Class Choreographies

Elite Schools and Globalization

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Art Work

Note about the cover

The cover features 'Untitled' (2006) by Australian artist David Noonan. This artwork began as a collage: found imagery that Noonan pieced together from sources such as film stills, books, magazines, and his own archive photos. He then photographed the collage and turned it into a large-scale black and white screen print. The layering of these different techniques creates a commentary on artistic authenticity and mass media, while the content conjures up a dramatic scene of performance that obliquely relates to the class choreographies discussed in this book.

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Contents

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the British Empire was at the peak of its powers. On maps of the world, more than quarter of the earth's land mass was represented by the colour red, indicating the Empire's reach to almost all corners of the world. This reach was not only geographical, but also economic, political and cultural. The British Empire consisted of a complex system of economic and political arrangements tied, largely, to the colonial interests of the English ruling class. The question of how such a small group was able to secure global dominance is still widely debated amongst historians (Seth 2007). What has become clear, however, is that the British Empire was achieved not only through military conquest and strategic trade but also through the export of English cultural institutions. The colonial authorities regarded such institutions as crucial in forging local populations sympathetic to British interests. Chief amongst these cultural institutions were schools. They were expected to bring modernity to the colonies. It was through the colonial system of schooling that Western traditions of knowledge travelled to the colonies, usually via travelling principals, teachers and clergy. Despite some local opposition, over time, British-type schools became hegemonic institutions that sought to create subjects who possessed modes of interpreting the world that were loyal to colonial interests and, therefore, also to the class relations and formations that underpinned such interests.

Schools thus played a central role in the functioning of the Empire. Indeed, its sense of legitimacy depended partly on the work the schools

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did in developing in students a particular conception of belonging to the Empire, of being a British and a classed subject. During the second half of the nineteenth century, this recognition led to a great deal of activity in education throughout the Empire. New schools were established, driven by a wide variety of motivations aligned to the diverse local economic and political conditions that colonizers encountered. For example, in settler colonies such as Australia, the creation of new schools was considered necessary for bringing refined 'culture' to the settlers. In sub-Saharan Africa, schools were mostly run by churches and served the needs of the white, colonial expatriates. In the Caribbean, they were similarly designed to educate the sons of the plantation owners. In other parts of the Empire, schools were established to educate the clergy or the missionaries who could preach the Christian doctrines to the 'natives'. In India, while some schools were designed to produce graduates who could perform routine administrative tasks associated with colonial rule, others had higher ambitions. Their development was funded by the local aristocracy interested in working more closely and cooperatively with the colonial authorities. Self-consciously, they viewed themselves as elite schools.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, throughout the British Empire, certain schools came to be widely regarded as 'schools of distinction' (Seth 2007). This distinction was invariably assessed in terms of the extent to which they were modelled on the 'great public schools' of England—even as it was noted that such an achievement was unlikely under colonial conditions (Srivastava 1998, p. 45); Eton. for example, was assumed to possess the core qualities of an elite school. Indeed, as Lord Curzon (1902, cited in Srivastava 1998, p. 45), the Viceroy of India, argued, Indian elite schools could never be like Eton because, while class distinctions in England were based on an 'enlightened hierarchy' linked to 'the sentiments of class respect', in India they were trapped within a 'despotic' system of gradations. In Lord Curzon's opinion, Indian elite schools should, nonetheless, try to emulate the traditions of Eton, especially in the ways these encapsulated the key markers of British 'civilization'.

In this way, Lord Curzon regarded Eton as the gold standard to which the best of the elite schools scattered throughout the British Empire should aspire. Accordingly, the schools wishing to be elite mimicked many of the emerging traditions of English public schools, especially as these had been articulated in the recommendations of the 1864 Clarendon Report (see chapter 2). They accepted the most fundamental norms of the English

public schools, not only their academic curriculum and systems of learning and examination but also the traditions associated with their boarding schools, games and other rituals. And even as they recognized that they could not achieve the grandeur of the English public schools, many of them imitated their everyday practices. Such practices included a focus on 'learning the classics', together with rules around which study, games and leisure were organized, responsibilities were allocated and social control was ensured. The elite colonial schools placed a great deal of emphasis on building character and loyalty to the British Crown.

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Moving into the twentieth century, these schools began to change, somewhat, in light of the shifting historical conditions associated with nationalist independence movements. Some even produced graduates who went on to become leaders of national freedom struggles and, eventually, ministers and prime ministers of newly independent countries. Yet, arguably, the cultural imprints of their self-invention in the image of the English public schools never left them. And many prided themselves on their capacity for survival in the face of major wars, economic crises, shifts in social norms and cultural tastes and major political changes. They celebrated their ability to manage the complexities of societal change, adapting themselves to new circumstances while maintaining their own versions of public school tradition.

Under current conditions, many such schools continue to thrive. They claim and, indeed, are sometimes seen to have made a major contribution to the development of their societies and, more broadly, to projects of nation building. Such are the claims of their importance and such is their self-importance that they have happily taken on the mantle of 'elite schools'. They have been much celebrated across the countries of the former British Empire. And they have been much critiqued.

Researchers have responded to the allure of these schools' multiple significations, both as individual institutions and as part of wider educational, social, economic and political arrangements, in many ways. They have elucidated such schools' continuities, mutabilities and diversities, their systemic generosities to their elite clientele and their cruel impact on other schools and students further down the educational and social food chain. They have shown who they serve, how they serve them, on what terms and with what effects—who gains through them and who loses because of them; who and what they value and disdain; how such values

are impressed on members of the schools and expressed to the wider world and how these have changed over time.

Confronting Silences

Despite such outpouring of research and commentary some major silences exist. These silences are largely due to conventional conceptualizations of such schools and to associated frequent failures to see how various global historical processes have influenced them and have led them to rethink their modes of operation. Such silences inspired our inquiries. They led us to consider how past and present processes of globalization have led these schools to imagine and reimagine themselves into being. Broadly, we ask how have they claimed and retained their social distinctions, while also negotiating various global forces.

We provide an analysis of the changing ways in which such elite schools' social and educational sensibilities have been, and are being, reconfigured in globalizing circumstances. Our analysis is based on an illustrative, multi-sited global ethnography comprising seven 'elite' schools, one each in Australia, Barbados, England, Hong Kong, India, Singapore and South Africa.[1,2] All these schools were founded at some stage during the rule of the British Empire and all adopted, in one way or another, a British public school model. We deliberately include a focus on the period of Empire as it represents an earlier, but lingering, globalizing world characterized by high degrees of connectivity and circulation (Appadurai 2013) and, therefore, provides us with a means to historicize processes of contemporary globalization and their impact on these schools' social purposes and practices.

Examining the social purposes and practices of elite schools unavoidably directs us to highly contested conceptions of social class, the power relations that are implicated within and between classes and associated notions of elites, elitism and eliteness. In bringing a historical sensibility to questions of class, we have been inspired, in the first instance, by E.P. Thompson's classic study *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). He understands class as 'an historical phenomenon, unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw material of experience and in consciousness' (p. 9). Obviously, unlike Thompson, we are considering the dominant class, not the working class. But, in sympathy with his methodology, we focus on how the socially dominant bring themselves and their others into being.

From Thompson's perspective, class is not an airy-fairy abstraction. He eschews analyses that invoke fixed structures and categories and that simply slot people into them. To him, class is not merely about social position, composition and opposition but 'is something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships' (Thompson 1963, p. 9). Certainly such human relationships, he illustrates, involve the production of systemic inequalities and injustices, as well as shared social, political and cultural experiences, communities and consciousness—shared solidarities and hostilities. However, these do not arrive out of thin air through some mysterious process of social alchemy. Such class relations and formations are 'made', he says.

For us, as for Thompson, class is constantly in the making, restlessly in motion, on the offensive here, on the defensive there, projecting itself, protecting itself. It is never finished forever, doors locked and bolted. To say class is 'made' is to acknowledge the conscious and unconscious efforts of those involved in its making. It is to recognize that people make class out of the 'raw materials', or means, available to them in their different and highly lop-sided material and discursive circumstances. Indeed, it is to recognize that classes shape, but are also shaped by, such circumstances. Furthermore, as Hall argues, the discursive and material aspects of class, race, nation and ethnicity (and, we would add, gender) *articulate* with each other. He says that articulation is:

> The form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances can a connection be forged or made? … The 'unity' which matters is a linkage between the articulated discourse and the social forces with which it can, under certain historical conditions, but need not necessarily, be connected. (Hall in Grossberg 1996, p. 53)

Articulations are conjunctural and, at the same time, structural. They are made to matter and are thus not inevitable. A question for us throughout, then, is what other 'social forces' has class connected with—and why have such connections been forged?

So, along with Thompson and Hall,[3] we argue that to study class is to examine how class is choreographed and how choreographies of class, in Hall's terms, work to articulate, disarticulate and rearticulate certain formations of dominance. It is to examine the people and groups involved,

the class moves they make; and the class-roles they adopt, are allocated and perform. It is to study the events and organizations that they are part of, their operations, the things that they press into the service of class, the bodies, energies and emotions mobilized, the problems addressed, the achievements, the bereavements.

To study class is also to scrutinize the arrangements whereby history becomes habit and whereby habit produces history, as Gramsci (1971/99) so powerfully points out. It is certainly to identify long-standing practices, repeated patterns of behaviour, the role of custom, routine and convention. Importantly, it is not only about identifying such repetition but is also about identifying the effort of class invention, ingenuity and imagination. And such effort, we argue, includes the creative recruitment of other relations of power, those associated with gender, race, religion, nation, mobility and spatiality. Conversely, class is also recruited by such power relationships. So, to study class is to recognize that it is not configured in the same fashion over time and place. It travels, and settles, in many guises, with different companions. Of course class is configured, in certain ways, by the organization and operation of the economy, by who owns and controls what and where, who obtains what from whom and how and to whom and in what ways the power and rewards are distributed. But it is also configured elsewhere—taken to, and instigated, in many other places and spaces and on diverse scales.

Thompson argues that 'we cannot understand class unless we see it as a social and cultural formation, arising from processes which can only be studied as they work themselves out over a considerable historical period' (1963/80, p. 18). The related historical processes that are of most interest to us are associated with certain globalizing circumstances—the colonial, the postcolonial-national and the contemporary global. Postcolonial theories of colonialism and theories of globalization have challenged those interpretations of sociality that are either explicitly or implicitly nation-bound. With a focus on transnational invasion and trade, conquest, plunder and settlement and, more benignly, on transnational asymmetrical flows of money, things, people and ideas, such theories have destabilized many conventional notions of social class. Unlike Thompson's they have invited us to consider how 'history makes geography' (Appadurai 2013) and, by implication, how both, together, make social class in ways that may include but also transcend national borders. They have offered conceptualizations of class formations and relations that involve transnationality or that merge the transnational and the national.

Currently on the table of class analysis are discussions about the apparent emergence of a contemporary, transnational capitalist class (TNC), of global elites and their various fractions. For example, Sklair (2001) identifies four fractions:

> 1) Owners and controllers of the TNCs [transnational corporations] and their local affiliates (the corporate fraction), 2) globalizing bureaucrats and politicians (the state fraction), 3) globalizing professionals (the technical fraction), and 4) merchants and media (the consumerist fraction). (p. 17)

Sklair (2001) observes that the transnational corporate fraction is the most powerful. Nonetheless, he also argues that the leading representatives of each fraction constitute an 'inner circle' which gives 'a unity to the diverse economic interests, political organizations and cultural and ideological formations of those who make up the class as whole' (p. 21). Those in the 'inner circle' are usually identified as the global elite. On the fringes of the outer circles of these fractions are those who are often thought of as members of a mobile global middle class. They usually provide an assortment of very well-paid professional services—law, finance, management, administration, communications, entertainment—to such fractions and thus their material and discursive interests are aligned with them, even though they have neither the power nor the wealth of those they service. Current discussions of class include debates about the relationships of such immensely and moderately powerful groupings to the dominant and middle classes and class fractions of the nation-state. They include assessments of regional concentrations of the TNC, which are said to be disproportionally linked to the United States of America (USA) and Europe, but with rising concentrations in various parts of Asia.

Such discussions also involve debates about whether the global 'economic process of capital accumulation' (Carroll 2010, p. 35) is matched by socio-cultural processes of class-making. This raises related questions. At this stage, has the TNC become a class that is already conscious *of itself* and acts *for itself*, is such class-consciousness emerging or is it too soon to say? Do the shared, although fractional, social, political and cultural experiences of the TNC contribute to a shared sense of class commonality and of class antagonism on a global scale? Similar questions apply to the global middle class. While these particular debates remain open there is no shortage of research which argues that the TNC, and its elite pinnacle, are

a class *in formation* and that such formation involves the making of relatively new collective class subjects. For example, Elliott and Urry (2010) look at such things as the working conditions, lifestyles, speed and travel addiction and territorial and emotional detachment of very powerful, and very ruthless, global businessmen. Others focus specifically on their lives and lifestyles and, particularly, their lavish modes of consumption. The mentality that prevails is one where the winner-takes-all, deserves-all and gives only what is required. Yet others explore further the relationship of such groups to the nation-state, showing that it is predicated on opportunism and illustrates little or no commitment to the state as a mechanism for social redistribution and amelioration but certainly sees the state as important for policing economic and social crises and for subordinating the insubordinate.

These debates certainly provide a warrant for our research about the changing social purposes of elite schools and about whether, the extent to which, and how, elite schools are becoming involved in such transnational class-making and the ways in which other relationships of power are implicated.

This book is based on the conviction that an understanding of the social and educational purposes and practices of our research schools, and others like them, requires an analysis of the ways they have configured and reconfigured themselves, in relation to the changing historical forces of capitalism, colonialism, postcolonial nationalism and key features of contemporary globalization. Of course, we acknowledge that the national remains an important influence on such purposes and practices. Indeed, as the nations in which they are located have, over time, sought to imagine themselves afresh (Anderson 1983), the schools have, as we will show, made adjustments. But they have also changed in the light of intersecting, but wider, social conditions and of the fresh imaginings that accompany them.

We suggest that elite schools play an important part in the processes surrounding such reimagination. They have come to represent, and represent themselves, as providing a mode of sociability worthy of emulation; as the acme of education and as being most able to contribute to the construction of nationhood in fundamental ways. Certainly most are best resourced to take advantage of emerging forms of global circulation and relations. We illustrate how they have been caught up in older social and educational solidarities and how these are expressed in present-day, global times. But we also show how these schools invite and invent new solidari-

ties as they explore how best to capitalize on contemporary globalizing circumstances.

Overall, we argue that elite schools around the world are positioned at the intersecting pinnacle of various scales, systems and regimes of social, cultural, political and economic power. They have much in common but are also diverse. As such, they invariably express both the experiential densities and diversities and the broader asymmetrical patterns of social life. They illustrate how various modalities of power are enjoyed and put to work and how educational and social inequalities are shaped and shifted. Thus, they speak to the social zeitgeist. How these elite schools are working with the changing configurations of the global, locating themselves on expanding scales, interpreting and capitalizing on the emerging forces and forms of global circulation, building and exploiting the opportunities of global connections and meeting the challenges of fragmentation—in short, reinterpreting their social role—are the central concerns of this book.

Our gaze is, thus, on the schools' complex global choreographies of class. And our method is ethnography; but not ethnography-as-usual. The issues we address require an ethnographic approach that is not only historically sensitive but that rethinks conventional ethnographic understanding of space and time. Hence, we turned to notions of global and of multi-sited ethnography and developed the approach we call multi-sited global ethnography (Kenway 2015). Our arguments are built upon data generated through this approach and produced by six authors in relation to seven elite schools, all either established or renovated in the nineteenth century, across the British Empire. Our focus is on the ways in which these elite schools are caught up in the changing social conditions of globalization. We are particularly interested in how globalization is impacting on their social purposes and on the social groups that they are said to conventionally serve and in the ways in which they are involved in attempting to secure advantage for social groupings that exist through and beyond the nation-state on the regional and the global stage. Such foci have led us to locate the traces that remain of their colonial and postcolonial national sensibilities and to identify how these are currently expressed. They have also led us to examine the ways that the schools are attempting to align themselves to contemporary global circumstances—how they understand current global conditions and opportunities and how such understandings are altering what they see as their educational and social purposes—their aspirations. In other words, how are they making class, not only in national but also in transnational space?

To explore these matters, within the schools themselves, we found it helpful to complement Thompson's perspective on class fluidity and complexity with Williams' (1977) greater specificity with regard to matters of cultural dynamics. He suggests that these involve dominant, residual and emergent elements. Via such categories, he acknowledges the complex and contradictory character of culture. He usefully draws attention to its subversive and oppositional elements but also offers a historical heuristic for finding patterns in the messy, everyday class cultures of a school. Further, Williams' categories suggest an approach to history that is not linear or framed around binary notions of continuity and discontinuity. They potentially offer a disruptive sense of history, one that arises from bringing together different and multiple fragments, temporalities and spatialities that are variously entangled. Further, they invite us to attend to the diminutive instantiations of such entanglements.

Elaborating on Williams' approach to analysis of cultural dynamics, Hall (1996, p. 235) uses the idea of conjuncture to identify 'a period during which the different social, political, economic and ideological contradictions that are at work in society come together to give it a specific and distinctive shape'. A conjuncture, Hall notes, is not defined by time or by obvious things like a change of regime but by the complex, historical meeting point of forces and institutions where things change and where new connections are wrought, in a more or less coherent fashion. This conjunctural approach helps us to consider how 'relatively autonomous' sites, such as schools, which have different origins and are driven by different contradictions, nevertheless fuse, or are condensed, in the same historical conjunctures.

In this way, a conjunctural perspective informed the ways in which we understood global forces, in particular, British colonialism and its links to global capitalism and their lingering and shifting presence in postcolonial countries and in our research schools themselves. It was this conjunctural logic of associations (Marcus 2011) that informed our choice of research locations and schools. Our selected schools, which all draw their inspiration from the, post- or neo-Arnoldian, British, public school model and are all over 100 years old. Some predate Arnold's reforms at Rugby School in England but were significantly renovated in the second half of the nineteenth century. Each of these schools has produced many influential people and has many powerful connections. Their records illustrate considerable success in end of school examinations and entrance to prestigious universities, and they have excellent

reputations, mostly within the countries in which they are located but also, in some cases, beyond. The formal relationships between these schools and the nation-state in which they are located vary: some portray themselves as independent of government control (although not necessarily of influence and funding) and charge high fees, while others are shaped directly by state policies. Most are very well-resourced in comparison to the majority of other schools in the national education system that they are part of. Two are girls' schools, one is a boys' school and the remaining four are coeducational, although each began as a boys' school and only quite recently became coeducational. One of these is a boys' school up until the last two-year levels.

Mobilizing Multiplicities

Our methodological approach was developed in broad conversation with the sociology and anthropology of globalization—with their interest in the globally interconnected, inter-dependent and highly mobile world. More specifically, it was designed as a multi-sited ethnography following Marcus' (1998) argument that 'multi-sited' ethnographies are well placed to explore the 'complex connections' between sites that are associated with globalization. Further, Burawoy et al's (2000) sociological approach to global ethnography and their collective focus on three axes of globalization—global forces, connections and imaginations—were also central. Our approach thus involved distinctive notions of the research 'site' or 'field' and of ethnographic fieldwork. Each school's identity, curricula, culture, community and national milieu were matters of interest but not *per se*. Rather, our focus was on whether and how they intersected with global forces, connections and imaginations—how these were expressed by the schools and also how the schools sought to shape them.

Our design included three weeks per year over three consecutive years of fieldwork in each school. Our fieldwork was always in pairs or trios of researchers; at least one person had a history of connection to the country (country of origin and/or work-place), the other was a stranger. This produced a fruitful ethnographic tension between expected and unexpected lines of inquiry. While the two or three of us were at the sites, we gathered and generated data through conventional ethnographic, as well as other techniques. These included observations of institutional practices, events, documents and the schools' semiotic ecologies, interviews and

focus group discussions involving students, teachers and other staff, the school principal and leading members of the schools' governing body, alumni and parents' associations and also involved informal conversations with members of the school. Further, ten students from each school were interviewed in their second-last and final year of school and in their second year out of school. We observed school activities and events conducted beyond the school walls; for instance, school tours and charitable activities. We also visited other schools of different orders of wealth and standing in the vicinity.

But the matter does not stop there, for our multi-sited global ethnography was of the seven schools collectively. The questions that arose in one school provoked fresh lines of inquiry in others. Each school site was generative for the rest and this allowed us to identify connections between them, as well as patterns of convergence and divergence across the schools and their locations. We were, in a sense, 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1997) and our travels to, from, around and between these school sites also formed part of the study (Epstein et al. 2013). Our movement between the schools allowed us to comprehend different expressions of eliteness. Also, dwelling locally, when we undertook our fieldwork, allowed us to move about in the school's neighbourhood, suburb and city and to get a sense of the school in its place. This helped us gain a relational experience of the immediate geographies of inequality that these schools are part of (for example, see Kenway and Prosser 2015).

Further, space/time-altering technologies allowed our notions of 'the site' to be more fluid. We conducted fieldwork in virtual space that enabled us, between our annual visits, to keep up to date with our schools via their websites, relevant Facebook pages and local digital news items, interviewing students (once they left school and were scattered around the world) via Skype and staying in touch with their activities, where possible, via their Facebook pages, following the activities of relevant elite school organizations on their websites and, also, conducting project team meetings on Skype. Our study, then, was multi-sited and multi-method. But, importantly, it was also multi-perspectival.

Between us, there is certainly a 'family resemblance' (Wittgenstein 1973) across our research interests. But individual team members also brought to the project various biographies in the countries involved as well as different disciplinary, theoretical, methodological and political perspectives. This plurality provided various conceptual angles of scrutiny but, collectively, they reminded us to explore how, across and in time and

place, choreographies of class articulated to other relations of power—particularly caste, gender, race, nation, mobility and spatiality. In turn, this led us to examine how these multifarious and crosscutting power relationships are expressed through the schools and how the schools help to shape them. Further, our collective, but differently understood, interest in relational analyses brought into the frame the constitution of subaltern populations in, through and around elite schools. Our other differences include our writing styles. These are on display here and in our other collective publications (for example, Kenway and McCarthy 2014; Fahey et al. 2015).[4] We have not attempted to smooth out these pluralities for they speak to the scoping optics that guided our inquiries: they feature the multi-sighted.

We have activated the term 'scoping optics' figuratively, not literally. Metaphorically, we deployed an ethnographic *telescope* to indicate that we conducted a more distant examination over time and space; an ethnographic *microscope* to indicate that we considered the fine grain of relevant aspects of each school and its surrounds; and an ethnographic *periscope*. A periscope is a long, tubular, optical instrument that uses lenses, prisms and mirrors to allow a viewer to see objects not in the direct line of sight. For us, much was not in 'the direct line of sight'—thus, our ethnographic work fits Marcus' 'non-obvious paradigm' (1999). The periscope metaphor reminded us to look for what could not be seen in just one school or country. It pointed to the necessity of seeing things from where we were not, in terms of our multiple sites and in terms of circulation. As Marcus says, multi-sited ethnography is designed to 'examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-space' (1998, pp. 79–80). It is concerned with the complex ways in which different sites are connected through these processes of circulation. The periscope metaphor allows for just such a 360-degree perspective, from multiple points of entry. Additionally, the lens, prism and mirror mechanisms of the periscope point to the significance of searching for different conjunctions, juxtapositions and disjunctions in our ethnographic enquiries. Plainly, these scoping optics are in the spirit of Thompson's notion of class-making, Williams' views about the patterns in cultural dynamics and Hall's conjunctural analysis. But they also require us to take Thompson's and Williams' ideas into the realm of the global.

All such optics are evident in the following chapters. In offering a flavour of the histories of our research schools, the first two chapters provide a telescopic perspective, focusing on England initially as that is where the

'public school' model first developed. Drawing critically on existing historical studies, we show, in chapter 2, how public schools and the public school system evolved in England and indicate how they were linked, over time, to shifting national and colonial social power relationships. In chapter 3, the focus moves from England to the pertinent colonies of the British Empire. We consider how colonialism, capitalism and Christianity were expressed in the different locations and how the English public school model was both reflected and refracted in local schools as new schools were established and as existing and very different types of schools changed their *modus operandi* and engaged in various modes of colonial mimicry.

The remaining chapters have more microscopic and periscopic foci and concentrate mainly on the schools in current times. They show how the schools, and their various members, try to articulate to various global forces, connections and imaginations while also attending to changing local and institutional specificities. Chapter 4 illustrates how, through their iconography and rituals, the schools marshal, represent and use their history and heritage as markers of prestige and success. These material and virtual resources are selectively mobilized in hyper-celebratory, highly ornamental ways. We concentrate on school principals in chapter 5 and on the various ways they seek to position their schools, staff and students on the global stage while, at the same time, trying to remain faithful to the schools' and the nations' roots. Their own biographies prove central to the manner in which, and how successfully, they navigate the tensions involved in practicing their global experiments. Curriculum is a contested terrain as different interests are at stake within and beyond the schools. In chapter 6, we point to the institutional tussles involved as the schools seek to reshape their curricula so that they intersect in the most propitious ways with global, national and local imperatives. The most significant disputations, we illustrate, involve examination systems, language studies and national versus international curricula. Mobility is the chief concern of chapter 7, where we identify some of the elite global circuits that the schools participate in. We show how the schools use the mobilities made possible through prestigious, transnational organizations of elite schools to assist them to produce leaders. And we draw out the details of some students' itineraries, thereby pointing to students' variegated geographic mobilities. These students' lives are largely lived through the prism of privilege and, in chapter 8, we concentrate on what this means for their politics. We probe the ways students engage their privilege, what they currently do with it and what they plan to do with it in their futures, pointing

to the political spectra across which they range. We conclude the book by drawing together the connections, conjunctions, juxtapositions and disjunctions that are involved when elite schools undertake class choreography on the global stage. And we consider how they might choreograph their futures as their own contradictions become more manifest and the challenges to their supremacy mount.

Notes

1. Also part of the project, but not discussed here, is the research, in various countries, of our PhD students; Howard Prosser (Argentina), Matthew Shaw (Cyprus), Mousumi Mukherjee (India), Shlomi Hanuka (Israel) and Alexandra Dunwill (Poland). Graduate students from the University of Illinois, Heather Greenhalgh-Spencer, Michelle Castro, Ergin Bulut, Koeli Goel, Chunfeng Lin and Brenda Sanya also worked on the Barbados study.
2. Throughout this book, every effort has been made by the authors to protect the identities of the schools and individuals participating in the study, and all names have been replaced with pseudonyms for anonymity. Similarly, primary sources that might identify schools have been referenced using an anonymous, generalized term (see note in References).
3. The fierce political and conceptual debates between scholars on the Left in Thompson's and Hall's time were illuminating and remain pertinent. For valuable contemporary accounts and reflections, see Fieldhouse and Taylor's (2013) edited collection.
4. In the Appendix we provide a list of the publications, to date, arising directly from the project.

CHAPTER 2

Little England's 'Public Schools'

If a composite history of the public schools is ever written it will be, in reality, the history of England since the British Empire has been in the main built up by the founders of the schools and the pupils who gained their knowledge and had their characters moulded in these institutions.

(Webster 1937, p. 9)

…traditional history has been written as an extension of the seamless narrative that is characteristic of the folktale. The narrative as an ordered discourse purporting to arrange the past as a sequence, as a march of events, and temporal unity is itself a form of ideology.

(Aronowitz 1981, p. 303)

The Presence of the Past

It may seem odd to begin a book on elite schools and their role in globalizing social relationships with a historical discussion of a tiny set of boys' 'public schools' in the small country of England (not Britain). So why do it? First, the particular model of elite schooling in the seven different former British colonies that we address began with these schools in England. Second, the very peculiar links between this type of school and dominant social groups/classes began there. Third, the elevated location of such schools within the wider education system also began there. Thus, when this particular model of schooling travelled to the

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many colonies of the vast British Empire, along with it went this public school history—not only of educational practices but also of power relationships.

Our contention is, then, that in order to understand both elite schools in the former British colonies, and the former colonies in relation to their elite schools, one must start with the history of the boys' public schools of England—not the equivalent girls' schools for they were not the prototype, although they modified it somewhat and their modifications also travelled, as we indicate in later chapters.

The boys' public schools of England have attracted long-standing and considerable historical attention so there is no shortage of secondary sources to turn to. This is hardly surprising given the substantial influence they have had over the structures, rituals and heraldry of much of the world's schooling—for example, prefects, houses, school uniforms and school crests with Latin mottoes. This attention has contributed to their significant stature in the educational, social and political imagination in England and also in the British colonies. Also, lauding public schools is not uncommon amongst historians. Our opening quotation from Webster (1937) is but one of countless examples.

Collectively, historical studies of public schools are a diverse legion. They range across a spectrum from backslapping, to 'disinterested', to disapproving. And they include various historical foci and approaches. We offer a conjunctural historical sketch drawing from across the range and focusing on different, but related, realms, namely, the institutional, cultural, political, curricular, social and the colonial, as they are portrayed in various histories. We also raise some critical questions about the orientations of, and absences in, the available historical studies.

Public schools for boys (mostly boarding schools) in England were established for many reasons and by all sorts of people and organizations (e.g., by powerful priests, royal charter, local charities, secular local merchants and even by, what today seems a strange hybrid, the 'gentleman commoner'). They were established for all sorts of boys too, including the local poor, the sons of 'poor gentlemen' and young 'noblemen'. Given today's schools' considerable differences from the schools that evolved long before the nineteenth century, regular claims about their lofty longevity seem to draw a rather long bow. But longevity is a hallmark of prestige, so histories of such schools' *longue durée* mainly do them a useful service, not entirely or always though, for closer inspection of their history also reveals that their beginnings, particularly if they were established

or endowed by charities, were often linked to the provision of schooling for those much further 'down' the social order. Where this is the case, the subsequent history of the public school is, in part, about the processes whereby it distanced itself from its more 'humble origins'.

The most common focus of public school historians is on the nineteenth century and into the very early twentieth century. The usual periodization is between1800 and 1864, and from then up to World War I. However, the nineteenth century, as a whole, is regarded as a period of major reform in these schools: in the first half because of the proclaimed flow-on effect of the legendary Thomas Arnold's reforms; and, since 1864, because of the outcomes of the landmark Clarendon Inquiry which was, in effect, the beginning of the public school *system* in England. But these histories cover various periods, with some going back to such schools' beginnings, at times dated as the end of the sixth century (although Webster 1937 says earlier), with their make-up shifting along with changes associated with the Reformation and the Renaissance (Mack 1939).

Most cultural and social histories of public schools employ a vast wealth of historical, literary, artistic and photographic documentation such as memoirs, personal testimonies, letters and recorded anecdotes (including gossip and scandal). Political and curriculum histories also draw on essays and polemics in the periodicals, pamphlets, the press and political journals of the time as well as from parliamentary inquiries and reports. There is often an extraordinary devotion to detail, some of which is intriguing, some dreary, but all is revealing if for no other reason than the fact that so much is regarded as worth recording and discussing. This begs the obvious question, why are these institutions and the lives of their students, staff, products and patrons regarded as so historically noteworthy?

Grandiloquence: The Great, the Good and the Unsung

Many studies are histories of individual schools. These are seldom more than institutional hagiographies; absolutely no historical self-distancing is involved. Mostly labours of love, they are invariably celebrations of a great institution's glory unfolding over extended time. The making of great men by great schools run, usually, by great men is the central motif of these conventional, linear, descriptive histories of growth and progress—with difficulties and dangers heroically overcome along the way. There is more than a whiff of a Whiggish approach to history about them.

Such histories implicitly teach moral lessons about the superiority of these schools, ascribed in part because of their proclaimed longevity and resilience. Much store is placed in ancientness. It is seen to signify stature; lengthy tradition is regarded as an elevated virtue and the work of school historians is to help preserve it. Indeed, Webster (op. cit.) devotes a chapter to each of 36 public schools and explicitly hopes that his 'volume will contribute to the perpetuation of those great traditions upon which so much of the influence and power of the British Empire has been built up' (1937, p. 11).

These celebratory histories appear to illustrate what an exalted school is and what other schools might aspire towards. But they also fit into a mode of historical and philosophical writing that was very widespread in the nineteenth century and popularized by Thomas Carlyle and his notion of the *Heroic in History* (1841). This mode is infatuated with 'greatness' and greatness is invariably male; these 'great public schools' were, as indicated, all boys' schools. But this approach, whereby great people are the only ones who introduce ideas and initiate events, was roundly criticized towards the end of the nineteenth century by those who argued that 'greatness' is socially produced (e.g. Spencer 1896). Nonetheless, greatness, as a key motif, certainly continued in the historical writing on public schools well into the 1980s and until now in the hagiographies.

The habit that some historians have of carefully tracing such schools' powerful and illustrious products does such institutional boasting and boosting no harm, even when it is, perhaps, intended simply as straightforward documentation or critical commentary. And the public schools certainly graduated men famous for their brilliance, from poets to scientists, from Byron to Darwin, but whether they can honestly claim responsibility for their achievements is another matter. Nonetheless, proudly claiming and profiling their famous products is a long-standing, public school practice, one from which we are meant to infer that such products are the norm.

School-centric grandiloquence is also the norm in such histories. Thus, it is necessary to point out that much of the education of privileged and powerful males took place outside these schools. Young 'noblemen' often had private tutors at home up until the second half of eighteenth century. And, for older sons, the education regarded as most crucial was 'in situ, either in their home or in the halls of others of their class and was connected to the control and management of their estates' (Weinberg 1967, p. 33). Most younger sons went, unspectacularly, into the clergy, the civil

service, the law or the armed services. Further, the education of young male gentry also often included the Grand Tour: foreign travel provided 'culture' and adventure. It was a marker of status and helped to cement economic connections and open up economic opportunities (Cohen 1992).

Closely aligned with this 'heroic in history' approach, although also with an eye to flaws and foibles, are the biographies and seemingly endless narratives and vignettes of individual headmasters—their longevity, achievements and failures in 'their' school, their battles with rambunctious staff, governing authorities and boys, their movements between schools, between schools and the church or between the school and teaching at Oxford or Cambridge, their role in public affairs (which, for some, was quite considerable) and, ultimately, whether and in what ways they were 'men of stature' (e.g. Percival 1975)

There is no doubt that the 'histories of headmasters' genre speaks of the considerable power that many headmasters wielded in their schools. They were responsible for every aspect of the school, especially after key Acts of Parliament in 1868/9 (more below). But it also speaks of the fact that they were seen to 'embody the public school ethos' (Simon 1975, p. 12). They regarded themselves as superior men. Perhaps no school principal has ever been more chronicled than the much-lionized Thomas Arnold (e.g. Robbins 1959; Schulte 2007). Headmaster of Rugby from 1827 to 1842, he is acknowledged as instituting many of the reforms that came to characterize the distinctive ethos of the Victorian 'public school' in his time. The cultivation of strict religious morality and the centrality of the school chapel, of elevated character, the ideal of 'service' and the insistence on boy governance through prefects were amongst its key features. This ethos remained but altered over the course of the nineteenth century and transmogrified into the cultivation and cult of games, athletic virtue and muscular Christianity discussed further below. Many argue the notion of character derived directly from Arnold. But, as Wilkinson (1964) points out, in the adult world of the English gentry, privilege, duty and service were tightly linked; high social status was associated with moral superiority and responsibility.

Although a legendary figure, Arnold is also controversial (Mack 1939). There are concerns about the one-sided historical glorifications of his achievements, disputes about his actual influence and suggestions that his extreme religiosity and strictly enforced moral codes sowed the seeds of later problems associated with the blind worship of games and athleti-

cism (Honey 1977). However, few historians question the implicit view of history involved here, in which so much agency is located within one man. Can Arnold be regarded as a motor force or was he more a reflection of the tendencies of his times? For some, Arnold is seen to have personified the links between the Church of England and these schools. Beyond this, though, he also was amongst those who pushed the idea of the 'church-state', largely through the Broad Church Movement which owed much to the public schools. The idea, here, was that 'Christian doctrines and moral values should flow through the life blood of the nation' (Chadwick 2001, p. 13). Arnold is regarded as an instigator and exemplification of the Evangelical revival then sweeping through England in the first half of the nineteenth century (Bamford 1967) and which faded in the second half.

Predictably, given their much lower status in the institutional pecking order and their more ambiguous social class location, other masters attract less historical attention, although their evolving working and living conditions are of some interest as are their movements between like schools, including public schools and grammar schools, and the connections such movements forged which helped to consolidate the public school system in the later nineteenth century (Honey 1977; Simon 1975). That said, a few individual masters are lauded for their intellectual brilliance or provide amusement because of their widely recognized idiosyncrasies. Further, Mack (1939, pp. 30–5, 106, 160–6) discusses some of the many criticisms directed at masters 'for their failures to prevent tyranny and immorality', indeed, for their role in such practices and for their conservatism.

But, as Gathorne-Hardy (1977, pp. 53–65) observes, 'kind masters and good teachers' tend to be overlooked. Of greater historical interest is masters' changing relationships to the church (many were members of the clergy until later in the nineteenth century), to Oxford and Cambridge universities and also to the knowledge taught at the schools at different times. Their own restricted education is seen, by some historians, as also restricting the education they offered their students—they were unworldly and conservative but, also, often pompous and condescending, implicitly teaching boys the codes of disdain for knowledge outside their narrow domain. But, according to Bamford (1967, p. 7), teachers also much preferred eccentricity and brilliance, 'coupled with a sense of intellectual dash and humour', to the ordinary, dull and unpromising boy who was regarded as a 'lesser brethren', as 'dross'. And Gray (1913, p. 57), writing about his own long experience working in such schools, declares 'the unseen spade-work of some great teacher, which has produced the

decorated Statesman, his Lordship of the Courts, and the colossal man of affairs, remains un-commemorated and unsung'. One reason for this, he suggests, is 'the detestable snobbery … that it is 'bad form' to work' (1913, p. 57).

Other 'spade-work' is also unseen and unsung. There is barely a mention of the cooks, gardeners, cleaners, builders and other manual workers. These people existed in highly subordinate relationships to their privileged counterparts. The nature of this subordination emerges mostly in Old Boy memoirs. For example, in lamenting the absence of girls in his school, Worsthorne says

> Strictly speaking of course, there were girls around, masses of them. But they were servants, known as 'skivesses', who did all the domestic work. I do not recall ever exchanging a single word with one of them, or knowing any of their names, although they served all our meals, made all our beds and so on. They were not at all the kind of *Upstairs-Downstairs* servants we were used to at home. They were coarse, unskilled labour from some industrial town, bussed in and out by the day. In our class-distorted eyes, they were not really human. But many of them must have been sixteen or seventeen, the same as many of us, although we treated them as if they belonged to a different species. (1977, p. 91)

Class Intimations: Undisciplined, Disciplined and Imagined Schoolboys

Many studies of pre-Victorian and nineteenth-century public schools are concerned with the everyday cultures inside the schools themselves and with the manner in which they changed over time. With a focus on people, practices and values as well as on the schools' internal structures and systems, they offer intimate accounts of the particularities and peculiarities of everyday life—the minutiae. For example, Holloway (1977) provides a day-in-the-life-of account across the schools as a whole, showing how similar their daily rituals were. Cultural narratives are often told through the eyes of the boys themselves. Frequently, such accounts are sourced from boys' letters to their parents but also from the nostalgic, often mawkish, memoirs of alumni. On the other hand, those who extract big questions from these small situations, or instances, tend to consider how school cultures were both an expression of the social order of the times and how they prepared boys for their collective futures of power and privilege.

Studies of the schools in the eighteenth century vividly depict their archaic practices. They point to the schools' almost non-existent teaching and their laissez-faire approach to curriculum and internal governance. Boys ranged freely beyond the school, their itineraries included fishing, hunting, even poaching, the local alehouse and liaisons with village girls. Chandos describes these phases of the life of public schools as involving 'tribes of self governing boys that waged irregular warfare, generation after generation, against titular adult overlords endeavouring to entrench upon their independence' (1984, p. 12). This is a popular theme, which includes discussion of famous 'riots' and 'rebellions' (Earle 1977).

Boys' boarding school cultures and subcultures, including matters of fun, friendship and passion, as well as the loss of family connections and the rise of the school/family substitute, are all part of such histories of culture. Some are affectionate histories in which boy cultures are romanticized, wrapped in the delight of the writer at boys' childish adventures and minor misadventures. Their 'larks' and 'pranks', their honour codes or cheeky 'cribbing' are lovingly portrayed (e.g. Fraser 1977). But other studies seem to have a horrified fascination with the problems of 'boy government': with the unsupervised social life and liberty of the boys, the tyrannies of 'fagging', the neglect and abuse they experienced and the 'debauchery' they engaged in (e.g. Falkus 1977).

Overall, the motley collection of 'great public schools' that existed at the turn of the eighteenth century was seen by detractors at the time to be offering such poor education that major political inquiries were eventually demanded (Mack 1939). Pleas mounted for a revival of religion in the schools to temper these out-of-control boys (Chandos 1984). As the number and visibility of detractors increased in the early nineteenth century, the idea of a 'free society of boys' in schools was also apparently fiercely defended. Many alumni sang the praises of boys' self-governance, arguing, for example, that through the act of governing themselves they learnt how to govern others.

Very different school cultures emerged over the nineteenth century as the schools adapted their practices to suit these demands. They became much more focused, formal and regimented. It was over the nineteenth century as a whole that their identity and modus operandi evolved from the disarray just described to that which is still recognizable, although not totally replicated, today. Chandos describes it thus.

> Authoritarian, uniformed communities, governed by close and strict adult surveillance and control, where not merely a course of academic study but patterns of morals and manners are imposed by coercion from above. (1984, p. 11)

The focus in this period is often on the harsh living conditions the boys experienced and the discipline they were subjected to. Concentrating on fagging, corporal punishment (the rod) and symbolic and embodied violence, histories highlight the unyielding and hierarchical systems of authority that arose. Flogging, for example, was regarded as both 'remedial and religious' and involved 'religious fervour and sadism' (Bamford 1967, p. 49). Providing lurid detail, Bamford (1967, pp. 66–9) draws attention to the administration of such discipline by senior boys through fagging, the prefect system and brutal initiation practices. He also shows how, as the schools became more puritanical, they sought to stamp out 'sin and vice', even resorting to changing architecture. Doors and walls were often removed in living areas; there were to be no private spaces where sexual 'vice' could fester (Bamford 1967, p. 72).

But, also, there is discussion of the 'invisible bonds' arising from the 'intense communalism' of boarding school life and the 'class comfort' it provided, particularly to the very young (Wilkinson 1964). These group loyalties were also forged by the highly structured rituals of school life and included a corpus of 'great simple stirring songs' (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, pp. 131–3). These bonds often lasted a lifetime and contributed to class solidarity.

The nineteenth-century school's culture clarified to boys the subjective importance of putting and keeping people in their place as well as of knowing one's place in the top tier. Possibly for this reason, when such practices attracted public criticism, they were fiercely defended by ex-students. Having survived the traumas associated with being junior and at the bottom of the schoolboy power hierarchies, they went on to enjoy the power and other benefits of being a senior boy. These increased considerably if they were prefects and even more once they left school. As Wilkinson (1964) argues convincingly, they were learning to lead, particularly in the worlds of politics and the civil service.

The literary imagination is an important component of these histories of school cultures. They often turn to the schoolboy fiction—the avalanche of novels, comics and weeklies such as *The Boy's Own Paper* (collections of school stories)—that flooded the reading market in England and, indeed, its colonies from 1870s onwards until after World War II. *Tom Brown's School Days* is usually seen as the archetype (e.g. Scott 1975). Some historians see such fiction as source material, arguing that the line between it and school life was often blurred. Boys' imaginations about how boys were meant to behave and thus about school life itself were intertwined. School libraries were full of such novels (Usborne 1977). Life

imitated these stories as much as they imitated life. And it is widely argued that this material evoked in ex-students nostalgia, sentimentality and even gratitude for what the schools gave them; 'Even where they failed to teach them much academically they gave them other assets like class confidence, manners and ways of speaking which were of enormous use in later life' says Gathorne-Hardy (1977, p. 212).

This fiction had its subgenres. These ranged from light-hearted stories of schoolboys' fun, frolics and pranks tinged with a few poignant scenes of loneliness, through to the heavy-handed moralizing of, say, *Eric* or *Little by Little* and their worthy pedagogic purposes involving a 'simple pictogram of Vice and Virtue' (Pryce-Jones 1977, p. 127). For example, *The Hill* showed how 'the schools managed to whirl school loyalty, patriotism, games, God, the Queen, the headmaster, team spirit, and nostalgia into one great intoxicating, sentimental, muddled and inflaming brew' (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, p. 193). Mack (1941, p. 248) says 'This is probably the most sentimental and complacent book ever written about the public schools'.

This was a very popular fiction, particularly the comics and the boys' weeklies, and it had implications for the broader social imagination. Its audience far exceeded the public school sector and extended right across the social spectrum in every town and village of England—certainly including the vast majority, who would never attend such schools or meet anyone who did (Best 1975). Its ripping yarns glorified these schools, the schools' students, ideals and prejudices. This literature is thus also seen by Best (1975) and others to have contributed to the normalization, even deification, of England's unequal social arrangements, to relationships of superiority and subservience and to the notion that public school products were rightfully dominant, deserving deference. All this became sedimented in the national and popular imaginary. And, as Gathorne-Hardy (1977, p. 218) observes, 'The working class only enter as comics, servants or semi villains (race course touts etc.). Of class friction, poverty, unemployment, strikes, trade unions, there is not a single mention'.

Educational Reforms and Public Schools' Defensive and Offensive Politics

Fierce and polemical, often bitter and bitterly fought, is how the public schools conducted their politics in relation to parliamentary attempts to reform them. These attempts were in the broader context of 'conflict between liberalism and religious revivalism on the one hand, conserva-

tism and the forces of advanced industrialism on the other' (Simon 1975, p. 7). Historical studies of such politics tend to concentrate on inquiries into boys' public schools and their outcomes. Here, the Clarendon Commission (more below), set up in 1861, looms disproportionally large given the other contemporary advances in school education. Indeed, in his book devoted entirely to the Clarendon Commission, Shrosbree (1988), somewhat ruefully, observes that the Clarendon Commission is rarely mentioned in broader histories of the development of school education in England at the time. A detour through this bigger political picture illustrates how public schools maintained their supremacy.

As the nineteenth century ran its course, other education systems and educational approaches and curricula gained strength. The monopoly that the state church had on education was declining, government-funded schools were on the rise, the education of all social classes of children was becoming an issue and other religions were staking a claim after the religious persecution, which had prevented them from establishing their own schools, diminished.[1] Underway, at roughly the same time as the Clarendon Commission's deliberations, was the work of two other major commissions, the Newcastle Commission, 1861, which looked into elementary (primary) education, and the Schools Inquiry Commission (known as the Taunton Commission), 1868, which looked into grammar and endowed schools (Gillard 2011).

Broadly, these commissions were to examine the nation's educational provision, which was found, in all cases, to be deficient—poor, of uneven quality both socially and geographically and often financially improper. One shocking revelation was the almost negligible education offered to the poor. Another was the very small number of secondary schools for girls. The Taunton Commission's investigation was vast and its proposals ambitious. They involved 'plans for a national system of secondary education, under parliamentary control, a national exam system, regular inspection, a modern curriculum including science' (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, p. 98). It was to be for all classes, with those who could pay doing so but those who could not being educated free. This apparently 'hit the public school world like a bombshell', according to Gathorne-Hardy (1977, p. 98), who explains the complex manoeuvrings of this, suddenly tightly integrated, world to water down such recommendations. Collectively, the Commissions' recommendations, and the Acts that followed, arrived at after protracted political bargaining, profoundly shaped the national school system that was to emerge.

Despite the potential for things to be otherwise, this system replicated, to a tee, the existing class structure. The most basic provision was eventually made for the working class (elementary school). The middle class was catered for by endowed schools but different fees and different curricula were provided for its 'upper, middle and lower strata', and the public schools continued on their merry way, catering for the dominant classes (Ball 2008, p. 69).

Given that many public school men were centrally involved in the work of these commissions and dominated parliament and given that the commissions were set up in such a way as to tag certain forms of educational provision to particular social classes, it was almost inevitable that an education system would evolve that was decisively divided along such class lines. Even so, public school supporters were constantly on the offensive. They feared the 'intervention' of a secular state, were keen to keep their distance from the uppity grammar schools (more on them shortly) and were aghast at the prospect of an educated, as opposed to a disciplined, working class. When commenting on these inquiries, some historians focus on the infighting amongst public school supporters and, then, on the politically expedient connections that they made to shore up the schools' existence (e.g. Mack 1939, 1941).

The Clarendon Commission's main concerns were public school management, finance (and its hitherto shocking mismanagement) and the quality of education offered. Historians identify the specific changes called for, the advocates for such changes and their motives (often attributed to their vengeful outsider status), along with the defenders who, as Chandos says, 'lingered by preference in the past' (1984, p. 33). They show that those in the moderate middle of these warring parties, usually products of the schools in question, were typically able to arbitrate the debates, protect the schools from government 'interference' and keep change to a minimum—continuity with minimal change appears to have been the winning political argument. The 1868 Public Schools Act was the Clarendon Commission's official outcome, which set off subsequent rounds of polemic and counter-polemic. Take, as an example of such polemics, the case of school finances, management and 'foundations' for poor boys.

In 1868, the Public Schools Act identified a set of seven boarding and two day schools as 'public schools' because their only entry restriction was to be fees, not locality or religion. The Act, in essence, freed these schools from government control. Fees also freed them from having to educate poor and local boys. Some of these schools had originally been

'intended specifically to make provision for the poor' (Shrosbree 1988, p. 186), and 'free places' had hitherto been provided for 'foundation boys' who were 'usually day-boys, usually poorer than the boarders and usually from a lower social class' (Shrosbree 1988, p. 187). The rules for awarding scholarships and endowments may have included such phrases as 'stands in need of assistance' or 'comparative poverty', but such elastic concepts were often manipulated so that awards went to the 'lesser' and less well-off gentry or to a school's 'special friends' (Gray 1913, p. 31, 69). And, when small numbers of boys of 'humble origins' did attend the schools, they were invariably segregated from the rest of the school. They lived and were taught separately. Cross-class mingling was unthinkable; it involved fears of class contagion.

The Act was followed by considerable debate in the schools, the church and the House of Lords, including questions such as whether such foundations should continue and, if so, for whom? Certain Lords and Bishops pointed to the problems of assimilating foundation boys. They argued that foundations should go to boys from upper-class families of 'moderate means' so as to maintain the schools' high-class character. In response to the proposal that foundations be awarded on the basis of competitive exams, a concern was expressed that this could penalize the sons of the modestly endowed upper class and risk the admission of the wrong people. Eventually, competitive scholarships, awarded at the discretion of the schools' governors, replaced 'free places'. And, as Shrosbree (1988) observes, due to their already existing advantages, this had the effect of benefitting the sons of the 'poor' upper classes at the expense of boys from other classes.

Historians of the politics of public schools tend to focus on how the schools worked their connections and how they were involved in educational enclosure and closure. They usually point to the increasing numbers of schools, outside of the nine 'great public schools', which grew in stature over the second half of the nineteenth century. As a result, they say, the pool of potential claimants of public school rank also grew as certain 'old endowed grammar schools' and 'new Victorian Foundations' or modern proprietary schools flourished and joined the mix. Some historians seek to elaborate on the criteria that allowed some schools to quickly claim public school status and that allowed others to understand themselves as embryonic or emerging public schools. These included such things as classical education, boarding facilities and, of course, high cost (and, thus, a socially restricted clientele). They explain what was involved when various

schools strove and jockeyed for recognition. Some such historians expend considerable effort constructing what are, in effect, league tables and, as such, they buy into long-standing and acrimonious disputes about what was/is a 'genuine', 'proper' public school (e.g. Honey 1975). Those with a more sociological bent point to the emergence of inner and outer circles of public schools and clarify the practices of distinction and exclusion that were deployed. They show how finely graded such nuances were, ensuring that the majority of schools were relegated to the lesser, outer circles. Such histories take us behind the scenes and show the power politics of such designations and distinctions and how they were, often not too politely, policed (e.g. Honey 1977).

Overall though, histories of the schools' politics illustrate the political processes by which these schools eventually formed a bigger system, usefully summarized into phases by Simon (1975), and the fractious and fractured connections that evolved as a result, involving circles within circles of prestige, patronage and, bluntly, snobbery.

Fractious or not, connections mattered enormously, for out of such fractures, in 1869, grew the Headmasters Conference (HMC). This is a long-standing and influential lobby group, membership of which has since come to signify public school status, although, as Honey (1975, pp. 21–25) indicates, this was not the case in its early days. There is debate about who initiated it, but it is usually attributed to Thring, headmaster of Uppingham, who represented the 'thrusting grammar school element' (Simon 1975, p. 9) that was excluded from the original nine. Fearful of the outcomes of the Taunton Commission, this defensive body campaigned to try to ensure that this sector would also remain free of state control. Eventually, the Endowed Schools Bill/Act (1969) helped to guarantee this and paved the way for old, endowed grammar schools, such as Thring's, to claim public school status. And also, eventually, these two types of schools united against outside forces, establishing their own norms and forms through joint activities and publications as well as through informal connections and educational and social discussions. The HMC essentially became a club: membership was by invitation only.

The invention of tradition (which incidentally is Hobsbawm and Ranger's edited book title 1992) became an accepted process for the newer schools in this expanded system. Gathorne-Hardy observes that

> most of the schools were new (the rejuvenated grammar schools were in effect as new as the new foundations). In order to attract quality pupils they

> imitated the great schools. This was done quite shamelessly and openly … In effect, the new schools were pretending they were old. (1977, pp. 133–4)

And, despite the highly irregular histories of many schools, they could nonetheless say that they were founded very early on.

Curriculum Histories and Hegemonies

Most historical interest in the curriculum is in games, the classics and their social and cultural manifestations and implications. Indeed, historians of public schools in the second half of the nineteenth century dwelled on games *ad nauseum*, with good reason. As Simon (1975, p. 8) makes clear, 'Athleticism became the essence of the school, games were glorified, the team was privileged over the individual and athletics became the new religion'. Muscular Christianity is the common term they use, but, as most insist, the stress was on muscularity rather than Christianity (see, also, Heward 1988, 1990). The compliance and conformity that began with Arnold intensified but was funnelled through games and 'the team' which thoroughly trumped chapel.

Many historians (such as Honey 1977; Mack 1941) point out that games were seen to signify the new wholesome heart of the school; they drew boys away from what was regarded as their mischievous or extravagant habits and from vice, and they taught team/house spirit, fair play and, again, character, all of which carried through into later life it was believed. They were organizationally convenient too, draining off the excess steam produced in the highly charged atmosphere of the boarding house, as well as keeping the boys 'in bounds' and away from the temptations and 'contaminations' of local villages and from the neighbouring properties of squires and farmers. They were central to school and house competitiveness and patriotism and to sturdy schoolboy masculine identity and heroism. They became a central mechanism of connection and disconnection—which schools competed against which mattered. Some simply refused to recognize others as worthy and, thus, as worthy competitors. And, they were also used to elevate the reputation of decaying schools. The games field, the battlefield and Empire were also positively linked. Yet, it is frequently observed that athletics became a cult, a tyranny: 'The way of life resembled nothing so much as a human anthill heaving for a common purpose, was elevated by its supporters into a major principal of education' (Bamford 1967, p. 83). But, however intense the dispute

amongst historians over games, they did not attract similar orders of dispute in the later nineteenth century. In contrast, the classics curriculum was highly contentious, not so much in the schools but beyond them.

It might be expected that the industrial revolution and the infiltration of the educational citadels of the gentry by the sons of industrialists (discussed shortly) would lead to major curriculum reform in the public schools, But no. They clung to 'the classics' (Greek and Latin) with a fierce tenacity, even in the face of increasingly vociferous demands, largely from beyond the schools, for education to become more scientific, useful and practical, for it to help shore up industry in England in the face of competition from continental Europe. Simon (1975, p. 6) explains that a 'modern' education was advocated by sectors of the commercial middle class, 'enshrining utilitarian values and involving the ending of the dominance of the classics … in favour of science, technology, modern languages and the like'. Further, while the older professions (law, medicine, the clergy and civil service) were flourishing, new professions were also rapidly emerging—engineering, science and management, for instance.

The reasons mounted in defence of the classics are outlined by many (e.g. Honey 1977; Shrosbree 1988). Writing as he did in 1913, Gray is certainly closer to the debates than other historians. To Gray, the reasons include feudalists' fears that the 'authority of squire and parson would be undermined' by 'new learning' and the disdain directed towards utilitarian knowledge and towards those who actually worked for a living (1913, p. 82). He says, 'The instruction of privileged youth in the two dead languages is still regarded in some quarters as inseparable from a proper gentility', from what he calls 'white-handedness' (1913, p. 84). After all, leisure and 'luxurious ease' were what characterized the gentry who lived on income from property and investments and were surrounded by servants—leisure was a symbol of gentlemanly status (Wilkinson 1964).

Younger sons, however, were, as indicated, less leisured and work was regarded as a 'regrettable necessity' (Bamford 1967, p. 7), and those heading into the military (as naval and military officers) and into civil service occupations were allowed some curriculum deviations. The mid-Victorian introduction of 'crammers'—special army and navy tutors—assisted them (Best 1975).

Gray (1913) also links the persistence of the classics to the influence of the state church (the Church of England) over the public schools and the universities and the ongoing 'aroma of monastic times' (1913, p. 88). At the same time, he points to the irony that, in the sixteenth and seven-

teenth century, the classics were themselves associated with 'new learning', originally forming 'part of the revolt against clericalism and vested interests'. But gradually, he says, they were 'appropriated' by the ecclesiastics, the public schools and the universities (Gray 1913, p. 86) and became anachronistic inside what he calls 'these fortresses of ancient learning'.

The classics were also part of the tight nexus that existed between the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge, the former being preparatory schools for the latter and, as Weinberg (1967, p. 41) explains, 'the public schools thus tightened their grip on the ancient universities' and on the all-important scholarship and prize lists: distributing lustre. Those schools and students without a classical education were excluded. There was one, and only one, worthwhile curriculum track. For much of the Victorian era, classics occupied at least three quarters of the timetable in public schools. Everything else was regarded as 'frills' and largely despised—except games, of course.

These so-called fortresses associated the classics with accomplishment and cultivation. It was believed that they disciplined and sharpened the higher-order mind and were an excellent foundation for the study of other knowledge. Taught, allegedly, for their literary power and beauty, it was argued they fuelled mental powers and cultivated a noble spirit; 'in literature and art, in science and philosophy, all that concerns law, social order and the principles of Government, are connected in an unbroken living union with Greece and Rome' (Gray 1913, p. 155). They were seen not only to prepare boys for Holy Orders but also to help prepare statesmen and those destined for high-level public administration. And, because only the public schools taught them, the classics signified social status. A classical education was associated, in the popular imagination, with 'the gentleman'; the best endowed, educated and most cultivated.

There have, of course, been severe criticisms of the manner in which the classics were taught, their potential literary power and beauty made subservient to the convoluted intricacies of linguistics and grammar (Gray 1913, p. 155). They were forced upon reluctant boys who, in turn, were forced to regurgitate such intricacies, usually without understanding and with deadening effects. But, equally, the observation is regularly made that many heads and teachers at the schools were the greatest advocates. Other fields of knowledge were, in general, considered by them to be unnecessary and unworthy. Having been classically trained, they sneered at those who were not and reproduced themselves in their classrooms. Very few teachers had scientific training, for little was available at Oxford

or Cambridge from where teachers were recruited. Those with mathematical or scientific knowledge and the more able scientists did not go on to teach in the public schools. Further, most schools were not physically equipped to teach science, and it was potentially far more costly than classics (Meadows amd Broock 1975, pp. 95–115).

The classics curriculum was strictly separated from 'the modern', which was associated with the impatient spirit of science and technology and, more broadly, with progress and modernization. Bamford (1967) offers an intricate account of the byzantine struggle for science to be included in the curriculum of the public schools and of the major figures and inquiries involved. He points out that the largely obstructionist public schools were well behind many 'lesser' schools—the small grammar schools and various private academies where theoretical and practical science was being taught and from which most of the well-known scientists and leaders of industry emerged (Bamford 1967, p. 87). While individual public schools tentatively put their toes in the water, offering occasional classes and lectures, and while a rare few individual headmasters showed a personal interest, by and large, as Bamford illustrates and argues, there was an 'appalling lack of recognition; the schools and the rest of the country were different worlds' (1967, pp. 87–9). Scientists (even the rare scientist with a public school education), royal patrons of science and 'radicals' railed against the schools for their failure to hear the call of the nation and against their arrogant assumption that they could lead the nation without knowing about the importance of science to its growth. Further, industrial competitors from Europe, particularly Germany, appeared alarmingly superior to England, as did their science education.

While the classics were linked to social class in very overt ways, historians have also drawn links between science and class. Science involved observation, apparatus, craftsmanship, the hands, all of which, Bamford claims, 'smacked of the artisan' (1967, p. 100). Thus, it was tainted and so not amongst the 'topics fit for gentlemen' (Meadows and Broock 1975, pp. 95–115). To reject science was a statement of high-class identity. However, scientific

> knowledge was taking prestige away from the upper classes and placing it in the hands of the new middle and professional-classes, lords of science business and technology … the supremacy of the upper classes was threatened, and their life in rural mansions, geographically remote from the scene of activity, did not help; they no longer represented, understood or even

> noticed the life of those beneath them. Their power was slipping and might easily come to rest elsewhere. (Bamford 1967, pp. 105–6)

The clergy, too, was losing power. By the time of the Clarendon and Taunton Commissions, there was a rising stream of voices, both outside of the public schools and a rare few within, in support of curriculum change with science at the forefront (mathematics and modern languages were also trying, with a smidgeon of success, to gain a foothold). An under-discussed but very significant outcome of the Public Schools Act of 1868 was the appointment of special commissioners 'to insist that the older public schools should build laboratories and … appoint at least one science master for every two hundred boys' (Meadows and Broock 1975, p. 110). This paved the way for the schools' governing bodies to appoint 'outsiders', thus enabling prominent institutions to nominate those who would be able to address national issues. Hence, for example, Fellows of the Royal Society could be thus appointed.

Change was forced on unwilling schools although it took some considerable time for science and the spirit of industry to become an educational ideal, in ways similar to the manner in which classics was an educational ideal.

Industrialization and Class Reconfigurations, Intensifications and Co-options

Those public school histories with a sociological perspective illustrate and explore the links between the consolidation of the schools in the nineteenth century, industrialization and the reconfiguration of social-class relationships. There is a historical consensus that the major forces impacting on the schools in the nineteenth century were the ongoing effects of the industrial revolution, the resultant rise of newly wealthy industrialists in significant numbers ('new money') and the emergence of the industrial and commercial middle classes and the urban working class. Along with these new social divisions arose new spatial divisions as working people swarmed to the factory cities. New social problems surfaced around working conditions, housing and health.

Alongside industrialization, questions of social and political identification and solidarity surfaced. Political unrest amongst workers led to political unease amongst the powerful and wealthy. The lessons of the French revolution and questions of democracy hovered ominously. The

'old society' consisting of the gentry and aristocracy first feared democracy and then, eventually, redefined and co-opted it. The wealthy industrialists flirted with it and with possible alliances between themselves and the working class against the landed gentry. Apparently, though, many decided that, rather than create a political firestorm by forming class alliances with workers, it was easier and much more pleasant to buy land and titles, to 'marry up' and to become part of what came to be called 'the establishment'.

As the social ground was shifting beneath the feet of the landed gentry, they adopted a wide array of offensive and defensive strategies. Rather than distancing themselves from their own class cultures in order to make themselves more amenable to the wealthy industrialists, they became even more haughty and condescending. Indeed, Victorian snobbery, Gathorne-Hardy (1977, p. 126) argues, became 'so extreme it often passes beyond the monstrous; it becomes ludicrous'. He writes that, later in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, 'class consciousness in some respects and amongst a good number of people came much closer to what today we would call racism' (1977, p. 126). Indeed, he suggests that it was the upper reaches of the middle classes who most wanted to distance themselves from work, workers and those regarded as common. They feared inadvertently 'catching' the reviled class style of those they considered beneath them.

According to Newsome (1961), one of the landed gentry's class strategies was to co-opt those at the so-called top of the middle class—the wealthy industrialists with social aspirations,—those who had the wealth but not the social connections, cache or style. This group was expected to rise to the occasion by aping 'their betters'—and they did. Seeking to 'live graciously', ownership of country houses helped, but public school education was also a high-class hallmark. There was an increased demand for school education by the emerging middle class as a whole—many going into the expanding bureaucracy and, when possible, using the schools to gain a leg up (Wilkinson 1964). But members of the wealthiest fraction wanted the sort of education that would help them and their offspring become accepted by the landed gentry and the aristocrats of the 'old society'. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the public schools had become central in forging new class connections and rejections as the landed and the leaders of industry joined forces—the former reluctantly but expediently. Meanwhile, the 'taboo attached to trade' remained (Pryce-Jones 1977, p. 125).

The public schools' class exertions intensified, tightly in step with the intensification of the class exertions by 'polite society' and those seeking to join it. They played their part in many ways. These included maintaining the numbers of gentlemen's sons and the patronage of those of noble lineage. After all, the industrialists wanted such boys' class polish to rub off on their own sons. But the schools went much further.

Each school became even more insular, enclosed and disconnected from local communities—a 'ghetto in its monasticism and close-knit living' (Wilkinson 1964, p. 6). As boarding schools were mostly in the countryside, they were already not well connected to local communities, and the erection of walls, fences and hedges added to this disconnection. The advent of the railways, although not always welcomed by them, enabled them to be more speedily connected to far-flung places in England and to attract boys from such places, but this added to their disconnection from the local (Bamford 1967, pp. 61–2). And the emergence of the house system, with its internally focused rituals of intense communalism and patriotism, assisted this inward turn.

The schools also became even more hierarchical in their internal organization; supervision intensified and the institutional pecking order became very rigid. The prefects turned into demigods. Central to schools' modes of governing, they were increasingly entrusted to maintain discipline. And students' use of time and space became more restricted with full timetables of lessons and 'prep' and with confinement within school bounds: 'The scope for individuality was minimal' as Simon says (1975, p. 15), but individuality was not the point. These fine-grained institutional techniques taught the boys generally, and the socially mobile industrialists' sons particularly, the modes of behaviour and the sensibilities deemed correct for those with extremely high levels of social power, status and responsibility. These mechanisms taught the newly integrating class how social distinction and distance were best practiced.

Under the tutelage of the dominant class with its experiences and expectations of governing, the schools helped to prepare this social group to share political responsibilities, either in the English parliament or in local government, a point powerfully argued in Wilkinson's *The Prefects* (1964). He shows how the prefectorial system was regarded as central to this and to the deep desire and ability to lead that the schools instilled. But the schools not only gave this group such political heft, they taught it the right values which included the merits of a hierarchical society, the fine gradations of social form and the importance of others' deference.

And they were taught that 'morals were layered in the same way as social classes' (Bamford 1967, p. 49), that the dominant-class way of life was to be equated with a higher morality than that of other classes.

Remaking class identities, communities and hierarchies was central to the schools' work at the time. As the schools' populations were expanding to include the sons of those without aristocratic pedigrees, the notion of what constituted 'a gentleman' was imagined in increasingly fine detail in terms of accepted speech, accent, slang, manners and style with more and more refined gradations and their accompanying symbolic registers.

Gentlemanly identity and identification were central class matters. However, the codes of gentlemanly masculinity did not stand still in Victorian England and, thus, in the public schools. As Vance (1975, p. 116) indicates, they passed from 'chivalric ideals of courage, loyalty, self-sacrifice, stainless integrity and protection of the weak', to the benevolent masculinity associated with serving the poor, to the sturdy masculinities of sporting gladiators. These modes were reflected in the schools in various ways via Arnold's moral Christian manliness, the muscular manliness of games moved 'from chapel to changing room' (Vance 1975, p. 123). With World War I on the horizon and as schools introduced Officer Training Corps, 'manliness tended to be diverted more and more into military channels' (Vance 1975, p. 127), from games field to battlefield. For instance, the 'patrician manners and classical education' of the gentleman of the earlier part of the century gave way to the 'manly gentleman' (Honey 1975, p. 23). These various modes were intimate in their expression, their associated codes were applied with vigour and boys' identities were taken up and allocated accordingly. Gentlemanly behaviour was preached and policed rigorously by the schools and, even more so, by the boys themselves. Idiosyncratic insider conventions, traditions and rituals arose, some of which have lasted until the present time. These marked, very clearly, insiders and outsiders. For instance, as Sinclair (1977, p. 175) says, 'Slang is *apartheid* by special words… In-talk keeps most people out …private words create divisions between the privileged and the rest, the major public schools and the minor, the old boy and the new boy, the prefect and the fag'.

Old Boys' Societies arose in the second half of the nineteenth century, contributing to the rise of the public school system as a whole and also helping to lengthen and strengthen the legacy of the schools' class influences. These involved extensive chains of personal connection and systems of patronage and recognition. 'Public school men' recognized in each

other the marks of the public school (e.g. neck wear, speech patterns, slang) and assisted each other's 'entrée into jobs, to clubs, to commissions in the army and even to marriage' (Honey 1975, p. 21). Gentlemanly style, old school connections and support thus became central. These Societies grew over time into 'great networks of contact and reunion with branches in every country of the world, magazines and newsletters, special hobbies committees, ties badges and blazers. Frequent dinners, meetings, marches and jamborees of every sort' (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, p. 212) were held. Old Boys' Societies/Associations certainly flourished in the colonies—especially in India (Honey 1975, p. 156). They involved the rousing revival of various school rituals and invited a form of enduring adolescence and maudlin nostalgia amongst Old Boys. These also have continued to this day.

Histories of public schools and their role in social configurations focus largely on what was regarded as the social apex—on the aristocracy, the nobility, the gentry, on gentlemen and on those wealthy 'others' able to buy land and, thus, fringe membership of these exalted groups. Wealthy industrialists do not attract much interest in their own right. These histories are almost exclusively interested in cultural and political power relationships, struggles and redefinitions at the 'top' of English society. The refined choreography of social identity, status and connections and its careful conversion into forms of patronage and power are their chief concerns. Even when such studies 'look down', they tend to restrict their vision to the upper reaches of what came to be called the middle class. Further, while there is considerable interest in struggles between various factions and gradations of the 'upper crust', the relationships and struggles of others in opposition to them largely have little or no presence. This is despite the fact that 'a feature of Victorian Britain was the fight of the lower classes for the recognition of their rights, brought about mainly by their agitation and the joint action of the trade unions' (Bamford 1967, p. 248). Indeed, Thompson (1963, p. 96) argues

> The outstanding fact of the period between 1790 and 1830 is the formation of 'the working class'. This is revealed, first, in the growth of class-consciousness: the consciousness of an identity of interests as between all these diverse groups of working people and as against the interests of other classes. And, second, in the growth of corresponding forms of political and industrial organisation. By 1832, there were strongly-based and self-conscious working-class institutions--trade unions, friendly societies,

> educational and religious movements, political organisations, periodicals, working-class intellectual traditions, working-class community-patterns, and a working-class structure of feeling.

Nonetheless, most histories of the public schools give an impression that the vast bulk of the population was politically inert and incompetent, the implication being that the 'leadership' of the public schools was necessary. Most of these histories render certain populations invisible and indivisible. We have not found any that include narratives about the daily lives of those who physically laboured to service the students and teaching staff, those who maintained the schools' kitchens, buildings, playing fields and grounds. These histories exhibit what Thompson (1963, p. 12) calls 'the enormous condescension of posterity'.

A conjunctural analysis requires a more comprehensive picture of the social totality at the time. For this, we must turn to other historical studies, those which, in the first instance, seek to clarify the economic systems within which, over time, the schools' patrons and clients, and therefore the schools themselves, were implicated (such as Hobsbawm 1969). The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century aristocracy, emerging as it did from feudalism and the forced enclosure of common land, can be described as a capitalist class in two main ways. First, members of the aristocracy were engaged in agrarian capitalism, as landed rentiers, and their estates were economic enterprises from which they, as landlords, along with tenant farmers and labourers, produced goods for the market along capitalist lines (Scott 1991, p. 42). Secondly, they invested in many types of business (the cloth trade for instance) and had strong commercial connections with the wealthier merchants and financiers of the cities and towns with whom they shared similar capitalist viewpoints. Indeed, many were 'involved in the financing of overseas trading ventures, often using lawyers and bankers, to raise money for new capital injections in their estates' (Scott 1991, p. 48). So, clearly, many were directly or indirectly involved in colonial projects including the barbarism associated with the forced global mobility and unfree labour of slaves, convicts and indentured workers.

Emerging during the final third of the eighteenth century, by the second half of the nineteenth century industrial capitalism was dominant and agrarian capitalism had become residual. (However, a kind of proto-capitalism arose between feudalism and industrial capitalism which lingered in places throughout the nineteenth century.) As the economic relationship between land, commerce and industry altered, new capitalist projects, practices,

prophets and profits came to dominate. Thus, those whose interests were primarily industrial and commercial dramatically increased their economic power. But, given that many of the landed gentry had long-standing commercial interests, this did not necessarily mean that they lost their economic power base to other capitalist producers. The shared project of commodity production, exchange and capital accumulation united this class even when status and culture appeared to divide it, as we have shown.

Broader class relationships were involved in capitalism's transformations. And, public schools and their clients were certainly implicated in such relationships. A vast array of new types of work and worker emerged as a result of the rise of the factory system and the growth of factory cities—new forms of class expression, discipline and surveillance arose. Members of the capitalist class, who, let us be clear, were the schools' broad clientele, were implicated in the creation and subjugation of the various subaltern groups who came to constitute the working class. They were involved in the exploitation, oppression and suffering experienced by those who were wage-labourers and whose appalling conditions are documented in detail in Marx and Engels' *Capital Three* (1894) and by many labour historians and historians of work. It may have appeared that the public school capitalist class was not connected with these people; after all, social distancing was part of their *modus operandi*. But, in fact, the conditions of their very existence increasingly depended upon the work of their subalterns. And thus so, too, did their capacity to purchase public school education.

Such historians' silences about capitalism, class formation and relations and subaltern populations reflect the views of the social and economic groups who patronized these schools. Equally, historians' voluminous commentary on such groups' socio-cultural lives mirrors these groups' self-absorption and delusion. For the schools and their clients, as well as for many (not all) historians themselves, the vast bulk of the population is out of sight and, seemingly, out of mind. Such oversight is understandable, given the guiding assumptions of certain historians' analytical frameworks. But it is not excusable, for, in un-reflexively focusing on the status struggles within the social apex, many historical studies are involved in a form of ideological abstraction and distraction that ignores how capital accumulates additional Capital and capitals. It seems that these polite histories of 'polite society' are far too well-mannered to mention the monstrosities of capitalism that underwrote such society—that propped up the public school edifice and its capitalist client class.

Empire: Through Imperial and Imperious Eyes

Histories of boys' public schools are preoccupied with things 'English': they are focused on what was happening within the sovereign territory of England and are, thus, very spatially and imaginatively located. They do, nonetheless, glance elsewhere, either to Europe or to Empire but almost always through the eyes of England or, in the case of Empire, Britain. When they look to Europe, they note, usually in passing, major events or new tides of thinking (Mack's 1939, 1941 major studies stand out here). For example, the French revolution is alluded to along with its potential and actual impact on the political sensibilities of the established and the emerging classes in England. It apparently struck fear in the hearts of English aristocracy and, thus, in their schools. But what of the British Empire?

The expansion of its Empire had profound and wide-ranging significance for Britain. Its motives included 'trade, military security, emigration, the expansion of national power and prestige and philanthropy' (Wilkinson 1964, p. 100; see, also, Perham 1961). English public school historians' responses vary but most blow the schools' trumpet in relation to the Empire. For example, Mangan (1998, p. 21) declares that 'Once the Empire was established, the public schools sustained it'.

The regular historians' refrain is that the boys' public schools served the British Empire by promoting and instilling imperialistic and patriotic emotions and by producing the sorts of men who were well-equipped to help the nation engage in imperial expansion and colonial rule: enterprising, spirited, adventurous, classics-clever, taught to lead, loyal, disciplined, philanthropic—in short, they possessed the much-proclaimed 'character'. A well-known aphorism is that 'the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton'; but so too, it was thought, was Empire. The all-pervading ideology of muscular Christianity that flourished along with the later cult of athleticism is usually seen to have produced 'the right sort of chap'. However, muscular Christianity became ever more closely linked to Christian militarism, particularly during what is commonly called the 'age of high imperialism' up to 1914. The work of the cadet and rifle corps intensified after the 'humiliations of the Boer war and the accompanying national push for increased military as well as industrial and educational strength' (Best 1975, p. 137). As a genre, such histories uncritically celebrate the power and purposes of British dominant-class masculinity in the colonies.

Schoolboy fiction took up these celebratory themes with a vengeance. English public schools and their products' heroic exploits, adventures and tragedies in the colonies were imagined for both English and colonized populations alike—often in highly problematic ways, as the following instances illustrate. Pryce-Jones (1977, p. 129) observes that 'The closing chapter of many a public school epic had landed our hero on some frontier where the pink only just held good on the map. To be discouragingly often laid low by the fuzzy-wuzzies, but consummating his upbringing in glory'. And, as Mangan (1998, p. 51) points out,

> The heroes faced the foolish ingratitude of the ruled, certain of the moral and material benefits they conferred, secure in the strength of their cultural superiority, courageous in their firm suppression of the incomprehensible up-rising of the native.

Such fiction flooded to and flourished in the colonies—despite (or because of) such denigratory views (see, also, Dawson 1994).

Interestingly, preparing public school products for the armed services and, ultimately, for war, including colonial wars, has attracted more historical attention than their preparation for colonial government and administration. Either way, as Gathorne-Hardy (1977, p. 100) explains, it was the 'new foundations' schools that were the most responsive to Empire, with Haileybury, for instance, founded by the British East India Company (chapter 3 discusses the British East India Company). Many such schools had special courses for those entering the Colonial Service and the army, and it was only later that the 'great public schools' made some such provision. And some schools became so India-oriented they even taught Sanskrit and Hindustani. Best (1975, p. 158) points out 'the constant trickle of imperial and colonial wars' produced many Victorian heroes. There is a tendency in the historical literature to provide the ubiquitous league tables about which schools produced the greatest numbers of military men in various roles—particularly the most senior (e.g. Best 1975, p. 133; Mangan 1998, pp. 76–78). In contrast, Wilkinson (1964, p. 102) points to the associations between such heroes' place atop the British class system and their assumed racial and moral superiority in the colonies. The 'white man's burden' was seen as an extension of *noblesse oblige*. Clearly, such valourized modes of masculinity helped British males in the colonies to constitute themselves favourably in relation to their colonized others.

However, such views are accompanied by other, less hyperbolic and sycophantic, lines of commentary and have attracted criticism from various perspectives. Bamford (1967) challenges many such triumphant claims, the first being about the significance of the public school in determining who gained colonial-related posts. He concludes that operating effectively in the upper reaches of Empire at home (London politicians and civil servants in charge of the colonies and of commerce) and abroad (Viceroys, governors, the upper civil service) called into play more than a public school biography and subjectivity, although these were part of the mix. He points to the central importance of independent wealth and family connections to politics, the armed forces, commerce, as well as a strong university pedigree. And, once nomination was replaced by competition, he notes that 'crammers' were instrumental in getting men through the Overseas Service Exams (1967, p. 244). He also points out that the expansion and consolidation of Empire involved many soldiers, administrators and professionals, not all of whom came from public schools, and argues that these various positions, further down the hierarchy, required diverse sensibilities not necessarily covered by the public school ideal.

Bamford (1967) also considers the impact on the colonial project of industrialization, social reform and the growing criticism of Empire. He argues that both 'the public school civil servant and the army staffed by so many public school products' (1967, p. 245) were *ill-equipped* to cope with the rapid changes occurring. This was especially the case with regard to developments in science, engineering and industry, as well as those required by rising colonial nationalism and the demands of 'handover'—notably not hand-back. Change was 'alien' to these men, he says, and to the conservative institutions from which they came. Most were committed to the 'myth of permanency'. In short, the public school ideal was not necessarily ideal; despite this, he says, 'although the Victorian achievement overseas … was magnificent, viewed superficially … it was also self satisfied and self centred, and thereby nurtured all the seeds of disaster' (1967, p. 247). He calls the British men involved 'well paid secular missionaries' (1967, p. 245), observing that they usually led a very good life in the colonies, replicating, as much as possible, their good life in England.

Gray's (1913) *The Public Schools and Empire* is another example of a more sceptical argument, one that is unselfconsciously racist and which invokes a distinction, which was typical in his time, between the types of

colonies—white and non-white. He maintains that England suffered from 'a complacent reassurance as to the innate racial genius of the Englishmen for world government' (1913, p. 2). He argues that 'Most finished products of public school education, achieve creditable results, when called upon to govern the affairs of countries inhabited by people of inferior civilisation' (1913, p. 20). He includes here people from India and East and West Africa, countries which were populated by, what he regards as, 'lower and more submissive races'. In contrast, in colonies like Australia and Canada, he observes that the 'English boy, as he emerges from the crucible of the public school laboratory is generally a more conspicuous failure' (1913, p. 20) who:

> Fails to realise that he is no longer going among races accustomed to obey but that he has to encounter people entirely free from subservience to rank and wealth, a people intolerant therefore of dictation or condescension… who will not brook the airs and affectations and languid graces and soft hued tones which are appropriate enough in the lilies of the field but inconvenient in the case of those who toil and spin. (1913, p. 21)

Gray's broader concern is that the education of public school boys was inadequate for the future destiny of nation and Empire. He did not question the Empire itself.

Of course, historians in the former British colonies have written their own histories of their own schools modelled on the English public school, and there are too many to single out here. But historians of English public schools have not written much about how the British in the colonies, or how colonial elites themselves, were patrons of such English schools. However, Honey (1977, p. 204) points out that

> The expansion of Britain meant that both in parts of the world coloured red on the map and in other areas such as Latin America and the Far East where Britons were creating an economic empire, there would be parents in need of boarding school education for their sons. Thus every public school could count on a proportion of overseas pupils by 1900, and, at some schools, this proportion was large.

But we hear little else about such students. Further, these particular histories tell us very little about the connections between public schools in England or Britain and equivalent schools in the colonies and in postcolonial nation-states. Mangan's (1998) is the most substantial exception. He

focuses on the 'diffusion of cultural ideals', through games and schools, to various parts of the Empire, which he divides into 'white Dominions and black colonies'.

His study shows how intensely English public schools' headmasters of all stripes, as well as masters and boys, subscribed to and promoted the ethic of Empire. This involved

> A widespread and uncritical belief in an imperial race with a gift for government, an imperial religion of compassion and concern, and an imperial education system able to successfully inculcate the young with the necessary gubernatorial skills and the appropriate ethical attitude. (Mangan 1998, p. 22)

The English imagined themselves as infinitely superior to other empire builders—the Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and French. Public schools in England were to produce the guardians of this superior Empire, and teachers and boys alike were to always 'stand ready' to carry this 'imperial dream' (Mangan 1998, p. 24) into the colonies. Headmasters were at the forefront.

> From their schools they called up a force of missionaries, teachers, soldiers and administrators to assist them in their proselytism. Here the games ethic flourished, here was enthusiastic allegiance, here were housed the embryonic diffusionists, and here a seductive image of empire was projected unremittingly. (Mangan 1998, p. 43)

Mangan also points out that, in terms of education in the colonies, headmasters, other educators, missionaries and colonial administrators were the major ideologues and proselytizers. Many were crusaders who sought to ensure that schools in the colonies imitated, as much as possible, the public schools of England, with boarding houses, dormitories, roll calls, prefects, grammar, games and playing fields, chapel and worship, service, an emphasis on manners and chivalry and with masters from England who would model the correct tone and exert stern discipline. Traditions had to be invented as Gathorne-Hardy (1977, p. 123), more critically, observes

> When Plumtree was founded in Rhodesia in 1900 there was no nonsense about waiting for traditions to grow up. A master called Hammond sailed out from Winchester and slapped them on entirely—fagging, colours, prefect justice, monitorial beatings, everything.

Much of Mangan's study is devoted to the different ways in which these crusaders thought about and undertook such work in very different types of colonies. He explains, for example, the deficit theories of race and culture that informed their practices in the 'black colonies' (the 'child-races' of Africa, for instance, Mangan 1998, p. 112). He describes the crusaders' zealous endeavours to impose their views and institutions on people they considered beneath them and in need of moral elevation. He also identifies what was distinctive about these different locations and their peoples. A methodological point he stated in an early publication is that studies of 'ideological proselytism' should 'confront the nature of interpretation, assimilation and adaptation and the extent of resistance and rejection' (Mangan 1992, p. 8). And he is concerned about what remained after the Empire exited. In relation to assimilation, he shows that, in some instances, local elites collaborated with the British and secured their own educational ascendancy through the creation of indigenous 'public schools'—'Eton in India', for example. In terms of continuity, Bamford similarly notes that a newly independent India maintained and strengthened the boarding schools set up under the British Raj, and also that an Indian Public Schools' Conference modelled on the English Headmasters' Conference was established in 1939. Both were used to confirm India's elite (Bamford 1967, p. 248).

Of course, the histories under discussion are not intended as histories of Empire. It is, nonetheless, evident that, with rare exceptions, they implicitly subscribe to a view, now considered rather moribund, of Empire as consisting of a set of colonial peripheries pretty much shaped and civilized by an imperial centre. A history of Empire as one largely of conquest, exploitation and domination was not *de rigueur* for them, the perspectives of the colonized were not of particular interest and the mode and mood are almost entirely English or British. And, predictably, the fact that the Empire was also an arena for British capitalist expansion attracts almost no attention at all in these particular historical studies. Clearly, most of these histories were written before the challenges to Eurocentricity that arose largely, although certainly not exclusively, from postcolonial historians. Accordingly, many such histories were written before the current recognition that metropole and colony were mutually, although unevenly and unequally, constituted (such as Hall 2002). And they were written before the relatively recent turn to transnational (e.g. Lake and Reynolds 2008) and global historical studies (Berg 2013). As histories, they are, understandably, of their time, place and perspective.

Conclusion

Thus far, we have offered a conjunctural history of public schools in England, one not told along linear lines or framed around notions of continuity and discontinuity. We offered few 'seamless narratives' (Aronowitz 1981, p. 303). In focusing on different, but intersecting, realms, we spotlit the intimate and intricate, offensive and defensive moves executed as public schools changed in order to choreograph their ascendancy and eventual supremacy. We also spotlit the fastidious steps the socially dominant took to ensure that the schools expressed, reclaimed and sustained their dominance.

This taste of history helps to explain some important things about the *modus operandi* of the schools we discuss in later chapters. It helps to show what was relocated to the different colonies; it also hints at why. Of course, it does not indicate what happened on arrival, how the relocation occurred and with what longer-term effects in different locations. And it only hints at the broader forces involved in this unfolding. In the next chapter, we contemplate the ways in which this public school class choreography was articulated to the broader, global sweep of colonialism, capitalism and Christianity.

Note

1. In pre-Victorian England, schools for the children of 'dissenters', Catholic, Jewish, non-conformist and atheist rose and fell as religious persecution intensified or weakened in England and on the European continent (Chadwick 2001).

CHAPTER 3

Colonialism, Capitalism and Christianity

…It was largely a private-enterprise empire: the creation of merchants, investors, migrants and missionaries, among many others

(Darwin 2012, p. xi)

Nation and Empire, Christianity and Colonies

Colonialism, capitalism and Christianity are the mighty Cs of empire. They are entwined entities sharing an uneasy coexistence (Darwin 2012). Tightly braided together like strands of the ropes used on early merchant ships, the expansion of the British Empire cannot be disentangled from the forces of capitalism. Capitalist expansion is threaded with labour (in the form of slaves, convicts and indentured labourers) and materials traded as commodities, exported from and imported to the colonies, while colonial missions of conquest cannot be unravelled from colonial 'civilizing' (through Christianity) missions. In this chapter, we examine the coiled conditions of these diverse histories of British colonialism, capitalism and Christianity in the context of Australia, Barbados, England, Hong Kong, India, Singapore and South Africa. The uneven development of the British Empire is charted by considering the locally mediated and diverse effects of the aforementioned forces on elite schools in these shifting locations and the social relations that they were part of and helped to make. We therefore take a 'global history' approach in our writing that, as Berg suggests, 'is now stimulating a recasting of imperial history …[as n]ew

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directions in the history of empire have sought a wider comparative perspective and a longer chronology, decentring Europe in the story of empire' (Berg 2013, pp. 1–5; see, also, chapter 4).

Here, we explore the conjunctures of the relationship between the British nation and the British Empire, the Empire and each situated site, the locally powerful and British imperialists (differentiated from colonialists by the political power or economic control exercised, rather than assumption of territorial control of the colonialist), and the connectivity between each of these sites. By using these elite schools as the lens through which we view their identified pasts, we recognize British colonialism as a particular historical form with ongoing effects that shaped, and continue to shape, social relations in globalizing times.

In using the discourses of colonialism, capitalism and Christianity as a typology for framing the historical backdrop of the social formation of these elite schools, we do not want to suggest that they are discrete or differentiated. Rather, there is a relationship across them as they work with and against each other. Over time, dynamic shifts have also taken place in understandings of colonialism, capitalism and Christianity and their relationship with each other, and, as these discourses changed, our research schools responded to them. These schools were established in different times which, collectively, cover a period of nearly 150 years, and, since their respective establishment, they have continued to engage with the discourses of colonialism, capitalism and Christianity differently, all the while intersecting with each other and being informed by ideas that were circulating across the British Empire.

Colonialism: Economies of Oppression

> *To my daughter, Jane Harper, my interest in her dower, being the negroes which I bought at outcry. I also give her my plantation in St. Thomas with two sugar works and negroes thereon for her life, and the use of all my household stuff on the said plantation …To my son John …the plantation in the parish of St. Andrew called the Overhill and also my plantation in St. Peter called Ashton Hall, with the negroes, cattle, stock, etc. also the Customs house and the storehouse in Speightstown called Scantlebury's, and also all my land and buildings in Christ Church, and my land in the parish of St. Thomas formerly Bannatyne's and also all my land and buildings in the town of St. Michael …*
>
> 'Will' of prominent plantation owner, Barbados, 1745

Old Cloisters, Barbados: Established 1733

Old Cloisters in Barbados was initially a charity school, founded in 1733 to educate 'the poor boys of the parish'. The founder of Old Cloisters is invariably referred to as a 'merchant/trader' or a 'resident/landowner'. He was, more precisely, a sugar plantation owner and a slaveholder, and Old Cloisters was, more specifically, founded to educate the poor *white* boys of the parish. Over time, Old Cloisters' student population changed, mirroring a wider social history of Barbados. In the early 1800s, the school shifted from providing an education for poor white boys to providing an education for wealthy white boys. In 1834, a few gifted, poor, black male students were able to attend the school, and in the aftermath of the 1937 riots, it became a bastion for the cultivation of a black political elite. Old Cloisters opened its doors to all 11-year-old boys on the basis of academic merit and without payment of fees when universal, free, secondary education was introduced in Barbados in the post-Independence 1960s; in the 1970s, the school became coeducational. These details are of relevance as they place Old Cloisters in a historical context. In other words, they contribute to our understanding of the development of the social reality of the times, whereby the school is intrinsically associated with Barbados' colonial history. Here, Stuart Hall's ideas provide important insights about the connection between colonialism and capitalism, and the dynamic re/production of particular social formations in this realm. He says:

> [R]acial structures cannot be understood adequately outside the framework of quite specific sets of economic relations. Unless one attributes to race a single, unitary, transhistorical character …then one must deal with the historical specificity of race in the modern world. Here one is then obliged to agree that race relations are directly linked with economic processes: historically with the epochs of conquest, colonization and mercantilist domination…the problem here is not whether economic structures are relevant to racial divisions but how the two are theoretically connected. (1980, p. 308)

Developing Hall's ideas about the historical specificity of race (and historically specific racism) by drawing on Appadurai's notion that 'histories produce geographies and not vice versa' (Appadurai 2013, p. 66), we contend that, in terms of colonial conquest, economic relations and their attendant racial structures are produced over time and in particular places by 'historical agents, institutions, actors and powers' (Appadurai 2013, p. 66). Thus, rather than assuming that the dynamics of British colonialism can

be understood as some unitary representation extended from the metropole, we subscribe to the view that while shared patterns existed, British colonialism was also manifest differently in different places. In this respect, we cannot fully understand the role Old Cloisters played in Barbados, and the reasons it originally catered to particular social groups and not others, without framing it in terms of the history of British colonialism particular to Barbados, the links between British colonialism and capitalism and the pivotal role of slavery in this context.

The British Empire claimed Barbados as its own in 1627 when a private English merchant company financed settlement with the support of King Charles I. Barbados was the British Empire's earliest tropical agricultural colony, first exporting tobacco (from which quick profits were made until an oversupply in European markets caused prices to drop) and cotton and then, between 1640 and 1660, shifting to the production and exportation of sugar (Watson 2013 online). During this period of settlement, 'descendants of Welsh, Scottish and Irish families, [were] brought to Barbados as servants by the English' (Lewis 2001, p. 173). White indentured servants continued to be transported to Barbados even after this initial period of English settlement. For example, during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639–51), many Scottish and Irish prisoners of war were sold into indentured servitude and, from 1653 to 1658 (the Cromwellian period in England), nearly 7,000 Irish were 'barbadosed' to the island (Watson 2013 online). As a result, Barbados quickly acquired the largest white population of any of the English colonies in the Americas. Prior to the Restoration of England in 1660, 'indentured labour was cheaper than slave labour' (Beckles 2007, p. 28): the first sugar plantation workers were, therefore, white servants—providing bonded labour, which meant working for food, accommodation, clothing and training but not wages—their pale skin undoubtedly burning severely under the relentless Barbadian sun.

As the sugar industry began to burgeon and the demand for labour increased, so too did the cost of white labour. It was, therefore, market forces and the specific problem of labour shortage (i.e. the scarcity of cheap, white labour) that determined the rise of black slavery in Barbados. Black slaves were imported in large numbers from the Gold Coast region of Africa in particular, especially from the countries of Ghana and Nigeria of today. It is estimated that, between 1640 and 1807, some 387,000 Africans were shipped to the island against their will (Watson 2013 online), working under duress on sugar plantations

and gaining nothing in return. Moreover, even after slavery was abolished in Barbados in 1834, 'free men' continued to provide forced labour, their only 'payment' tiny huts, provided by the plantation in which they lived, called chattel houses, as they could easily be moved off the land (that remained the property of the plantation owners) and reassembled elsewhere.

Old Cloisters was opened amidst concern—undoubtedly influenced by Christian values—amongst the white dominant classes about the continuing economic decline of poor whites. Poor whites were undoubtedly considered the social inferiors of such classes, as they were descendants of white indentured servants. That said, they were undeniably considered superior to the poor black slaves that the founder of Old Cloisters owned and whom he inventoried, along with cattle and stock, as mere property in his Will. As a means to encourage upward social mobility, schools, such as Old Cloisters, were established specifically for the education of this indigent white population (Lewis 2001).

Precisely because this educational opportunity was originally available only for poor white boys, and not for the poor black sons of slaves, in terms of Barbados' social formation and its connection to the island's colonial history, we must recognize that there are 'other structural relations [i.e. racial features] which are not attributable to class relations of a classical capitalist type' (Hall 1980, p. 313). It is these structural conditions that constitute social conditions in Barbados during the colonial period. Moreover, this is a globalizing social condition as the racial features of this social formation are also significant from the perspective of histories of colonial conquest in South Africa.

Greystone School, South Africa: Established 1870

> *[Greystone] School lies on what has become known as Cape Town's slave route, this being the most direct route linking the Castle [a defensive fort built in the 17th century] to the Platteklip Stream. In the late 17th and 18th Centuries the slaves would walk from the slave lodge in the Castle up to the Platteklip Stream which was beyond the Dutch Company's boundaries. It was here, above [Greystone], that the slaves were free to wash and relax.*
>
> [School website], 2014.

Greystone's present site, purchased in 1913, was originally a Cape farm worked by slaves and owned by the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC)—the Dutch East India Company. The school is also sited on what

was once the slave route, by which slaves were brought to the port to be sent elsewhere to be sold. In the basement of the school, there is a cellar where the archaeological remains of the lives of slaves can be found. The account given of this history on the school's website (as detailed above) is a sanitized one, implying that the slaves had (at least) a reasonably good life, in which they were 'free to wash and relax'. However, commenting on rural slave labour systems in the Cape Colony, Worden (2012, p. 86) suggests that:

> the dominating feature …was work. …[and] the hours of labour were long and arduous. Work could begin well before dawn and continue after dusk, although most owners and their slaves were asleep by 10.00 pm. During peak labour periods, such as harvesting or winepressing, the working day could be much longer than usual.

It was thus more likely that the path from the slave lodge to the Platteklip Stream was one walked daily by slave women who used the stream as a washing-place for the dirty linen belonging to those for whom the washerwomen worked (Campbell et al. 2007). This history is important as, although British colonialism is the frame of reference for us, we cannot understand the foundations of the formation of these social conditions in South Africa without also taking into account histories of Dutch colonialism and the ways in which antagonisms between Afrikaners, the British and indigenous South African tribes, such as the Khoikhoi (colloquially and derogatively described as Hottentots), the San ('bushmen') and the amaXhosa,[1] re/produce continuing social structures of dominance in South Africa. While the detailed outlines of histories of Dutch and British colonialism in South Africa cannot be described here, we can give a brief overview of Dutch and British machinations of imperial power.

In 1652, the VOC set up a permanent post in the Cape of South Africa, as Table Bay was a strategic port of call for the VOC ships carrying spices from the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) to the Netherlands. According to Lapping, van Riebeeck, the employee charged with setting up this post, 'persuaded the company to take four decisions that shaped South Africa: to found the colony, to settle free burghers, to establish superiority over the local tribes and to import slaves' (1986, p. 4). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, as French Revolutionary armies took over the Netherlands, Dutch mercantile power in the Cape Colony began to falter and the VOC was declared bankrupt in 1800. At this time, the

Dutch allowed the British to occupy the Cape (and the Dutch East Indies). Then, in 1815, at the end of the wars, Britain paid the Dutch six million pounds and the Congress of Vienna recognized British sovereignty of the area. At the turn of the nineteenth/twentieth centuries, the British fought a drawn-out war with the Boer Republics to the north. Partly motivated by the discovery of gold and diamonds and in support of Cecil Rhodes' imperial dream of a road from the Cape to Cairo, the Anglo-Boer War symbolized and solidified British domination of sub-Saharan Africa, bringing the Transvaal and the Orange Free State into the British Empire. The 1910 Act of Union united the four colonies (the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State) into one country, the Union of South Africa: a dominion, with autonomous legislative powers and a Governor-General to represent the British monarch. During this period, numerous legislative measures solidified white domination. For example, the Native Regulation Act 1911 made it a criminal offense for Africans (but not white people) to break a contract of work, and the Land Act 1913 led to the displacement of black Africans from their homes as their land was taken over by white people. Black miners were confined early on to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Indeed, miners striking in favour of retaining white privilege, in 1922, carried the slogan 'Workers of the world unite and fight for a white South Africa' (Hazlett 2008).

Of course, given the different histories of colonialism and imperial rule in South Africa, we must recognize that there was not only a strong sense of social division between black and white South Africans but, also, a strong sense of social stratification *within* white domination. For while the British owned the gold and diamond-mining companies and dominated professions such as the civil service and the army, the Afrikaners, by contrast, were mostly farmers or an urban proletariat. As a result:

> The majority of Afrikaners …developed a gnawing resentment against the British Empire, which had arrived uninvited at the start of the nineteenth century to rule what they considered their country. Until the 1930s the terms 'racial conflict' or 'the two races' when used in South Africa did not mean black *v* white. They meant Afrikaner *v* British. (Lapping 1986, p. xvi).

Highbury Hall, England: Established 1853

The school intends to provide an education based upon religious principles which, preserving the modesty and gentleness of the female character, should so

> *far cultivate a girl's intellectual powers as to fit her for the discharge of those responsible duties which devolve upon her as a wife, mother and friend, the natural companion and helpmate for man.*
>
> [School records], Highbury Hall, 1854.

Although there was no revolutionary change in Britain, as there was in France, as industrialization and urbanization proceeded through the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Britain was, nonetheless, 'a nation in transition' (Boyce 2011, p. 33, see, also, chapter 2). This transformation was witnessed in numerous social reforms that were introduced at the time. For instance, the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867 and 1884 extended voting rights, qualified by property ownership, to previously disenfranchised working and middle-class male citizens. Lester (2001, p. 29) argues the 1832 reforms were a response to previous unrest amongst Britain's labouring class, 'products of an emerging set of bourgeois representations' that actually underpinned a new bourgeois political power. This spirit of reform in Britain was not limited to the domestic realm but was also extended to her far-flung colonies (Boyce 2011; Lester 2001). There was, therefore, a conjunction between social reform in the British nation and the British Empire. One group which initiated such reforms was the Anglican 'evangelicals', a coterie of middle-class reformers with political influence in London known as the Clapham Sect, who 'engaged in campaigns to improve conditions for distant, colonial others' (Lester 2001, p. 26).

After the Slave Trade Act of 1807, which abolished the trans-Atlantic slave trade, came the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, which outlawed slavery across the British Empire. Clearly, it would be erroneous to think that the latter Act was motivated by a purely humanitarian impulse or moral purpose. To do so would assume an equivalence between slaves in the colonies and the poor in Britain, based on an erroneous belief that they both occupied a similar moral sphere (Lester 2001). It was a reactionary Act responding to rebellions on plantations in the Caribbean in the 1820s/30s and it had an economic impetus. As Williams (1944) argues, sugar plantations had become unprofitable at this stage, and it was more profitable for slave owners to sell the slaves to the government than to continue operations. Furthermore, as indicated above with regard to 'freed' slaves in Barbados, the emancipation of Britain's colonial slaves did not necessarily mean that they were no longer beholden to their masters. So-called free slaves apparently needed to learn how to be free and were,

thus, required to continue labouring under an unpaid apprenticeship that would purportedly make them 'fit for freedom' (Paton 2004).

Although the actual implementation of the Slavery Abolition Act was problematic, it nonetheless gives us insight into the ways that changes in Britain affected changes in the colonies (not always positively) and is in one instance demonstrating, what Sinha (1995) calls, 'imperial social [and economic] reform'. Taking care of their 'brethren' obviously reflected well to those back home in Britain but a mirroring of social sentiment was also present between the nation and the Empire, as social reformers reflected upon wider questions about national identity and values and about what being British was imagined to mean. Notably, the anti-slavery campaign can be seen, in this context, as 'consolidating a particular kind of evangelical Protestant nationalism …distinguishing freedom-loving Britons from tyrannical Continental Catholics' (Lester 2001, p. 25), in the aftermath of the French Revolution.

In terms of other social reforms in England during this period, despite the fact that women were not granted voting rights until 1918 (and then, only those over 30 years old), attitudes towards women and the positions they occupied in society were also gradually shifting. Of significance were the changing attitudes towards the education of women in society. Indeed, Queen's College for women, founded in 1848 in London, was a college that was a sign of the evolving social conditions of the times: it 'not only trained women to teach [and thus reflected changing attitudes to the education of women], but [it also] educated them to expect to change society' (Walford 1993a, p. 21).

In the early seventeenth century, there were private boarding schools for girls designed to teach them the 'accomplishments', and those who could afford to do so also hired governesses to teach their daughters at home. However, many of the teachers and governesses who provided this instruction were uneducated and so Queen's College was set up to provide such women with education credentials (Walford 1993b). When Highbury Hall was founded in 1853, as the Governor's Report above indicates, it was similar to other girls' boarding schools of the period that merely taught girls 'accomplishments' as a means for them to fulfil their responsibilities as wives and mothers. However, under the new headmistress appointed in 1857, its moderate reputation flourished and it became one of the most highly regarded schools in the country, offering a curriculum centred on academic interests (such as arithmetic, geography, history, French and Latin) for the purposes of gaining university entrance.

Now back to Greystone School. It was founded about 20 years after the earliest schools for young 'gentlewomen' were established in England. Like the majority of these schools, Greystone aimed to produce a certain form of colonial femininity, dutiful daughters of Empire, by providing an education for 'young ladies'—in this case, the daughters of the clergy and colonial administrators in Britain's South African colonies (the Cape and Natal). The Diocesan Synod voted to establish a school for girls in 1870, and it opened in April 1871 with the invitation for applications for admission. Like its antecedents in England, Greystone was dedicated to the production of young women with 'accomplishments' that prepared them for life as the wives and helpmates of clergy, colonial administrators, professional men—the socially dominant. Nevertheless, as Schwartz (2011, pp. 671–2) points out

> The newly professionalised schools, often run by women with connections to the women's rights networks, formed an important part of the improvement of girls' secondary education.

The first head of Greystone and her teachers arrived in South Africa, 'a band of good and devoted women [who] were not under strict vows [as nuns] but wore a simple grey uniform' writes one of the school's alumna whose memoirs are held in the school's archives. They were Anglican, middle-class, English women who had been educated at schools like Highbury Hall. This was important because

> Very much of the character of the colony …necessarily depend[ed] on its future mistresses of households, and the object of [schools such as this was] to secure that they [should] be good Christians and Church women. ([School archive]).

All pupils and teachers were white.

In the spirit of Empire, it is likely the virtual genocide of the two British colonies' aboriginal inhabitants, the Khoikhoi and the San, and the free and unfree labour (Terreblanche 2003) of the indigenous black people of Nguni origin would have been ignored. The defeat of both Xhosa and Zulu peoples in a series of wars would have been celebrated as showing the greater moral and physical courage of the white, particularly British, soldiers. These wars, fought in the Eastern Cape between 1779 and 1879, ended with the defeat of the Xhosa in the year when war against the Zulu began.

Greystone's official histories mention, in passing, the beginning of the war with the Zulu but there is no trace of wars with the Xhosa and, even today, the school's official histories represent slavery in the Cape in a diluted form that serves to depoliticize white exploitation of black slaves. In contrast, the wider histories of colonial South Africa (Terreblanche 2003; Worden 2012) show that power was unequivocally racialized. White people, whether in the British colonies of the Cape and Natal or the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, were dominant and, although slavery was abolished across the British Empire in 1834, structures of white power remained in place. For example, the local authorities passed a Masters and Servants Ordinance in 1841, a labour law that essentially perpetuated white control over black workers. Also the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 consolidated a growing animosity between the British settlers and the Boers, with the former regarding the abolition of slavery as a demonstration of a religious morality that acknowledged a common humanity and the latter viewing it as against an ordering of the races that was ordained by God. According to Darwin (2012, p. 4):

> For historians of (and in) South Africa, the inhuman apparatus of apartheid in all its manifold forms was the more or less inevitable consequence of white colonization. What South Africa's grim history also revealed—indeed this might be proclaimed as its principal 'lesson'—was that colonization and empire were invariably constructed on a platform of racial privilege and oppression.

In terms of the founding of Greystone, Anglican evangelical influences and changing attitudes to the education of women, at 'home', in England, combined and travelled to the colonies, not simply via the circulation of particular kinds of moral discourses informed by particular political ideas and values but also via the circulation (and subsequent settlement) of particular kinds of institutions and through the 'spread of "whiteness" as a transnational form of racial identification, that was …global in its power' (Lake and Reynolds 2008, p. 3). In this way, the establishment of Greystone in South Africa can be seen as a manifestation of the globalization of certain social conditions—characterized by the inextricable entwining of class and race. Of course it comes as no surprise that Greystone's official representation of these social histories is indifference to these structural inequalities. Certainly, as Hall (1980, pp. 308–9) argued, writing during the apartheid era, the salience of racialization in South Africa

was paramount (and to a large extent still holds sway). Furthermore, he suggests, the cultural and ethnic differences which characterized apartheid were (and are)

> deeply implicated with the forms of political and economic domination which structured the whole social formation. Moreover, there can be little argument that this is a social formation in which the capitalist mode of production is the dominant economic mode. Indeed, South Africa is the 'exceptional' (?) (sic) case of an industrial capitalist social formation, where race is an articulating principle of the social, political and ideological structures, and where the capitalist mode is sustained by drawing, simultaneously, on what have been defined as both 'free' and 'forced' labour. (see, also, chapter 6 of this book)

As Hall indicates, British colonialism cannot be understood without also understanding the dominant economic mode that fuelled it (and vice versa). He calls this 'an industrial capitalist social formation'. Furthermore, in terms of the histories of the British Empire's capitalist expansion, the significant role played by merchants and their companies in establishing a world trading system, whether via merchant capitalism or industrial capitalism, must be acknowledged. In the next section, we focus specifically on the British East India Company as it inaugurated an expansive era of commerce and trade for the Empire, and its colonial and expansionary powers (conferred by the British government) meant that it was integral to the colonization of India, Singapore and Hong Kong.

Capitalism: The Company and the Circulation of Commodities

> *In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, --a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.*
>
> (Macaulay's 'Minute on Education', 1835a)

Ripon College, India: Established 1882

The British East India Company was formed in 1600 as a corporation by Queen Elizabeth's Royal Charter. This effectively granted a mono-

poly on trading rights with India 'to George, Earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen Knights, Aldermen, and Merchants' (Thornton 1833, p. 1). While The Company (as it was commonly known) was initially a merchant enterprise, it subsequently became a political entity as it eventually ruled large areas of India with its own private armies, exercised military power and assumed administrative functions. Company rule in India, The Company Raj, effectively began in 1757 after a decisive victory by The Company over the independent ruler, the Nawab of Bengal. In 1857, the local soldiers, or sepoys, who were recruited into The Company's army (over three hundred thousand compared to about fifty thousand British) mutinied and this led to a rebellion. Following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the Government of India Act led parliament to nationalize The Company and the British Crown assumed direct control of India heralding the era of the new British Raj, the end of Company rule and the beginning of British imperial rule, the point at which India officially became part of the British Empire (Chaudhuri 1978).

During India's colonial British Raj in the late nineteenth century, the part of Central India where Ripon College is located was a nominally sovereign territory, an autonomous princely state (one of around 500, which constituted roughly one-third of the subcontinent). As such, it was not directly governed by the British but, rather, governed by the ruling Rajput caste[2] under a form of indirect rule. While the British controlled the external affairs of the state, as it was not a British possession, its Rajput rulers retained control over their own internal affairs, subject to a degree of British influence (Ramusack 2004). In 1805, it became a British-protected state, retaining formal sovereignty. This suggests that there was a significant degree of cooperation between the local rulers/landowners of the warrior or Rajput caste and the British administration. Of note, here, is Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858 stating that the imperial government would 'respect the rights, dignity and honour of native princes as our own' (Cannadine 2001, p. 44). Ripon College is, therefore, an example of an alliance between locally dominant groups and British imperialists; in 1882, the princes of Central India were motivated by the regional British political agent at this time to establishing the school to provide a British public school education to their sons. In this epoch of British colonization and in the context of Ripon College, the relationship between the local Indian rulers and 'Britishers' was a mutually advantageous one based on an articulation between class and caste—a very particular class/caste

nexus. British colonialism in India was, therefore, based on a social system formed as much by similarities and affinities as by 'otherness' and difference (Cannadine 2001).

Collaborating with the British was beneficial for the local Indian rulers who continued to fund the school. Being affiliated with British imperialism further consolidated their privileged status (they were hailed as the 'native aristocracy of the country', Copland 1987, pp. 154–5) and served to facilitate their strategic social and political positioning in relation to the centre/s of colonial power. Furthermore, the local Indian rulers' involvement in Ripon College clearly gave them more bargaining power in relation to negotiating their cooperation with and the degree of British governance in their internal affairs (such as the administration of their land and holdings, and taxes). Ripon College was a status symbol but also a means of learning about the requirements of colonial administration, so that the local Indian rulers' interests could be protected and, possibly, even enhanced under colonial modes of governance.

From the British perspective, Ripon College was strategically important since it was expected to produce a compliant set of high-caste Indian civil servants that could administer British India and guarantee the stability of the Indian Empire. In providing a 'British public school education' to these princely sons, the college was essentially cultivating students who were 'Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in words and in intellect' (Macaulay 1835a, p. 112). To put it another way, the students of Ripon College, sons of princes and descendants of the Rajput caste or Indian aristocracy, were to become a new Indian administrative class for The Company, which mirrored upper-class English attitudes and cultural dispositions, in service to the British Empire. Although Ripon College was 'specifically started for bridging a gap between the ruling families and the British government' (interview, Mr Acharya, Ripon College, 2012), bridging this gap was unlikely. Leading public schools for boys in England were often cultivating their boys to become the governing class that would oversee this Indian administrative class in India. The princely sons and the sons of the ruling classes in Britain were not considered equal. Colonial 'civilization' was obviously classed in this context, but it was also gendered. 'Colonial masculinities' (Sinha 1995) were involved. While Sinha focuses on the manner in which the British stereotyped male Bengalis as effeminate as a way to resist any of their assertions for empowerment, her discussion also potentially opens up further questions about the

power dynamics between British and Indian masculinities more broadly. More specifically, we are left to ponder the dynamics between British and Indian masculinities at Ripon College, particularly in terms of the ways in which the Rajputs' identification with the warrior caste may or may not have problematized the notion of the 'effeminate Indian' (see further chapter 5).

Straits School, Singapore: Established 1823

> *…in our connection with these countries, it should be our care that while with one hand we carry to their shores the capital of our merchants, the other should be stretched forth to offer them the means of intellectual improvement.*
>
> (Raffles' 'Minute on The Establishment of a Malay College at Singapore', 1819)

In the early nineteenth century, Company rule in India was well established, while in the Malay Archipelago (situated between mainland Southeast Asia and Australia), Anglo-Dutch trading rivalry was rife. Lieutenant Governor Raffles, of the British settlement in Bencoolen on the island of Sumatra, convinced Lord Hastings, the Governor-General in India, that The Company should set up a new trading post in the region to better compete with the Dutch, who were stifling British trade in the area. Acting on behalf of The Company, Raffles founded the island of Singapore as a British trading post in 1819, despite facing opposition from both the British Governor of Penang and the Company's Directors ([Singapore history] 2002 online).[3] In the early nineteenth century, Straits School was established on the island.

According to an official history of Straits School, Raffles found Bencoolen 'in a bad state and of little use to The Company' ([School history] 2004, p. 8). This perhaps understates the case. The British settlement of Bencoolen (on the southwest coast of Sumatra), established as a pepper-trading station in 1685, was one of The Company's earliest possessions. As such, it was formed on the system of colonial slavery. As Lieutenant Governor in 1817, Raffles would have no doubt witnessed the abject conditions that this system produced; indeed, this is intimated in an obituary commemorating his life in 1826 which states 'he found the settlement in utmost poverty and wretchedness, for religious worship, or for the administration of justice, scarcely any provision existed, and education was almost totally disregarded' ('T. F.' 1826, p. 80). In response to these conditions,

he instituted reforms that included establishing relationships with the native chiefs and native schools. Such reforms, based on his belief in the ability of Britain to 'carry civilization and improvement in its train' (Raffles 1819, p. 1), were to reach their apogee with Raffles' ideas about founding a school in Singapore. In this respect, Raffles' motivations for establishing the school could be seen to be similar to those of the British agent in Central India. Together with the local aristocracy, the British agent founded Ripon College for the purposes of providing what was deemed to be a civilizing influence—British public school education for the sons of these royal rulers. But Raffles' motives were actually decidedly different.

In terms of commerce, Raffles' contention that Singapore could be a strategic trading post for The Company, due to its 'central situation amongst the Malay states and the commanding influence of its commerce' (1819, p. 17), the British colonial policy of *laissez fair* trade and Singapore being a free port for *entrepôt* trade, proved to be correct. This is evidenced by the rapid increase in value of Singapore's commerce immediately following the first two years of its establishment, when it was 'estimated at 5,000,000 dollars. In 1822, it had augmented to 8, 568, 171 dollars, and in 1823 to 13, 268, 397 dollars' (Thornton 1833, p. 83). Raffles clearly recognized the strategic importance of Singapore for The Company, particularly in terms of its location on the trading route between India and China, but he also recognized the importance of Singapore for its native inhabitants and the diplomatic advantage in such a recognition. He states:

> …while in the minds of the natives it will always be associated with their fondest recollections, as the seat of their ancient government, before the influence of foreign faith had shaken those institutions for which they still preserve so high an attachment and reverence. The advantage of selecting a place thus hallowed by the ideas of a remote antiquity, and the veneration attached to its ancient line of kings, from whom they are still proud to trace their descent, must be obvious. (1819, p. 17)

That Raffles even entertained what was 'in the minds of the natives' of Singapore is an important point as it demonstrates that his beliefs were linked to 'an entire, uneven global network, and a discourse of humanitarianism' (Lester 2001, p. 23) that was a prevalent social concern in the, previously mentioned, unprecedented period of reform in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even in the school's official history, Raffles is recognized, not only as the nation's founder, but as one

who 'stands apart from the common run of imperialists. His imperialistic designs were softened by liberal and humanitarian considerations and a degree of enlightenment uncharacteristic of his colleagues' ([School history] 2004, p.4. See note under References). Colonial conquest, in this context, is thus no longer understood in terms of plunder or exploitation: imperialism is now framed (at least in Raffles' mind) as involving the 'improvement of the condition of her new subjects' and as a way to extend freedom and justice for all—civilizationism it might be called. As Raffles states, 'wherever [Britain's] flag is carried it should confer the benefits of civilization on those whom it protects …and endeavour to diffuse amongst them the light of knowledge and the means of moral and intellectual improvement' (Raffles 1819, p. 14). In contrast with South Africa and Australia this process was not to be instituted via religious conversion but via education.

The manner in which Raffles sought to do this was through the founding of an institution whose first object was

> to educate the sons of the higher orders of the natives and others …Secondly. To afford the means of instruction in the native languages to such of the Company's servants and others as may desire it. Thirdly. To collect the scattered literature and traditions, with whatever may illustrate their laws and customs, and to publish and circulate in a correct form the most important of these, with such other works as may be calculated to raise the character of the institution and to be useful or instructive to the people. (Raffles 1819, p. 17)

In terms of the management of the school, while he envisaged employing a European superintendent, he thought the head teachers and assistants should be 'natives' to Singapore. He expected that languages would form a major strand of the curriculum, with The Company's officers learning Malay, Bugies, Siamese, Chinese, Arabic, Javan, Burman and Pali languages, and Singapore's so-called higher classes learning English. He sought to establish the school not, as was the case at Ripon College, to produce a manageable local labour force that would administer The Company but, rather more ambitiously, for 'the double object of obtaining information ourselves and affording instructions to others' (1819, p. 22). In these terms, Raffles viewed the relationship between the locally dominant and colonial officials differently from those in India. It was his belief that the 'native higher classes' were not simply there to serve The Company as the administrative underlings of the British governing class

(regardless of the benefits the locals themselves saw in this kind of partnership), but rather they were entitled to participate 'in the general progress of improvement' (1819, p. 18) as they shared a common humanity with the British. Raffles' ideas at this time were no doubt influenced by the rise of Bentham's utilitarian philosophy in England, which advanced the idea that, in an ideal society, social institutions such as schools would be built on the principle of the greatest happiness for the greatest number.

Perhaps, unsurprisingly, Raffles' somewhat idealized notions were at odds with Company officials' ideas (Amherst 1826) and the educational institution that he originally imagined never eventuated. The development of the school was stymied by numerous events. These included the unresolved dispute between the British and the Dutch over the ownership of Singapore, a lack of funds and the loss of the claim to the land upon which the school would be built (land which was reclaimed by The Company). What eventuated in 1939 was a school that provided 'mere elementary instruction [in the commoner subjects] of the local inhabitants [, which included] 102 Chinese, 46 Indians and 51 Malays' ([School history] 2004, p. 57). In this respect, Raffles' idea that the school could be a training centre for British officials who, by learning the local languages, might be able to develop better relationships with the local people, never materialized. There were no reciprocal advantages between the locals and the British and, instead of Raffles' 'double object', the singular vision that British colonizers could somehow better the lives of the children of local leaders by offering them a basic British education was instituted. Raffles' vision that 'education must keep pace with commerce, in order that its benefits may be ensured and its evils avoided' (1819, p. 16) was, therefore, never fully realized. More than this, Singapore would also struggle to keep pace with commerce as its ability to remain a viable trading port was challenged by the development of a rival port in Hong Kong in 1842.

> *His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain …the Island of Hongkong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, and to be governed by such Laws and Regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., shall see fit to direct.*
>
> ('Treaty of Nanking' 1842)

A few years before Raffles wrote his 'Minute on The Establishment of a Malay College at Singapore', British traders, whose trading was still being

conducted through The Company, were suffering from a trade deficit. Having run out of the silver necessary (as it was the only commodity the Chinese would accept) to buy tea from China, the British remedied their trade imbalance by dealing in opium instead, despite protests from the Qing dynasty government. Trading Indian opium proved to be highly beneficial for the British; largely due to its addictive qualities, which shifted its use from medicinal to narcotic purposes (Carroll 2007, p. 13), they not only reduced their trade deficit but also further profited from their Indian colony. As Wong suggests, 'the sale of Indian opium to China was a great link in the long chain of commerce with which Britain had surrounded the world' (1998 quoted in Carroll 2007, p. 22). Carroll describes this chain of commerce more specifically by detailing the ways in which different commodities circulated between traders from different nations and the ways in which the circulation of these commodities consolidated Britain's dominant position in this global trading system. He says:

> Britain used the revenue from the opium trade to buy tea and silk from China and to support the occupation of India, Chinese merchants used the profits from tea and silk to buy opium from British traders, Indian producers used revenues from opium to buy British goods. (2007, p. 22)

Such trading conditions, while favourable for the British, were, by stark contrast, devastating for the Chinese people. Around 1838, the British were selling approximately 1400 tons of opium per year to China, and a significant proportion of the population was addicted to the drug. Indeed, in 1842, two million of a population of 400 million Chinese were addicted to opium and by 1881 one-third of the population was addicted. In 1839, a newly appointed Chinese commissioner attempted to control the British trade in opium at the port of Canton but the British refused to end trading in what was, for them, a lucrative commodity. By continuing to sell opium to Chinese people, the British broke Chinese law, and this contributed to the First Opium War (1839–1842) between Britain and China which was, Carroll points out, 'as much about trading rights, diplomatic representation, and British imperial arrogance' (2007, p. 21) as it was about the contraband trade in opium by the British. The war resulted in the British taking control of Canton, the Qing authorities suing for peace and the Treaty of Nanking, whereby China was required to pay compensation to Britain, open four ports to her and cede Hong Kong Island to Queen Victoria.

In 1843, the Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Stanley, claimed that Hong Kong was 'occupied not with a view to colonization, but for diplomatic, commercial and military purposes' (Tsang 1995, p. 17). However, as we have been suggesting, it is not so easy to separate colonization from Britain's commercial or political interests, as these interests are an integral part of colonization. The Treaty of Nanking was an unequal treaty against the Chinese, as Britain had no obligations in return. And, although opening up the ports of Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai eliminated Canton's former monopoly advantage in terms of trade, free trade was, notwithstanding, a part of the British imperialist system and a form of ideological legitimation. As Darwin (2012, p. 29) maintains:

> The idea of free trade was closely allied with the idea of free labour and the attack on the slave trade and slavery. It was the ideological spearhead of British 'soft power'. It encouraged the British to see themselves as liberators, opening up 'closed societies', and freeing their people to become producers and consumers.

Furthermore, although Hong Kong was not occupied with a view to civilize its inhabitants (Carroll 2007), as a result of the 1842 Treaty and the fact that Christian missionaries and their schools were now under the protection of British powers, the pace of missionary activity did increase in Hong Kong and Christian missionaries, subsequently, played a significant role in the Westernization of China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Christianity and 'Civilization'

'Remember them that had the rule over you and imitate their faith' Hebs, xiii, 7.

Plaque inscription, in memory of the Principal (1909–1930) of Cathedral College

Cathedral College, Hong Kong: Established 1843

Cathedral College is the one of the oldest, continuously operated schools in Hong Kong. The first colonial chaplain of Hong Kong established the island's first Anglican Church and the Church founded the school in the

mid-nineteenth century. Although Christianity had been in China from as far back as the Tang Dynasty in the sixth century, demonstrating that the British did not introduce Christianity to China, the Anglican Church can nonetheless be viewed as playing a role as a colonizing influence in Hong Kong. When the school was officially registered and opened, there were 35 students in total, all of whom were Chinese, except for three natives of India who had settled in Hong Kong. The school was primarily a school for local Chinese boys, rather than providing an education for the sons of traders or British officials. Cathedral College began as a training ground for Chinese boys to become bishops and clergymen. The students were taught English and Chinese language and literature (four books and five classics of Confucianism). The words on the school motto are in Chinese, not in Latin, as is the case with most other schools founded on the British public school model in Britain's colonies. In terms of languages, English did not subsume Chinese. Rather, both languages existed side by side; at the school, both were considered of equal importance. (Notably, the school principal at this time was born in Fuzhou in China to missionaries of the Church Missionary Society and he spoke the Fuzhou dialect before he spoke English.) By 1909, the school had five teachers and 53 students, by 1910 the number of students had doubled and in 1911 there were 300 students enrolled at Cathedral College.

Around this time, the school principal introduced the Oxford Senior Local Exam. This examination was thought to be a means to authoritatively test the results of teaching via the boys' schoolwork. It can be viewed as the first instance of Cathedral College's 'well-rounded' curriculum, as it was seen to 'prove that a candidate was well fitted for the situations in life which young men usually enter about that age (18)' (Bodleian Library Oxford, online). As English grammar and spelling, arithmetic, geography and an outline of English history were the only subjects tested, the examination also demonstrates a pronounced shift to a British-style curriculum in the school's early years. A strong sense of missionary vocation was instilled at this time, but it was particularly the case that Cathedral College offered a 'liberal education' on Christian principles. As one of the world's earliest Anglo-Chinese schools, according to one school history, Cathedral College, 'along with its students and alumni served as pioneers in propagating Western ideas in China and provided a window for Westerners to understand the culture of the Chinese' ([School history] 2001, p. 32). Cathedral College

represents itself as offering 'the double object' that Straits School in Singapore did not. Perhaps then, precisely because there was a valuing of both Western ideas and Chinese culture at the school, the alliance between the local Chinese and the British imperialists was manifestly different from the one between the locally dominant and British imperialists at Ripon College. And yet, despite such an alliance, in terms of colonial masculinities, there were, nonetheless, differences between these groups.

Louie suggests that, traditionally, Chinese masculinity 'prioritizes the mind more than most Western cultures do' (2015, p. 3). He demonstrates this via the privileging of 'wen' in the 'wen–wu' (literary/martial) dyad. In contrast, as Dawson (1994) points out, heroic soldiers, as embodying an idealized/imagined masculinity built on physical strength, were integral to the rise of British imperialism. This form of Chinese masculinity, which would have likely been a colonial characteristic attributable to the boys at Cathedral College, therefore differs from the muscular/military Christianity associated with the British Empire: 'the Englishman going through the world with rifle in one hand and Bible in the other' (Bose 2012, p. 20). Of course, there is no doubt that British missionaries would have promulgated a form of 'imperial Victorian masculinity' (Goh 2015, p. 138) in the school, but our point is that masculinity, in this context, was equally constituted by the enduring cultural traditions of Confucianism. Different, again, was the relationship between the Anglican Church, British imperialists, white indentured servants and black slaves in Barbados.

The Influence of the Anglican Church in Barbados

The institutional development of the Anglican Church in Barbados happened almost in parallel to the English settlement of the island. In 1629, the British Governor, William Tufton, built six parishes and churches and appointed parish councils to govern them. As the state-sanctioned religion, the Anglican Church ruled the island in tandem with the Crown's representative, an advisory Council and the House of Assembly (Watson 2013 online). The legislature in Barbados was elected locally and was responsible for taxation and domestic policy. Therefore, unlike other British West Indian territories, it did not benefit from the paternalism of Crown Colony (i.e. British) government, and 'as a result, the Barbadian government and its economy was in the hands of a small, white and wealthy

oligarchy—known as the "plantocracy"—renowned for their racism [and] their reactionary views' (Chamberlain 2006 online).

Anglican clergymen were influential amongst the ruling plantation owners and, by the time African slaves arrived in Barbados, indentured whites had become known as 'Christian servants' (Lewis 2001, p. 173)—a central tenet of Anglican theology being 'the principle of working-class obedience to social superiors' (Beckles 2007, p. 89). Black slaves were not afforded the same dubious appellation as the white Christian servants of the times. There was limited proselytizing to black slaves by white clergymen as whites from the dominant class believed that Christianity was socially dangerous, that it could potentially raise black slaves' awareness of the injustice of their enslavement and that this could possibly lead to slave rebellions (Beckles 2007).

That said, during the 1820s, the notion that religion could have a 'civilizing' effect on black people took hold and 'slave owners and officials in the Colonial Office suggested that the exposure to Christianity …of black slaves [and] free blacks …could have the effect of reducing the degree of socio-political turmoil' (Beckles 2007, p. 88). As the Church was controlled by the planter class, it was a social institution that had a structurally determining role in sustaining the principles of 'rigid social containment and working consistently for the maintenance of the status quo. Political religion in Barbados was, therefore, an engine of social control of the poor Blacks by the rich Whites' (Davis 2011, p. 54). Powerful whites' advocacy for schools for poor whites, such as Old Cloisters, can also be seen as being influenced by the Church and driven by a moral responsibility for the less favoured, only, however, if they were white.

The establishment of Founders in Australia was also motivated by a moral responsibility, not necessarily for the less favoured but, rather, as a way in which to maintain the *status quo* of the favoured few.

Founders, Australia: Established 1866

> *The Chronic worldliness of the community had been aggravated into delirium. As the love of money raged, the love of souls waxed cold in many hearts …New towns became ghastly emporiums of sensuality and sin …The diggings became conservatories of vice, huge hot-beds where moral weeds and poisons flourished in tropical luxuriance. Into this reeking cauldron of corrupted Christian civilization, many Chinamen brought their obscene heathen habits.-*
>
> (Important early donor to Founders, 1901)

At the start of the gold rushes in the 1850s, 'Victoria was already home to nearly 100,000 people, Melbourne was the continent's second-largest urban centre, and squatters had seized control of a tract of land stretching from the South Australian border to southern Queensland' (Boyce 2011, p. 210). As described by one of the original patrons of Founders, the apparent (and abhorrent) 'chronic worldliness' that characterized this community at this time was a cause for 'civilizing' concern amongst both government officials and upstanding Christian members of the colony. Founders, in Melbourne, was established in 1866 in the wake of the Victorian gold rushes, as an institution meant 'to purify the foundations of instruction' ([School history] 2004, p. 36), for the sons of the wealthy but also for the sons of Methodist ministers, public servants and shopkeepers who attended the school. Schools at this time were seen, more broadly, as vital social institutions charged with controlling 'the unruly populations chasing gold from field to field' (Campbell and Proctor 2014, p. 50). But a school such as Founders that catered primarily for wealthy clients and had religious affiliation was less a way in which to control 'unruly populations' and more a means to cloister its students from such unsavoury elements. The government of Victoria granted the four main religious groups in the colony tracts of land and funds to help establish educational institutions. As Anglicans and Presbyterians were the dominant groups in the colony, and as funding was awarded in proportion to denomination, the grants that the Methodists received were of an insufficient amount to establish Founders and so an organizing committee, all of whom were British-born Methodist reverends, provided the additional funds.

This meant that, from the moment it was established, Founders was a religious school with a foundation in Methodist traditions. Indeed, even today, an oil painting entitled 'John Wesley Preaching from his father's grave' (Epworth Church, Lincolnshire c. 1842) hangs in the school's reception. In the painting, Methodism, as a social formation, is depicted in detail through a congregation consisting of a woman breast-feeding her baby, a milkmaid who has just finished milking the cows and farmers who have come from the field still holding their scythes. This image represents the Wesley brothers' open-air preaching practice—rather than expecting their congregation to come to them (i.e. to church on Sunday), they went to where the farmers were (in the fields). Their preaching practice was particularly pertinent in the industrial revolution in Britain as, by going to the slums, the brothers became aware of issues of social justice which, subsequently, became one of the defi-

ning tenets of Methodism, and these Methodist origins, particularly the concern with social justice issues, continue to be important in the school today. In the context of the Victorian gold rush, the Methodist ministers who eventually established Founders also undertook open-air preaching as part of their civilizing missions.

> They sensed an urgency to make a stand for morality and virtue on several fronts: at the immigrants' home when the gold-seekers first arrived; on the gold-fields themselves, with ministers and local preachers moving to where the diggers rushed; by setting up basic chapels and elementary schools wherever settlements looked like being more permanent; and finally by establishing a senior college, where boys could board if necessary, and where future ministers and men of influence could be properly educated and trained.
>
> ([School history] 2004, pp. 28–9. See Note under References)

Founders' first intake of students consisted of sixty-four Methodist boys. In the speech inaugurating the opening of the school, one of the school's founding fathers highlighted the intimate relation between the Church and the boys. He also said of the school, 'she is to encourage the expansion and improvement of the human mind' ([School history] 2004, p.36. See Note under References). The Methodist John Wesley and his supporters attracted both the middle classes and the poor, but the latter were expected to genuflect to the former. Indeed, some argue that, despite his passionate 'field and market place evangelism', he nonetheless dispensed a 'quietist message' that encouraged the humbler classes to accept the social order and their place within it (James 2006, p. 199). More generally in the face of desperation and despair, the poor were expected to be passive and dependent on the benevolence, 'compassion and generosity of the rich' (James 2006, p. 204). In turn, the rich were to perform their Christian duty and take up their social responsibility to ameliorate the miseries of the poor. The *compliant* poor—thrifty, honest, sober and seeking to better themselves—were read through a discourse of respectability and understood as deserving of alms. The *defiant* poor were understood as beyond rehabilitation and thus undeserving of restitution. In order to achieve the tasks of performing their Christian duty and expanding their minds, the boys attending Founders were taught a school curriculum based on both religious and secular knowledge. It included 'the careful study of the Holy Scriptures …[and provided] a Classical and General Education

of the highest order, such as to fit young gentlemen for mercantile life, for the public service, and for matriculation in the University' ([School history] 2004, p. 38).

The imperial, 'civilizing' mission that Founders was, undoubtedly, a part of had begun with the founding of Melbourne itself. Therefore, to garner a better sense of the social context in which the school came to be established, we now turn to discussing the complex conditions in which Melbourne was founded and the complicated relationship between the British government, settlers/squatters and the Kulin nation which consists of five Indigenous Australian tribes from south central Victoria.

Although Port Phillip was considered Crown land, Melbourne was not founded by the British government as an official British settlement. Rather, an alliance of wealthy Van Diemonian Britons called the Port Phillip Association, mostly landowners and government officials, with free settler John Batman (born in Australia and from convict descent) at its helm, sought to privately negotiate land access with a group of Kulin elders. The scope of this book precludes us from engaging in a detailed discussion about this event. Suffice to say, while the treaty offered to the Kulin elders by the Port Phillip Association purported to prove that the Aborigines had consented to transfer hundreds of thousands of acres of their land in return for an assortment of goods—'the yearly rent or tribute of one hundred pair of blankets one hundred knives one hundred tomahawks fifty suits of clothing fifty looking glasses fifty par scissors and five tons of flour' (Boyce 2011, p. 57)—it has been proven that this was not, in fact, the case as, despite their previous contact with the white sealers, whalers and wattle-bark collectors who visited the area many years before white settlement (Boyce 2011), the indigenous Kulin would not have understood the English law that sanctioned the transfer of their land to the Port Phillip Association. Thus, as Boyce (2011, p. 57) suggests, 'there was no possibility that the Aborigines had consented to the incomprehensible concept of selling their land by signing a written treaty'.

The 'founding' of Melbourne by the Port Phillip Association can be placed, more broadly, in a time when social reforms in Britain took hold in her colonies in the form of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 (mentioned earlier) and the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements) of 1837. These created tension between those at the centre of Empire and settlers, as the latter adopted the idea that the use of land, through farming, garnered the right to ownership of that

land. The Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee demonstrated enthusiasm for spreading civilization through Christianity but insisted on justice and rights with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made (Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes 1837). Notable here is the fact that the Parliamentary Select Committee recognized that the problem being confronted, in terms of protecting of Aboriginal Tribes' rights, was 'the sinfulness of (mostly lower-class) settlers, traders, and sailors across the British world' (Elbourne 2005 quoted in Boyce 2011, p. 38). In this context, then, 'civilization' is understood in terms of a hierarchy based on class distinctions. According to Boyce, 'commerce and colonization' were not seen to impede advances in civilization, as was the case with the slave trade and slavery, rather they 'were seen to be the primary *means* of achieving Aboriginal protection and progress' (2011, p. 38). That said, the progress made in terms of protecting Aboriginal Australians' rights was limited by the fact that 'the political influence of the campaign …did not last more than a few years, and its influence was largely confined to a small elite' (Elbourne quoted in Boyce 2011, p. 37).

And while the Parliamentary Select Committee knew what was happening in the Cape Colony in South Africa, it apparently knew little about what was happening in Australia with regard to the 'squatters invasion already gathering pace, the new Port Phillip settlement, the forced removal of the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, or the high death toll at the government-run Aborigines Establishment on Flinders Island' (Boyce 2011, p. 42). Moreover, although the rights and interests of the Kulin nation were clearly not considered with the founding of Melbourne, when the New South Wales government assumed control of Port Phillip in 1836, it approved the private conquest of Aboriginal land and, in asserting perfect territorial sovereignty (i.e. full legal control over people and land), the British government effectively rejected Australian Aboriginal sovereignty *per se* (Attwood 2009). Tragically by the 1860s, 'only about two hundred people remained from all five of the clans that made up the once populous Kulin nation' (Boyce 2011, p. 191).

The Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (1837) existed 'for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown' (Boyce 2011, p. 36). It was called 'to carry civilisation and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of our true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth' (Kenny 2007 quoted in Boyce 2011,

p. 36). However, it was somewhat similar to the enactment of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 in that, while the campaign stood for ostensibly noble causes, its actual implementation was, at best, highly problematic and, at worst, non-existent.

Yet, despite this fact, the native rights campaign of 1837 does demonstrate a particular moment when existing social conditions became shaky in 'the context of a wider philosophical debate on the question of what Britain stood for' (Boyce 2011, p. 35). Within this debate, the necessity of British colonialism was not questioned, and what was challenged, by British politicians, bureaucrats and lobbyists alike, was 'the nature of that colonialism, its ultimate purpose and, perhaps above all, …the imagined characteristics of Britishness which was its expression' (Lester 2002, p. 24). As a result, the nature of British colonialism came to be expressed not just in terms of social reform but also in terms of moral reform. The final point to be made is not that private profit remained at the heart of British colonialism even while it was being enacted in the name of Christian virtue (Boyce 2011). While this is a significant point, the key idea here is that British colonialism, the formation of globalizing social conditions and what it stood for had to be continuously reworked and restructured in order to be maintained.

Notes

1. Often referred to simply as Xhosa, actually the people are amaXhosa and the language is isiXhosa. Similarly, it is correct to refer to the people as 'amaZulu' and the language as 'isiZulu'.
2. The Hindu caste system existed in India long before the British arrived and is still very much a part of Indian society (Gupta 2009). Space precludes us from discussing in detail the various complex ways in which different social groups are, and were, classified. However, it is commonly agreed that in pre-British and British India, that there were basically four castes (e.g. Phadke 2013). The uppermost castes were Brahmins or priests and the Brahmins had, and in many ways still have, an overwhelming ideological influence over the rest of Indian society. Below the Brahmin or priest caste were the warrior or Rajput caste and then the merchant caste and, finally, commoners; the Dalit community, originally called 'outcastes' or 'untouchables', are excluded from this system of classification entirely. A powerful analysis of the injustices involved is provided

by Ambedkar (2014) in his, now classic, study. Of course, in order to understand the sources of inequality in India, it is not simply a matter of understanding a single divisive influence such as caste but is, rather, the case that other sources of disparity, such as gender, region and class, also play a significant role as Sen (2006, p. 5), Phadke (2013) and many others, point out.

3. Turnball (2009) divides Singapore's history into eight distinct epochs; here we focus only on the period 1819–1826, which he calls 'The New Settlement'.
   Please see the note at the beginning of the References section concerning the anonymisation of sources that readily identify schools' and people's identities.

CHAPTER 4

Mobilizing the Past in the Changing Present

> *We need history, but not the way a spoiled loafer in the garden of knowledge needs it.*
>
> (Nietzsche 1873/2005, p. 3)

> *To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it the way 'it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory in a moment of danger.*
>
> (Benjamin 1968, p. 255)

On a clear day in November 2012, we began our second round visit to Old Cloisters College. The principal, Ken Lethbridge, received our Barbados research team in an expansive, wood-panelled conference room adjacent to his office. It was twenty minutes after eight in the morning. After a few pleasantries, Mr Lethbridge beckoned us to join him for 'morning assembly'. We followed him, across the school's quadrangle, in what would be a short walk under one of those impossibly azure Barbadian skies to the eastern end of the school grounds. We entered the school assembly hall, a neo-Georgian brick building set apart from the rest of the school for both austere and celebratory gatherings of the entire student and faculty bodies. Here, we were in the school's most hallowed and consecrated space teeming with students and their nervous energy, accompanied by their overseeing prefects and the school's faculty and staff. As an alumnus ([School history] 2006,) notes, the assembly hall is latent with symbols of an ornamental and cultivated past. Its emblems and its plaques, listing

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the names of the prestigious Barbados Scholarship holders who attended the school, accompany portraits of its previous, white, British principals going back to 1733. All this extraordinary aggregation of symbolism beams down from on high onto the contemporary school body comprised largely of Afro-Barbadian youngsters. Picture, then, this layered scene of images latent with allusions to the colonial past, trophies of the present and the iconography and high-water marks of the British public school in the post-colonial setting of Old Cloisters College. Our focus, however, was drawn to one overwhelming object hanging in the middle of the wall behind the principal and his gathered party on the school dais. It was the Old Cloisters College school crest. It seemed to pull the entire roiling set of images to a symbolic centre and calm. In it, two lions lay—one on top of the other—raising their right paws in a gesture of regal glory.

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Entering Consecrated Spaces and Hallowed Histories

Some form of this vignette could be repeated across virtually all our research sites. What does this aggregation of symbolism mean? What is its historical significance in present circumstances in which globalization, as we noted in our introduction, is altering the social context and relationships of the elite schools in our study, both internally and externally? How, ultimately, are our research schools putting these extraordinary historical archives and cultural patrimony to work? In this chapter, we continue to treat the theme of history announced earlier. But here we call attention to the elite schools' manipulation and modulation of history to meet present challenges and the pressure of globalizing change. We especially call attention to the choreographed practices of class-making conducted by these schools as they rearticulate and reinvent their symbolic inheritances in a project of hegemonic stabilization and affirmation.

Interestingly, lions seem to reside somewhere in the symbolic order of most of the elite schools in our international study (interestingly, not the girls' schools). The main emblems of each of our research schools recruit nature and transfer the symbolic moment of the powerful characteristics associated with the kings of beasts of the land and the air, the lion and the eagle, onto their institutional realm. This articulation of heraldry[1] blends

history into mythology where the line between fact and fiction disappears into an overwhelming assertion of distinction, distinctiveness and triumphalism. The guiding symbols of these elite schools are coiled, pulsing with semiotically arranged tension and historical reference and significance. Like the braided systems of power (the dynamic enlacement of the reciprocal projects of capitalism, colonialism and Christianity) discussed in the previous chapter, these symbols are multi-dimensional, recruiting meanings and practices, metaphor and ritual in the consecration of the enduring dominance of these schools in their respective contexts. These burnished symbols, like Yeats in *Sailing to Byzantium* (1994, p. 163), bespeak an almost unquenchable longing for immortality, a wish to be *primus inter pares*, a dream of constant glory and the codification of the gold standard that separates these schools from all the rest. The imaginary fervour for affiliation that these densely signifying associations consolidate perfects a religious and moral righteousness that hums beneath the espoused programmes of secularism and cosmopolitanism that these schools articulate.

Religion is never really far away from school-based triumphalism. Even in supposedly secular schools it provides rich aspects of the allusive and imaginary heritage and universe of these schools that lend warrant to their success. Religious calling, the sense of vocation and social obligation and the unfolding of organic moral order, deeply inform these schools. The hallowed use of space, the assembly halls at Old Cloisters College, Straits School and across virtually all the school sites we studied, the presence of the temple and mosque at Ripon, the chapels at Founders, Greystone and Highbury Hall—all evoke and communicate a sense of a larger, disciplined order. These schools are spaces of elective affinity, imbuing students with the sense of wonder and specialness of the school worlds that they are initiated into and that they inhabit. One is reminded of the painting of John Wesley preaching from his father's grave in the Founders College lobby (see, also, chapter 3). Wesley is depicted speaking to his flock under a tree in a pastoral setting (an open-air school) much like the prototypical teacher in the elite school. Each subject in the painting, implicitly, is a vehicle of a particular role: the mother, the milk maid, the farmers are frozen in time and responsibility. The painting summarizes the role of education in the Latin sense of 'educare', leading out. The pedagogical subject of a Founders or Highbury or Straits or Ripon College is, by the iconography of the painting of Wesley, encouraged to emulate this path of leading, modelling perseverance and overcoming, standing up as a beacon in the world. We will dwell on the imaginary and this use of symbolism and heraldry

later in this chapter. But what, above all, these symbols dynamically introduce is the active nature of tradition and the past in the contemporary history-making of these schools. The elaboration and burnishing of these symbols are part of the larger investment in history and its strategic use that we will explore in what follows.

It was that extraordinarily insightful Marxist historian and early contributor to the British cultural studies research tradition, Eric Hobsbawm (1998), who, in his collection of essays titled, *On History,* alerted us to the cultural work of hegemonic institutions on their traditions and historical markers. He specifically called attention to their dexterous present—use of the past: 'The past is an essential element, perhaps *the* essential element in these ideologies. If there is no suitable past it can always be invented… The past legitimizes. The past gives a more glorious background to a present' (Hobsbawm 1998, p. 5). Unlike Hobsbawm, we see no necessary opposition between 'suitability' and 'invention' in the practices of ornamentalism in which these schools engage. Instead, we call attention to our research schools' deployment of a strategic alchemy joining suitability to invention and suturing an active nexus of the past and present into a cultural programme of class recruitment and class-making—in the case of Old Cloisters College a calculated and calibrated opening to a widening spectrum of class agents, newcomers who, through the school, rose up from the lower orders and transformed a largely white school to a largely black school.

We draw out the present context in vignettes and scenarios that show the operationalization and fraught nature of the uses of history and tradition in these schools' settings. Initially, we offer theoretical understanding of the 'work of history' as expressed as a form of what Cannadine (2001) calls 'ornamentalism'. We build out and expand this concept of ornamentalism by drawing on the work of Benjamin (1968), who insists on the active nature of history in the present, and the work of postcolonial scholars Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Stuart Hall who point to the fracturing and discontinuous nature of postcolonial meaning-making and its reception. Following this, we go more concretely into the 'tangle of historicities' (Clifford 2012, p. 425) that define these school contexts and the way the schools are navigating the challenges of the present. Here, we look at the concrete work of history in the schools' settings as articulated in modulated forms of periodization of what Nayak (2003) calls *past times*, *present times* and

future times. In the orchestration of history as time and chronology, the schools attempt to impose order on the saturating meanings associated with their past and present and their anticipation of the future. This chapter concludes with the question, what does this all mean? To where do these modulations and renarrations of histories point schools in today's fast-changing contexts? What does this struggle over the iconography and the very souls of these schools mean for the reconstitution of social relations and the new choreographies of class in contemporary globalizing times?

Let us offer two vignettes that illustrate some of the ways in which these elite schools navigate the new of globalizing ambitions of many contemporary students.

Understanding the Work of History as a Form of Ornamentalism

Our arrival at Ripon College in India brought us to an interface of present and past. Like Old Cloisters College, Ripon College is a site of curation but on a much grander scale—121 acres of well-manicured gardens as opposed to thirteen acres at Old Cloisters College. We came in off the dusty streets of the city—busy with tuk-tuks, hucksters selling their wares and the unending and undefined lanes of traffic—into the pastoral and orderly quiet of Ripon College. This entry to the grounds was a very noticeable transition from the boisterous rough and tumble of the thoroughfare outside its walls, marked by evidence of poverty and deprivation, to the extraordinarily disciplined and beautiful space of this elite school full of symbols of cultural endowment and refinement. In the grounds, an extraordinary image stood out, a very modern-looking fighter plane installed like a piece of sculpture in front of the Indo-Saracenic style administration building—representative of the hybrid colonial-indigenous style of architecture that defines some of the most important buildings in India erected during British rule. Here, the fighter jet, a gift from the Indian military in acknowledgement that the school produces many elite military figures and a symbol of soaring modernity, is integrated into a landscape full of props and signage underscoring the school's hallowed past. As a sculpture, the modernity of the fighter jet is modulated and toned and recruited as a displayable museum piece, underscoring, like the lions referred to above, the school's patina of distinctiveness and its long

relief of achievement. In the assertion of worldly greatness, the discursive work of the jetfighter-as-sculpture transforms this iconic, modern symbol into an historical pillar and marker.

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In the first round of fieldwork at Straits School in 2011, our school tour began in the old block where Year 1–4 classrooms reside. It is also in the old block where some of the most rich and intense displays of the colonial history of the school are embedded. On our way to a conference room, we walked along a passageway where old photos of past principals were hung on the walls. The photos of the principals were arranged in a linear and chronological manner, from colonial to a postcolonial moment. The postcolonial moment was apparent because it was when local Chinese principals were appointed: during the colonial period, all the principals were white.

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These vignettes illustrate our theoretical understanding of the work of history as we developed it in previous chapters. Here, we expand this discussion to explore the particular work that our research schools are doing with their pasts in the present. This takes on sharpened significance given the profound enmeshment of these schools in the colonial order elaborated by the British imperial system. On this topic, the writing of Cannadine is particularly helpful. In his theory of 'ornamentalism', Cannadine maintains that hegemonic orders are choreographed and that the maintenance and renewal of class and racial relations in such orders are accompanied by a tremendous investment in symbolic capital and its organization and disposition. Cannadine points specifically to the hegemonic work of anthems, honour boards, plaques, titles, regalia, costumes, uniforms, emblems and standards in creating a graded but unifying system of references that integrated all subjects, in both the colonial 'periphery' and the colonial 'core', into the British Empire. He says, 'the British honours system…tied together the dominions of settlement, the Indian Empire and the tropical colonies in one integrated, ordered, titular, transracial hierarchy that no other empire could rival' (Cannadine 2001, p. 90). In this graded order, it could be contended not only that 'all knew their place' but also that many competed for the elevation of their status and value.

The concept of ornamentalism echoes and builds on ideas developed in the work of various postcolonial scholars including Edward Said (1979, 1983, 1994, 1999) and Eric Williams (1950, 1966). These scholars argue that colonial rule was articulated in the elaboration of a stratified cultural order (not simply a political and economic one), pointing further to the transfer of capitalistic and competitive energies deep into the cultural sphere. In this sense, as Williams (1950) argues further, these schools are cauldrons of class-making, building out from their rituals, their cultural patrimony, and their high-stakes educational practices to generate records of accomplishment that are second to none in their capacity to help *make* the socially dominant and to shore up their power in their respective societies.

We apply these insights and Cannadine's theory of ornamentalism to amplify and illustrate developments in our research schools. We give special attention to what is often ignored as ritual and routine and what is also often set aside as the dead and inert life of the object world of the school—its very materiality. We argue, instead, that one might, paradoxically, see more deeply into the contradictions of the living present by evaluating the use of the past in contemporary times. Therefore, we look closely at what our research schools are doing with their historical archives, preserved cultural objects, architecture, emblems, mottos and their school curricula as they marshal these cultural resources at the crossroads of profound change precipitated by globalization and attendant neoliberal imperatives. This change is articulated across the whole gamut of global forces, connections and imaginations. And, it is in relation to and through these dynamics that these schools must now position and reposition themselves—acting and intervening in and responding to new globalizing circumstances that often cut at right angles to the historical narratives and the very social organization of these educational institutions linked to England. Globalizing developments have precipitated efforts on the part of these schools to mobilize their rich heritages and pasts as a material resource and not simply as a matter of indelible and inviolate tradition. History, we maintain, in this context, cannot be reduced to the realms of epiphenomena, codified narratives, consolidated pasts and securely linear school chronologies.

We seek to understand this development as a process of 'burnished ornamentalism'. This involves a set of practices that are profoundly linked to the constant recruiting of class subjects and the project of class-making and class choreography in the uncertain, contemporary, competitive environment in which globalization continues to place enormous pressure

on these old institutions now having to vie for market share and cultural dominance more vigorously than they have had to in the past. Here, we call attention to the active work on cultural inheritance and its constant revivification and consecration conducted by our research schools. This process involves three key practices.

First, there is the practice of 'selective emphasis' in which traditions are subject to active choice work. This idea is drawn from what Cannadine calls 'the construction of affinities' (2001, p. xix) and what Said suggests is a process of binding a culture 'affiliatively' (1983, p. 25). Choice work involves processes of strategic refinement in which our research schools elect to retain aspects of the bequests of the 'metropolitan model' ([School history] 2006, p. 28), while rejecting or abandoning other features of the same symbolic system. For example, while Old Cloisters College, in the last two decades, has abandoned the old Oxford and Cambridge General Certificate of Education (GCE) for local and regional examinations administered by the Caribbean Examination Council, the school holds firmly to the trove of inherited symbols, flags, bunting and crests that are borrowed from the heraldic traditions enshrined in English public schools and ancient universities. The paradigmatic exercise of placing specific animals on emblems, crests, banners and flags is, therefore, ratified. The lion is chosen from nature and from the archive or list of all possible animals to represent the school's sense of ascendancy and competitive spirit—accenting the distinctive qualities of strength, perseverance and a conquering will associated with the king of beasts. The school is, thus, able to assert two things at once: its participation in popular efforts to reconceptualize identity in the now more nationalist, post-independence era in Barbados, while foregrounding its insistence on drilling down on its remarkable history of excellence and achievement linked to the metropolitan paradigm of elite schooling.

A second feature of the application of ornamentalism is the Janus work or double logic associated with the institutional use of these symbols whereby they help to organize and concentrate identities in the present by looking back to the past. Benjamin had made this association with respect to Paul Klee's painting, the Angelus Novus, the 'angel of history', who appears to move forward to the future even as he looks back, buffeted by tradition and the past (Benjamin 1968, p. 257). Schools such as Ripon College and Straits School are creatures of the past and of the present. Their identities are secured by drawing on their extraordinary vaults of history and symbolism. One is reminded of this relationship as one enters

the school ground at Straits. It is ultra-modern in comparison with Old Cloisters College. Much of Straits' architectural construction emphasizes clear geometric lines, the use of lots of glass and concrete and a deep sensitivity to the environment is evident in its landscaped surroundings. But, coupled with this demonstration of modernization, Straits reverentially maintains an eternal shrine to its founder in the atrium at the entrance of the Year 1–4 building complex. His bust is surrounded by fresh-cut flowers and is the most prominent object. Nearby, the school's prominent alumni have portraits on the walkways—a gallery of great achievers to remind the present students of the core values of excellence that define the school.

The third feature of our research schools' deployment of ornamentalism is linked to their increased use of dynamic, online environments to represent the school brand. Each of these schools has, within the last decade or so, mounted its history, its stories of the past, its architectural distinctiveness and its institutional face online. Videos on YouTube, photographs on Flicker and Facebook and official websites provide opportunities to extol past and present achievements and show off current activities and accomplishments. The effect is to create a blended environment in which the physical objects and tangible cultural practices of everyday life are conjoined with the online world and its capacity to amplify, pluralize and circulate.

The use of ornamentalism is not a singular or homogenous process, however. There are contradictions and discontinuities, despite the best efforts of coordination by the schools. Trying to understand this feature of the deployment of ornamentalism requires us to recognize the ideological and cultural work of symbolism. Indeed, Bhabha and Hall call our attention to the play of tensions and excess of meaning within signifying processes associated with the use of history and tradition. History as heritage and borrowed and invented tradition is associated with Straits, Ripon and Old Cloisters, particularly in the production, marking and etching of gradations (what Bhabha calls 'discriminatory practices' (1994, p. 111) that internally stratify these schools while, at the same time, setting them and their constituents worlds apart from the rest of their societies.

In foregrounding the kind of unanticipated discontinuities that arise in the work of ornamentalism, Hall (1990) calls attention to heritage as postcolonial paradox in a venue outside of school but deeply relevant to our consideration of the work of history in these elite settings. He discusses the politics of popular reception of the Jamaican coat of arms. One

of the prominent features of this national emblem is that of an Amerindian figure holding up a shield displaying five pineapples. The image is supposed to represent the triumph of the indigenous over the colonial past. Hall points out that this image, drawn from the past and supposed to be a symbol of pride and resistance, has been met with an ambivalent reception in contemporary Jamaica. Prominent in response to this national symbol of endurance of first people was its elite school-educated, former Prime Minister Edward Seaga (Harvard-trained lawyer). Seaga fervently rejected the native figure as representing too deep a reminder of the 'crushed Arawaks' vanquished and defeated by the European colonizer. He maintained the symbol was inappropriate for portraying 'the soaring [national] spirit of Jamaicans' (Hall 1990, p. 235). This disjuncture of the native past and the postcolonial present is severe. Seaga's elitist comments remind us of a colonialist attack. It is these discontinuities, as Hall notes, that effectively pluralize history, magnifying the links across groups and accenting the fissures within any given singular narrative of the past as inheritance—no matter what is articulated in espoused programmes of knowledge and heritage triumphalism.

But these contradictions do not only exist at the point of reception. They exist within the postcolonial textual production and the texts themselves that navigate the past into the present and future. The striking example in our study, of another coat of arms in which ambivalence thrives, is that of Ripon College. Ripon's arms integrate heraldic elements (e.g. the heraldic *tenné* suggestive of *bhagwa* colour used on the Maratha standard, the wings and flames associated with the Pawars, the sun representing the Suryavanshis and the moon the Chandravanshis and so forth, are all referenced in the Ripon College coat of arms) culled from the banners of the various independent states of nineteenth-century Central India. These depictions were meant to cobble together a symbolic unity of cultural references generated from the imaginary universes of the different Central India states and native aristocratic representatives, drawing upon and marshalling their collective, indigenous energies into an enduring symbol of a triumphant and prosperous Ripon College. This is summarized in the Sanskrit words of the school's motto meaning 'knowledge is power', inscribed at the base of the coat of arms. What is buried and unsaid in the elevation of these symbols as emblematic in Ripon College's constant tending and burnishing of its image is that these celebratory emblems and standards associated with Central India's princely kingdoms were actually assigned to these native constituencies by the British in 1877, a couple of

decades after the famous Indian Mutiny in 1857 (discussed in chapter 3). These symbolic markers of endogenous independence were also banners of complicity and political settlement, facilitating an elaborate projection and spread of British colonial power into the subcontinent.

This attention to the cunning and ruse of history as it is played out in the so-called colonial periphery distinguishes postcolonial theorists of contemporary society. Such thinkers also separate themselves from the cultural Marxists, as mentioned in the Introduction (chapter 1), who underscore class reproduction, the cultivation and elaboration of a cultural dominant and the making of historical formations *within a national order*. Instead, postcolonial theorists call attention to class-making and the persistence of cultural imperialism and colonialism in an era of apparent national independence. And they point to the ambivalent relationship of postcolonial subjects to such historical objects and historical legacies. Together, the various strands of postcolonial theory (Cannadine, Hall, Said and Williams) on the work of history as ornamentalism present us with important perspectives in our efforts to understand the ideological role of history in the practices of class-making executed by our research schools. We now turn to a discussion of the concrete experiences and further uses of history associated with three of our research schools: Straits School, Ripon College and Old Cloisters College.

The Concrete Working of History

The social world is accumulated history …

(Bourdieu 1986, p. 241)

For it's Cloisters, Cloisters, all for Cloisters …

(Old Cloisters' School Song)

Each of these schools reworks its particular historical heritage in the new contexts in which they and their societies are situated. We must, therefore, methodologically move between the past and the present of our research schools. Each has evolved out of colonial contexts to be significant symbols of modernization in their respective national environment, region and the world. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, scale and capacity and different histories of incorporation into colonialism and capitalism are central features of these schools and their respective historical contexts. India is distinguished by its vastness, its enormous population, the rapid growth

of its capitalist economy and of its middle class, its rising global power and influence as well as by its extraordinary history of caste and by the power of caste aristocracy. All of this places the school we are examining in India, Ripon College, in a very specific location. The Ripon College context is, then, different from Old Cloisters College in Barbados or Straits School in Singapore. As large as India is, Barbados is small. Barbados' location in the centre of the emergence of British imperial economic development has long since waned, declining from the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. Yet Barbados is a critical player in the Caribbean and Latin American region. It is one of the handful of 'third world' nations in this region listed in the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) high-development column of Human Development Index (HDI). Straits School, as its spanking new, modernist structures indicate, is a beacon in a small country that has been one of the transcendent, newly developed countries (NICs). It is a 'third world' country that passed into 'first world' status since the end of twentieth century according to its legendary former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew (Yew 2000). The sense that Singapore is a global player has been absorbed into the sinews of Straits School (Kenway and Koh 2013). Proud of its past, it seeks to not only spotlight its remarkable achievement and success but also project its brand into the global arena.

Past Times

Heraldry…is the shorthand of history.
(Woodcock and Robinson 1988, p. xii)

In the work of history in the elite school in former British colonies, the matter of time itself is a deeply signified and signifying property. In this context, time is to be understood as usable tradition, usable chronology, a key target of ornamentalism. One powerful sense of time in the elite schools under examination is endurance, persistence—the *longue durée*. These schools have long histories. All of them are over a century and some almost 300 years old. They all have official written histories. These schools are not just proud of their past, they seek to mobilize the past in the operationalization of the present and their anticipation of the future. The work of history, then, can be charted into a strategic periodization of past times, present times and future times. This strategic periodization is not to be understood as a linear march of time but rather the complex practices

associated with marshalling the storehouse of powerful, signifying material and cultural residues inherited by the schools. Time, in this sense, is a protean system of meaning that comes to the aid of strategic engagement with the existential challenges that these schools are now facing. Their accumulated symbolic power and capital are thus, through periodization, deployed to mark off progress, to mark status and achievement in relation to others and to emphasize, above all things, the shimmering elevation of the elite school over all comers.

History, articulated in the postcolonial context of the elite schools of Old Cloisters College, Ripon College and Straits School, achieves its purest form in myth—a 'type of speech' (Barthes 1972, p. 109) that is densely codified and codifying. Its meanings are available and usable within a restricted register (Bernstein 1977) invoked by the exclusive fraternity of group members—in our study, the privileged environs of a Ripon College or a Straits School or, for that matter, an Eton. History at work, in this sense, then, is the materialization of myth, the work of symbols, the production of group feeling and the projection of distinctiveness. But myths are never fully anchored. They circulate and are circulated. They saturate deeply into the ideosphere of interested groups and institutions. Our research schools are conduits and way stations of myth. Myth represents the deepest codification of the past—it stretches past time into eternity, draining it of historical specificity and contradiction. Myth's time is not linear time, but circular time. Myth works through all periodizing frameworks at once: past times, present times and future times are encoded and braided simultaneously into the mythical text. Myth is prophetic, even as it operates as a marker of origins and a rule book of present action.

This is the case with the symbolism associated with the iconographic figure of the lion. Remarkably, each of these schools foregrounds the lion symbol on their coat of arms. In these images, the featured lion tends to have its right paw aggressively raised—not held flat but erect, poised and in a manner, as we are told in books on heraldry, of signifying and asserting power and domination (Woodcock and Robinson 1988). In the case of Ripon College's coat of arms, the lion image is exalted above the two princes (Maratha and Rajput) standing on either side of a shield. We are like lions, 'we are lions' (*nous sommes des lions*, adapting Barthes *Mythologies*). Two lions with paws raised occupy the centre of Old Cloisters College's coat of arms. And, on the website of the school's old scholars' association, a photo of a pride of lions appears, on which is scrolled this guiding admonition: 'Guardians of our Heritage'. At Straits School, the mythi-

cal gryphon reigns supreme. The gryphon combines the king of birds, the eagle, with the king of beasts, the lion. Again, the gryphon's claw is raised. Through these images, the schools semiotically recruit the powerful, mysterious characteristics of these dominant creatures of the animal world to their institutions. The lion and the gryphon are understood as great protectors of high-valued and precious treasures. The power of these symbols echoes through the ages. The heritage of the school is not a thing of the past but a force in the present and the future. These schools project power and accomplishment. It is a compelling aspect of their marketing and appeal in the present.

If the lion and the gryphon can be seen, somehow, as the distillation of the elite school's identity—the summary and consolidation of its past time and essence of its present and future will to power—these symbols are not free-standing and self-sufficient. They are articulated to other reinforcing symbols, objects, practices and iconography that reinforce the school as triumphant. Emblems, plaques, school mottos, school songs, flags, bunting and the architecture channel the sense of continuity, near-permanence, of Old Cloisters College, Straits School and Ripon College. The aura of schools' pasts is constructed, ornamentalized, not given—a key element in their choreographies of class. Photographs, busts, memorial walls, gardens with dedication structures, plaques celebrating the outstanding achievers of these schools, going back to their earliest beginnings, build this sense of the past continuous into the present.

Gates and entrances beckon and lead the visitor to highly orchestrated spaces. Old Cloisters College's wrought iron gates, for example, lead the visitor from its busy, main street entrance into staged and modulated space saturated with evident historical ruins from the colonial past. Right after the street entrance, on the north-east quarter of the grounds, looking to the left, the visitor's attention is immediately drawn to a sand-coloured memorial wall rising from a bed of lilac flowers. Emblazoned on this memorial wall are the names of all the great, British principals of yesteryear—all of whom were educated in the citadels of learning in England. The political leaders that the school has produced over its long history are also foregrounded.

One is struck by a similar codification of the past at Straits School. As one enters the main building, passing from its distinctive reception canopy which opens up into the school's main atrium, one is attracted to the imposing bust of the school's founder. Here, too, as we have indicated, one finds plaques and photographs of the school's great progeny,

amongst whom are prominent leaders of Singapore, preeminent in the school's illustrious history and preeminent amongst world leaders.

In the receiving room in Ripon College's spectacular main building, one is surrounded by paintings of the earliest board members and benefactors: the Rajputs, Nawabs and Maharajas of Central India. The building in which this receiving room is housed is itself one of the most noted examples of the Indo-Saracenic style of late colonial architecture surviving in India, described as a 'perfect blend' of 'Indian and British heritage' ([School history] 2007, p. 46).

While past times are articulated in all-consuming images such as the gryphon on the school crest, the school flag and in the celebratory display, pride and specialness mediated in history books, school magazines and the special memorial releases in school bulletins, it is the online environment that now spawns and multiplies the glow and effect of inherited traditions. As suggested earlier it is the online environment that renders a dynamic contemporary flair to our research schools' symbolic universe. Homepages, YouTube videos and Flicker and Facebook photos and uploaded files provide a modulated resource for the burnishing of image and the marketing of these schools. They are also the source of disavowal and markers of contradiction at the interface of the past and the present.

Present Times

The present times of these schools bring new terms and new relationships to these hallowed objects and consecrated pasts. These powerful signifying objects, practices and rituals are in confluence with a new order of things. When these symbols are put under the pressure of the postcolonial moment and the momentum of globalization, they appear contradictory. For instance, when faced with the postcolonial questions of relevance, origins and the remaking of identities, these great symbols seem, at times, brittle or out of place, more mimetic and ironic (as Bhabha points out in his essay *Of Mimicry and Man* 1994). Why are the symbols linked to Anglo-European and Greco-Roman imperial and monarchical systems and houses still so enduring in present-day Singapore or India or Barbados? What particular work do they do in the postcolonial context? How are they connected to these countries' radical openness to globalizing energies? These questions bring us to present times.

While these schools revel in the selective traditions of the past times, they also work to navigate the past into the present as they contend with

the new challenges and orientations within the school body itself, and with the needs and aspirations of parents and students that present times bring. Present times in the postcolonial setting are not so much a marker of the period of the now or the new, as they are a concatenation of structures, experiences, practices, the active cross-currents of needs and competitive interests and orientations in the navigation of the existential circumstances of the postcolonial context. Present times are generated from contradictions within the school as well as from new dynamics taking place in the world outside as the roiling processes of globalization put these schools under the pressure of new circumstances. Present times, then, are times of change, precipitating repurposing and reorientation of ornamentalization.

One thing these schools must contend with is the fact that they are not the only option for youngsters and their parents. In this context, the past can be a weight upon the present. This often leads to reorientation. Consider Old Cloisters for example. Historically founded on the British public schools' approach to curriculum (see further chapter 2), with deep emphasis on the *quadrivium* and the *trivium*, Old Cloisters College built its reputation around the classics—the study of Greek and Roman literature and history. One of its early principals was famous for his publication of the *Elements of Euclid* in 1892 while he was at the helm of the school.

But the great point of fruition of the classics was around the late 1930s when the school was beginning to open up to and include black students, from the middle classes, into its school body. It is from this more integrated Old Cloisters College that a celebrated group of brilliant students called 'the Rolls Royces' were known for the speed at which they could translate Livy and Virgil into English ([School history] 2006). The Rolls Royces would become the lieutenants in a new era of class-making. These students were largely Afro-Barbadian, part of a generation that would become the political leadership in the country. In the 1960s, one distinguished 'Rolls Royce' translator became prime minster and his former classmate became his deputy. Right until the 1980s, Old Cloisters College sent some of its major talent in the classics to Oxford and Cambridge. The 'Rolls Royces' represented the long-held desire of the colonial and postcolonial child to seek final achievement and cultural finishing in England.

By the turn of the new century, this had begun to change. Old Cloisters' students have retreated from the classics emphasis, opting instead for the sciences and business. Of some six curricular tracks for the sixth-formers at the school, five are now designated exclusively to science and technology. Only one track is in arts and languages. Moreover, some students

have voted with their feet for business, accounting and law, pursuing these subjects outside Old Cloisters College when necessary with master teachers who offer extra lessons (see further chapter 7). The new, rambunctious, entrepreneurial desires and imaginations for exotic career futures within the contemporary youth communities at the school now exceed the capacities of the school. This has resulted in strategic action on the part of students, reflected in new curricular choices (e.g. the shift towards business, law, economics, accounts, communications studies, digital media studies and entrepreneurship) parked alongside the old liberal arts emphasis on the humanities, that constitutes the historical bequest to these schools. Like many of his peer principals, Deputy Principal Glen Little spoke of the reorientation of the curriculum towards globalization and the school's commitment to producing global citizens and global leaders, saying:

> The world has now become like a village. You know, before, we saw ourselves in the context of Barbados and what we can achieve and so on. But the reality is that today, and I think this is one of the things of all education, here at Old Cloisters College, we are not just preparing students to go into the Barbadian workforce but we are preparing them really for globally… basically… to be able to go into jobs anywhere in the world because we have been saying to them that now … globalization has taken place or is a continuing situation or issue. (Interview 2011)

Perhaps even more driven by the goal of marshalling history in efforts to retool is Ripon College. Founded as a school to provide British education to the sons of Central India's indigenous aristocracy, Ripon College has felt the pressure to open up to a wider cross-section of social groups, particularly to the new commercial classes of its municipality and to carefully selected members of subaltern populations. Like Old Cloisters College and Straits School, the invocation of the meritocratic principle is a fundamental feature in the reframing of the historical narrative of the school. The administrators, teachers and the students at each of these schools undertake 'service' work. They reject, as well as embrace, different aspects of the early history of eliteness associated with their institutions. They reject any notion of social snobbishness or the retention of any form of exclusion by class, ethnicity or religion. They, nevertheless, retain this notion of separateness, of distinctiveness, built on achievement but enabled by the symbolic weight and furniture of cultural form, heraldry, architecture and so on that help to define their school as the institution of excellence

in their given setting. Each of these schools is affected by an aggressive context of competition for students and standing. In Barbados, Old Cloisters College competes with nine other, older, grammar schools and the Barbados Community College. Singapore's Straits School dominates a field in which it competes with other similar schools for outstanding students and for reputation.

But Ripon College now operates in an environment where the competitive pressure is quite extraordinary. New schools committed to twenty-first century skills are being built every day in India. Ripon now has to compete with schools that are being founded by the business and commercial classes such as the Mercedes Benz International School (http://www.mbis.org), in Rajiv Gandhi Infotech Park in Hinjawadi, Pune, India. As one of us has reported elsewhere (Rizvi 2014, also see chapter 6), there is a growing belief that the older, long-established schools that emerged in the colonial era might not be up to the task of sustaining excellence in the present. Ripon and schools like Straits and Old Cloisters have accepted this challenge and have enhanced their infrastructure, curricula, website and online presence and reworked their image. Official and unofficial videos, sometimes with very high-quality production value, can be found online. They generate what Bourdieu (1993, p. 115) calls a 'restricted' economy or peer-driven universe promoting the elite school's image. For Ripon College, a particularly prominent and insistent theme across all of these venues of publicity and representation is the theme of internationalism. Ripon is presented not only as a participant in a new global era but as a leader and coordinator in global education. This is intimated when it plays host for pivotal events (such as Young Round Square conferences, discussed in chapters 6 and 7) and for international students. In an online documentary on the school, this theme of internationalism is very prominent. Ripon is presented as an international harbour, a place for those who care about their fellow human beings across the world and for ecology and the survival of the planet. Within this narrative, Ripon is depicted as a transformative place that builds on its rich cultural history to promote a multi-culturalism and openness to all. As one student maintains in the online video: 'I grew up in a very small town… and then I came to Ripon College…because I knew, I knew, I wanted to experience the entire world'. The video stresses the vigour and openness of the curriculum. Students can pursue national exams (CBSE—Central Board Secondary Education) or the CIE, the Cambridge International Examination. Ripon's extraordinary qualities make it a world leader in

secondary education, at least according to the school principal. The polished online video refers to Ripon College as 'a diverse, multicultural oasis in the heart of India'. Signifying markers such as the idea of the open cosmopolitan campus fused to distinctive but accessible customs that can be shared by all, profound commitment to ecology, individual expression, experimentalism and debate all underscore what the school claims to be the specialness of Ripon College. This online ornamentalism promotes Ripon as a distinctive institution, one of the few schools anywhere with its play of architectural heritage, as well as one that appeals to everyone. Here, the rhythm and duration of everyday life, as depicted in the video, suggests a cosmopolitan school that could be anywhere.

Straits' official online video also proceeds by calling attention to its long history of distinction. Its distinctiveness is 'forged in gryphon fire'. The reference to Prometheus, the notion of receptivity to change and the emphasis on creativity are the defining themes of this carefully produced video. 'To be at Straits School is really magical', says one of the eager student representatives. Yet another proclaims, 'I, myself, am in the Straits Academy of History. It is a kind of higher history' (referring to being a member of a curriculum programme designed for those regarded as gifted in the humanities). There is the sense of elevated purpose and mission that is expressed by the Straits' students—a sense that history-making is a continuous feature of school life and they can make that history as self-authorizing actors. Straits' great tradition is recruited to the present where its creativity and excellence, we are told, allow it to build alliances to peer-like institutions amongst the G20 Schools and throughout the world.

'We are the oldest school in Singapore. We are 190 years old. … And I think anyone who has actually travelled to Singapore would have heard of Straits', notes Straits' Principal Xin Ho, in an online interview also published on the Web, as she invokes Straits' status as *primus inter pares*—as the model for other institutions. In this sense, Straits School is both the oldest and the most modern school in Singapore. And Straits understands itself as a model not just for Singapore, but for schools around the world. As we explain further in chapter 5, it sees itself at the apogee of experimentation and as a world player *par excellence*. It is to be noted that the Straits 'brand', as the principal notes, is now circulating around the world. One area in which the brand is foregrounded is experimentation in teaching and classroom pedagogy. In the interview available on the YouTube video-sharing website, Mrs Ho talks about the Straits approach to technological innovation and diffusion amongst her

teaching faculty. 'We want to allow our teachers to customize according to their needs', the principal maintains. 'Customization' is actually central to the school's strategy of constantly improving its stock of human capital and its vantage point in the educational universe. This customization is facilitated by Straits' approach to diffusing technology and integrating it into the classroom. This is done in the form of hothousing pedagogical innovation in a high-tech, experimental lab. Here, experimentation with simulation, video games, touch-sensitive smart screens, ergonomic mechanical chairs for students outfitted with interactive technology, the use of Popplet for visualizing ideas, webbing and brainstorming all represent a very sophisticated and elevated investment in technology. The lab is like a hatchery for the gestation and trying out of pedagogical ideas that can later be introduced into the classroom and disseminated abroad, as Mrs Ho underscores in an online interview while attending a conference on technology in the capital of one of the 'Asian Tiger' countries.

It is to be noted that Straits participates in the larger Singapore educational excellence branding effort. The Straits approach to teaching mathematics, for example, has now been adopted in school districts in the USA. Another material feature that is part of the school's narrative is the history-making fact that Straits become a top feeder school to Oxford and Cambridge universities. In a striking sense, Straits stands out even among our research schools in that it is projecting its forms of knowledge-making into the metropolitan countries. No other school in our study lays claim to this audacity of school narrative, this audacity of projection of school identity into the world. No other school projects this sense of confidence, not simply as a world player but as a world shaper of educational practice, and interestingly, no other has such a universalist ambition overlain by what the principal sees as Asian values. Even the school song declares students shall 'reign supreme' in all realms and endeavours.

The present times of our research schools are brim-full of propulsive, competitive desires and ambitions. There is a yearning not only for continuity of educational and social dominance in their respective local, national and regional contexts but often, also, a desire to expand into the global arena. In all three of these cases, school leaders, students and stakeholders seek to assert their past achievements and distinctions and to consolidate their hold on the narrative of their schools as triumphantly efficacious institutions in the present-day. Past times and present times

then stretch into future times. As these schools gear themselves for the future, they seek the measure of the new times. The world that centred England as the chief benefactor and beneficiary, the point of transacting and finishing the talent from the former colonies, now has been significantly decentred, even though many aspects of the English public school model have been retained. The ambitions of students are more and more grounded in a neoliberal framework in which personal calculations and personal choice rule the day. School institutions are playing catch-up with this transformed context and attempting to stay ahead of the game. School histories are being translated by students into personal histories of choice, pursuit of opportunity and openings for personal success (see chapter 7). These schools are responding to the new, global, imaginary universe. At Old Cloisters College, for example, some of its teachers and administrators are the driving force behind an International College Fair that brings representatives from Europe's and North America's leading universities to Barbados every November. They come in pursuit of academic talent from Old Cloisters College and other leading elite schools on the island. At Straits School, whose resources seem boundless, there are structural innovations, pedagogical and technological experimentation, new emphases on co-curricular activity and planned facilitation of student tours to elite colleges in the USA, Europe and China. Ripon College is being repositioned as a player in the international arena with its leadership role in Round Square. But, most insistent of the future time is the work of the imagination of many students. Here, the care of the self often usurps the care of the school, and ornamentalism becomes as much an individual as an institutional exercise or set of practices.

Future Times

Time present and time future
What might have been and what has been.
Point to one end, which is always present.

(Eliot 1943, p. 13)

Latimer and Skeggs (2011) make the point that the imagination is a way of thinking about the world that is always embedded in material purposes, practices and actions associated with class-making and class recruitment. It is a way of 'ordering' time and space (p. 397) in order to preserve class privilege. Elite schools such as Straits or Old Cloisters are challenged all

the time to order the narrative of their pasts and their ambitions for the future. This can often be a contested affair. Administrators and stakeholders invested in the continuity of excellence and the future success and prosperity of their schools, must navigate the strong currents and waves of interests, needs and desires that challenge the organized capacities of the schools. Schools are not simply concrete buildings, spaces and personnel. They live, perhaps most relentlessly, in private and public memories, representations and imagination. Imagination is not unitary. It is a plural set of investments and impulses that transpire into specific actions, practices, special events, new buildings, new programmes, broad strategic planning and programmatic direction and redirection. It is here, in these circumstances, that our schools apply practices of ornamentalism, working relentlessly on heritage and cultural endowment to spark revivification and constant renewal of commitment and affiliation. It is here (after Cannadine) that these schools *construct affinities.* As administrators plan for the future in the present, they must exercise custodianship over the past. This double tug of the past and the future is experienced with great intensity in our research schools. Here, the past seems so all pervasively present in the visual domain and in the rhythm, duration and organization of everyday life. Here, the future is so insistently the beckoning path forward. And the only guarantor of continuity and persistence is the school's continued cultivation of its accumulated habitus and class foundation in inherited metropolitan values and dispositions proffered from the past and relentlessly applied to the transactions of the present and the future.

Straits School is one such site of this tremendous play of energies. It has, for almost two centuries, established an enviable record of elite school achievement. And, according to its principal, there are those actors in China, in the United States, in Malaysia and throughout the world who want to copy its model. For the principal and the alumni, the model and its future success have been and must be built upon a continuous sense of the past. This relationship must be elaborated into projects and programmes. One such programme that reflects this duality, the deep investment in the past and the wish to project a burnished image of the school into the future, is the school's new multi-purpose archival project—part time machine, part museum, part botanical garden. In the school's old block, a designated place has been marked out for the construction of a museum. The school actually hired a consultant, an archaeologist, to design and set up this contemporary Straits heritage project. At the same time, a donation drive has been organized, called the 'Museum and Artefact Donative

Drive', inviting alumni, seniors and relatives to donate artefacts to the museum. The principal describes the multi-purpose heritage project this way:

> And the heritage… [For our] anniversary, we have a series of things lined up. And one of them is called the 'Teacher Time Machine' as well as a project to bring back a lot of the artefacts and Old Boys' mementoes, things that they had, we are trying to get them to donate them back to the school. We have also brought back a lot of artefacts that we lent out to the national library—over 200 of them. So we have moved one of the staff rooms to Level 2 and that whole place is now empty—so it is now going to be part of our archives and heritage. It is going to be an interactive space. Not a museum where you go in, look and come out. It is just classroom space but it will be surrounded by stories of the beginning of the institution in tandem with the history of Singapore. And we have also done some gardening behind. It is empty right now. But we will be planting plants that were part of the original botanic gardens and then we will have some of the history of the gardens. (Xin Ho, interview 2013)

The museum is a future project that will be built to showcase the past. The teachers' interest in a time machine echoes science fiction and the dual wish to preserve and embellish the past in order that their present-day pedagogy might be sustained into the future. The planned Straits School Museum gardens are based on the splendid botanical gardens of Singapore City, but they also reflect the strong contemporary wish, in Singapore, to be ecological, to build green oases in suburban spaces.

Future times are certainly articulated in school strategies and projections. These include their continued but changing investment in *noblesse oblige* and strategic community service (Kenway and Fahey 2015), in terminology and in larger conversations about globalization and the knowledge economy. But perhaps future times are best articulated in students' aspirations including their relentless embrace of entrepreneuralism. The speed and intensity of aspiration that the students carry forward often bring them in collision with the schools and the narratives they so extol and in whose identities they are so invested. Future times constitute the making of history, the modulation of history, adjustments and the gleeful push that young people are making into the brave new world. Future times are, therefore, a form of history-making through repositioning, self-investment and 'boosterism'. Students' perceptions of how the school's past and present play into their narrative of future—future life beyond the

school, future professional life, future life of settling down—often place strain on the official school story. School history fades into personal history, personal desire, personal interest.

At the first interview of the student council members that we conducted at Ripon College, the students expressed great pride in the school's past, its history, its teachers and staff but some of them still found Ripon wanting. They felt that, despite its investment in programmes such as Round Square, the school did not prepare them for a global future. The problem was not the school, it was the 'Indian educational system', one student, maintained, saying 'I'm not into Indian education because … if I want to go outside…I need some knowledge of there too' (Saba, interview 2012). They also claimed that the school had placed blocks to their use of technology and their participation in the online world, 'I don't see any reason why Facebook is banned …' (Ashok, students' focus group 2 2012). For them globalization was best expressed, unsurprisingly, in terms of social media—their access to online communities and to friends around the world beyond India.

Students in this and other focus groups at Ripon, dreamt of professional futures that would be in commerce. There was very little apparent identification with the aristocratic classes that were the benefactors and students at the Ripon College in its early years.

This theme of reworking the narrative of schooling for the future was also strongly present in the discourse of students at Old Cloisters. The generational gap over future and past times was emphasized: 'Our school is perhaps the archetype of failing to keep up with the times' (Blair, interview 2013). Teachers were noting that this crop of students were not like students in the past. Their investment in schooling was more means–ends oriented, less qua academic and more instrumental. Students at Old Cloisters College, put their future in lessons outside of school. Students felt that they needed a particular portfolio and a broader menu of courses than their school was offering. It was not unusual for some students to be pursuing, totally on their own, piano or music certification with the Royal Academy of Music, mixing this with courses in law at the Barbados Community College or University or a course in economics at Ardent Arbors, a rival school that offered economics in their curriculum. This meant, in reality, a hybrid curriculum distilled through habits of personal choice and careerist programme building:

> Well I do management of business, economics and literatures of English. When I got into sixth form I chose … I want to work at a magazine and

> eventually own my own. So, then I chose business to go with that and … literatures in English. (Ginger, interview 2011)

Old Cloisters students approached their curriculum, as Bernstein maintains, as a 'collection code' (Bernstein 1977, p. 14) in their aggressive anticipation of tertiary education and professional life in North America—one certainly not realized for all.

Working through past times, present times and future times, Old Cloisters, Straits and Ripon institutions reveal themselves to be astute reinventers of their identities, grounding their reinvention in change that preserves the past. The practical effect is that these schools continue to dominate the educational environments in which they exist. As Amber said

> It's a top school in Singapore and then, like, later when I go to University or want to find a job in the future when they ask, which school are you from? Then when you say, like, I'm from Straits then they, like, know that immediately that excellence is from Straits School. It's a way for us to work around the world. (Interview 2011)

Ripon, Straits and Old Cloisters have embraced the sense of eliteness tied to opportunity, rejecting the notion of privilege through birth and social position. They have worked up a meritocratic tenor into school narratives. And they now seek out the academic elite from a broader class base than ever before.

Conclusion

> *History itself is nothing but the activity of men pursuing their purposes.*
> (Marx quoted in Bauer 2003, p. 175)

Latimer and Skeggs (2011) caution twenty-first-century social analysts against a too easy coupling of imagination and geography, a too easy delimiting of imagination via territorialisation. 'We want to question', these authors assert, 'the ways in which imagination is always already tamed and ordered by our being enrolled in one tradition rather than another' (2011, p. 395). Drawing upon this argument, what we have sought to foreground in our discussion of elite schools in this chapter is precisely the radical untaming of the imagination in these school

settings. The deployment of imagination at Ripon, Old Cloisters and Straits results in a coupling not so much with geography but with history. We have followed the nostrum declared by Appadurai in *The Future as Cultural Fact* and reiterated in chapter 3 that 'histories make geographies' (2013, p. 61). We have sought to show how much these schools work on burnishing their school heritages, traditions and narratives (school histories), sharpening them into a usable ornamentalism in order to navigate the challenging present. They work on their school histories precisely because the context of schooling is now not exhausted at the point of local geography but is, indeed, ever expanding into the global arena.

What, then, is the meaning of history residing in these practices of revivification and renewal that the elite schools constantly conduct? We have defined the historical in this chapter not as a matter of chronology but as something more active in which old forms and contents take on new meaning and are put to cultural work. We have, in fact, sought to prise the historical away from the official school history methods of linear accounting and periodization. Instead, we have sought to show how marked histories (past times, present times, future times) are really storehouses of accumulated and invented cultural references, memories, socially produced meanings attached to objects, practices and programmes of action. This is the province of ornamentalism as we laid out earlier in the chapter. Thus, history is the illuminated evidence of human beings working on their material environments and universes of meaning. We have defined the historical, along the lines formulated by Cannadine (2001), as the everyday, strategic mobilization and deployment of material and symbolic resources (ritual, tradition, emblems, architecture, heritage, heraldry) of given institutions in projects of competitive human interests, identity formation, control over institutional narrative and the tussle over marketability and economic viability. For the elite schools in this account, history takes on special significance since these institutions have been shaped by the weight of the past nexus with British imperial relations. They are, after all, the products, outcrop and markers of colonial transactions. Their eliteness was founded in particular relations of class formation and the loyalty of indigenous elites to Britishness. Yet, the story of these schools does not stop there.

The schools have been critical beacons of modernization and accomplishment in their own settings and have started to chart paths as global players. They have continued their storied success well after British

direct colonial domination ceased and their respective countries became independent. Yet, the story of the work of history in the elite school is not one of transcendence of that colonial past after independence. It is, instead, the studied selection of tradition, the strategic ornamentation of the socially produced memories and traditions as well as the new pathways that have been grafted, of necessity, onto the image-making of Old Cloisters College, Straits and Ripon. It is also the full play of contradictions that such specific history constantly gestates. A particular challenge these schools face is to bring their school narratives in line with many present students' ambition for global futures and their generational shift into the digital age.

All considered then, elite schools in the globalizing context are attempting to marshal their histories at the crossroads of profound change. They are, therefore, dealing with matters that involve scaling or rescaling of the past to consolidate these schools' relationships to local and national projects as well as global imperatives in the present. Just as importantly, and perhaps more insistently, these schools must now respond, and are responding, to neoliberal economic circumstances that are powerfully articulated, not simply 'out there' in the global arena but in the very personalized and customized desires of their students seeking careerist futures with furious energy and investment: 'Today we say we are Indian citizens. Tomorrow we will say we are world citizens' (Ashok, students' focus group 2012).

For these young people, the world is their oyster and they seek to carve out futures in a broad range of arenas that can make the past seem irrelevant or relevant in new ways. But, as we have noted, the past persists. It breaks into the present and the imagination of the future. Like the Angelus Novus, contemporary elite schools carry the burdens and the glories of the past, selectively and strategically using and deploying tradition even as they orient to the future.

Like the coiled and braided ropes of the '3 Cs of Empire' (the mutually reinforcing projects and powers of capitalism, colonialism and Christianity), the symbols we have discussed in this chapter are both complex and sustaining; they enlist and employ connotations and customs, ceremonies and codes to sanctify the ongoing supremacy of elite schools in their particular spheres. The imaginary, and the use of, symbolism and heraldry contribute to this supremacy even as change overtakes the schools themselves.

Note

1. Heraldry is often defined as the code and scheme by which coats of arms and different types of armorial bearings are devised, described and organized. The origins of heraldry are often traced to twelfth-century Europe and are claimed to reside in the practice of distinguishing participants in battle—a context in which the faces of combatants were often hidden. Much of the medieval imagery—with its hierarchical ordering and celebration of noble houses, tournaments and jousting—is retained today in elite schools in post-developmental states—the bequest of the metropolitan paradigm and the British public school culture transferred during the heyday of colonialism (Woodcock and Robinson 1988).

CHAPTER 5

Principal Experiments on the Global Stage

> *The process of class formation involves a number of different kinds of work – political organization, economic mobilization, and so on. One important kind is cultural: articulating views of the world, organizing, and conveying ideas, managing cultural institutions, persuading, explaining, teaching. The private school principal is a key figure in the cultural labour of class formation.*
>
> (Connell et al. 1982, p. 33)

When we interviewed the principal of Highbury Hall, Valerie Turner, she was in her last term at the school before moving on to an even bigger and more prestigious post in another elite school, this time in Switzerland. She had just returned from a term's sabbatical leave during which she had toured the first four of the key countries with newly emergent and growing economies commonly referred to, at the time, as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) with a view to recruiting pupils to Highbury Hall. She explained the necessity for such overseas recruitment:

> Who's going to be able to afford a Highbury Hall or any other independent boarding school for that matter, who can afford it? It's a diminishing number of people in this country. Well perhaps it's a stable number but it's not necessarily going to grow. And it's an increasing number in other parts of the world. But those parts of the world can change so we're seeing more people from Eastern Europe. You wouldn't have seen anyone from Eastern Europe fifteen years ago. Seeing more people from India. You know there are more millionaires in China now than there are in Russia. You know,

J. Kenway et al., *Class Choreographies*,
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> the global economics is affecting who can afford an education like this. And people are – people do continent hop for education. So, [they think] I'll have that from the [United Kingdom] and then I'll have that from the [United States] for higher education. (Interview 2010)

Mrs Turner was very aware of the need to position Highbury Hall in a global market—the economic realities pushed towards overseas recruitment—but the negotiation was tricky. One of the selling points of the school, at home and abroad, was its very Englishness, and the risk of this being overwhelmed by girls from 'foreign parts' was one that made her, and others, anxious and was voiced time and again in our interviews at the school.

****

Principals as Leading Choreographers

School principals are the chief choreographers of class on the global stage of elite schooling. They are responsible for shaping the performances of their schools and the pupils within them while, at the same time, putting together their own performances in both local and global contexts. This chapter traces the ways in which the principals of our research schools in South Africa, Hong Kong, India, Singapore and England do the cultural labour of class choreography, given the particular conjunctures of their own national situations and their global positionings, both acquired and desired.

This chapter considers the pressures, strategies and constraints on and of school principals, nuanced by their specific national and local historical contexts and their own social and political positions and subjectivities in relation to their class work as principals. We pay particular attention to the articulations of gender, class, race, nation and (post-)coloniality, showing how the various principals respond differently to the demands of and for globalization, making a class/ic dance that negotiates and draws on emergent, residual and dominant cultures and ideologies (Williams 1977) in their aspirations to perform on the global stage while responding to local/national conditions—both political and economic. Like other principals, those of elite schools have to engage with a network of different interest groups and school communities, each of which have their own views, ambitions and desires for themselves and the school. Unlike non-elite

schools, however, these schools, though situated within particular localities, nations and regions that give context to their shapes and structures, are also positioned on the global stage and in competition for status and students in international markets. Distinct from 'ordinary' state schools, the majority of the parents, alumni and school governors possess considerable wealth, influence and power. In more comprehensive schools, parents and alumni may be ill- or well-educated, poor, relatively well-off, unemployed, working or middle class, but few are likely to be in the positions of power held by their counterparts in elite schools, and this makes the job of the elite school principal different in important ways.

Some of the principals discussed in this chapter come from privileged families and all are well-educated but, for the most part, they do not have the economic and, often, political power of those parents, school governors and alumni with and for whom they must work. While the schools are similar to each other, they also have significant differences. These arise from their varied historical, economic and geopolitical circumstances. They also arise from the particularities of their various stakeholders. These include national, regional and local politicians and policy makers and their governing bodies, alumni, teachers and pupils. While they are not usually mentioned, such stakeholders also include the schools' various support staff—for example the cleaners, gardeners and guards. Taken together with the different biographies and styles of the various principals, these produce political and micro-political, yet global, dynamics. It is clear from the vignette above, for example, that Mrs Turner was concerned about attracting paying customers (parents), for whom, it seems, education in her elite school was a commodity in which 'continent hopping' to gain the 'best' education was part of what she, as principal, had to negotiate. Once, the automatic recourse of wealthy United Kingdom (UK) parents was to enrol their children in one or other of the elite independent schools in the country but the financial crash of 2008 intervened; fewer local people were able to afford it. Equally, she and her school were in competition with others internationally and not just in the UK. As is shown by their websites, many comparable schools, globally, are seeking to attract the children of wealthy overseas parents. Specifically their welcome messages are a testimony to this.

These schools, which previously had to respond primarily to national and local forces and events, must now work within the context of global flows of families, students and contemporary educational ideas, responding to changing global and regional markets in elite schools, universities

and labour. So, on the one hand, the principals must attend to the histories and traditions of their schools, remembering, renewing and reimagining them for the contemporary world (see chapter 4), while, on the other, they must become choreographers on the global educational stage, ensuring that their school, and the set of schools to which it belongs, stay ahead in this dance of power.

Chapter 2 explored, in some detail, the ways in which the histories of elite boys' school in the UK are dominated by tales of the making of great men by great schools usually run by great men. In many ways, the historical studies of elite girls' schools are a mirror image of those of the boys' public schools. Hence, we see narratives of individual schools, of headmistresses and women teachers, lavish cultural histories of the everyday lives of the schools and of the girls and analyses of the schoolgirl fiction. We also see discussions of the no-less-fierce political histories of these schools and of struggles over the curriculum, such as girls and classics, girls and science. We hear of how powerful and privileged men sought to defend their positions by preventing women of their own class from developing and gaining access to what might be described as girls' public schools and to universities (Shrosbree 1988).

According to these historical studies, the elite girls' schools founded in the nineteenth century had to be responsive to several conservative aims. These included demands for a curriculum of accomplishment and style that produced flawless femininity—decorative and decorous and, the demands of the motherhood movement that stressed women's 'special duties', as cultivated and sexually pure wives and mothers (Bland 1995; Davidoff and Hall 2002; Tosh 1999). At the same time, the schools responded to and were part of early and proto-feminist pressures that sought to expand women's roles and lives. Schools were expected to encourage girls to recognize their intellectual proclivities, to provide various versions of an academic curriculum for them and to prepare them for access to universities. Privileged single women's social position was in flux as changes in the economy were reflected in new configurations of social relationships and as the reformers sought to connect the schools to these changes.

Historians of these girls' schools have a tendency to stress the schools' association with social reform: their progressiveness, their spirited challenges to the gender order at the apex of society. Indeed, the implication is that they spearheaded the academic education of girls—despite significant progress being made outside them in state-aided schools and in the uni-

versities (Shrosbree 1988, p. 123). Such historical studies tend to downplay their socially dividing or divisive aims. Most mention the schools' social selection practices which not only excluded daughters of tradesmen, shopkeepers and the like but also were underpinned by a belief that mixing with such girls was improper, indeed potentially polluting (Delamont 1978). However, they minimize the other ways that these schools sought to teach girls their class allegiances. For example, the curriculum of style provided mechanisms whereby they could distinguish and separate themselves from girls and women from other social classes, and their charity activities taught them to regard themselves as moral guardians of society who had the right to judge and intervene in the lives of 'lesser' woman and girls (Nava 1984). Bettering the health and home circumstances of the lower classes became a moral duty. More broadly, philanthropy was regarded as a means of social amelioration, as exercising a civilizing influence and also of stabilizing the social order.

The principals of our research schools are situated in this gendered tradition. The men must strive for the greatness historically ascribed to those in their position. The women are placed somewhat differently but still in the tradition of the greatness of, particularly, Miss Beale and Miss Buss, the much-feted principals of the two earliest girls 'public' schools, Cheltenham Ladies College (CLC) and North London Collegiate (NLC), respectively. These women, usually represented as (proto-)feminists, were cognizant of the classed nature of their endeavours. NLC was somewhat more middle class than CLC, providing for 'daughters of retired gentlemen, doctors, artists, clerks and the more "respectable" tradesmen' (Kamm 1958/2012, p. 41),[1] while CLC was a school for the 'daughters and young children of Noblemen and Gentlemen … in Cheltenham' (Kamm 1958/2012, p. 51). Just as the male principals of our research schools may feel they must emulate their great predecessors, so the women may feel themselves to be in the footsteps of their antecedents. In this way, the principals, both women and men, are constantly composing, using residual elements in the histories and traditions of their schools, negotiating sometimes to bring them forward and, at other times, to push them back into the shadows.

In the present conjuncture, all our principals must, in some way, experiment with and practice 'the art of being global' or 'worlding', which is '[i]nherently unstable, inevitably subject to intense contestation and always incomplete' (Roy and Ong 2011, p. xv). They cannot operate outside of or without cognizance of the groups, histories and locations in which

they find themselves. They are thus making their creations on constrained stages, empowered to create and shape the bodies of their schools (and, indeed, their pupils), yet sometimes seeming, and being, less powerful than one might expect as they experiment with the art of being global.

Sometimes, their experiments are scaled-up versions of practices that have been well and truly tried and tested on the smaller stage of the nation-state, but they can never be quite sure whether such scaling up will succeed. Mrs Turner, in the vignette above, had been conducting a quasi-diplomatic mission to recruit students from countries with, what were then, up and coming economies. Her recruitment tactics involved both using approaches that worked in the UK and plugging into elite networks, including those of elite schools, in Brazil, Russia, India and China. Selling the school to the wealthy elites in these countries involved playing on its traditional Englishness, yet, coming home, she was faced with local parents and alumni who were unhappy about the dilution of that very Englishness by the presence of foreign girls. Indeed, one mother, in a remarkably frank moment of racism and lesbophobia during a focus group of parents, named Highbury Hall as being in danger of becoming a 'school for Chinese Ls' (and was coaxed to say the word 'lesbians' by other parents—some of whom did challenge her). Meanwhile, the School Council, with its eye on the bottom line, was primarily concerned with whatever income could be generated by Mrs Turner's costly trip.

Imagining the Global as a Problem Space

South Africa held its first democratic elections in 1994, following the end of *apartheid*—literally 'apart-ness' or 'separation'. Stuart Hall (1980, pp. 308–9), in *Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance*, argued that

> South Africa is clearly a 'limit case' in the theoretical sense, as well as a 'test case' in the political sense. It is perhaps *the* social formation in which the salience of racial features cannot for a moment be denied. Clearly, also, the racial structure of South African society cannot be attributed to cultural or ethnic difference alone: they are deeply implicated with the forms of political and economic domination which structure the whole social formation.

In other words, the social formations of apartheid were those of capital and class, articulated with race (see chapter 3) and, though Hall does not

make this point, gender (e.g. Cock 1989; Gaitskell et al. 2007; Morrell et al. 2009). These forms of race/class articulation and domination were a key aspect of Greystone's positioning within South Africa and the region and were threaded through all the work of the two principals we met and the everyday life of the school. Both women were white, with the particular forms of historical and current privilege this entailed.

While Hall (1980) wrote of articulations of race, class, capital and the politics of apartheid, the coming of electoral democracy in 1994 and the rhetoric of the Rainbow Nation of Mandela and Tutu began the, as yet incomplete, process of disarticulation—or, in South African terms, transformation. Class and race are no longer almost coterminous but neither are they completely disarticulated. The emergent, black African, professional, capitalist, political and plutocratic classes are still relatively small, proportionally, as are the white working and 'underclass'. The much-vaunted and desired transformation is slow in coming; in 2011, South Africa had the highest measured GINI coefficient in the world—that is, the greatest inequalities in income. Terreblanche (2012) argues this was inevitable, given the neoliberal settlement made between the African National Congress and the Western powers (particularly the United States) to end apartheid.

The principals of Greystone have (had) responsibility for finding the school's place in the still-new conjuncture within the nation-state and in the wider world of elite schools. The school embodies some of the contradictions of the new South Africa: most of its South African pupils are white as are the majority of teachers. This is a consequence of the white dividend gifted to them by apartheid. Most of the black pupils are from powerful families further north in sub-Saharan Africa. Apart from a few scholarship girls, who bear a major burden of representation, all of the girls are from relatively wealthy families (perhaps the 1% but not the 0.1%) and the manual workers are, without exception, either Coloured or African. This presents a complex picture in which the now residual ideology of apartheid has been displaced by dominant discourses of democracy while its economic legacies remain largely in place.

Petra Whitehead had been principal during the apartheid years and, when we first visited the school, had recently left to take on a senior post in an elite independent school in the Middle East. She is English-speaking and classically liberal with an avowed feminist and anti-racist

approach to politics and life. Her informal, almost hippy, confident self-presentation was described to us by one of the school's alumnae: 'She was at Woodstock, never cut her hair and wore sandals and baggy dresses and beads around her neck always' (Pam Molesworth, interview 2010). Her pupils were to be similarly informed by classic liberal values, the humanities and arts; for example, her constant instruction for their future was that they should always carry a poetry book with them.

When we first visited, Sophie de Klerk was in her first year as principal. Her first language was Afrikaans and, given the racialized, ethnic divisions of white South Africa, this suggested a much more conservative political heritage than Ms Whitehead's—and this was reflected in her style and self-presentation. More formal in appearance than her predecessor, Mrs de Klerk was more in sympathy with dominant global educational trends valuing science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) above arts and humanities. This point was amply illustrated in a subject choices evening we attended during our fieldwork, at which all but one of the talks to parents and girls were about the importance of succeeding in these STEM subjects. The single talk about a career or subject choice other than STEM, unlike the evidently more important presentations from a visiting speaker and senior staff, was presented by a white pupil who spoke passionately about the joys and virtues of studying isiXhosa. Mrs de Klerk's ideas, both about the importance of STEM and school organization, were in line with dominant, globalized neoliberal and managerialist discourses. Yet she was ready to show us her vulnerabilities, especially in the early stages of our fieldwork, and her dance was composed of residual discourses of liberal feminism, including girls' access to STEM subjects, the dominant values of neoliberalism and new managerialism and an emergent sense of African identity led, primarily, by boarders who cam from further north in Africa.

For both women, positioning the school on the global stage was problematic, though in very different ways. Ms Whitehead had been principal during the dying days of apartheid and in the early days of the new 'Rainbow Nation'. Many teachers, alumnae and older current students remembered her with great affection, so that she became, in our researchers' heads, 'Saint Petra'. A committed Anglican, with close ties to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, she invested a huge amount of effort into making the school a place known for supporting the ending of apartheid and the beginning of the new dawn.

> In 1990 when I came to Greystone … it was very much bound in ... where South Africa was in 1990. But two wonderful things happened. … [We] knew Mandela would come free ... And that gave me all the courage in the world to do what I knew had to happen to move the school forward. To literally diversify fast enough to mirror the demography and the incoming demography and what was happening in our land. And to make sure that the Anglican ideals of the school were such that they would—they too would mirror the concept of real democratic freedom. (Interview 2012)

While Ms Whitehead made global connections by joining organizations like Round Square and Cross of Nails, she aimed to make Greystone into a diverse, democratic and specifically South African school, working to disarticulate class from race (but not from gender in this girls' school). Her success in doing so in the conjunctural context of transition was illustrated by the fact that one of the alumnae we interviewed was a Coloured[2] woman who had been head girl during late apartheid. Ms Whitehead was determined to embed Greystone, a South African school, in the continent:

> [The] school was built in my time on three things: one was that it was solidly based in Southern Africa, it's an African—it was an African school. And therefore it was very important to have Afrikaans, Xhosa and English at the same levels. So we went to that immediately. Almost within the first weeks of it I changed it—to get the languages around. Because the languages are the basis of all things. (Interview 2012)

Within the school, she used her charisma and personal commitment to win people over to her point of view. She was less concerned to imagine the school within a global space than to conjure the region (sub-Saharan Africa) of which South Africa and, hence, Greystone could become a part of the postapartheid era—one in which girls and women could achieve equality through education.

Like Mrs Turner at Highbury Hall, Mrs de Klerk was concerned with the bottom line and came to the school wanting to shift its results and attitudes, making it more financially viable and better ordered. To do so, she felt she had to adopt a more adversarial style with some of her staff (who hankered for the days of Saint Petra) than perhaps she would have liked. If she occupied a feminist space, it was, similar to Mrs Turner, a version of feminism allied to (or at the very least convenient for) global capitalism (Eisenstein 2005). At the same time, she felt herself to be an outsider. Having grown up in an Afrikaans-speaking environment in what

had been the Transvaal (now Gauteng), she was constantly told that she did not understand Cape Town—a place with its own particular positioning within apartheid and postapartheid South Africa. She consequently lacked local social capital and networks.

> I have three things that really [were top of the agenda]. Because order—order in the first instance. It was complete disorder. Respect—no respect for anything; and discipline. Those are the three things that people resisted the most. No matter what I did, I kept on hearing 'You just don't understand how wonderful this place is. There's something wrong with you. You've come from Jo'burg. You don't understand how wonderful this place is'. (Interview 2011)

It was a struggle for her to transform a school previously run by a charismatic leader with a strong liberal ideology, who put political commitment ahead of results, to one that operated more smoothly and in line with global agendas about achievement. It is, thus, not surprising that, when we first visited Greystone, she seemed unhappy and unsure of herself. By the time we went back the following year, she was much more assured, happy in herself and seemingly convinced that she was doing a good job. By this time, she had the senior leadership team around her that she wanted and, although there were still some amongst the teaching staff who longed for the days of Ms Whitehead, Mrs de Klerk was well established and thoroughly in control. An ambitious building programme was underway with significant amounts of money raised by parents and alumnae, the school had joined G20 Schools (consisting of 50 schools, with membership by invitation and a vote of existing members) and had been chosen by Microsoft to become a 'Microsoft School'. Cambridge University astronomy department had a telescope in the school grounds and the school seemed set to perform on the international stage.

The politics of global connection via Microsoft Innovative Schools and the G20 Schools pursued by Mrs de Klerk (while continuing with membership of Round Square and Cross of Nails) contrast strongly with the specifically Christian politics of connection pursued by Ms Whitehead through Cross of Nails and what could be seen as the soft, more liberal idealism of Round Square. All these global organizations of elite schools have their own, overlapping ideologies. Cross of Nails is specifically Christian and Round Square (see also chapter 7) follows the teaching of Kurt Hahn, a German Jewish educator, who later converted to Christianity and fled

Nazi Germany for Britain, where he founded Gordonstoun School.[3] He established the 'seven laws of Salem',[4] the last of which is to 'Free the sons of the wealthy and powerful from the enervating sense of privilege'(Neill 2004 available online). However, any attempt at Greystone to free the daughters of those wealthy enough to pay for their daughters' education from 'the enervating sense of privilege' did not extend to any critique of the idea that they would, inevitably, become leaders in and beyond their national context. Round Square itself presents its role as, in part, the preparation of future leaders.

> Round Square provides the students of [Greystone School] with a wonderful basket of opportunities to engage with the world beyond themselves, to know and embrace diversity and to develop a sense of self through challenge and opportunity. The final product of such an education can be seen in their *easy assumption of leadership roles.* The regional and international relationships provide a new lens upon the world for them, and serve to challenge their thinking, develop habits of service beyond self. (School website, emphasis added).

In other words, and in line with Ms Whitehead's liberal commitments and credentials, these two organizations espouse, broadly, the so-called old-fashioned, socially liberal values that, while individualistic, nevertheless base themselves in some kind of tolerance,[5] compassion and commitment to service in ways inherited from the school's British Victorian predecessors.

The G20 Schools and Microsoft Innovative Schools, in contrast, are clearly grounded in neoliberal educational, managerial and economic values. Presenting their members as the best of the best in global competitive terms, both organizations seek to position their member schools as being at the leading edge, competitive and successful in both educational and market terms. In thinking about global flows of educational common sense, such organizations play a leading part. A quick visit to the Microsoft Innovative Schools site, for example, boasts

> The Microsoft Innovative Schools Programme helps district and school leaders embrace innovation and implement technology effectively to support teaching and learning. Through this programme school leaders can explore the possibilities, collaborate with other leaders and create a vision for the future of your school community. (Microsoft Innovative Schools 2015 online)

Offering significant resources, Microsoft uses the site to advertise its wares and to encourage 'school leaders' to adopt the strategies and ideas proffered by this commercial giant. The next step up from being an 'innovative school' is to become a 'mentor' school, something achieved by Greystone during our time in the school. Success, in this respect, depends on being able to show that the school is 'well managed' and 'successful' within the definitions set by Microsoft and offers benefits such as travel, participation in international leaders' events, recognition as a 'world leader', advice from global 'experts' and so on. Such rewards are enticing and invite school principals to enfold themselves in the discourse and subjectivity of expertise, technology and continuous improvement. And, of course, they also offer substantial material and public relations benefits.

At the same time, there were some tensions here. Although both Ms Whitehead and Mrs de Klerk were committed in some way to making and sustaining global connections, there were, for example, no moves to consider offering any examinations outside those set in South Africa—the choice being between the national matriculation examination and the equivalent set by the Independent Examinations Board (IEB), which were very much South African organizations. There was no talk, as there was at other research schools, of introducing the International Baccalaureate (IB) or A levels, or any languages other than those already offered: English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa, French, German and Spanish. In this sense, Greystone was still very much more a school of sub-Saharan Africa than it was a serious actor amongst elite schools globally.

The global impinged, often as a problem, as in the response of parents to the global economic crisis:

> Yes! I have felt especially with the economic, the global economic downturn, that there's been a real shift in our parent body and the levels of anxiety around have impacted hugely on the school … (Sophie de Klerk, interview 2012)

Nevertheless, producing students who could compete on the global stage, after school, was not as high on Greystone's agendas as it was on, for example, Straits', Cathedral Colleges' and Highbury Halls' agendas. In 2012, the school had only one girl who was hoping to apply to Oxford and this was spoken about as an unknown territory, with teachers seeking our advice as to the best way to go about helping her with her application. In 2015,

Greystone's success was marked by the award of the prestigious Rhodes Scholarship to one of its alumnae. Greystone's more prestigious 'brother school' had obtained the right to nominate its alumni as Rhodes Scholars as early as 1902. For the next 110 years, only alumni of the boys' school were considered as candidates until, in 2012, the selection committee—consisting largely of representatives of the boys' school—finally agreed to consider alumnae from Greystone, and the award made in 2015 (for admission to Oxford in 2015/6) was the first made to a girl through this process. This was, undoubtedly, the result of considerable efforts of persuasion on the part of Mrs de Klerk and influential parents and alumni/ae of both schools. Nevertheless, Mrs de Klerk had neither sufficient political will nor the necessary social capital nor the resources with which she could make this a central marketing tool for the school on the global stage. Overall, the entry of Greystone into the select gatherings of G20 Schools and Microsoft was somewhat tentative, even tenuous.

Plotting a Course Through Complexity

As noted above, the principals' choreographies are situational. The way they can and do operate depends as much upon their own biographies and positioning *vis-à-vis* local politics and social context as it does upon the more generalized conditions of elite schools in globalizing circumstances. In this section, we draw on data from India and Hong Kong to show how two very different principals, in very different countries and circumstances, operated and attempted, more or less effectively, to plot a course through the complexities of their particular circumstances we analyse their successes and failure with particular regard to issues of globalization. However, the section also addresses more local aspects of these principals' actions, negotiations and situations, as well as the forms of masculinity they performed, with some degree of success, in their particular situations.

Ken Hathaway, the principal of Cathedral College in Hong Kong, is originally from the UK but spent 20 years as principal of an elite school in Australia before moving to Hong Kong. Tall, grey and balding, he wears the Western male uniform of dark suit and tie. In our first interview, he was bubbling with ideas and ambitions for the school but, by the end of our fieldwork, had not managed to achieve most of them. The school, like Greystone in South Africa, is a church school with strong links to the local Anglican Church. From the school's foundation in 1849 until 1987,

all Cathedral College's principals were British and either clerics or British army officers. Immediately preceding Mr Hathaway was the longest-serving principal of the school, the only one in its history to be Hong Kong Chinese, who remained active and influential in Hong Kong education and politics after his tenure as principal. Mr Hathaway, in contrast, was not a churchman, soldier or colonial official, and nor was he local. He lacked familiarity with local customs and culture when he arrived in Hong Kong in 2006 and did not have full access to understanding the micro-politics of relationships within the school itself or with alumni, the governing body or the Hong Kong government, in part due to his inability to speak or understand Cantonese but, perhaps more importantly, because of his position as an outsider.

Goh (2015) suggests that hegemonic Chinese masculinities in Singapore, shaped in elite boys' schools, show a kind of postcolonial ambivalence, influenced by both the history of colonization and the contest between Confucianism (and other East Asian religious traditions) and Christianity (see also chapter 3). The same process could be seen in the context of a Christian school in Hong Kong. As a white, British man with experience in Australia but not in East Asia, Mr Hathaway was perceived, at least to some extent, as being a (post)colonial import. He lacked deep insight into the present conjuncture in Hong Kong, which was postcolonial in that it was no longer a British colony. But, rather than achieving independence, it had been handed over (back) to China. This interfered with his ability to develop easy relationships with his Chinese/Hong Kong colleagues and other stakeholders in his school, making it difficult for him to operate micro-politically or to direct the school along a globalizing path through the complexity of local politics, customs and relationships.

Ong usefully points out that 'The Hong Kong Chinese experience of modernity has … been shaped by the nineteenth-century British mercantilist philosophies of the non-intervening state and maximum freedom in the marketplace' (1993, p. 254). Equally, it could be argued that its experience of postcolonialism has been shaped by the return of the island's rule to mainland China and the uneasy relationship between the two. The emergence of *homo economicus* (Ong 1993, p. 764), through what Ong calls 'corporate discourses about Oriental productivity' (1993, p. 765), is combined with China's Confucian heritage to produce particular forms of masculinity in the twenty-first century. Mr Hathaway found these difficult to connect with. It seemed, during our fieldwork, that he was uneasy

both with the forms of hierarchy developed through Confucian traditions of filial piety and with the pragmatic decision-making of those parents, School Council members and politicians identifying themselves with *homo economicus*.

In contrast, Hukam Acharya, the principal of Ripon College in India, is of local origin and well connected. Like Mr Hathaway, he had grey hair, was balding and wore the Westernized suit and tie that is considered uniform for professional men around the world (though he would also wear more traditional Indian clothes when he felt it appropriate). In addition, coming from the aristocracy, he enjoyed princely status in the context of the local culture. He was well connected to politicians in the local and national state, having particularly close links to the Congress Party. While he did not inhabit nationalist 'masculine Hinduism' (Bannerjee 2005), he was nonetheless at ease with members of the now ascendant Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Educated at one of India's most elite schools for boys, with excellent examination results, he recounted his decision to become a school teacher, rather than going into the family business, as leading to a rupture with his father. His path led him to the UK (and Switzerland), where he taught in several UK independent schools, building links with influential people there and acquiring the habitus of these schools, so that he was able to move easily between his Indian and the British personae, building networks in the West with elite schools there and with influential people locally.

This combination of local knowledge and princely habitus with colonialist social capital meant that Mr Acharya could operate successfully in both the local and the global spheres. Sinha (1995, p. 2) argues, convincingly, that 'the contours of colonial masculinity were shaped in the context of an imperial social formation that included both Britain and India'. She goes on to illustrate how Bengali (and Indian more widely) elite men simultaneously invested in and struggled with colonial masculinity, leading to the development of an emergent 'group of intellectuals [whose] world was defined against both the more traditional or orthodox Indian elites and the vast majority of Indians, the peasants and the urban poor' (Sinha 1995, p. 6).

Mr Acharya could be seen as inhabiting just such a postcolonial subject position. His narrative was somewhat in the heroic genre, representing himself as a wise patriarch working for his late father's village and settling,

> inter-village disputes, marriages, … or land disputes … And they … accept whatever my verdict, my punishment and they never go to court or the police station after it. … I really found that to be the greatest responsibility. (Interview 2011)

Later, he contrasted himself with previous principals of Ripon who 'couldn't last more than a year' and explained that he had been determinedly wooed over a number of years to become principal of the school before accepting the job. He was a master of the art of micropolitics, at least in relation to the School Board, alumni and regional and national politicians. He had also appointed a Brahmin deputy who was able to take on major responsibility for the day-to-day running of the school while Mr Acharya worked effectively in other directions. In this way, he operated, seemingly smoothly, in the residual, yet still powerful, ideology of caste and in the dominant global ideology of neoliberalism.

Yet things did not always go smoothly for Mr Acharya as he came face-to-face with the recalcitrance of (some) villagers. As part of its service mission, for example, the school had 'adopted' a village, *inter alia* building a community hall and bringing electricity to it. In return, Mr Acharya expected (almost) feudal fealty from the villagers towards the school, particularly as personified by himself. However, the villagers did not always cooperate, wanting to put the hall to uses of their own, with some of them going as far as removing the pylons that had been delivered for the village's electrification. Disappointed, Mr Acharya withdrew the school's support and, when we visited, the community hall was an empty shell—ironically containing posters about the 'empowerment' of villagers. But this was a minor issue for Mr Acharya, fading into insignificance in the context of his success in gaining favours from government, manipulating the School Council and performing creatively and effectively on the global stage.

In contrast, Mr Hathaway seemed to struggle with the School Board, the alumni and government regulation with its impact on the educational careers of Cathedral College students (see also chapter 7). Where Mrs Turner was keen to recruit students from Hong Kong (and elsewhere) despite being concerned about the demographics of Highbury Hall becoming 'too Chinese', Mr Hathaway's concern was with losing good students to the UK. This was due, in part, to parental concern about the introduction of the new Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE), which they feared would disadvantage them in

applications to elite universities in the UK and, also, because of the draw of the West.

> You [leave] at the end of Form 5. And … the majority are going to the UK. … There's a mindset to think if you're in the system in the UK you've got a better chance of getting in [to an elite UK university]. So they go to the UK, end of Form 5, stay for two years [at school] and then go into university in the UK. (Interview 2012)

As well as losing good students (and therefore money) to the route through UK elite schools to elite universities, Mr Hathaway was also very concerned about the pressure from government to reduce the number of children accepted by schools in Hong Kong because of a declining birth rate. While the school was receiving in the region of 800 applications for 100 places, the government was demanding that the decreasing numbers be shared out between schools in Hong Kong, with the result that all of them would lose up to three students in each class in each of the next three years. Schools would no longer receive government subsidy for these places, so this represented a significant financial loss.

Mr Acharya, too, had to deal with government regulation. Section 12 of India's Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 made it compulsory for every neighbourhood, independent school to admit a minimum of 25 percent of children from disadvantaged groups at the entry level—though this statutory provision was made less far-reaching because the definition of neighbourhood was restricted geographically and poor areas would be much less likely to have independent schools within the defined boundary of 'neighbourhood' (Mittal and Shah n.d.). Mr Acharya had developed his school's admission policy in light of this requirement, introducing a lottery system, with 11 lotteries for each class, 'based on the geographical and professional backgrounds of people'. In this way, as he said, 'I may not get the children whom I want but I get the cross section I want'. The school was, initially, told by the Indian government that this was not allowable and that it had to have one lottery, not 11.

> And I said no, I will break it up and I will go to court and I will fight it. But I will not accept it's one lottery. And eventually the government saw the sense in it. I talked to my old student [by implication an influential official or politician]. I explained to him, I said this is, you know, if there are two

> children of the same family, how can you not give preference to the second child if one is already in the school? How can I not give preference to an old student's child when it is the old students who sustain the school whenever there is a crisis? (Interview 2012)

As can be seen, Mr Hathaway's room to manoeuvre in relation to government regulation was much less than Mr Acharya's due to the latter's ability to network, his lofty position within the Indian society, his thorough knowledge of the country and local state and his many years of history at Ripon College. Not only was he able to negotiate his way through a statutory requirement that might have 'damaged' the school's academic record, he was able to do so through direct contacts and networks built over many years. The former had no such social capital, having neither the networks nor contacts within Hong Kong to be able to influence policy or events.

Despite this, Mr Hathaway's role as an expatriate principal was seen as giving status to the school, as noted by the Chair of the College Council

> [A]fter Mr Ken Hathaway [took] up the post in early 2006, our school has further expanded our connections with schools overseas, like in the US and UK. And we have overseas exchanges of our students and … even teachers, [go] there to visit the schools. And they come over and visit us during term time or during vacations. Also, and you probably know, Ken was the vice president of the international [boys' schools association]. In the sense that I always encourage him doing that. And it will enrich our school exposure, our image internationally. And at the same time we understand that nowadays globalizations have a big impact to us. Not just for the school, for our students, because they are going to live in this global village, to compete with students. I mean the graduates, not just from Hong Kong, from China, overseas, anywhere. So it's very important to our students to have the international exposure. (Dr. Bing, interview 2011)

It seems, therefore, despite his difficulties, his position and links outside Hong Kong enabled him to be an important figure in regional organizations of elite schools which was appreciated by the school's alumni, yet he was unable to operationalize this status in significant ways in the local Hong Kong context.

Conjuring the World

Turning now to the case of Singapore, we find a situation very different from those discussed above. Unlike the other female principals in our

schools, Xin Ho did not offer any recognition of or connection with feminism. Small, elegant, immaculately turned out and always wearing very high heels, she operated successfully and imaginatively to position her school on the global stage.

All our research schools were subject to state regulation and control in one way or another and all received some government support, either indirectly (e.g. through favourable tax laws) or directly, and the task of conjuring the world took place within that context. The school in Barbados was a government school, and the principal there had very little to say about globalization or a globalizing imperative, though the students did (see chapter 4). But Straits, in Singapore, was in an altogether more ambiguous situation. On the one hand, it was a government school, funded by the state, responsible to the Ministry of Education and following Ministry directives. However, like other elite schools in Singapore, it was given 'independent status', which meant that it could charge fees and had the power to hire and fire and implement new curriculum directives. It was this ambiguity that led the principal, Mrs Ho, to say, within a period of five minutes in the course of one interview, that the school was 'fully government' and that it was 'just as well I'm an independent school'.

Mrs Ho was highly successful in conjuring the globalized world through an affiliation to and identification with the nation-state. She encapsulated this in our first interview with her (in May 2011), responding to a question about the relationship between the global and the national in Straits School.

> … if you have a sense of Singapore schools, you know that we take *national* education very seriously. Very few schools in the world would have the whole curriculum on citizenship … We call it civics and moral education but civics is something we take seriously. And there was this national education initiative and we're supposed to have it run across all our subjects, even mathematics, you know. … Social studies, definitely, general paper, English, and our textbooks also contain a lot of stories about Singapore, … our constitution, presidency, parliament, et cetera. And especially when you talk about a school like Straits, when you talk about character and values, and all that, it is for a purpose. *It is for the purpose of lead by serving and serve by leading* (emphasis added).

Her purposes for the school, then, were singularly aligned with those of the nation-state locally, regionally and globally.

Mrs Ho and Mr Sim, the senior deputy principal, both explained the need for Straits' students to become both 'out there' on the regional and international stage and, simultaneously, '[anchored] to Singapore and the community' (Mrs Ho, interview 2011). With these needs and purposes constantly up front in her aims for the school and its students, Mrs Ho herself came close to embodying state policies and objectives but doing so in a context that embraced and nurtured regional links and global connections.

These links and connections were maintained in several ways. First, Straits had a programme supported both by government and alumni that offered scholarships to the brightest students from other parts of Southeast Asia. This programme worked for Singapore and Straits on two fronts. It brought in migrant talent—an important requirement for the Singapore economy—and some of the students, at least, would ultimately remain in Singapore and contribute to the national economy. Thus, in a stunning policy aimed at 'brain gain', Singapore's

> immigration policy goes beyond simply importing ready-made talents. Education policy is also used to provide scholarships for all levels of education, from secondary schools to PhD scholarships for high-potential students from all over Asia. … [M]any of these students remain in Singapore after graduation, as employment opportunities at home are likely to be no longer commensurate with their academic qualifications. (Hunt 2011, p. 59)

According to Mrs Ho, the proportion of these students who stay in Singapore is in the region of 50 percent, with the rest going to the USA and the UK (Interview 2012). However, those who returned to their home countries or travelled further afield would remain connected with Singapore, wherever they went.

> If they stay here and work here, that's very much Singapore's reaching out for talent and they'll contribute to the economy and after all I guess it's Singapore industry and the immigrants play a tremendous part. That's a good thing. But some of them will move on, but they move on and a second part I want to say is that they've moved on with a heart and feel for Singapore. We have friends all over the world. (Mr Sim, interview 2011)

While Mrs Ho operated with/in the needs of the Singapore state, she was very successful in positioning her school on the global stage. She would, as she explained, be remembered for the strategic thrust that

we've managed to achieve and the kind of international collaborations we've made. And, then, the reputation of us [in the world] has never been as high. We've always known Straits to be a good institution but no-one outside really knew about us … So [now] all the top universities [globally] know of Straits. (interview 2013)

This strategy had multiple strands: she harnessed the regional reputation of the school, positioning it to give out scholarships to the brightest students in schools across the Pacific Rim, bringing them to Straits to study; she instituted and developed an extensive programme of charitable 'service learning' and she used the networks that she initiated or joined early, such as the Global Coalition of Elite Schools (GCoES)[6] and the G20 Schools, as a launching pad for Straits to take its place on the global stage. In conjuring the world, her role, and the way she represented her work as part of working for Singapore in the region, were totally imbricated.

As a key part of 'conjuring the world', Mrs Ho was concerned to produce Straits as a school of the region, not just of the Singapore. Active in a number of international associations and organizations of elite schools from Southeast Asia and the wider international stage, she was an enthusiastic choreographer of global events bringing young people, their teachers and principals together in debate, in good works (especially within the region) and in imagining the future she positioned Singapore and Straits School as key players in this globalized and globalizing scenario, with ambitions to play an ever-increasing role in the region and globally.

> I'm moving on to a different phase now that's no longer just bringing schools together and then enriching the students' experiences and putting in a bit of inspiration. … And I'm not going to be selfish about it, Singapore is Singapore and you just manage on your own. I think we have an obligation and we are in a position to help some of the nations that are still struggling with education systems and want to make a difference. Because Straits made a difference here and Straits is what Straits is now because [the founder] wanted something for Singapore in that way. (Xin Ho, interview 2013)

In this way, Mrs Ho's choreography set the stage for increasing the involvement and influence of Straits School in regional and global initiatives for students and schools, like those developed through GCoES, hosted at Straits in an early meeting and the G20 Group of Schools. For Mrs Ho, it seems, GCoES had more to offer her than G20 Schools because it was

'*our own* global alliance of schools, because we are trying to get students talking and sow the seeds of democracy' (interview 2013). Nevertheless, she felt that

> The G20 is actually a nice retreat for all of us. I think principals don't really meet [in the normal course of events]. We don't do activities for students [in G20 meetings], but in meeting we will create those bilateral ties and collaborations. So that has been useful. … So it is a good platform for me to engage some of the principals to take part in some of our events or for them to host some of our people for gap semesters and so on. In terms of common themes, we don't really say 'who is most innovative'. Everyone has something to share. Eton is quite good. (Interview 2013)

The contrast between GCoES, offering activities for students from elite schools around the world, and the G20, offering opportunities for the principals of selected elite schools to network, is striking. But both have their place in positioning Straits School as the leading school in the Pacific Rim, and Mrs Ho as a significant choreographer of the global expression of elite schooling.

Yet, in spite of Mrs Ho's (and her school's) close connection with the Singapore state and her success in positioning Straits as the agenda-setter for schools throughout the region and globally, there are always tensions. Just as Mr Acharya and Mr Hathaway had to deal with changing government policies, so too did Mrs Ho have to attend to the changing politics of Singapore. Indeed, she ended our final interview with reference to these tensions.

> I think there will always be a tension. … You want to have your students globally valued and yet, at the same time, how do you make sure we do justice to our own and we're not robbing our own institutions of the talent that they also need? That's a tension. You have the Minister and the Central Government being more Left of centre, in terms of the swing after the last elections and Straits is seen to be very well-resourced and making good use of its resources and you're kind of looked upon as, is the equity is going to be there so I think we have to tone that down a bit. (interview 2013)

Here, she refers first to Straits' success in producing high-achieving, talented students for Singapore, who are then lured away by scholarships

from elite universities globally (but, perhaps, especially those in the Ivy League). Many of these students do not return to Singapore but are employed in high-flying jobs gained through their excellent qualifications in the global war for talent. As Koh and Kenway (2014, pp. 348–9) ask,

> What about students whose trans-nationalism sticks and is not converted into nationalism? What about those who leave and stay away, refusing the enticements to return in favour of those elsewhere and who feel no diasporic attachment to Singapore?

The second tension Mrs Ho comments on, saying 'we have to tone that down a bit', is the growing perceptions of many Singaporeans of heightened elitism and arrogance of those in power after the general elections in May 2011. Both the People's Action Party (PAP) government and elite schools such as Straits have come under criticism, with the workings of meritocracy being questioned—students from minority ethnic groups remain under-represented at Straits and the meritocratic claims made for and by it become, accordingly, less convincing. At this point, Straits was, perhaps, faced with having to move away from its familiarly dominant narrative of elite meritocracy to something designed to fit in with the emergent demands of the populous and new government. Yet, simultaneously, it had to continue to produce outstanding students with achievements that get them into Oxbridge and Ivy League universities as well as into Singapore's own elite higher education institutions in big numbers. In doing so, it had to continue to serve the needs of the state through its position and status in the nation and on the global stage. The necessity of meeting these requirements, held in tension by Mrs Ho, put pressure on her, which she appeared to handle with aplomb.

All the principals discussed in this chapter felt comparable pressures related both to local requirements and their ambitions for their schools in the global dance of elite education. In the next section we return to Highbury Hall to discuss how this played out there during our fieldwork.

Sashaying in the Globalizing Hothouse

Mrs Turner, the first principal we met at Highbury Hall, had been there for 15 years and, as noted above, was on the point of moving on. With a dramatically confident self-presentation, she was, like Mrs Ho, immaculately turned out. She had been at the school for 14 years when we started our

fieldwork and knew exactly what she was about. She commanded respect, even obeisance—to the extent that when we first visited the school and she ushered us into the meeting where we were to explain our project to the staff, they stood up as a body. She had a very clear view of what was necessary for her pupils and what would advantage them later in life, in the global labour market.

> And then I think it's about learning, being deep, and that's a big debate for me, versus the arms race for grades, which obviously they need. It's part of the deal, the expectation. But really it is about independent learning, the kinds of learning that we'll need in the future as much as we needed them in the past—so lateral thinking, creativity. It's independent thought that our education should be about, developing those facets. (Interview 2010)

As can be seen, there is a shift from the commodification of education apparent in the quote at the beginning of the chapter to independent, rather than commodified, thought—though, as one of our Chinese student interviewees, from Hong Kong, explained, it was precisely the opportunity to learn Western traditions of independent thought that the school could sell in the global education market. Nevertheless, the problems of the principal in the competitive world of the globalized elite school are apparent in her use of the metaphor of the 'arms race' for grades. There is a kind of resignation about the need to dance to the dominant tune of contemporary neoliberal curriculum demands for 'effectiveness' and the use of learning technology in a globalizing context (which constitutes the 'arms race'). Also, there seems to be nostalgia for what might be regarded as residual (though clearly fighting back) models of education and curriculum that could be described as 'classical humanism' (Norwich 2013). The school must be able to maintain its high academic reputation to win this arms race in what might almost be seen or experienced as a kind of Cold War between globalized and globalizing elite independent schools, all wanting to win by attracting the best students, who pay their high fees and gain excellent grades through learning to study and think independently. This is one motivation, at Highbury Hall, for the adoption of the IB, alongside A levels—and we certainly saw examples of teaching calculated to produce independent learning and thinking while we were doing our fieldwork in both IB and A level classes. Success in A levels was thought to be more helpful to girls applying to Oxbridge and other

prestigious British universities, while those taking the IB often planned to apply to Ivy League institutions in the USA. Mrs Turner, of necessity, was engaged in staging a performance composed of multiple pressures. These pressures came from globalization, neoliberalism and the international market for elite schools as well as from parents anxious for their children to enter such high-status universities. The latter were both incited by and creating pressure for students to succeed in measurable academic terms that could be demonstrated by the numbers achieving entry to these high-status universities, most frequently in the UK and the USA.

Mrs Turner showed little or no concern about the anxiety that might be induced amongst the girls by the pressure to get good grades, to get into Oxbridge (or another highly prestigious university). Yet, the school has a local reputation as 'Anorexia Hall' (Kenway et al. 2015). In contrast, her successor, an alumna of the school, Charlotte Stanhope, felt that levels of anxiety and fear of failure amongst the girls were a matter of significant concern. Less formal and more tentative than her predecessor, and the youngest person to be appointed to this role in the history of the school, she was, herself, familiar with coping with anxiety, both as a pupil at Highbury Hall and now as its principal. This pressure came in addition to that felt by Mrs Turner in a ramping up of the intensity of the globalizing hothouse experienced by all the principals.

Ms Stanhope expressed concern that, once the girls left Highbury Hall, the school would no longer be there to sustain them and she wanted to prepare them for that time. In particular, knowing both that achievement at the school (and for the school and parents) is important and failure difficult, to say the least, she wanted to provide an education that would help girls develop 'a mental elasticity and resilience that is not coupled to one's self-esteem and self-belief levels' (Interview 2011). While she was clearly concerned for her students' welfare, she was also exercised about what it might mean for the school's reputation if its alumnae could not cope with stress and failure in future or turn failure into an asset, something that one could build on to succeed, as advised by Tardanico in *Forbes Woman* (2012).

> I think these are girls who would achieve wherever you put them because that's what they're going to do. They're Duracell bunnies, they're just going to go and go. What is the best thing I can do for them? Is it, for example, to get them used to the feeling of uncertainty and failure and force them to confront it? Not make them fail on purpose but to celebrate the creativity of

> failing or certain circumstances not working out how you think. (Charlotte Stanhope, interview 2011)

At the time of our first interview with her, this was a relatively new, emergent discourse in the global world of elite schools but it gained ground rapidly, so that by the time we finished our fieldwork it was commonplace to find such statements in the media from principals of elite schools in England.

Thus, the classed choreography shifted from one principal to the next. One was concerned with the bottom line, with attracting pupils whose parents could pay, and with the success of the school in terms of international competition. The next, while still paying attention to the needs and desires of parents and the different demands made by those from the UK and those overseas, and from the school governors, was focused in her own concern to find ways to produce alumnae with the emotional stability and elasticity to deal with the challenges of their lives as female members of the dominant class in globalizing times.

Both Mrs Turner and Ms Stanhope had to deal with often conflicting demands. They had to ensure that the school continued to be financially viable and, as shown at the beginning of the chapter, this meant attracting pupils from other countries. Yet there was a demand from British parents that the school should not have too many foreign girls attending it. Indeed, as noted above, in a focus group with UK parents, the view was expressed forcibly that the school already took too many Chinese pupils (mainly from Hong Kong) and needed to rein back on this. Equally, in a focus group with Hong Kong parents, it was made clear that they wanted to send their daughters to Highbury Hall precisely because of its Englishness and they, too, felt that it would be problematic if there were too many non-British pupils there. The demands of the curriculum 'arms race' pressed heavily on both women, and although they had different relationships to curriculum and educational approaches, both felt it necessary for their school and its students to shine in national and international league tables.

Conclusion

The global performance created, more or less successfully, by the principals of our research schools kept them and their schools embedded in the traditions and histories of Victorian domestic ideologies and English elite

schools, nuanced and sometimes changed in major ways by the particular national histories that they found themselves in. While all of them looked, in one way or another, to the great men and women who had pioneered elite education as part of a contradictory project of Empire, nationalism and proto-feminism, there was no linear inheritance. Rather, each principal simultaneously fashioned their moves in their schools as they were located in the particular geopolitical and historical settings of their places in the world. The movement was one that took them, simultaneously, in and out of dominant modes of neoliberal marketization, emergent demands of technology and technologized education and residual elements of, for example, Victorian domestic ideologies. These combined with the post-colonial/postimperial histories of the schools within the nation-state, and the particular biographies and abilities of each principal, to make the schools both recognizably different and yet also similar in key ways.

As Connell et al. (1982) argue in the quote that begins this chapter, 'private school' principals are critical in the cultural work involved in formations of class and, we would add, its sustenance, reinvention and reinvigoration in situations of globalization. This cultural work is simultaneously individualized—the hot-housed competitive work of particular principals and schools—and collectivized through the global organizations setup and peopled by these very principals who were able to travel the world, meet each other, share ideas and ideologies and develop travelling discourses of achievements, standards, cultural superiority combined with a duty of service that we saw in all our schools. As such, these choreographers of global and transnational elite student bodies and curricula stood at the nexus of contradictory forces in the attempt to make their schools stand out within local, national and global contexts. The principals are not, however, the only arbiters of the curriculum but must, perforce, do their work in negotiation with the many other stakeholders in the education provided in their schools. The curriculum developments they oversee are variously, differentially and contextually in dialogue and contestation with local, national, regional and global players in curriculum development and it is to these we turn in the next chapter.

Notes

1. In 1871, 21 years after the establishment of North London Collegiate (NLC), Miss Buss also founded Camden School for Girls, for those whose parents could not afford the high fees of NLC.

2. We are using, here, the terms still used officially and informally in postapartheid South Africa (see Posel 2001).
3. Gordonstoun is an independent, elite school in Scotland, one of whose alumni is, famously, Prince Charles.
4. Hahn was principal of *Schule Schloss Salem*, an elite independent school, during the early Nazi era. He famously demanded that pupils and staff at Salem choose between Salem and Hitler (e.g. outlawing Hitler Youth within the school).
5. See, however, Epstein and Steinberg (1997) for discussion of 'liberal intolerance'.
6. Global Coalition of Elite Schools is a pseudonym.

CHAPTER 6

Curriculum Contestations

> *It has become almost trite to say that these differences become more acute in periods of significant social change. It is in these periods that the sharpest conflicts develop between what is regarded as tried and true studies and those that represent or symbolize new social forces and directions.*
>
> (Kliebard 1998, p. 41)

When, in 2008, the principal of Ripon College canvassed the idea of introducing an international curriculum, alongside the Indian national curriculum offered by India's Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), the reaction was mixed. Some within the school community objected fiercely. A member of the School Board argued that this was 'taking internationalization too far', and that such an initiative risked undermining the still emerging sentiments of what he called India's 'national self-confidence' (Lakhbir Singh, interview 2013). Others feared that this would create two categories of students: those who were globally oriented and those who were locally focused.

The principal himself presented the argument in terms of a language of 'choice' that the parents could make, together with a claim that in a highly competitive Indian market of leading private schools, most of which offered IB programmes, Ripon College could not afford to fall behind. Many parents agreed that the college had no choice but to engage with the forces of globalization, not least because they shared with the principal an emerging ideological sentiment in India that the nation's

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destiny now resided in developing its capacities to engage with and take advantage of the opportunities that globalization offers (Gupta 2009). Other parents considered their own self-interest, their unbending belief that an international programme would improve the prospects of their children in gaining access to prestigious universities abroad.

After almost two years of intense political debate, the college finally decided, in 2010, to create one stream among six that offered 30 students the opportunity to study for the Cambridge International General Certificate of Education (IGCE). The IGCE was preferred to the IB Diploma because IGCE was believed to be less expensive in terms of both student costs and the retraining of teachers. The college was confident of IGCE's appeal, but was overwhelmed with the level of interest. For the 30 available places, more than 90 students applied. The demand for admission was intense, with influential parents, some of whom were known, paradoxically, to be ardent nationalists, putting an inordinate amount of pressure on the principal to accept their children into the IGCE stream.

Despite the college's insistence that CBSE and IGCE represent two different but equally valid curriculum streams, many parents and students clearly did not agree. Students who aspire to go abroad for their tertiary studies have little doubt that the IGCE is preferable, as Sanya, a student planning to study in New York, said 'I'm not into Indian education because … if I want to go outside … I need some knowledge of there too' (interview 2012). In contrast, students who do not have the financial means to even consider international higher education spoke defensively about CBSE, pointing to its rigour and its capacity to open up a whole range of possibilities both in India and abroad.

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The Politics of Curriculum

The debates and competing claims about curriculum priorities and the relative merits of particular subjects have been a constant occurrence in our research schools. Sometimes low-keyed, at other times intense, these debates reveal something broader about curriculum as a site for thinking about the past, engaging the present and imagining the future—about the distribution of life opportunities and the ways in which societies should be organized. Over the years, issues of class have been at the heart of these

debates. Curriculum choices have functioned as a way of filtering class privileges. In the nineteenth century, each of our research schools sought to emulate the curriculum traditions of the English public schools as a way of marking out their social distinction. They could not, however, overlook the local conditions. Attempts to negotiate these conditions involved wide-ranging controversies, not only about what knowledge was valuable but also about how particular interests were best served through various curricular arrangements. These debates resulted in a diversity of practices across our research schools, even as their emergent forms had an affinity with the traditions of the English public schools (chapter 2).

Many of these traditions remain 'residualized' (Williams 1977) in our research schools. The curriculum practices that were developed in an earlier period remain dominant long after the social conditions that made them dominant have ceased to exist. At Old Cloisters in Barbados, for example, the newly created Caribbean curriculum aims at creating a regional identity in students with which to engage the forces of globalization. Yet it retains several aspects of the colonial curriculum. Many teachers at Old Cloisters remain nostalgic about the Cambridge curriculum that the Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE) has replaced, suggesting that CAPE is not as rigorous. At Founders in Australia, the national/state and international examination systems sit in an uneasy relationship to each other, with competing claims about the importance of traditions, on the one hand, and their relevance in meeting the future challenges facing its diverse body of students, on the other. And in South Africa, the educational legacy of apartheid has not entirely disappeared at Greystone, despite, as we noted in the previous chapter, the best efforts of its former principal.

Of course, curriculum has always been a site of debate, contestation and conflict—not surprisingly since it involves a web of social, political, cultural and ideological assumptions that form the basis of the processes of knowledge and skills acquisition. What is taught, and how, are questions that have never admitted clear-cut answers. As Beyer and Apple (1998, p. 11) argue: 'The problems associated with selecting from a vast universe of possible knowledge, of designing environments to make it accessible, of making it meaningful to students, all of these are political in fundamental ways'. This is so because issues of curriculum speak to the broader social purposes of education and are therefore linked to the specificities of the historical contexts in which they are articulated. The dynamics of curriculum shifts cannot, therefore, be disassociated from the more general social

conflicts which, as Dahrendorf (1988) notes, play out across socio-political developments on the one hand and economic developments on the other.

Contestations over curriculum are performed in schools at various levels. More than 30 years ago, Ulf Lundgren (1983, p. 8) distinguished between what he called the 'context of formulation' of curriculum (the settings in which curriculum is formulated and developed) and the 'context of realization' (the context in which it is implemented, adapted and rearticulated to suit the local conditions). At the broadest level of formulation, curriculum struggles are fought out in the development of policies, general guidelines and, invariably, involve contests over different conceptions of the purposes of education reflecting contrasting social, economic and political interests. The coherence that is often presented in curriculum documents is almost always an outcome of negotiations over such interests, a political settlement of a kind. A curriculum statement often implies areas of agreement and common understanding but such an agreement, like hegemony, is never complete, especially in the 'context of realization'. At the level of practice, curriculum forms are contested, refracted and rearticulated. Inside their classrooms, teachers interpret the requirements of a curriculum and implement it into actual practices in a variety of ways. This consistently involves complex and uneven processes of translation of curriculum objectives into actual pedagogic practices.

These processes of translation are both embedded in and create a space in which class choreographies are performed. Most teachers at our research schools, for example, are fully cognizant of the fact that they educate students from wealthy families. They therefore align their pedagogic approach to high expectations. The assumption that their students will score high grades and are destined for elite universities and brilliant careers is normalized. Dominant practices such as inter-house competitions and awards evenings, based on an ideological focus on excellence, further reinforce the elevated perceptions that their students often have of their own abilities and their career trajectories. Any questioning of the assumptions of their inherent superiority over subaltern populations is rejected, as residual beliefs about social entitlement are taken for granted by students, parents and staff alike. At Founders, for example, one boy explained that should he win his races at the track events of the forthcoming Associated Public Schools (APS) athletics competition, it would mean he was the best in the state. When questioned about this assumption given the other, non-APS, athletics competitions involving the vast majority of

students in Victoria, he said, quite unselfconsciously, that the APS was the best competition. His clear implication was that because all other competitions were inferior, so too were their athletes (Jack, interview 2011). This is but one of many examples of the ways in which class differentiations are choreographed around a range of dominant ideological assumptions.

Colonialism and the Imported Curriculum

This does not mean, however, that the curriculum at our research schools has remained static, unresponsive to social changes. On the contrary, during periods of rapid change, in particular, these schools have had to rethink their purposes and align them to the broader interests of the state, on the one hand, and to the shifting aspirations of the specific populations they seek to serve, on the other. Even when, in the nineteenth century, the curriculum was largely imported from England at schools such as Founders and Old Cloisters, it had to be translated to suit the local conditions, and this translation was seldom uncontested. At Straits School, for example, it had to be aligned to the needs of the British East India Company, with the aim of producing colonial subjects, loyal to the economic and political interests of The Company and, through it, the Crown. At Cathedral College, the English curriculum had to be reframed with a view to preparing a local male Anglican clergy, able to provide pastoral care across China and to convert local populations to Christianity—an evangelizing mission closely connected to England's imperial ambitions (see chapter 3). However, as clear as these purposes of the curriculum might have been, they were, as recent postcolonial theorists (e.g. Loomba 2005) have pointed out, always contested by those opposed, however obliquely and indirectly, to such ambitions, with contrasting visions of society. The local subaltern that was envisaged in the dominant curricular arrangements never accepted them entirely in ways that the colonial authorities had intended.

Ripon College provides a clear, historical example of curriculum contestations over competing social visions. In India, curriculum was hotly contested throughout the nineteenth century. The debates that took place in India, moreover, travelled to all parts of the British Empire (Masani 2012). And, to a greater or lesser degree, contestations over curriculum, emerging from specific circumstances, were present in each of our other research schools. In the broadest philosophical terms, these contestations were centred on a number of contentions around ideas of modernity, rationality and enlightenment, as well as the question of the extent to

which the curriculum practices designed for students at England's public schools were applicable across its colonies. On the one hand, there was an assumption that such knowledge applied to all contexts equally and was essential for the acquisition of superior cultural forms, habits of thought and action. Eurocentric cultural norms were considered a precondition of modernity. On the other hand, there were questions about the applicability of such knowledge to populations with their own traditions of thought and cultural practices and even whether a canonical English curriculum was necessary for the roles that colonial subjects were expected to play in the interests of the British Empire.

To understand the nature of these contestations, it is perhaps helpful to refer to an important debate that took place in India throughout the nineteenth century among the English themselves about the kind of education that was appropriate in India (Varma 2010). On one side of this debate were the 'Orientalists' who wanted curriculum to be based largely on the heritage of India's classical traditions, in Sanskrit and Persian and other vernacular languages, with English introduced only gradually at the higher levels of education. The 'Orientalists' were deeply interested in many aspects of Indian civilizations, even as they believed that English cultural practices were superior and would eventually displace the local traditions. They were concerned about the loss of the Indian cultural practices that they had grown to admire greatly. Furthermore, they feared that the imposition of an English curriculum could lead to social instability and alienation in India, creating a problem of legitimacy that had the potential to undermine the broader interests of the Empire.

Such fears were not shared by the 'Anglicists', whose champion, Lord Macaulay, dismissed Indian antiquity as both culturally inferior and irrelevant to the needs of the emerging nation under the tutelage of the English. His 'Minute on Education' (1935b), noted in chapter 3, effectively embraced the Anglicists' arguments, providing a retrospective justification to a policy that had already begun to be implemented in practice in many Indian schools. Macaulay's Minute provided an authoritative ideological basis for what was to become a 'British sense of imperial mission' (Masani 2012, p. 98). Writing in favour of English as the medium of instruction in Indian schools, Macaulay insisted that the intellectual achievements in English were 'of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world put together' (Macaulay 1835b, p. 3). He was convinced that the local cultures were not only deficient but also beyond redemption.

Macaulay's thinking also articulated an argument in support of the development of Indian society—its modernization. Macaulay insisted that unless the British wished Indians to remain in a position of permanent servitude, perpetually excluded from high office, an English education was essential for 'the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour' (Macaulay 1835b, p. 4). Another line of Macaulay's argument linked his conception of modernization to strategies of colonial conquest by presenting history in a linear, Whiggish fashion, the history of England (at least) shown as reaching an ever higher level of civilization. While Macaulay's arguments might appear, to a contemporary ear, entirely despotic, even racist, it is worth noting that many leading Indian intellectuals in the nineteenth century, such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, also championed the need to introduce an English system of education in India, accepting it to be an expression of both rationality and modernity (Varma 2010).

It is important to note, however, that the curriculum Roy proposed was radically different from that which was enacted at the English public schools. The public schools in nineteenth-century England prized, above all, the classics, including Latin and Greek (see chapter 2). The assumption was that this made men into gentlemen, able to converse among themselves about the higher order of things. To manage their estates, they did not need to know mathematics and sciences, which were seen as essential only for a vocational life. In this way, English public schools made a fundamental distinction between an academic and vocational curriculum, with the latter assumed to be better suited to the subaltern classes, increasingly needed to work in industrial centres. But England's industrial expansion required scientific knowledge. In a similar vein, Roy insisted that, for India to modernize, its students needed access to the study of Western mathematics, chemistry and anatomy. He appealed to the colonial authorities to establish schools that employed European teachers and introduced a new curriculum with 'the necessary books and scientific instruments' (Varma 2010, p. 67). Roy thought of himself as belonging to an emerging nationalist tradition in India and regarded Indian cultural practices to be an impediment to the kind of modernity he assumed to be historically inevitable.

While curricular priorities, based on assumptions of European modernity, were widely promoted in India, their implementation was always disjunctural—nuanced, ambiguous and even contradictory. As Bhabha (1996) has shown, the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is ambivalent. While the colonizer expects the subaltern to 'mimic' colonial habits, assumptions, values and institutions, the outcome is never

a simple reproduction of the dominant norms. Rather, the result is often blurred, posing a threat to the colonizer. Bhabha suggests that mimicry always locates a crack in the certainty of colonial dominance, an uncertainty that, far from being assimilative, produces discourses and practices that are 'hybridized'. So, while Macaulay derided oriental learning and advocated instead the teaching of English arts, sciences and literatures, colonial education in India often involved forms of mimicry that indicated an underlying weakness within the imperial project (Vishwanathan 1988). Nevertheless, such an education succeeded in either producing or perpetuating, in sufficiently large numbers, an Indian elite which was mostly loyal to the Crown, often setting itself apart from the rest of Indian populations, enjoying social privileges that were not available to those who were not close to the Empire's governing apparatus. Indeed, over time, through an English education, the colonial elite created its own subaltern.

Ripon College's relationship to this logic of colonial formation had additional complexities. As we have already noted, Ripon was established as a political project of a kind, through which the colonial interests and the interests of the local Maharajahs and Nawabs complemented each other. While the local aristocracy funded the development of the college, the responsibility for its management was left to the colonial administrators. The early headmasters of the college were expatriate civil servants who had the additional duty of supervising local schools within the district. The college's curriculum, encapsulated in the 'Chief's Certificate of Education', thus represented an attempt to produce subjects who could play a mediating role across the interests of the colonizer and the colonized. With English as its medium of instruction, the curriculum at the college focused on the production of British habits, attitudes and sensibilities, through an emphasis not only on English literature but, more importantly, on the virtues associated with English games such as cricket and rugby. At the boarding school, the students were encouraged to live and work like young Englishmen. Not surprisingly, therefore, many Ripon graduates went on to work for the Indian civil service, assisting colonial administration.

Equally, Ripon College served the interests of the Indian Maharajahs and Nawabs in a number of ways. The college's political connivance with the colonial authorities further institutionalized, even enhanced, the elite status of the Maharajahs and Nawabs. Ripon enabled its students to get closer to the sites of colonial power, helping them to negotiate the conditions of their cooperation within the colonial authorities, especially in the administration of the taxes that were imposed on their land. This was a

mutually beneficial relationship. As a number of postcolonial historians of India have commented (e.g. Chakrabarty 2007), British rule in India partly depended on the tacit cooperation of an elite segment of Indian society. School such as Ripon thus played an important role in creating multiple layers of subaltern classes, those close to imperial power and those removed from it.

Elite schools in other British colonies similarly played a role in support of the work, both ideological and administrative, of the British Empire, though in ways that were context-specific. In settler colonies such as Australia, for example, the curriculum was developed by recent immigrants from Britain and reflected the priorities of their own education. The curriculum was created for the families of those settling in the new colonies, certainly not for the indigenous people of Australia. It was designed to ensure that white students from privileged backgrounds were fully aware and proud of their English heritage. In Singapore, Straits School honoured English entrepreneurs, instituting a curriculum that largely mimicked the English public schools' traditions. Latin, for example, was given a pride of place. In Hong Kong, the curriculum was devised for the children of the clergy and colonial administrators. Cathedral College, as we have noted, was established to educate Anglican male clergies able to convert local Chinese to Christianity.

At Greystone in South Africa, the curriculum sought to produce young ladies supportive of their future husbands who were charged with the task of managing the colonies across Africa. Greystone was specifically established by the local diocese because, as noted in the decision to found it and another school for girls in the neighbouring colony of Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal).

> Very much of the character of the colony must necessarily depend on its future mistresses of households, and the object of [schools such as this] is to secure that they shall be good Christians and Church women. ([School archive]).

At the same time, the curriculum was intended, as in the girls' schools in England from which many of the teachers came, to provide education for upper and upper-middle-class girls who had previously been denied (Epstein 2014). With time, curriculum struggles associated with proto- and, subsequently, first-wave feminism emerged with the introduction of, for example, science teaching standing in contrast to the patriarchal values simultaneously imparted about appropriate femininity.

Old Cloisters began as a school for poor white boys aiming to produce an overseer class for the plantations but, in the nineteenth century, became a school for plantation owners' sons when sending them to English boarding schools became too expensive due to the declining fortune of sugar production following the Sugar Duties Act of 1848 (see chapter 3). At this point, the curriculum was tied closely to that in the 'home country', with the Cambridge matriculation examination being introduced by the late nineteenth century as the ultimate diagnostic tool and marker of pedagogical and curricular quality (McCarthy 2015, p. 7). Old Cloisters thus provided an appropriately British education to the children of the local plantation owners.

For most of the nineteenth century, then, curriculum in our research schools was largely structured to serve the interests of the British Empire, even if various accommodations were sometimes made to the local traditions, and even though it was often contested at the level of practice in some of the colonies. In this period, our research schools were expected to produce citizens who possessed English sensibilities, were loyal to the Crown and who understood themselves as socially elevated. Even in those cases where local traditions could not be entirely overlooked, they were regarded as inferior to those forged at English public schools. For example, while Cantonese was taught at Cathedral College, and at Ripon Hindi was compulsory, the teaching of Latin and English took precedence. Furthermore, in all these colonies, the history curriculum was approached from a distinctively English perspective, highlighting England's glorious past, designed to reinforce its sense of cultural superiority.

Colonial Legacies and Postcolonial Aspirations

From the early- to mid-twentieth century, the broader political context in which our research schools operated began to change. In many British colonies, there emerged various nationalist discourses that not only refused to accept the British/English as inherently superior but also insisted on the need to recover their own cultural traditions. Our research schools were inevitably caught up in these changes, to which they responded in a range of different, contextually specific, ways. In India, for example, Ripon increasingly faced the dilemma of the extent to which it needed to change its curriculum in line with newly emerging nationalist sentiments or preserve the educational practices that had clearly marked it out as elite. In Barbados, the shift from a poor, white to a rich, white, male

student body continued until post-independence (gained in 1966), when fees were abolished and boys (and later girls) were admitted on the basis of 'merit' as measured by examination, with the majority of students being black. Inevitably, these changes created some pressure to change its curriculum. As McCarthy (2015, p. 8) explains:

> The new elitism of Old Cloisters would now be grounded, paradoxically, in its merit-based rationale … Old Cloisters began to reorient from an elite class reproducing to an elite class making institution.

After World War II, as the British Empire began to crumble, elite schools in the colonies were expected to play a major role in the creation of new national imaginaries (Anderson 1983, especially, chapter 3), assisting in the project of nation building by 'decolonizing' their educational thinking. The extent to which they were able to, or even wished to, perform this role varied.

Despite these national requirements, the timing of which varied according to the experience and success, and degree, of the anti-colonial struggle, our research schools in India, Singapore and Barbados displayed, in many ways, a deep ambivalence towards the struggle for independence and the requirements of the new nations. Having previously enjoyed various privileges, assuming these to be rightfully theirs for almost a century, many of them resisted radical transformation. So while schools such as Ripon and Straits largely embraced the rhetoric of national liberation, they found it more difficult to imagine a radically different curriculum that would simultaneously propose a 'decolonized' indigenous approach to education and also preserve their elite status, founded on a system of colonial differentiations. Not surprisingly, therefore, they retained key elements of the English curriculum, which was either coordinated through or deeply influenced by the English system of A and O level examinations, and such influences are still apparent in both the curriculum and examinations systems. Schools such as Straits, Cathedral and Greystone continued to employ expatriate British teachers, often to teach humanities and to provide curriculum leadership.

At Ripon, Straits and Old Cloisters, in particular, the emergent discourses of nationalism could not be overlooked. These discourses promised universal access to education, equality of educational opportunity and social democracy, ideas that were largely antithetical to their founding principles. Many of the leaders of India, Barbados and Singapore were educated in the traditions of Fabian Socialism that had advocated social control of property, not through class warfare but through the leader-

ship of intellectual ideas and democratic persuasion. In the task of creating new civil societies, education was expected to play an indispensable role. Many such nationalist leaders had themselves been educated at elite schools locally and in England, and envisaged a new role for these schools. In Barbados, its first prime minister, Errol Barrow, was educated at a local elite school and went on to study at the London School of Economics, under the tutelage of leading Fabian thinkers, Sidney and Beatrice Webb. His thinking was thus deeply rooted in Fabian traditions of social reform, which regarded education as a path towards emancipation from the shackles of colonialism. His view of democratic nationalism suggested the task of creating a distinctively local system of schooling through which wide-ranging social reforms to Barbadian society could be imagined.

This, however, was never going to be easy, for colonization had actually institutionalized the logic of social and political inequality. In elite schools, many teachers had internalized this logic, often embracing the values and assumptions associated with colonialism and its close companion capitalism. The curriculum had played a crucial role in instilling in them colonial and class-based modes of thinking and behaving. The national challenge for such schools was to overturn the legacies of the colonial discourse and practice. However, for the new governments, this objective proved almost impossible to implement not only because of the lack of resources and expertise, but also because educational change was deeply resisted by existing elites who sought to protect their entrenched interests. At Old Cloisters, the traditional curriculum persisted well into the 1990s. The school now served a new class of local black elite, who replaced the old, white plantation class, attempting to rule over the rest of their compatriots in much the same way as the British expatriates had. As Fanon (1967) points out, the native elite is always tempted to ignore its own cultural traditions and simply aspires to reproduce the cultural mores of the colonizer. Calling it neocolonialism, Fanon draws attention to the fact that newly independent nations can find themselves administered by a local elite who uses his or her privileged education and position to replicate the habits of the colonial administration for his or her own benefit, although through a new set of relations of ruling.

It is not surprising, therefore, that these schools did not significantly alter their curriculum until many decades after independence. Apart from symbolically supporting nationalist aspirations that they did not fully understand or accept, they continued to teach the English curriculum, either fully imported and examined, or in its translation into local idi-

oms. It was not until late 1960s, for example, that Ripon College finally abandoned the Cambridge examinations and moved over to India's own curriculum directed by the CBSE. Similarly, Straits School and Cathedral College did not abandon A and O level examinations until much later, and, when they did, the local curriculum displayed remarkable similarities to the English system. In each of the newly developed systems, the curriculum remained focused on access to traditional canonical knowledge, external examinations, the development of the skills of mathematical and scientific computation and attitudes of discipline and hard work through co-curricular activities, such as competitive sports. Literature curricula, for example, involved reading works of mostly British novelists, playwrights and poets, with little opportunity to explore local literatures. Local curricula encouraged some aspects of nationalist histories, but mostly continued to teach key historical events from an English perspective. Changes made were marginal and mostly symbolic. The colonial-/class-based curriculum thus proved to be much more resistant to change than many nationalists had expected or desired.

Overall, at our research schools in each of the newly independent countries of India, Singapore and Barbados and, more recently, Hong Kong, the need for the curriculum to serve national interests was widely acknowledged. However, the residual beliefs and practices through which the choreographies of class differentiation were performed were not entirely abandoned, despite wide-ranging debates and contestation over what knowledge, skills and attitudes were most worthwhile. Most changes involved minor adaptations to meet changing economic, political and social conditions, such as revisions to the history curriculum to include stories of independence struggle.

Global Forces and Curriculum Reponses

Currently, many of the curriculum practices developed in the nineteenth century persist. The legacy of colonialism remains evident not only in curriculum priorities but also in the ways in which they are pedagogically enacted. At the same time, however, in each of our research schools there are debates about how they should interpret the forces of globalization, their implications for curriculum reform and renewal and, more broadly, how to prepare students to live and thrive in the contemporary era, which is now assumed to constitute a period of major historical transformations (Held and McGrew 2005). Various global forces have given rise to eco-

nomic, political and social changes that are unprecedented, potentially affecting all aspects of life, and every community, albeit in uneven and unequal ways (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). The world has become interconnected as never before, with the rise of a certain 'global consciousness' that is particularly evident in the lives of 'the well-off and the frequently travelled' (Calhoun 2002, p. 91).

How have these profound changes been interpreted at our research schools? How are their curricular implications and visions of the future being negotiated? And to what extent has the recognition of global forces led to actual shifts in curriculum practice? Even a cursory look at the schools' websites suggests that they believe major changes in the curriculum to be necessary. Certainly, our conversations with the schools' leading figures and with many parents involved a rhetoric about global challenges, opportunities and connections. Each school appears to want to become exemplary in the fast globalizing, or in some cases, regionalizing, market of elite schools. Each seeks to offer curriculum options aimed at producing a global imagination in students and the ability to exploit the opportunities provided by the global economy and transnational cultural connectivities.

This sentiment has arguably become part of a converging and hegemonic global discourse which is based on a conviction that elite schools need to understand and respond to the forces of globalization if they are to take advantage of the opportunities it offers and to stay ahead of the game. It suggests the need for schools not only to become cognizant of these forces but also to 'internationalize' their curriculum. Furthermore, some of our research schools feel obliged, and entitled, to provide leadership to the rest of the national systems within which they are located. In 2012, the principal of Straits School, for example, spoke determinedly about the duty of her publically funded school to show the entire system of education in Singapore how to address the challenges and opportunities associated with globalization: a price, she suggested, 'of the privileges the school enjoys' (Mrs Ho, interview 2012). These schools feel pressure from parents and also, in some cases, national politicians (chapter 5).

Around the world, a hegemonic discourse has emerged, suggesting that the economic future of nations lies in the capacity of their youth to be able to exploit global opportunities and that schools need to align curriculum reform to the emerging requirements of the global economy. Schools are expected to produce citizens who understand the global system. This does not mean abandoning local affiliations and national priorities but, as Gardner (2004, p. 256) has argued,

> local or national institutions, mores, and values will not necessarily disappear. Indeed the very power of the forces of globalization will in many cases prompt strong reactions, sometimes violent, sometimes effective. The newly emerging institutions that can respond to the forces of globalization while at the same time respecting the diversities of cultures and belief systems are most likely to have a long half-life.

The focus of the curriculum, Gardner insists, should now be on teaching for innovation and entrepreneurialism, to develop students' ability to adapt to changing circumstances, especially the requirements of the globalized knowledge-centred economy and culture. This curricular vision appears to imply that the colonial and class legacy of these schools has finally been washed away and they now operate in a globally integrated world that is increasingly 'flat' (Friedman 2004). And yet, ironically, there appears to be a renewed preference for educational ideas emanating from the Anglo-American world, now articulated in terms of a globally converging discourse of educational reform, based on neoliberal precepts.

Perhaps this explains the appeal of global corporations such as Microsoft and their work in schools and global programmes such as the IB, offered by Founders College and Highbury Hall and the Cambridge International Examinations (CIE) introduced at Ripon College. These programmes do not quite reject curricula that have a subject-based approach to knowledge but claim to also encourage problem-solving, creative and critical thinking and interdisciplinarity—attributes thought to be necessary for negotiating global shifts in ways that are flexible.

As Ripon College, the coordinator of the new IGCE programme suggested that the main difference between the system of CIE and India's national curriculum, CBSE, is that CIE

> is more based on analytical thinking. It gives more platform for the development of an analytical mind and … for application and logical thinking, while CBSE still retains a focus on rote learning, and preparation for external examinations. … CBSE encourages passive learners, and favours the teaching styles of the more conservative teachers. CIE, in contrast, is more challenging both for the teachers and the students. [Yet she acknowledges that] there is still a great deal of resistance by teachers to CIE at Ripon College, though the parents are largely supportive now. (Mina Nawathe, interview 2013)

A number of teachers at Ripon also admitted that the teachers who had little experience of education outside India, which was most of them, had

greater difficulty coping with the requirements of the CIE. In one of our focus groups, teachers agreed that CIE was more demanding and required them to experiment with pedagogies in which they had not been trained (teachers' focus group 2013). Some of them argued, however, that the introduction of CIE had been largely beneficial, not least because it had exposed everyone to new ways of thinking about the curriculum, and had offered students a choice. They also noted that there had been some transfer of learning, with approaches to teaching in CBSE classes now 'becoming a little more flexible, challenging students to think for themselves' (Taan Gera, teachers' focus group 1 2012). Yet, according to another teacher, 'not all students benefit from CIE, some are better suited to the learning styles of the CBSE', which 'teaches students to be systematic, and approach the syllabus in a structured manner, and they learn things that the examinations need them to' (Hetal Mahadeva, teachers' focus group 1 2012).

The parents whose children are enrolled in the Cambridge stream at Ripon, as noted above, regard its introduction favourably. It has, they believe, diversified curriculum options and has the potential to better equip students for the world of work where, so the slogans proclaim, independent learning, creative thinking and problem-solving are valued. According to one parent who manages an international company, CIE has greatly helped to 'internationalize the school's general outlook' (Narun, parents' focus group 2 2012). For him, the 'internationalizing appeal' of CIE lies in its capacity to 'help bring in the best educational ideas from abroad'. He also likes the emphasis CIE places on 'preparing students for global citizenship', 'opening their mind to a world outside India' (Narun, parents' focus group 2 2012). Beyond these generalized arguments, however, many Ripon parents see the value of CIE in more instrumental terms: it puts students in a better position, they argue, to compete for entry into high-status universities in Britain and, increasingly, the USA.

According to another parent, 'CIE is a tool for students at Ripon to extend their global aspirations for lives that will be internationally oriented—still located within India but connected to a range of other countries' (Lela, parents' focus group 1 2012). The idea of making global connections appears to have become fundamental to Ripon's perspective on curriculum. Through programmes of student exchange and study abroad, Ripon students are given an opportunity to encounter other cultural traditions and develop intercultural communication skills in preparation for a future that is assumed to be increasingly transnational (see

further chapter 7). Students' prospects are assumed to depend on the extent to which they can exploit the opportunities that India's participation in the global economy has opened up. This aspiration is consistent with the ways in which many of India's fast-growing 'moneyed class' (Varma 2010) imagines the purposes of education, in terms that are highly instrumental. The curriculum 'choice' that Ripon College now offers between CIE and CBSE appears predicated on a presupposition that some students are globally aspiring, while others are content with their national and local affiliations. This implies that a distinction will emerge among India's privileged and powerful classes wherein the locally oriented will become subordinate to those with global orientations.

Curriculum Options and Strategic Choices

The idea of curriculum 'choice' is important at Founders College in Australia. As Kerry Mallory, a senior administrator, proclaims, perhaps somewhat naively:

> If there is a school that can change the educational landscape, Founders is probably one of the better, if not the best places that that it can happen from. Partly because of its size, partly because of its alumni; and I think its programmes are significant as well. The range of programmes. It has IB, it has VCE [Victorian Certificate of Education], it has VET [Vocational Education and Training], it also has VCAL [Victorian Certificate of Applied Training] and it's the only school that would offer those four programmes at the senior years. (Interview 2012)

Founders is particularity proud of its history with the IB. It was one of the first schools in Australia to offer it and now claims to have accumulated the kind of expertise that few schools around Australia possess. It regards its IB programmes as the basis upon which its broader internationalization goals are articulated.

The history of the IB, more broadly, stretches back to the 1960s. Its generally humanist philosophy was based on a mix of ideas derived from progressive educators such as John Dewey and Kurt Hahn. In its early years, the aim of its Diploma Programme (DP) was to 'provide an internationally acceptable university admissions qualification suitable for the growing mobile population of young people whose parents were part of the world of diplomacy, international and multi-national organisa-

tions' (Tarc 2010, p. 21). Over the past five decades, however, the IB has expanded its horizons, not just because the number of people who are globally mobile has grown dramatically (Vertovec 2009) but also because, justifiably or otherwise, it has become something of a marker of a school's and a graduate's status.

Over the past two decades, the IB has enthusiastically embraced the language of globalization. It expects all students to develop a Learner Profile (LP) consisting of a list of ten attributes of learning designed to promote academic rigour together with a commitment to a value system leading to the development of learners who are 'internationally aware' and 'socially responsible citizens of the world with an awareness of global perspectives' (Founders' website). Introduced more than a decade ago, the idea of the LP promotes a particular orientation to learning which suggests academic knowledge alone is no longer sufficient and that curriculum must now also incorporate an emphasis on producing learners who are able to engage effectively with rapid change, technological innovations and the realities of global interconnectedness and interdependence. Nowadays, these are not particularly novel curriculum principles. Indeed, they have become somewhat vacuous.

While the leadership at Founders has enthusiastically embraced such IB rhetoric, support for its key principles is, at best, uneven among teachers and students. According to Kerry Mallory, 'IB's curriculum orientation and its focus on internationalization have yet to be "mainstreamed" among most of the college's teachers and students' (interview 2011). She was convinced that while many teachers and parents still needed to be reassured that IB led to the appropriate student pathways, they would eventually come to appreciate its philosophical principles. Yet, while some teachers at the college share this perception, others are not so convinced. Speaking about the notion of international mindedness, for example, even the director of curriculum admits that: 'I'm not too sure that, at the concept level, there is a very deep awareness or understanding [of international mindedness]. But in terms of what the school practices on a daily basis, well I think you can stand back and say, come on, we can actually live it'(Jacob Sment, interview 2012). The college, he argues, has a 'clear uplifting values statement', that is broadly consistent with LP attributes, such as open-mindedness, but has yet to demonstrate that it can actually live up to these values. Founders College, he feels, remains largely Anglocentric, even as its student population is now more culturally diverse than it has ever been (Kenway 2016) and even as it builds connections with schools outside Australia, and with remote Aboriginal communities.

We nonetheless found Founders somewhat riven with curriculum rivalry and resentment, and it was mostly about the lack of parity of esteem between the IB and its other main curriculum offering. There is one view that the IB is superior to, and more demanding than, other curriculum options, and that, perhaps, those who teach it are also superior. Certainly, students who take the IB Diploma are regarded as brighter and more 'fully rounded' than others; as more likely to, literally, 'go places'. The non-IB staff and students scoff at such highfalutin implications, pointing to the restrictions that the IB places on students who want to specialize and to the fact that most other curricula serve students just as well in terms of university entrance in Australia and internationally. They also point to the irony that, due to the high English language demands of the IB's extended essay and Theory of Knowledge course, certain international students may choose not to take it or may not be admitted. Further, we seldom heard IB, or other, staff comment on the IB's Western-centrism despite the rapid rise in Founders' enrolment of international students from Asia and its embrace of international/global awareness. Given the wider debate, within and beyond the IB's adherents, about this matter and about how it might address it (e.g. Drake 2004; van Oord 2007; Walker 2010), such comparative silence struck us as odd.

Highbury Hall has also become a diverse community, with a large number of international students from a variety of countries in Africa and East Asia. Here there was a concerted campaign by a minority of teachers for the introduction of the IB. A minority of students take this option, and it is offered primarily to those who are aiming at entry to US Ivy League universities rather than those universities regarded by pupils and parents as the most desirable in the UK—Oxbridge, University College London, the London School of Economics, Imperial College, Edinburgh and Bristol. In our fieldwork, we found that virtually no students were intending to apply for university places outside this select group and that A levels are regarded as better for entry to the latter group of universities. The school is thus comfortable that there is no urgent need for curriculum renewal; it does, however, acknowledge that its students need to better understand the dynamics of global change, as well as the challenges of globalization. The current principal of the school is not shy in admitting that many of her teachers and students are 'narrow-minded'.

> My responsibility, me and my staff, is to make sure the girls are aware of economic trends and things because, you know, what's happening in the

> economy of Brazil does affect the economy of the UK in a way that it didn't a hundred years ago. So, I mean in that sense globalization is a different phenomenon. Things are more knitted up. (Charlotte Stanhope, interview 2012)

The girls at Highbury Hall are encouraged to examine issues of globalization and the responsibilities they have to rest of the world, at least in theory—though perhaps with little effect (see chapter 8)—and their curriculum choices are shaped more by the academic and career paths they seek than by any broader educational or cultural concerns. As a well-resourced, wealthy school, Highbury Hall is able to offer a wide spectrum of curriculum choices, including a diverse range of languages, hoping that the decision to learn particular languages will be based on motives that are both intrinsic and strategic. However, as a senior teacher admitted, most girls at the school choose to study a language only if it contributes to their overall score towards university entrance. Not surprisingly, therefore, some languages acquire greater status than others.

Issues of Language

Until three decades ago, the teaching of Latin enjoyed high status not only in England and settler colonies such as Australia but also at our other research schools. Latin was assumed to be the language of high culture and thus constituted a key marker of well-educated persons, and of their social distinction (chapter 2). Furthermore, until the early 1960s, Latin at O level was a requirement for entry into many prestigious institutions of higher education such as Oxford and Cambridge. As Teese and Polesel (2003, p. 18) suggest, in Australia, 'if subjects are ranked according to the average level of achievement of the students taking them then in 1975 ancient and modern languages stood at the pinnacle of the curriculum'. Proficiency in Latin was believed to prepare students well for higher education, and eventually for leadership roles. At Cathedral College in Hong Kong, it was considered essential for the preparation of the clergy and at Old Cloisters too, for reasons that had much to do with the ways curriculum priorities were imported from English public schools to Barbados. In Singapore and Hong Kong, it was often taught at the expense of Mandarin or Cantonese, respectively. Similarly, in South Africa, it was common for students regarded as 'academic' to take Latin for their matriculation until at least the late 1960s, and a pass in Latin matriculation (university

entrance) was still required there until 1995 in order to practice law. The privileged status given to Latin thus reveals much about colonialism—about the ways in which students, both in England and its colonies, were asked to assume that the origins of the 'best of humanity' as a whole lay in high class Western cultural and linguistic traditions and that knowledge of these traditions required familiarity with Latin.

English has acquired a somewhat similar status to that which Latin once had, though it is now seldom justified in civilizational, class or epistemic terms (*qua* Macaulay), but in terms that refer to its role as the language of the globalized economy. Fluency in English is now fundamentally associated with life opportunities and economic development. It is regarded as the language of global commerce, a necessary precondition for effective participation in global economic activity and the language of the Internet. Throughout the world, students are therefore encouraged to invest their time and resources in learning English, on the assumption that their access to prestigious institutions of higher education and to the globalizing labour market will be greatly enhanced. Furthermore, in ethnically and linguistically diverse communities, such as Singapore, English is also regarded as a public policy instrument for the goal of social cohesion, of bringing communities together.

The importance attached to English is most clearly evident at Straits. We were told repeatedly that English has played a positive role not only at the school but also within broader Singaporean society. According to a senior administrator,

> English is the language that brings us all together. Yes we have all the other languages, they're important … but it's English that brings all the different ethnic groups together. I think that's very much part of [Straits] also. We put English at the top—forefront and we use that as part of the whole communication process, part of opportunities out there. So this legacy of the British I think is something that has done us a tremendous amount of good. (Mr Sim, interview 2011)

Others at Straits believe that Singapore's global success—its international connections and prestige—is derived partly from the fact that the use of English has enabled Singapore to embed itself within the global networks of information and communication. Furthermore, through its insistence on higher levels of proficiency in English, Straits School is convinced that it is able to help its students enter prestigious universities in the UK and the USA, with the confidence they might otherwise not have.

How to get admission into prestigious institutions of higher education abroad is a popular topic of conversation at Straits School. It is proud of its tradition of sending more than half of its graduates to such institutions. Even though it is funded by the public purse, it enjoys a great deal of autonomy (see chapter 5). And although it is reluctant to be viewed as an elite school, it is unapologetic about its commitment to the education of Singapore's brightest students—in English. Many of its students speak English as their first language, so the school believes its main task is to enhance their understanding of and linguistic competence in English to a very advanced level, since such competence is assumed to be linked to the conceptual and analytical skills needed to succeed in higher education abroad. For this futures orientation, English is also considered essential for preparing students for international competitive tests such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), and various entrance examinations for American universities. This focus on academic English in Singapore has created a discernible linguistic hierarchy, rendering inferior the linguistic capital of multilingual children who do not speak English in the dialect of the globally mobile and privileged.

The Singapore government's official language policy stresses bilingualism, with English as the medium of instruction and mother tongues are taught as second languages —Mandarin for Chinese, Tamil for Indians and Bahasa Melayu for Malays. However, in Singapore's public policy, English is given a steering role in economic development and modernization. The ubiquitous discourse of the need to participate in a globalized economy has created a situation where 'the ability to cross boundaries' and to perform against new 'international norms' are considered especially important. Singapore has long recognized that the crossing of these boundaries demanded a focus on English. In recent years, however, with the economic rise of China, and Singapore's growing economic links with it, Singapore has begun to consider also the importance of Mandarin in its schools. Accordingly, many teachers at Straits now suggest that Mandarin should be given a more prominent place on the curriculum. They realize, however, that in the foreseeable future, the importance attached to English is likely to remain undiminished (teachers' focus group 1 2012), because the status of English as a global language is not about to be unsettled, despite major geopolitical shifts that have brought China to the centre of the global economy.

The language of instruction at each of our research schools has always been English. The social prestige they enjoyed in colonial settings was

partly due to this fact. Within their own communities, it marked them out for their social distinction, for it had enabled them to speak the language of colonial power. Even after independence, English continued to be a marker of their elite status. And, more recently, the rise of 'Global English' (Crystal 1997), and the role it plays in global commerce, have proven to be an additional advantage, not only enabling them to reinforce their claims for 'educational excellence', but also highlighting the relevance of their curriculum, as well as their ability to respond nimbly to the contemporary conditions and shifting circumstances. In line with a growing political discourse about China's economic rise, and the need for students to have a better understanding of its cultural and linguistic traditions, however, Founders in Australia, Highbury Hall in England and Old Cloisters in Barbados have begun to offer Mandarin as an option, but without unsettling the hegemonic linguistic order.

The politics of language education is, thus, embedded conjecturally within broader political debates, especially in shifting political priorities. Nowhere is this clearer than in South Africa, where the politics associated with language education are linked to its history of apartheid. Under the apartheid regime, issues of language and political conflict were inextricably tied. On the one hand, there was a great deal of antipathy between the Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans, while, on the other hand, local African languages were not officially recognized except in the notorious 'Bantustans',[1] set up to enforce racialized segregation. Language policy was used as an instrument of racial differentiation. The architects of apartheid had envisaged, and established, separate systems of education for the various 'races'. However, when the majority black populations were forced to learn Afrikaans equally with English as the medium of instruction and ahead of their own vernacular languages, the apartheid system began to crumble. In 1976, hatred of apartheid, and of Afrikaans as the 'language of the oppressor', boiled over in Soweto, leading to protests initially at one school but, over a period of months, to many other schools, often with the support of teachers, parents and students.

Black activists, such as Neville Alexander (1989), viewed the language question to be a core component of the liberation struggle, inseparable from the fundamental issues of social, political and economic inequality and racist oppression. They developed an outline of a democratic language policy for national unity for a postapartheid South Africa. South Africa's Constitution of 1993 largely accepted this outline, and embraced the idea of multilingualism as a national resource, raising nine major African lan-

guages to the official status of national languages, alongside English and Afrikaans. When it was first released, the new language policy was widely hailed in South Africa and elsewhere as a major achievement of the African National Congress-led democratic government of South Africa.

However, this policy has only inadequately been translated into effective practice. First, South Africa does not have sufficient qualified teachers of African languages and only limited resources have been allocated to train them. Lacking resources, schools in South Africa have decided to first attend to other urgent priorities. Second, in an increasingly demand-driven educational system, a large proportion of middle-class African parents have placed their children in English-medium schools. In the context of a globalizing economy, they have calculated greater value in learning the language of commerce, which is English. As Dolby (2001) has pointed out, while apartheid has crumbled, in a world saturated with media images and global commodities, racial differentiations simultaneously persist and falter. Youth engage as much with the world as they do with their own communities and national politics.

At Greystone such contradictions are clearly evident. As a school where the majority of its students are still white, Greystone has tried to live up to the noble aspirations of a democratic South Africa. As we have noted in chapter 5, its former principal, in particular, worked very hard to inspire the girls at Greystone to speak out against all forms of discrimination and to view political struggle as important as their formal education. She also encouraged students to find ways of relating to their fellow citizens in townships where a large proportion of poorer black communities live, primarily through 'service' (see chapter 8). However, in terms of promoting African languages, which the majority of South Africans speak, Greystone's achievements have been disappointing. Very few students take isiXhosa, and those who do have to do so as an optional extra at a cost to their parents. According to Fundani Nkosi, a language teacher:

> isiXhosa used to have two lines [streams] for those who want to take it as an additional subject. Now those ones who want to do it as an additional subject must do it privately at their own cost. This is a hindrance to their basic communication because it means, if they can't speak isiXhosa, they can't communicate with black South Africans in their mother tongue. But now unfortunately because isiXhosa is not included as an option—as an additional subject then there are no people who will take it. Otherwise they will have to pay for it themselves and that is not a—it is too much. (Language teachers' focus group 2012)

Ironically, the presence of isiXhosa as a curriculum option was thus greater during the apartheid days. As he notes,

> Also isiXhosa to non-mother tongue learners—it was used also to pull learners to this school. We even used to teach isiXhosa as a conversational language up until Grade Nine [age about 15] but now it's only in the primary school. There were more learners and more hours of teaching. (Fundani Nkosi, language teachers' focus group 2012)

Another teacher tells of the story of Rebecca who had set her heart on a political career, but the school never emphasized the 'necessity of her doing Xhosa so she might be able to communicate throughout the province' (Ronelle Louw, language teachers' focus group 2012). The assumption that English and Afrikaans are sufficient for entry into high-status universities, such as the University of Cape Town, has remained entrenched in the imagination of the school community at large (see chapter 5). In this way, the aspirations of a democratic South Africa, through a more inclusive language policy, are largely undermined by an increasing focus on English which is assumed to be more needed for the globally connected and therefore more prosperous academic and career pathways.

English and Afrikaans still dominate Greystone's linguistic landscape, in much the same way they did under apartheid. The school offers a number of European languages, including French and German, but has not seriously considered Swahili, the mother tongue of many of its international students who hail from the neighbouring countries of Southern and Eastern Africa, as a curriculum option. A long standing language teacher at Greystone recognizes the importance of Swahili on multiple levels, saying,

> because they [international students] speak mostly Swahili and if we trace back our languages — the South Africa indigenous languages — we realize there is some root originally from Swahili. Yeah, and it would be very good if were encouraging communication or learning of one of the African languages. (language teachers' focus group 2012)

However, he insists that both resources and interest simply do not exist to warrant the introduction of Swahili. Furthermore, most of the international students at Greystone appear more interested in learning a European language or taking additional English instruction, in preparation for higher education.

Parental choices for their girls at Greystone seem to reaffirm the preference for English and Afrikaans, the two languages in which they were themselves instructed. As a teacher explained, 'many of the parents who can afford to send their children to a school like [Greystone] are business people. And they firmly believe that business studies are going to give them the right grounding'(Ronelle Louw, language teachers' focus group 2012). For these parents, from diverse backgrounds, globalization is viewed as an opportunity to expand their commercial portfolios, and this, they believe, requires paying more attention to the traditional subjects with an additional focus on business studies. Language teacher Eva Nel laments that, 'we're not speaking too much about languages in this school. It's always about mathematics and information. I feel that [even though] we are a new, modern, global school we always [paradoxically] push the traditional subjects'(language teachers' focus group 2012). Economic instrumentalism prevails, as indeed does the school's focus on efficiency and effectiveness in the use of its resources. As Ronelle Louw notes, none at Greystone would deny the importance of languages in an era of globalization, but 'the way things are working these days it's much more financially difficult to do so and [in any case] the head has wanted to streamline these [language] school subjects available to kids'(language teachers' focus group 2012).

If Greystone has witnessed a decline in the teaching of a diverse array of languages, Founders College views its languages policy as fundamental to its approach to an internationalized curriculum. The college is deeply committed to offering a diverse array of languages at the school for a wide variety of reasons. It aspires to become globally known as one of the best schools for learning of languages, with each of its students not only studying foreign languages but also developing an understanding of the ways in which issues of language and culture are inextricably linked. According to Kerry Mallory, senior administrator at the college, the learning of a second language is essential for 'cross-cultural competence', an attribute that reflects both the school's embrace of the IB's notion of 'international mindedness' and also its broader commitment to help students develop a comprehensive understanding of Australia's history of cultural diversity and its complex relationship to the nation's indigenous people (interview 2010). Founders also regards its approach to languages as a response to growth at the college in the number of international students from a wide variety of countries, potentially enabling their languages to be valued and to facilitate a greater degree of communication and understanding across local and international students.

The college leadership thus insists that proficiency in English is not enough and that, as Lo Bianco and Aliani (2013) have noted, there are two problems in the arrangements of current global communication: 'not knowing English and knowing only English'. Beyond facilitating cross-cultural exchange and professional effectiveness, the leadership at Founders puts forward a range of additional arguments for learning a second language. Indeed, it supports many of the languages policies and programmes promoted over the past two decades by the Australian government. Founders College fully endorses, for example, the Australian curriculum's emphasis on Asia literacy and knowledge of indigenous cultures, and views the teaching of Asian and Aboriginal languages as highly beneficial to intercultural communication and understanding. According to Kerry Mallory, 'a bilingual or multilingual capability is the norm in most parts of the world', and therefore any call to 'develop global citizenship' in Australia would be hollow without students possessing an understanding of how a language shapes cultural practices and possibilities (interview 2012).

Contrasting Visions of the Future

While the leadership at Founders College is clearly committed to multilingualism, many teachers do not find the college's rhetoric compelling. While some feel that this rhetoric is not translated into effective practices, and that the resources allocated to the teaching of languages are inadequate, others are not fully in tune with the college's curriculum priorities, including its emphasis on foreign languages. An academic administrator at Founders notes that many teachers at the college continue to assume that since English is a global *lingua franca* in many professions and fields of knowledge, and at the global level English plays an essential role in facilitating the development of global connections, the college's 'languages push' is unnecessary and perhaps even diverts attention away from the core subjects (field notes 2012).

Similarly, there is a great deal of scepticism among teachers about the college's rhetoric of global citizenship education. In recent years, notions such as 'global perspectives' and 'global competences' have become central to Founder's curricular discourses. The college's marketing promotes global citizenship education as a core dimension of students' curricular and co-curricular learning experiences. It points to the global nature of the challenges its students will confront in the future, and emphasizes curriculum reforms that have the potential to provide them an under-

standing of these challenges. While certainly some teachers, particularly those in the IB programme, are eager to embrace such rhetoric and to explore its implications for their teaching, there seems to be a solid core of others who are more than content with the status quo and who see no reason to change. These seem mainly to be 'old school' teachers, those with intergenerational links to Founders and with deep investments in its long-established local identity. In the various staff meetings we attended, their view was expressed through a form of passive resistance that we initially read as cultural complacency. But, in our focus groups, there were quite spirited discussions about the relevance of global citizenship and intercultural understanding, not only to the core aspects of their work but also to the purposes of the school. These teachers seemed to see their role as defenders of the school's past in the present and the future. They also gave priority to Melbourne. Their parochialism was intense. But further, like most teachers in elite schools, those at Founders are totally preoccupied not just with the daily chores of teaching but with preparing students for high-stakes assessment tasks. Given the very high priority given to exam results, many teachers feel that they do not have the time for these broader cultural objectives. It was an extra demand they did not need. As one such teacher argues, 'You know, a lot of us are struggling with it [the goal of inter-culturalism] and it has not been … very broad spread'. Another noted, 'Well, globalization is a topic, but it is not infused among everything [as Founders prescribes] and spoken about in the same way as it is in the IB. Certainly in geography we would do global case studies but they kind of operate like that, like a case study' (teachers' focus group 2 2011). An academic administrator admits that the college has also had difficulties indigenizing its curriculum. This is despite establishing major curriculum initiatives to develop connections with indigenous Australia and to encourage students to be respectful of indigenous traditions as well as to be globally oriented (Jacob Sment, interview 2010).

Other schools have similarly encountered difficulties in transforming the outlook of their teachers, and also of their students. At Cathedral College, Belinda Wu, Head of Liberal Studies, notes the ubiquity of teacher resistance to change:

> Yes, in my last school I faced this problem. And that's part of the reason for me to decide to leave. Because they don't think it is possible to carry out reforms in learning and teaching. Because they are experienced teachers and

> that's why, they have their own teaching style and they love using textbooks and giving knowledge to their students. And they believe, in the classrooms, the teacher is the centre of authority. (Interview 2103)

In seeking to explain the reasons for teacher resistance, the principal at Cathedral contends that the focus of teaching is narrow because the parents at the school are highly ambitious, and the students are largely driven by the requirements of an examinations culture that dominates the entire educational landscape in Hong Kong (interview 2013). Cathedral College has found it difficult, he notes, to enthuse parents and students in those subject areas, including languages, which do not have direct strategic benefits relating to either career prospects or university entrance.

There appears to be a disjuncture between two distinct visions of the future: one that is found in the grand rhetoric of our research schools and the other that underlies the narrowly instrumental aspirations of many students, teachers and parents. Contestations over curriculum are linked to these competing visions, including as they relate to the demands of curriculum renewal in global circumstances. While there is considerable agreement over the facts of a globally interconnected world, there is considerable debate over the kind of education that is appropriate for a good life in such a world. Underlying this debate are questions about the major contemporary requirements of citizenship, and of the role that curriculum is able to and should play in articulating and responding to these requirements.

Indeed, the disjuncture between these visions of the future, contained within contemporary contestations over curriculum, can be usefully demonstrated by referring to two contrasting strains of thinking about global citizenship. On the one hand, the idea of global citizenship is couched in moral and political terms, highlighting the responsibility we all have towards our fellow citizens around the world. On the other hand, there also exists, in our research schools, an instrumentalist strain concerned with preparing students to compete effectively in the global labour markets, to 'take advantage' of global economic connectivities. Often simultaneously, the focus of global citizenship policies is both on moral practices and experiences of 'being' a global citizen and on an idea of citizenship that tends to highlight the economically instrumentalist 'benefits' of global citizenship. Some years ago, Urry (1998, p. 415) identified various kinds of global citizens that are envisioned in current public policies, including 'global capitalists', 'global networkers' and 'global reformers'.

Each of these constructions invokes a particular kind of 'ideal citizen', within a broader normative image of society.

In its economically instrumentalist construction, global citizenship education is assumed to be a means to an end, rather than something that is constitutive of a set of moral and cultural practices. Such an approach imagines the central challenge of global citizenship education to be the development of active and effective participants in the global economy rather than moral actors concerned about issues of global justice. When such notions as 'intercultural competence' and 'twenty-first-century skills' are articulated in instrumentalist terms, they highlight the need to increase one's 'competitiveness' in the global marketplace. This view, however, is not totally devoid of moral content but involves a misplaced assumption that global capitalism and free-market ideology ultimately have the potential to promote democratic participation and individual freedom across the world.

In our research schools, these two contrasting visions of global citizenship education are often contained within the same curriculum statement. Indeed, the discourses of global development and responsibility are often articulated alongside the promotion of neoliberal values of individualism and competition in the free markets. At Straits School, for example, a large number of initiatives have been established to promote global citizenship, including programmes of international exchange, local and international service learning and international conferences focusing on global problems. Ripon College and Greystone send their students abroad to gain international experience and an understanding of the ways in which global problems are interconnected and demand common solutions. At Highbury Hall, an International Club has been established to encourage students from diverse backgrounds to learn from each other and to examine global issues collaboratively.

Cathedral College is also committed to the idea of incorporating aspects of global citizenship in its curriculum. To its principal, this makes sense for a city that is already culturally diverse and cosmopolitan. Cathedral has established a World Classroom Programme[2] that began as an English immersion programme but has expanded into a range of additional initiatives, including international excursions, sporting visits and cultural activities designed to promote intercultural understanding. The chair of the alumni association insists that this has 'widened student horizons' (Justin Tay, interview 2013). Cathedral has, however, had to temper its enthusiasm for global citizenship education because, in Hong Kong, the idea of

citizenship education is highly contested, both culturally and politically. Since Hong Kong was declared a 'Special Administrative Region' of China in 1997, its pro-China educational policymakers have not entirely abandoned the notion of global education but have insisted on an emphasis on 'nationalistic' education, which involves the development of a range of 'civic attitudes' that celebrate the unity of the Chinese nation and people. The Hong Kong curriculum is now expected to promote patriotism, and calls upon its citizens to perform nationally symbolic acts and to work together to foster a sense of national identity as Chinese citizens—*Tonggen Tongxin* (same root, same heart). Of course, Hong Kong 'nationalists', many of whom are parents of the students at Cathedral, are suspicious of the mainland's designs on Hong Kong's way of life through nationalistic education. This places the college in a difficult position of having to promote both global citizenship and a notion of citizenship that undermines it.

At Old Cloisters, the discourse of global citizenship is not widely used, even though Barbados is one of the most globally connected countries in the world. The main focus of the curriculum at the school is instead on academic excellence. Its Strategic Plan has set a high bar for student performance in the CAPE. It expects between 150 and 200 of its students to apply for Barbados scholarships and Government Awards, which would enable them to enter an approved higher-education institution anywhere in the world. A large proportion of students aspire to attend a leading university in the UK, Canada or, preferably, the United States, even if fewer than half are actually likely to do so. Their academic aspirations are, nonetheless, global. The teachers at the school fully recognize this and they themselves have families scattered around the world. Yet Old Cloisters follows a curriculum that is regionally focused on the Caribbean. It has been designed by the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC), and highlights the development of 'ideal Caribbean citizens', who are committed to the region's social and economic development. However, this regional focus cannot be separated from the global connections that define the transnational space within which most Barbadians live. This inevitably shapes the students' orientation towards both the curriculum and their academic aspirations. In this sense, ideas about global citizenship are actually already embedded within the imagination of the students, even if they are not formally articulated in Old Cloisters' curriculum policy.

This suggests that some knowledge of global forces and prospects already exists among many students in our research schools. Schools can-

not ignore this organic form of 'global consciousness' (Robertson 1992) which many students already bring to school with them, and which contains both moral and strategic components. The challenge for schools is how to negotiate across these competing curriculum drivers. At Highbury Hall and Founders, the presence of large number of international students must inevitably affect their approach to curriculum, as they have to negotiate a cultural politics of difference that is located both within the logic of a global educational market as well as a set of moral sentiments about 'doing good for the world'. Singapore's geographical location at the crossroads of civilizations and its global economic success have created conditions in which Straits School is able to position itself as a leader in global citizenship education. To articulate its vision of global citizenship, Cathedral College has had to negotiate a complex political space between its globalizing impulse and the nationalist constraints it experiences against the political backdrop of an ambiguous and contested relationship between Hong Kong and Beijing. The global diaspora to which many of the students at Old Cloisters belong ensures that they already orient their imagination both towards the regional and the global.

Conclusion

Clearly, curriculum debates cannot adequately be understood without an examination of the broader social forces that drive them. During the nineteenth century, curriculum in our research schools across the British Empire was largely imported from England and was based on the pedagogic principles that had been developed in English public schools. It was widely assumed that the English curriculum incorporated the best that could be known. Colonial interests thus shaped the curriculum but in ways that were complex, linked contingently to local conditions. The relationship between the broader social forces and the enacted curriculum was conjunctural and disjunctural, consistent with colonial objectives but rearticulated into local forms. There was always a tension between colonial designs and local responses, which, over most of the twentieth century, supported a nationalist agenda for education. Yet, many of the colonial practices persisted, even after independence, especially when they were advantageous to the local postcolonial elite. In this way, class choreographies across each of our research schools have been dynamic, changing in light of new social, political and economic conditions but retaining various indices of inherited social privilege.

And so it is in current globalizing circumstances. The curriculum at our research schools is contested across a range of imperatives, initiatives and interests. Fundamental to the debates taking place in each of our schools are the following questions. How best to interpret and negotiate the shifting forces of globalization, translate them into effective curricular practice and, at the same time, how to better position each school within the increasingly competitive market of elite schools, both nationally and globally. To do this, as we have made clear, some of our schools have introduced international programmes, such as IB and CIE, alongside national curriculum, on the basis that this offers parents a choice over the global futures that they envisage for their children. At the same time, the appeal of international programmes appears to be predicated on the belief that they are much more responsive to global changes, that they encourage students to become 'internationally minded', life-long learners who can adapt to changing conditions, solve problems and work in culturally diverse transnational teams. Such programmes are also assumed to be more valuable in global academic and labour markets, especially as they represent a system of qualifications that is globally recognized and, perhaps, even valued at elite institutions of higher education, such as Oxbridge and the Ivy League. This indicates some of the ways in which the curriculum at these schools contributes to the formation of a transnational class of elites who have extensive global connections and aspirations.

Our research schools have become sites where the global imaginary of the students is in part forged and sustained through various class choreographies embodied in curriculum practices. The focus that each of our schools, in its different way, places on global citizenship education represents one such example. Through their promotion and participation in such extra-curricular activities as study abroad and student exchange, international service learning and Model United Nations, the students at our research schools are encouraged to develop a better understanding of the world as interconnected but, also, develop a sense of responsibility for our shared global problems. As worthwhile as these curricular initiatives are, however, it is hard to deny that they take place in a space of privilege. Not surprisingly, therefore, they are viewed in terms of both intrinsically worthwhile and instrumental purposes, such as improving chances of gaining admission into elite universities.

Many students at our research schools carry the burden of extremely high expectations from their parents and of developing a range of 'global competencies' to participate and compete in the global economy and

culture more effectively. Indeed, the idea of global competencies has become associated with an instrumental form of cultural and social capital, whereby students are expected to take advantage of global connections, to see global citizenship as stretching the boundaries of their opportunities and to succeed not only in the local and national but also the global space. Their teachers are, of course, not unaware of the contradictions associated with the contrasting meaning of global citizenship education. These involve, on the one hand, developing a critical mindset about the obligations that an awareness of global interconnectedness entails. On the other hand they involve a certain type of global citizenship education becoming a marker of social distinction. For many parents who are well-off and are themselves globally mobile and networked, the discourses of global citizenship have the cultural appeal of continuity and hold out the promise of an even brighter future for their children. Perhaps such curriculum will assist their children to eventually move closer to the inner circles of the emerging transnational dominant class, wherein relations of ruling are globalizing. For those parents who are less globally oriented, the discourses of global citizenship nonetheless offer their children a patina of cosmopolitan sophistication.

Notes

1. See http://www.sahistory.org.za/special-features/homelands for an explanation of 'Bantustans' and the political logic behind them.
2. The actual name of the programme has been changed to avoid identification of the school.

CHAPTER 7

Students on the Move

> *This is a world of flux, change, and becoming, a world of mobilization (not globalization) in practice. This is also a highly contingent, relational, and personal world, yet these personal experiences and individual mobilities frequently get erased or generalized in much of the globalization literature.*
>
> (Merriman 2014, p. 34)

The idiomatic expression 'the grass is greener on the other side' resonates for students Blake, Ching and Alexis. Their comments about their move, at the end of their junior year, from the prestigious St Mary's Girls' School in Hong Kong to Highbury Hall did not hint of regrets or homesickness. Instead, they settled in very swiftly. They spoke to us with fondness about their new school and the environment, which Blake described as 'the kind of quietness and calmness' that she could not find in Hong Kong (Blake, interview 2010). It helped that teachers were amiable and approachable; 'like friends' she said.

The student population at Highbury Hall is made up of diverse nationalities but with international students in a minority. These young women claimed this did not bother them; rather, they felt encouraged by the school's 'international feel'. However, hinting at some of the racial tensions beneath the surface that we noted earlier (chapter 5), they indicated some 'them' and 'us' issues. As Blake observed: '… *they* have to adjust to seeing loads of Hong Kong people and Koreans or Indians every day. They

J. Kenway et al., *Class Choreographies*,
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do have to adjust. But *we* have to adjust too' (Blake, interview 2010). The school rule that restricted their use of their mother tongue, when in the presence of English-speaking girls who could not speak it, seemed not to bother them—much.

It is not insignificant that all three girls come from wealthy families in Hong Kong who can readily afford their places at Highbury Hall. Their apparent confidence about the merits of their presence in the school stems, also, from an Asian pride that arose from their academic success. Blake claimed that the 'students from Hong Kong, Korea or India get the school the better grades' and, despite being the minority group, 'half of the girls who got into Oxford are from Asia' (Blake, interview 2010). She and the other Hong Kong girls knew where they stood academically and felt sure they would continue the legacy of the Oxford girls from Asia. Blake also spoke at some length about her parents' reasons for sending her to Highbury Hall, explaining that she had gained her Hong Kong/Chinese education and knew how to work in that context, so gaining an education in the UK and, perhaps, in the USA was a deliberate strategy to ensure that she could move easily in and between the cultures of the East and the West. Assured and determined, these girls fully expected to gain entry to the top universities in the UK and also gave the impression that, after that, they could do, pretty much, whatever they pleased.

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Student Travel Through Elite Circuits

Blake and her classmates' narrative is representative of the other Hong Kong students we interviewed at Highbury Hall. It is also, according to staff at Cathedral College in Hong Kong, representative of the boys who left their school to attend elite boys' schools in the UK. One of the factors propelling these students out of Hong Kong is the extraordinarily competitive local education scene, particularly with regard to entry to Hong Kong universities. We were told their parents think they must move as this will provide their sons with a 'better chance of getting in to a better university' in the UK. Further, some parents held the view that, at a prestigious Western school, their child would pick up new and valuable skills, including critical thinking and intercultural dexterity, that would contribute to the twenty-first-century skill-set widely touted as necessary for the future, and an increasingly hyper-competitive, top-end labour market.

And so it is that students such as these leave one elite school in their home country and travel to attend another elite school internationally—if, often, only for their final two or three years of schooling. Thereafter, many will continue their studies in elite universities in the UK or the USA. Those from Highbury Hall mainly aim for Oxford, Cambridge or the University of London, they tell us. Others plan to return to work in Hong Kong or, even, in mainland China where money-making opportunities have led to the emergence of what is called 'China's new rich' (Goodman 2008). We call such trajectories of mobility the 'elite circuit' of elite schools.

Elite Circuits and Their Others

Multifarious mobilities characterize contemporary times. The current 'mobilities paradigm' in the social sciences aims 'to reflect, capture, simulate and interrogate movements across variable distances' (Urry 2007, p. 44). Of most interest to us, however, is 'how social relations are performed, organized and mobilized' (p. 44) in relation to mobilities. Our focus is on how geographical mobility, social mobility and social relationships interweave. We are interested in the intricate links between people's 'routes and roots' (Clifford 1997); in how they are involved in class, race and gender connections, relations, subjectivities and articulations.

Elite circuits are part of what Bauman (1998) calls 'global hierarchies of mobility'. Those at the top are constantly on the move by choice. They are usually the asset-rich winners of globalization. Plainly, those who belong to the transnational capitalist class are part of an elite circuit on the global stage. Elliott and Urry (2010) illustrate this, highlighting such things as the working conditions, opulent life styles, speed and travel addiction and territorial and emotional detachment of very powerful global businessmen. Their tendency, Bauman argues, is to float free and dissociate themselves from either the causes or problems of grounded injustices. They also tend to spatially and/or emotionally segregate, insulate and fortify themselves both when they are on the move and when they settle for a while, thus creating their own insular geographies of plenty that, in turn, restrict their vision (Bauman 2002).

Such elite circuits have their opposites, which we call subaltern circuits. These circuits involve those who are forced, or whose only choice is, to move. Slaves, indentured labourers and convicts are the groups we mentioned in earlier chapters (see chapters 2 and 3). There are many equivalents

today, including refugees, the victims of human trafficking and those who have no choice but to travel for paid work—even though the work they gain pays very little and is in exceptionally poor and exploitative conditions. These mobile subaltern groups can be contrasted with those who find themselves in a situation of 'enforced localization'; they are tied to space in a period when the freedom to act is increasingly tied to the freedom to move (Bauman 1998, p. 70). Both groups are the 'losers' from globalization.

Bauman stresses that these various meanings of mobility are linked and that 'freedom of choice for capital descends as a cruel fate for others' (1998, p. 93). As this implies, mobility is clearly a relational phenomenon and involves class and other relationships of power (Söderström et al. 2013). Take the case of the female, migrant, domestic workers who gather, on their day off, in considerable numbers at Central in Hong Kong or on luxurious Orchard Road in Singapore (see, also, chapter 8). Although they have crossed national borders for employment, their daily lives are rendered quasi-immobile. They are tied to their domestic, nanny or elder care responsibilities (Sun 2008). Their work enables those who employ, exploit and sometimes abuse them to leave the home and earn vastly more than these domestic helpers ever will. Possibly, their employers will travel the globe for work and be part of the 'kinetic elite' (Devasahayam and Yeoh 2007). This is but one of many examples of the 'power-geometry' (Massey 1993) of contemporary mobility.

> Different social groups and different individuals are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections. This point concerns not merely the issue of who moves and who doesn't, although that is an important element of it; it is also about power in relation *to* the flows and the movement. Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway-differentiated mobility: some are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it. (Massey 1993, p. 61)

To understand the 'elite circuit' of elite schools is to recognize that it involves such power-geometries. Mobility, on various scales, as the history of elite schools shows (see chapter 2), has involved various reconfigurations of social class membership. Today, mobility is an increasing imperative, and the 'elite circuit' of such schools involves a range of types and relations

of mobility and, through these, contemporary reconfigurations of power and privilege.

Accumulating Capitals

The elite circuits that current elite schools are part of include the type of mobility discussed above, whereby students from wealthy families travel from one elite institution to another and then on to high-pay and/or high-power employment, perhaps in yet another country or in their country of origin. As they travel, they hope/expect to accumulate many 'capitals', in the Bourdieusian sense, and to cash them in. But this process is not necessarily straightforward. Ong asks

> What happens when strategies of cultural accumulation run up against schemes of racial difference and hierarchy so the possession of cultural capital is rendered somewhat ineffectual for being embodied in racially inferior agents? (Ong 1999, p. 93)

She claims that the cultural accumulation strategies of wealthy Asian migrants come up against many limits. These are likely to arise, she says, from the existing racial hierarchies in the locations to which they have moved and where they try to find an esteemed place. Such limits are evident at Founders in Australia.

Most young people who relocate from overseas to Founders are from China (70 percent) and other Asian countries (Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, a few from Vietnam, numerically in that order). A much smaller percentage is from Europe (Sweden, Germany) and the USA. The school's website, which claims that the school includes people 'from thirty-six cultures', allows for text translation into Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Thai and Vietnamese languages. Founders prides itself on being a 'global school'. It is also a very expensive school, particularly for international students.

Founders' cultural hegemonies do not just stem from its high fees. As Shannon Greenall, a teacher with special responsibilities for international students, saw it:

> The colonial heritage … is still very strongly a part of the school. In the daily functioning and the ideology of the school, still very strongly there. It comes through in things from structures of the buildings; the kinds of

> subjects that are still the dominant part of the curriculum; and it also comes through in things like the assembly, the expectations in terms of uniform. … it can be quite difficult to get things moving so that the structures change sufficiently to be inclusive … For example, if we look at the Humanities Department and what is taught from Years 7 through 12, … there is a big focus on Europe and on, let's see, Russia, but in terms of Asia there is very little focus. But that is what you would expect, historically, in a school such as this. (Interview 2011)

This colonial heritage contributes to the school's eliteness, its snob value and, paradoxically, its attractiveness to many parents from Asia. This heritage was so normalized that it appeared impartial. But such colonial logics involve 'global racial rankings' (Ong 1999, p. 104) and have resulted in 'old stigmas, that last over time' (Ong 1999, p. 99). Australia's distrust of Asians has a long and well-documented history, old stigmas continue to this day despite government attempts to capitalize economically on 'Asia rising'.

Many of our observations at Founders and our interviews with teachers indicate that such 'global racial rankings' bleed into the school's curriculum, its languages, arts programmes and valued sports. Indeed, there is a certain irony in the way these 'relations of racial ruling' seep into the IB. International students are inclined to steer away from the IB, or be steered away from it, due to its high English language requirements. However, as we indicated in chapter 6, Founders is taking some steps to address this issue of broad curriculum and institutional bias and is doing so by a range of means. At the school, it is becoming commonly thought that Founders has become more 'accepting of difference'.

However, as one local student explains, there is 'a divide between the international community and the local community' (Mara, interview 2010). The international students in the school are said to form what some call, rather critically, 'a community within a community' (Jacob Sment, interview 2010). There are several problems with this notion, not the least being the implication that there are no other small 'communities' within the Founders' 'community'. The difference here is that this 'international community' is highly visible because of the students' Asian racial markers. They appear to 'stand out' in this predominantly white school with its hierarchy of racial prestige. But, of course, this view does not account for the fact that a number of *local* students also have Asian

racial markers. Some become part of the 'community within the community'; others keep their distance for fear of becoming isolated from the mainstream.

For some teachers, this 'community within' is a problem—'they should mix more', they say, or the 'local students should mix more with them'. Yet others think the current situation is understandable and acceptable. But, local and international students tell us story after story of everyday stereotyping and racism which includes comments about Asian students' 'symbolic deficits' (Ong 1999, p. 63): their appearance, food, interests and linguistic and other capacities.

> There's always a subtle presence of racism … and there is not very good integration between the international students and the other students … there is a tendency to make jokes that are negative towards international students … negative because it's informing the way we are approaching those interactions with them and we're stereotyping them … they have stilted English and are a bit awkward and fit the stereotype of being the nerd, and that creates the laughter. It doesn't seem correct at all. Yet it is sort of subtly covered up by the fact that this is great that they are participating and we're laughing with them. Or are we laughing at them? (Mara, interview 2011)

Here, as Bourdieu so succinctly puts it, 'attributes have become attributions' (1984, p. 472). The local students, themselves, have become 'guardians of the established order' (1984, p. 472) by enunciating the principles that create the outsider-within while, at the same time, tacitly enunciating their own 'advantageous attributions', their own 'classificatory schemes' (1984, p. 470). Racialized class threat is involved here. The local students are clearly worried these smart and ambitious Asian students will outperform them academically and, thus, also raise the stakes in university entrance, particularly into the prestigious professions. And so, in the everyday life of the school, it is the *local* students who are the primary constraint on the schools' inclusivity. Within this situation, language and culture become proxies for class. Shannon Greenall explains

> The incredible difficulty, however one worth persisting with, is the difficulty of getting Australian students, who have no particular interest in culture or language and are very much concerned with their own identity and their

> own peers, to start actually developing an interest in and having a look at some of these things. It is actually a very big challenge. (Interview 2012)

But this failure of recognition points to the many deep cultural logics that the international students have to negotiate as well as to some of the limitations of their capital accumulation strategies. The Asian international students talk about how hard it is for them to belong to the student culture of Founders. They cite 'language barriers' and 'Western' and 'Asian' cultural differences, noting who sits where in the school, who eats what, what is talked about and the fear of embarrassment and humiliation that arises when they do not understand the jokes made in their presence; possibly jokes made at their expense (Mara, interview 2011).

The Asian international students also regard time as a crucial obstacle to forming relationships in the school. They point to the extended time over which local Australian students have accumulated their social capital with each other; as one says 'So many Australian students, they are friends from, like, kindergarten' (Taghai [from Russia], international students' focus group 2012). They recognize the length of time it would take for them to eventually belong in this alien, and sometimes alienating, place. They implicitly echo Bourdieu (1986, p. 250) when he says 'The reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed. This work …implies expenditure of time and energy'.

Many Asian international students arrived in Year 10 and thus had only three years at the school. Rather than spend their time and energy partying or shopping or doing what the locals said that they *should* do, they tended to make study their priority. Concomitantly, they regard collective studying as a social experience. Christine (from Hong Kong) says '[Unlike local students] my Asian friends they all just …study together. They would understand that I need to study because my parents would want me to study and I know that I should too'. The implication is clear. Their Asian friends 'get it'. The locals did not. They chose to make friends with students who they believed had the same Asian background and values as themselves. As Jasmine (from China) said, people with 'Asian background, we feel more connected somehow. And—well, I have some, like, local friends but they are, like,—they also have an Asian background'.

Qiu (China) observed: 'And I think when international students are all together and it's just, like, a sense of belonging' (international students' focus group 2012).

These students stayed together because they felt a sense of shared belonging-in-exclusion. They tried to claim a place of their own but were often regarded as not knowing how to be in this place. In some ways, these students resemble what Bourdieu calls 'frontier groups such as the "labour aristocracy", which hesitates between class struggle and class collaboration' (1984, p. 469). They want much of what the school has to offer but also seem to recognize that they are involved in a struggle over 'commonplaces and classificatory systems' (Bourdieu 1984, p. 471). For example, the Year 12 international students who joined our focus group expressed their shock at the ignorance of the local students about the countries that they come from.

> *Genevieve (Hong Kong):* People seem to have some misguided views about Hong Kong. For some reason some kids thought that we didn't have Internet there. We didn't have Facebook. And we lived in, like, huts or something. That was really strange. So that was one weird idea someone came up with about Hong Kong.
>
> *Billy (Korea):* Like Psy, a Korean entertainer, he's quite famous in the YouTube. So, like, all the people are getting interested in – about Korea. And they're wondering whether, like, we're like crazy like him.
>
> *Fenfang (China):* I think students with an Asian background will be more interested in our country's cultural things, yeah. And for other students I think what they know about Mainland China is probably Communism and we eat everything. Yeah basically all of that wrong information. Well Communism is true though.
>
> *Quingge (China):* I think people here have two extreme views at least of China. A group of people say 'Oh it's extremely wealthy—they're really, really rich. They spend a lot and everything, luxury goods'. But there are another group of people who believe China is really, really, really poor with loads, you know, of malnutrition, all the diseases, something like that. So they tend to have these extreme views. They just don't get it. Yeah so not so many people tend to have a balanced view of China or, for that matter Korea, I guess.
>
> (International students' focus group 2012)

Some such students and, indeed, some parents from Europe and the USA told us that they were mystified by how parochial the school was.

Some believed it could capitalize more on Australia's location in the Asian region. The following remark is one example of such a view.

> For me, coming from America, learning about Asia is the most important part of educating our children about globalization. Because we've had no opportunity to learn that and we feel that there is so much happening in all Asian countries that is happening very quickly. One of the reasons for my children to come here was to be closer to Asia and to meet students from other countries. And so my American perspective is globalization for my kid's means learning about Asia. (Laraine, international parents' focus group, 2011)

A broader view was that Founders' regular claim to be a 'global school', a claim we laid out in chapter 6, often did not match the reality of many students' experiences. As one student asserted,

> Everything's being globalized, like; every part of our lives is being globalized. Why not school? Why don't they, from like an early age, you know, be out in the world more? I mean that would be a good thing. So you're not too foreign when you grow up. Like too foreign about other people's culture, about their lives. (Xiang [China], international students' focus group 2012)

On the matter of social capital an irony arises. Although the majority of the international students are from China, their 'community within a community' includes students from Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam. They are, in fact, 'mingling'. In relating to each other's Asianness, they do not just find a new peer group of Asian friends. They actually learn a great deal about different locations within the Asian region and are also involved in building a transnational community in the school. In building this new community, they are stretching their global cultural and social capital. Indeed, it can readily be argued that, due to their collective travels and cultural travails, many such students are more 'internationally minded' and 'cross-culturally aware' than their host country peers. While this may not have been the capital that they came to the school or Australia to accumulate, and while it may have been regarded as social and cultural capital accumulated by default, it nonetheless has potential exchange value in contemporary global circumstances. Ong argues that '"Westward migration" entails … fabricating a cultural persona who can operate effectively in transnational fields' (1999, p. 53).

But further, as Bourdieu (1986) insists, economic capital is the 'root' of other capital, and all social capital must, by definition, convert into monetary profit.

Learning to Lead

It has long been expected that students, mainly boys, from elite schools would grow up to claim and exercise considerable power in political, economic and military circles. Our historical discussion of the public schools of England in chapter 2 shows that the path to power usually began early in students' dominant-class roots in the local and national social order. The older sons of aristocrats were, obviously, 'born to rule', while the path to power for the sons of the very wealthy industrialists was paved with the capital made from the reshaped economy of capitalism. The more extended routes of these privileged boys, who went on to become powerful men, included such things as their movement from the centre of Empire to rule over the colonies or, in the case of the sons of colonial elites, from the colonies to be educated at school or university at the centre of Empire before returning to rule over new nation-states. Ruling was expected.

Today, along with meritocracy, leadership is a central trope. Meritocracy is said to have replaced aristocracy, and the notion that money can lead to power, without merit, is vigorously eschewed. Students at elite schools, these days, are regularly, directly and indirectly taught that they are *learning* to lead (certainly not to labour). And leadership codes and experiences are central to the elite circuit on which these students travel. Techniques to produce leaders are carefully designed, and opportunities to consider what it involves, and how to practice it, are regularly offered and taken up. Mobility across countries and cultures is considered central. Leaders are also expected to be globally aware. We will get to that shortly, but first to some other ways leadership is implicitly and explicitly taught.

The schools' governing bodies invariably involve men and, increasingly, women from the top-end of town—particularly those with senior business, management and government experience (see chapter 5). Well-known, distinguished and powerful alumni from over the years are constantly on display in the visual and virtual ecology of the schools. Ex-students are offered as the school's very own inspirational 'role models'—as exalted ornaments of its power and influence. Such alumni are often used as advisors and mentors. In Cathedral College, for instance,

as part of their Career Counselling Programme, students are assigned to professional mentors from a pool of alumni who voluntarily offer students career advice and internships. Highbury Hall invites its Oxbridge progeny and high-powered academic parents of present and past students to provide the girls with insider knowledge about which subjects to study at school and how best to prepare for university admission processes, including a string of repeated mock interviews for Oxbridge entry. A plethora of co-curricular opportunities (clubs and societies) is on offer. At Straits, for example, students are spoiled for choice when it comes to their co-curricular activities. They have the uniform groups (e.g. Scouts, Boys Brigade, Red Cross, and National Police Cadet Corps), arts and aesthetics groups (such as Choir, Guitar Ensemble, Chinese Drama, Modern Dance, Military Band, Indian Dance, String Ensemble) and numerous sports clubs (including Rugby, Archery, Badminton, Bowling, Canoe, Cricket, Fencing, Golf and Floorball Club amongst many others) to choose from. Through these activities, in the areas of their 'passion', students can practice and demonstrate their leadership skills. Co-curricular pursuits usually include business-oriented clubs—share-trading groups are popular. Further, the schools encourage students to participate in a range of global youth leadership programmes.

There are also more direct attempts to produce business leaders and entrepreneurs. Most of our research schools have business-related courses and activities. Or they assist and encourage their students to access such courses in nearby Management Studies institutions. In Straits School in Singapore, a programme called 'Business at School' is offered to interested students to allow them to gain exposure to successful Singapore businesses, to learn about their codes and practices and to see how they operate globally. Some influential alumni were worried that the students were not being encouraged to be sufficiently entrepreneurial in contrast with their rival schools, particularly those known to produce business leaders. Feeling the school stressed the production of political rather than business leaders, they took the initiative in persuading the school to set up this programme.

Take another example. Boarders from Highbury Hall must take one or other of the many 'enrichment activities' offered over the weekend, and day girls are strongly encouraged to participate as well. One such activity is that of the 'Young Enterprise' groups. The girls involved in two such groups, whose activities we witnessed during the time of our research, had each developed a 'start up' company and the competition between them

was about which 'start up' made the most profit over a set period. The first task had been to raise some 'venture capital' to get their companies going and one group—of which Blake was the financial director—had amassed £400 in this way and had opened a business account at the local branch of HSBC. Some of the group returned to Hong Kong during the school holidays where they were able to use some of the money raised by the sale of 'shares' to purchase, very cheaply, a large number of iPhone covers which they brought back to the UK to sell. If they sold all the covers they expected to make a profit of £900. Using the capital thus raised, they then had to purchase material of some sort and turn it into an attractive 'main product' for sale. For this, they were going buy fabric to sew some simple items like scarves (involving only cutting, hemming and ironing the finished items). When it came to the ironing there was a discussion of who would do it, and one of the day girls in the group said, quite without embarrassment, 'Our maid can do that'. When we asked them what they would do with their profits—for example, pay back their 'shareholders' or donate the money to charity—the girls, again with absolutely no embarrassment, exclaimed that, of course, they would simply keep it, dividing it amongst themselves.

These girls clearly relished the fantasy of themselves as transnational wheelers and dealers—as 'entrepreneurial women' (Chen 2008). It is easy to imagine them as business owners and managers, operating, for example, out of Hong Kong and conducting their businesses in mainland China where many Hong Kong businesses are now flourishing. Eric Ma (2011) documents the networks of global capitalism between Hong Kong and China and the attendant cultural politics. This study suggests that China remains a source of attraction for business investments to many Hong Kongers, despite their resentment against the influx of mainlanders in Hong Kong either as consumers and/or as investors. Consistent with this, many Hong Kong university graduates have their career eyes on the China market where they are likely to join the cadres of highly paid consultants who work for large transnational consultancy firms.

Indeed, courses and activities such as those we have described are now offered in many different types of schools around the world. The business beliefs and techniques promoted in such courses often originate from MBAs (Masters of Business Administration) and 'management gurus' (Ong 2006, p. 220) from the USA. The global corporate norms promote 'critical thinking', 'problem solving', 'entrepreneurship', 'innovation' and

'flexibility'. At the same time, and in apparent contradiction, they encourage students to believe that they live in a readily and rationally calculable world over which they can gain mastery as they pursue their business interests and generate profits and 'efficiencies'. They are, in effect, taught that life is primarily organized around competition and maintaining advantage over others. And others are invariably to be understood as competitors, potential clients/customers or potential employees. Competitive advantage is the driving force and maximizing profit is the goal. The 'Enterprise' girls at Highbury Hall are the prototype in draft form.

This 'one-dimensional view of the world economy' (Tomlinson 2008, p. 60) may or may not tally with the values of the students' families or, indeed, those of their country of origin. Students from Asia are likely to become carriers of decidedly 'Western management knowledge' (Ong 2006, p. 221). But, in all likelihood, they will also become what Ong (2006) calls 'cultural entrepreneurs' (see chapter 5 on *homo economicus*). Speaking of Chinese expatriates, she says they are involved in a form of 'double coding', which involves 'a mix of cultural pride and commercial detachment'. Their particular brand of cosmopolitan experience provides them with 'the authority to determine and interpret trans-cultural flows and meanings' (Ong 2006, p. 221). For the Chinese, at least, this cosmopolitanism is not the Kantian European version; rather, it blends interpersonal obligations to relatives and friends with business rationalities, with individualistic and instrumental selfhood. In effect, this particular cosmopolitan subject becomes a corporate cultural translator. Interestingly, young women, such as those we just mentioned, are apparently very attractive to global firms. In contrast with their male peers, they are seen as 'better with foreign languages, are more presentable, flexible and willing to become aligned with foreign corporate interests' (Ong 2006, p. 234). The equivalent males are seen as more autonomous, ambitious and restless, and as more inclined to start their own companies than to work 'underneath' foreigners. In short, such young women are seen as more likely to be compliant and subordinate.

What differentiates business and management courses and activities in our research schools from those in many other schools around the world are the resources that the students have at their disposal and which they can mobilize. These ready resources include wealthy parents who can bankroll projects, networks of powerful alumni nationally and internationally and the schools' long-standing links into the top tiers of government, business, industry and the corporate world. All can help provide

student 'placements' so that they can experience approximations of the workplaces that they plan to occupy as adults. Further, with the help of all such resources, students acquire knowledge about, and are encouraged to aspire to attend, the best business and management schools available anywhere around the globe. The students we met usually set their sights on Harvard and Yale Business Schools and Wharton in the USA. Such institutions provide credentials, obviously, but they also give students access to business networks. And because these universities now include students from many countries, the networks are global. Moreover, they open up business opportunities. It is not unusual for students at such places to establish businesses while still studying. Indeed, some of the graduates from Straits have done just that, bringing together their global networks to do so.

That said, such courses and activities are usually studied in addition to the students' main curriculum selections. To use the vernacular, they 'add value'. At Straits, competition is keen amongst the students to get selected into the 'talent development programme'. Only the top 3 percent of students are admitted to the Straits Academy. Students in this 'gifted' programme pursue a subject of their interest at a deeper level and in pull-out classes but with a view to taking an H3A level paper. This is an advanced paper in the A levels which is essential for consideration for government scholarships (as discussed in chapter 6). In the school many students we spoke to preferred to take economics instead of a humanities elective as the contrasting subject to their specialization as required by the Ministry of Education. When we asked why they chose economics rather than other subjects on offer, for example history or literature, they made it very clear that they regarded economics as a much better career investment. Their planned university choices were in engineering, accountancy, business, medicine, law, banking and information technology. These were regarded as leading to a stable career that not only pays well but is a stepping stone to a leadership or senior consultancy career in the corporate world, in banking and finance or, particularly, in government. Interestingly, in Singapore, a striking numbers of politicians and highly paid senior public servants have engineering qualifications. Perhaps this prepared them well for the social engineering that Singapore is renowned for. This also explains why many students have a particularly instrumental approach to 'education' and knowledge—possibly more than in any other of our research schools.

And yet, as some students who did particularly well in their final exams in the humanities stream demonstrated, these fields did not necessarily reduce their options. One of these was Warren, to be discussed further shortly, who was awarded a prestigious Public Service Commission (PSC) scholarship[1] from the Singapore government to study law at Oxford. Eventually, he will have to re-route himself back to Singapore because of the obligatory six-year bond he has to serve out with the Singapore government. His leadership ascendancy is assured because he is a 'PSC scholar' with an Oxford pedigree. After they complete their studies, students awarded this scholarship almost invariably enter Singapore's elite, very highly paid, administrative service.

Travel as Pedagogy

Increasingly, elite schools seek to produce leaders who are wise about the wider world—who understand countries and cultures other than their own and who can operate in an informed and confident manner wherever they are and whoever they are with. International travel is central to this. The students in our research schools were provided with many travel opportunities by or through the school. These included international educational tours to study language, music, history or art, various international 'immersion' and service programmes, student exchanges to partner schools and international competitions and conferences (such as Science and Math Olympiads and Global Young Leaders Conferences). Plainly, different types of travel and different types of travellers were involved. Most students also travelled extensively in their school holidays, either with family or friends, and some also planned to travel in their 'gap year' between school and university. When the staff and parents talked to us about the benefits to students of such travel, it was seen, variously, to broaden the mind, to contribute to creativity, to enhance students' employment opportunities and networks and to build character through, for instance, conquering adversity. But most commonly, and insistently, it was seen to develop international and intercultural understanding—although it was never quite clear what the difference was. Indeed, both terms had achieved a common-sense status, apparently needing little further explanation or exploration. Thus, by definition, future leaders must travel.

Sometimes, the students are expected to raise their own money for such travel, but, again, the schools' and the parents' plentiful resources, of vari-

ous sorts, usually underwrote it. But affordability was certainly a problem for a small number of students. Some were assisted by their school to travel; others were simply left out of the elite circuits involved. The most plentiful opportunities and resources were available through the illustrious, transnational, educational organization called Round Square (mentioned in chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6).[2] Both Ripon and Greystone are members of Round Square. The students at member schools have access to other member schools in all parts of the world, and Round Square has 150 'like-minded', 'independently governed' and, mostly, elite school members. These are grouped according to the following regions: Africa, Europe, Americas, Australasia and East Asia and South Asia and Gulf (Round Square 2015). It initiates a comprehensive set of programmes, activities, events and awards (Round Square 2015). Further, this organization has grand global designs. These are laid out under its IDEALS. *Internationalism*—promoting 'international understanding' through 'exposure to different cultures'; *Democracy*—'active participation'; *Environment*—'work projects and curricula all emphasize each young person's destiny to be a guardian of human society and the global environment'; *Adventure*—schools are expected to offer activities that foster a spirit of adventure and allow students to discover that they are capable of more than they might have imagined; *Leadership*—'true leadership is found in those whose convictions are rooted in personal responsibility, kindness and justice'; and *Service*—'to prepare students for life by the expectation of serving others' (Round Square 2015 online).

As this indicates, students are seen as destined to be 'leaders and guardians', and 'internationalization' is a feature of this. For Round Square, leadership is a collective class enterprise, and travel is an important part of the package. Individual students may undertake an exchange in a Round Square school in another country for a semester or even longer. Groups of students may travel internationally with a couple of teachers and spend a few weeks at another member school. It is likely that, while they are at these schools, other international students will be there either as individuals or in groups. Round Square students may also go together on international service or adventure tours. Further, the students and teaching staff may attend international or regional conferences where members work on addressing 'world issues'.

What does promoting 'international understanding' through 'exposure to different cultures' look like close up? Introduced to Ripon College by its principal, Mr Acharya, Round Square has been promoted as Ripon's gateway to internationalization.

> I am certainly very happy because my kids have become more global in outlook, their general knowledge is better, there are less prejudices …They are aspiring to go overseas for further education. When I came, there were maybe one or two kids in the year that would apply and now the numbers have gone closer to forty who are going—many more are applying. So that gives me hope that the internationalized programme is encouraging people to look beyond [the local area]. (Hukam Acharya, interview 2013)

Other staff shared the same vocabulary and promoted international exchanges as empowering experiences. As part of Round Square, and the other global networks the school has forged in recent years, it hosts many groups of visiting students.

During our first research visit, Ripon was hosting a group of students from Canada. They were given an hour-long lecture on Indian history, another on its languages, another on Hinduism. They were taken to visit a temple, to a village, to a market and so on. They went from one place to another on an air-conditioned bus with a guide who is a retired teacher with limited experience of travel and a restricted understanding of the pedagogic possibilities of global mobility, intercultural communication and international education. Not surprisingly, therefore, for most of the time, the visiting students appeared bored at his abstract talk, mostly about what a wonderful country India is. India was represented as having a grand history, and an even a 'better' culture. On the last day of their visit to Ripon College, a big event was held in the visiting students' honour. The school had taught the Canadian students a few moves from Indian dance traditions, as well as some newer moves from Bollywood. At the event itself, they were encouraged to wear Indian clothes and to perform on the stage. The school holds these clothes for the exclusive use of visiting student groups who, in effect, play dress-ups. For instance, the visiting girls enjoyed learning ways to drape the sari but found out little else about the sari's historical and regional symbolism and significance for Hindu women in India, let alone elsewhere. The local students also performed. The performance that caught our particular attention involved students from the primary school dressed up as brides and bridegrooms from various regions of India. They walked as couples onto the stage to show off their elaborate clothes and make-up. We were told that the performance, named 'Brides of India', was designed to show India's regional diversity. The whole event ended with a short speech by the principal, reaffirming the value of global mobility and student exchange. The Canadian contin-

gent then thanked Ripon for its hospitality—a hospitality that was rather strained at night when the Canadian boys' loud revelling in the guest quarters kept many, including us, awake.

During our final research visit, Ripon hosted students from Australia, Russia, Canada and France. Similar processes were involved. This time, at another large concluding event, the visiting student group from Russia offered a PowerPoint presentation about their home country—its population distribution, major cities, major industries and so on. And the school brought in a professional dance troupe of young women to perform Indian dances. Following this, each student performed group a traditional dance from their own country, dressed in the special costumes they had brought with them for this purpose.

The programme at Ripon College appeared to follow a template and can more accurately be described as 'educational tourism', rather than a programme based on sound educational principles of intercultural exchange. Indeed, it appeared designed to represent a particular version of India and Indian culture—one that can be found in tourist brochures and *Lonely Planet* guides. There was no discussion of the challenges facing Indian society and its people. Yet the everyday extremes of its wealth and poverty, the oppressive rigidities of its caste system and its gender relations were constantly in view. The enforced localization of the many poor was evident everywhere outside the school enclave. For instance, during our final research visit, men's violence against women was in the headlines in India and over much of the world. This long-standing and wide-ranging problem had surfaced so visibly due to the horrors of, what came to be known as, the 'Delhi rape case'. The streets were full of protesters. Debates raged about causes and consequences. Yet this issue, like the many contentious others, was airbrushed from visiting, as well as from local, students. Thus, they were offered no insights into such issues or into how sections of Indian society were trying to address them. Indeed, like those at the top of Bauman's hierarchies of global mobility, they were insulated and floated above and away from many such considerations of, and challenges to, grounded injustices.

India and its 'culture' were essentialized, reified and exoticized. Furthermore, visiting students were also encouraged to manufacture, for the occasion, forms of nationalism that also essentialized, reified and exoticized their home countries. In effect, national stereotypes, of all the countries involved, were mobilized. Despite Round Square's IDEALS, there was little serious discussion at Ripon about how its programmes

of student mobility might have a more educational dimension. We got the impression that the mobility programme was regarded as intrinsically worthwhile, no matter what its content. The visiting students were invited to adopt the role of tourist and to view their travel as straightforward and unproblematic. The locals, be they students or teachers, were implicitly encouraged to take up the role of tourist guides, and Mr Acharya made a point of telling us how much the boys enjoyed hosting the attractive girl visitors.

Strikingly, recognition and discussions of the *inter*national and the *trans*national and the role of mobility and travel therein were missing. Kaplan observes that, 'questioning travel can be done in many registers and across many disciplines' (1996, p. xi). But at least three things were missing here. First, these students were not encouraged to position themselves reflexively as travellers—or to understand their own travel experiences historically and spatially. The notion of the 'grand tour', mentioned in chapter 2, comes to mind. Second, the notion of travel itself was not critically examined. They were not provided with opportunities to question travel as a practice that is loaded with meaning or to consider, comparatively, dissimilar types of travel and travellers—to see the differences between, say, the tourist and the refugee, the exile, the forced migrant or the other categories mentioned earlier. In short, they were not provided with any help to critically unpack, historically, culturally or sociologically, their own global travels around the elite circuit of elite school or the travels of those on the subaltern circuit, let alone the relationships between the two.

Bauman mobilizes the 'tourist' as a metaphor for those who are on the move by choice and who accept few territorial responsibilities as they travel: 'They stay and move at their heart's desire. They abandon a site when new untried opportunities beckon elsewhere' (1998, p. 92). Bauman's tourists are 'emancipated from space' (Bauman 1998, pp. 89–93) because of the resources at their disposal. Less metaphorically, tourists usually combine leisure and travel in search of 'experience'. The student 'tourist' combines, instead, edutainment and travel in search of experience. Most of the student exchanges we witnessed involved fleeting and superficial experiences of different cultures, people and education systems. Little, if any, deep cultural exchange was evident. Indeed, students who were on international exchange and living in boarding houses were often highly critical of their host country and school; they mobilized nostalgic and

romanticized views of home to sustain themselves and clung together self-protectively in the face of the host schools' general indifference to them. Even so, educational tourists might also, in part, be thought of in terms of Bauman's 'tourists'—those whose spatial emancipation allows them to accumulate experiences that further enhance their educational and class privileges. Even if superficial and sometimes lonely, such student mobility contributes to the accumulation of cultural and social capital for privileged students. It becomes a 'value add' to their CVs and to their accrued human capital. But further, student travel and experience are themselves becoming commodified, and not just in elite schools. The growth of the gap year industry, for example, is profiting from students' desire for 'travel' as a way of accumulating an 'economy of experience' to enhance their employability (Heath 2007; Stehlik 2010). Further, hosting gap year students from an elite school in one country in an elite school in another is quite common.

Kaplan maintains that 'tourists are formed through their actions, they are as commodified as the people and places they visit'. The tourist 'travels, crosses boundaries, is freely mobile, consumes commodities, produces economies, and is, in turn, commodified' (1996, p. 62). Indeed, Fussell suggests that the tourist seeks 'that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship … [they] move towards the security of pure cliché' (1982, p. 39). It can also be suggested that one of the defining characteristics of student tourists is their relationship to the commodification of mobility and experience. And the example of the 'Brides of India' attests to the unselfconscious mobilization of pure cliché.

We see shades of such commodification in all our research schools, but let us return to Ripon. Round Square has been promoted as the school's gateway to internationalizing. After gaining membership in 2005, the school swiftly seized the opportunity to organize an international conference in 2007, leveraging on its membership. But this promotion was strategic and meant to enhance the international profile of the school. This promotional discourse was evident in the comments of the Director of Internationalism who said that:

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

There was a sense that Round Square had been packaged into a commodity, marketing and selling student mobility as an empowering experience—that is, it was primarily about the ambitious plan of the school to become part of the set of elite schools belonging to Round Square. In other words, it was an entrepreneurial endeavour to enable Ripon students to join the global elite circuit of elite schools and so to further promote itself in the highly competitive elite school market in India. Internationalization was designed to enhance Ripon's national and global presence and reputation as a leading school producing apparently globally equipped leaders.

Elevated Aspirations and Splintered Mobilities

From our discussions with students in their last two years of school and in their second year out of school, certain broad patterns emerged. Elevated aspirations and hyper-competitiveness were normalized for them. While at school, students envisioned a future of infinite possibilities, studying in iconic cities around the world, attending the most prestigious universities, eventually living the high life while also pursuing good causes and regular travel for pleasure. Their imaginations had been hierarchically structured and their sense of self habitually boosted. They were encouraged to see themselves as 'perfect human beings' who could rightly expect to have perfect lives (Fahey and Prosser 2015). Their schools had taught them to always look up, to constantly elevate their expectations of life. They had to 'be the best they can be', which translated to 'they should expect the best and go on to actually have the best'.

For some students in some countries, the best was often believed to be elsewhere and so international mobility was integral to their projected futures. They wanted to move from a poorer to a wealthier country and were eager to take the risks involved in spatial mobility and education and careers abroad. England and North America were at the apex of aspiration for many students in Hong Kong, Singapore, India and Barbados, while South Africa was regarded as the pinnacle of possibility for students from sub-Saharan Africa. If they planned to go back 'home', they expected to return triumphant and to join the locally powerful. But returning was not necessarily on the cards.

For others, the matter of return was irrelevant for they do not plan to move very far. Their hyper-expectations were, in fact, very localized and simply meant changing suburbs, cities or provinces/states. Those from the wealthier sectors in Australia, England and South Africa, and even

some in India and Hong Kong, often did not travel internationally to undertake post-school study. For them, educational payoffs in stable high-status, high-pay careers at home were more predictable, and the benefits of staying put were clearly seen to outweigh those associated with the risks of testing themselves on the global stage without the local social supports they had so patently benefitted from. Their futures were pretty much guaranteed by staying where they were and by defending their territorial class advantage in the ways we have discussed.

And then there were the bright and talented students from poorer families who won scholarships to attend our research schools and whose ongoing educational, social and geographical mobility depended on scholarships. At Old Cloisters, for example, often the Barbados government scholarship was the only monetary scheme that would support tertiary education abroad. Without it, these students had to take what was considered second best and attend the University of the West Indies.

But within these broad patterns, students' travel trajectories were many and various and involved complicated combinations of more and less privileged routes and roots. A disparity between high hopes, immediate rewards and actual happenings often arose. The nature of these disparities, and the manner in which students understood and dealt with them sometimes led students to reflect critically on their schooling. Let us now consider just three illustrative instances of individual student's post-school travel trajectories.

Singapore boys' travel is immediately curtailed. Upon leaving school, they must undertake two years of National Service. In this way, Warren, who we introduced earlier, had his 'elite destination' (Mullen 2009) to Oxford interrupted. Given his elite educational biography, he was handpicked to attend Air Force Officer Cadet School, which is the hothouse for grooming military officers. He was subsequently posted to an Air Force Unit to become an Air Traffic Controller. Despite having been an outstanding student in Straits and also being an Officer, Warren felt out of his depth. He confessed, 'I feel [I am] not naturally talented as an Air Traffic Controller because it really involved a lot of … asking and it's a different level altogether so I find it challenging sometimes …' (interview 2014).

Looking back to his school days, Warren admitted ruefully 'the life I was used to, is a bubble' (interview 2014). He claimed that school did not prepare him for National Service and certainly not for the social mixing it required. Warren's 'bubble' burst when he found himself thrust into a starkly different social milieu, one totally foreign to him. His wealthy

family and his usual social circle meant he found social integration in his socially and culturally diverse army camp unit very difficult.

> … in the unit you see the people from extremely diverse backgrounds, so some people dropped out of school, other people come from family of diverse background such as …, I mean I'm not familiar. … You've been living your life up to that point in totally separate social circles, and now we're all joined together and initially it's difficult to adapt because of different values, different habits…. a lot of small things that are difficult for me. Because back in Straits School, I was an extremely conservative person, not necessarily hyper-conservative, but I'm definitely not one who goes out after a long day of work and has a party. Those are not my things, but some of those things I had to get used to in the unit, because if you don't join the team, it's very hard to get anything done. (Interview 2014)

Despite such discomfort in having to compromise his conservative values and habits, Warren ultimately found it beneficial to have mingled and mixed with people from many backgrounds unlike his own:

> I think the struggle was worth it and it made me a better person in the end, in terms of making me a broader person, you know, like for some reason I think that NS [National Service] gives me the ability to integrate with a broader spectrum of people. I didn't see it then, but looking back I think it was worth it. (Interview 2014)

However, now that Warren is at Oxford, when he returns to join the elite ranks of the public service, he is unlikely to have to 'integrate with a broader spectrum of people' at least for the foreseeable future. His diversion into the 'other' social world only temporarily interrupted his path on the elite circuit.

Not every student was as fortunate as Warren. Take Iverson from Cathedral College, for example. While he was able to go straight to university immediately after completing the Hong Kong Diploma in Secondary Education, he had to forego his original plan of studying at the University of Toronto because his family's financial situation did not allow him the luxury of an overseas education and he did not win a scholarship. He had to settle for the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) to study Business Administration. Not discouraged, Iverson navigated his own self-development, in roundabout ways, to compensate for what he first regretfully saw as a lost opportunity. Fuelled by his expe-

rience of going on a study tour while at Cathedral College, Iverson continued to seize opportunities to travel while studying in HKUST. His first travels took him to Sri Lanka for eight weeks where he was involved in a community development project for children with disabilities. He had to manage his own travel and travel alone to meet other interns from all over the world to organize a concert and exhibition for disabled children. Recounting his past experience of travelling as part of Cathedral College's Global Classroom Project, Iverson explained that the whole experience was sheltered and did not involve deep cultural exchange:

> … the trips I had back in Cathedral College, like, they are pre-organized by the school. So basically you can't do whatever you want. You have to follow the schedule, like follow the routine and visit the campus and do all the tours. And, like, students can't take a leading role in deciding what they want to do…So I don't think I learn much from those experiences… (Interview 2014)

His trip to Sri Lanka, however, was much, much more. It was self-initiated and he was deeply immersed. Furthermore, he had to work alongside a wider range of people than he would have encountered through his school-initiated travels. Recounting the humbling but immensely positive experience, Iverson said:

> … I think I'm open-minded. I am more optimistic. And I think I once was full of preconception when I was smaller. Like, for example, I always think I am best in the world, like, I always think I know everything. But right now I know that I have much more to learn, much more to explore … (Interview 2014)

Iverson had plans to travel again. When we last spoke with him, he was studying Arabic and hoping to work in Dubai when he graduates. The desire for mobility may have rubbed off from Cathedral High's Global Classroom Project but, while in university, he personalized his mobility and was much more reflexive about the experience. He no longer saw mobility as CV padding and felt that, at university, he had much more freedom to design his own future rather than fulfil that promoted by the school.

Sally is from Korea but studied at Highbury Hall. Like some of her peers at Highbury, Sally applied to study at Harvard and Stanford rather than at

any of the elite UK universities. At the time, the school had intensified its support for girls trying to gain access to the Ivy League universities in the USA—and with quite a few successes. But Sally was not one of them and had to settle for Georgetown University. She found Georgetown's culture strikingly similar to Highbury Hall's which, in contrast to Blake, Ching and Alexis from Hong Kong, she found alienating. At Georgetown, people were snobbish, friendship groups were racially determined and white privilege dominated. Like her, many of the international students she met had expected to gain entry to the Ivy League and were disappointed by their failure to gain admission. Their elite imaginings had been ruptured; they had to deal with the shock of settling for something they considered beneath them. After one semester, disillusioned with the hierarchies of racial difference and loneliness, Sally terminated her study and returned to Korea where she enrolled in Seoul National University (SNU).

Sally's rerouting back to Korea found her reaffirming her roots: 'I feel like I'm in the right place…I'm definitely Korean'. But she went on to qualify this, pointing out that she was definitely not 'Korean Korean' (interview 2013). She felt she had a much better command of the English language than most Koreans and also her 'in-fashion outlook' was far superior. Being back in Korea required her to make the effort to 'localize' herself. Yet she felt she also had to retain the superior accoutrements she had acquired during her educational travels. The liberal feminist sensibilities she picked up at Highbury Hall led her to be very critical of the second-class place of women in Korean society. This was not for her. And, she did not find her classes at SNU intellectually challenging unlike those she imagined she would have experienced in classes at the Ivy Leagues. Further, in the micro social world of SNU, she had to contend with a demography made up of students from various socio-economic backgrounds. Sally told us 'Some people here have never gone abroad. That was a shock to me' (interview 2013). Such people were not of the sort she wanted to mix with. She was disenchanted and unsettled and felt the need to move back to the West to continue her upward trajectory. When we last spoke to her, she had already hatched an ambitious plan. After completing her Bachelor of Arts in SNU, she would undertake an MA and PhD at New York University.

The splendidly untrammelled futures, that these three students had been led to imagine they would have, did not come to pass—even for Warren, the most obvious honour board success story. Straits had not helped him to imagine a future where he needed to mix comfortably and

insightfully with all sorts of people in order to get a job done. Neither Iverson's nor Sally's schools had helped them to gain access to the universities that the schools considered worthwhile. And thus they believed that their destination universities were second rate and perhaps, by implication, they were too. But this also led them to reconsider the school education they were offered. Iverson saw how cloistered its travel offerings actually were. Sally remembered how isolated the racial ranking at Highbury Hall made her feel. In a sense, for all three, their school had become something of a burden that, in different ways, they sought to free themselves from. But, whereas Warren stayed on the predictable track of the elite circuit, the other two exited this track. Having to some extent cast off their schools' shackles, both were then able to plan multiple routes and flexible trajectories and to be much less constrained by their schools' restricted visions of success. However, it is clear that both Warren's and Iverson's travels have made them more positively conscious of grounded injustices and the subaltern. But, at this stage, Sally clearly wants to continue to float free and to accept no territorial responsibilities as she travels.

Conclusion

In this chapter, our focus has been on the mobility trajectories in elite schools, what we call 'elite circuits'. We used the term 'elite circuits' to capture the contour of students' life pathways as they were orchestrated by the school, their parents and themselves. A few further concluding observations can be made about elite schools' modalities of mobility and their consequences.

First, our use of 'elite circuits' can be taken as characteristic of the pattern of mobility that arises in elite schools. The term invokes an enclosed circuit where class privilege defines the movement within the geographies of elite schools. Secondly, a wealth of opportunities awaits those who are in this elite circuit. Not only are students groomed for leadership through their participation in various co-curricular activities, many also have the opportunities to travel as part of service learning. While travel and mobility are often seen to open up opportunities for the accumulation of forms of capital, it is not always necessarily the case that all forms of capital accumulation are recognized and have exchange value. Ong (1999) argues that the accumulation of capitals has its limits; some capitals have more purchase than others, while others may 'run up against schemes of racial

difference' (Ong 1999, p. 93). This was clearly the case at Founders, as we have shown. But this does not stop wealthy Asian parents from sending their children to an elite school in the West because the exposure to the social and cultural capital in a Western culture may, by default, have exchange value in the global labour market.

Thirdly, as the individual portraits of mobility suggest, being on an elite circuit does not assure uninterrupted lives. 'Splintered mobilities' best describes some students' patterns. Mobilities are systematically plural and pluralizing practices. They are, in effect, complex pathways that mark out new networks of association and affiliation that often cut at right angles to national identity and location. Obviously, these students can route and reroute themselves quite readily because their family capital and privileged class background enables them to mobilize the resources, when required, to help them navigate their pathway towards success. Indeed, class advantage has already given them a head start to navigating towards their future for success as possible leaders.

The concept of elite circuits suggests that elite mobilities are both collectively organized and often, but not always, collectively beneficial. But elite circuits have many exclusionary limits and effects and are entangled with subaltern circuits which arise through the moving geographies of the poor. They are not innocent.

Notes

1. The PSC scholarship is awarded by the Singapore government. There exist different tiers, and the highest and most prestigious is the President's Scholarship. Depending on the type of scholarship awarded and years of study, the recipient is required to serve a bond of 4–6 years.
2. Round Square's prestige is indicated by its strong links to British and Greek Royalty and other powerful figures. For instance, its list of patrons and directors includes H.M. King Constantine, H.R.H. The Duke of York and the late Nelson Mandela. In 2011 Queen Elizabeth opened the Round Square International Conference at Wellington College in Berkshire in the presence of other royalty along with over 1,000 students and staff.

CHAPTER 8

The Art of Privilege

I think it was just astounding the fact that it wasn't even politically motivated. A lot of them were just kind of like 'we can do what we want' and there was no … I guess … right to protest [with] some motivation behind it.

(Bethany, student at Highbury Hall commenting on the London riots, interview 2011)

Their purpose is a bit muddied: they're against capitalism and that's all they're against; they're going to stay there and what's going to change? Nothing… [They're] not really people who are suffering as a result of capitalism.

(Alexandra, student at Highbury Hall commenting on Occupy London, interview 2011)

The 'quiet room' is where the girls who attend Highbury Hall can escape from their busy school lives; it is a tranquil space meant for contemplation and meditation. It is here that we asked some students to reflect on the 2011 London riots and the Occupy London of 2011/12. The defining feature of the room is an imposing stained glass window crafted by William Morris, a leading figure in the Arts and Crafts Movement that flourished in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. As the wan rays of the mid-winter morning sun shine through the stained panes of glass, their signature floral accents become luminous.

Through his artistic endeavours, Morris sought to create a world within a world, 'a palace of art' protected from 'all life [beyond] being bought and sold' (Thompson 1955, p. 18), out of step with the times. His crafts-

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manship drew inspiration from a romanticized medievalism in response to the rampant advance of capitalist utility; the window that graces the quiet room is his anti-industrialist, anti-capitalist statement made through his art. Of course, Morris' statements subsequently evolved and became more forthright, but this adorning window was made well before he extended his artistic pursuits into radical political agitation and his socialism led him into contact with the impoverished masses living in London's East End.

It is wholly appropriate that Morris' decorative craftwork formed the backdrop to our conversations with the girls. For, even in contemporary times, this sanctuary of beauty and light is a world away from the 2011 social disruptions (on the same East End streets that Morris had walked centuries before) epitomized by images of London burning at night and a ragtag tent city drowning in the rain.

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The Protesting Precariat

The London riots occurred in several London boroughs and in cities and towns across England from 6 to 11 August 2011. The rioting by thousands of, mostly, young males from varied ethnic backgrounds, was triggered by the death of Mark Duggan, a local man who was shot dead by police on 4 August in Tottenham. The riots were organized and spread via the free messaging service on Blackberry phones and led to looting, arson and the mass deployment of heavy-handed policing. The reasons for the riots have been widely debated and attributed to various causes, such as perceived social and economic injustice and inequality, unemployment and government spending cuts, as well as opportunism, social exclusion and deprivation, and frustration at the way communities were policed (Lewis et al. 2011). They are thus also referred to as 'protests' and 'insurrections' and, for Badiou (2012), as having the potential to become a nascent social movement.

Through its 'We are the 99 percent' political slogan, which refers to the concentration of wealth among the top 1 percent of income earners compared to the other 99 percent, the international Occupy protest movement sought to draw attention to social and economic inequality around the world. The first occupation to receive widespread attention was the Occupy Wall Street protest in New York City at Zuccotti Park, which began on 17 September 2011. Using Web technologies and social media

to coordinate events, by October 2011 the Occupy protests had spread to 951 cities in 82 countries across the globe, including an Occupy London protest outside St Paul's Cathedral. It was particularly symbolic that the protest took place at St Paul's, given the historical connections between Britain's ruling class and the Church of England (see chapter 1). Frequently criticized, often by the powers-that-be, for a lack of clear goals, the Occupy movement has had a lingering effect, particularly in terms of the ways in which its political slogan has subsequently been used in discourses and discussions about wealth inequality (see Piketty 2014; Stiglitz 2012).

The London riots and Occupy were related phenomena. As Harvey suggests, there was continuity between both: 'something political in the … air struggling to be expressed' (2012, pp. 116–7). Indeed, these disruptions were part of what Žižek (2012) calls *The year of dreaming dangerously*. Further, Standing (2011) identifies those who rioted in London, and many of those involved in Occupy, as the precariat. And, apparently worlds apart, but implicated, are elite schools. The conversations we had with the students, in all our research schools, about these events implicitly speak of their rarefied existence and of the ways their art of privilege ever-so-subtly makes class as they negotiate structures of power.

Class-Making and Privilege as Praxis

E.P. Thompson's first book was a biography of William Morris. Thompson was inspired to write the book, subtitled 'Romantic to Revolutionary' (1955), in an attempt to draw attention to the domestic origins of Marxism in Britain. It was written as a way to emphasize Morris' politics (in 1884 he founded the Socialist League, an early revolutionary socialist organization in Britain) over his art, rather than the inverse. It was also a strategic means by which the Communist Party of Great Britain, of which Thompson was a member, could counter criticism that suggested they were merely following Moscow's Communist International line.

The ways in which class is formed in particular places would later become the focus of his key text, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963/1980). He readily admits that his title is a clumsy one, but 'making' was a term he sought to emphasize when it came to understanding class formation, as we made clear in our Introduction (chapter 1). Class-making is clearly conditional upon access to various sorts of power within the social sphere, and, obviously, the ways in which different perspectives inform particular sets of interests in this context is also important. In this

chapter, we look at the relationships between class, power and interested perspectives through the lens of privilege. Many who study elite schools in the twenty-first century have sought to advance the ways in which privilege is understood (Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard 2010; Maxwell and Aggleton 2013). Of particular relevance here is Adam Howard et al.'s conceptualization of the 'self as a resource … an exertion of one's privilege' (2014, p. 194). The notion here is that 'privilege … is not something one is passively given or possesses but instead, something one actively constructs and cultivates' (2014, p. 190) within certain social conditions. We agree that privilege is an assertion of agency; here we focus on the notion of privilege as 'an active process' (Thompson 1980, p. 13) that takes place within particular social conditions across different countries. We believe that identities are always constructed in and informed by specific contexts. We maintain that privilege is 'present at its own making' (Thompson 1980, p. 13) and that this making is always situated in structures of power, in particular places and in and over time. We call this process of class-making 'privilege as praxis'. Privilege is a class-driven praxis and praxis perfects privilege. The term 'praxis' is used here in the broad philosophical sense as a form of action. In his *Theses on Feuerbach*, Marx alludes to the philosophy of praxis, stating that 'philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to *change* it' (1845/1938, p. 65; original emphasis). Drawing on Marx, we ironically suggest that the ability of students in this study to sustain their privilege takes effort and that, through the subtle work of modulation, alteration and moderation, they create social change.

To understand the underlying qualities of this process, we look at the ways in which privilege is enacted by the young people who proceed through these schools in the different places, spaces and times of globalizing social circumstances (see, also, chapter 7). We draw here on the interviews and focus groups we conducted with the students in 2011 and 2012, and all the quotations below are from students in their second last or last year of school. Our purpose is to illustrate how they understand the unequal geographies of social and political power and privilege and how they place themselves and their peers, socially and politically. Many have a strong sense of their own agency, their own individual and collective capacity to do things, to change things, to 'make a difference'. But how and where do they expect to use such agency, socially and politically, and to what ends? Do they want to continue the class-making that their elite schools currently undertake, and have long undertaken, or have they other ideas?

Occupy in Place

I can kind of see the similarity, it's not really exactly the same … it's not really similar to South Africa, or America, with Wall Street and everything like that, because our country, we're still down low, we're still trying to get to that stage, but there's still that type of like, economical tension in the country.

(Lulu, Greystone student, international students' focus group, 2012, talking about social inequalities in Tanzania)

… over the past, I'd say five years, a lot of people have been losing jobs and a lot of companies have been closing down. But that's because we're losing money. Like, it's happening slowly and it's hard to notice, but we are losing money slowly. And the percentage of people under the poverty line, it keeps increasing. And before I think it was forty percent but now it's sixty-something, going to seventy and…

(Neema, Greystone student, international students' focus group, 2012, talking about social inequalities in Swaziland)

In our first rounds of fieldwork, among much else, we asked the young people about social and economic inequality and injustice. They gave polite, pat responses. Their replies seemed to fit too exactly, as though rehearsed, the school's ethos. It appeared to us that they replied without really thinking about the questions we asked but, overall, their responses seemed calculated to create an impression of themselves and their school, as enlightened. Given that our standard interview techniques resulted, largely, in such well-versed and rehearsed answers, we decided to alter our approach in later rounds of fieldwork. We used visual prompts followed by open space in which the only question the students were asked to respond to was along the lines of 'What do you think about what you have just seen?'. Our visual prompts included, for example, YouTube videos of the Occupy movement, in its different manifestations, around the world.

For the most part, the students were still able to immediately pontificate about the events. Only a minority of students' instant response was startled silence: in this brief moment they seemed out of sorts; however, they quickly reverted to type and, with a measured amount of concern, started to intellectualize the protests. We see the students' intellectualized responses, the process of distancing themselves from these events, of telling themselves that they have nothing to do with them, or with the making of privilege. That said, the Occupy movement video did not tend to make them reflect on themselves or to entertain the idea that their

parents might be part of the '1 percent' or in professional service to the '1 percent'. It did not tend to prompt them to think about the ways in which their own privilege might be implicated in these acts of social disruption.

Their responses to Occupy's key tropes about the 1 percent and the 99 percent, corporate greed and corruption and the movement's attempts to challenge these via the tactic of occupation are nuanced and complex. They differ according to country, but there are also variances in the students' responses in the same country. For instance, Warren (who we introduced in chapter 7) from Straits was adamant that people would be reluctant to protest in Singapore because of the restrictive laws. For him, such statutes were justified, as law and order made Singapore a credible place to do business. While he recognized that inequality existed in Singapore, he maintained that social safety nets meant that 'the people in the lowest socioeconomic strata [were not necessarily] having a tough time' (interview 2012). Later in the conversation, he confidently suggested that it was incorrect to say every top Wall Street executive was greedy: 'it's a meritocratic system—they worked hard, they made … sufficient money … to justify the high remuneration' (interview 2012). Cheung took a slightly different stance. He thought that Singapore's political culture discouraged its citizens from taking 'part in politics for fear of reprisals and oppression' (interview 2012). He talked about the PAP in more detail by mentioning the Internal Security Act and the ways it had been used against what he, pointedly, called 'alleged communists' (interview 2012). He then shifted the conversation to a broader discussion about issues of inequality in the United States and Europe; the reasons the notion of meritocracy is problematic; and John Rawls' theory of justice, framed in terms of indifference and ignorance. 'We should aim for a society which is more equal, that allows people equal opportunity regardless of the initial position they start in' (interview 2012), he said thoughtfully as our conversation drew to a close.

While the Occupy movement is a global phenomenon, the frame of reference for the students was largely determined by their lived, everyday realities and, overwhelmingly, informed by social processes and historical particularities in the nations in which they were located. There was, however, an acknowledgement of the intricate nexus between the situated and the global in their responses, as some of them positioned their particular national or regional locale in terms of its relation to contemporary global capitalism.

Tiana, from Old Cloisters, said with some frustration, 'Nobody really stands up for what they believe in, in Barbados' (interview 2012), suggesting that people would be too compliant to even protest. But Marvin, acknowledging a history of social protest in Barbados, responded enthusiastically, making a comparison between the Occupy movement and the 1937 labour riots, both of which were a response to vast inequalities of wealth. Jalecia thought that there was no need to protest at all because Barbados was 'a different environment … here politicians are not ashamed of being Socialists' (interview 2012). In contrast, Darelin and Marvin, although interviewed separately, both talked about a wealth gap in Barbados and immediately identified the so-called 1 percent as consisting of a white business elite who controlled the Barbadian economy, personified by C.O. Williams, one of the biggest property developers on the island. Darelin said with chagrin,

> When the high-end tourists come to Barbados, we don't get the money in our hands. That goes to the government: the government has the money… The country overall benefits but the small businessman doesn't really benefit … The big businessmen benefit. (Interview 2012)

Darelin and Marvin demonstrate their understanding of the unique ways that historical struggles over class in Barbados have evolved out of struggles over race and that this class/race nexus still exists today.

Only 4 percent of Barbadians are white (most of whom are descendants of slave owners). However, it would be erroneous to suggest that C.O. Williams' wealth was inherited from his rich slave owner ancestors as he is, in fact, descended from poor white people. However, it is not wrong to suggest that there are structural histories of white privilege in Barbados, even among the poor. For example, white servants were considered the 'labour elite of the plantation economy' (Beckles 1990/2007, p. 32), and poor whites were the first to benefit from institutionalized education in schools set up between 1733 and 1826 that excluded not only black slaves, but also free black people (Beckles 2007).

Darelin's comment also gives us insight into Barbados' current economic strategy and the ways in which it is articulated to the global economy, geared not only towards tourism and local big business but also big business abroad. One contradiction of capitalism in Barbados is that, although politicians may not be 'ashamed of being Socialists', some of their economic strategies do, nonetheless, benefit big businessmen. Given

the current debates about taxes that have emerged out of the Occupy movement, the fact that Barbados, while a social democracy, is also an offshore tax haven for, primarily, Canadian companies, is of interest. As these companies do not have to pay Canadian taxes on their international profits, such a system has a negative effect on Canada's tax revenue. Furthermore, as their international profits are not circulated within the Barbadian economy, this has negative implications for Barbados' public debt problem. One of the clear demands that emerged out of the International Occupy movement was a call for a march supporting a Robin Hood tax, essentially a package of financial transactions taxes that, if enacted, would raise taxes on big companies, such as those Canadian businesses in Barbados.

At Cathedral College, Gao summed up Occupy Hong Kong's agenda by saying:

> This is an issue against the financial institutes and also the property agents because Hong Kong's finance is mainly led by property agents, like Li Ka-Shing. And somehow people think that they dominate the finance of Hong Kong and they … have more power than the government in controlling the finance in Hong Kong. (Interview 2012)

Zhu and Lee, in separate interviews, responded more broadly on the Occupy movement's anti-capitalist stance by evoking a dichotomy between Hong Kong and China and capitalism and communism, with Zhu glibly stating, 'capitalism is what makes Hong Kong special. If you want communism, why don't you just go back to China?' (interview 2012). Gao's statement suggests that he recognized Hong Kong's status as a financial centre, a global city that is home to a large number of internationally significant banks, businesses and stock exchanges and the power struggles that ensue between business and government in this context. Hong Kong is indeed a major hub in terms of the circulation of financial capital in today's global economy. More than this, Zhu's comment, although obviously a polemical statement, reflects an understanding of Hong Kong's particular geopolitical position in the region: it is a global city that must also negotiate its relationship with neighbouring mainland China (see chapter 5).

Many of the students at Ripon College in India had never heard of the Occupy movement; nonetheless, they broadened our discussion to talk about government and corporate greed. They thought that this was a prob-

lem in India as government ministers and industrialists had so much while the poor had virtually nothing. Chapr even quoted from Mahatma Ghandi to demonstrate her point, saying, 'There's enough for everybody's need but not anybody's greed' (interview 2013). Others suggested that the lack of uptake of Occupy in India was because the majority of people did not relate to it; they held the Indian government responsible for inequalities, rather than the global recession or global capitalism. Overwhelmingly, the response to the Occupy movement in India was framed in terms of greed and corruption within Indian politics, rather than on the global stage, with Bijali demonstrating this shift with her focus on national social conditions, saying with sincerity:

> Everything is so related, you talk about globalization; you have class issues. You talk about class issues; you talk about poverty, poverty about waste, waste about corruption, corruption about government. And it comes down to people who are again suffering. (Interview 2013)

Students' responses were usually context- and time-specific. One reason they responded in this way was that they were overwhelmed, at the time, by the local election and the local politics that were being played out in this domain. Global issues, therefore, became relevant for the students in a different way, as issues of local corruption became dominant.

Global issues were also related to issues of local corruption in the discussions we had with students in South Africa. Speaking about government corruption in her homeland, Lulu, sounding vexed, said:

> … at the moment in Tanzania, the crisis is actually really bad, because people are not really getting jobs … what happens is that when we receive money from different countries, the politicians use it for themselves. (International students' focus group 2012)

She went on to talk about corporate greed, saying:

> … when they come to Tanzania, especially with like, the tanzanite and all the nice rocks and things like that, they use their own people. And basically we own a small percentage of those companies, and everything else is owned by other countries … it's all foreign people who are doing this, and our country is not getting anything, any benefit. (International students' focus group 2012)

Deka tended to support what Lulu was saying, even though she was talking about Namibia, not Tanzania. With considerable annoyance, she said:

> … what's happening is whenever they find gold, or diamonds or mines for anything, oil, which there's quite a bit of in Namibia. And uranium, everything we have, whoever finds it, they don't hire Namibians to do the work. They hire foreigners. So none of our people have work in that sense, so they have to go find other work, which doesn't pay them nearly as well as that would. … Whenever they find oil, its always Japanese or Americans that are excavating it. If it's diamonds, it's either Europeans, Americans or the Japanese again. It's never our people. It's very rare that they hire people from our own country. (International students' focus group 2012)

By their responses, both the Ripon College and Greystone students highlighted the fact that the same issues can arise in different countries across the world, and across different countries in the same region. Furthermore, there was a recognition by the Greystone students of the ways in which the economic circumstances particular to their home countries intersected with both the region and the world at large. The students' focus on resources such as oil and minerals, and the 'foreigners' who are hired by the foreign companies that extract these resources, draws attention to the ways that corporate greed on the ground in Namibia or Tanzania is connected to the circulation of labour, traded commodities and of course finance in a global market.

Occupy is an example of the globalizing of a social movement in contemporary times, but this does not mean that we can universalize the ways in which people respond to it. As the students' responses show, we cannot make generalized statements about globalizing social conditions; in some cases, we cannot even assume everyone knows what Occupy is/was. In their responses, the students demonstrate that social inequalities are composed in different orders in distinct locations around the world and yet there is also something that is common between them—they are overwhelmingly connected in one way or another to circuits of capital in the global capitalist economy. Obviously, place matters when considering social inequalities, for the views the students expressed were filtered through their experiences, at once fluid and located, of particular places. Also of importance are the ways in which their politics are situated by privilege and how their privilege, sometimes, obscures their perspectives on politics.

Thompson, we indicated in the Introduction (chapter 1), sees class not as a 'thing' but as a relationship which changes over time and which involves cultural as well as social (including economic) experiences. He talks about the ways in which the 'human relationships' of class are formed in 'the same way in different times and places, but never in just the same way' (1980, p. 15). We examine these human relationships and the 'never in just the same way' process of class-making more closely, now, by looking at the ways in which the students at Highbury Hall responded to the historical social disruptions that took place in London in 2011/12—the London riots and Occupy London—and the ways in which their responses contribute to the making of privilege.

'Rioting Without Reason'/Occupy with No Alternatives

The majority of the students at Highbury Hall claimed that the London riots were an instance of 'rioting without reason': they spoke of 'rioting for the sake of it' and suggested that the riots were useless as they did not lead to change. As Lucia said, with a tone of belittlement, 'I don't think any of them, clearly, have the intelligence to know anything about politics' (interview 2011).

Another common response was that the rioters were uncivilized and opportunistic and that rioting was not the best way to express their frustrations: the students suggested that what was needed, instead, was a calm and rational response. Most of them said that they were against the violence as it was illogical, and many of the students thought that there was 'no political motivation behind' the rioting. Students tended to rationalize their own responses to the riots by maintaining that those involved were individuals with problems. Within this argument, the offending rioters were often portrayed as being unmotivated and 'lazy', and, in order to remedy this, much emphasis was put on these individuals striving to empower themselves. This implied that the students did not view the riots as instances of political agency or motivation.

In contrast, Occupy was treated by the students as being apart and remote. They felt no pull to be on the streets and to participate; instead, the movement became a marker of the things that they would not be part of, a trajectory that they would be very unlikely to take. Nevertheless, most of the students talked about Occupy in more positive terms, as it was seen as representing a form of peaceful protest,

in contrast to the violence of the London riots. And yet, Occupy was, for the most part, deemed politically unsuccessful by the students, as the protesters were not offering solutions. Rachel thought 'that there [was] a lack of definition on what they'd like to get out of the protest. [She said,] they're only kind of saying what they don't want—not what they do want' (interview 2011). Lucy stated emphatically, 'without a solution, you can't move on' (interview 2011). Many of the students also agreed with Alexandra, who suggested that the Occupy protesters were being vague and simplistic in their objections, raising the notion that 'they're against capitalism and that's all they're against' (interview 2012). Overall, the students viewed the inability of the protesters to offer an alternative to capitalism as further contributing to the overall ineffectualness of the protest. As many of the students will be going on to positions of power and influence, although usually gendered, we are left to wonder whether this means that they are expecting complainants to provide solutions to the problems they, themselves, may well preside over in the future. And then did they think it would be up to them to choose the most suitable solutions?

Hiding in Plain Sight

If, as we maintain, privilege is praxis, then what kind of class choreography is taking place here? We suggest that it is primarily the work of obfuscation: the idea that the denial of privilege is an instance of class-making. This point is a point nicely illustrated by Lanchester (2014, online) who discusses obfuscation in the language of finance. Obfuscation in the context of elite schools then begs the questions: How is privilege being concealed and what is the effect of it being concealed? Such questions matter because, when the privileged ignore their privilege, such an act exists in the interests of power. Such an act is, thus, a political act. Such privilege 'for itself' (in active pursuit of its own interests) is, therefore, not merely cultural for there are other processes involved as well.

Making privilege is dependent on the students enacting a kind of psychic blindness, an abnegation of their very privilege and the ways in which it is made. As a result, the students have a rather warped understanding of their place in the world and the ways the world works, in the face of austerity, poverty and misery. This comes back to the rarefied worlds within worlds that they inhabit and the ways in which these privileged students' line of sight is distorted within their self-contained schools and systems.

A central part of this class-making involves understanding, subscribing to, and living, a hierarchical social and educational value system. This is used as a guide for self-comparison (Who am I superior and inferior to and why? Which schools are superior/inferior to mine?). This hierarchy is also used as a 'handbook' for emulation and aspiration (who 'above me' should I emulate and aspire to be like?). The schools always invoke the celebrity status of their most powerful, or esteemed or famous ex-students as an incitement to students to 'aim high', to keep looking up.

Elite schools are indeed exclusive places that become so through exclusionary practices. Such social cocooning works to their advantage by bolstering their elite status. But creating exclusive spaces requires a sense of enclosure—elite schools are less 'palaces of art', although their beautification does contribute to their sense of eliteness (see Fahey et al. 2015) and more 'citadels of privilege'—not bubbles that might easily burst. Such enclosure is dependent on the refusal of an outside and outsiders, a process that Sassen refers to as 'expulsion' (2014). She uses this term as a way to 'take us beyond the more familiar idea of growing inequality as a way of capturing the pathologies of today's global capitalism' (2014, p. 1). One example of such expulsions is the so-called austerity measures that have been introduced in England: 'the expelling of low-income workers and the unemployed from government social welfare and health programmes as well as from corporate insurance and unemployment support' (Sassen 2014, p. 1).

A sense of enclosure may also lead to students who are closed in on themselves. It may lead them to have a very superficial awareness of a wider context beyond that defined by their own privilege, to a lack of deep empathy for those who are different from them and to an inability to comprehend their relation to the world at large. At the same time, while something is denied, something is, necessarily, affirmed. Within these elite schools, the choice and opportunity afforded by wealth have become totally normalized but so, too, does dominance itself and, as a result, the students are unable to even see their own privilege. This is the vanishing point of privilege.

We understand this process, in a psychoanalytic frame, in terms of the notion of negative hallucination: 'the art of not seeing and not recognizing people who [are] actually present' (Freud 1917, p. 67). The students' refusal to see what is there is a psychic mechanism. It relates to perception and unconscious representation and to the negative (which is associated with other defences such as repression, splitting and negation) (Green 2011). By 'alter[ing] the world' and 'bring[ing] it into conformity

with [their] desires [to live a rarefied life]' (Silverman 2009, p. 103), they reframe their social responsibilities or obligations to people seemingly outside their world, as we will discuss later. The glance that sees nothing is a privileged act of defence, a pulling away from what one does not wish to perceive, a breaking off from a relation to the social reality of privilege.

The process of the concealment of privilege takes place when social injustices are individualized rather than being understood in terms of broader social institutions and structures. For instance, when commenting on the London riots, Bethany responded by saying, 'I do sympathize with them but … I think there are so many opportunities for these people and I think some just give up because [the opportunities are] just not handed to them' (interview 2012). Other students responded in similar ways, with Davida stating, 'I think that the individual should definitely recognize the fact that something can be done to achieve what they want to achieve' (interview 2011); and Molly suggesting '… people that actually make the effort will have jobs' (interview 2011).

The language that the students use when they individualize social injustices further obscures privilege in particular ways. Saying 'something can be done to achieve what they want to achieve' and using terminology such as 'the effort' allows the students to distance themselves from the riots—obfuscation occurs because the language they use is vague. But while such language is distancing, it is, at the same time, defining. While not meaningful in the context of the riots, such turns of phrase have very concrete meanings at Highbury Hall and at elite girls' schools in general, particularly in terms of the individualizing of the female, neoliberal subject (see Charles 2014; McRobbie 2009, 2011). In this context, 'the effort', the push 'to be the best you can be' is individualizing for the students. Such indistinct terminology has a concrete reality in their world and real meaning in their lives. They, therefore, assume that 'the effort' has a concrete reality in other people's world, whereas, in fact, the only reality for the majority worldwide is highly restricted opportunity.

Furthermore, although rioting by the socially disadvantaged could be viewed as doing 'something' and is perhaps one of the only things they are in the position to do, for these students doing something means creating and responding to a wealth of opportunities. What remains unseen and unsaid, what is implied when the students refer to 'opportunities', is that they themselves have seized the opportunities that are available to them. But such opportunities are available to them precisely because of their privilege. As the enactment of self-empowerment is a highly normalized

part of the students' lives, they do not seem to realize that not everyone is afforded the same choices and opportunities as they are and, further, the students do not tend to acknowledge that these actually serve to characterize their entitlement.

In some ways, the students are aware of the role their school, as a prestigious social institution, plays in creating social advantage. However, in their responses to these acts of social protest, they tended not to acknowledge the role that social institutions also play in *creating* social *dis*advantage. There were a few exceptions. One exception, Ching, an international student from Hong Kong who studies economics and politics subjects and has a genuine interest in policy and law, talked about the riots in terms of broader structural issues, seeing them as a response to unemployment and spending cuts and as an example of 'how economics is driving politics at a local and global level' (interview 2011). The systematic ways in which social structures (determinants such as capitalism) may inhibit some individuals from meeting their needs or, at best, reaching their full potential was generally not discussed. There was little indication that the students saw the wider social milieu in which the riots took place and little sense that they were aware of a background of ongoing racism and the persecution of minorities and youth, problematic policing, mass unemployment of the young, and the politics of austerity and social deprivation (Harvey 2012). Instead, social inequalities were again thought of in terms of individuals' misfortune and circumstance:

> There are some who are just lazy. There are some I guess who have really just got nothing going for them because they haven't been able to find anything, which just comes down to, I guess, possible luck. (Sally, interview 2011)

There was, thus, a double-blindness: the students assumed the way the world works was individualized and, as a result, they individualized social inequalities. They assumed the world worked in an individualized way because their school promotes the rhetoric of individual achievement. What they failed to see is that their school is a social institution that, at a collective level, negotiates structures of sentiment that actually enable their privilege to exist and, as a result, their success is not individualized in any way, even though they tend to believe it is.

None of the students commented on the relation between their own entitlement and the underprivileged, socially excluded lives of others—

including the so-called rioters and protesters—and social justice issues tended to be obscured by discussions that focused on the right and proper way of doing politics. There was, therefore, little sense of who the so-called rioters and protesters were and what their aspirations and organizational strategies might be. The responses illustrate a range of political standpoints, not the least being polite contempt for Occupy and shocked disgust at the riots. By and large, the students' view was that the streets are not the place to engage in civic disputation: it would be much better for all if 'those with issues' protested in more sensible and civilized ways, or not at all.

When Davida, a student at Highbury Hall, was asked about Occupy London, she said that she did not think 'protest was effective' (interview 2011). A few days later, we accompanied her to an Amnesty International meeting—a co-curricular activity that she organizes and which counts as part of her service in her IB programme. We noticed she began the session by screening a video that was on the Amnesty International website. It showed a recent protest (*No more blood. No more fear*) in London outside the Syrian embassy, and Davida used it as a way to frame issues around women's security in Syria. These two instances demonstrate that Davida had different perspectives on what counted as legitimate and effective and illegitimate and ineffective protest.

The students we spoke with were clearly against rioting without reason and protests without solutions. They denounced such acts of social unrest but also contested the political efficacy of these acts, framing them as ill-defined and ineffectual (in terms of Occupy) and as mere violence (in the case of the riots). In so doing, they themselves become politically agential. Robin talks about this process, in the context of the United States, in terms of the philosophy and politics of conservatism, which is based on the 'ideology of reaction' (2011, p. 42), determined by particular dynamics of power: 'power besieged and power protected' (2011, p. 28). He maintains that the defence of power by the privileged is dependent on the negation of the 'lower orders' agency, stating 'submission is their first duty, agency, the prerogative of the elite' (2011, p. 7). Here, we are not witnessing the radical political agency that characterized the riots or Occupy. For the students, acting politically is concerned with creating social change but only in terms of maintaining control over the way in which things are. It is through such acts of castigation and contestation that the students

implicitly uphold their privileged positions as guardians of the status quo and contribute to the reproduction of privilege.

If being privileged involves privilege being ignored, then, in this context, it is clearly hidden in plain sight. Such a paradox highlights the fact that class-making is always a shady business, even when it is implicitly presented in terms of sharp delineations. Skeggs suggests 'analysis of class should … aim to capture the ambiguity produced through struggle and fuzzy boundaries, rather than to fix it in place in order to measure and know it' (2004, p. 5). We continue to capture this ambiguity by looking at the ways in which particular value judgements, based on legitimizing and caring for some and not others, are present when privilege is in the process of being made.

Artful and Artless Caring

Interviewer: What do you think you might be able to learn from them?
Wendy: I think, to a certain extent, I mean, I'm sure there's things you can teach, but, you would learn a lot about yourself, perhaps leadership and tolerance but…
Zak: What we take for granted.
Wendy: Yeah.
Jessica: Yeah, definitely.

(Prefects' focus group, Founders, Australia, 2012)

When we ran a focus group with prefects at Founders, in Australia, many of the students did not understand the issues involved in the Occupy movement and one student had never heard of it. Furthermore, on asking them about their service work, they were usually unable to understand how they might benefit from meeting students from low socio-economic circumstances, other than to say that they would become more aware of their own privilege and that it might help them to develop their leadership skills. We were struck by the fact that many students did not have another lens for thinking about helping others and social justice issues besides 'charity'. As their stunned silence filled the room, it was apparent that they, literally, did not have the language to talk about issues of poverty as a relational matter. The students' inability to even conceptualize the issues around poverty and inequality was astounding, particularly as two of the student prefects headed up 'portfolios' around charities and spiritual and community service.

The Moral Economy of Class

> *We have been examining a pattern of social protest which derives from a consensus as to the moral economy of the commonwealth in times of dearth.*
>
> (Thompson 1971, p. 126, commenting on the bread riots in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain)

When analyzing the continued bread riots of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England, Thompson coins the term 'moral economy'. He uses this term to frame the riots not as irrational acts of violence motivated merely by starvation or rage but as being politically motivated by larger concerns. Citizens who were affected by scarcity and the high price of provisions, especially wheat and bread, sought to demand something from their government by rioting. Thompson's moral economy focuses on government reciprocity, obligation and responsibility to the crowd.

Scholars have talked about the moral economy of class (Sayer 2005; Svallfors 2006). This notion suggests that class-making is a political, economic and socio-cultural process. Skeggs talks about distribution within the moral economy of class in terms of exchange and value. In terms of her understanding of exchange, she suggests that perspective is of utmost importance as it is always implicated in power relations. She defines perspective as 'not an over-view, but a narrow section of particular interests that are imposed upon others and are represented as a wider-view, when in fact they are the exact opposite' (2004, p. 6). For Skeggs, perspective is always self-interested; from this vantage point decisions are made about 'what is valuable, what exists as a resource or asset and what can be exchanged? And what relationships make this exchange and valuation a possibility?' (2004, p. 10). In terms of the ways in which valuing works, it too is self-interested, working 'in the interests of those who can name it as such. Their perspective on what counts as legitimate puts valuations into effect' (2004, p. 14).

There is a broad sense that the students in our research schools have little recognition of their own moral responsibilities to certain members of society (such as protesters, rioters, those from low socio-economic circumstances). And yet, in terms of service activities at their schools, they do have a sense of responsibility towards those they service. In this context, there is not a denial of privilege but a mobilization of privilege in order to 'do good'. We develop Skeggs' ideas by suggesting that, nestled within the moral economy of class, there is a moral economy of caring. By looking in more depth at the Hong Kong students' perspectives, we show

that the moral economy of caring, for the most part, is a moral economy of the few. It operates on the basis of judgements about who is seen and unseen, who gets to care and for whom and whose caring is more valuable than others', within this economy.

The Privileged and the Precariat

The towering 2IFC (2 International Finance Centre) is an architectural paean to contemporary global capitalism and to Hong Kong's standing as an international financial centre. Dominating Hong Kong Island's iconic waterfront, it can disappear into the dense smog that sometimes blankets the city. It is home to the Hong Kong Monetary Fund, financial holding companies and service corporations, multi-national banking groups and private equity investment firms from countries such as Taiwan, Japan, Spain, France, Germany, the United States and England. And it casts a long shadow over the migrant domestic workers, who are, overwhelmingly, women, that gather *en masse* on a Sunday beneath its dizzying heights.

Row upon row of flimsy shelters, constructed from cardboard boxes and lined with bamboo or plastic mats, crowd the bustling footbridges. With no other place to go, these domestic workers spend their weekly day off from work in these makeshift 'rooms'. Eating, sleeping, painting their nails or simply chatting to each other above the sweltering, noisy streets, they are afforded little privacy in the rare, private moments that punctuate the daily grind of their working lives.

Many of the families of the students at Cathedral College employ domestic workers. Alex explained that employing domestic workers 'is a common, essential part of Hong Kong life' (interview 2011). As of 2014, there were 320,000 foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong: 50 percent from the Philippines, 47 percent from Indonesia and the rest from Thailand, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The minimum average wage for these workers in 2015 was set at HK$4,010 per month. Further, such gendered care work is a globalized phenomenon built on the relationships between geographies of plenty and of poverty. Poor women cross national borders to care for the wealthy and have to care for their own families from a distance. Their families are torn apart as they hold wealthy families together.

The relationships the students have with their so-called maids or helpers vary. Kelvin said, with fondness, that he had a very close relationship with Freya and he thought of her as a member of his family, as she had

looked after him from birth. Tony, however, viewed the woman who worked for his family with suspicion: he felt as though she was monitoring his every move and even suggested she may have stolen from his family. Jason stated that he did not want to have a domestic worker employed in his home because he did not want to put the financial burden of paying her wage on his family and he could do for himself what a worker would do. Tony's family, similarly, did not want to employ a domestic worker but for different reasons, with Tony saying 'they finish their work in the morning and then they just sleep and sit home and just seem to be lazy and not do anything. So we are thinking not having them may be better' (interview 2011). Plainly, then, the nature of these relationships varies, but whatever its manifestation, gender, class, racial and national power dynamics are implicated.

In Hong Kong, instances of domestic workers being exploited to varying degrees by their employers are reported almost daily in the press. Indeed, there have been many instances of employers beings jailed for abuse (e.g. Chiu 2014 online). And of course abuse takes many forms. Indeed, the school chaplain recounted a story to us of a more benign instance of such exploitation at Cathedral College. He told us he had witnessed, when one of the students left the school for the day, the boy giving 'his maid' his backpack to carry, even though he was empty-handed and she was already struggling with a very heavy shopping load. The chaplain duly told the boy to carry his own bag, which resulted in the student's mother calling the school to complain about the chaplain's interference in family affairs.

When the principal of Cathedral College raised the idea of the school starting a community service programme, he said that the students 'sat there like "stunned mullets". … They just looked at me and seemed to be thinking "why would we want to go and help anybody?"' (Mr Hathaway, interview 2011). For the school's first community service programme outside Hong Kong, the principal suggested the students work in a village in the Philippines. When a member of staff approached the boys with this suggestion, they said they could not understand. According to Mr Hathaway, they replied 'Why do we want to go to the Philippines? The maids in Hong Kong come from the Philippines. Why can't they help their own people?' (Mr Hathaway, interview 2011).

The people inside elite schools who do the caring work—the poorly paid workers, who cook, clean, primp the grounds and buildings and stand guard at the gates of these schools—are generally under-recognized by

the students, as we have indicated many times. But at Cathedral College, the students also, for the most part, conspicuously fail to care about the people, and the social circumstances, of those who do caring work outside their school. The notion of being hidden in plain sight takes on a different meaning here. It refers not to machinations of privilege but, rather, to the so-called domestic 'helpers' that care for the students.

Despite these women being a constant in their lives, at home and at school, the students fail to see how vulnerable the women's lives are; they do not see the uncertainty that governs their existence. The students are bestowed with the privilege of not having to politicize their unfaltering privilege. Standing talks about the broader structural changes in contemporary global capitalism and the emergence of a new kind of worker—the 'precariat'—whose life is unhinged from 'an anchor of stability' (2011). He identifies the central features of their existence as being defined by a 'precariousness of residency, of labour and work and of social protection' (2011, p. 3).The concept of 'precariousness' is also deployed by Bauman (2002, p. 161). He sees it as:

> The combined *experience of insecurity (of position, entitlements and livelihood) of* uncertainty (as to their continuation and future stability) and of u*nsafety* (of one's body, one's self, and their extensions: possessions, neighborhood, community. (original emphasis)

Clearly 'unsafety' and lack of 'social protection' feature.

Domestic workers in Hong Kong are one example of the precariat, and as feminist scholars make clear the precariousness of such workers in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia has distinctively gendered features (Adams and Dickey 2000; Asato 2004; Constable 2007). For example, the precarious nature of their lives is exacerbated by the fact that they live in the same place as they work. It is this live-in labour law that support groups are seeking to abolish as they maintain it contributes to the abuse of domestic workers by their employers. This raises serious concerns about the kinds of risks, such as serious human and labour rights violations, that domestic workers in Hong Kong face. Indeed, in the face of such risks, domestic workers are becoming more politically organized. For example, in Hong Kong, six organizations of migrant domestic workers from various countries formed a federation to strengthen their efforts. In 2011, the Federation of Asian Domestic Workers' Unions affiliated with the Hong Kong Trade Union Confederation. What is less apparent is whether or not a global political movement of the precariat

will be consolidated, as Standing suggests. And yet, it is apparent that the students who attend Cathedral College are oblivious to such risks. For the students, the moral economy of care is closed off from the harsh realities of global capitalism. They fail to see that domestic workers in Hong Kong are part of a global supply chain of caring which is well and widely documented (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Parreñas 2001; Zimmerman et al. 2006). This care chain can be artfully juxtaposed, in class and gender terms, against the artless caring that the students undertake in their service work. Discussing the 'working class', Skeggs suggests that:

> they are left with a form of personhood solely derived from labour: domestic workers *are* domestic. Yet this is the great trick of liberalism that Marx exposes when he insists that labour power—the capacity to labour over time—*is not a property of the self* but a value that can only be known in exchange. (Skeggs 2011, p. 499)

In this context, there is an unequal exchange between these workers and the boys they take care of. In the domestic sphere, these women tend to these boys' every need at all hours of the day and night. And yet, in many cases, the integral position that these women have in these families, where they are ersatz mothers to these boys, is not valued either in terms of the respect they are given or in terms of the wages they receive. Therefore, while we have done much to trouble the term 'maid' or 'helper' by using the term 'worker', it is also essential that we trouble the term 'domestic', as, by doing so, we come to see that these women's labour power is not a 'property of the self' and, furthermore, it is not just a class issue but also one of gender.

We have shone a light on the domestic workers who care for many boys who attend Cathedral College; however, the employment of a service class by the families that send their children to these elite schools is not unusual (e.g. 'domestic' workers at Straits School; cooks, maids and drivers at Ripon College; maids, cleaners, cooks and gardeners at Greystone and nannies at Highbury Hall). Within the moral economy of caring, 'there are those that care because they have to and may be subjected to abuse on the basis of their subjugated position in the world' (Freeman 2012, p. 104). Within the moral economy of caring are also 'those that care because they want to and who chose who they will care about' (Freeman 2012, p. 104). Students are in the position to choose to care. Caring thus becomes a filter for a class-based politics of compassion through which the

students are able to glorify their own good hearts and whereby they 'do well by doing good'.

Servicing the Privileged Self

Service activities in our research schools fall under different names, such as 'charity', 'service', 'international service', 'service learning', 'community service', 'community engagement', 'social service', 'social engagement' and 'social justice'. One example is 'Eye Camp', a local service activity at Ripon College which involves testing eyesight, distributing spectacles and arranging for doctors to perform cataract operations for residents in a nearby village. Another example is students at Founders who actively participate in fundraising for local charitable groups (such as Red Nose Day, 40-Hour Famine, Red Cross Door Knock), serve food in homeless shelters and participate in community tree planting and other local environment projects. Such activities can be thought of as a form of 'care-taking' that has a long history in elite schools (Kenway and Fahey 2015). In terms of global activities, the notion of 'changing the world' through 'global citizenship' is gaining prominence as we indicated in earlier chapters. These activities are not thought of in terms of a domestic form of 'care-taking' but, rather, in a context where 'remote villages' in distant countries become the sites for dealing with big global issues. For instance, students at Highbury Hall set up the information technology infrastructure for a school in northern India, while Greystone students built two water tanks for the Karen people, a hill tribe who live in northern Thailand. In our research schools, both boys and girls, equally, engaged in service activities at home and abroad. Here, we focus specifically on the boys at Cathedral College and the boys and girls at Straits School.

Cathedral College's principal was clearly concerned about the 'bubbles within bubbles [that the students live in] within Hong Kong as a global city' (Mr Hathaway, interview 2011). Mr Hathaway talked about the fact that

> … the boys were born in Hong Kong, they go to school in Hong Kong, they go to university in Hong Kong—usually the University of Hong Kong, and then they go out and they get a job in Hong Kong. (interview 2011)

He tried 'to get the boys out of this bubble' (interview 2011) by establishing a community service programme at the school. Local activities, nowa-

days, include the students visiting the elderly people in their neighbouring communities. Global activities involve visiting very isolated places, such as Harbin in Northeast China near the Russian border where the students paved the playground and basketball court for a rural school. This meant the students were engaged in hard physical labour, something they were unaccustomed to, as the school principal pointed out.

Despite such activities, it was clear, in our conversations with the students, their participation in these programmes did not inevitably lead to a deeper understanding of the problems involved, but there were some exceptions. Tony, for example, speaking about spending time at a home for children with special needs said, earnestly, 'I think these people are people that we have to care about in society [who] may not be helped by … poor policies' (interview 2011). Kelvin, talking about his time spent visiting some of the elderly people who lived in housing estates and who relied on government subsidies on a regular basis, stated that he had learnt a lot about their needs not being met and said with concern: 'Hong Kong is a biased society which is biased to the rich and to the property companies' (interview 2012). But, on the whole, the students did not contextualize their local or global service activities in relation to a more encompassing world view of key issues such as poverty, or social inequality, and their context and causes. Ga Lim said, 'These kinds of social problems, they [don't] bother me in my school life so, to be honest, I'm not really aware of these kind of things' (interview 2012). Their statement tended to sum up most of the students' attitudes towards so-called social problems, even though they were engaged in service activities. None of the students made a connection between the social inequalities that they had witnessed in their service activities and the conditions in which domestic workers lived. Indeed, aligning service with 'doing good' out there in the world seemed to blind them to the plight of the domestic workers who were, quite literally, on their doorsteps. Overall, there was scant recognition, on the students' behalf, of the relationship between serving others and being served in their everyday lives or the complex politics involved in such relationships.

In contrast, in Singapore, the students responded to questions about the political complexity of their service activities in a much more thoughtful and subtle way. Such responses may have something to do with the fact that Straits School has a sophisticated service *learning* programme. This means that the students research social justice issues prior to participating in their service activities. These service activities include, for example,

direct service (one-on-one interaction with the beneficiary) and community advocacy, which is distributed across four working groups: children, elderly people, youth and people with disabilities.

The students were able to talk about different kinds of charity and service and the moral hierarchies involved. Kenny talked about the differences between the philanthrocapitalism or 'pseudo-charity', as he called it, of corporations such as Starbucks, where 'at the heart of these kind of corporate social responsibilities, you have profit driven, money-making' and other forms of charity where it was 'really not about the bottom line … not about the profit dollar' (clubs and societies students' focus group 2012). Puteri, meanwhile, made a distinction between 'natural' and 'artificial' service based on her own experiences growing up in 'a very poor place' in Malaysia and related the 'whole idea of service' to her village community. She said, 'to me service was really about neighbourly acts of kindness, gestures of kindness to your neighbours. Doing more than necessary just to help out the people around you'. For her, these 'natural' acts stood in stark contrast to 'the artificiality, the artificial aspects of what [she'd] seen in service nowadays, especially in schools' (Puteri, clubs and societies students' focus group 2012).

When the students were asked if they thought there were any burdens to being privileged, Yi Ling answered:

> … with great power comes great responsibility … I think society expects more from us and rightly so … We are very privileged and society expects more from us and I think this is only justified. We do have an obligation. We do not receive this privilege in exchange for nothing, if we are more able and given more then we should give more as well. (Clubs and societies students' focus group 2012)

Eunice, however, disagreed. She responded to Yi Ling by saying,

> I'm very uncomfortable with the 'rightly so' part of that. I think that, yes the school we are in is very privileged and it doesn't mean we have to chastise our self 'oh my god I'm so privileged. Someone slap me and take away my privilege'. You know it's not logical but I think it needs to be met with a lot of awareness that we are privileged and we are really, really, really living in a bubble … and as much as we have a lot of sympathy and want to help and all that, at the same time I don't really necessarily think a lot of us in the school have the sort of application mode of things. I mean we can talk about … social policies [around] class or how incomes are so unequal … and all

> that and what we can do about that but, I don't really feel like we have a lot of awareness about how society is, necessarily. (Clubs and societies students' focus group 2012)

While Eunice acknowledged that there was a lack of awareness about how society actually functions for the students, even when they were involved in service activities, Cherilyn talked about a lack of empathy for and a sense of division from the people that the students were helping, saying:

> … we have this urge to want to help people because this is what our education has taught us, but this education has also made us unable to really empathize with other people. When you see them, you say you want to help them. You really want help them but you always see them as a separate group, whom you want to give it to. It's always a separate thing … there will always be this huge divide between the person whom you are helping and you. I think that's one of the problems. You find it difficult to ever think in a position of them: you always think differently. (Clubs and societies students' focus group 2012)

Cherilyn was also aware of the moral hierarchy based on class that was created between those who help and those who are helped, those who offer solutions to perceived problems and those who are, according to her, thought of as 'a problem that needs solutions' (clubs and societies students' focus group 2012).

More broadly, for the students in these elite schools, there is value in developing relationships through service activities within and outside their communities, not because such activities are thought of as a public service or a common good or as a way to open the students' eyes to social inequality, as Remy Smith, chaplain at Highbury Hall, points out, but, rather, because students' engagement in such service activities gives them particular credentials. Indeed, almost all the students we spoke with maintained that service adds value to their CVs. This returns us to Skeggs' point about self-interested perspectives. Who gets what, where, when and how relates to politics in the social realm and, in this context, can be related back to our earlier discussion in this chapter about the 'opportunities' that are available to the students. For most of them, there is no responsibility, reciprocity or obligation between classes. The obligation that exists is between each individual student and their future.

Histories of Benefaction

The moral economy of caring that may help to inform students' future lives is also informed by histories of benefaction in public schools in England and her colonies (see chapter 2). The hierarchical moral economies that evolved over the nineteenth century (e.g. Bradley 2009; Preston 2004) were based on distinctions between the deserving and undeserving poor and the assumption, based on an assumed equivalence between social and moral superiority, that it was the responsibility of the privileged to help the poor. Such an attitude infiltrated the public schools of England and was followed by other public schools in its colonies. Arnold led the way.

Arnold was 'a moral reformer along Christian lines' (Mack 1939, p. 249) and many of his ideas were humanitarian, if somewhat authoritarian and absolutist. They included 'denying one's self to help the poor… getting to know the less well-off, mixing with them and cultivating democratic feeling not contempt' (Mack 1939, p. 257). While such ideas cannot be seen in isolation from his other educational views and practices (Schulte 2007), in terms of privileged benefaction alone, Arnold sought to develop boys' moral virtue and character. Indeed, his aim was to develop a 'moral aristocracy' that, among much, required the strong to feel compassion for the weak (Robbins 1959). He saw the public school as 'a testing place of virtue' and, according to Mack, regarded 'untried goodness' as worthless (1939, p. 267). He also, in terms of Empire, 'believed it was the duty of the morally superior English state to be helpful to weaker and less civilised people' (Mack 1939, p. 280). As we discussed in chapter 1, 'the English public school of the late nineteenth century [therefore] became directly a training ground for the leaders and servants of Empire' (Mack 1939, p. 292).

Arnold's Rugby and other public schools sought to produce a particular mode of moral masculinity among privileged males. Similarly, in terms of the morality of privileged females in elite schools in the nineteenth century, there is a particular mode of femininity associated with privileged benefaction. (That said, although the moral economies of old were gendered in particular ways, the service activities of both boys and girls in our research schools in contemporary times, were not particularly gendered.) Schools for the daughters of 'noblemen and gentlemen' and wealthy businessmen were established in England from the 1850s onwards (Dyhouse 1981; Walford 1984, 1993a, b). Reforms in girls' education, at

this time, meant a 'special emphasis on public duty … modelled upon the leadership training boys received' at schools such as Rugby (Vicinus 1985, p. 163–4). In this way, 'social graces and husband-hunting were to be replaced with noblesse oblige and godliness' (Vicinus 1985, p. 169). The effect of emphasizing moral training during a period when high morality and social superiority were viewed as being on a par was that 'the more expensive girls' schools quickly established their social importance' (Vicinus 1985, p. 167). In broader social terms, as we have previously suggested, privileged single women's social position in the nineteenth century in England was in flux. Vicinus (1985, p. 5) maintains that

> the ideology of spiritual leadership went hand in hand with changing economic and social conditions. Victorian England needed cheap skilled labour for the multiplying bureaucracies of business and government; education was growing rapidly; and the level of health care was rising. Educated single women were direct beneficiaries of this expansion.

Educated single women were thus 'assigned a special position as caretakers of morality and religion' (Vicinus 1985, p. 2) in the private domestic realm and, increasingly, in the wider public sphere, in institutions such as the workhouse, hospital and school.

Conclusion

The students we spoke to at Highbury Hall condemned the London riots and Occupy London. From the students' perspective, both lacked the capacity to produce the results that the students saw as desirable. In the act of denouncing these performances of social unrest, the students denied their own privilege and upheld the *status quo*. Their denial of privilege is an act of class-making, a political act. Making class is determined by a form of psychic blindness, the students' inability to see their own privilege and the structural conditions in which it is produced.

There is also a recognition and mobilization of privilege by the students in order to do good deeds. In elite schools in the past and the present, the moral economy of the few is given precedence over the moral economy

of the many. The moral economy of the few is a site of privilege as praxis, as it is here that privilege is reinforced and perpetuated. As we have seen, the reproduction of privilege can take place in everyday moments, but it also has a longer duration. In some ways, this brings us back to where we began this book and to Thompson's (1980, p. 18) argument that class-making takes place 'over a considerable historical period'.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion: Looking Back, Looking Ahead

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future
And time future contained in time past.

(Eliot 1943, p. 13)

Retrospection

We have examined, throughout, the class-making efforts of those elite schools around the world that have drawn their inspiration from the English public school. We have also shown how these schools are invariably involved in class formations and relations. We have shown that such schools have long been virtuosos in manoeuvring classed bodies and in orchestrating class performances. Ever since the creation of the British Empire, this effort has involved arranging and re-arranging the social order within the dominant classes, in part by subsuming new members into the ensemble. Race and gender relations have also been rearticulated and recast therein. Such class choreography has rendered subaltern populations in subordinate, support roles or has sent them offstage altogether—always notated as inferior, seldom recognized as performers in their own right, capable of fashioning their own performances.

These schools' class-making has an elaborate historical geography. It has been conducted on many different stages and scales within and across national borders. As we argued in chapters 2 and 3, and elaborated

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subsequently, it has been driven by powerful intersecting and articulated forces. These include the rise of industrialism, the intertwined expansion of British colonialism, capitalism and Christianity around the globe, the rise of postcolonial nationalism of various hues and contemporary configurations of capitalism and cultural globalization. All have minute and human expressions and relationships. As new schools were created and older schools were renewed throughout the colonies in the nineteenth century, English cultural practices and concepts of social class travelled to them. And even when the British left the colonies, their legacies persisted while new formations of class arose in the freshly minted nations. New political elites took the helm, albeit in diverse ways and sometimes in league with their former colonizers. Herein, race and other social relations, including caste, were reconfigured and then entrenched along new class lines, but often with lingering shades of older relations of ruling.

Much has thus changed since the English public school model of elite schools was transported to the colonies. Of course, as we indicated, in the colonies, the model was variously adopted, adapted and resisted, depending on the type of colonial arrangements involved. It was assymetrically negotiated in relation to the local educational, cultural and political circumstances of the time. Nor was this model static; it changed with emerging conditions. But something of its core remained. During assorted struggles for national independence, and even after independence, many of its features were vigorously preserved as markers of educational excellence and social distinction. Such persistence, we have illustrated, often took various neocolonial forms. And, even in contemporary global circumstances, Britishness, and its educational expression via elite schools, continues to have class *caché* around the globe.

At the same time, however, we saw signs that new class choreographies are steadily, although unevenly, emerging. These involve even more intricate educational stage management than in the past. They draw on existing and recognized formations and relations of class but also expand their socio-cultural forms and reach. They offer transnational educational experiences and imaginaries and implicitly seek to produce a new sense of transnational class-commonality and consciousness amongst students—building on old class solidarities and potentially forging new ones. It is clear to us that the social purposes of these elite schools have come to include *embryonic* transnational class-making. This potentially glues together, at a supranational level, the interests of the socially dominant and their middle-class supporters—those professionals who serve the dominant and

whose interests coincide with theirs. However, such class-making practices are not entirely consistent and involve a diverse range of global *connections, conjunctions, juxtapositions* and *disjunctures*. Each involves immanent points of fracture and friction.

Some of the *connections* that we highlighted in the previous chapters arise through the various high-end global organizations to which some of our research schools belong, which they instigate themselves or in which their members participate. While class networking and bonding-across-borders appear to be a *raison d'être*, we have suggested that these also involve scanning exercises. They allow principals and students to broaden the scale of their imaginations, to inspect the globe-from-above. With like-minded others, principals inspect educational developments on the global stage so that their type of school can attempt to stay ahead of the game. Teachers network with other teachers in similar schools and share their knowledge and experience even as their passionate servitude to their school is increasingly recruited to multi-scalar marketing endeavours (Kenway 2016). Students rehearse their possible futures as 'global leaders' or professionals of one sort or another.

These global connections assist participants to assess global conditions, to identify new opportunities, to readjust their aspirations and to identify and ward off challenges. In effect, organizations such as Round Square or G20 schools are sites for anticipating possible futures, for constructing shared, transnational, dominant-class imaginaries in ways that also encompass diversity according to nation, culture and religion but decidedly not class. Such global organizations also often expect students to connect with an assortment of subaltern populations via variously named service activities. The connections they make with such populations are qualitatively different from those they make with each other. As we have shown, this involves a moral economy of caring, which, when pared back, is a moral economy of class-making with all the attendant ambiguities.

The *conjunctions* include the schools simultaneously embracing, over time and space, comparable celebratory icons and grandiose, or understatedly elegant, designs and architecture—necessary signatures of status. The present and future, including that of the students, can thus be written and read through the schools' munificent materiality. And, as we have illustrated, these schools' virtual presence allows for the global circulation of such iconic imagery mingled with digital portraits of each school's current educational and social recognition and privilege. Such virtual ornamentalism has become a global means of mobilizing educational desire across borders—a central feature of the global elite school market.

Other *conjunctions* between the schools include similar educational slogans even though their associated practices differ somewhat. 'Character' and 'charity' are the most long-standing but these have morphed into various, less stuffy, mantra. Character has largely become 'leadership'. Charity has largely become 'service'. Other, more recent, sloganized practices include 'entrepreneurship', 'twenty-first century learning', 'cross-cultural awareness' and 'international mindedness'. Plainly, such slogans are not unique to these schools. But what is unique, in contrast with the vast bulk of other schools, is the financial and other resources that underwrite them and, therefore, the opportunities and kudos that can be purchased through the resource-heavy practices that accompany them.

As we have indicated, these practices allow for multiple and varied curricula and co-curricula options. The opportunities for students to turn such slogans into meaningful experience are plentiful. Increasingly, these take students onto the global dais, but with contradictory consequences. Here, for example, they may well provide certain types of service, or what we call 'care-taking', to subaltern populations in various locations and they may well develop the sort of cosmopolitan identity that arises from the tendency towards educational tourism that we have alluded to. But they also become acutely aware of their own privilege—that it is abnormal and, possibly, fragile. And they gain some awareness of the hard, and very different, lives of their subaltern others. They do not usually gain an understanding of the relationships between, say, their class wealth and others' class poverty. Instead, they learn that they must 'give more' while also making sure that their future privilege is watertight. Indeed, being on the global dais makes them intensely aware of the intense global competition that exists for prized university places and high-pay, and high-powered, positions. And so the hyper-individualized entrepreneurial self often takes precedence over other possible selves for students—high-end résumé-building, status-seeking, networking and careerism become ever more normalized and 'necessary'. Similarly, schools ratchet up, even further, their perfection obsession and their commercial sensibilities. They have become, we pointed out, involved in costly (in many senses of the word) practices of boosting and cosseting students, instilling in them an all-embracing, but narrowly oriented, need to succeed, a resource-inflated sense of accomplishment and entitlement, a deep fear of failure and a patronizing concern for those viewed as failures. Students are taught that their perfection will secure their privilege and that there are, or should be, no obstacles in their way (Fahey and Prosser 2015).

Predictable *juxtapositions* abound. Parents and students regularly weigh up the comparable benefits of 'this' over 'that'. Cool calculations about capital accumulation and class advantages are made—about which subjects, curriculum, school, orientations to knowledge, university, career and even which country, to select. For example, as we illustrated, national curriculum reforms have propelled some students to move from elite schools in Hong Kong to elite schools in the UK in order, largely, to maximize their likely entry to 'top' Western universities. This has echoes of longer-standing historical juxtapositions. Therein, the British colonial 'West' dominated—its knowledge, principals and teachers reigned supreme in colonial schools—as did its values. This invited a view that the West is best and, while this has diminished to some extent, it has not departed.

Certainly, some schools have abandoned the curriculum and examination systems associated with British colonialism and current Western empires of knowledge. But others continue to offer the largely Eurocentric IB and CIE. Although some who develop these, at the relevant institutional headquarters, may be trying to make them less Eurocentric, in the schools themselves, at the level of teacher sensibilities and pedagogy, they remain neocolonial carriers of certain forms of European eliteness. Overall, through an orientation to so-called Western knowledge and Western schools and universities in the UK and North America, students scattered in different parts of the globe are implicitly invited to believe that their best possible lives are either in the West or are Western-oriented. Similar hierarchical thinking about knowledge and status also applies to the 'global North'. Such imagined geographies have long been associated with international relations of power and prestige—their history has indeed made their geography. So, when students move from the global East to the West, from the global South to the global North or, indeed, within the same regions of the globe from poor to wealthy countries, this is often equated with possible upward social mobility; with the chance of joining a 'superior' class in a superior location.

One sense in which *disjunctural* circumstances arise is when national or regional factors require a school to adopt practices that limit what it can do on the global stage. Language policy has proved to be one such circumstance, as we made clear. Many such disjunctures are due to the schools' relationship to the nation-state. All our research schools are linked to the state through such things as funding, taxation, curriculum, assessment and many other regulatory mechanisms. But some schools and principals have, or are granted, more freedom from the state than others. The liberty to

charge fees makes a libertarian (not simply liberal) approach to education more possible and more likely. And, the less the school is 'in debt' to, or overseen by, the state and its extended power relations, the more it can distance itself from any state-steered education reforms that are driven by apparently democratic impulses. And adopting a transnational curriculum allows the schools to adopt a promiscuous relationship to the state. It is used when convenient and spurned when it is not.

We explained, in chapter 5, that, in contemporary globalizing circumstances, the school principals are increasingly expected to be experts at working the many global contradictions involved and that class-making, on behalf of their client classes, has a long history. And, even when celebrating their independence from the state, these schools nonetheless have powerful connections to those in state power and, through these, can seek to ensure that, at worst, the state does not operate against their particular interests and that, at best, it underwrites them. The fact that the existence and practices of elite schools have many negative implications for other schools in various education systems goes unmentioned by these principals. But such negative implications are well-documented in the literature on the residualization of the state (primarily government-funded) school sector and can best be understood via extraction metaphors. Elite schools extract from other, 'lesser', schools such things as reputation, money, 'good' teachers and 'good' students. In effect, they depend on these other schools as a pool for potential extraction but also as their negative referents via incessant comparative detraction (Nous Group 2011). And yet, despite their costly educational and social consequences, wider oppositional and democratizing impulses with regard to such elite schools have largely failed. Even when they have been established with a democratic intent, over generations, they have hardened into strongholds of privilege.

Other allied *disjunctures* arise in relation to globally mobile and 'local' students and their mutual class constitution—especially in Australia, South Africa and England. In the schools, and, subsequently, in the hypercompetitive worlds of elite universities, the national class roots of the local students and the global class routes of the geographically mobile students collide. The very presence of globally mobile students in the schools puts national class relations under pressure, often around matters of race, and also its links to Othered nations. Students from locations regarded as 'lesser' are also regarded as such. But their presence and success potentially reconfigures the national class/race nexus—a matter not lost on local students and parents as we demonstrated. The associated micro-politics are between

those who consider that the school, and its class benefits, belong to them and those 'outsiders' who seek to belong to the school and to claim such benefits. These politics range from tolerant to toxic. Reluctantly, but strategically, opening their doors to necessary outsiders (intruders) has long been an expedient part of elite schools' class choreography. A major difference here, though, is that the schools are confronting rising challenges to the conventional and comfortable class/race/nation nexus—the socially dominant are having to accommodate the socially emergent.

Colonial-capitalism brought social class relations to the colonies and remade existing power relationships in each location. In colonial and postcolonial circumstances, elite schools grappled with the various racial and religious *disjunctures* and helped to make class afresh. Transnational mobility was clearly implicated in their class-making practices. Now, in quite different conditions, such mobility is again implicated but, this time, students are largely moving from one former colony to another and also back to the centre of Empire—little England.

Projections

In the increasingly complex global field of education, can these schools, as an educational type, continue in the manner that they have hitherto? Historically, when they moved onto the global stage from England, they did so, we explained, as part of the British colonial project. Colonialism, capitalism and Christianity drove and sustained them. They then survived and prospered during postcolonial independence by adapting to new national forces and by taking in, endorsing and promoting the locally powerful. They continued to mobilize their British class cachet and proceeded to transfer it to such local populations where it found a very receptive audience.

But contemporary circumstances are by no means so supportive. Christianity, and the strength of its links to state power, has waned. In comparison, other religions are still a major force in many countries as well as transnationally. British neocolonialism clearly takes a different form from its forerunner and is very weak in comparison. And many postcolonial nation-states have subscribed to remarkably virulent, portable and resilient forms of neoliberal capitalism. So it seems that, with the exception of capitalism, the schools can no longer rely on their traditional balustrades. And even contemporary capitalism is proving an unnervingly, unreliable and unpredictable ally as all schooling is increasingly being commercialized. All of this means that elite schools, as defined here, can no longer rest on

their laurels. Many of the cross-currents they must address are either new inflections of older issues or are relatively novel. We have shown, throughout, how they are trying to manoeuvre their way through these dominant and emerging cross-currents while also managing those that are becoming residual. They are, in essence, at a crossroads and face many 'challenges'.

One set of challenges facing these schools involves coming to grips with a key feature of contemporary globalization—the nature of the nation-state and its relationship to capitalism—and the implications for the manner in which the schools exercise their power.

In the more distant past, the English public schools persuaded the state to endorse their existence largely as a law unto themselves. Our discussion of the politics of the Clarendon Commission, in chapter 2, is but one example. Subsequently, in all the countries involved in our research, the state was recruited to endorse and support these schools via a range of diverse mechanisms. At the same time, it permitted most of them to understand themselves essentially in market terms. The state largely provided the conditions for the schools to accumulate, some might say over-accumulate, various capitals through an education market that was distinctive to them. In effect, the state has long been one of the channels through which the schools and their client classes have effected their power and status. It is no wonder, then, that the state looms large in the schools' educational and social imagination.

We found that, despite an expressed interest in globalization and its implications for their school, many of the schools' heads of governing bodies and of parent and alumni organizations, as well as many teachers and parents, still largely think through a nation-state or even a subnational lens. Consider some examples. They usually compare or rank schools individually, or by sector, according to other schools in the nation-state. Fees are commonly compared with the fees of other schools in the nation. Academic success is often understood in terms of national or subnational examination systems and in terms of entrance to prestigious national/state universities and faculties in the home country as well as overseas. This largely remains the case even when schools use international curricula and exams. And the state is still often seen as a possible direct or indirect financial resource—even though the schools may distance themselves from it. Further, in performing their class choreographies, national social relations remain paramount in the schools' imaginations. National, rather than transnational, dominant classes are still regarded as the main clientele. When discussion turns to recruiting the 'middle class' from other loca-

tions, it is the middle class from a nation-state elsewhere. With the exception of Singapore and its international scholarships, the 'social mobility' that the schools claim to provide, to the small minority of scholarship students, is seen to be up the national social hierarchy. And, global circumstances are largely seen through an international, *not* a transnational, lens.

Importantly, all of this is *despite* the fact that the schools are also responding to certain global forces, experimenting with various global practices of connection and mobility and imagining themselves in a global, as well as national, space in the assorted ways we have discussed. In Raymond Williams' (1977) terms, the global can be seen as emergent and the national as dominant within our research schools collectively—although the balance between the two varies between schools, with the regional also emerging but in a more subordinate manner.

But thinking of the state and social class in such conventional terms is becoming problematic for the schools—for many reasons, not least because such thinking fails to sufficiently recognize global *reconfigurations* of power and their consequences. The schools', and their powerful patrons', class-making activities of steering and influencing the state in their own interests are no longer as straightforward as they once were. The current nation-state is now embroiled in much more complex power arrangements that have altered its character. It is entangled with inter- and transnational institutions and with a form of capitalism often seen as qualitatively different from previous forms. Global production, finance systems and processes of capital accumulation have recruited and integrated nation-states into the heart of their practices. Conversely, national capitalist enterprises and nation-states must now attract global capital to remain viable and credible. Indeed, some scholars go so far as to argue that a transnational state (TNS) apparatus is emerging which involves 'a loose network' of key transnational and supranational organizations and nation-states. This TNS, the argument goes, 'organizes the conditions for transnational capital accumulation'. And, through this apparatus, 'the TCC attempts to organize and institutionally exercise its class power' (Robinson 2014, p. 2).

Whether one agrees, fully, with such analysis or only partially, it suggests that major transitions are underway. These transitions have not necessarily registered as much as one might expect amongst elite schools' leading figures, teachers and parents. But such analysis suggests that the field of power in which elite schools must now operate to maintain their hegemony is now more extended, diffuse and opaque. In turn, this means

that the work they undertake as class choreographers is more complex and likely to be increasingly so. On the one hand, they must attend to those who continue to think about social relationships through the prism of the nation-state and expect the schools to do the same—servicing and helping to reproduce the nationally dominant class and the upper reaches of the national middle class, even as these are being reconfigured. On the other hand, they must recognize that they need a new power base in order to influence the evolving transnational state. This means courting the emerging, transnational capitalist class, its elite apex and the transnational middle class who service it. And, of course, it also means trying to cultivate them. Overall, choreographing the formation of this class is the task at hand.

This leaves the schools facing other class conundrums. While they are currently experts at choreographing with and within the constraints of conventional national power relationships, they are still learning about emergent transnational class formations and relations. Such schools have almost invariably understood their main clients as the nationally dominant class. However, when convenient or beneficial, they have also recruited from the existing, national 'upper-middle class' including those that arose as a result of postcolonial independence. In some cases, this meant they reconfigured the race/class nexus, in others it confirmed the power of the locally powerful. Now, as we illustrated in chapter 5, because it is financially convenient, they are recruiting from amongst the new middle classes in the BRICS countries and elsewhere. But they seem to see this as an international rather than a transnational exercise. Thus, they understand these students primarily in terms of their nationality and their associated 'cultures'. In turn, as evidenced in chapter 7, this often provokes forms of antiquated nationalism and cultural reductionism in the ways in which the students are understood and treated. We gained little sense that the schools understand these students as potential members of a transnational class—be it the TNC, its elite peak or the globally mobile middle class of high-end professionals.

A further conundrum the schools confront concerning their class choreographies is that, in some cases, their students are more transnationally oriented than they are themselves. And, in other cases, their students are so rooted in their locale it is difficult to persuade them to be otherwise. It is clear to us that many of the young people who are on the move to attend schools across national borders do not necessarily see their futures in national or even international terms. Many have transnational imagina-

tions and ambitions and look either to footloose, transnational organizations for employment or to nationally based organizations with a global or regional reach. These students believe that, because of their travels, they have groomed themselves well for globalizing workplaces. Whatever else the school offers to assist is mostly seen as a top-up.

For those students who stay in their home country to attend elite schools, the story is mixed and varies between nation-states. Some such students see themselves as eventually moving freely around the world, as going wherever and as doing whatever they please. These students often believe, usually naively, that their school has groomed them exceptionally well for such global roaming via its various internationalization programmes, including the overseas immersion and educational tourist experiences they have enjoyed—those we have problematized.

Other sets of students are remarkably parochial and largely think through a local, not even a national, class lens. They want to stay put and reap the rewards of more conventional, deeply embedded class allegiances in their immediate vicinity. As exemplified, they resent class 'intruders', particularly when competition for places at prestigious local universities heats up, as local labour markets tighten in their proposed fields of employment or as they compete with their transnational peers for work in global companies that operate out of their locale. Sometimes, theirs is also a racial resentment. Such students go through the motions of school-driven deparochialization but do not take it very seriously. As things stand, they feel somewhat secure but, in social class terms, we suggest, over the longer term, they belong to a residualizing class.

Whatever the students' orientation, the schools try to future-proof them all. And such attempts involve many contradictions and paradoxes. Despite their various efforts, the elite schools of this study have not necessarily prepared any of these groups of students particularly well for the hyper-competitive, winner-take-all, globalizing worlds of work that they will encounter as they try to gain high-end employment. As Brown and Lauder (2010) make clear, bidding at the apex of the global employment auction is intense and few are winners. Yet the schools elevate students' expectations to such an extent that most expect to be amongst the chosen few. Certainly, hyper-competitiveness is a key feature of most elite schools, as we have shown. As we have also shown, such schools shield students from difficulties through various types of institutional cosseting. Ironically, they seek to protect students from failure even while fear of failure has become a dominant motif. The students are thus not necessarily

well-prepared to deal with the sorts of ruthless opportunism involved in the high-end workplaces they hope/expect to enter.

Because of the contradictions embedded in the schools' offerings, neither they nor their alumni/ae are well placed to *try to reform* such ruthless workplaces or the social relations that drive and underpin them—which we discuss shortly. These schools' global organizations, such as Round Square, promote democracy and leadership. But, in contradiction, the schools encourage and reward conformity to institutional norms and implicitly promote restricted views of success even when trying/claiming not to. Their class choreographies both expand and contract students' options and prospects at one and the same time, funnelling them into careerism. If, in contemporary capitalist arrangements, winners take all, believe that they deserve all and give only what they feel obliged to, obvious questions for the schools are as follows: 'Are these really the sorts of winners that the schools seek to produce? And, what are the moral and emotional costs to their students, their staff and the school community?

Elite schools are also at crossroads when it comes to issues of gender. We have illustrated how gender articulated with class in the colonial era through the prisms of religion, race and nation. Dominant-class masculinities were variously expressed via the gentleman, the muscular Christian, the Christian militarist and the man of Empire. The preferred modes of masculinity were clearly marked. Femininity, for women of the same class, was more contradictory. Social reforms for women challenged the restricted educational and employment lives of refined, confined and charitable ladies. And elite schools for girls, and the girls themselves, tried to walk a tightrope between traditional and 'modern' femininities. Both males and females were expected to distance themselves from subaltern groups—class contamination was feared. Yet, such groups' subordination was normalized, although in different ways for males and females. The schools carefully choreographed gender relations *between* classes.

In current circumstances, the ways in which gender articulates with the dominant class are different but with lingering resonances. These cannot be properly comprehended without, again, understanding the ways in which contemporary capitalism is unfolding and its links to the 'world gender order' (Connell 2000, pp. 53–4). One way in which dominant-class masculinity can be understood is through the figure of 'Davos man'. He is on display at the gatherings, in Davos, of the World Economic Forum as well as at other major forums attended by the, almost exclusively male, members of the transnational capitalist class and its inner circles. A

statesman-like veneer masks a world of ruthless hyper-competition and acquisition. Equivalents to Davos man can be found exercising their vast financial and other power in senior corporate and government boardrooms and through the stock markets around the world. Plutocratic masculinity is the indisputable norm. This model of dominant-class masculinity involves a heightened command of finance, technology, science, property and corporate techniques of management and control. It is presented as preeminently suited to directing contemporary global change and is proffered as infinitely worthy of emulation in all corners of the globe. National and cultural differences are matters of inflation not substance.

Rothkopf points out that the first rule to becoming a member of, what he calls, this 'super-class' is '*Be born a man'* (Rothkopf 2008, p. 289 italics in original). While women's enhanced education, power and money are certainly associated with increasing success in leading companies, women are immensely under-represented amongst this TNC and its elite apex (Rothkopf 2008). Gender-based perceptions of women's expertise, capability and authority, in comparison to their male counterparts, mean that they face many and various organizational and cultural barriers in their attempts to climb the TNC class ladder. Such barriers are seldom, if ever, problematized by their male counterparts (Freeland 2012, pp. 86–7). And it is difficult to escape the view that, in the world of the super rich and of their conspicuous consumption, corporate males usually require well-educated but also ornamental and suitably pedigreed wives—those who will testify to their success though their cleverness as well as through their social connections, the beautification of themselves and their properties and by raising highly accomplished children.

Certainly, such plutocratic masculinity may seem a far cry from the masculinities that were displayed in our research schools. Various masculinities were evident. We suggested something of this range through our discussion of the male principals in chapter 5. But, further, the boys' and the coeducational schools had their own cultures and subcultures of masculinity which varied according to whatever else they articulated with, for example, sport, the arts, science, technology, religion, nationality. Whatever the case though, most boys had 'great expectations' of themselves and their futures—some fulfilled, some not, as our narratives in chapter 7 suggested. But, of course, the majority of these boys will not, as adults, join those at the apex of global power. They are far more likely to eventually circulate in the remote class orbits of those at these commanding heights. But this is not the point.

Plutocratic masculinity is held out as the pinnacle of success. Because it defines what it means to be an exceptionally successful male on the global stage, it increasingly steers many such schoolboys' aspirations and imaginations. It becomes a hallmark against which they judge their own and each other's masculinity. And, possibly, it is also becoming a hallmark against which elite schools judge, and parade, their old boys' success. A major problem here is that plutocratic masculinity promises success only to those who practice it unreservedly. And this means adopting its harsh morality and abrasive style, not to mention its subordination of women of the same class as well as of all people from subaltern groups.

We saw no evidence that these or other restricted and restricting modes of masculinity were being questioned in any of the schools. None. Certainly, in the girls' schools, there was a strong rhetoric of female empowerment and, in the coeducational schools, gender equality was assumed although not necessarily practised. But, in both cases, the feminist mode for girls was individualistic and careerist—not critical and collectivist. Thus, they were left under-prepared to confront the gendered barriers they were likely to encounter in the corporate and other high-powered workplaces that many hoped to enter. Further, clever, sociable and decorative modes of femininity largely held sway. Not unlike their female predecessors, these girls also walk a gender tightrope. Perhaps their schools prepared these girls too well for any future relationships with their male peers. But more. Their feminism does not cross class lines. They read social injustice and unrest through the lense of privilege (chapter 8). This leads them to be both hard and soft hearted. But, without considerable prompting, are unlikely to be activist allies in solidarity with women and girls across class divides either locally or globally.

Calculations

Market logic, to which the schools largely subscribe, is 'that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions' (Harvey 2005, p. 3). But such logic does not hold up in the face of intensifying global economic inequalities. Indeed, those who deploy it as a source of legitimation, face legitimation problems themselves. It is now widely recognized that the distances between both the rich and the rest and the exceptionally rich and ordinarily rich (Harvey 2014) are widening. The recent economic and political context for this includes the global financial crisis (GFC), state bailouts of the banks and of the too-big-to-fail corporations, subsequent state 'austerity' practices and the fact that the rich benefitted exorbitantly from the GFC while most other people's living con-

ditions declined dramatically. Indeed, some observers suggest that the very rich now occupy a different realm to the rest—in isolated, 'gilded ghettoes' increasingly out of touch with, and uninterested in, the everyday lives of the rest of the population. In the so-called third world, the very rich now live the extravagant lives of the very rich in the 'first world'. At the same time, in the so-called first world, more and more people are living in 'third world' conditions, dependent on charitable endeavours for daily survival.

The neoliberal ideology that wealth 'trickles down' has been widely challenged. Many now point out that wealth actually 'gushes up'. Along similar lines, scholars are posing such serious questions as, 'Can we afford the super rich?' (Dorling 2014) and 'Does the richness of the few benefit us all?'(Bauman 2013). Further, the public appetite for such challenges is evident in the immense popularity of books like Pickett and Wilkinson's (2010) which argues that 'equality is better for everyone' and Piketty's (2014) landmark study of the ongoing significance of inherited wealth. Even the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2014) and the Pope (Cassidy 2013[1]) have aired concerns about the gross inequalities, insecurity and hardship associated with contemporary economic winner-take-all arrangements.

Along with excessive wealth goes disproportionate power. And, clearly, this power is not simply about benignly influencing others' lives and livelihoods as the schools may lead students to believe and as our discussions about politics with students, reported in chapter 8, suggested that some believe. Such power also often hampers others' lives in various ways. These include the dramatic increase in precarious employment, the financialization and commodification of just-about-everything, the accumulation of vast tracts of property and thus of outlandish rental incomes via processes of social cleansing whereby the poor are moved to make way for such things as luxury estates for the rich (e.g. Roy 2014). Indeed, despite their apparent sophistication about social issues, as we demonstrated in chapter 8, most students have little sense of the various sorts, and mixtures, of domination, exploitation, subjugation, abjectification and co-option involved in these and other relationships of inequality. But, further, the schools appear as though they are far removed from the class relations involved. Such distancing is part of their class choreography. The schools' fees are a condensation and expression of their clients' disposable wealth. This wealth is ultimately extracted from the everyday lives of their subaltern others.

Around the globe there is increasing disquiet and unrest, largely expressed on the streets, some of which we discussed in chapter 8. Increasing negative attention is being paid to those institutions and social groups who

have great wealth but who are removed and remote and who have little, or no, ethic of care beyond themselves, their property and their power.

In this context, high fee, highly selective, elite schools have severe credibility problems. One related predicament is quintessentially about class relations—the schools' and the students' interactions with subaltern populations. Predictably, males and, to a lesser extent, females go on to take up leadership positions in business, industry, politics and the professions. They will thus exert power and influence over the lives and livelihoods of people right across the social spectrum. This raises serious questions about the schools' practices of social segregation and isolation. Despite their carefully controlled outreach activities, students' school-based social cocooning means that they have little lived sense of life in wider society, let alone the everyday/every-night lives of those on the social bottom rungs. While students may well volunteer to undertake community service activities, they have little idea of what it is like to be *required* to provide service to those who consider themselves superior to the provider. To volunteer to serve is very different from the necessity to serve. Nonetheless, the schools offer students a caring conceit that such service promotes empathy. More broadly, students appear to have little understanding of, or interest in, the lives of those who work in caring and/or domestic positions for them and their families or those who undertake the poorly paid and undervalued work of cleaning and maintaining their schools' grounds, buildings and food outlets. These people are often unseen. Such people belong to a subaltern class over which these students will, eventually, preside. If the schools are to practice what they preach about social justice, considerably more critical introspection is required.

The fact that they continue to perpetuate economic privilege, even in the face of such dire inequalities, is undeniable. What legitimation strategies are they likely to use to address these credibility problems? The most obvious, our studies suggest, are those strategies that they have deployed in the past and which have served them well. Predictably, these will be intensified. Thus, alongside a discourse of rich victimhood, we are likely to see such things as a more insistent disavowal of the full extent of their privilege (Kenway and Lazarus 2017), further mobilization of their social justice discourses and their programmes of privileged benefaction including opening up their facilities for their others' occasional use, and some expansion of their scholarships and recruitment pool. More broadly, they are likely to ramp up the ideological work that they have long conducted, about their monopoly on standards, merit, success and values and their claims that

there should be more schools like theirs, not less. What could be more democratic and caring than their sincere hope that *everyone* should have the benefit of an elite education? But, clearly, by definition, they cannot.

The present globally entangled nation state has adopted market values, embedded market principles and practices in nation-state institutions and has both regulated and deregulated in favour of non-state markets. This has opened the floodgates to education markets and posed further challenges for elite schools. A global elite school market has arisen. Like all capitalist markets, this rapidly expanding market is now perennially searching the globe for new opportunities for profit. On the global stage, relatively new types of schools are emerging which have some potential to, over time, destabilize conventional schooling hierarchies. These include the schools that have been established as commercial ventures or as goodwill, not-for-profit exercises by corporations and property developers. For these edu-businesses, money seems to be no object when establishing and promoting such schools. Some that we visited in India are so lavishly appointed they resemble five-star hotels. They are surrounded by luxury apartments also managed by the schools' owners, which are, in turn, ringed by slum dwellings. Profits are gained, in part, through the schools' building activities.

Indeed in India over the past two decades, a large number of such 'elite' private schools has been established, catering to a fast-growing 'moneyed' class (Varma 2010). The Mercedes-Benz International School mentioned earlier, for example, promotes itself to 'expatriates, repatriating Indian families and also globally minded Indian families who wish to offer an international education to their children'. It claims to offer 'curriculum, textbooks, instructional materials, and teaching methods [that] are amongst those found in the top international and independent schools worldwide' (Mercedes-Benz International School 2014). Charging very high fees, such new schools often view themselves as in direct competition with older types of elite schools. They certainly mobilize many similar sources of status and credibility and the standard tropes. English is the medium of instruction in such schools. While this is seen to add an element of eliteness, it also speaks of the globalization of English as the *lingua franca* of the global economy—although Mandarin is hot on its heels.

Further, certain global education companies are involved in the development, support and promotion of 'international schools'. Such companies include International Schools Services (ISS), the World Class Learning Group, Nord Anglia Education and GEMS World Academy. These also,

ultimately, seek to provide at least some schools that can claim elite status and are able to compete with older types of elite schools. With the economic rise of the newly 'moneyed class', not just in India but in much of Asia and the Middle East, these new corporate schools are responding to a consumerist demand for education, promising not only elite outcomes but also a more contemporary set of educational practices that they assume older colonial schools to be incapable of providing.

The older elite schools are, of course, not unaware of this growing competition. Indeed, they have recognized the need to work strategically to reassert their supremacy. We have already pointed to many ways in which they do this. Their additional responses include campuses in other countries. But, also, certain elite schools, usually those with the greatest global brand recognition, are rapidly establishing 'outpost', 'satellite', 'branch', 'clone' or 'replica' schools, or sets of schools, in various countries in the Middle East and Asia. Perhaps predictably, the elite schools of England are leading the way. The Asian examples include Marlborough International School in Malaysia, Harrow International Schools in Bangkok, Beijing and Hong Kong and Dulwich Colleges or International Schools in Beijing, Shanghai, Seoul and Singapore. While such schools may have links with their English counterpart, and may even be licensed by such schools, they may also be operated by private, for-profit, companies and involve a form of elite school franchising or 'school chains'. The 'parent' school may even take a share of fee income. Of course, there are many reasons internal to such schools and systems that are propelling them to widen their reach in these ways. While the financial benefits are the most compelling, it is also the case that having campuses and schools overseas signals a contemporary global, even cosmopolitan, sensibility. What arises is an incongruous, cosmopolitan competitiveness. Both are seen to add educational value. Whatever the case, the field is more competitive than it has ever been.

It is highly probable that this rapidly expanding market in elite schools will exacerbate, even further, the distances between the rich and the rest around the globe. No matter what they might claim, or even hope, these schools are not likely to contribute to mending the social fabric and may even contribute to growing social tension. Choreographing a continuing dance of power and privilege for the few works well for those engaged in its making and performance but is highly unlikely to benefit those who are excluded from it or who are on its periphery, regardless of any commitment elite schools may have to social justice and 'service'. We are reminded, here, of the teacher responsible for the service mission at Highbury Hall.

As part of the endeavour, students from five local, comprehensive state schools were invited to spend a weekend using and benefitting from the facilities of the school. The teacher's report to the School Council spoke in glowing terms of what these local students had gained from the experience. Apparently, she concluded their visit by telling them that they might, when they become adults, be fortunate enough to work at the school. Unsaid, but understood, was the expectation that they would be domestics and manual workers. To paraphrase the quotation at the start of this chapter, time future' is contained in 'times both past and present'.

Note

1. See also press reports of the Pope's visit to the USA and Cuba in 2015, such as http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/28/pope-francis-scorecard-liberal-wins-us-visit. Accessed 20 September 2015.

Appendix: Publications from the Project to Date

Publications from the Project to Date

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Index

Note: Page number followed by 'n' refers to notes.

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