and current neo-liberal policies constrain the quality of education in low-income countries is a necessary starting point for advocating changes to international and national policies that will enable sustainable improvements to education quality. The second reason is that some educational goals are determined by international- and national-level policy makers' aspirations for development and their understandings' of how globalisation is changing work opportunities for youth.

## Summary

Our analysis of frameworks that are currently influential within the international EFA movement has highlighted what we believe are the critical features of a framework for conceptualising education quality. We will expand on these with particular reference to the context of sub-Saharan Africa in the next section, showing how these concerns have influenced the design of EdQual's programme of research.

## Towards a Critical Approach to Researching Education Quality in Africa

In this section, we set out an overall view of education quality based on the above critique of existing models and related to our overall purpose. We do not pretend that this is the only possible approach to conceptualising education quality, but it is one that we feel is relevant to the contexts that we are seeking to address and is commensurate with our overall view of development, of capacity building and of the research process. Our approach may be summarised as follows:

1. it has an explicit value basis;
2. it relates issues of quality to an understanding of the broader historical, socioe-conomic, political and cultural contexts within which they are embedded;
3. it is concerned with understanding the role of education systems in both perpetu-ating and overcoming inequalities including those based on gender, class, "race", ethnicity, language, religion, urban/rural location and disability;
4. it is grounded in an analysis of local realities and the understandings and perspectives of learners, practitioners and the communities they belong to;
5. it focuses on the processes of teaching and learning and how these impact on the outcomes for different groups of learners;
6. it focuses on understanding the change process itself including the local condi-tions for realising change;
7. it seeks to empower policy makers, educators, learners and other key role players through supporting their development as reflective practitioners and agents of change;
8. it requires researchers to be self-reflexive and self-critical concerning our own role as education researchers interested in Africa.

In the rest of this section, we elaborate on each of the above in turn showing how these aspirations are practised through the EdQual programme.

### *The Value Basis of Our Approach*

Education quality is not a neutral concept and any model of education quality needs to be explicit about its underlying value base (Carr 1995). The values that underpin our own approach are that:

- A quality education should empower individuals and groups to realise their human rights and their rights as citizens of a particular nation.
- A quality education should extend the capabilities of individuals and groups (Sen 1999).
- Any understanding of education quality in SSA needs to be grounded in the real-ities and perspectives of African-based policy makers, researchers, practitioners, learners and communities.

## *Relating Education Quality to the Broader Context*

As we have stated above, we are aiming for a conceptual framework that relates issues of quality to an understanding of the broader historical, socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts and is grounded in the specific contexts of sub-Saharan Africa. This elements of the broader African context that we see as key to understanding education's role in realising social justice goals have been detailed by one of the authors elsewhere (see Robertson et al. 2007: Chapter 10). Here, we restrict ourselves to a brief summary. Africa is being left behind both economically and in terms of human development. If Africa is being integrated into the global economy, this is not happening in ways that are beneficial to the majority of the population. Africa's share of world trade fell from 6% in 1980 to less than 2% in 2002, and an estimated $15 billion a year departs Africa as "capital flight" (CFA 2005). Extreme poverty has doubled from 164 million people in 1981 to 314 million in 2005 (World Bank 2005: xx). Political instability and insecurity plays its part in these appalling figures. In 2000, 20 out of 45 SSA countries were directly involved in armed conflict and an estimated 14 million people were uprooted from their homes by conflict (Obidegwu 2004: 2).

Such statistics mask differences between and within countries. The EdQual programme includes South Africa, often considered to be a middle-income country, and Ghana, a country that some predict will achieve middle-income status in the near future. Different countries adopt different developmental pathways. South Africa is seeking to develop high-end value-added production industries including, for example, the auto industry. Another country included in the EdQual programme, Rwanda, hopes to "leap frog" industrialisation by focussing on service sectors including tourism, financial services and communications. By contrast, Tanzania is committed to developing heavy industry (Tikly et al. 2003).

Where emphasis is placed within, debate on education quality for a given country depends on its current situation and its changing development goals. For example, both post-Apartheid South Africa and post-conflict Rwanda are re-writing curricula to represent the values of a new regime and promote peace and security. Industrialised South Africa's new curriculum is also designed to develop important attributes of a flexible workforce – competencies, responsibility and life-long learning (Barrett et al. 2006). EdQual's Implementing Curriculum Change project supports teachers to deliver new curricula in South Africa, Rwanda and Pakistan. In Ghana, Tanzania and Rwanda, the majority of the population is dependent on agriculture or the informal economy. For these countries, there is a tension between focussing on basic education for the reduction of poverty and the enhancement of social equity and an emphasis on higher levels that prepare people for employment in service industries and enable those in agriculture, health and other sectors to make use of new technologies (Tikly et al. 2003). One of the issues that the Leadership and Management project is exploring with headteachers in Ghana and Tanzania is their leadership role with respect to local poverty alleviation.

## *The Role of Education Systems in Perpetuating and Overcoming Inequalities*

Attention also needs to be given to the large differences in terms of development within countries, a theme also explored in more depth in Robertson et al. (Robertson et al. 2007: Chapter 10). Inequality within countries is reflected in figures relating to the growing problems of social inequality and exclusion on the continent taken from the recent CFA (2005) report. Despite being responsible for 80% of agricultural production and all household production, women still have fewer opportunities to generate income. They accumulate more of the burden of care and are less likely to attend school. Africa is also the continent with the highest proportion of young people. Stagnant economies with high unemployment combined with HIV and AIDS have left this large generation especially vulnerable. This vulnerability is particularly evident in the urban slums, where youth unemployment was 56% in South Africa in 2000. EdQual's Implementing Curriculum Change project is targeted at improving education quality for township youth in South Africa through carrying out action research with secondary school teachers. Rapid urbanisation is also seeing growing numbers of street children. The growing orphan crisis is one of the critical challenges emerging. One of the findings to emerge from secondary analyses of SACMEQ data by EdQual's School Effectiveness and Educational Quality (SeeQ) project is that Year 6 children living with both their parents achieve significantly better than those living in other arrangements. This finding implies that orphans, including those who have lost or been separated from just one parent, are vulnerable in terms of the quality of education they receive. This is an example of a finding that the Leadership and Management project can explore further in the specific local contexts in Tanzania.

There are 50 million disabled people in sub-Saharan Africa. Governments are just beginning to recognise the full extent of their responsibilities with respect to the inclusion of disabled children in public schools. EdQual is funding a small-scale project that is working with a national NGO to develop an index of inclusion for Tanzania. Rurality is another key dimension of social inequality in many African countries, yet remote schools are often overlooked by education research because they are relatively expensive and time-consuming to visit. The Ghanaian team leading the Leaderships and Management project has invested extra funds and researchers' time to ensure the inclusion of schools from Ghana's poorest and most remote regions in every stage of the research.

### Impact of Privatisation and Marketisation on Education Quality

Following the relaxation of nationalist protective policies, including the liberalisation and marketisation of education, the quality of education people can access is increasingly being mediated by the private sector. As Ilon (1994) predicted, a global elite send their children to schools, either in Africa or overseas, that are comparable to the private schools in Western countries. A middle tier of parents send

their children to local fee-paying private schools (sometimes calling themselves "international schools") that use European languages as the medium of instruction. State education is rapidly becoming a poor-quality third tier, the last resort for poor urban parents and the only choice for rural parents who prefer not to send their children away to urban centres. These schools will at best make their children "marginally competitive for low-skill jobs" (Ilon, 1994: 102). A fourth tier of children for whom the market does not cater or governments make provision for are further marginalised by extreme remoteness, extreme poverty, disability, nomadic living, conflict, political instability, abuse or neglect at home and are unable to access education in any shape or form. EdQual's Rwandan team has deliberately chosen to work with a selection of government schools and private schools, including a school managed by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), to allow comparison and sharing of experience across private and public sectors.

## Digital Divide

A key issue relating to education quality in the global era is the need to address the growing digital divide in African education. Africa significantly lags behind the rest of the world in terms of popular access to technology (Robertson et al. 2007).[2] NEPAD, in particular, makes proposals to address the digital divide that the CFA reiterates, and there are several NEPAD initiatives in the area of ICTs as well as a range of similar initiatives.[3] There is a growing consensus about the potential benefits of ICT use in supporting more student-centred, problem-based and collaborative approaches to teaching and learning and to assessment (Haddad and Draxler 2002; Hawkins 2005). However, to achieve these benefits and to transform learning, ICT use has to be integrated into national policy and into practice in schools. In this respect, according to UNESCO, most African countries are still at the "emerging" stage of development (Farrell and Wachholz 2003) and the upshot is that many learners continue to be denied access to even basic ICT skills.[4] A focus for the ICT in basic education project is to understand how teachers with limited training themselves can be empowered to make best use of existing ICT resources to raise the achievement of disadvantaged learners.

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[2]In this regard, as Butcher has pointed out, of the 818 million people in Africa, 1 in 4 have a radio, 1 in 13 have a television, 1 in 35 have a mobile, 1 in 40 have a fixed-line telephone, 1 in 130 have a personal computer, 1 in 160 use Internet and 1 in 400 have a pay TV (Butcher,2001).

[3]Besides the NEPAD e-school initiative, there are several other initiatives: *Catalyzing Access to ICT in Africa (CATIA)* (http://www.catia.ws), *Global E-school and Community Initiative* (http://www-wbweb4.worldbank.org/disted/) and *Leland Initiative- Africa Global Initiative*(URL:http://www.usaid.gov/regions/afr/lelnad/).

[4]Related to the above point is that older, non-digital ICTs also have an important role to play in supplementing teacher knowledge and providing increased opportunities for disadvantaged learners. Whilst digital technologies might transform education in the longer term, an exclusive focus on newer ICTs is likely to disproportionately benefit elites who have access to them and have the effect of exacerbating the digital divide at least in the short term.

## *An Understanding Grounded in Local Realities*

There has been a tendency in Africa to contrast the extremes of didactic performance pedagogic practice with learner-centred methods. The general conclusion tends to be that Africa's teachers are over-reliant on authoritarian "banking" methods and therefore need training in more learner-centred practices. Here, we use the term "performance pedagogies" in the Bernsteinian sense to denote an emphasis on reproducing ("performing") a specified text ("knowledge") or procedure ("skill"). Assessment is about correcting deficits in learners' outputs. Teacher autonomy is low, as sequencing and pacing of teaching is prescribed by a rigid syllabus (Bernstein 2000). Learner-centred approaches are associated with the constructivist view of learners as active and creative in constructing meaning. Teachers are cast as facilitators and assessment as celebration of learner creativity. There is an underlying assumption of a "universal democracy of acquisition" (Bernstein 2000: 43) that fits well with democratic and inclusive goals.

However, a simple dichotomy between authoritarian performance pedagogies and inclusive learner-centred practices does not do justice to the range of practices within Africa. Croft (2002) and Barrett (2007) both describe examples of inclusive and interactive teaching that depend on little or no material resources and are influenced as much by local pedagogic traditions as externally funded "improvement" interventions. In South Africa, Nakabugo and Siebörger's (2001) observations lead them to conceive of a continuum of possibilities between teacher-centred and learner-centred teaching and Brodie et al. (2002) describe two individuals on their in-service programme, who they considered to be "good teachers" even though they did not take up learner-centred techniques. However, in our view there is a fundamental difference (if not a dichotomous one) between a behaviourist *view* of learners as passive recipients of knowledge that leads to a focus on knowledge and how it is taught and a constructivist view that requires teachers to "view curriculum and pedagogy from the perspective of the learner and to build bridges to meet that view half way" (Little 2006: 340).

In our view, initiatives to improve the quality of teaching and learning should move teachers towards learner-centred practices in this non-radical sense by equipping them with strategies and materials that can be implemented within their environments. These environments include over-sized classes, approaching or exceeding a hundred pupils; parental and institutional pressure to "teach to the exam", where end of cycle examinations select for the next educational level; a colonial history in which corporal punishment and humiliation were ingredients of a "civilizing" education (Hirji 1980); traditional values of age-hierarchy (Tabulawa 1997) and traditional leadership models (Oduro and MacBeath 2003); rigid syllabi and inspection practices premised on uniform progress through the syllabus; and low teacher salaries and little incentive to invest in careful lesson planning and preparation. None of these factors necessarily prevent teachers from using interactive and inclusive practices based on a constructivist view, but they do present challenges. Perhaps the greatest challenge, however, is moving teachers who themselves were educated and trained mainly through performance pedagogies towards a (non-radical) constructivist view of teaching and learning.

The four EdQual projects that are working closely with teachers and headteachers aim to support them to develop strategies to implement national curricula and educational policy within their own particular classroom environments. For example, the use of ICTs project in Rwanda is helping teachers to use the hardware and software that has already been installed in their schools to enhance the teaching and learning of science and mathematics. In some schools, this means designing lessons that make the most of a computer laboratory where two students can sit at a single computer. In other schools, it means helping teachers to make the most of the only computer in the classroom. Although the Language and Literacy project aims to influence policy makers to reconsider policy on language of instruction, the research involves working with teachers to use bilingual strategies to support learners at the point of transition in language of instruction. The new curricula in maths and science that are being introduced in South Africa, Rwanda and Pakistan are all to some extent based on learner-centred and constructivist assumptions and approaches. The challenge for the Implementing Curriculum Change project is to better understand the impact of these approaches on different groups of learners and also on how these approaches can be successfully implemented in difficult and diverse delivery contexts. Headteachers involved in the Leadership and Management project will be supported to assess and improve quality in contexts of remoteness or overcrowding.

## Teaching and Learning Processes and How These Impact on the Outcomes for Different Groups of Learners

### Learning Outcomes for Girls and Young Women

There is evidence from the wider literature that improvements in the quality and relevance of education can ultimately have a beneficial impact on enrolments and on continuation rates (Bergmann 1996; Lloyd et al. 2000). However, issues of access in the African context are increasingly complex and affect some groups more than others. For example, in Africa girls can expect to stay in school for only 6 years compared to 8 years for boys (UNESCO 2002). Poor educational outcomes and low participation rates become more pronounced at the secondary and tertiary levels and in vocational education. Lack of access for girls and women is intimately bound up with issues of quality. The establishment of a safe, girl-friendly school environment is crucial to attract girls to school and keep them there. Girls and women are more likely to experience gendered abuse in African schools (Leach et al. 2003), and teenage girls may expose themselves to sexual risk in order to fund their education (Vavrus 2003; Vavrus 2005). Basic infrastructural concerns such as the provision of separate toilets have been the focus for some time (UNESCO 2005), but attention is now shifting to a broader notion of a "safe" environment that includes protection from violence and sexual harassment (Aikman and Unterhalter 2005). This must include the development of gender awareness amongst staff and boys in schools leading to equality of respect for girls and women and the introduction of curricula and learning materials that are gender sensitive and meet the

needs of girls as much as those of boys (Oxfam 2005). Gender equality is a cross-cutting focus for all EdQual's projects but a particular focus on the Implementing Curriculum Change project that aims to develop teaching and learning strategies for science and mathematics that promote gender equality in the very different contexts of South Africa, Rwanda and Pakistan. The Leadership and Management project has collected data on headteachers' attitudes to gender equality that will feed into the design of instruments by headteachers for measuring school quality.

### Inclusion

Developing inclusive strategies (such as an index of inclusion) that will meet the needs of these children and facilitate their participation involves developing a whole school approach that addresses key areas of quality including leadership; organisational culture; the curriculum, teaching, and learning; and community links. This is a focus for one of the EdQual small-scale projects which is initiating an index of inclusion in Tanzania.

### Language Policies for Multilingual Societies

The cultural and linguistic diversity of Africa means that, with a very few exceptions (Rwanda, Burundi), within a single country tens, or in some cases hundreds, of languages are spoken as first language. As a consequence, a European language (English, French or Portuguese) or the language of a particularly large or influential tribal group (e.g., the tribal group that occupies the region in which the capital city is located) is used as the lingua franca. In the past, education systems have tended to select one language, nearly always a European language (as tribally neutral), as the medium of instruction. However, in recent years there has been a shift towards the adoption of bilingualism and in particular the use of mother tongue (L1) for the first few years of primary education within countries where a significant proportion of the population speak a minority language. These changes are driven by research evidence, indicating that children acquire linguistic and cognitive skills more readily in their first language and are then able to transfer these to a widely used language (L2). The EdQual project on Language and Literacy Development is aimed at developing new learning materials, teaching strategies and related school-based professional development for teaching through the medium of L1 and L2 that will be practically useful in bilingual environments (Rubagumya et al. 2007).

## *Understanding the Change Process*

A key aim for EdQual is to assist policy makers in implementing change. Whilst we seek to develop and pilot new initiatives in our chosen research areas, we are also keen to develop guidelines for their mainstreaming or scaling up. As Samoff et al. (2003) point out in their comprehensive review, scaling up of pilot initiatives is a common approach to implementing change in the African context, but one that often

fails. One of the key reasons they cite is a limited understanding of the processes of implementation. They argue that "rather than replicating the specific elements of the reform, what must be scaled up are the conditions that permitted the initial reform to be successful and the local roots that can sustain it" (Samoff et al. 2003). They go on to list key factors linked to successful scaling up, factors that are reflected in the broader change literature. These include a committed, dedicated leadership; clear and sustained local demand and ownership; clear initial focus on a single goal or service; sufficient, though perhaps very modest, funding; strong direct local involvement coupled with effective participatory training; understanding pilots as learning experiences; flexible, iterative planning; competent technical analysis, including sound assessment of the feasibility of implementation; clear standards of practice and accomplishment, with appropriate and reliable monitoring and reporting results; and clear accountability for the results. They also go on to list a series of facilitating factors and conditions that support change. These include the ongoing commitment of leaders and their ability to re-focus attention to expansion and its requisites, securing ongoing ownership and involvement in the change process, finding ways to acknowledge and reward and to celebrate this (motivating change agents), developing strong networks to sustain change, and providing simple information systems to assist in monitoring change. A key challenge for EdQual is to understand how these broad prescriptions apply to local settings and innovations. In this respect, the majority of projects can be classified in one way or another as being intervention studies with a key focus on monitoring the change process itself.

## Building Capacity for Change

If we are serious about seeking to use education to extend learners' capabilities and to emancipate groups that are currently disadvantaged within our societies, then we must extend a similar ambition towards educators, local communities, policy makers and policy influencers. We have outlined our commitment to a human-centred view of capacity building in the introduction. However, there are instrumental as well as ideological reasons for a commitment to capacity building at all levels. Samoff et al. (2003) remind us "that scaling up success stories rest on both systemic and specifically local elements".

### Developing Leadership for Change

As Samoff et al. note, sustaining the commitment and building the capacity of leaders for change are critical to success. Commitment and ownership of leadership at a national level must be coupled with a range of capabilities required to successfully initiate, implement and institutionalise change. Key here is the ability to understand the main indicators of education quality in different contexts and for different groups of learners and to be able to effectively monitor and evaluate these. The EdQual

SeeQ project will contribute to this process through developing contextually relevant models of school effectiveness based on a secondary analysis of the SACMEQ II data set and feeding the findings back to policy makers.

Within increasingly decentralised systems, however, local leadership becomes particularly significant for realising quality improvements. As recent research has highlighted, however, effective leadership for change at the local level in Africa can take different forms to that in the west (Bush and Odura 2006; Ngcobo and Tikly 2005) and involves the complexities of engaging with local realties, engaging communities and taking account of local cultural norms and values. Effective leadership at the local level is also "distributed", engaging political, religious, cultural and other forms of community leadership as well as developing the leadership potential of teachers and learners. The Leadership and Management project seeks to provide greater insight into these processes at a local level and to relate these to the successful implementation of quality improvements.

## Empowering Educators

EdQual interprets local contexts as posing specific challenges to both the outputs and the process of research. Any outputs that we expect to be taken up and mainstreamed at a national level should not be demanding of teacher time and energy, should be implementable in overcrowded, simply resourced classrooms, and should not require an in-depth knowledge of subject matter or educational theory to implement. On the other hand, the benefits of their implementation should be as immediately evident to teachers, learners and local communities as they are to middle- and higher-level administrators and decision makers. In terms of the research process, it is essential to involve practitioners in the development of these outputs and to extend the professional competencies of the practitioners with whom we are working directly. Hence, several of EdQual's projects employ action research methodologies. The Implementing Curriculum Change project is using collaborative action research (CAR) to develop strategies for delivering outcomes-based curricula (Luneta et al. 2007). The use of ICTs in Basic Education project similarly works closely with teachers to extend and develop competence and confidence in using the technologies that already available to them in their schools and to improve the quality of teaching and learning in their classrooms (Were et al. 2007). The Leadership and Management of Change project will support a small number of teachers through action research cycles to develop a school self-evaluation tool (Oduro et al. 2007).

## Empowering Communities

Samoff et al. (2003) also remind us that "Local communities and their leaders... as well as teachers, students, and parents, can and do oppose change". Conversely, there is evidence (Tikly and Ngcobo 2005) that early engagement of the community in the change process can have a beneficial impact on change in multiple ways beyond the traditional emphasis on mobilising resources, e.g. through empowering parents to assist in their children's learning, through mobilising communities

behind the change, through making leaders more accountable, through providing outreach and basic education programmes in the community itself and through making the school building a "development hub". Some EdQual projects also aim to create space for dialogue with communities over the meaning and implementation of education quality. For example, one small-scale project seeks to understand the role of the school building as a "development hub", whilst another seeks to explore the role of the NEPAD e-school initiative in supporting community empowerment.

## *Our Position as Researchers*

Reflexivity on our role as education researchers in Africa is practised by EdQual researchers in the context of international collaboration between African researchers based in African partner institutions and researchers based in the two UK universities of Bristol and Bath, Chile and Pakistan. The UK-based researchers include researchers who have maintained an interest in Africa throughout their careers and a personal connection with an African country as well as researchers involved in research in Africa for the first time. This chapter is part of the ongoing process of reflecting on the value basis of EdQual in relation to substantive research issues and research processes. Equally important is critical reflection on structures and processes of programme management, including the empowerment of researchers and research institutions. Leadership and management within EdQual is distributed, with each of the four African institutions leading one project, from conceptualisation and design onwards. Southern leadership has resulted in each project being immediately relevant to the current educational policy concerns and quality debates in the lead country. This has facilitated research communication as projects are designed to address policy makers' and practitioners' concerns. Project ownership means that local researchers, who are fully engaged with educational debate and policy narratives within their own countries, are motivated to communicate their research.

UK researchers are placed in a position of being a resource for their African colleagues, who can draw on their expertise and request their participation in certain research activities. Whilst overall directorship of the programme is located in the University of Bristol, this has been a new and sometimes challenging position for the UK researchers, demanding critical self-reflection and judgement. On the other hand, African researchers leading or participating in a project have had to learn new skills of project design and leadership at the same time as forging new partnerships with collaborators in other Southern research institutions. To complicate matters further, communications infrastructure has often meant that communication between researchers in different African countries needs to be routed through or facilitated by a UK partner. Projects have been obliged to find innovative ways of sharing information, ranging from use of web-based technologies to delegating a UK researcher to make regular telephone calls.

Empowerment of educators has been discussed above. The same principle extends to researchers and partner institutions. Distributed leadership is one example

of how capacity building is practised. Another is through the involvement and, wherever possible, deliberate pairing of more and less experienced researchers in every step of the research process. South–South learning is as important as North–South. As well as sharing of expertise between African institutions, associate partners based in Pakistan and Chile play an important advisory role in certain projects. EdQual has sponsored 10 doctoral studentships with the universities of Bristol, Bath, the Witswatersrand, Johannesburg and Dar es Salaam enrolling these doctoral students. Candidates have been nominated by African institutions and selected for the long-term contribution they are expected to make as academic staff of these institutions. Their research topics supplement EdQual's projects.

## Conclusion: Putting a Critical Understanding of Education Quality into Practice

In the conclusion, we condense our critique of education frameworks and presentation of the EdQual's programme into three main points. First, we have explained that EdQual's research focus is on the processes of teaching and learning within classrooms and the processes of leadership and management within schools. This is because of our position alongside two other DFID-funded RPCs running concurrently, one concerned with access and the other with outcomes.

   Second, we have stated that understandings of education quality are necessarily value-laden and therefore it is necessary to make our own value basis clear. This chapter is an attempt to lay out a value basis whilst recognising that constant self-reflexivity and dialogue between partners as well as responsivity to emerging findings mean that our values are always subject to scrutiny and review. Our belief that a quality education should extend capabilities and empower individuals, institutions and groups has implications for not only how we understand substantive issues but how we conduct research. Hence, capacity building is a key feature of our programme and integral to all research activities. So far we have realised this principle through:

- Southern leadership of the majority of our research projects;
- Creating professional development opportunities for less-experienced researchers that enhance their contribution to institutional capacity;
- Employing action research methodologies that recognise, develop and utilise the capacity of practitioners to innovate.
- Building relations with policy makers to enhance capacity to take up research findings.

   Third, we have asserted that a critical understanding of education quality must simultaneously be grounded in an analysis of local realities and related to analysis of how the broader historical, socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts interact with educational processes. This requires that learners are viewed as located within societies, communities, families and groups, which may face multiple forms

of disadvantage, resulting from the way that issues such as gender, rurality, ethnicity, and economic and physical vulnerability intersect. This principle has been enacted through the selection of research methodologies that demand dialogue with practitioners and learners together with the implementation of a communications strategy that requires dialogue with policy makers from the outset.

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# Chapter 11
# Pupil Assessment in a Historical Perspective: Contribution to the Contemporary Debate

**Eleni Karatzia–Stavlioti**

## Introduction

Assessment is an internal part of school life and is used in a variety of ways; although assessment and instruction are often conceived as "curiously separate in both time and purpose" (Graue 1993: 291), recent research (Broadfoot 1999; Shepard 2000) shows that the form of assessment applied depends on the purpose that it serves as well as on the specific "trends" in the field of evaluation at the local and/or international levels, with these trends to be related to the scientific and theoretical/ideological underpinnings of the applied assessment model and its use. Within this context, the range of use of assessment has changed over time taking several forms like teacher classroom assessment, standard tasks, coursework, records of achievement-portfolios as well as practical and oral assessment, written examinations and standardised tests. There is criterion-referenced assessment, formative assessment and performance-based assessment, as well as non-referenced testing (Nuttal 1992; Gipps 1994).

In the 1990s, a shift has been identified in the assessment paradigm from psychometrics to a broader model of educational assessment, from testing and examination culture to assessment and learning culture (Torrance 1993; Gipps 1994). This shift called for a recontextualisation of pupil assessment. To be more specific, a scientific paradigm is the set of interrelated concepts which provide the framework within which we see and understand a particular problem or activity; the paradigm shift takes place when the old paradigm does not offer anymore the capability to deal with an outstanding problem (Kuhn 1970).

The assumption of change in the field of assessment, and the related wider issue of the shift in the prevailing trends through time, can be investigated through the application of hermeneutic historical comparative methodologies, that is, by studying the facts in their historical context, on the basis of which the outcoming developments can be explained and understood (Kazamias et al. 2001). The aim of

E. Karatzia–Stavlioti (✉)
Department of Elementary Education, University of Patras, Patras, Greece
e-mail: elkara@upatras.gr

this chapter is to review the trends in the field of pupil assessment in their historical context in an attempt to associate the major theoretical and educational research findings with the influential historical events (social, economic, political and cultural/ideological), and this effort to shed light on the existing trends and to identify issues of interest for the future.

## Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Education has long been interpreted as a complex cultural institution (e.g., Sadler 1900), during the study of which we should not forget that the things outside schools matter even more than the things inside. It has also been noted that in order to learn something important about an educational system or an educational parameter, a simple description would not be sufficient as it is important to study the surrounding context and its forces that contribute to the formation of the specific characteristics of each educational system, the so-called national character (Kandel 1934; Hans 1949). Such approaches include the comparative study of the factors that have been identified during the first decades of the twentieth-century comparative education studies as influencing the formation of the national characteristics of education such as race, language, geography, economy, religion and general cultural/ideological.

In the radically changing contemporary societies, comparativists of education acknowledge the interactions and interrelationships among the various educational manifestations at the global and local levels (Cowen 2006); they are also aware of the difficulties of their work, which they can only overcome through the use of solid theoretical approaches and the continuous cross-checking of the information and data collected (Mattheou 2006). Having in mind all the above, pupil assessment is studied since early 1900s. More specifically, this chapter aims at: (i) identifying the dominant trends and the shifts that have since taken place in the relevant field of research and (ii) describing the assessment practice in representative policy cases at the national or international level; the choice of countries and cases is made on the basis of the influence their model of assessment had in the relevant literature.

In the undertaken investigation, it is appreciated how tightly interrelated the views on pupil assessment are with past models of curriculum and instruction (Kelly 2004); this is because prior major theories seem to be affecting and driving present practices and perspectives. The beliefs of teachers, parents and other education stakeholders are related to the preexisting theories and, most often derive from them – the latter having often served to justify the scientific measurement of ability and consequently achievement. In the historical framework of assessment throughout the twentieth century, the central ideas of social efficiency and scientific management in the curriculum are closely linked to the dominant theoretical assumptions for individual pupils and their learning, like the hereditarian theories of individual differences, the associationist, developmentalists and behaviourists learning theories. The main concepts in the field of pupil assessment, like those of measurement, ability and learning, have been given variable meanings through

time and have been applied in a variety of contexts, issues on which this chapter focuses.

In order to present the findings of this study in a clear, meaningful and coherent way, specific historical periods have been identified and used to group and report the findings. The rational underpinning of this periodisation includes the necessity to acknowledge flexibility and variability in the chronological borders set. Hence, the major historical events that have introduced huge social, economic, and/or theoretical/ideological changes are consequently then to have influenced the international educational arena.

## The Period Before the Second World War

In early 1900s, industrialisation and urbanisation brought social problems that should be resolved; the social efficiency movement (Karatzia-Stavlioti and Lambropoulos 2006) grew out of the belief that science could be used to solve these problems by favouring the application of modern principles of scientific measurement, intended to maximise the efficiency of factories to schools. The general idea was to introduce scientifically based production ideas and measurements in education (Karatzia-Stavlioti 2004). It was, for example, assumed that Taylor's method of detailed analysis of the movements performed by expert bricklayers could serve as a model, with equal success for applying similar analyses to every vocation for which pupils were prepared (Green 1990; Kleipard 1995).

At the same time, the associationists or connectionists psychology gave emphasis on step-by-step learning; every step would have to be taught specifically (Kelly 2004). Well-defined standards of measurement were required to ensure that each skill was mastered at the desired level. In this context and because it was not possible to teach every student the skills for every vocation, scientific measures of ability were also needed to predict one's future role in life and occupation. Bobbitt (1912), a leader in social efficiency movement, who introduced the "industrial" organisational principles in curriculum design, claimed for the need to educate individuals according to their capabilities and to eliminate the wastage taking place by teaching people things they would never use. These views led to a highly differentiated curriculum and a largely utilitarian one (Kelly 2004).

As it is suggested in the literature mostly from a sociological perspective, assessment procedures are a mechanism by which the dominant rationality of the western world is translated into structures and processes of schooling (Broadfoot 1999). The system of assessment that emerged with mass education systems in industrialised societies was, therefore, organically connected to a specific mode of socialisation, in which preparation for a division of labour, bureaucracy and surveillance were dominant characteristics, with all being related to the changes in the basis of social institutions which characterised the transition from "traditional" to "industrial" societies (Bernstein 1971, 1996; Banks 1978).

Alongside, Thorndike's (1922) associationism and the behaviourism of Hull (1943), Skinner (1954) and Gagne (1965) influenced curriculum theories, driving them to conceive learning as the accumulation of stimulus-response association. It was a viewpoint that promoted a theory of motivation as well as one of cognitive developments; theoretical issues that were further explored by Piaget (Piaget and Inhelter 1969) (developmentalism), Vygotsky (1978) (social behaviourism) and Bloom (1956) (taxonomy of learning goals) mainly during the next period. It is worth mentioning here that although the cognitive development theories in psychology vary through time, there is a persistence in using the scientific measurements (e.g., Binet-Simon IQ Scale) to assess the pupils' skills.

Several key assumptions of the behaviouristic model influenced the conceptualisations of teaching and testing/assessment. They asserted that: (1) learning occurs by accumulating atomised bits of knowledge; (2) learning is tightly sequenced and hierarchical; (3) transfer is limited, so each objective must be explicitly taught; (4) tests should be used frequently to ensure mastery before proceeding to the next objective; (5) tests are isomorphic with learning (tests equals learning); (6) motivation is external and based on positive reinforcement of many small steps. It is no coincidence that Thorndike became the "father" of "scientific measurement" and that "objective tests" became dominant in the field of pupil assessment in countries like the United States from the beginning of the century (Shepard 2000).

Within this context, tests tended to emphasise rote recall and procedural content knowledge. Consequently, tests included relevant types of questions like completion, matching and multiple-choice questions, along with some essay questions. This objective item format was not considered to lead to a distortion of the subject matter, while on the other hand it fitted closely with what was considered in the early twentieth century to be important for individual students to learn according to the then-prevailing views and ideologies about education. It is worth mentioning that some pioneering work by Dewey, Decroly and Montessori (see Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008; 2009) had influenced the pedagogic thought during this period and thereafter, calling for experiential learning and holistic participatory approaches in teaching. The dynamics, however, of "traditional" assessment though objective, valid and reliable measurement, still, seemed to be very strong.

## The Period After the Second World War

The changes in the foundations of education as a social institution that were made necessary by the changing economic and social order became more evident after Second World War; they were of both practical and ideological character. The practical character of these changes included the even more growing necessity for a mobile workforce that could contribute to economic development. In this context, individuals would, therefore, take responsibility for a particular unit or stage of production, the whole process of which they might not even be able to conceptualise (Blaug 1970). Within this context, it became a practical imperative that

workers should accept the legitimacy of a system in which they were paid a money wage in return for their contribution to the system of production (Psacharopoulos and Woudhal 1985). It is of particular relevance to mention the US report on "Education-An investment to people" that pointed at America's vision to accomplish the country's dream through education, an issue that was made more apparent in 1958 during the "Sputnik shock" when again the country turned to education to promote the interests of the United States in the "neo-technological cold war". It was then thought to be a policy imperative that the scholastic/academic attainment tests in the main subject areas – i.e. mathematics, science and foreign languages – should be administered by the federal government (Karatzia-Stavlioti 2004).

In addition to the changes of a more practical character, the ideologies of the times were affected by the Human Capital Theory (HCT) which bloomed in mid-1960s and stressed the economic value of education (Schultz 1961; Becker 1964) for both individuals and societies. The idea was promoted that through education and training people acquire attributes which make them more productive in the labour market and that the value of this human capital embodied in them (and in societies) can be measured (assessed) and can help to explain economic growth (Karatzia-Stavlioti and Lambropoulos 2006).

On the other hand, the changes in the nature of work mentioned above offered and required a degree of geographical and social mobility which brought about associated changes in the family's economic and educational role. It was in the 1960s that the Equality of Educational Opportunity Study was carried out by J.S. Coleman and his associates (1966), with the major aim to document differences in student scholastic achievement between schools; the equity arguments regarding those differences were central in the political and educational discourse of the times. Moreover, the goal of the study was to identify policy-manipulable variables which contributed to these differences. The use of research results by politicians became a very important issue in the field of pupil assessment, as this was closely related to the goals they wished to pursue through their adopted policies. Issues of power and surveillance gradually became stronger and more tightly related with centrally administered policies in an emerging neo-liberal framework; such is the practice of the "publication of the test results for reasons of accountability, funding and parental choice" (Karantzia – Stavlioti and Lambropoulos 2006) that begun to arise. Within this context, the Coleman et al. conclusion that the socioeconomic status (factors) bears a strong relation to academic achievement proved to be extremely influential in the field of educational research and stimulated a great deal of interest in the topic of school effectiveness which is dealt with in the next section.

In this particular historical context, the Coleman report stands as a landmark (Cohn and Geske 1990) in providing an impetus for theorists of all orientations to become more involved in educational research. However, it contributed to the continuing use of scientific measurements for pupil assessments, although the psychometric tests were gradually replaced by scholastic/academic attainment tests that basically were administered in similar ways (Gipps 1994). In the period following the publication of the Coleman Report, educational research was mainly concerned with identifying the characteristics of the pupils that influence their achievement (as

inputs in the educational process), since the characteristics of the schools reportedly did not. In such works, the teaching/learning process in classrooms was treated like a "black box" and was not paid attention to. Rutter (1979) summed up this period stating that there was a widespread pessimism about the extent to which schools and education in general could have any impact on children's development, and Basil Bernstein's (1971) view that "education cannot compensate for society" was generally accepted. In this sense, the interest on educational research – based on school factors – as well as the relevant policies was limited.

A similar body of research in the field is the school input–output research, which emerged in response to the suggestion that resources and other material inputs were not very significant in explaining school outputs. At the same time, more contextual characteristics such as the concept of "significant others" were added, but again in relation to the individual pupil. It was only within this concept that the role of the teacher instructional assessment practices might be examined; this type of research was then quite limited (Scheerens 1992, Mortimore 1995; Karadjia – Stavlioti 1997; Karatzia-Stavlioti 2004).

The major difficulty of these research findings was that the specific concentration on inputs and outputs shed no light on the school process that linked the two. These studies (Rutter et al. 1979) pointed out the importance of using the classroom and the individual student as the unit of analysis in the school performance research. As there may be considerable differences in learning environments across classrooms in the same school, or across students in the same classroom, the organisational characteristics of the classroom and the instructional strategies utilised are influential to the magnitude and the distribution of learning opportunities within the process of education.

The aforementioned issues were generally accepted by pedagogues who "reinvented" Piaget and Vygotsky (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2008). Piaget (Piaget and Inhelter, 1969) together with Rousseau and Dewey is the driving force of the movement of developmentalism, which in its most recent expressions includes developmentally appropriate practice and social constructivism, approaches that served as a basis for rejecting hard and inhumane teaching methods and for holding schools accountable for pupils' achievements. According to Piaget's view that influenced curriculum design, instruction and assessment, school subjects should be introduced only when the child stage of mental development was ready, thus underrating with this view the children's social and emotional development (Kassotakis and Flouris 2006).

Vygotksy (1978), however, was very influential in the formation of the educational ideology of that time. He argued that the child develops as a social creature from the start and then as a cognitive one; he argued that learning as a result of sociocultural experience played a greater role in the emergence of mature thinking and behaviour; thus he introduced new insights to behaviourism and the types of assessment used. Vygotsky also introduced the view that children have a zone of proximal development (ZPD), a powerful idea according to which children can be assisted to maximize their learning with the aid of supportive educational and social context. His ideas influenced pedagogy and curriculum design, as well as the related

notion of assessment, mainly through the expressed need for the construction of an appropriate motivating environment for learning.

It is also worthwhile to refer to Brunner (1973) and his prevailing views on curriculum design and the related underlying theory. He argued that any school subject can be introduced in some legitimate form to students at any age, suggesting in this way the spiral way of school subject matter organisation and provision and, consequently, effective curriculum design, implementation and assessment. Such ideas were extremely influential to educators and their class pedagogy and provided the framework for a rising culture towards "performativity" (Kazamias et al. 2001). All these facts could be considered as an impetus towards the need to identify the school outcomes that are necessary for individuals to succeed. This is the personal effectiveness idea, as expressed in curriculum design, for a world that was beginning to change radically by the driving forces of globalisation and the need for individuals to succeed in a growingly complex world (Kelly 2004).

## The School Effectiveness Movement and Pupil Assessment

A distinguished body of research related to assessment was carried out within the framework of the school effectiveness movement that emerged in the mid-1970s. This movement challenges the basic contention that schools can do little to influence student achievement and the research has been conducted primarily by scholars and researchers often associated with colleges of education, who did not completely embrace the educational input–output approach. The re-analysis of the Coleman data suggesting large school effects on some learning outcomes, the appearance of the International Educational Achievement (IEA) studies showing substantial effects of the schooling system and the publicity given in British literature to some of the early American school differences research by many researchers such as McDill, Brookover and Edmonds (as described in Karatzia-Stavlioti 2004) certainly begun to prepare the way for a change in the intellectual climate as regards to the power of school parameters in promoting pupil achievement. A comparative case study approach was often used, usually in a matched pair design, to investigate those characteristics, which appeared to differentiate more effective from less effective schools on the ground of some criterion of academic achievement.

The literature on school effectiveness suggests that effective schools consistently exhibit certain essential elements or characteristics. There have been several summaries of this enormous research through time (Mortimore 1989, 1995; Scheerens 1992; Karadjia–Stavlioti 2004; Reynolds et al. 2005). Along these lines, the factors for effective schools included characteristics that were identified as influential to pupils' achievement, either at the level of school or that of the class; some of them are professional leadership, shared vision and goals, learning environment, concentration on teaching and learning, purposeful teaching, high expectations, positive reinforcement, monitoring progress, pupil rights and responsibilities, home–school partnership, school as a learning organisation.

The major contribution of the British researchers to the debate on school effectiveness has been the development of the "value added" (Goldstein 1992) distinction in the literature relating to pupil performance in tests. Instead of concentrating solely on school outcomes, which is the main feature in the American research, British researchers collected data to establish the gains that students made during their time at school, rather than simply to establish where they stood when they finished. A criticism that is addressed to effective school research, however, is that it has tended to produce lists of "ingredients" characterising effective schooling (Scheerens 1992). It has been argued that the school effectiveness movement adopted such lists and applied them as "recipes" quite often used as performance indicators measuring standards intended to ensure school effectiveness in a wide range of different environments (Karatzia-Stavlioti 2004).

Some researchers consider the microlevel classroom instructional school effectiveness movement as another area of study, which was characterised by the attention paid to the work of individual teachers or to activities in the classroom or school at an organisation level. A review by Scheerens (1992) indicates the wide range of research that has been undertaken at this phase of school effectiveness research; research has also identified and elaborated on many questions about school effectiveness and mostly on the theoretical and conceptual issues that underlie this type of work on the process of education (White 1997; Reid and William 2001).

The school effectiveness concept was identified as an "essentially contested concept" (White 1997; Karantzia-Stavlioti 2004; Reynolds et al. 2005), as there are a number of different perspectives on the goals of education in general and on the role that the school plays in the fulfilment of those goals. This is a critical argument, in that it provides some measure of understanding as to the direction the debate on school effectiveness and on the applied assessment strategies used so far. Most of the research until now has been conducted with the researcher holding a particular view as to what constitutes an effective school. This view has, in some cases, structured the parameters of the relevant research, a major consequence of which is the assessment measures used to evaluate the effectiveness (Goldstein 1992; Broadfoot 1999).

To many in the United States and Canada, an effective school is one whose students perform well in standardised tests (Resnick and Resnick 1992). As such, the identification of more effective schools could be made by reviewing state-wide or national test scores; not surprisingly, the scientific measurement idea still persists in the pupil assessment field. Those in the United Kingdom were until recently more concerned about the rate of improvement shown by students in the school and about understanding the nature of the relationship between school process variables and the individual child's performance (Rutter et al. 1979; Mortimore 1995). In this situation, effective schools could not be identified without going into the school itself. In Australia, there had been a great deal of debate and a reluctance to offer any definition of what constitutes an effective school, until 1991, when the Australian Effective Schools Project defined an effective school as one that achieves greater student learning than that which might have been predicted from the context in which the school works (White 1997). In each case, the definition of what an effective

school is becomes critical to any other questions that might be asked, questions which have begun to be related to the assessment and the quality of education.

Within the above framework and as many governments and supranational organisations consider that education is a major instrument for economic and social development (World Bank 1995; OECD 1997), they invested money to education projects and have been involved in relevant research programmes. For example, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has been involved in supporting an international program of research into school quality and school effectiveness (Chapman 1991; White 1997). The international perspectives have demonstrated clearly how complex the issue of school effectiveness is, and how interrelated the concept is to other, such as school management, school improvement and school quality (Reynolds and Cuttance 1992; Reynolds et al. 2005).

## Pupil Assessment at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century

In the 1990s, a number of scholars made a strong claim that assessment should be used in support of learning rather than to indicate achievement. It has been pointed out that through quality learning (Council of Europe 2003) the schooling of the twenty-first century would be able to face the challenges of the contemporary world that included radical advances in science and neo-technologies as well as cultural and social transformations; references were made by international agencies and many scholars (EC 1996; OECD 1997; Resnik and Resnik 1992; Kazamias et al. 2001) for lifelong learning, for which schools should prepare their pupils. Additionally, schools should be open to society and assist individual pupils form their view of the world, their personal cosmo-idol (Shepard 2000; Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2006).

Moreover, advances in learning sciences, the persistent blooming of constructivism and the widely discussed post-modern sociocultural theories (Erickson 1998; Shepard 2000; Kelly 2004) all contributed to a shift of the existing trends in the field of assessment by questioning the underlying principles and ideologies of the prevailing paradigm which promoted atomised, content-oriented and measurement-based assessment, and consequently learning. Cognitive sciences with the input from neuroscience and the biology of learning reintroduced the concept of mind in learning and schooling in general. They contributed to the understanding of the ways that humans learn and how existing knowledge structures and beliefs work to enable or impede new learning. They also revealed that intelligent thought involves self-assessment, monitoring and awareness about when and how to use the acquired skills (Carver 2006; Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008, 2009).

The view of knowledge as cohesive and holistic entity which provides a scaffolding for later learning was build up during the 1970s and 1980s under the auspices of "constructivism" and peaked in the 1990s. Constructivism sees pupils as active constructors of their knowledge structures or schemata. In the 1990s, a case was made (Graser 1990) that the knowledge base is not compartmentalised or itemised,

but it is increasingly coherent, principled and goal oriented. Moreover, assessment aims to assist the learner accumulate appropriate models of performance in order to move towards more competent performance. The forms of assessment suggested (Kassotakis and Flouris 2006) as appropriate are portfolios of accomplishments, problem-situations that can be observed and analysed, dynamic tests that assess responsiveness of pupils to various kinds of construction and scoring procedures for the processes and products of reasoning. In other words, assessment should move beyond subject matter acquisition and reflect deep learning, higher-order thinking and meta-cognitive strategies.

Concurrently, sociocultural theories disputed the idea of the implemented curriculum aiming at social efficiency by challenging the subject matter as a means of promoting higher-order skills; introducing the assumption that all students can learn together with equal opportunity for diverse learners; promoting socialisation in the discourse and the practices of the various academic disciplines; cultivating the relationship between learning in and out of school; fostering important dispositions and processes of the mind; enacting democratic and caring practices in co-operating with the community (Bernstein 1999).

A gradual (and still ongoing) shift in the way that assessment is conceived and practised took place. Assessment which atomises knowledge should not be used because as Goldstein (1992) argues, testing should not be seen as having no impact on the pupil. Instead interactive and authentic models of assessment should be used; models that: (1) introduce challenging tasks to elicit higher-order skills, (2) address learning process as well as learning outcomes, (3) are based on an ongoing process, integrated with instruction, (4) use in a formative way to support pupil learning, (5) make the expectations visible to pupils, (6) pupils consider to be active in evaluating their own work, and (6) may be used in evaluating teaching as well as pupil learning (Broadfoot 1999; Shepard 2000).

The term "authentic assessment" is largely used in the United States to express the assessment task that closely matches the desired performance and takes place in authentic classroom context, without distorting instruction and learning. The Standard Assessment Tasks described in the English and Welsh National Curriculum (DES 1988) could be considered as good examples of performance assessment (Gipps 1994) as long as the tasks used are real examples of the skill or learning goal rather than proxies. Teachers should not move away from concepts, higher-order skills, in-depth projects, etc. in order to prepare for the tests. In this context, teachers need insights that come from research on learning (Sawyer 2006) and focus on their role in supporting children to learn.

In the last decade of the twentieth century, the educational debate focused on the need that educationalists would have to abandon the "trend to stick on psychometrics" (Wolf et al. 1991). The relevant research (Gipps 1994; Broadfoot 1999; Shepard 2000) showed that the implications of this trend on education have been on issues of a broader and deeper range than one could imagine. These issues may be summed up as follows: (1) the strength of quantitative measures of skills and knowledge; (2) the stress on individual performances, rather than collaborative

forms of cognition, as indicators of educational progress; and (3) the importance of the general idea that educational progress is a matter of scientific measurement.

In the United States, it is pointed out that in order to have a real shift in classroom assessment practices, the beliefs of the teachers should move away from thinking that formal exams and tests are necessary in order to make pupils work harder (Erickson 1998; Shepard 2000). In this context, new forms of assessment were built up in the 1990s as the way of changing the educational system and reforming education; this kind of educational reform policy is neither new nor only local. The technologies of educational assessment have been called to cure the ills of the education system in terms of efficiency (less inputs and/or more outputs) or equity (equality of opportunity and compensatory teaching) in many countries. The standardised national testing in the United States has been used in such ways (Shepard 1991; Resnick and Resnick 1992). Also, the university entrance exams have been a major issue of a relevant debate in Greece (Kazamias et al. 2001; Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2006, 2009).

The above-described situation led schools to "teaching-to-the-test" pedagogy, which in turn provided an impetus for educational and ideological debates that mostly focused on whether tests lead to better education for children and their examination performance might be considered indicative of the effectiveness of their school. Relevant to these issues was the problem brought up by the scholars in the United Kingdom during the school effectiveness debate labelled by Goldstein (1992) as "what is measured becomes important". It should, however, be mentioned that in the United Kingdom there is not the same reliance on standardised tests as in the United States (Gipps 1994), the public system of exams in the United Kingdom fits more with the performance-based model, while authentic assessment and pupil portfolios are widely accepted as pedagogically effective assessment techniques, especially when used in classrooms by the teachers. Although the culture for assessment is different in the United Kingdom, some scholars identify that clear distortions (Goldstein 1992; Gipps 1994; Carver 2006) take place when assessment is put on a traditional measurement model. Especially when this model is related to the labour market, to the funding of schools and to the way those schools are held accountable to education stakeholders. All the above are placed within the neo-liberal ideology.

Relevant debate and research at the international level (Pelgrum and Stoel 1996; OECD 1997; Rychen and Salganik 2003) have been related to the initialisation of the Programme of International Student Achievement (PISA). This international project held by the OECD would evaluate and compare the achievement of pupils in schools and countries as concerns their literacy competences in Language, Mathematics, Science and Problem-Solving. This type of assessment is not strictly content oriented, but is mainly focusing on the meta-cognitive abilities of the pupils to use and transfer the knowledge and skills acquired in schools in authentic real-life circumstances (OECD 2004). The concept of literacy is concerned with the "capacity of students to analyse, reason, and communicate effectively as they pose, solve and interpret problems in a variety of subject matter areas" (OECD 2005: 3).

The PISA project is mainly policy oriented (Karatzia-Stavlioti 2004) and is considered to be related to lifelong learning, in that it is not limited to assessing pupils' curricular and cross-curricular competences. Furthermore, it asks them to report on issues related to their personal performance like their own motivation to learning, beliefs about themselves and learning strategies. Such competences are considered transferable and usable in any future life situation, and according to the executive summary (OECD 2005), they should contribute to moving beyond taught knowledge and skills in order to provide individuals with lifelong effective characteristics. They are called key competences and are classified into three broad categories: (i) use tools effectively, (ii) interact with heterogeneous groups and (iii) act autonomously.

At the European Union level, the initiatives for pupil assessment included experimental projects on school evaluation through student learning outcomes and the use of the results as education quality performance indicators (EC 2000). The bunch of indicators referring to pupils' performance in European secondary education schools comprised the main areas of Language, Mathematics, Science, New Technologies, Foreign Languages, Learning Competences and Citizenship. Although the Commission acknowledges that general education is a nation-state responsibility, it becomes common belief that the EU funding initiatives aim at the fulfilment of the widely accepted future concrete goals of the education systems (EC 2004; Roussakis and Passias 2006). However, through the good educational policy practices identified and within the Open Coordination Policy that these practices are pursued, the whole educational policy is gradually becoming a "strict" framework for the national policies (Karatzia-Stavlioti 2004; Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2009).

The preceding discussion indicates the variability of approaches in the field of pupil assessment. All of them are related to the different views held on learning. The identified differences are mainly due to the lack of a commonly and widely accepted theory for learning. Shepard (2000) predicted that though cognitive, constructivist and sociocultural theories are sometimes even conflicting with each other, they will inevitably merge into something like a middle ground theory of learning. This theory will eventually be accepted as common wisdom and carried into practice. In the next section, this issue is discussed further in an effort to contribute to the relevant debate. In this context, the theory of biopedagogism is presented (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008; 2009) as it could be a basis for an innovative paradigm in pupil assessment.

## Towards a New Paradigm for Pupil Assessment: Biopedagogism and Its Contribution to the Contemporary Debate

As it has already been argued in this chapter, a major issue in the current debates on learning and assessment is that of the promotion of deep learning, or "learning beyond the facts". Many other related but conceptually distinct concepts have

been used to express this trend, e.g. meta-cognitive competences, problem-solving skills, critical thinking and cross-curricular competences (Pelgrun and Stoel 1996; Le Matais 1999; HPI 2003; Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2009). With scientists from various disciplines contributing towards the formation of a new approach to learning and assessment, educationalists are gradually becoming more familiar with newly introduced concepts through the neurosciences and the biology of the brain.

The recently presented theory of biopedagogism (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008; 2009) argues that a proper pedagogico-educational practice/investment has to be "coordinated" with the children's brain phylo-ontogenetic dynamics. This can be based on the cultivation of four fundamental competences (Technological, Social, Language-Literacy and Numeracy/Reasoning), which could be considered biopedagogically as key competences, in "parallel" to their evolutionary and ontogenetic gross origin order of appearance (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008; 2009). In such a way, a strong, physical and interactive learning basis might be generated and extend the human brain ability to learn. This procedure could be considered to be in some analogy with the (evolutionary) Sensitive Interactive Period human cognitive big bang that led to world civilisation.

This consideration could also be extended to the better explanation of the importance of various developmental "windows of learning opportunities". These chronological periods are crucial in small school ages, in which representational mapping and systems and even simple abstractions gradually emerge and become the basic parameters necessary for cultivating competences in higher theorising levels. Within this context, proper education has to process gradually in the middle and upper elementary school classes through an Inversion Step (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008; 2009) by reversing the emphasis given to the aforementioned basic competences. In this way, the ontogenetically emergent more abstract thought might be strengthened. Consequently, the correct use/valuation of the preceded learning basis might lead to the achievement of deep learning.

Indirect evidence referring to the significance of preschool education in the achievement of students until the age of 15 (OECD 2004; Mahar and Harford 2004) is in favour of biopedagogism (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008; 2009). The phylo-ontogenetic recognition of the instructional importance of the four central for learning competences could lead (a) to new evaluation and more successful application of the classical effective learning principles (Reynolds and Cuttance 1992; Sawyers 2006), (b) to a re-evaluation of the Piagetian stages or Vygostsky's ZPD and (c) to an enrichment/reconstruction of future curricula to include stronger biological considerations for the deeper understanding of how to promote learning through instruction and assessment (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2006).

In this context, teachers must become more familiar with the biological basis of the pupils' learning (Gazzaniga 1998) and mainly acknowledge that the technological competence seems to be the basis upon which socialisation, language-literacy and numeracy/theorising are better built, all of them interacting and gradually leading to the configuration of personal culture/cosmo-idol and generally to world civilisation (Alahiotis 2004). They should also be aware of the fact that the additive

and combined feedback and interactive relationships among the four fundamental competences are also important for teaching/leaning/assessment, depending on the specific schooling circumstances and teacher's initiative (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008; 2009).

Within this framework, the biopedagogical instructional methodology must include sufficient experimentation that could gradually move from the use of simple interesting technological materials for simple tasks to more complicated ones. Activities have also to move from simple individual/small-team to more complicated/large-group synergistic ones, turning the class into a learning community in a neo-technological environment; the computer-based new technologies could actually be of assistance in both instruction and assessment (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008, 2009).

Most importantly, teachers are expected to appreciate the biopedagogical meaning of the cross-curricular approach to learning, a procedure based on the holistic acquisition of knowledge. This learning is made through the best use of the fundamental interdisciplinary concepts and/or synthetic activities, related to authentic everyday problems and local/historical circumstances. The concepts and activities formulate knowledge networks, in analogy with the brain's networks; empirical data are supportive to the necessity of the educators to acknowledge and learn about cross-curricularity in a way that can become more effective as the biopedagogical practice/investment (Karatzia-Stavlioti and Alahiotis 2007, 2009). The basic/key/fundamental competences are generic and are, therefore, needed by everyone across a variety of contexts; they are valued by both individuals and societies and they bring benefits in a wide spectrum of contexts; they are cross-curricular and transversal; however, they do not substitute for domain/subject-specific knowledge.

This domain knowledge can be identified in specific competences and only in certain contexts. However, specific competences cannot be used effectively without the key competences and vice versa (Rychen and Salganik 2003). These specific competences have to be partnered in practice with the biopedagogically key competences under the important considerations that: (i) both content and contexts are important factors; (ii) instructional and learning practices should contribute to the promotion of literacy (OECD 2005) that is conceived as the capacity of students to analyse, reason and communicate effectively as they pose, solve and interpret problems in a variety of subject matter areas; and (iii) individual pupils must be assisted to formulate their cosmo-idol or their personal cosmo-theory and participate actively in a democratic society.

In Fig. 11.1, the process of applying biopedagogically suitable class assessment is schematised. There is a grounded theory on biopedagogism, in which the development of the basic/key/cross-curricular competences is described through informing the instruction/learning/assessment classroom decisions. The role of the teacher as a researcher and the reflections and interactions of all the classroom actors are indicated by the bipolar arrows, with all these interactions contributing to the creation of a classroom acting as a natural/authentic learning community that supports learning for all. In the aforementioned framework, pupil assessment may and should
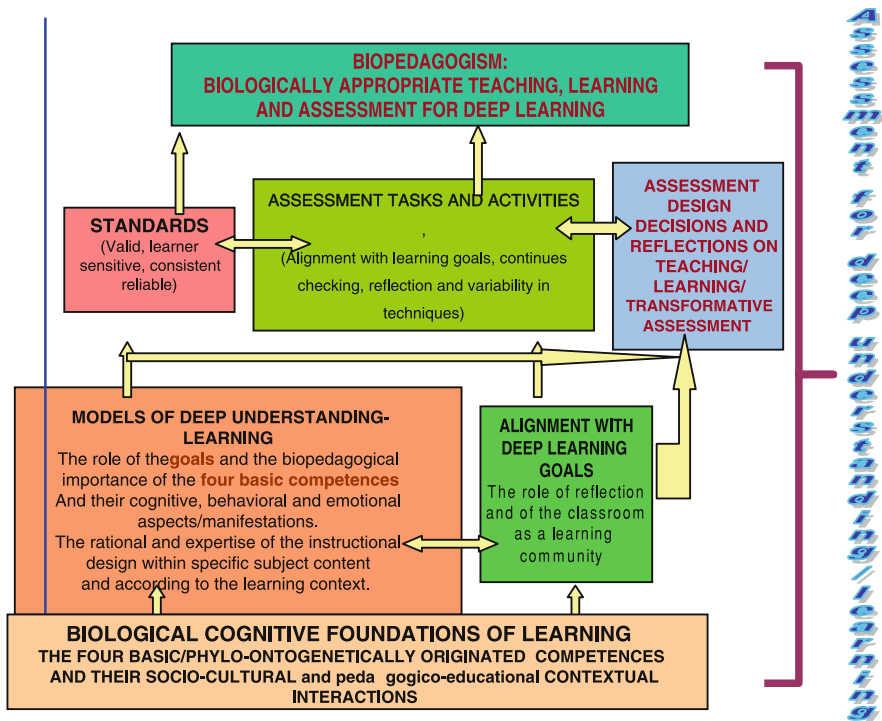
**Fig. 11.1** Representation of the biopedagogically based classroom assessment for deep/cross-curricular learning

acquire the major characteristics that describe a pedagogically effective educational assessment and become

- *Authentic* and *transparent* to individual pupils and/or groups of pupils in terms of the circumstances it is implemented and the tasks used to elicit higher-order skills and basic/key competences, all in parallel to the phylo-ontogenetic authentic natural circumstances which all classroom actors share.
- *Experiential* in terms of the effectiveness in using a variety of tools interactively through the relevant basic/key competences, e.g. the use of technology through the technological basic/key competence could be substrate for the other biopedagogical basic/key competences to bloom, especially in the early ages.
- *Dynamic, reflexive and transformative*, as regards the learning process and the learning outcomes that should be valued by all.
- *Socially constructed*, in terms of the ways knowledge is acquired, constructed and implemented by individual pupils and/or groups of pupils on an interactive basis and variable contexts.
- *Interactively created learning environment* for individual pupils and groups that should become active participants in reflecting on and evaluating their own work;

in such ways, that might contribute to their active and creative participation in societies and world civilisation.

– *Of assistance to teachers* in reflecting on and evaluating their own work as well as their pupils', thus contributing to the operation of classrooms as learning communities.
– *Culturally sensitive with outcomes that can be abstracted* to the higher level of self-realisation by assisting the development of the pupils' own cosmo-idol and contributing to the advancement of world culture and civilisation.

In this context, classroom biopedagogic assessment practice requires the teacher to be able to ask the right questions at the right time, predict and respond to conceptual pitfalls, and prepare a variety of tasks and activities that could assist pupils proceed to the next steps to acquire the subject matter deep knowledge and meta-cognitive skills and competences. Teachers need to learn how to use assessment in new ways and they have to be motivated towards such pedagogically effective practices that would allow their classrooms to operate as learning communities. Their own beliefs are an important factor towards this change (Karatzia-Stavlioti and Alahiotis 2007, 2009). So they need help to reflect on their own beliefs as well as on those of their pupils', colleagues', parents', and school managers' and administrators'. In such a context, teachers would come to realise that they themselves must acquire the lifelong learning skills in order to become infinitely skilled teachers (Shepard 2000; Karatzia-Stavlioti and Lambropoulos 2006). Teachers should, therefore, operate as researchers because observations of the teaching/learning/assessment process may yield intuitions about what works and why. The classroom contexts are complex, and the design of decisions related to assessment are complicated; so flexibility based on a knowledge base that is biopedagogically informed is an essential parameter in any assessment decision.

## Concluding Remarks

It might be argued that this type of assessment through biopedagogy is an idealisation. The new concepts and theoretical perspectives underlying it, however, have both a scientific basis and common sense. There is also some relevant supportive research evidence. Consequent empirical research should be targeted towards the proposed goal of using the assessment of the key (basic/fundamental) competences in the service of deep learning. Clearly, a reformed vision of school curriculum is needed as well as an effective use of teacher classroom assessment; also, further research targeted on the dilemmas of practice is necessary. Additionally, researchers and educationalists should formulate an agenda to help policy makers and other education stake holders understand the limits of applied testing and educational measurements in general for accountability and selection reasons. Furthermore, ways should be found that might contribute to the elicitation and extinguishing of the

identified negative effects that the measurement type of pupils' assessment brings to them and to societies in general.

Most importantly, research has already been initialised by the co-authors of the paper on biopedagogism (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2008) who lead a specific research group at the Elementary Education Department of the University of Patras in order to identify the appropriate ways to effectively apply biopedagogical assessments by teachers in school classrooms, a situation through which the democratic values as well as the social and environmental sustainability could be promoted and the quality of life for individuals and societies might be improved.

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**Chapter 12**
# Recent Trends in Early Childhood Curriculum: The Case of Greek and English National Curricula

**Efstratia Sofou**

## Introduction

In the light of the increasing attention that is paid to curriculum issues in early childhood education, the study focuses on recent early childhood curriculum policy in Greece and England. Our particular interest is in identifying the contemporary views on the child, on early childhood institutions and on teachers embedded in the curriculum frameworks of Greece and England. We argue, like others (Oberhuemer 2005; Dahlberg et al. 1999) that the way in which childhood is perceived is deeply embedded in a specific historical, cultural, geographical, economic and political context, in certain sets of societal norms and values. Thus, we are seeking to look critically into discourses on childhood and associated policies, recognising that the relationship between discourse and policy is not linear, but that each influences the other (Woodrow and Press 2007). We consider that curriculum analysis is political in essence and that the curriculum is not a neutral document but a cultural artefact (Duhn 2006).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, both England and Greece have published preschool curriculum frameworks. The English educational system in England in general, and especially as concerns early childhood education, has not only basic organisational but also historical-ideological differences with the Greek system. Hence the comparative collation of the two cases is of particular interest. The present study, by comparing early childhood curriculum in these different countries through an analysis of curriculum documents, aims at deepening our understanding of *how* and *why* early childhood curricula have developed in the way they have, under the prevailing circumstances in each one of them. Thus, the first section of the study introduces a theoretical framework which is drawn from the poststructuralist and discourse theory. The research questions and the methodology are presented in the second section. The question of how the different historical, cultural and discursive contexts in Greece and England have influenced early childhood

E. Sofou (✉)
Hellenic Pedagogical Institute, former Deputy Counselor, Greece
e-mail: efsofou@gmail.com

curriculum policy processes in the two countries is approached in the third and fourth sections. The construction of early childhood education and the perception of the child and the early childhood teacher, as these are embedded in the curriculum documents, are examined in the next three sections. Finally, in the last section we discuss the main findings of the study and provide some conclusive remarks.

## Theoretical Underpinnings

Poststructuralism, as a theoretical paradigm, offers us a useful starting point for contextualising the issue of the curriculum. Poststructuralists regard phenomena such as social institutions, relationships and individuals as products of the discourse within which we think about them and seek to demonstrate how discourses produce phenomena and how the meaning and significance of a phenomenon are associated with the particular discourse within which people encounter it (Hughes 2001). Poststructuralists challenge the idea that we can ever find the real truth about anything in our world (MacNaughton 2005). This means that many different and diverse truths about the child and childhood are possible and therefore the way in which childhood is understood is socially determined (Dahlberg et al. 1999).

Building on the notion of childhood as a socially constructed phenomenon and on Foucault's theory about power, an increasing number of researchers in the early childhood field have begun explaining and interrogating its dominant images and understandings, their consequent meanings in social practice and the implications for the field (Cannella 1997; Dahlberg et al. 1999; Dahlberg and Moss 2005; MacNaughton 2005; Woodrow and Press 2007). As Dahlberg and Moss (2005) argue, three analytic concepts from Foucault's theory about disciplinary power play an important part in our thinking about what early childhood education is and what it might be: *dominant discourses or regimes of truth*, *governmentality* and the *subject*. The above theoretical framework suggests how constructions of children and childhood are constituted, through power relations and dominant discursive regimes, as well as how these constructions become embodied into professional thinking and are conductive to professional practice (Moss et al. 2000).

Drawing on the above analytic concepts, Dahlberg and Moss (2005) argue that the growing attention given to early childhood education today is shaped by a dominant discourse within a modernist-positivist paradigm, according to which early childhood education is socially constructed as *producer of predetermined outcomes*. The construction of preschools as producers of predetermined outcomes, like social order and economic success, is contingent on: (a) an instrumental rationality, through the application of measurement techniques that are assumed to be objective and universally valid; (b) a scientific or objective knowledge which provides the basis for achieving order and claims to guarantee predetermined outcomes; (c) the availability of *knowledge-related technologies* (Rose 1999) which include practices or methods for working with children towards agreed ends, often drawing on scientific knowledge, in particular developmental psychology.

The aforementioned theoretical ideas therefore provide a theoretical basis from which we can explore how language and relevant discourses are cultural and ideological constructions (Ling-Yin 2007). Thinking about the understandings of the child, of early childhood education and of the teacher in the curriculum entails, first, taking a critically reflective stance and questioning those dominant bodies of knowledge which govern our way of thinking and practice and, second, making critical analyses of the broad social, political and economic forces that are producing taken-for-granted discourses and practices.

## Methodology

Based on the above theoretical presuppositions, the present study investigates the following research questions: How do the curriculum texts construct the child, early childhood education and the teacher? What dominant discourses about early childhood education, the child and the teacher can be identified in the curriculum texts? We will attempt to answer these research questions by applying of critical discourse analysis (Luke 1995; Taylor 2004) and to denaturalise taken-for-granted knowledge surrounding early childhood education by continuously relating it to the political and economic contexts as an expression of power relations (Duhn 2006).

On the other hand, the comparative perspective allows us to identify current global discourses and to consider how these discourses are arrested in local contexts and take the characteristics of that context (Hultqvist and Dahlberg 2001; (Lubbeck 1996). The study attempts to point out similarities, identify and interpret differences, singularities and complexities between the Greek and the English contexts in their responses to shared problems. As a result, we identify general elements and particularities of early childhood curriculum policy and improve our understanding of its limits and possibilities.

In the case of Greece, we will examine the *Cross-thematic Curriculum Framework Syllabus Design for Kindergarten* (hereafter referred to as CTC), a 36-page text, developed for children aged 4–6 years and the accompanying *Kindergarten Teacher's Guide* (hereafter referred to as KTG), a 430-page text, which was published in 2006 according to the new curriculum framework and provides basic theoretical and methodological support to the teacher. In the case of England, we will examine the existing, until September 2008[1], curriculum framework as presented in the *Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage* (hereafter referred to as CGFS), a 128-page text developed for children aged from 3 to 5 and introduced by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) in September 2000. Its principal aim is to help practitioners to plan how their work will contribute to the achievement of early learning goals. The *Guidance* reflects and is consistent

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[1]A new curriculum, *Early Years Foundation Stage* (EYFS), came into force in September 2008. The EYFS, building on CGFS (QCA, 2000), is a single framework for care, learning and development for children in all early years settings from birth to the August after their fifth birthday.

with the principles and aims already set out in the *Early Learning Goals* booklet published in October 1999.

Considering that the context of influence and the context of production are important elements for the interpretation of policy texts (Bowe et al. 1992; Codd 1988; Maw 1993), we will try in the following section to place the preschool curriculum texts under examination in the political, ideological and institutional contexts in which they belong.

## The Greek Context

The main policies followed during the 1990s in Greece were oriented towards the European nominal convergence, for the achievement of which economic development and the enhancement of economic competitiveness were necessary. At the same time, the perspective of European convergence was being used as a form of justification and legitimation of policies (Zambeta 2002; Georgiadis 2005). The reforms of the Greek educational system during the 1997–2005 period, where the early childhood curriculum belongs, can be considered as the most important from the beginning of the 1980s (Flouris and Pasias 2007). Fundamental axes of the reform were Law 2525/97, the curriculum reform and the creation of new educational materials for general compulsory education. The curriculum reform in compulsory education was designed and launched by the Pedagogical Institute, an advisory body to the Minister of Education in matters of curriculum and textbooks, during the period from 2001 to 2003, with the development of the *Cross-thematic Curriculum Framework Syllabus Design* in 2002 (CTC) and the new subject-based curricula. The intention of the reformers was to develop a unified and comprehensive curriculum for all classes and all subjects of compulsory (Primary and Junior High school) and non-compulsory schooling (early childhood education) (Alahiotis and Karatzia-Stavlioti 2006). The new curriculum became a law of the state in 2003 and it introduced a cross-thematic approach to learning, a term which exceeds the interdisciplinary concept and outdoes it (Alahiotis 2002). Aiming at the renewal of the knowledge content and the adjustment of teaching methodology, the new curriculum introduced pedagogical practices justified by the use of theories from cognitive and developmental psychology, combining at the same time traditional and technical-instrumental logic, without changing the existing subject-based curriculum (Koustourakis 2007).

The discourse of the introductory note of the CTC is strongly influenced by the discourse developed by the EU and other international organisations, emphasising the relationship between education and the specific capacities individuals need within the context of a knowledge-based society. It could be argued that the curriculum reform was not concerned with early childhood services per se or with early childhood in its own right, but mainly with the compulsory education curriculum. The espoused objective for including early childhood education in the process of compulsory curriculum development was to create continuity of educational experiences for children across the early childhood and school sectors, a common method

of facilitating transition and readiness for school in many countries (OECD 2006). This fact explains in part the decision of the Ministry of Education in December 2006 to establish compulsory attendance at kindergarten. Thus, although the new curriculum policy granted equal status with the other levels to early childhood education and included it in the unified planning of the education system, it continued to view kindergarten as a grade before the commencement of elementary school education (Evangelou 1996) and on the other hand as a means of preventing or reducing later problems or learning disorders.

## The English Context

According to Ozga and Lawn (1999), the case of the United Kingdom and in particular England is seen as an exemplar of radical and thorough restructuring of society and its education system towards the creation of a neo-liberal state. The CGFS, and the understandings it reveals, comes from the first administration of the Labour Government, between 1997 and 2001, and thus is the product of a particular era and a particular political and economic context, which includes neo-liberal capitalism and an advanced liberal regime (Moss and Petrie 2002).

In contrast with the Greek context, historically, in England there was little government intervention in preschool provision, in the curriculum and its implementation. During the 1990s and in particular since the Labour Government came into power, there has been a significant level of strong government intervention in early years' education. According to Moss (1999), the Labour Government has brought about an unparalleled change of climate, with the recognition of the importance of early years education and a willingness to act and spend money on it. As Moss (1999: 235) argues early childhood services and young children have become items on the agenda of two major and related projects of the Labour Government: "improving educational standards in school and increasing labour market participation and economic competitiveness. Viewed from the perspective of these imperative projects, young children are understood primarily as dependents of their parents, in need of 'childcare' to enable their parents' employment, and as 'becoming' school children and economically active adults" (Moss 1999: 235). Thus, there has been no major government project concerned with early childhood services per se or more generally with young children as a social group, and no strong agenda concerned with early childhood in its own right.

The introduction of a National Curriculum Framework in England in 1988 for primary and secondary schooling resulted in the first centrally defined National Curriculum for English schools based on a subject model of learning. This centralisation has also impacted upon early childhood education in England, as the desire of policy makers was to create a more cohesive, centralised system of early childhood education with coherent links to the National Curriculum in primary schools (Soler and Miller 2003). In 1999, *Early Learning Goals*, shaped by the need for pupils to attain clearly prescribed outcomes, replaced the "Desirable Outcomes for Children's

Learning on Entering Compulsory Education" (SCAA 1996), introduced by the then Conservative Government. The *Foundation Stage*, introduced in September 2000, was made a statutory part of the National Curriculum to ensure that it had the same status as the curriculum for older children and the CGFS was developed (QCA 2000).

In the following section, we discuss how the curriculum documents under examination construct the aim and the purposes of early childhood education, the child and early childhood teachers, appreciating that this analysis is by no means exhaustive, objective or definitive. Rather, we are providing an alternative reading of the curriculum documents in order to enhance our understanding of their dominant constructions and thus our own interpretation is open to further analysis and criticism.

## The Meaning of Early Childhood Education

One of the dominant constructions of early childhood education embedded in both curriculum documents is the conception of the early childhood education as a preparatory stage for future learning. Viewed from this perspective, early childhood education is coming to be seen as the first stage in the process of producing a "stable, well-prepared" workforce for the future and thus a foundation for longer success in an increasingly competitive global market (Dahlberg et al. 1999). The above construction is explicit in the English case regarding the aim of early childhood education. The CGFS indicates explicitly that the foundation stage is a preparatory stage, which provides children with readiness for school skills. Therefore, it is evident that in the relationship between early childhood education and compulsory school, the latter is the clear and unquestioned dominant partner, since preparation or readiness for school presumes the school has fixed standards that children need to be able to achieve prior to entry, and the task of the foundation stage is to deliver children able to meet those standards (Moss 2008).

In the Greek case, the above construction is not explicitly stated. In contrast, the holistic development of the child, the equality of opportunities and the strong partnership with the compulsory education are the discourses that constitute the aim of early childhood education in Greece. Nevertheless, the analysis of the rest of the CTC as well as of the KTG reveals the idea of "schoolification" of early childhood education in order to prepare and support the transition of children to primary school. For example, the focus of the Greek curriculum framework on cognitive development and especially on language and literacy and other school-like learning areas points to the existence of a "pre-primary" approach (Bennett 2005; OECD 2006). Hence, the Greek CTC, despite the discourse of the cross-curricular approach to knowledge and the integrated approach to learning, sets directions regarding planning and development of activities for the following school-like learning areas: Language, Mathematics, Environment Studies, Creation and Expression, and Computer Science. One of the principles of the curriculum framework, as it

is stated in the introduction, is the importance of language and literacy, numeracy and technology proficiency in the preschool programme (MoE 2002). According to the KTG, literacy and numeracy lay secure foundations for future achievement and therefore give children the best possible start in their lifelong learning pursuit. Like the Greek one, the English CGFS emphasises six distinct curriculum learning areas linked to the subject areas of the National Curriculum: personal, social and emotional development; communication, language and literacy; mathematical development; knowledge and understanding of the world; physical development; and creative development. However, both curriculum frameworks state that these learning areas are not conceived as independent subjects for independent teaching. Instead, it is suggested that they should be taken into consideration during the planning and implementation of meaningful and purposeful activities for the children (MoE 2002; QCA 2000). In other words, the division of young children's learning into areas is considered a rather "technical" issue.

A second construction of early childhood education identified in the curriculum documents of both countries and related with the above-mentioned one is its conception as a means of preventing or reducing later problems or disorders in schooling. In the Greek curriculum documents, the role of kindergarten is considered important for the prevention of children's disorders in schooling, mainly of those children who come from not privileged social environments. In the English text under examination, the preventive role of learning disorders is connected with the monitoring of each child's progress throughout the foundation stage. In both cases, the implied child is the "poor" child or the child "in need" or "at risk", who through the effective intervention may achieve the specified goals.

## The Understandings of the Child

The construction of early childhood education as a preparatory stage for compulsory schooling produces matching constructions of the child. Therefore, at the centre of both curricular frameworks children are seen as future pupils, future adults and future citizens. At the centre of both curricular frameworks children are seen as future pupils, future adults and future citizens. Therefore, the child is prepared not only for the school curriculum, but for lifelong learning, for society and the market (Grieshaber 2000). Since education should provide skills and competencies for the market, learning needs to be taught. Therefore, both curricula urge teachers to inculcate a positive attitude towards learning. In the case of England, effective education is the key feature of the curriculum text. Thus, lifelong learning becomes effective because the curriculum is channelled into specific learning goals and outcomes that link early childhood education with the skills and competencies needed for an effective workforce. Founded on child development knowledge, the English curriculum as a "development appropriate curriculum" correlates lessons plans with a sequence of capabilities (Fendler 2001). The view of children's development underlying this model is that learning takes place in a straightforward stepped sequential manner

which can be assessed and itemised at predetermined levels, through stepping stones towards the early learning goals. Therefore, in the aforementioned approach, the child is viewed as an individual human being who "irrespective of context, follows a standard sequence of biological stages that constitutes a path to full realization or a ladder-like progression to maturity" (Dahlberg et al. 1999). According to this view, the child has universal properties and inherent capabilities; this is a modernist assumption of universal applicability on which Piaget's theory and the development of appropriate curricula rest (Lubeck 1996). On the other hand, the CGFS, like the political discourse in England in other fields, emphasises the respect to diversity (Ling-Yin 2007). Hence, the implied contradiction of the English document is that it assumes a "universalistic" approach about the child's development and simultaneously it presumes to embrace diversity (Moss 2001).

Regarding to the above construction of the child, the Greek CTC, and in particular the KTG, seems to assume both developmental and sociocultural[2] descriptions of the child's development and of curriculum planning (Edwards 2003) and in particular a form of child-centred pedagogy, that is, interactive pedagogy (Fendler 2001). According to this idea, the education process is flexible, fluid, dynamic, and situation-responsive and continuously monitors the children's needs and interests. Even though in many cases children are described as possessing unchangeable, universal, and independent of culture, history and situation characteristics, the straightforward stepped sequential path, that the child should follow towards the learning goals in the English curriculum, is not evident in the respective Greek documents.

Popkewitz and Bloch (2001) suggest that the new form of constructivism, prevalent in the field of education today, seeks to govern the soul by creating a particular subjectivity: a global citizen/worker, flexible, adaptable and ready for uncertainties in work as well as in the family. It becomes the task of pedagogy to empower the child to be adaptable, flexible, autonomous, and efficient and self-governing. We could identify these visions of the child in both curriculum frameworks. Both view the child as an active and problem-solving child, taking risks and striving towards autonomy and independence.

Comparing the views of the child in the respective curriculum documents, we could argue that the child in the Greek curriculum is further empowered and more social, drawn into participation and collaborative learning than the child in the English curriculum. The children in the Greek curriculum are seen as capable learners who take active part in shaping the curriculum through thematic project work, participate in their own evaluation and are reflexive in their learning. The emphasis on learning through group relationships differs from the more individualistic relationship to learning and knowledge that characterises the child's learning in the English context. In the English curriculum framework, the collaborative work is less accentuated and it seems to focus more on the individual child, since individualism

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[2]According to these descriptions, learning had to be understood in social terms (Dafermou et al., 2006), a conception that enables a critique of the universalistic Piagetian theory.

is considered one of the key underlying principles of English traditional early childhood education (Known, 2002). In summary, the discourses of the CGFS focus on the child of the future, the developmental child, the child progressing on stepping stones towards the school and on the other hand on the active, autonomous and problem-solving child.

## The Image of the Early Childhood Teacher

In both curriculum frameworks, the teacher is seen as a "counsellor of learning" and a "designer of the learning environments". In both contexts, the early childhood teacher does not lecture, but rather adapts the material information "at a pace that is set by the children's questions" (Fendler 2001: 132). According to Fendler (2001), interactive pedagogy is a technology used as a solution to the unsatisfactory alternatives of child-centred and teacher-centred pedagogies; it requires the teacher to respond flexibly to the children's feelings, words and actions, and constructs both a response-able/-ready child and a response-able/-ready teacher. The latter is clear in the English curriculum text, where the early learning goals are its pivotal elements and their achievement is the central duty of the teacher. Thus, the awareness and the implementation of the early learning goals are described as the essence of the teacher's work. Related with the consciousness of the early learning goals, another essential dimension of early childhood teacher's work is the assessment of children's progress towards their achievement. Thus, the responsibility for effective early childhood education belongs to teachers who are supposed to teach towards the goals and objectives defined in the curriculum. Drawing on Moss's analysis (2006) of the dominant constructions of early childhood workers, the above description produces an image of the early childhood educator as a technician. In the field of early years education, the above construction includes working with detailed and prescriptive curricula and practising guidelines to regulate methods of working and using observation and other methods to assess performance against developmental norms and other standardised outcome criteria. As such, the work of the technician is "strongly governed by a set of technologies which specify practice and outcomes and value conformity to both" (Moss 2006: 36).

In the Greek curriculum framework, in contrast, the goals are not described as the essence of teacher's work. Even if it is linked to a considerable number of learning goals in each area[3], their formulation takes the form of "striving towards", and not "achieved", as in the respective English one. As it is stated, the early childhood teacher is considered to pay attention not only to the content, that is, what children should learn, but on the process, that is, how children should learn (Dafermou et al. 2006). Whereas the Greek curriculum framework and the accompanying guidance

[3]In this case, *104 goals* are set out in the respective learning areas (MoE, 2002) in comparison with the *68* founded in the respective English curriculum document. It is interesting to note that the Swedish curriculum framework has only *24* goals and comprises 15 pages.

specifies how the educator has to work, at the same time it is taken for granted that the educator, as a reflective professional, will translate the goals into effective practice according to the needs and interests of the children and the specific learning community at the local level (MoE 2002). The ideal teacher should be a "learner" and a "reflective professional" who always questions the learning and teaching process, who reflects critically on improving teaching practices. The teacher as a learner also presupposes that the teacher co-constructs knowledge in the context of a thematic project and creates knowledge with the children. Moreover, the teacher, like the child, is a lifelong learner who participates in professional partnerships to share information with other colleagues, as this kind of interaction promotes professional awareness and provides teachers with effective tools for the continuous improvement of their work.

## Discussion

The study has tried to identify the contemporary views of the child, the early childhood institution and the teacher embedded in curriculum documents of the early twenty-first century in Greece and England. We see that the reform of the Greek educational system at the end of the 1990s led to the change of the compulsory curriculum to include the preschool, a change which appeared as a necessary movement of modernisation, a discourse which makes direct reference to the impact of globalisation and the reinforcement of Greece in the framework of the EU. On the other hand, England, faced with the challenge of restructuring in order to adjust the national economy to a globalised economy, put great emphasis on the need to improve educational standards and introduced an employment-led childcare system in order to increase labour market participation and economic competitiveness. Therefore, early childhood education was increasingly seen as an important site of early intervention, aimed at maximising the child's potential from the earliest possible age (Duhn 2006). Consequently, the two curricula are placed in a particular dominant neo-liberal sociopolitical context, which produces a certain social construction of early childhood and focuses on the formation of the future workforce able to compete successfully in a world of global free markets. As Dahlberg and Moss (2005) argue, even if national differences in education remain, the combination of a global and highly competitive neo-liberal capitalism, the expanding interests of international organisations and the hopes invested by nation-states in preschools adds up to a formidable force for normalisation and a spread of a dominant discourse. In this discourse, concepts like "lifelong learning", "development appropriate practice", "early intervention", "quality", "best practice" and "readiness for school" "become natural ways of speaking, as if they were the only ways to think about early childhood services" (Dahlberg and Moss 2005: 18).

In our study, we were able to identify traces of the above discourses in both curricula. These discourses construct the early childhood education in both curricula as the foundation for successful progress in later life or as a means of preventing and reducing later problems or disorders in schooling, employment and adult

life. The former discourse limits the potential of early childhood education as an important life stage in its own right as well as of early childhood institution as a place for the young child and for the well-being of the child, and for the life here and now (Moss 1999). Regarding the latter construction of early childhood education, it expresses the hope that an inclusive early childhood education entails strategies to eliminate social and economic marginalisation caused by the failure of particular populations of children in schools (Popkewitz 2008). These classifications are problematic, according to Dalhberg et al. (1999), because they contribute to a construction of the "poor" child, of the child "in need" or "at risk", and of the relationship between young children and society as abnormal, only legitimated in such diagnostic and therapeutic terms as "compensation" and "intervention", and in this way they exercise power over how we think and act.

The construction of early childhood education as a preparatory stage for the future produces matching constructions of the child. The child in both curricula is constituted as a future pupil, learner and adult, who has the capacity of learning to learn. We argue that although these discourses are used with the best of intentions, they are imbued with power. Thus, lifelong learning as a technology turns continuous learning into a norm, instead of a process of emancipation (Lambeir 2005). Moreover, and according to Duhn (2006), in many ways, the cosmopolitan child is an elite child. On the other hand, there is also the child who is not destined to become and to remain part of the fast, agile new crew that the new economy requires. This is the child who does not have the capabilities associated with lifelong learning, the child at risk, the immigrant or the socially disadvantaged.

Furthermore, the discourses of the curriculum documents examined construct the child as an empowered, active and competent human being, an autonomous subject. As Popkewitz and Bloch (2001: 103) remark, the apparent autonomy of this subject is more apparent than real. Fendler (2001) argues that while such flexible and interactive technologies are often spoken of as freeing the child, in practice they serve to produce developmentally defined outcomes constituting a flexible self with the capacity and the responsibility for self-discipline. Similarly, the discourses that constituted children as agents and empowered individuals emphasised in the Greek curriculum documents may appear to be exercises of freedom, but they turn out to be repetitions of the status quo. These discourses are therefore problematic in two ways. First, they conceive of participation as normative and second they are invested with power in spite of their intention to liberate children.

As we mentioned earlier, both curricula are linked to a considerable number of goals and accompanied guidelines which prescribe "best practices" as if they were recipes. In this way, both curricula, rather than broad principles, values and goals open to interpretation by trusted professionals come across as manuals for technicians (Moss 2007). Instead of taking for granted that early childhood teachers are well-trained and reflective professionals who will translate fairly abstract goals into effective practice, according to the needs and possibilities of the specific learning community at the local level, it is assumed that they need clear guidelines in order to implement the specified goals successfully (Oberhuemer 2005). The above view is more accentuated in the case of England, where the outcomes-based curriculum

puts in place a framework for greater teacher accountability involving increased control of their work (Oberhuemer 2005). Regarding the teacher's profile in the Greek context, as suggested in the respective curriculum documents, we can see ambiguity in the way teachers have been regarded: They have been regarded simultaneously as reflective professionals, problem-solving individuals capable of responding flexibly to problems and, on the other hand, as we mentioned, their role is restricted by a highly prescriptive curriculum and an accompanied *Kindergarten Teacher's Guidance* which prescribes "best practices".

From the above, it is obvious that early childhood education is inscribed in particular discourses, it is a place of discipline and governmentality, it produces subjectivities, and as such it becomes impossible to view preschools, and in particular preschool curricula, as neutral technologies. Instead, the point is to emphasise that preschool institutions and learning processes are deeply political, which means that they are a result of power relations.

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# Chapter 13
# Pre-service Teachers' Intercultural Competence: Japan and Finland

**Sari Hosoya and Mirja Talib**

## Introduction

Japan and Finland, despite certain cultural differences, share many similarities. The countries did relatively well in the PISA international academic achievement surveys of 2000, 2003, and 2006. In both countries, education is valued as an avenue for social status, and teaching is still a desired profession among the young. Globalization and the mobility of people have created new challenges for Finland and Japan because they have both been homogeneous and monocultural societies. Finland has accepted a small number of immigrants (2% of the population), while the percentage of foreign residents in Japan is even less (1.69%) (Ministry of Justice 2008). The challenges of accommodating diversity and the integration of new immigrants through education are acute in the two societies. Further, our preliminary results (Talib and Hosoya 2008) have shown that teachers' concepts and values are influenced by the culture they associate with. Therefore, when discussing excellence in education, we cannot ignore the cultural values of a given society, for example Japan or Finland, that affect teachers' values and teaching attitudes. This study investigates pre-service teachers' preparedness to teach in a diverse classroom. We focus on the attitudes, intercultural sensibility, and values of these teachers.

## Culture Comparison

Culturally Japan and Finland seem fairly opposite to each other. According to Hofstede (1991), in terms of individualism vs. collectivism, and particularly in terms of people considering to what extent they should take care of themselves or to be cared for by their families or the organizations they belong to, Japan is more individualistic than most, Asian, Latin, and Arabic-speaking countries, but it is more collectivist than European ones. On the other hand, Finland is individualistic, but

S. Hosoya (✉)
Kanto Gakuin University, Yokohama, Japan
e-mail: sari@kanto-gakuin.ac.jp

at the same time still more collectivist than other Nordic countries, for example. Finland and its neighbors exhibit strong feminist cultural features that emphasize social welfare and gender equality. Japan, contrarily, has a prominently masculine culture. In power distance, i.e., the degree of inequality among people, Japan sits somewhat in the middle of this continuum; in Finland the social norm is a modest, average person with very little power distance. Concerning uncertainty avoidance, Japan is very high and Finland is more in the middle, compared to the United States, Great Britain, Sweden, or Denmark. Both Japan and Finland tolerate differences (other ethnic groups, ways of doing things, etc.) poorly. Finns and Japanese have reservations about change and do not show feelings openly. When feelings and aggression are not allowed to be expressed openly in a society, people tend to channel their suppressed feelings into work (cf. Hofstede 1991: 166–168).

Culture strongly affects the way people feel about themselves. Marcus and Kitayama (1991) theorize that in Western cultures individuals tend to be independent and self-contained. Their inner attributes are the most significant in regulating behavior. The focus is on the individual rather than on the social unit of which the individual is a part (Marcus and Kitayama 1998). On the other hand, there are societies in which people feel that they are more connected with and less differentiated from others. Such an "interdependent self" is found in Japan, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, and much of South America and Africa (Markus and Kitayama 1991, 1998). Those with such an orientation tend to give priority to social structure, interpersonal frameworks such as families and work groups, social roles, social positions, and relationships. These two views of the self thus show different priorities in life and different responses to systems, people, and certain situations. Since these views of the self are learned through socialization and education, the outcomes in different societies are dissimilar.

## Educational Systems and Teachers' Roles

### Japan

Education in Japan changed dramatically during the US occupation period. It is now organized on a single-track system (6-3-3-4) that offers free compulsory education for 9 years. It is a co-educational system with relatively strong governmental control over curriculum, content of education, and textbook selection. Class size is a maximum of 40 students in public (municipal) schools. After compulsory education, basically two kinds of upper secondary schools are available: academic and vocational, and both provide the same access to university. The Japanese educational system fosters egalitarianism (Kojima 2006). Due to the government-controlled curriculum guidelines, the content and quality of compulsory education are almost the same throughout Japan. Within the schools, teacher organizations tend to be bureaucratic, and hierarchical authority structure exists (Harada 1981).

Teachers are respected in Japan partly because people value education and partly because they believe in Confucian wisdom: The further people are educated, the higher their morality. Japanese teachers often take time to understand students not

only in terms of academic performance but also in terms of personality and often contact parents for these purposes (Sato 1998). Unlike Finnish teachers, Japanese teachers do not usually work as researchers. Since there are many students in one classroom, maintaining discipline is sometimes a challenge, and authoritarian methods can be effective in managing large classrooms.

## *Finland*

Finnish educational success has been attributed to well-educated teachers and a comparatively egalitarian education system, with no tuition fees for full-time students (OECD 2004). Education after primary school is divided into vocational and academic tracks, according to the former East-German model. The tertiary level is divided into university and higher vocational school systems, whose diplomas are not mutually interchangeable; however, the Bologna process has resulted in some restructuring, where vocational degree holders can qualify for further studies by taking additional courses.

Social trust and appreciation of teachers is strong in Finnish society. Teaching is still one of the most popular career choices among Finnish women. Many of the teachers are relatively satisfied and committed to their work. For the majority of Finnish teachers, teaching is a mission in which there has been a long tradition of teacher interest in students' learning (cf. Talib 2005). This can be seen from two aspects: one is the interest of teachers in developing themselves and the other is their concern for helping individual students. Finnish teachers seem to be fairly satisfied with their school culture and a strong solidarity exists among teachers (Talib 2006).

In both countries, teachers are very devoted to their careers and enjoy high respect among the general public. The differences that exist are found in teacher education (e.g., the 5-year Master's level in Finland), curriculum and textbook choice, the supervision of teachers, and class size. However, both Japanese and Finnish teachers share similar tendencies toward conservative and somewhat authoritarian ways of teaching (Yoshida 2005; Simola 2005).

## Teachers' Intercultural Competence

Teachers play vital roles in education, and teachers in Japan and Finland are sharing the new challenges created by globalization and the mobility of people. It is essential for teachers to be prepared to have students with multilingual and multicultural backgrounds in their classrooms. Teachers' intercultural competence has been considered one of the most important factors in preventing the marginalization of students (Tatar and Horenczyk 1996; Le Roux 2002; Talib 2005). Teachers must be able to meet diversity and the various expectations imposed by the labor market and the surrounding society in general. In spite of the growing number of immigrant students in schools all over the world, research evidence shows that teachers usually lack the information, skills, and sometimes motivation necessary to cope successfully in culturally heterogeneous classes (e.g., Taylor and Sobel 2001).

The developmental model of intercultural sensitivity created by Bennett and Bennett (2004) explains the reported experiences of people in intercultural situations. In the ethnocentric stage, there are three different levels: the denial level, where people are ignorant of, indifferent to, or neglect cultural differences; the defense level, where people evaluate differences negatively; and the minimization level, where people superficially recognize cultural differences, but do not accept the view that human beings are basically the same. Then in the ethno-relative stage, people experience their own culture in the context of other cultures. At the first, acceptance level, people recognize and appreciate cultural differences. At the adaptation level, people are able to employ alternative ways of thinking and frames of references. At the final, integration level, people internalize more than one cultural worldview into their own. After reaching this stage, individuals have the most flexibility in solving intercultural conflict and are open to the complex realities through the recognition of this process (Endicott et al. 2003).

Theoretical models from critical multiculturalism provide ways to comprehend the world and its differences resulting from history, culture, power, and ideology (Bourdieu 1991; McLaren and Giroux 1997). The theories of critical pedagogy focus on knowledge, reflection, and action as the basis for social change and social justice as well as on responsibility for the world community and reverence for the earth (Bennett 2003; Cochran-Smith 1995; Gay 2000; Nieto 2004). Cochran-Smith (1995) stresses that teacher education should increase the awareness of one's personal knowledge and its origin, the schools' sociocultural connections, the challenges in estimating students' skills, and reconstructive pedagogy. The teachers' critical perspective should be widened so that they could become an active player in society. Most importantly, teaching should be connected to real-life situations and enhance caring in connection with these.

Critical pedagogy focuses on knowledge, reflection, and action as the basis for social change, while intercultural education furthers the democratic principles of social justice (Nieto 2004: 24–29). According to Bennett (2003:16), four core values provide a philosophical framework to guide decision making on multicultural issues: (1) acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity, (2) respect for human dignity and universal human rights, (3) responsibility for the world community, and (4) reverence for the earth. On the other hand, diversity in schools requires flexible, alternative, and divergent thinking on the part of teachers as well as tolerance of ambiguity.

## Methods

### Participants

The participants in this study consisted of teacher education students: 162 (M: 22, F: 140) from Finland and 192 (M: 65, F: 122, not known: 5) from Japan. The students were in their first, second, or third year of teacher education.

## Procedure

The questionnaire of the study was presented to the students in Japanese, Finnish, and English to ensure that the translations would be as accurate as possible. There were 24 questions dealing with background variables and 92 items which were based on different theories: intercultural sensitivity and experience of differences (25 questions), pre-service teachers' personal and professional identity (42 questions), and critical and intercultural education and reflection (25 questions). These were further divided into specific areas. The first group of questions inquired about (A) ethnocentric stage (denial, defense, and minimization) and (B) ethno-relative stage (acceptance, adaptation, and integration). The second group of questions inquired about (A) self-conception and self-esteem, (B) personal and professional identity, and (C) social relationships at school. Finally, the last group of questions inquired about (A) the teacher's personal collegial reflection and (B) critical pedagogy.

The questions were randomly ordered on the questionnaire sheet and were translated into Finnish and Japanese. Respondents were asked to rate items concerning their attitudes and beliefs across a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

## Measures and Analysis

All the data were analyzed using SPSS Version 14. First, descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) were calculated and analyzed. Then a factor analysis (principal axis factoring and orthogonal Varimax rotation) was done on the items. Guided by this analysis, the number of items in the final set was reduced from 92 to 52. There were seven final factors. Then the Cronbach's alpha (a measure of item coherence) for selected items was calculated to see if an acceptable alpha was obtained for the chosen items. The Cronbach's alpha for composite scores of the instrument lay in the range of 0.55–0.76. The composite scores were expressed in z-scores. The mean was zero and the scores reflect the magnitude in differences, since they have a unity as standard deviation. The statistical dependence between background variables and the scales' scores was examined using a one-way analysis of variance (Pearson $r$). The scale values also formed a usable way to express the profile of each respondent's scores.

# Results

## Factor Analysis and Different Attitudes Toward Diversity

Seven fairly distinct factors were used to indicate the pre-service teachers' attitudes toward diversity and working in a multicultural classroom setting. These factors

were labeled as follows: (1) defensive attitude, (2) integrative attitude, (3) confident attitude and tolerance of ambiguity (4) authoritarian attitude, (5) inter-relational attitude, (6) empathetic attitude with sense of mission, and (7) socially responsible attitude. The values of these seven attitudes of each respondent allowed the grouping of the Japanese and Finnish pre-service teachers into five characteristic groups. Only a few (out of 24) background variables of pre-service teachers' personal experiences were found to have an effect on their intercultural attitude. Among all the background variables, question 12, "I have international/multicultural friends," and question 18, "I have frequent contact with someone of a different ethnic background," were the most influential in determining their attitude. Question 12 had an effect on five of the seven attitudes. Question 18 had an effect on four attitude types.

Our study found culture to be much more influential than gender in determining the levels of these attitudes. However, we also think that collectivist and individualistic cultures are not opposites but rather only reflect different ways people engage in certain behaviors to meet their goals. Some of our items, such as (1) defensive attitude, (2) integrative attitude, (4) authoritarian attitude, and (5) inter-relational attitude, represent opposite attitudes and the combinations of the levels of these attitudes is expected to be fixed, meaning if (1) is higher, (2) is expected to be lower and vice versa, and likewise in the case of (4) and (5). In our analysis, Finnish and Japanese pre-service teachers showed completely opposite patterns regarding attitudes to teaching in a diverse school setting. On the other hand, gender had an impact on some types of attitudes, such as (2) adaptive and integrative attitudes, (5) inter-relational attitude, and (7) socially responsible attitude.

### Defensive Attitude

Twelve items were loaded on the Scale 1 and express strong feelings against diversity. The six highest value items are listed below.

**Scale 1 Defensive attitude**
Immigrants will be a burden to our society (0.761)
Immigration should be stopped (0.657)
Immigrants move in order to benefit from developed countries (0.620)
I am cautious with people who look different (0.610)
I do not like people who speak my language poorly (0.527)
It is hard to respect people we do not know (0.461)
Cronbach's alpha: 0.555

Generally speaking, individuals who have received largely monocultural socialization have access only to their own cultural worldview. In this ethnocentric orientation, people tend to avoid cultural differences by denying their existence or defending themselves against them. Their minds are organized in terms of "us" and "them," where their own culture is seen as superior to others. Defensiveness toward cultural difference occurs, and people with a defensive perspective are openly threatened by cultural interaction (Hammer et al. 2003: 423–424). Those who have a

defensive attitude feel that "immigrants are a burden to their society" and that "immigration should be stopped." They are also cautious with people who look different and tend to be close-minded about persons they do not know well.

Such attitudes are lessened by attaining the ability to construe cultural differences in more complex ways. Our study showed that pre-service teachers with international/multicultural friends ($r = -0.155$, $p = 0.004$) and those who have frequent contact with such people ($r = -0.155$, $p = 0.031$) are open-minded. Those who travel individually instead of in groups tend to be less negatively affected by diversity in society ($r = -0.142$, $p = 031$). Further, the Finnish and Japanese pre-service teachers showed different levels of defensive attitudes. The Finns showed low levels, whereas the Japanese showed high levels of these attitudes ($p < 0.001$; Mean (Finns) $= -0.373$, (Japanese) $= 0.309$).

## Integrative Attitude

Individuals' worldviews at the adaptation to or integration into cultural difference stages have expanded to include relevant constructs from other cultures. The more ethno-relative views people have, the more ways they want to experience cultural differences and incorporate the concept into their identity. This becomes the basis for multiculturalism which allows for feelings of empathy as well (Hammer et al. 2003: 425). Twelve items were loaded on Scale 2 which expresses ethno-relative attitudes (acceptance, adaptive, and integrative) and views on diversity. The eight highest value items are listed below. As we can see from the list, those with an integrative attitude tend to value differences and be receptive to change.

### Scale 2 Integrative attitudes

I like to act as a cultural bridge between people of different cultures (0.771)
I am interested in different cultures and want to learn about them (0.740)
I feel there are advantages to having more than one culture (0.601)
I am aware of the good and bad points of my own culture (0.578)
I have friends with different ethnic backgrounds (0.546)
We should negotiate on matters concerning our differences (0.513)
I am open to changes (0.499)
When someone does things differently, I can learn from that (0.464)
Cronbach's alpha: 0.667

We found that pre-service teachers with integrative attitudes were willing to act as cultural bridges between people of different cultures. They were usually interested in other cultures and wished to learn more about them. Their personal experiences had a great deal of impact on these attitudes. Having international/multicultural friends had the strongest positive impact on integrative attitudes ($r = 0.421$, $p < 0.001$). When the pre-service teachers had frequent contact with multicultural persons ($r = 0.253$, $p < 0.001$), studying with them ($r = 0.217$, $p < 0.001$), and

becoming friends with them, pre-service teachers could personally internalize diversity, accept and even appreciate the differences. Ability to speak foreign language(s) was also found to help in developing an integrative attitude ($r = 0.160$, $p = 0.003$).

Studying in a Western country ($r = 0.250$, $p < 0.001$) and studying in a multicultural student environment ($r = 0.217$, $p < 0.001$) had a positive effect on the pre-service teachers' attitudes. Living in an international/multicultural environment ($r = 0.219$, $p < 0.001$) and working in multicultural environments ($r = 0.132$, $p = 0.014$) also enhanced this attitude. Traveling in non-Western countries ($r = 0.188$, $p < 0.001$) had a more positive effect than traveling in Western ones ($r = 0.133$, $p = 0.013$). Non-Western cultures have lifestyles and set of values different from those of pre-service teachers' familiar cultures and being exposed to such cultures promotes multidimensional viewpoints which are essential in accepting cultural diversity. Although Japan is a non-Western country, the lifestyles and culture are similar in many ways. Obviously, then the Japanese can encounter different lifestyles when experiencing life in non-Western countries.

The levels of integrative attitudes between Finnish and Japanese pre-service teachers were found to be different. The Finns showed much higher level of this attitude ($p < 0.001$; Mean (F) = 0.353, (J) = –0.280). Gender also had a different impact here ($p = 0.009$; Mean (m) = –0.263. (f) = 0.105). Following Finland's accession to the EU in 1995, there were many exchanges between scholars, teachers, and students within EU countries. The EU extended academic exchange programs between neighboring countries as well. Partly for this reason, Finns have contacts with those of international/multicultural backgrounds far more frequently than Japanese do. Further, Finnish pre-service teachers have more possibilities of meeting immigrants from outside Europe because Finland has quotas for accepting refuges from developing countries. Both Finnish and Japanese female pre-service teachers showed a slightly higher level of integrative attitudes than male pre-service teachers, and the levels were much higher among the Finns than the Japanese.

**Confident Attitudes with Tolerance of Ambiguity**

Twelve items were loaded on Scale 3. From them, the eight highest value items are listed below. They show the connection between self-confidence and tolerance of ambiguity and uncertainty. Individuals with these characteristics present more complex and advanced intercultural sensitivity orientation (cf. Endicott et al. 2003). Flexibility plays a critical role in understanding and adapting multiple cultural frameworks in diverse interactions at schools, for example.

**Scale 3 Confident attitudes with tolerance of ambiguity**

I am confident in myself (0.796)
I am eager to learn new things (0.724)
I can manage stress fairly well (0.646)
I worry a lot (–0.639)
It is better not to trust anyone (–0.558)

I am always the last person to try out the new things (–0.531)
I am aware of my strong points (0.519)
I am optimistic about my future (0.491)
Cronbach's alpha: 0.713

It is apparent that the pre-service teachers who had a confident attitude with tolerance of ambiguity were confident in themselves and eager to learn and try new things. They did not overly worry and could manage stress well. "Optimism" is an indicator of high self-esteem (Reasoner 1992). Having international/multicultural friends ($r = 0.190$, $p < 0.001$) and having a job of an international/multicultural nature ($r = –0.145$, $p = 0.007$) were found to promote this kind of thinking. The ability to speak foreign languages promoted self-confidence as well ($r = 0.140$, $p = 0.009$). Moreover, language skills helped to reduce anxiety about living in a diverse society in general. Interestingly, working as a community volunteer tended to increase pre-service teachers' self-confidence.

The Finnish pre-service teachers had much higher self-confidence and could tolerate ambiguity much more than their Japanese counterparts ($p < 0.001$; Mean (F) = 0.688, (J) = –0.508). The Finnish pre-service teachers were among the most successful students academically in their country, since the process of being accepted into teacher education is highly competitive. They had a strong sense of mission and they were willing to study hard. Their high level of self-confidence might have been backed up by such hard work. The fact that teaching is one of the most prestigious jobs in Finland has increased their self-esteem as well. On the other hand, Japanese students may have been uncertain about their futures because studying education or taking teacher education courses does not guarantee jobs in Japan. Japanese students must overcome many obstacles before being appointed as teachers.

**Authoritarian Attitude**

Fifteen items were loaded on the Scale 4 and the six highest are listed below.

**Scale 4 Authoritarian attitude**

I have few good friends (0.771)
Physical punishment by parents is sometimes justified (0.684)
People are born equal (–0.640) (means people are born unequal)
My parents were strict when I was a child (0.594)
In my family, we do not show much affection (0.365)
I am conservative (0.340)
Cronbach's alpha: 0.600

Individuals with authoritarian tendencies view the world in a rigid black-and-white perspective. They are also fairly prejudiced toward people different from them. Their exclusive choice of friends is typified by the item "I have few good friends." This can also certainly be cultural, but unprejudiced and open-minded individuals usually

search for friends for affectionate companionship. The capacity for intensive inter-personal relations goes hand in hand with self-sufficiency (Adorno et al. 1982: 260).

Culture has a strong impact on childrearing and mental conditioning. Japanese society, which is more collective than the Finnish, values interdependence among people (Markus and Kitayama 1991). This means that the personal self is deter-mined by the relationships between people in the group they belong to. Their behavior and attitudes are often determined by hierarchy and the status of the person in the group, which may also require subordination of individual goals to those of the group. When considering the childhood situations of the pre-service teachers with authoritarian tendencies, they reported rigid discipline on the part of their parents ("My parents were strict when I was a child"), and affection which was conditional rather than unconditional. The inter-relationships in the family clearly expressed the defined roles of dominance in contradistinction to equalitarian role setting which automatically creates a mind-set of inequality: "People are born equal" (–0.640). At home, a relative lack of mutuality in the area of emotion does not allow the adequate development of self-confidence (cf. Adorno et al. 1982).

School teachers usually are in a higher position than their students and there-fore tend to take an authoritarian approach. They may misuse their power position due either to their insecurities or to their conventional thinking on teaching. But the mean scores of our raw data showed that Finnish pre-service teachers had more authoritarian attitude than the Japanese ones. The question "Teachers are respon-sible for the order and discipline in the classroom" (raw Mean (F) = 4.41, (J) = 3.91) and "We need strict leaders in our country" (raw Mean (F) = 3.41, (J) = 3.04) showed the tendency of Finnish pre-service teachers to be more authoritarian than the Japanese ones. Japanese teachers try to avoid being authoritarian and prefer more casual relationships.

## Inter-relational Attitude

Learning takes place through different social interactions. The idea of the self as a learner is constructed in these situations. The views of others have a strong impact on a student's mind. For teachers who think deeply about their work, empathy means having genuine respect for their students' identity, including their language and cul-ture (Nieto 2006: 466). Fifteen items loaded on Scale 5 dealing with these issues and the seven highest value items are listed below.

## Scale 5 Inter-relational attitudes

Students should be encouraged to communicate with each other to improve their intercultural awareness (0.749)
Teachers must respect their students (0.727)
I like to meet new people (0.650)
I am good at expressing myself (0.631)

There should be a lot of sharing of ideas, dreams, or feelings in the classroom (0.620)
There must be mutual trust between the teacher and student (0.618)
I speak more than one language (0.596)
Cronbach's alpha: 0.654

In our study, pre-service teachers with an inter-relational attitude valued human relationships in teaching. They felt that teachers should respect their students and that there should be mutual trust between them. They encouraged students to communicate with each other and share feelings and ideas to improve their intercultural awareness. They themselves appeared to like meeting people and were good at expressing themselves.

Many background variables such as studying, living in foreign countries, and/or in multicultural environment promoted such attitudes. As was the case with integrative attitude, experiencing life in non-Western countries ($r = 0.185$, $p = 0.001$) had a higher positive impact on this attitude than studying in Western countries ($r = 0.132$, $p = 0.003$). Here again, having international/multicultural friends was the most influential factor in promoting an inter-relational attitude ($r = 0.297$, $p < 0.001$). (Mutual respect comes from personal contact with people of different cultures and having different values.) Speaking foreign languages was felt to foster the frequency of human relationships in a diverse society ($r = 0.214$, $p < 0.001$). Experiencing volunteer work abroad was also felt to have much impact on one's value of inter-relationships among people ($r = 0.160$, $p = 0.003$). (They need to have mutual trust, for example, to work as a volunteer abroad.)

Culture was also found to influence this attitude. Finnish pre-service teachers valued inter-relationships much more than Japanese ones ($p < 0.001$; Mean (F) $= 0.613$, (J) $= -0.503$). The Japanese have had close human relationships in a relatively collective society. However, emotional ties are emphasized more than communication skills, since there has been no need to express these explicitly in such a collective society.

Gender was also an influential variable in determining the inter-relational attitude level. Both Finnish and Japanese females had slightly higher levels than those of their male counterparts ($p = 0.017$; Mean (m) $= 0.358$, (f) $= 0.109$) and the Finns showed much higher levels than the Japanese.

**Empathetic Attitude and Sense of Mission**

As mentioned earlier, relationships are at the heart of teaching (Noddings 1992). Even if it is problematic to place the entire responsibility for student achievement on the shoulders of teachers, due to socioeconomic background differences, students' language deficiencies, lack of time or resources, etc., it is nevertheless important to stress that caring relationships can make a difference (cf. Nieto 2004). Twelve items were loaded on Scale 6 and the following nine items had the highest value scores.

**Scale 6 Empathetic attitudes with the sense of mission**

Teachers should make an effort to understand the academic progress of all students (0.721)
Teachers should engage in a lot of dialog in their lessons (0.678)
Teachers should be aware of world affairs (0.659)
Teachers should discuss ethnicity openly in class (0.618)
Teachers should make an effort to understand the background of students (0.571)
Teachers should be aware of their own emotional reactions (0.566)
Teachers should encourage any student to do better (0.560)
Teachers should observe students' interaction in order to adjust their teaching methods (0.516)
Using critical thinking, we can become better professionals (0.486)
Cronbach's alpha: 0.763

The pre-service teachers with an empathetic attitude and sense of mission thought that teachers should make an effort to understand the academic progress of all students. They were also concerned about the backgrounds of students, their emotional reactions and attempted to promote dialog in order to understand students better. They showed enough flexibility to change their methods if necessary. They felt that critical thinking is important in carrying out their work. These pre-service students also believed that talking about ethnicity in class is very important as well. Further, their concerns went beyond the classroom as they endeavored to be aware of world affairs. They considered empathy and sense of mission to be important in their work.

Having international/multicultural friends again was found to promote empathy and mission awareness ($r = 0.184$, $p = 0.001$). Pre-service teachers were empathetic and possessed a stronger sense of mission when they had experienced good teachers in their own school years ($r = 0.156$, $p = 0.004$). Studying in non-Western countries ($r = 0.125$, $p = 0.019$), living in an international/multicultural environment ($r = 0.117$, $p = 0.029$), and working as a volunteer abroad ($r = 0.118$, $p = 0.028$) also had a positive effect.

Culture was found to be an influential variable in determining their levels of empathy and sense of mission ($p < 0.000$; Mean (F) $= 0.363$, (J) $= -0.285$). Finnish pre-service teachers had higher levels than the Japanese, although the differences were smaller when compared with (3) confident attitude with tolerance of ambiguity, (4) authoritarian attitude, and (5) inter-relational attitude. Traditionally, Japanese have a strong sense of solidarity in any institution. In the case of school, teachers are in charge of their homeroom classes (every student belongs to a class and there is a homeroom teacher in each class) and attempt to increase solidarity and sense of belonging among students there. This attitude sometimes prevents teachers from considering the world beyond the classroom. Japanese teachers probably have a high level of empathy and sense of mission; however, this might be limited at the classroom level or be buried under the regiment of daily work.

**Socially Responsible Attitude**

Generally speaking, teachers' multicultural competence does include not only the reflective thinking about oneself, one's work, and the awareness of different social realities where teachers and students live, but also the understanding that knowledge is socially constructed (McLaren 1998: 174). The critical perspective of teachers should be widened so that they might become active players in society. The notion of the teacher as an activist is akin to the more general concept of the teacher as a transformative intellectual who develops critical pedagogy (Aronowitz and Giroux 1985). Put another way, teachers who challenge the inequalities of the system must learn to teach against the grain (Cochran-Smith 1991). Scale 7 expresses the notions of a teacher's socially responsive attitudes. Twelve items were loaded on this scale and the eight highest score value items are listed below.

**Scale 7 Socially responsible attitudes**

Teachers should be reforming agents in society (0.685)
Teachers should be ideal social models (0.669)
Teaching is a moral profession (0.614)
Different cultures should be discussed in the classroom (0.604)
As a future teacher, I should be aware of my prejudices (0.591)
There is very little a school can do to improve minority students' success at school (–0.514)
Cronbach's alpha: 0.654

Those pre-service teachers with a socially responsible attitude considered teachers to be reforming agents of, and ideal models in, their society. They believed that school can do much for students with different backgrounds. They also believed that teaching is a moral profession, and for that reason it is important to recognize one's own prejudices. They understood culture to be a vital part of society and therefore thought it should be discussed in the classroom. Such a socially responsible attitude was seen to be enhanced when the pre-service teachers had some experience of working as a volunteer abroad, and those with this attitude were more likely to work abroad as volunteers ($r = 0.222$, $p = 0.022$). Having a job of an international/multicultural nature ($r = 0.139$, $p = 0.010$) or living in an international environment ($r = 0.122$, $p = 0.023$) also increased this socially responsible attitude. Through jobs of an international/multicultural nature or living in an international/multicultural environment, people learn the complicated reality of the society. Such experience can foster them to take an active role in the society.

Culture and gender were also found to influence the level of one's socially responsible attitude. Finnish pre-service teachers valued social responsibility much more than the Japanese did ($p < 0.001$; Mean (F) = 0.606, (J) = –0.493). The Japanese pre-service teachers were less likely to consider teaching as a moral profession or teachers as social agents. Japanese teachers are preoccupied with much daily work and many responsibilities. They seem too tired to work as social models.

Both Finnish and Japanese female pre-service teachers had a slightly higher level of a socially responsible attitude than males ($p = 0.009$; Mean (m) $= -0.343$, (f) $= 0.137$).

## Different Teacher Profiles

After combining the values of each of the seven attitudes, the teachers were categorized into five different groups.

Table 13.1 shows the different characteristics of the five groups, and the levels of intercultural sensitivity of each group – denial, defense, minimization, acceptance, and integration – were found by interpreting the combination of the first two attitudes in the table (defensive attitude and adaptation and integration attitude). The details of the group characteristics are presented as follows.

The distribution of numbers in each group is shown in Table 13.2.

Many Finnish pre-service teachers belonged to groups 4 (108) and 5 (48). They had a more clear and explicit idea about immigration because they had already faced the reality of immigration in Finland. The overall tendencies of the groups which many Japanese pre-service teachers belonged to, groups 1, 2, and 3, showed very low levels of confidence and tolerance of ambiguity. This might be due to the fact that many Japanese have very little exposure to different cultures and immigrants as such. In what follows, we will try to understand the reason why Finnish and

**Table 13.1** Characteristics of groups

|  | Group 1 Ethno-relative teachers, but traditionalists | Group 2 Assimilatio-nists and routine- oriented | Group 3 Defensive and intolerant | Group 4 Diversity-oriented | Group 5 Ethnocentric and indifferent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Defensive attitude | (0.048) | (0.051) | (0.889) | (–0.640) | (0.189) |
| 2. Adaptation and integration | (0.201) | (–1.186) | (–0.878) | (0.733) | (–0.353) |
| 3. Confident and tolerance of ambiguity | (–0.377) | (–0.653) | (–1.003) | (0.768) | (0.575) |
| 4. Authoritarian | (0.629) | (0.748) | (0.737) | (–0.833) | (–0.606) |
| 5. Inter-relational | (0.017) | (–1.696) | (–1.004) | (0.765) | (0.324) |
| 6. Empathetic and sense of mission awareness | (0.261) | (–1.829) | (–0.766) | (0.683) | (–0.198) |
| 7. Socially responsible | (–0.161) | (–1.578) | (–0.723) | (0.820) | (0.118) |

() = z scores; magnitude in differences, Mean = 0

**Table 13.2**  Number of pre-service teachers in each characteristics group

|  | Finns (162: M: 22, F: 140) | | Japanese (192: M: 65, F: 122, unknown: 5) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % |
| 1. Ethno-relative, but traditional | 5 | 3.1 | 92 | 47.9 |
| 2. Assimilationist and routine-orientated | 0 | 0 | 24 | 12.5 |
| 3. Defensive and intolerant | 2 | 1.2 | 64 | 33.3 |
| 4. Diversity-oriented | 108 | 66.7 | 8 | 4.2 |
| 5. Ethnocentric and indifferent | 47 | 29.0 | 4 | 2.1 |

Japanese students express fairly different approaches and attitudes toward diversity and intercultural competence.

Group 1: Ethno-relative but traditional approach to teaching

Close to half (47.9%) of Japanese pre-service teachers belonged to this group. They were aware of some world affairs and were educated enough to understand that there are people who need extra empathy and help. Their attitude toward immigrants was at the acceptance stage. Generally, pre-service teachers in this category can construct culture-general categories that allow them to generate a range of cultural contrasts among cultures; however, this does not mean that differences may not be judged negatively, but rather that judgments are not ethnocentric in the sense of being discriminatory (Hammer et al. 2003: 425). Still, they do not reach the level where they can employ alternative ways of thinking or frames of reference. Their confidence and tolerance of ambiguity is related to their lack of exposure and experience regarding diversity. They also have empathy and a sense of mission and they promote interaction. They can be considered to be devoted so-called 24-hour teachers. Not only knowledge but also personal experiences such as having frequent and positive relationships with those from different cultural backgrounds are essential so that their good will can have a positive effect. With some exposure to diversity and reflective thinking on the issues, they can internalize the sociopolitical context of education (Nieto 2006) and eventually become diversity-oriented teachers.

Group 2: Assimilationist and routine-orientated approach to teaching

Close to 12% of Japanese pre-service teachers belonged to this group, and no Finnish ones. They were far from having a diversity-oriented attitude and their level of adaptation and integration attitude was very low. They were at the minimization stage. Those at this stage expect similarities and may insist on correcting others' behavior to match their expectations (Hammer et al. 2003). Their levels of confidence and tolerance of ambiguity are very low and their authoritarian attitude level is fairly high. Authoritarian attitudes can be explained in many different ways. It is related to conservatism and collectivism where the emphasis is on status,

power, conventionalism, and conformity to one's own values. On the other hand, the authoritarian attitude is linked to low self-esteem (Adorno et al. 1982). In addition, teachers who use very authoritarian ways of teaching tend to emphasize their disciplinarian role as teachers (cf. Waxman and Walberg 1991).

Since Japanese are seldom involved in issues of immigration, it is understandable that Japanese pre-service teachers are not concerned about multicultural education. These students' insular and monocultural views will affect the way they perceive immigrants (in some Japanese cases, illegal foreign residents). As assimilationists, they view immigrants stereotypically as inferior to them and have little regard for social equity. As representatives of the dominant culture, they wish to maintain a hierarchy in human relationships and values. They also seem reluctant to construct mutual relationships between teachers and students and do not value exchanges of feelings and ideas. They do not promote humanistic values, nor do they wish to alter the present society.

Group 3: Defensive and intolerant approach to teaching

One-third of the Japanese pre-service teachers (33.3%) belong to this group. The characteristics of this group and of group 2 are similar. The students in this group showed many more explicitly defensive attitudes toward culturally different persons and showed much lower tolerance of ambiguity than those in group 2. Their very low confidence in themselves might have been the reason for their defensive attitude and they might have even felt threatened by immigrants or foreign residents. For insecure individuals, people from different backgrounds can provide a screen onto which fears and strong feelings are projected (Adorno et al. 1982: 279). As mentioned earlier, despite being university students, most Japanese pre-service teachers have not had frequent contacts with people from diverse background; further, such a tendency might be caused by the media which often deal with negative aspects of diversity. Their authoritarian attitude level is relatively high and their inter-relational attitude level is low. This means that they are reluctant to respect their students or to exhibit mutual trust between themselves and students. However, this group has slightly more humanistic attitude than group 2.

Group 4: Diversity-oriented approach to teaching

About two-thirds of Finnish pre-service teachers belonged to this group. They were at the integration level (Bennett and Bennett 2004), in which one's experience of self is expanded to include moving in and out of different cultural worldviews (Hammer et al. 2003). Their relatively high confidence and tolerance of ambiguity suggests that they were confident in themselves and believed in the power of education. Finnish pre-service teachers have already survived the academic competition involved in entering the teacher training program. Their high self-esteem, together with their good communication skills, enabled them to have many more personal contacts with people from different backgrounds and with different values. By being in contact with diversity and understanding the social situations, they have become aware of the issues they need to consider in classroom settings. They represent individualistic ideas where people are both similar and different from each other. Further, they attempt to promote inter-relations at school to exchange ideas.

Through their experiences, and by learning critical pedagogy, their teaching mission is clear and they actually consider teachers as socially responsible agents.

Group 5: Ethnocentric and indifferent approach to teaching

One-third of Finnish pre-service teachers showed this tendency. Even if they were similar to the Japanese students in groups 2 and 3, the difference is that these students were already exposed to diversity and yet remained anti-immigration. They were at the denial stage. Generally, since there is a tendency among educated people not to show their true ideas and feelings explicitly (Jensen and Engesbek 1994), these pre-service teachers may have had even stronger antagonistic feelings. Their defensiveness against cultural differences has been caused by monocultural socialization, as well as some exposure to diversity which had aroused feelings of being threatened. Although two-thirds of the Finnish pre-service teachers in our study showed a diversity-oriented attitude, the rest may have felt that refugees and immigrants are taking advantage of their country's good social welfare system supported by high taxes. They might have even been angry about the situation. Further, their level of confidence and tolerance of ambiguity was moderate. They were not authoritarian and were aware of inter-relational teaching approach. Even if these students seemed to agree with the socially responsible aspect of teaching, they were not emotionally involved in their work.

In contrast to devoted and goal-oriented teachers, these pre-service teachers will eventually become the kind of teachers who have a defensive and survival approach to teaching. They have somehow ended up in teaching without motivation or clear motives. Moreover, they distance themselves from challenges at work and become indifferent while maintaining certain professional distance from their pupils, the parents, and problems at home (cf. Simola 2005: 463).

## Conclusion

The idea of a homogeneous nation has long been dominant in Japan and Finland, partly due to their geographic locations. Finland became more multicultural due to a comparatively large influx of immigrants in the 1990s. Japan has had different ethnic minority groups for a long time, but since its acceptance of refugees in the late 1970s and many foreign workers since the 1990s, multicultural issues have become more acute. Culture plays an integral role in the worldviews and values of people in each country, Finland representing individualism and Japan collectivism. Generally, due to the mobility of people and an interdependent industrialized world, intercultural competence and orientation toward cultural differences are needed in order to function in multicultural contexts. The challenges facing education and teacher education are real.

In the present study, we found that the attitudes toward diversity between Finnish and Japanese pre-service teachers were quite different. Since the Japanese students had had little contact with people from other cultures, only a few of them had a diversity-oriented approach to teaching. Half of the Japanese pre-service teachers

were at the acceptance level of difference, where they could identify with cultural differences in general, but could yet employ alternative ways of thinking. One-third of them were at the defensive stage, where they evaluated differences negatively and were explicitly threatened by cultural differences. This was partly due to their very low self-confidence. The remaining of the Japanese pre-service teachers were at the minimization stage, where they expected similarities and insisted on the assimilation of others into the mainstream culture.

Two-thirds of the Finnish pre-service teachers were at the integration stage where they preferred more advanced intercultural sensitivity orientation, whereas the rest of the Finnish students represented a denial worldview of being generally disinterested in cultural differences and even aggressively insisted on their cultural superiority. The Finnish pre-service teachers seemed to show more distinct attitudes of tolerance of differences than their Japanese counterparts. This is probably because many Japanese students have not been involved in multicultural issues. We also believe that Bennett and Bennett's theory (2004) does not explain all of our findings because we referred to a variety of different theories dealing with teachers' intercultural competence (cf. Nieto 2004, 2006; Cochran-Smith 1991, 1995).

The aspects of teachers' intercultural competence including sense of mission, empathy, and social responsibility appeared differently in each group. Self-esteem might be the key for accepting diversity because it allows for more flexible thinking and a greater moral commitment to teaching. Not only academic achievement but also exposure to different ideas and values through personal contacts enables persons to widen their worldview and clarify their sense of self. The starting point for personal and professional growth is critical reflection. It can lead us to realize that there might be many culturally appropriate ways of teaching, but can also lead us to challenge our conventional knowledge and wisdom in order to promote social justice in societies with an increasing marginalization of people.

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# Part V
# Redefining Space

# Chapter 14
# Internationalising Higher Education: Debates and Changes in Europe

**Ulrich Teichler**

## Introduction

"Internationalisation" is a term frequently used since the 1990s in Europe to depict one of the major long-term trends in Europe. Various long-term trends are referred to in public debates on higher education, both within individual European countries and at the European level, for example the increase in student enrolment, diversification of higher education and growing pressure for societal relevance of research. Occasionally, a single trend dominates the public debates for a few years, but often three or four issues are at the centre of public debates. Key terms are coined to raise attention, to prioritise the debate and to influence fashions.

Since about the late 1950s, similar debates have taken place, concerning key issues of higher education in many economically advanced countries. For example, similar debates could be observed on internationalisation, although the proportion of foreign students among all students in some economically advanced countries was more than 10 times as high as in other countries. One might conclude that international debates, often stimulated by supra-national organisations, contribute to a spread of ideas like epidemics.

International components of higher education are by no means new. It is obvious, though, that internationalisation of higher education became a key issue in debates and policies in Europe in the 1990s. Experts agree that the single strongest driver for the attention paid to internationalisation was the "success story" of the ERASMUS programme – the programme inaugurated in 1987 to stimulate and support temporary mobility of students within Europe.

As other terms depicting key trends in higher education, the term "internationalisation" was bound to lose momentum in public debates after a few years, but, actually, a similar term – "globalisation" – became popular in the latter half of the 1990s. Eventually, however, the so-called Bologna Process absorbed the

U. Teichler (✉)
International Centre for Higher Education Research, University of Kassel, Kassel, Germany
e-mail: teichler@incher.uni-kassel.de

highest attention in public discourse, and "internationalisation" and "globalisation" continued to be relatively high on the agenda.

This contribution aims to discuss the major thrusts of debates, policies and trends of internationalisation in Europe, primarily with respect to teaching and learning notably since about 1990. Thereby, attention will be paid to research on international aspects of higher education. The arguments draw from the author's prior own research as well as secondary analyses of research on internationalisation of higher education (see Kehm and Teichler 2007; Teekens und de Wit 2007; Teichler 2007).

## Key Issues of Internationalisation of Higher Education

### *Key Thematic Areas*

Major analyses show that "internationalisation" in higher education might comprise a broad range of issues (de Wit 2002; van der Wende 2001; Altbach and Teichler 2001; OECD 2004; Knight 2008). The author of this contribution argues that the term internationalisation has been employed regarding seven themes:

- *Physical mobility* of students and academic staff is obviously the most visible international activity and it is in the forefront of programmes aiming to promote internationalisation.
- *Recognition of study achievements across borders*, the second major theme, naturally, is linked to the first one. It is crucial whether learning in one country is accepted as equivalent to that which is expected to be learned in another country, if persons are mobile at the beginning of their study, during the course of study, upon graduation or in later stages of learning and work.
- *Other modes of transfer of knowledge across borders*, though not being the focus of public debates, certainly have altogether a stronger weight than physical mobility: international knowledge transfer through media (printed publications as the traditionally open mode of transfer, patents as knowledge transfer with financial constraints, virtual communication for varied purposes and "trans-national education" as transport of study programmes across borders).
- *Internationality in the substance of higher education.* For example, foreign language learning, comparative analysis and analysis of border-crossing phenomena (e.g., international law).
- *International orientations and attitudes.* For example, various programmes for the support of student mobility were established with the hope that cognitive enhancement would be accompanied by attitudinal change: growing "global understanding", more favourable views of the partner country, a growing empathy with other cultures, etc.

In addition to these five genuine themes of "internationalisation", two other loosely related themes play a role as well and are often referred to when "internationalisation" is on the agenda:

- *The similarity or heterogeneity of national systems of higher education* plays an ambivalent role in this respect. On the one hand, a variety of national higher education systems, for example, are considered beneficial in order to provide mobile students the opportunity to learn from contrasts and thus to develop a more reflective mind and a better understanding of diversity. On the other hand, structural convergence of higher education systems in Europe is called for in the Bologna Declaration signed in 1999 by ministers in charge of higher education from a large number of European countries, among other reasons, as a means of facilitating intra-European student mobility.

- Finally, internationalisation is underscored as an *argument for almost any higher education reform*. Improvements in the steering of higher education systems, the management of higher education institutions, the quality and relevance of research and study programmes, the efficiency of the utilisation of resources, etc. are called for in order not to fall behind in worldwide competition and to be successful according to "international standards".

The term internationalisation *hints at a trend towards more.* The claim that higher education is internationalising or ought to be is by no means evident because universities have long been considered one of society's most international institutions. The knowledge stored, generated and transmitted is often universal (i.e., not systematically bound by borders). It has long been seen as desirable to gather systematic information from all over the world and to generate innovation on a world scale; students and staff in medieval times were quite mobile. Most academics hold cosmopolitan values in high esteem. Cross-border communication and cross-border reputation seem to be viewed as almost identical to "quality", the most sacrosanct element in academia.

However, we note that higher education was divided in the past between universal or international substance and national structure or organisation, be it funding, regulatory framework, governance, curricula or credentials (Kerr 1990: 5). Moreover, international activities, though principally accepted as valuable, are often relatively small in size. For example, the professional mobility of higher education-trained persons is lower than that of persons not having any higher education credentials (Teichler and Jahr 2001: 455–456). Finally, historians inform us that the strong national focus of higher education, coupled with relatively low levels of mobility, might have been a temporary phenomenon, i.e. prevailing through the 200 years of the dominance of the nation-state, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, there are estimates that intra-European student mobility, now possibly on the level of about 3%, stood around 10% in the seventeenth century (see Neave 2002: 181). We might conclude that "re-internationalisation" is a more appropriate term to describe recent developments.

Terms with the ending "-sation" also usually signal that *the trend is viewed as predominantly positive*: that problems prevailed in the past, that there is an opportunity for improvement and that there are trends facilitating the grasping of this opportunity. The debate since the 1990s has a strong positive undercurrent in most European countries as regards internationalisation of higher education: It is expected

to serve peace and mutual understanding, quality enhancement, a richer cultural life and personality development, academic quality, technological innovation, economic growth, and societal well-being. This does not mean, however, that possible negative elements are overlooked: additional burdens and costs for the individuals and higher risks as far as success is concerned, more efforts for academic and administrative support, misunderstandings and new mistrust, chauvinistic attitudes as well as possibly "brain drain". But predominantly positive expectations were clearly the drivers of the debates.

## Competing Terms

Three different terms are frequently employed in addressing supra-national issues in Europe: international, European and global (Teichler 2004). If reference is to trends or policy directions, internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation are the corresponding terms (cf. the overviews in Blumenthal et al. 1996; de Wit 2002; Wächter 1999). The uses of these three terms are similar in two respects (Scott 1998; van der Wende 2001; Knight 2004). All three terms are employed to point out that there is a trend or a policy direction away from a more or less closed national system of higher education. This implies, as will be pointed out below, a trend towards a growing role for the long-distance transport of knowledge in higher education and a more complex setting of multilevel actors and other forces. Thereby, all three terms might refer to the changing context which poses a challenge for higher education, to changes which occur within higher education itself or to both.

However, *the main meaning of the terms varies.*

- *Internationalisation* tends to address an increase in cross-border activities amidst a more or less persistent national system of higher education.
- *Globalisation*, in contrast, tends to assume that borders and national systems as such get blurred or might even disappear.
- *Europeanisation* is the regionally oriented version of mostly internationalisation or occasionally globalisation.

Moreover, *specific issues tend to be linked to the use of the individual terms*:

- Internationalisation is often discussed in relation to physical mobility, academic cooperation and academic knowledge transfer, as well as international education.
- Europeanisation is frequently addressed with reference to cooperation and mobility. Beyond that, this term also covers issues such as integration, convergence of contexts, structures and substance (European dimension, European culture and European Higher Education Area), or segmentation between regions of the world ("fortress Europe").
- Globalisation is often associated with competition and market-steering, transnational education, and finally with commercial knowledge transfer (Sadlak 2001).

One might ask how the terms internalisation and globalisation relate to each other. Are they opposites? Do they express degrees of difference on a continuum? Or are they related to each other dialectally in a way that every border-crossing contributes to a crumbling of borders and that every global pressure reinforces nationalisation?

Since the late 1990s, we note a growing popularity of the term "globalisation" in Europe as well as in other parts of the world, almost displacing the term "internalisation". "Global" is often employed merely to depict supra-national trends and policies related to marketisation, increasing supra-national competition as well as the growth of trans-national education, and commercial knowledge transfer. It seems to be used without any concern as to whether these trends and policies are really related to a blurring of borders. Often, "global" could be substituted by "supra-national", "worldwide" or "world competition society".

One might add that some scholars – most consistently J. Knight (2004) – defined globalisation and internationalisation in different ways: globalisation as the economic, political and societal forces pushing higher education towards greater international involvement and internationalisation as the activities of higher education institutions in response to these forces. These definitions are questionable, though, because we note both increasing border-crossing activities amidst a persistence of national boundaries and a blurring of national boundaries, and we also note both international strategies and activities of higher education institutions and scholars driven by an understanding that the borders are relatively persistent, or by a view that they are largely blurred. Similarly, we observe varying views as to whether international activities ought to be taken to strengthen cooperation and open knowledge transfer or to reinforce rivalries between institutions and countries as well as the commercialisation of international activities.

## Student Mobility and Recognition of Study Abroad Prior to the Bologna Process

### Quantitative Developments in Student Mobility

The increase in student mobility is often viewed as the indication for the internationalisation of higher education. However, the information about student mobility is scarce.

International educational statistics on education in Europe, collected together by UNESCO, OECD and EUROSTAT, do not inform us primarily about "inwardly mobile" and "outwardly mobile" students, but rather about "foreign students" and "students studying abroad". Ironically, however, the more internationally mobile people become the less their nationality is an indication of mobility. "Mobile students" differ from "foreign students" because:

- Many foreign students have not been mobile for the purpose of study, but *have lived and learned in the country of study before they have started to study.*

- In reverse, some persons *have moved from somewhere else to the country of their citizenship for the purpose of study*.

Moreover, statistics on foreign students are in various respects incomplete: Some countries do not deliver data and some deliver according to other definitions; the available data tend to be incomplete as regards those sectors of "tertiary education" not considered "higher education" and do not include all doctoral candidates consistently. Finally, statistics in some countries do not include temporarily mobile students (Kelo et al. 2006).

The total absolute number of foreign students worldwide was about 200,000 in the mid-1950s. It surpassed 500,000 in 1970. It reached one million in the late 1970s and was about 1.2 million in 1987, when the ERASMUS programme was established. Within the following 17 years, i.e. until 2004, the number of foreign students reached 2.5 million (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2006).

One has to bear in mind, though, that the total number of students in tertiary education increased at more or less the same pace during the same period. Thus, the *study abroad rate* remained constant at about 2%. In many European countries, however, the rates of foreign students seem to have increased over time: from less than 3% on average to more than 7%. This is primarily due to the fact that the absolute number of students increased to a higher extent outside Europe as a combined effect of demographic development and a higher growth of enrolment rates, and only to a limited extent due to a growing popularity of Europe as a destination for study abroad.

## Hope for Conciliation and Mutual Understanding as a Starting Point

After World War II, there was a widely felt shock at the inhumanity of the preceding years. Enormous hatred between countries and even genocide had emerged in regions of the world where people had been proud of cultural diversity, had respected human values and rights across cultures and countries, and where cosmopolitan values were appreciated. International mobility, in response, ought not only spread educational and professional achievement but also contribute to furthering universal and cosmopolitan values and enhance mutual understanding.

The movement of advocating a "junior year abroad" *in the United States* and the establishment of the Fulbright programme in 1948 for the support of various modes of student and staff mobility were based on the hope that international mobility could enhance international understanding (Altbach and Teichler 2001). When Western European countries began to cooperate in the 1950s, education also was viewed as an important means to overcome mistrust. Similarly, mobility of students in Eastern Europe was considered a means of political integration of the countries politically dominated by the Soviet Union.

The findings of many surveys challenge these assumptions. Students neither become more internationally minded nor friendlier to their host country during a

short period of study abroad. Yet students interested in international mobility and actually studying abroad are more internationally minded and more open to cultural diversity than those who remain in their home country all the time. There seem to be long-lasting socialisation effects towards internationalisation, in which mobility during the course of study might play a supporting role (Opper et al. 1990).

## *European Conventions on Recognition*

The *Council of Europe*, an intergovernmental organisation founded in 1949 for cooperation in the areas of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, was active since its inception in the area of higher education recognition. Three European conventions were signed in the 1950s and subsequently ratified by most member countries (NARIC 1987, Teichler 2003).

The European Convention on the Equivalence of Diplomas Leading to Admission to Universities, signed in 1953, provides that each signatory "shall recognise for the purpose of admission to the universities situated in its territory, admission to which is subject to state control, the equivalence of those diplomas awarded in the territory of each other contracting party which constitute a requisite qualification for admission to similar institutions in the country in which these diplomas were awarded".

The European Convention on the Equivalence of Periods of Study, signed in 1956 and initially referring only to a few fields of study, states that where the State is competent in matters of equivalence, each signatory "shall recognise a period of study spent by a student of modern languages in another member country of the Council of Europe as equivalent to similar period spent in his home university, provided that the authorities of the first-mentioned university have issued to such a student a certificate attesting that he has completed the said period of study to their satisfaction".

The European Convention on the Academic Recognition of University Qualifications, signed in 1959, provides that where the State is competent in matters of the equivalence of university qualifications, the signatories "shall grant academic recognition to university qualifications conferred by a university situated in the territory of another contracting party." Recognition – this Convention applies only to universities, not to other higher education institutions – will entitle the holder to: pursue further university studies and sit for academic examination on completion of such studies with a view to proceeding to a further degree, including that of a doctorate, on the same conditions as those applicable to nationals of the contracting party, where admission to such studies and examinations depends upon the possession of a similar national university qualification; use an academic title conferred by a foreign university, accompanied by an indication of its origin.

The practical relevance of these conventions faded over the years because more precise bilateral conventions were signed in large numbers and because other multilateral conventions (e.g., in the Nordic countries or the countries of the Warsaw Pact) gained momentum. This notwithstanding, they turned out to be important

initial steps of underscoring the equivalence of study programmes in Europe (Deloz 1986).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, *UNESCO* began to explore the possibility of establishing an international recommendation or convention worldwide in this domain. The aim turned out to be too ambitious, and UNESCO turned to the promotion of regional cooperation in this respect. This has led, among others, to a corresponding convention within the European Region in 1979 (additionally including, at that time, Israel, the United States and Canada). The Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees Concerning Higher Education in the Europe Region addressed issues of recognition of entry qualifications, study periods and interim qualifications as well as academic degrees and titles, in a similar way to its predecessor conventions signed under the auspices of the Council of Europe. Beyond that, the UNESCO convention advocated flexible criteria for the evaluation of equivalences, suggested improvements be made to the exchange of information regarding recognition, and encouraged the national authorities to recognise professional credentials as well, without, however, calling for a clear professional recognition (Dolezal 1996: 15).

In 1997, the Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education in the European Region was signed in Lisbon under the joint auspices of the Council of Europe and UNESCO, while the *European Community* was viewed as a potential signatory party (Council of Europe 1997). The 1997 convention calls for recognition with a more demanding voice than preceding multilateral conventions.

As regards access to higher education: "Each Party shall recognise the qualifications issued by other Parties meeting the general requirements for access to higher education in those Parties for the purpose of access to programmes belonging to its higher education system, unless a substantial difference can be shown between the general requirements for access in the Party in which the qualification was obtained and in the Party in which recognition of the qualification is sought". Periods of study should also be recognised as equivalent "unless substantial differences can be shown". Finally, regarding recognition of degree, the 1997 convention states: "to the extent that recognition is based on the knowledge and skills certified by the higher education qualification, each Party shall recognise the higher education qualifications conferred in another Party, unless a substantial difference can be shown between the qualification for which recognition is sought and the corresponding qualification in the Party in which recognition is sought".

## EU Support for Student Mobility

The predecessor organisations of the EU, the European Coal and Steel Community, established in 1951, the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community, both established in 1957, and eventually the European Community, established in the early 1980s, did not play any significant role in matters of cooperation and recognition in the domain of higher education. Initially, only matters of professional recognition for the sake of facilitating occupational mobility

as well as a certain degree of coordination of vocational education were addressed in the domain of education (Neave 1984).

From the 1970s onwards, the European Community became the most active political actor in Europe in stimulating cross-border mobility of students and reinforcing recognition of study in another European country (de Wit 2002, European Commission 1994; Wächter et al. 1999). The ministers of education, meeting for the first time in the framework of the EEC, proposed in 1971 to draft a community action programme in the field of education. Eventually, in 1976, the national government heads of the member states agreed that the EEC should play a role in select matters of education and adopted the first "Education Action Programme". Priority was given to measures of cooperation regarding youth unemployment. A decision was taken as well to establish a pilot programme of cooperation and mobility in higher education, the so-called *Joint Study Programmes (JSP).* These steps should be undertaken in a way that no pressures are created towards a convergence of the national higher education systems; rather they should help respect and reinforce the cultural diversity of Europe. Students' exposure to contrasting study experiences in other European countries fits well into this concept (Smith 1979).

From 1976 to 1986, JSP provided financial support to a few hundred multinational networks of departments from higher education institutions, which cooperated in curricular and organisational matters for the purpose of improving the value of temporary study in another European country and ensuring a high level of recognition on return. Evaluation studies confirmed impressive results of this pilot scheme (Dalichow and Teichler 1986; Opper et al. 1990), but argued that temporary student mobility in Europe would become popular only if scholarships were provided to students on a large scale.

From 1986 to the early 1990s, the European Community established altogether 14 programmes aiming to provide support for European cooperation in education (Kehm 1994). European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS), established in 1987, was the largest and certainly the most successful one. It provided scholarships for a period of up to 1 year to mobile students as well as financial support for various activities of the networks of cooperating departments under the conditions that they strive for organisational improvement as well as curricular coordination, with the aim of assuring the recognition of the study achievement at the host institution on return by the home institution. Additionally, support was made available for curricular innovation, exchange of teaching staff, information activities and so forth (Teichler and Maiworm 1997: 3–16).

After educational activities had been endorsed as a regular domain of EU policy in the Treaty of Maastricht signed in 1992, the various European education programmes were restructured and merged in the mid-1990s into the large umbrella programmes of SOCRATES for education and LEONARDO DA VINCI for vocational training. ERASMUS became a sub-programme of SOCRATES. Continuous support was provided for student mobility, and support was enlarged for teaching staff mobility and projects of curricular innovation. However, institutional support was no longer granted to networks of departments but rather to the institutions of

higher education, under the condition that they formulate European policies and safeguard a good quality of cooperation with partners through bilateral contracts (Barblan et al. 1998). Altogether, ERASMUS support was expected to strive more strongly than in the past for the enhancement of a "European Dimension" in the course programmes and also to serve non-mobile students.

Beginning in 1989, the EC supported the establishment of a *European Credit Transfer System*. After a pilot period, all institutions of higher education awarded ERASMUS support were recommended to grant recognition by means of credit transfer (Wuttig 2001).

The number of ERASMUS-supported students increased within one decade from about 3000 to about 86,000 in 1997/1998. The expansion of ERASMUS was implemented without any major change in the composition of students, for example the parental educational background of ERASMUS students remained only marginally more privileged than the average of students in the participating European countries. As an evaluation study undertaken in 2000 shows as well (Teichler 2002), the frequency and nature of serious problems encountered remained more or less constant. This also holds true as regards financial matters, though the ERASMUS scholarship initially by and large covered the average additional costs of study abroad, but fell to a substantially lower level over the years.

ERASMUS students of the late 1980s and the late 1990s reported similar positive outcomes in terms of improvement of foreign language proficiency, knowledge of the host country and cultural learning. Moreover, half of the students at both points in time believed that their academic progress during the ERASMUS period was higher than during a corresponding period at home, while less than a quarter perceived a lower progress abroad. Recognition of the study achievement abroad had slightly increased as a consequence of the introduction of ECTS; in contrast, the percentage of students believing that their overall study period has been prolonged as a consequence of the study period abroad grew slightly. Many former ERASMUS students were convinced that study abroad helped them to get initial employment and to get jobs requiring foreign language proficiency, knowledge of other countries and empathy for other cultures and persons.

## A New Quality of Internationalisation in the 1990s

The author of this contribution suggested in the late 1990s that the time was ripe "to move from being overwhelmed by the bewildering variety of phenomena to a more systematic definition of what we mean by internationalisation" (Teichler 1999: 8) and towards a theory of developmental stages of internationalisation of higher education.

After discussing both the changes in the phenomena and their changing contexts, the conclusion was drawn that changes of activities in higher education linked to internationalisation of higher education in European societies could be interpreted as a series of qualitative leaps.

Two of them seemed to have taken place in the 1990s: from a predominantly "vertical" pattern of cooperation and mobility towards a major role of "horizontal" international relationships, i.e. links "on equal terms", and from casuistic action towards systematic policies and related activities of internationalisation. A third leap seemed to have been in process, but was not realised to the same extent: from scattered specific international activities and internationalisation of the core of higher education towards an integrated internationalisation of higher education.

*Cooperation and mobility on equal terms* can be viewed as a leap forward because internationalisation was predominantly a "vertical" phenomenon in the past. It is a long-standing practice in higher education to seek knowledge abroad, where the highest quality is offered. There is also a neo-colonial dimension to higher education: Developing countries were freed politically, but many of them remained academic colonies, having established either an incomplete higher education system or a system following rigidly some foreign model, but remaining inferior in quality according to the views of ambitious students from these countries.

The majority of mobile students come from "developing" countries and most of them go to "developed" countries. Mobility within developed countries formed little more than a quarter of all international student mobility in the mid-1990s; however, some European countries recorded about half of their foreign students as coming from other industrial societies.

Student mobility from developing countries and newly emerging economies going to industrial societies is a valuable asset for the European institutions of higher education in various ways. However, the "vertically mobile" students, as a rule, are expected to adapt to the provisions for, and conditions of, higher education in the host country. In contrast, exchange of students within industrial countries takes place mostly among programmes with a similar academic standard; those responsible for student exchange believe that students arriving from partner institutions are on average at least as capable as their own students. This obviously presents a greater challenge because it implies reconsidering one's own practices; the students seem to compare the study provisions and conditions at the home and the host institutions critically to voice their criticisms and to call for change. Thus, ERASMUS triggered off a re-thinking in higher education.

Study abroad, even with the help of ERASMUS, did not become a mass phenomenon in the 1990s. But the numbers were large enough to lift student mobility within Europe from being an exceptional activity to a normal option for individual students and to challenge institutions to reconsider the curricula and services provided to these students.

*Systematic and strategic internationalisation* is a leap forward as well because most international activities at higher education institutions have been linked to specific teaching and research activities. They have been dispersed in the institution and they were diverse as far as the foreign partners and the type of activities are concerned. Often, collaboration did not persist for long periods.

Thus, international activities looked as casuistic and almost random exercises without any coherent institutional policy. Cooperation agreements with foreign institutions were signed if a few individuals were involved at the home institution

and if the foreign partners or the leadership of the home institution were in favour of symbolic reinforcement. As a consequence, most universities considered their list of formal partnerships as a worthless piece of paper. Services were provided by international offices largely only if those initiating the activities in the departments asked for them.

When evaluation and the "performance" measurement spread in European higher education in the 1980s, examining the international activities of institutions was also considered appropriate. But measurement of the degree of internationalisation by, for example, the number of foreign guest researchers could not be considered to indicate a set of dispersed international links. Similar observations could be made regarding mobility and cooperation. ERASMUS activities were initially in the hands of pioneers: individual academics who had decided to devote their time and energy to make the innovation a success. This was helpful at times of mobilisation when the mainstream of a department and institution shared a sceptical view, took a wait-and-see posture or considered it as an activity of secondary importance. The ERASMUS pioneers often made use of this anarchic state of internationalisation to seize more resources and to shape the character of curricula and their departments to a greater extent than might have been accepted in the framework of any deliberate and legitimated institutional policy. But this was largely at the mercy of initiatives on the part of the pioneers. After some years, the time seemed to be ripe to move towards a stage of normalisation and routinisation. Many institutions opted for systematic approaches, notably in three respects (see Maiworm et al. 1996):

- *Regular responsibilities and modes of decision making* regarding international issues were established at many institutions of higher education. For example, vice presidents were assigned the task of coordinating international issues. Committees for international affairs were set up, or committees primarily responsible for other tasks were entrusted with the additional task of taking care for international matters. Similarly, at departmental level, deans began explicitly to take care of these tasks, or staff responsible for international matters were appointed.
- *Extension of services* had to be implemented because international activities are more complicated than national activities. Institutions vary, of course, regarding what they do in respect of foreign language training, accommodation for foreign scholars and students, information and administrative support, counselling, etc., but they became more active at least in some of these respects.
- Many institutions of higher education *created newly or extended international offices*. At most institutions, international offices play a double role, both providing services for regular international activities and preparing and implementing international strategies.

At the end of the 1990s, institutions of higher education varied substantially in the extent to which their steps towards a regular and systematic treatment of international matters could be characterised as a coherent and targeted policy, or even a strategy. Altogether, moves in that direction obviously had increased.

# Internationalisation Within the Bologna Process

## *Rationales of the Reform Efforts*

In the late 1990s, a new theme seized the attention of policy makers, actors and experts: Efforts were made to establish similar systems of study programmes and degrees all over Europe. Internationalisation as such was no longer the key theme. However, the new Europe-wide system of study programmes and degrees was considered as crucial for the future development of mobility and international cooperation in higher education (Teichler 2007).

In May 1998, the ministers in charge of higher education in France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom signed, at the Sorbonne University in Paris, the so-called Sorbonne Declaration on the "harmonisation of the architecture of the European higher education system". In June 1999, the ministers in charge of higher education from 29 European countries signed a joint declaration in Bologna. This Bologna Declaration called for a convergent system of two main cycles. Subsequently, the concept was specified as a first cycle leading, after 3 years or more of study, to a bachelor degree, both professionally relevant and preparing for subsequent stages of study, a second cycle leading to a master degree (after between 1 and 2 years of study), and/or to a doctoral degree.

The call for structural reform was embedded into a broader range of objectives and activities. This was symbolically underscored by the aim to realise a European Higher Education Area by the year 2010. In official follow-up conferences of the ministers in charge of higher education in Prague (2001), Berlin (2003), Bergen (2005), London (2007) and Leuven (2009), the Bologna Process agenda was extended and made more detailed (see the analyses in Kehm et al. 2009). Official conferences, arranged under the auspices of the Bologna Follow-up Group (BFUG), the coordination group between the ministerial conferences, served to increase mutual understanding at a variety of levels below that of ministers.

In fact, the Bologna Declaration triggered off the most significant reform movement in Europe since the activities in the 1970s following the student protests of the late 1960s. The debates, though remaining controversial as regards the possible benefits and harms of the envisaged reforms, moved from "if" towards "how" within a few years (Reichert and Tauch 2005; Witte 2006; Kehm and Teichler 2006). Substantial changes were realised, though they seemed to fall short of the initial ambitious aims.

The so-called Bologna Process is shaped operationally by efforts to establish new, more convergent structures of study programmes and degrees across Europe. The Bologna Declaration points out that this operational reform should primarily serve study mobility: to make higher education in Europe more attractive to students from other parts of the world and to facilitate intra-European mobility. Actually, however, the range of aims is much wider: Emphasis is placed on curricular reform to reflect and possibly enhance the professional relevance of study programmes. Moreover, efforts are to be made to increase European cooperation in quality assurance and to strengthen the "social dimension" of the Bologna Process. Thus, it is

not easy to establish what role the Bologna Process is really expected to play and actually plays with respect to the internationalisation of higher education.

## *The Role of Internationalisation in the Bologna Process*

The Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 expressed the possible international value of a new "harmonized" system of study programmes and degrees. It formulated as regards intra-European mobility and cooperation: "An open European area for higher learning carries a wealth of positive perspectives, whilst of course respecting our diversity, but requires on the other hand continuous efforts to remove barriers and to develop a framework for teaching and learning, which would enhance mobility and ever closer cooperation". It also referred to worldwide mobility: "The international recognition and attractive potential of our systems are directly related to their external and internal readabilities".

The Bologna Declaration of 1999 refers to intra-European mobility in various instances. Mobility should be promoted by overcoming existing obstacles. A credit system should be established "as a proper means of promoting the most widespread student mobility". The reference to ECTS underscores that the authors have temporary mobility and intra-European mobility primarily in mind.

As regards worldwide mobility, the Bologna Declaration points out: "We need to ensure that the European higher education system acquires a world-wide degree of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions", and "... we engage in co-ordinating our policies to reach... the following objectives, which we consider of primary relevance in order to establish the European area of higher education and to promote the European system of higher education world-wide...". Taking the overall text of the Bologna Declaration, we note that the most strongly emphasised aims of the structural reform of study programmes and degrees are to make higher education in Europe more attractive to students from other parts of the world and to facilitate intra-European student mobility.

This signals a shift of attention since the early years of ERASMUS. Since about the mid-1990s, increasing attention has been paid in Europe to worldwide mobility. In public debates, the term "globalisation" has gradually challenged or even substituted the term "internationalisation". Heads of governments became aware in 1996, in the framework of European-Asian intergovernmental consultation, of the fact that continental Europe was hardly on the agenda when Asian students chose a host country for study abroad. This triggered off lively debates and measures notably in France and Germany to make higher education more attractive to students from other parts of the world, even before Sorbonne Declaration was signed. Many experts argue that the enormous efforts in the Bologna Process to establish convergent degree structures never would have been undertaken if this was merely for the purpose of facilitating intra-European student mobility.

The increase in student mobility within Europe and the growth in the intake of students from other parts of the world are by no means just small variations of the same development. Rather, six distinctions are worth mentioning.

- The debate on the worldwide attractiveness of European higher education focuses on European higher education institutions importing students from other continents, while reciprocal mobility is advocated within Europe.
- Inward mobility from other parts of the world is understood primarily as "vertical", i.e. from a lower to an advanced educational level, while intra-European mobility is interpreted primarily as "horizontal", as mobility between programmes of equal value, which might be stimulating through their substantive contrast to the programme at home.
- Students from other parts of the world are primarily expected to adapt to the educational, cultural and social environment of their host institutions, while students mobile within Europe might challenge the established practices at the host and subsequently at the home institution and thus contribute to educational innovation.
- Degree-mobility, i.e. mobility for whole degree programmes, is prevalent among students coming to Europe from other parts of the world, while temporary mobility is widespread within Europe.
- As a consequence, the granting of credits for transfer, one of the accompanying measures of the Bologna Process, is important for short-term mobility and thus frequently for intra-European mobility, while the Diploma Supplement, the other accompanying measure of the Bologna Process, is most relevant to degree-mobility and thus frequently to intercontinental mobility.
- Last but not least, the types of mobile students vary across fields of study: Temporary "horizontal" student mobility in Europe is, on average, more frequently chosen by students in humanities and social sciences, while "vertical" degree-mobility across continents is more widespread among students in science and technology.

It should be noted that the basic assumptions regarding mobility which triggered off the Bologna Process were not well founded. The proportion of students worldwide studying abroad who opted for study in the non-English-speaking European countries was not really on the decline, as often claimed (Teichler 1999). It is not certain whether measures of structural convergence are of primary importance in making higher education in Europe more attractive to students from other parts of the world. The language issue, the scarcity of well-organised doctoral programmes or the deficiencies regarding individual academic and administrative support for the students in some European countries might be more salient factors. Beliefs, however, are also facts: The belief spread quickly in Europe that structural similarity between European higher education systems would make them more attractive to persons from outside Europe.

The second assumption underlying the Bologna Process is also questionable that a similar duration of study programmes and degrees in Europe will also facilitate intra-European student mobility. One has reasons to cast doubts because intra-European student mobility had worked quite well in the framework of ERASMUS among study programmes, with varied length of study already prior to the Bologna Declaration. It might work better if study programmes and degrees are similar, but

why should one opt for the burden of revamping the programmes and degrees in Europe if all that is to be achieved is a moderate increase in mobility of students within Europe? At the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, it is not yet possible to measure the impact of Bologna properly. It takes time to introduce and implement reform, to make it known to the prospective students, for them to study and graduate in the new system and then to gather data on outputs and outcomes. Really valid information will probably be available no earlier than around 2015.

Available statistics on foreign students from countries outside Europe show an increase from 2000 to 2005, but this can be explained by a "push effect" of more students from other parts of the world studying abroad and by an intervening variable of a lower – real or perceived – willingness of the United States to host such students due to security concerns. A genuine Bologna "pull effect" cannot yet be established. As regards intra-European mobility, there are indications of a growth of both temporary mobility and degree-mobility, but none that the growth is higher than during the years preceding the Bologna Declaration, and there is no evidence that the convergent structures play a supportive role.

A survey undertaken in 2005 (Bürger et al. 2006) shows that some, though a minority, experts in Europe are convinced that the Bologna Process discourages intra-European mobility and creates new barriers: About one quarter of the experts and actors at central level and about one-sixth of the experts and actors at departmental level each believe that:

- The short duration of the new study programmes will lead to an increase in the number of mobile students.
- The curriculum is too dense to enable students to go abroad temporarily.
- The curricula are not flexible enough to take some of the courses abroad.

Graduate surveys of the early cohorts of bachelor students undertaken in Italy and Germany show that the proportion of students studying temporarily abroad within the bachelor programmes is somewhat lower than those temporarily mobile in the old long study programmes. But the small difference is compensated by master programmes. For the moment, this does not provide evidence of either a negative or a positive impact of the new study programmes and degrees on intra-student mobility.

## Globalisation and the Bologna Process: Compatible or Conflicting?

The term globalisation spread across Europe in the mid-1990s, as already pointed out above. According to the views of many actors and experts frequently employing this term, knowledge generation is increasingly driven by technological and economic utility and higher education is expected to compete globally and on a commercial basis. Accordingly, international academic and institutional interaction would be shaped predominantly by a notion of rivalry, while only selective

"strategic alliances" might be based on a cooperative approach; correspondingly, knowledge is seen as a commodity which can be traded through attracting students paying high fees, or through "trans-national education", e.g. setting up branch campuses abroad or "franchising" programmes. Finally, higher education institutions are viewed as being most likely to be successful if they put all their competitive efforts in enhancing their international reputation and visibility as a "world-class university".

Advocates of such a paradigm shift often claim that higher education can either remain "traditional" in preferring cooperation and open knowledge transfer or become increasingly "competitive" in strengthening income-generating international activities and in gearing activities towards the enhancement of international reputation, according to criteria employed in world-wide "rankings" of universities.

Available information suggest that regulatory conditions have emerged in some countries – the United Kingdom, Australia and to some extent in the United States – which push institutions to ensure their financial survival and well-being through the "commodification" of their international activities. Surveys on the international views and activities of higher education institutions in Europe (Huisman and der Wende 2005) and worldwide (Knight 2006) both suggest that income generation through international activities, involvement in trans-national education and notions of a predominance of rivalry over a cooperative spirit have spread to some extent, but that institutions, scholars and related national policies vary substantially in the extent to which they favour, disregard or oppose those notions. We also note efforts counterbalancing the "imbalances" resulting from globalisation (van der Wende 2007: 286–287).

In some respects, globalisation-oriented higher education policies and strategies seem to conflict with the strategies underlying the Bologna Process or reinforced by it, even though the Bologna Declaration points to the need for Europe to succeed in a global competitive environment. First, strategies for gearing international activities towards income generation collide with those of promoting intra-European mobility alongside world-wide mobility, for educational provisions can be sold more easily to foreign students from countries not on equal terms as far as the quality of their higher education system is concerned. Moreover, the intra-European mobility through ERASMUS requires host institutions not to charge tuition fees. Second, strategies of commercialising higher education, as a rule, aim to increase the importing of foreign students or to sell programmes internationally; they are less interested in the internationalisation of their own students. Third, it is widely assumed that competitive international activities and a desire to be visible in ranking of "world-class universities" contribute toward a growing vertical stratification of national higher education systems. As a consequence, temporary student exchange is likely to be confined to small sets of institutions of higher education belonging to the same stratum. In contrast, the Bologna Declaration seems to be based on the rationale that student mobility within Europe should be as open and wide as possible. Widespread mutual trust can only be expected in flat institutional hierarchies.

Again, it would be premature to assess the actual results of this potentially conflict-ridden situation within the Bologna Process. Future studies certainly will

be able to discern the extent to which the Bologna Process actually is shaped by the connotations of the term "internationalisation" or those of the term "globalisation".

## Concluding Observations

All available information suggests that international activities within higher education have increased substantially in Europe over more than two decades. And international activities are likely to increase further and will have a substantial impact in the future. They are no longer the rare and possibly eccentric domain of a few. For example, the majority of students in Europe consider study in another country, at least for a short period, as a meaningful and a feasible option.

The ERASMUS programme inaugurated in 1987 is widely viewed as being not only a driver for quantitative expansion of (temporary) student mobility, but also a major trigger for a qualitative leap of internationalisation activities. Cooperation and mobility on equal terms turns out to be a creative challenge to reconsider one's own activities in every respect. It also has led to the systematic embedding of international activities into the general activities of higher education institutions: Efforts are increasingly made to shape international activities into mainstream activities and to ensure that the mainstream activities are developed in such a way that they serve the international activities.

These achievements were reached in a period when special emphasis was placed on student mobility within Europe. Since the mid-1990s, three shifts can be noted in the discourse on internationalisation of higher education in Europe: First, growing attention to worldwide mobility; second, a growing emphasis on types of internationalisation other than mobility, for example an increasingly international aspect to curricula and an increasing emphasis on "internationalisation at home"; and third, a growing popularity of the concept of globalisation, according to which a commercialisation of the international relationships in higher education, a spread of trans-national education, an increased notion of rivalry dominating the cross-national interactions and increased efforts to enhance one's rank in worldwide reputation are desirable features.

The Bologna Process aims to enhance internationalisation of higher education: Study in Europe ought to be more attractive to students from other parts of the world, and the convergent structure of study programmes and degree ought to be helpful for intra-European mobility. It could be viewed as further steps towards internationalisation of higher education in Europe.

There are various reasons, however, to challenge such a view. Some observers believe that temporary student mobility tends to be discouraged in the new bachelor–master structure. Some experts believe that curricular convergence might follow structural convergence; this could encourage student mobility because recognition of study abroad could be facilitate, but it also could discourage student mobility because the chances of learning through contrasting experience were diminished. Finally, concurrent developments in the European Union might cause problems: The imperatives of the Lisbon Declaration of 2000 to expand research in order to make

Europe the "most competitive economy" seem to favour stronger rivalries between higher education institutions and a steeper stratification of the higher education system in order to make a few universities succeed in the race towards "world-class universities"; if these objectives were realized, the "zones of trust" (Teichler 2007) for mutual recognition would become small if students could expect only recognition of study achievements during a temporary period abroad only, if they attend a few higher education institutions abroad which match their home institution exactly in the level of quality.

Finally, the success of internationalisation, ironically, might became the cause of its declining relevance. Internationalisation has led to "internationalisation mainstreaming": not only all international activities are increasingly embedded into the regular life of the higher education institutions, but also institutions of higher education will make decisions about their regular life in such a way that they serve internationalisation; eventually, international activities might have become so common that nobody sees anymore the need to take care for them, and this might lead to a lesser support for the needs of international activities than before.

Similarly, a recent survey has shown that the professional value of studying in another European country is declining to some extent because such international experiences are losing more and more their exclusiveness and distinctiveness (Teichler and Janson 2007). Thus, the question has to be raised whether new activities to support further internationalisation have to be developed at a fairly mature state of internationality of higher education.

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# Chapter 15
# Nation-State, Diaspora and Comparative Education: The Place of Place in Comparative Education

Anthony R. Welch

> *Hestia. . . was regarded as the goddess of the state. In this*
> *character, her sanctuary was in the* prytaneum, *where the*
> *common hearth-fire round which the magistrates meet is ever*
> *burning, and where the sacred rites that sanctify the concord of*
> *city life are performed. From this fire, as the representative of*
> *the life of the city, intending colonists took the fire which was to*
> *be kindled on the hearth of the new colony.*[1]

> I was a boy when i left home.
> I came back as an old man.
> I think i remember the country dialect
> But my hair has turned white since i spoke it.
> Children stare at me.
> Nobody understands me.
> They look at me and laugh, and say,
> 'Where do you come from, Milord?' [2]

This chapter uses the lens of place in comparative education, focusing on the significance of the diaspora, in particular knowledge diasporas. While the nation-state has been the traditional unit of analysis within comparative education, processes of globalisation mean that intellectual diasporas are unarguably becoming of greater significance. This change is all the more evident, in light of two key, and potentially contradictory, trends: first, the increasing mobility of knowledge workers, underpinned by developed-country migration schemes that target highly skilled migrants. A second related feature is the intensification of global communications technologies, which increasingly mean that such intellectual networks can be sustained without the need for (as much) geographical re-location. This is, in turn, making a significant difference to migration patterns, and efforts by many states, notably

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A.R. Welch (✉)
University of Sydney, Sydney, NSW, Australia
e-mail: a.welch@edfac.usyd.edu.au

[1]http://encyclopadia/jrank.org/HEG_HIG/HESTIA.html
[2]He Zhizhang (Tang dynasty poet), "Homecoming", Rexroth (1970: 47).

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Korea, China and Taiwan, to mobilise the diaspora by implementing "reverse brain drain" schemes.[3]

Theorising the meanings and significance of the (intellectual) diaspora comprises a major part of the chapter, drawing on pertinent literature from comparative education. This is accompanied by examples and discussion drawn from the Greek, Chinese and Jewish intellectual diasporas, each of which enshrines substantial respect for learning: "Being Greek, Chinese or Jewish meant having 'serious' attitudes towards education." (Tsolidis 2001: 117). First, however, it is necessary to briefly locate the argument within the literature of comparative education.

## Comparative Education and the Nation-State

Much of the history of comparative education has hinged on the nation-state as the prime unit of analysis. Despite a lengthy genealogy, which has traced itself back to at least post-Napoleonic France, (where, in 1817, Jullien's *Esquisse* was published), the major literature in the field was produced only in the twentieth century. Indeed, as the work of Margaret Archer (1979), and Andy Green (1990), among others has shown, the development of state systems of schooling in the nineteenth century was part of the architecture of the modern state:

> National education systems developed... as part of the long process of state formation that stretched in a great arc from the late absolutist states, through the French Revolution and beyond to the gradual construction of democratic nation states in the nineteenth century. Through these national education systems, states fashioned disciplined workers and loyal military recruits; created and celebrated national languages and literatures; popularised national histories and myths of origin; disseminated national laws and customs and social mores and generally explained the ways of the state to the people and the duties of the people to the state. National education was a massive engine of integration, assimilating the local to the national and the particular to the general (Green 2006).

Education systems, too, developed their own architecture, in the nineteenth century, as states came to provide, albeit at times grudgingly (Welch, 1998), not merely more funds, but teacher training institutions, an inspectorate, standardised curricula, and often common textbooks.

It is only understandable, therefore, that the foundations of the pioneers of comparative education were built on what must have seemed at the time to be the bedrock of the nation-state:

> It is no surprise... that the first comparative educationalists were preoccupied with systems and with nationhood. They organized their classification of education around national systems; they collected data at the national level where they could; and they sought national characteristics to explain variations between systems (Green 2006).

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[3]See for example Welch 2005d. For more on Korea's BK 21 program**,** see Mok et al. (2003), in Mok and Welch (2003: 58–78). For China, see Hayhoe (1999), and for issues related to returning scholars in Korea, see Namgung (2006).

In a sense, this was no different from the conventions that underpinned the development of the social sciences more generally, especially their comparative forms: "What distinguishes comparative social science is its use of attributes of macrosocial units in explanatory statements" (Ragin 1987: 5).[4] Certainly, when a *fin de siecle* Sadler invoked his famous horticultural metaphor warning of the perils of indiscriminate cultural borrowing, his formulation was couched in clearly national terms:

> We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and of battles long ago (Sadler 1900 cited in Hans 1949: 3).

In the nineteenth century, Henry Barnard and Horace Mann in America and Matthew Arnold in Great Britain developed accounts of foreign schooling in terms of more or less systematic comparisons of national systems of education. A notable exception to this pattern was Jullien's allusion to the effects of different cantons within one state (Switzerland) and Kay Shuttleworth's similar interest in regional comparisons.

Post-World War Two figures also failed to escape dependence on the nation-state as the prime unit of analysis, a situation compounded by international organisations that continued to collect statistics and undertake analysis on this same basis. Figures from the 1950s included not merely less well-known scholars such as Moehlman and Roucek, whose organisation of their 1951 work, and own pronouncements,[5] accorded with the assessment of one of their contributors that the difference in internationalism between the era of the mediaeval university and the modern era was that, in the latter, ". . . the nation is the human framework for concerted social work." (Moehlman and Roucek 1951: 595). Despite an understandable genuflection (see below) to the need for education to contribute to international understanding,[6] the analytical gaze was still fixed firmly on the nation-state. The succeeding era of scholarship of the 1960s marked not only the apogee of positivism in the field,[7] but also arguably the deployment of the nation-state as the analytical unit (Welch and Burns 1992: xi–xv, Welch, 2007b). However strong their disagreement over methodology, both Edmund King (King 1968, 1973) and Brian Holmes (1965, see also Welch 2007b), for example, each in practice accepted the nation-state as the prime analytic unit.

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[4]See also Sklair (1991: 2–9) for the connection of the nation-state to strands of sociology and the argument that the global system takes us beyond the nation-state as unit of analysis.

[5]Above all, the rise of huge national powers influences the intellectual pattern of the period (Moehlman and Roucek 1951: 4).

[6]See in this era, Cramer and Browne1956.

[7]According to more than one scholar. See for example Cowen (2000: 343–362) and Welch (2003: 24–52).

Two reasons explain why this failure to problematise the nation-state was anomalous, each explicable in terms of the history of the time. Coming two to three decades after one of the more dramatic diasporic events of the century, when so many emigres fled central and western Europe (Gay, 1970), most notably Germany and Austria, for the safety of other lands (Bartrop 1994), it is *prima facie* surprising that the nation-state remained so unassailable within theories and methods of comparative education. All the more so, when significant numbers of that diasporic movement, often Jewish, but including many "politicals", seeded the universities of not only the United States, but also Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand with some of the finest philosophers, writers, sociologists, artists and scientists of (German speaking) Europe: Einstein, Popper, Mann, Brecht, Coser, Adorno, Mannheim, Horkheimer, Wittgenstein and Marcuse were just some.[8] Indeed, Krohn argues that post-war German culture never recovered:

> For postwar Germany, the intellectual vacuum created by the expulsion of its major scholars, intellectuals, creators and disturbers would never be filled.... the internal Nazi war against Weimar culture resulted in the diminution of about 12,000 intellectuals from the social and cultural life of Germany. Nothing like this had happened since the exodus of the 'Greek leading class after the Osmandian conquest of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century...' ("Foreword" in Krohn 1987: ix, see also Heilbut 1983, Coser 1984, Boyers 1972, Nasar 1999: 49–55, and Welch 2005: 71–96).

The second reason also connects to the horrors of World War Two and its aftermath. Just as the carnage of World War One provoked intensive efforts to establish a new international order, most notably via the League of Nations, the same applied to the aftermath of World War Two. Was this renascent internationalism, and the newly founded United Nations, reflected in the literature of comparative education? Indeed it was, as even a cursory glance at the two works of the 1950s cited above reveals. The final chapter in Moehlman and Roucek, entitled "Efforts at Internationalism in Education", specifically referred to the same conviction that had informed the birth of the earlier League of Nations: "...the best way to ensure peace was to set up agencies for the settlement of international disputes" (Lengyel 1951: 604). Subsequent treatment covered the founding of the specific agency charged with its educational agenda (UNESCO) in late 1945 and its famed preamble: "Since wars begin in the minds of man, it is in the minds of man that the defenses of peace must be constructed" (Lengyel 1951: 605). The global exchange and purchase of textbooks and of educational materials was listed as an aim of UNESCO, as also an all out attack on illiteracy, while UNESCO's work in propagating internationalism was also given serious attention. Equally, Cramer and Browne's final chapter was also given over to coverage of "Education and International Understanding", where the UNESCO Preamble was rehearsed much more extensively: "... the wide diffusion of culture and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty..." (Cramer and Browne 1956: 582).

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[8]See for example the classic study by Hans-Dieter Krohn, *Wissenschaft im Exil* (translated into English as Krohn (1987), Boyers (1972), Coser (1984) (himself an emigre intellectual)), Heilbut 1990, and Welch 2005:71–96.

The allusion to the division of UNESCO that dealt with "Education for Living in a World Community" aiming to lead people throughout the world to think internationally (as also to the stout opposition by some US nationalists in the 1950s to this overt internationalism of the UNESCO and the banning of its educational materials from use in Los Angeles schools) was a further indication of the seriousness with which internationalism was treated.

Human minds and memories are indeed short, however. By the 1960s, little vestige of internationalism remained in the literature of comparative education. Notable exceptions notwithstanding (of more recent examples, see Welch and Burns 1992: 62, Dale 2000, Welch 1999), the nation-state again ruled supreme.

## Globalisation and the Knowledge Society/Economy

By the onset of the new millennium, however, at least two interconnected pressures made it imperative to reappraise the taken-for-granted status of the nation-state as the unit of analysis, globalisation, and the knowledge economy/knowledge society. Predicated on quantitative and qualitative changes in information and communications technology, and the nature of international capitalism, the former challenges traditional borders in several senses. The scale, intensity and rapidity of cross-border flows of information, capital, labour and services, including trans-national services in education (OECD 2004, Welch 2005b), now estimated to total not less than US $30 billion annually, broach national boundaries on an unprecedented scale. The ongoing development of information and communications technology (ICT), a critical element underpinning processes of cultural globalisation, means that global knowledge currents are both swifter (especially with broadband technology) and broader, particularly in English: ". . . the explosion in communications technologies has made it possible for multiple and dense links to develop, particularly among emigrants of recent vintage" (Kapur and McHale 2005: 200). (Nonetheless, the fact that there are, in the Asia-Pacific region, for example, around 1 billion Chinese speakers (OECD 2004, Welch 2004) – as numerous as English speakers – is bound to spur the already-swift development of Chinese information and educational materials of all kinds, in ensuing decades.)

Such trends are having a powerful impact on the global community of scholars:

> Most researchers would be not be able to function without email or access to the web. They certainly would have fewer contacts with distant, especially international, scientists, and be much less able to keep on the cutting edge of their field (NSF 2002: 3).

Clearly, the rise of ICTs is a key element in the cultural model of globalisation. Here, a key issue is the transformation of identity in the face of global cultural flows. As Held et al. point out, it is the "reach, intensity and diffusion" of the cultures underpinned by communications technologies that are unprecedented (Held et al. 1999: 328). In practice, people in many parts of the world indeed can now see much the same images, and perhaps even interpretations, on a daily basis, almost instantaneously (even if those images are often owned by Murdoch, Disney or Gates).

Such concentration of ownership means, however, that one should resist seeing the growth of ICT and the massive increase in global information flows as a neutral phenomenon, including in education. The growth of global media conglomerates such as News Limited, Time Warner AOL and Disney raises important issues of the politics and economics of cultural flows, including their role in the manufacture of news (as a recent documentary on Fox News underlined)[9] and educational materials. The fact that alliances have been forged between media giants and higher education consortia (such as *Universitas 21*, which embraces universities in Australia, China, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Singapore, Hong Kong, Canada, Germany and the United States) is yet another illustration of what the political economy of global culture and its rising importance in education are (Welch and Mok 2003, Welch 2004). The rise of Phoenix University, now marketing professional education in several countries, as well as Laureate and Kaplan, is a further index of the growing role of ICTs in breaching national borders in higher education.

## The Changing Face of the Global Knowledge Network

Among other things, global information flows ensure that more and more people in the South are aware of what Altbach termed the global knowledge network (Altbach 1994: 2993–2998, 2002: 1–21, Crystal 2003), whereby expensive research facilities, citation indexes and patents are dominated by wealthy and largely English language education systems. Indeed, it is critical to underline that such indices as Science Citation Index (SCI), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), Engineering Index (EI) are skewed in favour of English language journals, thereby adding linguistic disadvantage to global disparities of wealth. The growth of English as the primary medium for computing, book and journal publishing (Held et al. 1999: 346), and the growth of the US distance education materials on the web (Wilson et al. 1998), is now underpinned by the Global Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Each helped to underwrite growth of trade in educational services (estimated some years ago by the WTO and the OECD at over US $30 billion per annum). All cultures are not equal, as the dominance of trade in educational services by OECD countries and English language nations reveals (OECD 2004, Welch 2004).

As argued below, however, increased global mobility, especially by diasporic intellectuals, and the trans-national networks they establish, undergirded by the greater density and diffusion of information technology, are each tilting the balance towards countries such as Taiwan, Israel, China and India. Their highly skilled scientists and technologists, now often with Silicon Valley experience, are "... creating far more complex and decentralised, two-way flows of knowledge, capital and technology" (Saxenian 2006: 6). Such diasporic networks include the Taiwanese intellectual diaspora in Silicon Valley (the Monte Jade Science

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[9]Originally a television documentary, the subsequent book is Kitty2005.

and Technology Association), its Chinese equivalent (Yuan Hua Science and Technology Association) and for Israelis the SIVAN group.

The increasing diffusion of knowledge centres, as Saxenian points out, is also a product of increasing international competition. Traditionally, Silicon Valley's pre-eminence depended on a high-skills base, which in turn depended on long-standing, substantial federal investment in research and development (particularly basic research) and good quality, state-funded public education:

> 'Producers in Silicon Valley have benefited greatly from decades of post war federal investments in technological research, along with state-level commitments to primary, secondary, and post-graduate education. In the boom years, it was easy to overlook or take for granted the contribution of these long-term investments to the economy's dynamism; in today's fast-paced global environment, however, it is more critical than ever to continually invest in regional advantage.' (But) the dwindling state and federal commitment to high-quality public education and research... threatens to undermine both Silicon Valley, and the nation's technology future (Saxenian 2006: 335–336).

This is all the more the case, when measured against China's impressive, if uneven, attempts to develop world-class institutions via projects such as 211 (instituted in 1993 to select and foster 100 leading universities for the twenty-first century), and the much more selective 985 (that from 1999 poured approximately Rmb. 30 billion [US $4 billion], differentially, into China's top universities, with the explicit goal of making them into "world-class universities"), and via recruiting top (Chinese) scholars from throughout the world against Singapore's vigorous efforts to establish itself as a regional hub in higher education and research and against Taiwan's sustained investment in higher education.[10]

Economic globalisation, on the other hand, is also re-shaping territories, widening the gap between rich and poor, within and between countries. Arguably the most powerful of the available models of globalisation, the fissiparous effects of structural adjustment regimes – pressed by international agencies such as the World Bank, IMF and Asian Development Bank, for example, as "conditionalities" – are deepening socioeconomic cleavages, including in education. In an era of what has been characterised as "Turbo Capitalism" (Martin and Schumann 1997), this model of globalisation conceives capitalism as a social and economic global system critical to explaining inequalities, including in education. The increasingly crisis-prone trajectory of many modern economies since the 1970s and the development of both trans-national corporations (TNC), as well as a trans-national capitalist class (TCC) which, it is argued, in effect acts as a global ruling class (Dahrendorf 2000: 1057–1068, Sklair 2001, Currie 2005), are critical elements of this model.

While the current development of capitalism represents a move towards a global system underwritten by massive international capital flows, currency trading and

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[10]See Hollingsworth et al. (2008:412–413). For more on the 211 and 985 projects, see Lang and Zha (2004: 339–354) and Welch (2006). Singapore has already recruited the US stem cell research groups and Australian bio-science research teams to well-funded and staffed specialist research institutes. Taiwanese graduates grew from an annual 10,000 in 1961 to 200,000 in 1996, 40% of whom were in Engineering, according to Saxenian (2006).

international trade agreements such as GATT and GATS, as well as the rising significance of international economic organs such as the WTO, OECD, IMF and the World Bank, pushing for further structural adjustments, the migration arena is much less well served by effective international covenants.[11]

It is nonetheless mistaken to assume that globalisation betokens the end of the nation-state, as some have argued. Hyper-globalists such as Kenichi Ohmae (Ohmae 1995, 1999), for example, who only a decade or so ago breathlessly pronounced the end of the nation-state, ignore the capacity of nations to develop different agendas in response to the insistent pressures of globalisation (Weiss 1998). Vietnam, China, Brunei, Malaysia, Cuba and an increasing number of Latin American states have resisted the strictures of structural adjustment in different ways, including the wholesale imposition of externally imposed models.

Notwithstanding the above illustrations of national differences to the insistent, austere agenda of global capitalism, its rise as a system is forcing a re-interpretation of the autonomy of national systems, including in education (Burbules and Torres 2000, Welch and Mok 2003). The rise of the much-touted knowledge economy of the twenty-first century adds further impetus to the development of global capitalism, as nations jockey for position, re-structuring their educational systems in order to maximise economic growth rates. In the process, politics too is transformed from "the art of the possible" into the practice of "sound economic management" (Held et al. 1999: 4), as governments compete to attract foreign capital, for which they need to supply a ". . . ready supply of highly-skilled labour" (Carnoy 1998: 21–40, 22). The increasingly global knowledge economy (especially for English speakers), depends on highly skilled labour: "globalised finance and investment creates a worldwide demand for certain kinds of skills, (including) language" (Carnoy 1998: 31). As will be seen below, ubiquitous national policies on positioning the nation relative to the knowledge economy often now include strategies and programmes to mobilise knowledge diasporas at a time when ". . . the quality of national education systems is increasingly being compared internationally" (Carnoy 1998: 22). Diasporic communities are increasingly important in efforts to enhance research and development programmes and improve universities, especially among developing countries, which have suffered most from brain drain.

## The Notion of the Diaspora

In many respects, nation-states, just like the field of comparative education, are a relative latecomer. Historically, empires were more significant, whether Egyptian, Mongolian, Greek, Chinese or Roman:

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[11] Although in 1947, a convention to protect migrant workers was passed at the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and in 1990, the UN passed an *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families*, in practice neither has been followed particularly rigorously.

> . . . a citizen of the empire travelling from Britain to the Euphrates in the mid-second century
> CE would have found in virtually every town along the journey, foods, goods, landscapes,
> buildings, institutions, laws, entertainment, and sacred elements not dissimilar to those in
> his own community (Hitchner 2003: 398)

or more recently for example, the Austro-Hungarian, which only ended in 1918.

For much of the previous millennia, allegiance was to empire (at times ruthlessly enforced), while identity probably often remained at the local level. (The pattern arguably persists – how much is the principal allegiance of Piedmontese Italians, Tyrolean Austrians or Alsatian French, for example, to the European Union, or ethnic Uyghurs to China, and how much is their identity often still tied up with their village, or at most region?) For much of the previous millenia, it was possible to speak meaningfully, at least in some sense, of empire culture. This form of cultural identity is what was evoked when ancient Greeks took the sacred hearth flame (*Hestia*) of the mother city, in order to kindle the new colony (Paris 1986:168, Varvaressos 1999, Roscher 1965:2638).[12] Greeks in new lands were not regarded as *diesparmeynoi* (reflecting the etymology of the term, the core of which reflects the act of scattering seed), but were referred to *tho Ellenikho* (part of the Greek collective), affirming their common cultural identity. In this sense, it has been argued, one needs to distinguish between *kratos* (state) and *ethnos*, which was felt to be the property of all Hellenes, including the 60% who then lived outside the *kratos*. Whereas the pillars of the *kratos* consisted of rather secular principles (citizenship and civil law), that of the *ethnos* were different: language, religious affiliation and a sense of connection to the Greece of antiquity. This, arguably, is the kernel of *hellenismos*, conceived as a living identity that "transcended borders, land, space and time. Ethnos transcends *topos*", according to this account (Varvaressos, 1999: 3).

Here, Benedict Anderson's (1983) notion of the imagined community helps to understand the reality of diasporic communities (albeit still understood in the limited sense of the nation-state, as Bhabha points out – Bhabha 1994: 6). Clearly, in one sense, such community must be imagined for many, since generations of the diaspora have grown up without first-hand knowledge of the motherland, perhaps clinging to faded or ossified conceptions inherited from past generations. The idea is perhaps most elegiacally illustrated in the case of the Jewish diaspora, whose long-standing catchcry "Next Year in Jerusalem" eloquently evoked an absence, an imagined homeland.

After the odyssey (the title of a well-known study of Greek Australians – Bottomley 1979), a far-flung fragment clings to an imagined whole: Hellenismos, Jewishness and Chinese identity. But the diasporic whole, too, is something of an imaginary. In practice, the fragment, detached from the homeland, takes a different

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[12]The significance of the ritual can be seen in Paris's account: ". . . when the Persians laid siege to Athens and extinguished the sacred fire, the Athenians, after defeating them, sent for fire at the Great Temple of Hestia at Delphi, to re-kindle the fire of their own city" (Paris 1986:168). See also Varvaressos (1999), especially section III: "Kolonisten nahmen von dem heiligen Feuer der Mutterstadt in die zu gründende neue Stadt mit" and Frazer (1885).

trajectory: cutoff from the living, evolving culture of the old country, some elements of diasporic culture ossify, others take a new direction. Equally, the diasporic community itself is both divided (by politics, religion, gender, class and education). Hence, the diasporic individual, characterised by interstitial hybridity, an in-betweenness, cannot be essentialised or seen as monolithic Bhabha (1990, 1994). Rather, there is, to diasporic identity, a certain quality of fluidity and indeterminacy.

## Knowledge Diasporas and International Neural Knowledge Networks (INKNs)

Without diminishing the significance of the nation-state in understanding differences in education, more contemporary theoretical gazes focus on differential effects of global migration, including by the highly skilled. Data from Saxenian show that of Silicon Valley's Asian population in the late 1990s, 77% of Indian residents held at least a masters degree, while for Chinese residents the figure was 86% and Taiwanese 85% (Kapur and McHale 2005). Data concerning Australia, which show the highest nett brain gain of all OECD countries (Docquier and Marfouk 2006: 180), reveal that the proportion of skilled migrants rose from 39.8% of the total in 1990–1991 to 46.8% by 2003–2004 (Parliamentary Library 2005, Jupp 2002, Welch 2006: 179),[13] while for certain groups, for example China-born migrants, it was more than half. Of long-term Chinese immigrants to Australia, over 80% currently fall within the three highest occupational categories, while significant numbers have moved into academic posts, usually after taking their Ph.D. at an Australian university (Welch and Zhang 2005, 2008a and b, Yang and Welch 2010).[14] The rising emphasis on the highly educated further reflects changes towards more knowledge-based economies. The global circulation of epistemic currents, including among diasporic communities, is also part of this new orientation, challenging our notion of space and place (Tsolidis 2001).

Arguably, the most intractable issue is brain drain which, at least in part, stems from the disparities mentioned above, related to cultural and economic globalisation. "Brain Drain can reinforce the development trap when communities of skilled persons in developed countries attract other skilled persons and further deplete weaker communities in developing countries" (OECD 2003: 89, World Bank 2006a, Kapur and McHale, 2005: 104 and Saxenian 2006 for accounts of some of the

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[13]Australia introduced a skilled migration programme in 1984; it has been broadly followed since by Canada, New Zealand and several other OECD countries. Partly as a result, as much as 90% of skilled migration is to OECD countries. See Docquier and Marfouk (2006: 154).

[14]For rates of skill among Chinese immigrants, see Hugo 2005, and for analysis of Chinese-born academics in Australian universities, see Welch and Zhang "Zhongguo de zhishi liusan – haiwai zhongguo zhishi fenzijian de jiaoliu wangluo". *Comparative Education Review* [Beijing] 26, 12: 26–31 (in Chinese) and Welch and Zhang 2008. A significant proportion of applicants for Permanent Residence (the first step to Australian citizenship) now stem from the ranks of international students. Chinese students alone occupy 20% of this category (Welch 2007: 179).

difficulties that beset Singapore, Japan and Korea). Kapur and McHale illustrate how this skills erosion cycle weakens developing countries:

> Where a market is no longer confined within national boundaries, innumerable college teachers in developing countries with the requisite human capital are willing to work in. . . developed countries. . . A vicious cycle ensues, in which individuals at the upper end of the human capital distribution emigrate and leave behind a pool of poorer quality. This not only prompts others at the higher end to also consider leaving, but also discourages anyone who has left in the past from returning home. . . (Kapur and McHale, 2005: 104).

The existing scientific gap between South and North is huge, and growing, exacerbated by trends indicated above. The North, for example, has almost 10 times the proportion of R & D personnel (scientists and technicians) per capita as the South (3.8% compared to 0.4%) and spends about four times the proportion of GDP on R & D (2.0% compared to 0.5%). In addition, it registers some 97% of all patents registered in the United States and Europe and, together with the newly industrialising countries of East Asia, accounts for 84% of all scientific articles published (World Bank 2000: 69).

Several caveats should be entered here, however. First, we should note that these statistics derive from the same key citation indexes that are biased to publications in the North, especially in English.

Second, there are gradations of difference. It is important to distinguish, for example, between the greater dynamism in Taiwan, Israel and China, where rates of research and development, patenting and citation have each improved substantially, and Singapore, Korea and Japan, where a certain degree of sclerosis seems still to be impeding equivalent progress (Saxenian 2006: 333–336). Based on these measures, China, for example, notwithstanding some difficulties, moved from 38th position on international rankings of academic output in 1979 to fifth in 2003 and second in 2007 (Li 2005, Hollingsorth et al. 2008: 412, and for more on how rigidities in the Chinese research system still inhibit the return of the best and brightest, see Cao 2004: 151–172).

Third, Brain Drain is historically contingent. In the 1980s, Taiwan sent more doctoral candidates in Engineering to the United States than any other country. Twenty years later, rising domestic opportunities saw many return,[15] as has also been the case with Korea, Israel and China.

Finally, the older core-periphery model is giving way ". . . to less centralized two-way flows of skill, technology and capital. . ." (Saxenian 2006: 135). New centres in key locations in such places such as Israel, Taiwan, Singapore and China are intensifying, and pluralising, global knowledge production.

Nonetheless, such disparities of wealth and opportunity represent a powerful magnet for skilled labour from the South, including academic labour. Measures of this phenomenon, especially in areas such as science and technology, are improving, but have traditionally underestimated the extent of brain drain by adopting measures

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[15]The christening of such diasporic figures as "foreign monks" (*fan-seng*) in Taiwan symbolised their importance Saxenian (2006: 141).

based on stock data (numbers of skilled foreign born in a host country at a given point) or flows data (measures of already-skilled migrants entering a country).[16] Nonetheless, recent data underline the depth of the problem:

> ...many Central American and island nations in the Caribbean had more than 50 percent of their university-educated citizens living abroad in 2000. Although the share of skilled workers in the total labor force in Sub-Saharan Africa is only 4 percent, these workers comprise more than 40 percent of all migrants (World Bank 2006: 11).

The impact on the receiving country also varies. Part is produced by the integration of such migrants into the domestic higher education system, particularly at the graduate level. Studies conducted by the National Science Foundation reveal that some two-thirds of foreign-born scientists in the United States and France gained their Ph.D. from the United States (NSF 1998: 3–19, NSF 2002). This in turn helps to create a further trend: NSF data show that only half of international doctoral or post-doctoral candidates return to their country of origin within 2 years. For those from China and India, who study in the United States, the rates are as low as 10–12%. In the decade to the late 1990s, approximately half the doctoral recipients from China received opportunities for further study and employment in the United States (Johnson and Regets 1998). The impact on innovation, in the form of research productivity, patent applications is also substantial (World Bank 2006: 13 and 245–259).

Effectively, then, studies abroad represent a channel of migration, as more and more students swell the ranks of skilled migrants. This too, however, underestimates the extent of the phenomenon and its impact on the nations of the South, from where much of this skilled labour is sourced. The data above highlight that highly educated individuals in the South, perhaps underemployed in their own country, or aspiring to a better and more productive lifestyle, or lacking rights and freedoms that they associate with the North, often aspire to greener pastures. Compounding the issue, in an era of global migration flows, is that many developed nations have developed targeted programmes that select individuals for skill (while at the same time, erecting stricter and stricter barriers to the entry of others, such as asylum seekers). Germany, the United States, Canada (Li 2005, Welch 2007) and Australia, for example, have all developed purpose-built schemes designed to attract highly skilled migrants. Indeed in the latter, the largest category of applicants for permanent residence (the first step towards citizenship) now comprises international students who form one-third of all applicants (Parliamentary Library 2005). As a result, over 80% of Canadian and Australian migrants from mainland China are now professionals with degrees (Li 2005; Welch 2007), while Australian universities are now "one of the largest users of the Temporary Business Migration visa categories, introduced in the late 1990s" (Hugo 2005a: 217).

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[16]The worldwide diaspora is estimated at 180 million, with the Chinese diaspora alone accounting for some 35 million.

## *Mobilising the Intellectual Diaspora*

The resources of the intellectual diaspora (both material and intellectual) are, however, not altogether lost to the source country. Overall remittances by the diaspora, which in most developing countries, particularly in the Philippines and Mexico, now substantially outweigh official overseas development aid (ODA), help to defray some of the public investment in educating highly skilled labour, who then leave for abroad. Total formal remittances worldwide, estimated by the World Bank to be US $72.3 billion in 2001 (World Bank 2003, Kapur and McHale 2005: 135) and US $167 billion for 2005 (World Bank 2006: 107)[17], are now nearly four times the size of official development assistance (ODA).[18] As an example, in the Asia-Pacific region, while ODA in 2004 actually showed an outflow of US $4.5 billion, the nett inflow of remittances was US $17.6 billion (Kapur and McHale 2005:137) (and informal channels would boost this number considerably).[19] Remittances to China were estimated by the World Bank to have been US $21.3 billion in 2004, while even modest-sized socialist market economies such as Vietnam are now attracting several billion per year; in each case, some of this flows into the education sector.[20] While the size of informal remittances makes total flows difficult to gauge precisely, evidence suggests that households which receive remittances invest more, including in education, than households that do not. In some cases, migrants seem to stipulate that their remittances are used for education, thereby often helping to reduce household poverty levels, (although not necessarily levels of inequality) (World Bank 2006: 117–133). Some studies show a rise in spending on education of between 45 and 58% by families in receipt of remittances, including from abroad, although it should be stressed that this data are correlational and no causal attribution should be inferred (World Bank 2006a: 8).

The second means by which the diaspora assists the source country is more fluid. Returnees, sometimes christened the re-aspora, constitute a major resource, which countries around the world are keen to mobilise. Current trends towards temporary migration mean more highly qualified workers are returning, including in the research and development (R&D) field. Many bring much-needed skills, techniques, knowledge and contacts, of considerable benefit to the source country:

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[17]Other World Bank reports give a much higher figure – *International Migration, Remittances, and the Brain Drain* cites a figure of US $216 billion for 2004 (World Bank 2006a:17), with US $150 billion going to developing countries.

[18]However, if debt relief is included, then OECD estimates ODA at US $106.5 billion in 2005 (OECD 2006: 9).

[19]Notoriously difficult to estimate precisely, if informal flows are also taken into account, total remittances may be as much as 50% higher.

[20]For China totals, see World Bank (2006: 90) and for Vietnam see, New York Times, April 27, 2006. For positive educational effects, see Yang and Martinez (2006: 112–115). For examples of overseas investment in third world higher education, see, inter alia, Welch 2005.

> Like the Greeks who sailed with Jason in search of the Golden Fleece, these new Argonauts undertake the risky but economically rewarding project of starting companies far from established centres of technology (Saxenian 2006: 3).

This is clearly evident in the changing numbers and proportions of the Chinese knowledge diaspora, where rates of return have risen significantly in recent years, in light of China's economic boom and greater openness. Nonetheless, it remains true that many of China's best and brightest remain abroad. Of the almost 1,076,000 students and scholars who studied and trained abroad between 1978 and 2006, only 275,000 have returned.[21] Throughout the 1990s, substantial outflows occurred of graduates from China's top universities: Almost 40% of Physics, Chemistry and Biology graduates of Peking University went abroad as self-supported students (Zhang, and Li 2002: 189–200). In response, China has introduced key national programmes to encourage returnees, even temporarily: the Yangtze River Scholars Awards, the *Chunhui Jihua* (Spring Light) and the *Wei Guo Fuwu* (Serve the Nation) strategy (Zweig and Fung 2004). In addition, leading universities have introduced non-resident fellowship schemes, sometimes termed *Yaling Moshi* [Dumbbell]. These schemes are key ways to recruit China's knowledge diaspora. Equivalent push and pull factors operate for the highly skilled Russian Jewish diaspora in Israel, numbers of whom are contemplating return to Russia, and for Israeli engineers and entrepreneurs who have established strong links with Silicon Valley over the past 25 years or so (Saxenian 2006: 104–114, The Australian May 12th, 2004).

Even here, however, further qualifications must be made. First, of those who choose to return, their welcome cannot always be assumed. Most evident in East Asia, long-standing notions of hierarchy, respect for age and tradition in Confucian-influenced societies, are associated with peer jealousy, and lack of acceptance of returnees, with foreign qualifications, linguistic facility and experience (Welch 2005d: 58–78, Yang 2002, Saxenian 2006: 100, Mochizuki 2004: 201–224). Second, those who choose to remain abroad often continue links with the homeland, which are both physical and, increasingly, virtual. A recent UNCTAD study showed that of a surveyed 1500 knowledge workers from China and India, who were employed in Silicon Valley, 50% return home at least once a year, while 5% return at least five times (UNCTAD 2003, Saxenian 2006: 95 ff., Welch and Zhang 2008a and b). Moreover, some 50% of Chinese surveyed (and a significantly higher proportion of Indians) intended to start a business in their home country. Certainly, the impact of returnees on Taiwanese research and development, especially in areas such as computing and in the well-known Industrial Parks of the Hsinchu region, has been profound (World Bank 2006). Of 289 companies in the Hsinchu Science-based Industrial Park (HSIP), 113 (39%) were founded by the US-educated Taiwanese engineers with experience in Silicon Valley. These same firms, and others in the HSIP, actively recruit other Taiwanese from Silicon Valley; indeed, some 70 such firms maintain offices in the Valley, both to recruit personnel and to gain new ideas and knowledge, to build their businesses (Saxenian 1999,

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[21] Although, of course many are still studying overseas. See Cai (2008), Zweig and Fung (2006).

Saxenian 2006, Vertovec 2002). Nonetheless, returnee technological entrepreneurs and academics often struggle to unseat long-standing, 'familial, opaque and frequently corrupt business practices' (Saxenian 2006:326), as well as local financial, political and regulatory conditions that inhibit technological development, and perceptions that such returnees are no longer "true" locals (see for example, Goodman 1990 and Mochizuki 2004, especially the treatment of *Kikokoshijo*).

Even those who choose to remain abroad, however, are often willing and able to contribute, increasingly employing complex neural networks to contribute to research and development. Papers can be sent electronically, advice given and contacts passed, on a daily basis. Scholarly articles and research projects can be undertaken jointly by colleagues with the same language and research interests. The intellectual diaspora can contribute much-needed skills: theoretical, empirical and linguistic/cultural. Thus, programmes that establish incentive schemes to encourage returnees to contribute to R&D, including in public sector institutions, are only part of the response by countries of origin to the issue of brain drain:

> . . . governments could set up special investment procedures and incentives to attract diaspora investment, set up systems to track the diaspora and to institutionalise and develop the diaspora network for investment, research and training, securing projects and contracts, and for collaborative ventures (OECD 2004).

Here again, however, the disparities wrought by globalisation are evident. A recent National Science Foundation (NSF) paper on cyber infrastructure (CI) underlined the growing importance of this phenomenon: countries who failed to move swiftly to take advantage of it would be left behind. The scope is immense, it was argued, for CI to reduce distance, time and disciplinary boundaries. New methods of computation, visualisation, collaboration, intelligent instruments and data mining could be shared among researchers across national boundaries. Indeed, in an era of global communications where virtual research communities are of growing importance, CI is intrinsically international: "Crucial data collections in the social, biological and physical sciences are now online and remotely accessible" (NSF 2002: 1). This is certainly the case for comparative educationists, too, for whom the increasing accessibility to detailed statistics, reports and information on contemporary policies and practices, remotely, is critical.

Most evident in the sciences and engineering, the potential for such national and international "collaboratories" is great and increasingly recognised. However, the costs of developing the supercomputing needs, data storage capacity and associated technical infrastructure were estimated by the NSF as not less than US $990 million per year, something that only the United States, or perhaps the EU, could contemplate. Notwithstanding such disparities, the potential for exploiting complex international neural knowledge networks is also great for other countries and regions and has the potential to shrink distance, enhance quality and reduce time taken for research. As the market in the Asia- Pacific region increases for sophisticated IT products, this trend will only strengthen. China and India are already the largest and fastest-growing markets for wireless technologies, while the Asia-Pacific's share of consumption of semi-conductors has quadrupled in 15 years: from 6% in 1985 to

25% in 2000. By 2010, it has been estimated that its share will reach 46% (16% in China alone) (Saxenian 2006: 331).

While the potential for INKNs to be of mutual benefit to assist with research and development in the source country, and to mitigate disparities of the global knowledge network, actual processes of collaboration are nonetheless complex, and at times difficult. In ongoing research on such networks among Chinese academics, for example, all interviewees emphasised the importance of building and sustaining such trans-national networks, especially with mainland colleagues, with whom, it was felt, much cultural and linguistic background was shared (Welch and Zhang 2008a and b). This promoted ease of interaction, while the courtesy and industry of many Chinese colleagues were widely appreciated by interviewees. At the same time, status issues intruded into interactions on occasion within a strongly hierarchical Chinese system, while gender was also a factor (female respondents noted the importance of building their career before building collaborative relationships). Further constraints included the relative lack of development of their scientific field in China (which included limits of research methodology and resources, as well as a greater emphasis on income generation than on scientific research) and issues of responsiveness. Some interviewees lamented that after an initial enthusiastic reception in China, and promises of further collaboration, no follow-up ensued, despite repeated attempts on their part. This led to a degree of frustration: "... where can I find a bridge for building the linkage? There is no answer" (Welch and Zang 2007). Some interviewees oscillated between positive and negative responses, after failed attempts to build collaboration. Too often, it was argued, the mission of the delegation often ended when their visit ended. Stratification among Chinese institutions, and among disciplines, was also listed as an important variable: "In China, top level is top, internationally top. But the medium level is quite low" (Welch and Zhang 2005, 2008).

## Conclusion: Identity, INKNs and Comparative Education

Far from always being negative, the experience of exile can be enabling: the process of displacement can, at times, be generative or regenerative. Edward Said, himself an example, argued that "[E]xiles cross borders (and) break barriers of thought and experience" (Said 1984: 170). Stuart Hall characterised diaspora as the opposite of "... the old, the imperialising, the hegemonising form of identity" and sees diasporic identities as "... those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (Hall 1990: 235).

The diaspora experience is universally neither positive, nor negative; the importance of diversity should be acknowledged (Bhaba 1994: 3). Diasporic communities are replete with differences: "... the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable" (Bhaba 1994: 2). Some German intellectual emigres of the 1930s, for example, reflecting years later on their

experience, saw themselves as having been "exiled in paradise" (Heilbut 1990). Others, finding the new terrain too difficult and the intellectual and social translation disabling and dispiriting (perhaps partly because of the lack of a ready and sizeable cultural-linguistic network to sustain their cultural and intellectual work), left their initial entrepôt for another location (Karl Popper who fled initially to New Zealand in 1939, moved to London at the end of the war; Herbert Marcuse fled first to Switzerland, then to the United States) or returned home (as with Horkheimer, Adorno and Brecht, inter alia).[22] Such returnees underline Benjamin's allusion to "that element in a translation which does not lend itself to translation" (Benjamin 1969: 75, see also Bhaba 1994: 224–227, 1990: 314–315).

It remains an intriguing, if explicable, fact that with a few notable exceptions, such as those noted above, the intellectual foundations of comparative education, as well as many of its empirical pillars such as the development of databases and statistics, developed along national lines. Arguably paralleling fields such as comparative politics or comparative sociology, the development of the field failed to problematise the nation-state as the unit upon which comparison should be based (Smelser 1976, Øyen 1990, Goedegebuure and van Vught 1994: 1–34, Przeworski and Teune 1970).

The notion of the diaspora, embodying the key notion of interstices or in-betweenness (Bhaba 1994: 179–181), presents a further key challenge to the taken-for-granted status of the nation-state in comparative education. The development of knowledge diasporas, or INKNs, as with the Greek, Chinese and Jewish diasporas cited above, further challenge us to re-consider this assumption (Welch, A., and Zhang, Z., (2005, 2008a, 2008b). For comparative researchers, they hold out both the promise of new lines of research based on alternative premises. At the same time, they also herald, in concert with rises in new and denser forms of information technology, novel ways to conduct trans-national research in both the natural and social sciences.

> Of course, I hope Chinese can communicate and collaborate with one another at global level. For one thing, this can enhance the reputation of Chinese in international community. For another, it can strengthen China's competitiveness in global economy. I would like to cooperate with Chinese scholars at home and abroad. To me, this kind of cooperation will be more beneficial (Welch and Zhang 2005: 18).

The development of trans-national collaboratories via diasporic intellectual networks can promote research and development, both in the homeland and in the diaspora. "First generation immigrants like the Chinese and Indian engineers in Silicon Valley who have the necessary language, cultural and technical skills to function well in the US as well as in their home markets, have a commanding professional advantage" (Saxenian 2006: 5).

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[22]Home, itself, of course, was not even an agreed concept, as with Brecht, who as did the largest group of emigre German intellectuals, went to the socialist German Democratic Republic, rather than the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany. See Krohn (1987: 3).

Always and ever differently, the bridge escorts the lingering and hastening ways of men (sic) to and fro, so that they may get to the other banks... The bridge gathers as a passage that crosses (Heidegger 1971: 152–153 cited in Bhaba 1994: 4).

Selected Diasporic knowledge networks by region/country and type

| Country | Name of Network | Type of Network |
|---|---|---|
| Arab countries | The Network of Arab Scientists and Technologists Abroad (ASTA) | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| Argentina | Programa para la Vinculacion con Cientificos y Tecnicos Argentinos en el Exterior (Program for the Linkage of Argentine Scientists and Technologists Abroad) (PROCITEXT) | Developing Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| China | Chinese Scholars Abroad (CHISA) | Student/Scholarly Network |
| | Society of Chinese Bioscientists in America | Local Association of Expatriates |
| | Chinese American Engineers and Scientists Association of Southern California (CESASC) | Local Association of Expatriates |
| | Hua Yuan Science and Technology Association | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| Colombia | The Colombian Network of Researchers and Engineers Abroad (Red Caldas) | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| France | Frognet | Student/Scholarly Network |
| India | Silicon Valley Indian Professionals Association (SIPA) | Local Association of Expatriates Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| | Worldwide Indian Network | Developing Intell/Scien Diaspora Networks |
| | Interface for Non Resident Indian Scientists and Technologists Programme (INRIST) | |
| Ireland | The Irish Research Scientists' Association (IRSA) | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| Israel | Silicon Israeli Valley American Networking (SIVAN) | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| Latin America | Asociation I.attino-americaine de Scientifiques (Latin American Association of Scientists) (ALAS) | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| Poland | The Polish Scientists Abroad | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| Taiwan | Monte Jade Science and Technology Association | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| Venezuela | In Contact with Venezuela | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| | El Programa Talento Venezolano en el Extrior (Program of Venezuelan Talents Abroad) (TALVEN) | Developing Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |
| South Africa | South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA) | Intell/Scien Diaspora Network |

Supplemented and adapted from Meyer and Brown (1999). See also Saxenian's list, *The New Argonauts*, pp. 341–346.

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# Chapter 16
# The Role of the Nation-State Reconsidered

**Thyge Winther-Jensen**

The following is not so much a paper as a comment on the discussions in the working group I was co-chairing during the conference. In several of the presentations, it was widely held that the role of the nation-state had peaked. Some years ago when I published the book *Comparative Education* with the subtitle: *Scientific Tradition and Global Challenge* (Winther-Jensen 2004), I took the same position. The book was written during the heydays of the Lisbon Declaration (2000), which intended to turn Europe into "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion". Globalisation was a hot theme, and I was further influenced not only by writers who declared the end of the nation-state, like the Japanese Keniche Ohmae in *The End of the Nation State* (Ohmae 1995), but also by writers with a more moderate point of view, e.g. Anthony Giddens (Giddens 1991, 1999).

Since then I have become more sceptical to assuming that the role of the nation-state has peaked.

There are two reasons for that: a *political* and an *educational* one.

1. A convention with the former French President Giscard d'Estaing as chairman committed to paper the original Lisbon Constitution, but it was rejected through referendums in France and the Netherlands (2005/2006) – two countries which were considered among the most devoted to the European idea. In order to save the constitution, a reformed treaty was made but – as said by Giscard d'Estaing – "The treaty of Lisbon is the same as the rejected constitution. Only the format has been changed to avoid referendums" (October 27, 2007). And on June 12, 2008, the Irish population voted "no" to the reformed treaty. Ireland, to my knowledge, is the only country with a constitution which requires a referendum before ratification of the treaty. In the other member states, the ratifications can be made by the parliaments alone without referendums.

T. Winther-Jensen (✉)
Danish University of Education, Copenhagen, Denmark
email: twj@dpu.dk

Without doubt, the Irish "no" will have a strong impact on the Danish attitude to the EU. At the beginning of June 2009, the Danes would have voted "yes" to a removal of the four reservations on the Euro, on justice, on defence and on European citizenship (the last reservation is now irrelevant as it has been taken out of the new treaty) and for full membership, but the latest polls (July 2008) indicate a dramatic swing in the Danes' attitude to the EU after the Irish "no", and my guess is that the attitude among Danish voters does not differ considerably from the attitude in other Scandinavian and European countries.

Today, if we look at the situation in the Danish Parliament, there is a big majority for full membership of the EU, but the polls also indicate that the majority of the population would vote "no" to a removal of the reservations if they got the chance to vote in a referendum today.

To sum up: Apparently there is a wide gap between what the elites want and what the majority of the populations feel and wishe. Apparently, the idea of the nation-state still has a strong grip on the populations in Europe.

The words which the politicians use include the European idea, more and better information, survival in the competition between US and the Far East, the consequences of globalisation, the need of new knowledge for economic growth, social cohesion and the nation-state being too small for the big problems and too big for the small problems.

The adversaries of the EU, on the contrary, see the EU as a project organised to serve an elite not enjoying common and public support, as a bureaucratic monster and as a centralised institution setup for decisions taken far away and badly adjusted to local needs. Even right-wing voters who used to be rather much in favour of the EU increasingly look at the EU as a social democratic project, representing centralisation, political correctness and illiberal ideas.

It is up to the politicians to solve the problems they are now stuck in after the Irish "no", but apparently the nation-state has proved far stronger than earlier anticipated. And we are not just talking about nationalism. Contrary to the EU, the nation-state still enjoys common and public support in the European societies, partly because of its histories, traditions and identities, partly because it has formed the framework of the modern welfare state, and in Scandinavia of the so-called flexicurity model, which means that the population is willing to accept both high taxes and a flexible labour market as long as it is combined with a high degree of social security. Apparently, there is still a huge gap between the confidence, with which the political elite and the populations meet the EU institutions and the national institutions.

2. There have always been strong relations between policy and education, although the two should not become mixed up conceptually. Education has been used as a promoter of political visions. In the Middle Ages, it was the Catholic Church which formulated the "universal text" upon which education was built. To transform the "text" into practice, schools and universities gradually developed. An important element in the universal text was "the seven liberal arts", which served as a curriculum for the whole Western world. In this connection, I admire a classic work by the German writer Joseph Dolch, with the title *Lehrplan des Abendlandes*

(The Curriculum of the Western World). It describes in detail the history and development of "the seven liberal arts" as well as the history of the Western curriculum from the ancient Greeks to the present day.

In the wake of the Reformation and the Enlightenment period, the European curriculum broke up into national curricula with their different values and priorities, and certain languages (now proclaimed national) were elevated to official teaching languages instead of Latin. Since the Middle Ages, there has been no common European curriculum and no common teaching language. Closest to something similar were the socialist countries between 1945 and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, when courses in Russian and Marxist theory were compulsory.

What we experience today is that the international organisations – after the ideological vacuum which arose after the fall of the Berlin Wall – try to conquer the scene with a new universal text. The new text and the concepts associated with it, lifelong learning, competencies, etc., are produced in close cooperation between the national governments and the supranational organisations, like UNESCO, OECD and the EU. It is a development pushed forward by globalisation, the technological development and the increased competition among the nation-states. To survive the competition, the nation-states are forced to increase their cooperation. Development of knowledge societies has become a competition parameter.

But again, the split between EU and the populations of the nation-states which we experience on the political scene is repeated on the educational scene. Let me use my own country as an example.

On the one hand – primarily in higher education – we adopt the guidelines of the supranational organisations. The Bologna Process, which was associated with – some would say hijacked by – the EU in 2001 has been incorporated in the new University Act and brought in line with the aims of the Lisbon Declaration. Curricula are now rewritten in terms of lifelong learning and competencies. It might be seen as a first step to introducing a modern version of a European/Western curriculum, but in my experience there is no enthusiasm involved by those who are supposed to put it into practice. More often it is shrugged off as rhetoric and fancy words. And maybe the Bologna process is just another tool for the national elites to employ. Sheltered behind the Bologna process, they are now legitimated to introducing reforms they wanted all the time.

Even worse might be that the national politicians – legitimated by the international rhetoric – now setup targets favouring special areas like engineering, natural sciences, health and communication studies – it might be in the form of biotechnology, food, environment, energy and information technology – rather than humanistic studies.

Just as we thought that planned economy had come to an end with the fall of the Berlin Wall, we experience its return through other channels. What is needed in a knowledge society, we are told, to a very high degree coincides with what the immediate job and labour market requires. The labour market, not disciplinary studies for their own sake, is the new navigator. Education has been reduced to a means to a new end.

On the other hand, we experience that the nation-state strikes back again and manifests itself in other respects. To illustrate this, I would like to mention the Culture Canon (Kulturkanon) that was published by the Danish Ministry of Culture in 2006. Seven officially appointed committees within architecture; visual arts; design, arts and crafts; film; literature; music; and art of stage were commissioned to point out and give their reasons for the selection of the twelve most outstanding Danish works within their respective areas. Later a "Children's culture" was added. The most interesting part might be the discussions the project gave rise to, especially at dinner tables. But why did the idea of a canon come up just now? One reason might be the feeling of a loss of identity in the wake of internationalisation. Who are we? Another reason might be a wish to establish a common frame of reference in a world dominated by mass media and atomised knowledge. In other words, to tighten up the values and the priorities on which education in the nation-state is built.

It would be a mistake to look upon the project as nationalistic project. Rather, it is an attempt to encircle Danish interpretations of international currents for identity purposes. As expressed by the Committee on Literature: "Good art is always national, national art is always bad" (http://www.kum.dk/sw33989.asp).

Apparently, the gap which we experience on the political scene is reflected on the educational scene. Or put in another way: For all pro-Europeans, it is important to realise that on the political and educational scene today there is a gap between the internationally oriented elites and the more nation-state oriented populations, which must be recognised and/or in some way or another overcome.

I shall leave the reader to his/her further consideration on the question and restrict myself to a couple of concluding questions:

(1) Are the Danish experiences similar to experiences in other parts of Europe? In Eastern Europe there has been a flurry of educational awakenings. In Western Europe, on the other hand, countries like Belgium and Spain seem to have some problems in terms of national cohesion. But are these examples necessarily a threat to the idea of the nation-state as a political organisation for education and other matters of social importance?

(2) Education was an important tool in the formation of the nation-state. Is education able also today to bridge the gap described above and in a wider sense to bridge the gap between the supranational organisations and the national institutions?

A conclusion to the question which was raised at the beginning of this comment: "Has the nation-state peaked?" must be that the answer is less self-confident than on previous occasions. As the apparently strongest and so far most relevant political organisation which large segments of the European populations are still very much devoted to, it might be problematic to associate it with a minor role in a foreseeable future. The conclusion, however, does not exclude that the role of the nation-state in terms of the expectations put to it might be reorganised, like other systems and organisations, to meet the new challenges from economy, science and technology in a changing world and, if possible, to put them under control.

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# Chapter 17
# Coda

**Dimitris Mattheou**

Exploring educational landscapes is certainly a demanding task, especially as contemporary landscapes do not remain static. Important sites can always escape the researcher's attention, and it is also possible that he/she may fail at the end to get a comprehensive view of the complex setting. Inquiry is after all a selective process, in the sense that the researcher is prepared to focus on specific aspects only and to employ methods of inquiry of his/her personal choice. Edmund King has long ago made this clear: "We see what we have learned to see. We bring all our history, our personality, our present emotions, and our required intellectual equipment to everything we look at" (King 1976: 15). Consequently, the only safeguard against subjective perceptions and unilateral conclusions is to compel ourselves, as King cautions "to take note of others' ideas, and compare notes for truer and more objective analysis" (King 1976: 15).

The reflective reader of this volume should be by now in a position to do exactly this: to compare notes taken from the study of the preceding chapters and reach some tentative general conclusions. Perhaps the most obvious conclusion is that ours is an era of transition. It may not be, in Stuart Hall's assessment, "an epochal shift, of the order of the famous transition from feudalism to capitalism. But we have had other transitions... whose impact has been extraordinarily wide ranging" (Hall 1990: 127). Indeed, contemporary changes in the educational context are extensive, rapid, and to certain extent radical. To some degree, they are also international in character. It is not surprising therefore that the educational agenda of the twenty-first century comprises new items and that educational discourses have been internationalized. The Bologna Process, for example, cuts across European borders, as Teichler points out, while quality education has become a matter of concern in countries as varied as the sub-Saharan ones, Pakistan, and Chile, as Tickly and Barret notice. Certainly, educational discourse and policies in a country have never been immuned against external influences. Since the nineteenth-century selective educational borrowing, educational developments abroad have never ceased to influence educational policies at

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D. Mattheou (✉)
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Athens, Greece
e-mail: dmatth@primedu.uoa.gr

home. Only this time, the phenomenon has taken new forms, as educational space has shrunk through globalization, the development of communication technologies, the increasing number of academic/intellectual networks, and the activities of international organizations. Teichler, Welch, Prokou, and Karatzia, among others, each from a different perspective, provide substantial evidence on the matter. As comparativists, however, all contributors in this volume underline the significance of the specific national/societal context; they appreciate that as policy discourse moves it "morphs" (Cowen 2008: 23). Musselin explores the metamorphosis of higher education markets, while Tickly and Barret criticize those mainstream conceptualizations of quality that disregard contextual historical, sociocultural, political, and economic forces. Hosoya and Talib on their part emphasize the role of social world views and values in Japan and Finland in forming the professional attitudes of prospective teachers. Papapolydorou, on the other hand, provides substantial evidence as to the importance of structural arrangements, namely the different "Welfare State Regimes" prevailing in England, Sweden, and Greece, in understanding the reasons that underpin access to equal educational outcomes. Finally, Winter-Jensen's critical commentary constitutes yet another warning against careless de-contextualization of educational policy on the grounds that the nation-state has peaked.

Of an international character is also the issue of multicultural education. Some countries, like India and Peru, have always been multicultural, while some others, like England and France, have, for decades now, had large minorities coming mainly from their former colonies. Still others have only recently become countries of massive immigration. All are faced with difficult problems: problems of preserving constituent cultural identities and protecting human rights while at the same time respecting national traditions and values, problems of integration and equal opportunity in inherently unequal and hierarchical societies. The educational dimensions of these problems are dealt with in many of the chapters of this volume. Gundara and Sharma, for example, discuss issues of difficult access to education for those young people who do not belong to the dominant group(s) in a society, as in the case of multicultural India and multiethnic England. They shed light on the implications to social cohesion that the exclusion of knowledge about and the language of minorities from the curriculum might have. On her part, Bravo explores the relationship that possibly exists between the EU and the Spanish policies on immigration with the values of Eurocentrism. From a different perspective, Limage also focuses on values: on the compatibility of secularism, the "neutrality" of educational knowledge and of equal opportunity through identical treatment by the contemporary French educational institutions with the needs and interests of large and diverse Muslim populations. All three chapters, together with that by Balodimas-Bartholomei and Alexiou, reveal the complexity and the multiple ideological and institutional dimensions of an issue that questions the fundamentals of national systems of education as they were enshrined during the nineteenth century.

Of equal significance is also the debate about the epistemological foundations of knowledge and of knowledge production, and the subsequent shift from intrinsic to extrinsic values pertaining to the functions of universities. In this connection, Garcia Ruiz and Prokou provide evidence as to the extent, the origins and the implications

of this paradigm shift. Some of the implications of this epistemological paradigm shift are already the object of hot political debate and of great concern in the academic community. Yet there are others that run deep; they gradually and tacitly prepare "regimes of truth" in education, some of which Sofou identifies in the social construction of notions like early childhood, the child, and the image of the early childhood teacher.

Finally, Kazamias reminds us that the most significant change in the contemporary educational landscape is perhaps the neglect for man himself. Not as an agent of knowledge production, a social actor or an entrepreneur, but as a human being with a *psyche*/soul and a *pneuma*/intellect. As a person who suffocates in the territory of the contemporary Cosmopolis, which has been deprived of the invigorating dialectical relation with the ancient Greek *paideia*, particularly the "*paideia* of the soul."

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