Nordic Voices
COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION:
A Diversity of Voices
Volume 1

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Nordic Voices

Teaching and Researching Comparative and International Education in the Nordic Countries

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction ........................................................................................................................................... 1
   Halla B. Holmarsdottir and Mina O’Dowd

PART I: VOICES OF THOSE INVESTIGATING DISCOURSE, THEORY AND METHOD IN THE RESEARCH FIELD

2. The post-Lisbon discourse on skills mismatch and competence upgrading ...... 9
   Marcella Milana

   Sara Frontini

4. Interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians: analysing theoretical and professional arguments for cooperation in an era of globalization ................................................................................. 39
   Joron Pihl

5. Citizenship education and intergovernmental organizations: contrasting the national model to the emerging post-national agenda .............................. 59
   Nelli Piattoeva

6. Social cartography mapping in theory and practice: a method for visualizing discourse and social change ............................................. 75
   Mina O’Dowd

PART II: VOICES OF THOSE STUDYING TEACHERS, SCHOOLS AND CHILDREN

7. Private schools and social segregation in basic education: the case of Norway .................................................................................. 97
   Jon Lauglo

8. Teachers’ voices: challenges with democracy in multicultural Scandinavian schools ........................................................................... 121
   Heidi Biseth

9. Teacher education students in Denmark and the USA ................................................. 143
   Jette Johanne Elisabeth Steensen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Voices from the field: negotiating literacy education in a multicultural setting</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kristin Skinstad van Der Kooij</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>A digital divide: challenges and opportunities for learners and schools on each side</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gréta Guđmundsdóttir and Sólveig Jakobsdóttir</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART III: VOICES OF THOSE RESEARCHING THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The HIV/AIDS pandemic in South African culture</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Anders Breidlid</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>A tale of two countries: researching language policy and practice in Namibia and South Africa</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Halla B. Holmarsdóttir</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Making and implementing education policy in the context of external support to sector development programs: the case of Mozambique with comparisons</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Tuomas Takala</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Education that builds peace or fuels armed conflict</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kendra Dupuy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART IV: CONCLUSION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>A way forward</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Holger Daun</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Reflections</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mina O’Dowd and Halla B. Holmarsdottir</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributors</td>
<td></td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. INTRODUCTION

The Nordic countries have much in common, not only historically, but also culturally and linguistically. A common labour market and strong co-operation have existed between the countries for many years. For example, these countries have had an employment and educational mobility policy, which resembles that which the EU is currently implementing. Moreover, the Nordic welfare state model, based on the rights of individuals to a decent life and equal opportunities for social promotion, is viewed as best achieved through education. In the Nordic countries free and equal access to education at all levels has played an integral roll as regards ensuring equal educational opportunities. It is safe to say that education has long been seen as one of the pillars of Nordic societies, with a long history of literacy.

While the Human Development Report recognizes the Nordic countries overall as some of the best countries in the world in which to live, it simultaneously lists a number of countries in Africa, for example, at the bottom of the list. Given the high levels of democracy, education, income and public wealth, the Nordic countries have historically been committed to development co-operation in the name of solidarity, such as it is reflected in development policies, the aim of which is the support of many of the world’s poorest countries. In addition to clearly defined priorities with development policies in such areas as the environment and climate change, crisis prevention and support for peace processes, the Nordic countries underscore the importance of education, especially as regards its capacity to effect change in the aforementioned areas.

Despite overall similarities, there are many features of the individual Nordic countries that make them distinctively different. In this volume some of the differences are manifest in the chapters, written by the sixteen comparativists whose work is presented herein. This volume aims to provide insight into the diversity of research being conducted in the northernmost parts of Europe. Although it would be incorrect to assert that research in this far away part of Europe represents something drastically different than that done in other parts of the world, it would be equally incorrect to maintain that being at the outskirts, on the cusp, or on the periphery – whichever way one wishes to describe the position of the Nordic countries in relation to the rest of the world – does not influence the ways in which educational processes, phenomena and their consequences are viewed.

We have divided the book into four parts. In Part I Marcella Milana examines EU policy-making processes and agenda settings for competence development.
This discussion is framed within the context of the Lisbon Agenda, or as it is often referred to, the Lisbon process, which the author stresses constitutes a regulatory ideal for competence development in the European context. Milana makes clear the discrepancy between national labour markets and the education and training policy put in place by the EU, problematising the consequences of this discrepancy at the individual and national levels. Moreover Milana concludes that the EU regulatory ideal is based on a number of assumptions that appear to conflict with the diversity that is represented by the many different national and labour market contexts that is Europe. Finland represents one of these contexts that has over the years adopted its own strategy with regard to the EU education and training policy, especially as this relates to vocational education and training (VET). As Sara Frontini describes in her chapter, Finland has been able to move from its geographically peripheral position in relation to Europe to the forefront and gain a central position with regard to vocational education and training policy and practice, influencing EU policy through its own success and best practices in this field. The case of Finland, Frontini maintains, shows that “a fundamental element that underlies the Finnish centrality in the VET is the tradition of anticipating skills and competence needed in the labor market”, a tradition that the EU would appear to lack. Frontini’s research indicates that the case of Finland shows that “central countries are those realities that have the strongest relations with the global level, obtaining apparently immediate benefits”.

Whereas Frontini discusses the pre-conditions for active EU participation by a specific nation state, Nelli Piattoiva discusses the internal and external challenges that face nation states, especially with regard to citizenship education. That which once was considered the relatively uncomplicated task of educating the citizenry is increasingly being challenged by, among other things, the rapidly changing socio-political position and legitimacy of the nation state and the ever-increasing influence of supranational organisations. Piattoiva stresses the importance of understanding the significance of post-nationalism, which “decouples citizenship from nationality as it posits citizen rights within a wider global context”. Through her analysis of supranational organisations and their documents as regards citizenship education, the author argues that “[t]he co-existence of the national discourse of citizenship and the post-national discourse of universal human rights indicates that the supranational script of citizenship education is far from renouncing the traditional notion of national citizenship”. Linked to the issue of citizenship Joron Pihl maintains that interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians can benefit, not only literacy and empowerment, but also citizenship within ever more diverse national contexts. Pihl argues that “[t]oday literacy is conceptualized in terms of cultural literacy, computer literacy, information literacy, visual literacy and political literacy”. This means that schools as well as libraries can contribute to the development of these rich and complex forms of literacies”. The potential of interprofessional cooperation is advanced as a possible contribution to teachers’ own professionalism through the realization of the educational mandate, which at the same time contributes to pupils’ learning, literacy and democratic participation.

Ending this first part of the volume is a chapter on social cartography. Developed by Roland G. Paulston, social cartography is a method for visualising
INTRODUCTION

educational and social change. In this chapter Mina O’Dowd focuses on the usefulness of social cartography: “as a heuristic tool for comparative education” in which mapping demonstrates “its epistemological value, practical utility and ethical-political worth” (Paulston, 1996: 432). This chapter deals also with the future of comparative education, such as it is expressed in the on-going debate on methodology. As the field increasingly welcomes more and more comparativists, especially from mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and the Philippines (Bray, Adamson & Mason, 2007), Paulston’s challenge appears even more relevant than when it first was made: “By using maps as a part of our comparative studies we may provide an insider view, a visual dialogue of cultural flow and changing influences appropriate for future work in comparative education, particularly in those instances where cultural values and differences are revealed by competing knowledge claims (Liebman & Paulston, 1994: 244).

In Part II we turn out attention to teachers and the institutional setting for education in which they work. Jon Lauglo describes free choice and how it has affected private schooling in many parts of the world. Against this background, Lauglo presents data from Norway on the highly regulated free choice option offered parents. Lauglo’s research clearly shows that, due to the Norwegian government’s intervention, private schooling in Norway does not result in widening the socio-economic gap between private schools and public schools.

While Jon Lauglo’s chapter focuses on private school, Heidi Biseth’s focuses on public schooling in the multicultural contexts of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Interviewing teachers on questions concerning their practice and its consequences for pupils’ attitudes, knowledge and behavior as regards democracy, the main concern of Biseth’s chapter is the increasingly complex multicultural school settings in the Nordic countries. Biseth shows that “education for democracy is taking place through the provision of a solid general education containing fundamental knowledge needed in a democracy, yet without necessarily a thorough investigation or problematization of the concept of “democracy” itself”. Jette Steensen’s research on teacher education students in Denmark and the United States reveals interesting differences as to how teacher training programs, socio-economic background and cultural contexts interact. Whereas “the interplay of diversity and identity emphasises the limitations of teacher education aiming at the creation of a standardized professional identity”, the effort to re-socialise teacher education students into such a “standardized professional identity” may have serious consequences for both the students themselves and in the long-term for schooling as well, leading to reduced socio-cultural and socio-economic diversity.

Addressing the situation for pupils with limited linguistic skills and with different academic abilities in increasingly diverse Norwegian schools, Kristine Skinstad Van Der Kooij and Joron Pihl describe a research development project involving schools, teacher education institutions and a public library. The project is two-fold. On the one hand, it strives to establish interprofessionalism between teachers and librarians (See Pihl’s chapter in this volume) and, on the other hand, it strives to provide pupils with greater opportunities to develop their linguistic and other skills through the pooling of resources that interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians constitute. Also focusing on opportunities for learners,
Gréta Guðmundsdóttir and Solveig Jakobsdóttir share with us the results of their comparative study of the digital divide from research conducted in schools in Iceland and South Africa. Problematizing the concept of digital divide, the authors apply Kanwar’s recommendation (2007) to view the same phenomena as an opportunity to re-conceptualize the concept as “digital dividend”. Showing the stark contrast between the opportunities for ICT skills and knowledge development in Iceland and South Africa, the chapter gives rise to many important questions: What of the negative consequences of the widespread usage of ICT in Iceland? To what extent can Icelandic pupils’ experiences with ICT benefit pupils in South Africa? Or are the Icelandic experiences of ICT relevant in the South African context? These are also questions that can be posed with reference to the research reported in the next part of this volume.

In Part III the query as to whether universal or local contexts can and should provide the framework for analysis of comparative research conducted in so-called developing countries is of significance. Anders Breidlid’s chapter on schooling and HIV/AIDS in South Africa focuses on the cultural and sexual traits associated with South Africa and their consequences for knowledge and behaviour in HIV/AIDS educational intervention programs. Breidlid maintains that, given that neither cultures nor behaviour/practices are static, prevention programs aimed to meet the challenges inherent in the South African HIV/AIDS pandemic require acknowledgement of the cultural and contextual aspects that clearly play an important role with regard to sexual practices and the spreading of HIV/AIDS.

In Halla B. Holmarssdottir’s chapter the focus is on the development of discriminatory language-in-education policies, especially as these reflect the influences of apartheid in Namibia and South Africa. Through “systematic social engineering, which lead to an uneven distribution of resources, inequitable access to institutions and knowledge production”, apartheid was responsible for the oppression of generations of women, men and children. Holmarsdottir shows how remnants of Apartheid can be seen in the current language-in-education policies in present day Namibia and South Africa: “the policies have merely remained a symbolic gesture”, rather than concrete governmental support in implementing language policies in education. Both governments have instead allowed “people to make their own assumptions”. Moreover, Holmarsdottir’s analysis shows that, seen in relation to the influence of globalization on the language-in-education policies, both countries have been influenced differently, Namibia through external pressure and South Africa through both external actors and internal activism. External support to sector development programs in making and implementing education policy is the focus of Tuomas Takala’s chapter. Takala presents research on sector development programs in Nepal, Ethiopia and Tanzania and contrasts these findings to the case of Mozambique. “As an evolving new mode of development cooperation, support to sector development programs is intended to bring about national ownership of these programs. Paradoxically, however, aid-dependence has been a contributing factor in those developing countries that have devised and adopted sector programs”. Takala identifies in both Nepal and Tanzania the Government-donor relationships as prescriptive and “watchdoging” its implementation,
while in Mozambique and Ethiopia the relationships “can be characterized as more matured dialogue”.

In all of the countries that have been reported on in Part III, armed conflict has severely crippled many of these countries’ potential for growth and social justice. In her chapter Kendra Dupuy addresses the issue of education that builds peace or fuels armed conflict, advocating peace education as a means by which to ensure inclusion. Dupuy maintains that “[e]ducation cannot be considered fully inclusive and thus able to play a role in building peace until it is codified as a universal right in national laws and practices”. Such laws and practices will serve to ensure equal access to the education system, which in turn is dependent upon the equal and/or equitable distribution of resources within the system. Together with merit-based selection practices, a carefully constructed curriculum and appropriate language-in-education policies, education can build peace. This is especially important in countries such as those described in this part of the volume, but also in other contexts where the potential for armed conflict is ever present. Furthermore, Dupuy stresses that “building peace through education necessitates a shift away from the authoritarian model of formal schooling that predominates throughout the world”.

Concluding this volume in Part IV Holger Daun discusses the future prospects for comparative and international education in the Nordic countries. Against the background of the historical development of comparative and international education, a broad perspective on current educational issues and the interaction between policy-making and comparative education research, Daun presents a way forward for comparative and international education training and research. The main thrust of Daun’s suggestion for the future is his understanding of the mission of comparative and international education as a critical field of knowledge and knowledge production. Daun suggests, among other things, that the “generation of knowledge in the field needs to be placed in the larger context of philosophical, theoretical and methodological orientations” (See Part I in this volume), encouraging comparativists to focus attention on such important issues as “what learning is and how and why it takes place”. Moreover, Daun maintains that “a sound society can hardly develop and preserve its humane characteristics and humanistic values without continuous “insider criticism” coming from free and autonomous intellectuals”.

This volume closes in the spirit of Daun’s concluding remarks, with the reflections of the volume editors, highlighting some of the significant features of comparative and international education in the Nordic countries, such as these are expressed by the Nordic Voices represented in this volume. The overall idea of this publication is to include chapters written by established researchers combined with chapters by up-and-coming researchers within the field in the Nordic countries. This combination is seen as both a means of informing non-Nordic readers of the present practice and the foreseeable future of Comparative and International Education in our five Nordic countries.
HOLMARSDOTTIR AND O’DOWD

REFERENCES


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PART I: VOICES OF THOSE INVESTIGATING DISCOURSE, THEORY AND METHOD IN THE RESEARCH FIELD
2. THE POST-LISBON DISCOURSE ON SKILL MISMATCHES AND COMPETENCE UPGRADING

INTRODUCTION

The European Union is a pooling of sovereignty, thus Member States delegate part of their political power to shared institutions, which have direct responsibility in decision-making and co-decision processes. These are the Council of the European Union, the European Parliament and the European Commission. These institutions, often referred to as the institutional triangle, have a certain influence on policy-making processes occurring at national, regional and local level. In particular the European Parliament, representing the European Union’s citizenship, and the Council of the European Union, representing the Member States, jointly adopt new laws on the basis of proposals from the European Commission that represents the European Union as a sovereign body.  

The institutional triangle, according to the Treaty establishing the European Community (2002), acts in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. This is the principle whereby the European Union does not take action in areas that do not follow within its exclusive competence, unless it is considered necessary for achieving the objectives of the Treaty. However, the restrictions posed by the principle of subsidiarity can be bypassed when Member States agree upon new common objectives by means of intergovernmental activities and agreements.

In the field of education and training, the principle of subsidiary has been de facto circumvented at the Lisbon meeting of the European Council (2000) when the Heads of EU Governments approved the “Lisbon Strategy”, also know as the Lisbon Agenda or Lisbon Process. Thus it is not surprising that the Lisbon Strategy has been identified by Ertl (2006) as a “turning point” in the process of “unionization” of policies, which are formally under the full responsibility of Members States (Nóvoa & deJong-Lambert, 2003). On the same premise, Nóvoa argues (2002: 133) that the Lisbon Strategy creates the conditions for the EU to function as “a regulatory ideal that tends to influence, if not organize, national policies”. The Strategy gives, in fact, the EU the mandate to develop a common approach that goes beyond existing diversity in national education and training systems.

The aim of this chapter is to examine EU policy-making processes and agenda settings for competence development in the wake of the Lisbon Strategy. In particular, part I focuses on the EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development that emerges from key policy documents, i.e., working papers, reports, communications,
directives and resolutions, issued by the institutional triangle in the period 2000-2007. The analysis presented is highly condensed, but it still contains substantial descriptive information. My main argument is that the emerging EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development is grounded on a simplified account of the social problem it aims to address. This account does not pay due consideration, for instance, to possible mismatches between generic requirements for a perfect skills match and specific individual needs for learning and working opportunities. In order to support my argument, part II discusses key contextual factors that characterize the institutional shaping of European labour markets. The investigation, limited to older Members States, is undertaken in the light of existing empirical studies. These studies highlight, among other aspects, the existence of differences in ways in which skills and competences are being assessed and valued in national labour markets. As a result of the analysis, I claim that, by subjugating learning processes to strictly economic principles, the EU’s “regulatory ideal” for competence development may have unanticipated effects on societal wellbeing, which are not being given adequate attention from either a policy or from a research perspective. In the concluding section, the main results are summarised and their implications for comparative and international research discussed.

THE EU “REGULATORY IDEAL” FOR COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT

In the post-Lisbon phase, national education and training policies are being influenced as never before by EU policy-making processes and agenda settings. With a point of departure in the Lisbon Strategy, the following sections are devoted to a close investigation of key policy texts, issued by the institutional triangle in recent years. These policy documents have, in fact, a strong influence in reshaping current national labour markets and education and training systems in all Member States.

Enhancing economic growth through education and training

In 2000, due to low productivity and the stagnation of economic growth diagnosed at a European level, a 10-year development program, the so-called Lisbon Strategy, was launched by the European Commission. The main goal is to make “the EU the world’s most dynamic and competitive economy” by 2010. The background for the development plan has to be found in ongoing innovation, processes, e.g. product innovation, process innovation, organizational innovation, marketing innovation. These are considered the motor for economic growth and changes in production, with a subsequent importance given to knowledge as a key resource for enhancing economic benefits. A basic assumption for the development plan is that a “dynamic and competitive economy” will drive job creation and ensure sustainable development and social inclusion.

Besides “a radical transformation of the European economy”, at the Lisbon-summit, the Heads of States and Governments of the Member States also agreed upon “a challenging programme for…modernising…education systems”. Hence, a
detailed working plan on *The concrete future objectives of education and training systems* (2002) was adopted by the Council of the European Union, generally referred to as The Education and Training 2010 program (hereafter E&T 2010 program). The plan integrates the Lisbon Strategy with the specific goal of enhancing the quality of education and training systems (hereafter E&T systems) in order for Europe to become the world leader in this field. In so doing, the importance of E&T systems going beyond equipping Europeans for their professional life has been stressed. In particular, there is a concern with creating a basis for personal development for a better life in democratic societies. The program, which integrates all actions undertaken at a European level in the field of education and training set up three strategic objectives that need to be implemented at both national and European levels. Specifically, objective one is concerned with improving the quality and effectiveness of E&T systems in Europe and has a particular focus on developing skills required for tackling the challenges of the knowledge society.

The analysis of the Lisbon Strategy and the E&T 2010 program discloses a convergent view on a skills shortage in the labour market and a general low-level of competences among the European population, which are impeding EU from becoming “the world’s most dynamic and competitive economy”. Thus the institutional triangle envisages a solution by claiming a high level of skills and competences for all EU citizens through a modernization of European E&T systems. This modernisation process, however, is driven by economic reasons and directed towards the optimisation of the relation between the input – the level of investment in education and training – and the output – the level of skills and competences acquired – so as to ensure an efficient functioning of the labour market. Hence it is characterised by performativity (Lyotard, 1984), and instrumentalism (Hartley, 2006; Harris 2008). It is this claim that frames the EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development and justifies its primary focus on the demand for skills and individual mobility as well as on the recognition of (professional) qualifications and (key) competences for lifelong learning.

*The demand for skills and individual mobility*

On the premises set up by the Lisbon Strategy and the E&T 2010 program, the Communication of the European Commission Realizing the European Union’s potential: Consolidating and extending the Lisbon strategy (2001: 10) states that

New jobs will remain unfilled unless the European Union invests more in education and skills...and encourages labour force mobility within emerging new European labour markets.

Mobility in relation to the labour force was consequently strengthened, as confirmed by a publication of a Communication on *New European Labour Markets, Open to All, with Access for All* (2001). The Communication aims at setting up a framework for removing skills barriers as well as tackling the skills gaps, as solutions to these problems are a prerequisite for labour force mobility within the European borders. In particular, the Communication highlights the impact of globalization processes,
technological developments, changes in production as well as social and demographic changes in shaping current European labour markets and stresses that the above-mentioned phenomena affect not only the mobility of labour, but also the need for and availability of skills at all levels, including basic and intermediate skills (Commission for the European Communities, 2001: 3-4).

A specific Action plan for skills and mobility was issued in 2002 in order to pursue, among others, the following objects: ensuring that E&T systems become more responsive to a market reflecting an increasingly knowledge-based economy and society, introducing and consolidating effective competence development strategies for workers, and developing language and cross-cultural skills. In the Action Plan learning provision is, therefore, identified as the main response to the “mismatches in labour supply and demand”. In this regard, the societal demand for skills is justified in the Action Plan by the fact that a mismatch exists between a demand for skills in the labour market and specific skills available in the labour force. Consequently, the skills deficit in specific economic sectors, such as industry, manufacturing and ICT-related sectors, the skills mismatches in the supply and demand for labour across sectors and regions as well as skill shortages across a range of sectors and occupations, are addressed in the Communication, as threatening factors which “impede the Union’s ability to maximise growth”. In order to tackle these skills deficit, mismatches and shortages, the European Commission argues:

All citizens must have a decent level of initial education and the opportunity to update knowledge and acquire new skills throughout their working lives and beyond (Commission of the European Communities, 2002: 4).

Furthermore, individuals who have not yet entered or are temporarily excluded from the labour market are welcomed by the institutional triangle to take up formal education and vocational training opportunities in a country different from that where they reside, i.e., educational mobility. But it is first and foremost workers, who are expected by the institutional triangle to be mobile, in order to fully explore the “benefits” of the internal market, i.e., occupational mobility. In the latter sense mobility is envisaged as both geographical relocation, which implies the movement of the work force within and between Member States, as well as transfer between jobs or sectors, either within or between geographical borders. In both cases individual mobility is the response to enhancing the internal market’s economic efficiency.

Despite the occupational or educational aim, mobility at a governmental level is assumed to be the primary means to: improve skills levels required by labour markets, achieve full employment, respond to the labour market demand for workers with European outlook and experience, and hence to promote skills development and combat skills shortages and bottlenecks, which act as a brake on the EU economy. At individual level, increased mobility for either occupational or educational purposes is considered by the institutional triangle as a basic right, secured by the
Treaties, which creates new employment opportunities, enhances career opportunities and improves the quality of life in more general terms.

In short, the emphasis by the institutional triangle on the need for all individuals to adjust to a globalising society does not take into account the diverse demand for skills posed by employers and employees, across sectors, occupation and professions. Additionally, individual mobility of European citizens, although addressed by the institutional triangle as a means to increase individual opportunities, it is often limited by legal barriers, language barriers, family circumstances and existing taxes, pensions, social security and immigration policies.

Reciprocity of (professional qualifications) and (key) competences for lifelong learning

The abovementioned limitations also include difficulties in cross-border recognition of (professional) qualifications. In contrast to other types of limitations, these are among the limitations that have received special attention by the institutional triangle. In fact, in 2005, a Directive on the recognition of professional qualifications was jointly adopted by the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament. This Act establishes rules according to which a Member State must recognise professional qualifications obtained in one or more other Member States, including recognition of skills acquired through professional experience. In the Directive the concept of professional qualification is delimited, however, by a direct reference to regulated professions. As a consequence it is applicable only to a limited number of professionals who by providing services for the wellbeing of the population are primarily concerned with ensuring a “high level of health and consumer protection”. Furthermore, the offer of professional services is restricted to citizens living within a specific nation-state, inasmuch as their professions are regulated at a national level. Accordingly, the Directive states that the ability to pursue professional activities should be made independent of the context where professionals have acquired their title and qualification, i.e., free provision of services, in order to increase career opportunities for those who possess a professional qualification and to enlarge the audience of potential consumers of intellectual and conceptual services. However, professional qualifications should be recognized as valid in the country of professional practice, in order to acquire the right to pursue a professional activity. Therefore, different aspects related with the legal recognition of qualifications become the central issue of political concern.

In 2005, for instance, the European Commission submitted a Proposal to the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union for a Recommendation on key competences for lifelong learning, on the basis of the extensive production of a working group on “Basic skills, entrepreneurship and foreign languages”. The Recommendation, which was jointly adopted in 2006, defines a competence as

A combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate to a particular situation (Commission of the European Communities, 2005: 12).
Consequently, key competences are defined as:

Those [competences] which all individuals need for personal fulfilment and development, active citizenship, social inclusion and employment (Commission of the European Communities, 2005: 12).

In spite of such broad definitions, the Recommendation includes a *European framework on key competences for lifelong learning* as a reference tool, identifying eight distinguished key competences that are given priority within the Union: 1) Communication in the mother tongue; 2) Communication in the foreign languages; 3) Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology; 4) Digital competence; 5) Learning to learn; 6) Social and civic competences; 7) Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship; and 8) Cultural awareness and expression. These key competences are defined in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes and are strongly linked to the concept of lifelong learning that, according to the *Council resolution of 27 June on lifelong learning* (2002), must go from pre-school age to that of post-retirement.

Knowledge, skills and attitudes constitute also the basis for a *European qualification framework for lifelong learning* (EQF), published in 2005 by the European Commission and followed up in 2006 by a *Proposal* to the European Parliament and the Council for a recommendation establishing the EQF as a reference tool for making qualifications transparent and transferable within European borders. The Proposal defines qualifications as:

Formal outcome of an assessment and validation process, which is obtained when a competent body determines that an individual has achieved learning outcomes to given standards (Commission of the European Communities, 2006: 16).

Learning outcomes are hereby defined as:

Statements of what a learner knows, understands and is able to do on completion of a learning process and are defined in terms of knowledge, skills and competence (Commission of the European Communities, 2006: 16).

These definitions imply a strict relation between the learning process an individual has been engaged in - either participating in education and vocational training programmes or through experience acquired on the job – and the learning outcomes.

In brief, the identification of a limited number of key competences that should be given priority in the years to come as well as their transposition in objectified learning outcomes, which constitute the basis for a formal recognition of individual’s qualifications, does not take into account the possible mismatch in value between governmental and individual levels. At a governmental level the possession of key competences, learning outcomes and qualifications are considered valuable conditions for individuals to enter the labour market and further education and training. Nevertheless the possession of knowledge, skills and competences becomes valuable, at the individual level, only when formally recognized by a specific employer or educational provider.
In light of the analysis presented so far, my main argument is that the set of policy documents, issued by the institutional triangle in the wake of the Lisbon Strategy (2000), creates an EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development that is grounded on a simplified account of the social problem it aims to address. The account is based on four assumptions. First, there is a general bottleneck in the labour market, due to a lack of skills and competences available in the labour force. Second, education and training provision is the only means by which to break this bottleneck as it equips the workforce with required skills and competence levels. Third, it is possible to achieve a perfect match between specific skills and competences, provided by the education and training system, and skills and competences recognized as such on the labour market. Fourth, it is also possible to achieve a perfect match between the levels of skills and competences individuals have and the employment that they can acquire. This account of how the institutional triangle will address social problem results in an increased political interest in education and training as the only economic alternative to cope with the technological and structural changes that are affecting European labour markets. However, this mainstream discourse does not account, for instance, for possible mismatches between the discourse influencing the structure of learning and working opportunities at an EU level, the structure for learning and working opportunities at national level and individuals’ preferences. The next part of this chapter will, therefore, focus on available empirical data, at both macro and micro levels, which brings into light contextual factors that characterise the shaping of European labour markets and their relations to skills and competences acquired through education and training.

IS IT THAT SIMPLE? QUESTIONING THE EU “REGULATORY IDEAL”

As already mentioned, the EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development has as its points of departure an assumption regarding a lack of skills and competences among the European labour force and an assumption that this lack should be tackled by improving education and training provision for all. Furthermore, the EU “regulatory ideal” assumes the possibility of achieving a perfect match between skills and competences provided by the education and training system and those recognized on the labour market as well as between the levels of skills and competences individuals’ have and the employment they can acquire. This raises an important question: What do we know about current matches and mismatches between demand and supply of skills and competences in Europe? The following sections are devoted to an exploration of available empirical research in this field.

Macro-level data on skills matches and mismatches

A first glance at available aggregate data on skills mismatches seems to substantiate the four assumptions on which the EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development is grounded, at least when we limit the analysis to older Member States. In fact, a comparative study of France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the United
Kingdom (Cedefop, 2003) highlights that employers have benefited from a general rise in the level of education among the population: Employers recruit graduates also for low-skilled jobs as a means to reduce costs of adaptation in due course. Although levels of educational attainment and formal qualifications do not reflect the workers’ productive value, these factors are still being seen as “signals” of individual productivity when job-seekers enter the labour market. Similar conclusions are reached by Dekker (2002), with specific reference to the Netherlands with regard to the effects of education and training on upward mobility in different segments of the labour markets. In addition, several studies carried out in different Members States show that the incidence of over-education is overestimated, when undue attention is paid to diversity in the actual ability level or the attitude that workers with a certain level of education have to work. For example, the negative effects of over-education on earnings are lower when measured as a long-term effect. The consequences of over-education for individual workers also seem to compensate for a lack of experience, which for individual workers become a temporary disadvantage that primarily affects the beginning of their labour market career. In this regard job-to-job mobility is being addressed at an individual level as an adjusting mechanism to overcome the negative effect of over-education in the long run.

A closer look at empirical data on skills mismatch also points to remarkable differences between different studies. Empirical findings vary consistently across EU countries. Although these differences might be partially explained by differences in measurement tools, certain evidence seems to suggest the existence of differences in institutional settings of local and national labour markets as a possible cause for severe labour force selection. This is especially evident for ethnic minorities, which are often in a weaker position in the labour market. Their positioning is the most heterogeneous with respect to the country of origin, when compared with people native to the country, who have the same level of education and skills (Battu & Sloane, 2003). Furthermore, analyses of the role of qualifications in shaping transition processes from education to work in Europe highlight the supremacy of qualifications resulting from compulsory schooling and initial vocational training versus continuing education and training, on-the-job training, experience gained in the labour market, etc (Cedefop, 2003).

Micro-level data on skills matches and mismatches

The analysis of cross-sectional data from the European Labour Force Survey (EU-15) on skills matches and mismatches shows that the higher the level of education/formal qualification, the lower is the risk of unemployment among new entrants in the labour market. Also these results seem to confirm the assumptions that substantiate the EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development. However, the strong correlation between level of education/formal qualification and risk of unemployment does not hold for all countries under investigation. In Southern-European countries, i.e., Italy, Greece and Portugal, higher levels of education/qualification hardly affect the high risk of unemployment in the transition from education to work (Müller & Gangl, 2003). Thus ways in which different European
education and training systems affect labour market entry patterns, via the indirect effect on labour market structures, matters! Against this background, further exploration of the cross-sectional data of the European Labour Force Survey (Gangl, 2003) result in a distinction between three types of institutional arrangements, characterising national labour markets in twelve old EU member states. First, there is the occupational labour market-type where the lack of working experience does not influence the risk of unemployment among new entrants in the labour market. Second, there is a hybrid of occupational and internal labour market-type. In a hybrid labour market type, the risk of unemployment for those with higher levels of education is lower in contrast to lower qualified but more experienced workers, despite low levels of experience. Third, there is the internal labour market-type where better qualified young people face even stronger unemployment risk than those experienced by the lower qualified. Additional analysis (de Grip & Wolbers, 2006) focusing on the job quality of low-skilled workers in different EU countries, highlights important differences, which reflect the distinction between occupational and internal labour market-types. The quality of job for low-skilled workers is lowest in countries with occupational labour markets.

In short these analyses show that the effect of education and training on unemployment is the most important factor in distinguishing northern from southern European countries, thus substantiating the existence of differential mechanisms for the formation and recognition of skill and competences currently in place in the old Member States.

Divergences in the interpretation of skills and competences

The above discussion of the European Labour Force Survey points to the existence of differential skill formation and recognition mechanisms. This brings us straight to the issue of divergences in the interpretation of skills and competences, which relates to ways in which labour is organized and valued in different socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts. On this matter Clarke and Winch (2006) provide an empirical analysis of ways of interpreting and assessing skills, i.e., professional qualifications, in countries informed by divergent economic strategies. The United Kingdom is an example of one of the countries featuring high-skill equilibrium, while Germany is representative of the countries securing low-skill equilibrium (Ashton & Green, 1996; Brown et al., 2001). Clarke and Winch’s (2006) main results highlight how divergences in official economic values, assigned to skills and related qualifications, are historically and culturally grounded.

Furthermore a vast amount of research on skills and competences in relation to professionalism exists that highlights important divergences in ways skills are being recognized and valued by different social actors, e.g. employers and employees, in different sectors, occupation and professions (cf. Thompson et al. 2000; Korczynski, 2002). These studies shed light, for instance, on existing relations between the assessment of nominal skills, i.e., the only skills being recognized and rewarded by employers, and effective skills, i.e., the combination of invisible or tacit skills, acquired mainly through experience, either before entering the labour market or
on-the-job. Effective skills are often underestimated by employers, thus justifying low labour status and low wages. These skills are, on the contrary, featuring a significant proportion of actual qualifications that allow employees to perform their job. Thus the identification of skills supply-demand mismatches, which is at the core of the EU acclaimed skills shortage, seems to underestimate the surplus of available skills that are not being recognized, hence incorporated into working processes. The underutilization of skills has been identified, on the contrary, as a key feature of different EU labour markets (Krahn & Lowe, 1998; Boothby, 1999). More recently, special attention has been paid to the perception of skills and the developmental needs of current and future employees among different stakeholders within a given sector, i.e., employers, employees, trainers and trainees. National comparisons among these groups identify important differences between employers, employees, trainers and trainees as regards their demand for skills and expectations on how these skills should be acquired. These divergent views question a shared understanding of existing skill shortages (Skinner et al., 2004).

In summary, education and training is without doubt a key resource shaping the match of supply and demand in European labour markets. In fact, individual investments in skills upgrading, competence development and acquisition of professional qualifications is a lifelong cumulative process. It is this process that affects individual fortunes in the labour market. At a micro level, labour market fortunes represent the outcomes of the interplay between opportunity structures, i.e., job availability in a particular occupation, sector or region, which require certain qualifications and reflect individuals’ preferences. Employers expect to recruit job applicants, who are the most productive and the least costly for the kind of work required by the job, while job applicants expect to obtain jobs guaranteeing adequate returns of their investments in education and training. Return of investments can be calculated either in term of monetary and non-pecuniary rewards, including job quality and job satisfaction in their current employment or as regards using currently available jobs as stepping stones to better employment at a later stage.

However, contextual factors at a macro level, e.g. labour market conditions, industrial structures and the available skills level among the population, influence the resulting match between supply and demand in European labour markets. The linkage between specific skills and competences acquired through education and training and those recognized by the labour market, i.e., the linkage between individual levels of skills and competences and the employment they obtain, represents an additional key contextual factor, which characterizes the diverse institutional shaping of EU labour markets. All together these contextual factors provoke the contradictory phenomena of skill shortage and under-utilization of skills to occur simultaneously in the European Union.

Against this background I argue that the EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development may have unanticipated effects on societal wellbeing, which are not being given due attention from either a policy or a research perspective. When learning provision, for example, is reduced to an economic instrument for responding to skills deficits in different economic sectors, individual creativity and innovative forces may run the risk of not having a concrete opportunity to emerge. In addition, skilled workers and professionals are addressed as the only actors responsible for
present mismatch between labour supply and demand, when the assumption is made that the supply of decent jobs in EU Member States is adequate, but the workforce is unfortunately not adequately skilled to fill them. This assumption may discharge EU Governments from responsibility for direct intervention, aimed at creating new job opportunities and improving general working conditions for all. Furthermore, while new responsibilities for economic growth and development are being delegated from EU Governments to companies and individual citizens, the reshaping of collective contractual relations may be left to the discretion of corporate and private organisations. Moreover, when EU citizens, i.e., constant learners and employable workers, are constructed as free, rational and autonomous agents, who readily adapt to economic principles, then the structural, institutional and dispositional constraints that limit individual agency may be disregarded. Accordingly, EU citizens may be addressed as the only actors responsible for meeting the requirements of societal changes by acquiring “marketable” skills and competences. I do not dispute the fact that individuals have a certain level of agency. Rather I argue that such a level of agency is only rhetorical within the European discourse, when EU citizens are unaware of the dynamic implications of their choices. This is what is likely to happen when learning is considered in terms of an instrumental process the purpose of which is to match supply and demand in EU labour markets.

CONCLUSION

Competence development has become an increasingly accepted imperative for individuals, institutions, governments and intergovernmental institutions. The aim of this chapter was to critically examine policy-making processes and agenda setting for competence development at the EU level, resulting as it does from the intersection between economic and education policy fields. The focus has been on the EU’s “regulatory ideal”, revealed in the set of key policy documents issued by the institutional triangle in the wake of the Lisbon Strategy. My main argument is that the EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development is based on a simplified account of the social problem it aims to address. This simplified account assumes, first, that there is a general bottleneck in the labour market due to a lack of skills and competences in the labour force. Second, it assumes that educational and training provision is the only means to break this bottleneck. Third, this “regulatory ideal” assumes the existence of a perfect match between specific skills provided by the education and training system and skills recognized by the labour market. Fourth, it assumes a perfect match between the levels of skills and competences individuals possess and the jobs they can acquire. In this assessment no recognition is given to the possible mismatches between generic requirements for a perfect skills match, set by Governments, and the specific needs for learning and working opportunities expressed by individual citizens. In the analysis reported in the first section, I highlight the lack of attention given by the institutional triangle to diverse demands for skills posed by different social actors, the existence of obstacles to individual mobility within and between countries, divergences in the value assigned
to specific skills, competences and qualifications by Governments, employers, education and training providers and individual citizens.

In support of this argument, special attention was given in the second section to the influence of contextual factors on the resulting outcome of the supply-demand matches in European labour markets. By limiting my analysis to older Member States, I emphasise the manner in which different European education and training systems affect labour market entry patterns in different ways. This is primarily due to the co-existence of different mechanisms for the formation and recognition of skills, competences and qualifications within the European Union. Furthermore national differences exist in the official economic value assigned by employers to skills and related qualifications that are historically and culturally grounded. Lastly, there are important divergences in the manner in which skills are being recognized and valued within and between national borders by different social actors, e.g., employers and employees, in different sectors, occupations and professions.

An enhanced political interest in education and training, dominated by short-term instrumental goals, seems to deny the diverse institutional settings of European labour markets as well as the under-utilization of available skills among the workforce, the shortage of adequate paid work, the quality of employment and the unequal distribution of work. Moreover, structural, institutional and dispositional constraints that limit individual agency in the search for learning and working opportunities within the Union are not being given due political attention. Thus my second argument is that the EU “regulatory ideal” for competence development may have unanticipated effects on societal wellbeing, which should be given more attention at both policy and research levels.

Ways in which skills and competences are being assessed and valued by different social actors, for instance, can not be properly tackled at a supranational level only. Mechanisms for the formation and recognition of skills and competences are, in fact, strongly intertwined with contextual factors that regulate the labour market and influence its relations to the education and training system at national and local levels.

How the abovementioned issues are being addressed in the political debate by both supranational agencies, e.g. OECD, the World Bank, the World Health Organization etc, and individual governments should, on the contrary, be given priority in comparative and international education research agendas. Special attention should be given, in particular, to investigate ways in which national, regional and local policies, under the influence of supranational policies, reinterpret skill shortages and underemployment of available skills in different sectors and occupations to support competence development through education and training.

NOTES

1 The jointly adoption of new laws by the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union occurs through either consultation procedure or co-decision procedure. During the consultation procedure, the Council of the European Union consults the European Parliament for opinion – as well as the following consultative bodies: European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. During the co-decision procedure, the European Parliament shares


3 For direct responsibilities of the European Union in the field of education and vocational training see: Treaty establishing the European Community (cit.), Title XI, Ch. 3, Arts. 149-150.

4 Echoing Dalton et al. (1996), policy making is here interpreted as a strategic and political process in contrast to traditional policy studies, which understand policy making as a rational decision making process.

5 In this chapter, the policy texts that serve as the central points of reference are primarily legislative instruments. According to the Treaty establishing the European Community (consolidated text, 2002), the legal instruments used by the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament in producing policy are: (1) Regulations; (2) Directives, binding on the Member States to achieve results; (3) Decisions, binding on those to whom they are addressed; (4) Opinions and recommendations, non-binding documents. However, also intergovernmental agreements, such as the Education and Training 2010 program signed in 2001 by the Heads of States and Government of the Member States, are here considered of primary relevance, as they lay the foundation for a stronger political cooperation among Member States.

6 These actions include vocational education and training through the Copenhagen process and higher education through the Bologna process.


8 Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Commission's Action Plan for skills and mobility COM(2002) 72 final.


10 Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Commission's Action Plan for skills and mobility COM(2002) 72 final, cf. Actions No. 5, 6, 7 and 8.


13 Regulated professions are professional activity or a group of professional activities which can be performed by an individual in possession of a specific professional qualification that gives credit to the use of a professional title “by virtue of legislative, regulatory or administrative provisions”. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Commission's Action Plan for skills and mobility COM(2002) 72 final, cf. Actions No 19.

14 This working group was later re-named “Key competences”.


17 The distinction between three types of institutional arrangements has a point of departure in Marsden’s (1986) conceptualization of the institutional shaping of European labour markets. According to Marsden, it is possible to distinguish between two polar systems. On the one extreme is the internal labour market-type system, characterized by employment recruitment strategies based on highly discretionary assessment/recognition of job-applicants skills and qualifications; thus prior experience in
the labour market is valued as the most reliable account of individual skills and qualification. On the other extreme is the occupational labour market-type system, where formal qualifications provided by education and training systems are considered reliable indicators of job-applicants’ capacity to match a certain job.

18 The occupational labour market-type is characteristic of Austria, Denmark, Germany and Netherlands.
19 The hybrid labour market-type is found in Spain and Northern-west countries, i.e., Belgium, France, Ireland and United Kingdom.
20 The internal labour market-type includes Southern-European countries, i.e., Italy, Greece and Portugal.

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3. GLOBAL INFLUENCES AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIES IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The Finnish case

INTRODUCTION

The current debate in comparative education questions the significance of comparative studies at the national level in a world where the role of the nation state has become weaker and where the global and the local has acquired more importance. As a consequence, the concepts centre, semi-periphery and periphery, developed within dependency theory and related to nations, should lose their functions in explaining worldwide dynamics. In the specific case of education, these notions have been used in previous research to define educational systems as a result of their national history, economy and politics.

In this chapter the author will demonstrate how centre, semi-periphery and periphery in an educational perspective are still relevant concepts in relation to globalization, showing how the national level can still be influential. In particular the Finnish Vocational Education and Training (VET) system is analysed as an example of European centre in this field. The chapter starts with an analysis of the concepts of centre, semi-periphery and periphery, attempting to redefine them according to the transformations that occurred from their first classification in the 1960s. In fact, the increasing importance of the global and the local has brought changes to world dynamics and even the triple categorization has been influenced by these variations. Successively all these aspects are observed from a general educational perspective, showing how the nation state, in spite of its different educational role, still has a meaningful influence in relation to the division global-local.

The last part of the chapter is centred on the study of a concrete education case, specifically the Finnish vocational education and training system in relation to the European Union (EU). In fact, Finland is as an interesting example of a periphery that was able to change its status, becoming a centre in VET through the immediate implementation of European directives. The EU is a global actor composed of numerous Member States (MS), where all of them are characterized by different traditions, cultures, languages and also educational systems. Yet, despite their diversities, the MS have a duty to cooperate for the achievement of similar goals that can be translated into a focus of “becoming the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world”. These aims were defined during the
Lisbon summit in 2000 and the outcome of this meeting, the Lisbon Declaration, delineated the idea of a competitive Europe where education and training play an important role. Moreover the previously mentioned declaration marked a new EU participation in education policy and emphasized the function of VET as an instrument for realizing European ambitions.

The analysis of a national case attempts to identify the strategies applied by a specific context to introduce the transformations and the requirements promoted by the EU in VET. Thanks to Finland we observe the mechanisms and the elements that today a central country employs to reaffirm its centrality in this field.

CENTRE, SEMI-PERIPHERY AND PERIPHERY IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

The concepts centre and periphery, developed within dependency theory, denote different countries’ positions in the world. Here “core/centre” refers to privileged nations, while “periphery” corresponds to underdeveloped nations. Dependency theory evolved in the 1960s as reaction to modernization theory that presupposes that all nations have the possibility to follow the model and the development of Western European and North American countries, reaching their standard of living (Clayton, 2004). Dependency theory applies the Marxist idea of class structure to nations and is focused on the relationship between them (international relations), explicating the position within the international division of labour. The dichotomy centre-periphery denotes a condition of supremacy, where the core maintains a certain level of control over the periphery, with the latter constantly experiencing the influence of the centre.

Although some dependency theorists started to extend their studies beyond nations, it is the approach of world-system analysis, and particularly the contribution of Wallerstein (1980), who started to investigate processes and relations at the global level, where the flow of capital is “among zones that overlap national boundaries in complex and discontinuous ways” (Clayton, 2004: 284), rather than the movement of capital from nation to nation. In the late 1970s, Wallerstein also introduced the concept of semi-periphery. Even if there is disagreement regarding its definition, in this context semi peripheral countries as “those states that have a fairly even mix of the two [central and peripheral] types of activities” (Wallerstein, 1985: 34). In semi-peripheries central and peripheral characteristics co-exist together. If dependency theory sees immutable relations among countries, world-system analysis brings in the opportunity for movement within the system and this means the possibility to alter the status of a country, for example from semi-periphery to centre.

In the current climate strict adherence to this rigid separation between central, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries does not permit us to identify new phenomena and problems. Moreover, as the transformationalist approach within social science literature adds, the relationship centre-periphery does not only refer to relations among nations, but it includes new social relationships beyond national borders. Actually we speak about a transnational class that replaces the traditional class divisions. Hoogvelt (1997) affirms that “core” today represents both wealthy nations and elites in the poorer nations and, vice versa, while periphery includes poor states...
GLOBAL INFLUENCES AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIES

and those socially excluded in core nations. Thus, economical, political and cultural surroundings around the world have changed, involving nations in transformations, even core nations. In certain cases we observe what Nederveen (2000) calls “reverse dependency”, that is the new dependency of de-industrializing regions (Wales, Scotland, Brittany) on investors from Asia (South Korea, Taiwan) (Nederveen, 2000). The consequence is that one has local areas in core countries that have peripheral conditions or, on the contrary, local areas that have more central characteristics in peripheral nations. This means that there are still differences among states and the division centre-semi-periphery-periphery is meaningful, but on the other hand, it becomes necessary to examine the various differentiations in relation to the global and local level.

First of all, it is important to define the global level, or rather, the groups who operate at this level. We can say that the global level is composed of international organizations (IO) (OECD or the World Bank), regional organizations (EU, NAFTA or APEC) and transnational corporations that impose their own global network of production and investments across different countries, controlling costs and profits without any national considerations. These economic actors are the real centre of global processes whose main “purpose is seeking the control and orientation of international trade in their favour”, becoming “significant agents in both powering and steering the forces that make up global capitalism” (Dale & Robertson, 2002: 10). These global institutions are not similar actors located on the same stage and sharing similar interests, but they are a multifaceted set of social powers and patterning which modify over time (Dale & Robertson, 2007). Beside these diversities supranational organizations, for example, have in common “a world-view based on the cognitive assumptions of the dominant strands of the economics profession, the existence of a global market and the need to expand it to create further opportunities for the preferred market-based solutions, and the central importance of education in contributing to economic development” (Dale & Robertson, 2007: 3). These actors represent the most important level at and through which globalization functions (Dale & Robertson, 2002: 10). On the other hand, we do not have to think, for example, that the United State and the European Union “themselves control a share of the world-economy, but [anyway they] provide a political home to those economic actors who, when aggregated on the basis of their national and supranational affiliations, do so” (Clayton, 1998: 285).

This affirmation underlines how global economy needs nations (national level): although decisions have always been made at this stage, the above-mentioned economic actors control their interests and reach their aims utilizing political ways at the national level, exercising pressure on nation states. The power of nations is being transformed in relation to new institutions of international governance and international law, even when they have retained control over what happens within their territories (Tikly, 2001). Today the role of states is more that of achieving and maintaining standards of quality and costs that are fixed globally, reducing their position as the primary economic and political actors (Vulliamy, 2004).

Another important level is the local one. The concept “local” is the most complex as it can refer to both geographical entities (sub-national regions, provinces, districts, cities or single educational organizations) and non-geographical units.
FRONTINI

(ethnicity, gender, particular groups as linguistic or immigrant groups). In fact as previously mentioned, today other groups, rather than single nations, can be included in the categorization centre-semi-periphery-periphery. Moreover, global practices and visions can be spread to the bottom level thanks to local structures and institutions (Dale & Robertson, 2002).

The connection between these levels is not a zero-sum relationship and, in the specific case of International Organizations, nation states are not substituted by them. IOs can be considered supplementary actors. The EU represents a peculiar situation, where the role of MS has changed, shifting from “government” to “governance”. Actually, globalization does not create a homogeneous effect, since national and local institutions transform and adapt to global forces according to their conditions and desired ends. The consequences are that some places will have an advantage as a result of global processes, while the condition of others will worsen. In the analysis of diverse reactions to globalization, centre, semi-periphery and periphery can play a significant role in understanding these processes.

Overall it may be argue that by focusing the analysis on the three-pronged division in the current climate, at the national level, can offer different perspectives on how diverse nation states react to global actors and phenomena, observing, for example, strategies applied by the centre or periphery to face similar changes. Moreover, we can also examine how the national level influences the local in relation to the global. A local reality is not isolated and disconnected from its national setting, but, on the other hand, the local preserves its own peculiar essence. The other levels transform the local, which changes in line with its own character, generating original forms. Sometimes these forms fit perfectly in the global scenario and they are able to benefit from it. In other situations the local is not capable of or does not want to transform itself in accordance with those influences. Analyses at this level can also show how concretely global and national policies and agendas have found place and application in the educational world.

CENTRE, SEMI-PERIPHERY AND PERIPHERY FROM AN EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

In the previous section a general definition of centre, semi-periphery and periphery was presented. These concepts are now analyzed from an educational perspective. In education they are described on the basis of their national history, economy and the organization of their educational system. Centre generally includes those nations that have a developed an educational system and/or lead projects for promoting education in developing countries. Semi peripheries are mainly those countries that are core-oriented, even if they have some peripheral conditions and have problems in reaching centre standards, due to their peripherality. Peripheries denote national educational systems that are less advanced and are usually under the guidance of central countries’ interventions. In education, these categorizations can be used for promoting “a growing criticism, emerging from developing countries themselves as well as from the so-called peripheral countries in the North, of the inappropriateness of general explanatory models for understanding educational situations among different groups and nations” (Anonymous, 2001: 173).
In addition, this division can be useful to understand education systems in a global educational scenario.

As in the earlier discussion when we underlined the importance of centre, semi-periphery and periphery in a general perspective, we can use the same analysis as regards education. First of all, I can affirm that global influences have modified the purpose of nation states, but educational systems are still nationally located. In fact, school systems are still national organizations that refer to national legislation and function in a specific cultural reality (Green, 2003). Moreover, denying the existence of the triple division in education would be incorrect, especially when educational agendas, established by international organizations, visibly reproduce the diverse power of their members (Dale, 2005). Furthermore, as argued by Hopper (2000) writing about knowledge production, we have three reasons for supporting the existence of the dichotomy centre-periphery: power/knowledge, quality convergence and collective destiny. The first one, power/knowledge, refers to the influence of global geo-politics and power interactions on the legitimation of knowledge. In fact, the “link is thus drawn between geo-political knowledge, power and hegemony as key referents in analyzing the centre-periphery in knowledge and production, especially the function of Northern think-tanks and institutions” (Hopper, 2000: 285). The quality convergence denotes the connection that intellectual activism has created across the North/South division, promoting ideas of universality, human rights and equal participation in global development. The last reason is collective destiny, which is the existence of a solid relation between nations, which combines privilege and poverty together (Hopper, 2000). Global subjects and drivers of educational processes (transnational corporations, international financial institutions, regional organizations or international organizations, i.e., OECD) promote their policies, aims and concepts (e.g. lifelong learning, social capital or development) worldwide. Even if, according to Dale, “it is not necessary to posit a wholesale domination of national education systems by a group of international organizations” (Dale, 2005: 132), we cannot overlook the influence of these supranational agencies in national educational policy. Affirming a complete domination is incorrect and too strong, but being aware of the effects is essential.

Consequently educational decisions are still taken at the national level and educational systems are institutionalized in the cultural context in which they operate, but their fundamental function of generating civic identity and national consciousness has been replaced by the need of reaching other purposes. Today educational systems aim to be internationally more competitive and more attractive to investors, to provide skills and knowledge required by the labour market or to ensure a quality system. On the other hand, as I have emphasized many times, nations, as a result of different histories, traditions, political and economic facts, will react differently to global influences. Global forces do not homogenize educational practices, but modify them. In this case diversities at the national level are important if we want to understand and explain how the educational systems react and transform themselves according to these forces and, on the other hand, how they can influence the global level as well.

If we want to apply the categorization centre, semi-periphery and periphery in the analysis of global changes in education, we can affirm that today “centre”
becomes those countries that are able to implement and interpret in effective ways policies promoted by the international community and to react quickly and positively to changes. Semi-periphery in turn is those countries that are partially able to implement and realize those aims because of the presence of many peripheral conditions in their national realities. Finally periphery consists of those countries that experience difficulties in concretely actualizing the goals and directives, due to an altogether too strong focus on national issues.

The European Union, as a regional organization that operates at the global level, is an interesting example for the study of these phenomena. In fact, the EU is composed of numerous MS and aims to orient international trade to its advantage, but its effects are not just economic and its role in educational issues has increased during the years, particularly in the mid-1990s and after the Lisbon Summit in 2000. The summit gives a key position to vocational and higher education in the realization of a competitive and knowledge-based economy that can maintain its expansion, increasing social cohesion and job opportunities. In a practical and educational way, this means “raising the standards of learning by improving the quality of training of teachers, facilitating lifelong learning, updating the definition of basic skills, especially through information technology (IT) skills training, facilitating labor mobility, and introducing quality-assurance mechanisms to better match resources to needs to enable schools to support their new, wider role” (Dale & Robertson, 2002: 25).

At present the EU affects diverse aspects of its MS through making rules; defining agendas and ruling the game with influence becoming more evident. Unfortunately MS present a problem for the EU in achieving European goals since their reaction to the aims has not been so stable, representing more a complication than a resolution (Dale, 2006). Furthermore, the objectives should be reached at the Community level and not at the MS level, requiring general cooperation. This situation is not completely unexpected, since the heterogeneity of Europe could be seen as a clear indicator of the difficulties inherent in obtaining the same goals. VET can be used as an interesting example of the problems related to reaching the European goals and MS responses in accordance with their unique characteristics.

The following section clarifies the strong influence of the European Union in VET after the Lisbon declaration, underlining national differences based on the division centre – semi-periphery – periphery.

VET: EUROPEAN AIMS AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIES

Vocational education and training has always been an organization, the purpose of which is to solve problematic situations, i.e., the need to update knowledge and skills demanded by the labour market or unemployment, which occurred in the long history of the EU. Recently, VET has acquired a fundamental role in the realization of the European ambition to become the most competitive knowledge society in the world and to promote a socially cohesive society. The Lisbon Declaration (2000) is the official document that allots education and training the role as central promoters of these goals (see the chapter by Milana for a detailed analysis of the declaration) and explicitly affirms that “education and training
systems need to adapt both to the demands of the knowledge society and to the need for an improved level and quality employment” (European Commission, 2000: 8).

The discussion concerning VET policies has different steps that bring influences to the vocational and training systems and can be identified in specific declarations and communiqués. In fact, after Lisbon we have the Barcelona EU Council (2002) together with the Education and Training 2010 Work programme that define “the roadmap to ensure easy access to high quality education and training for all throughout their lives” (Cedefop, 2007: 7). But an important document on VET is the Copenhagen Declaration (2002) that shows the need of more transparent and effective VET systems, while the Maastricht and the Helsinki Communiqués reconfirm the priorities defined in Copenhagen and delineate new strategies and priorities at the European and national levels, stressing quality, attractiveness and good governance.

These important measures, which are established for improving vocational education and training, involve all the MS and have caused transformations in their systems. In particular these documents set specific priorities such as i) strengthening the European dimension, ii) improving transparency, information and guidance systems, iii) recognizing competences and qualifications and, iv) promoting quality assurance. These priorities are focused on reinforcing the aims contained in the Lisbon Declaration and emphasize the elements to realize these priorities. The Maastricht Communiqué, for example, is based on implementation, partnership and reform. Priorities and key aspects are then translated into concrete actions that MS have to introduce at the national level in order to achieve the Lisbon goals, while the European level should coordinate the national one. The concrete actions to promote the European priorities are, for example, the necessity of anticipating skills and educational needs, improving the status of VET, increasing mobility, promoting access to higher education, implementing the European Curriculum or forging the link between upper general education and vocational education and training. The first evaluations undertaken within the European Union as regards the results of these actions have shown problems in reaching some objectives at the national and at the European level. On the other hand, a careful observation of different national forms demonstrates differences between MS.

Diverse reactions and responses to European directives are something familiar in the history of the EU and even in vocational education and training. Hence it is not surprising that the results were not similar. In the specific case of VET the various systems within the Union have always been different and those countries with a long tradition in vocational education, e.g. Germany, France or England, have always used their strength to promote or oppose transformations in VET. Because of this, Europe is an excellent example where centre, semi-periphery and periphery in vocational education and training coexist and influence each other, although today they are forced to cooperate to obtain the same Community goals.

The three-pronged categorization is the result of an analysis at the national level focusing on VET, which has provided the opportunity to find similar characteristics shared by centers, semi-peripheries and peripheries. The elements that allow for a country to be defined as a centre in VET are, for example, a long
guild tradition in the crafts and trades, a system that was able to change according to social and economic transformations, a high vocational education system, vocational teacher education and training at the university level, respectable status of VET, connection between school and work, transferential aspects, vocational education assistance to developing countries, or women involved in vocational education (Heikkinen, 2001; Mayer, 2001; Takala, 2001). Semi peripheral countries are those that, for example, use the rhetoric of the centre connected to some concepts, creating the impression of changes when on the contrary there are deficiencies or there is a “mismatch between production and social consumption” (Bonal, 2001: 178). Peripheries in VET can, on the other hand, be characterized by a lack of traditional craft industry, domination on the export industry in vocational education, lack of responsibility for vocational education in industry, lack of local negotiation system in vocational education, lack of links between vocational education and working life, lack of laboratories and equipments at school or a low status of VET and its teachers (Heikkinen, 2001; Singh, 2001).

As previously stressed diverse features cannot provoke the same effects in every MS and each of them will focus on the improvement and/or the increase of particular priorities. Categorizing countries according to this division should not be seen as a kind of underestimation of certain vocational systems, but as a way to foresee issues that VET can encounter in a specific context. On the other hand, even the experiences of peripheries can help central countries to face problems in their peripheral areas. For instance, the EU wants to reach ambitious goals and its success is related to MS results and cooperation. Being aware of the unique characteristics of different nations is certainly a good starting point to enable success. We can suppose that centre, semi-periphery and periphery countries, for instance, will apply different strategies and mechanisms to obtain the same result or they might of necessity focus on diverse aspects. On the other hand, we do not have to exclude the possibility for a periphery country to shift and improve its status. As pointed out previously, global phenomena can worsen the condition of some places, but it can at the same time offer opportunities.

The Finnish case is a peculiar example that proves how it is possible to change the status, but also how the acquisition of a particular position, in this instance a centre, implies the employment of strategies and mechanisms that perpetuate its centrality and how certain policies are centre-oriented.

BEING A CENTRE IN VET TODAY – THE FINNISH CASE

The history of Finland shows the features of a peripheral country characterized by a predominant agrarian society, demographic problems, and a long economic and political domination by Sweden first and then by Russia. Moreover Finland has always economically, politically and culturally referred to some “Big Brothers” like Germany in the 19th century, the Soviet Union plus the US and the Nordic countries on the other side and recently the European Union and again Germany, one of the strongest MS (Heikkinen, 2001). In the specific case of VET, Finnish peripherality was represented in the weak presence of the traditional craft industry and of the responsibility for vocational education in this sector, the supremacy of
GLOBAL INFLUENCES AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIES

the export industry in vocational education, the lack of local negotiation and workers’ involvement in the planning of vocational education as well as the rising invasion of vocational education by academic education (Heikkinen, 2001). All these aspects are some of the elements that conferred to Finland the status of periphery. On the other hand, since the 1980s Finland was able to change its peripheral status to that of a high-tech knowledge economy with an active position in the European scenario (Sahlberg, 2007). This Nordic country became a member of the EU in 1995 and since the beginning it has maintained a positive attitude to the EU and European cooperation. The Finnish approach is part of a small country’s tactic where being committed and active offers the possibility to effect decisions and events (Ahola & Mesikämmen, 2003).

In vocational education and training Finland introduced considerable transformations referring to the EU directives even before joining the Union and the changes started to be centre-oriented. Clear examples of this orientation were the establishment of the link between general and vocational studies in upper secondary education, the possibility to continue to higher educational programs at the polytechnics or the concepts of the market principles of accountability (Heikkinen, 2001). As one of the first countries to implement EU policies in VET, Finland also manifests other aspects that are fundamental for the Finnish transformation from periphery to centre: i) female participation in vocational education and training, which is usually considered a male sector; ii) the domination of information technology and consequently the development of strategies for promoting the concept of lifelong learning; iii) a Finnish attitude towards culture and history; iv) the influence of teachers and working life in vocational education and training, v) the organization of VET in specific institutions; vi) the transformation of VET into a precise form of education, vii) the role of teachers as didactic-managerial experts and; viii) the focus on training of skills, organizational and personal development in vocational education and training (see Heikkinen, 2001).

These changes in VET are the results of strategies introduce in Finland before the Lisbon Declaration and indicate a positive aptitude to European policy. Furthermore, Finland has comprehended the new requirements necessary to be competitive in a global world and was able to adapt itself to these demands. If the attainment of a central position was the result of historical and economic facts at the national level in combination with Finland’s capacity for transformation, the question that needs to be addressed now is the following: how can the Finnish centrality be maintained in a situation where the influence of the global and, in this specific case, European spheres are even stronger than before? And what are the mechanisms employed by a centre in VET to confirm its supremacy in this field?

The general definition of “centre” in education mentioned previously are those educational systems that have less problems in implementing and interpreting policies promoted globally by various organizations and agencies. Likewise, these centre educational systems are able to quickly react to changes. I will now move on to discuss what is meant with “less problems” and “quicker reaction” means in relation to VET in a central country, such as Finland.

First of all, it is necessary to point out some of the European aims and characteristics of vocational education and training before moving to the analysis
of the Finnish case. During its history VET has been used to promote two main concepts: inclusion and excellence. Vocational education and training as an inclusive instrument refers to the necessity of solving social problems (unemployment, updating skills, drop-outs, etc.) that have characterized the European Union since its birth. Inclusion in official documents is translated into specific measures to address young people’s unemployment, to provide updated skills to older workers or to increase the number of women and immigrants with vocational education training. Vocational education and training as a promoter of excellence refers to the European ambition to become the most competitive knowledge-society in the world, including in its vocabulary concepts such as high level of quality, competitiveness, students with high potential, high performance, increasing mobility of students and teachers within the Union or attractiveness. The documents after the Lisbon summit clearly show these two main roles of VET (promoting the notions of excellence and inclusion) and sometimes they seem to promote divergent aims and objectives. It is feasible that different MS encourage the implementation and the introduction of these diverse goals in various ways and that they may favour measures according to their national situation. In this study I specifically observe how Finland as a centre in VET reacted to European influences and what it means to be a centre in this particular case.

An initial analysis of the results presented in a Cedefop (2007) report, where the European Union is entirely examined referring to the outcomes on the work in progress in VET after Lisbon, demonstrates how Finland mainly emphasizes the aspects associated with excellence. In fact, this Nordic country has principally introduced measures to become competitive and to increase the attractiveness of the vocational system. While other MS struggle with the objective of improving the attractiveness of VET or show low results regarding mobility within the EU, Finland has shown successful outcomes in these two areas. In the last years the Finnish VET system was able to increase the number of students who chose a vocational pathway after the compulsory school (Cedefop, 2007). As regards mobility, Finland also created a network to develop and ameliorate it. This means that the country has succeeded in transforming VET into an attractive system. Some of the reasons for its attractiveness are the opportunity to have access to higher education as well as a strong link between upper general education and vocational education and training. Moreover Finland has developed a work-based learning and a competence-based approach. All these factors have created an attractive system, which offers different alternatives to its learners.

The promotion of attractiveness implies the necessity of a qualitative system. In this case also Finland supported the introduction of measures to increment this central concept in the European policies. More specifically the Finnish system put emphasis on quality of learning processes and outcomes through skills demonstration (obligatory since 2006), national assessment, indicators of effectiveness or the establishment of benchmarks. Another important element is the value of quality assurance that exists as “a precondition for trust in the value of learning outcomes among learners, employers and other education and training providers” (Cedefop, 2007: 76). Some countries introduced the Common Quality Assurance Framework (CQAF) as an instruction for their VET formations. The practical translation of this
in Finland has been the quality management recommendation with concrete examples to support VET providers to utilize the CQAF in their local contexts. Furthermore, the quality management recommendation applies existing quality assurance aspects and includes excellence as a conscious objective and combines external and internal evaluations.

A fundamental element that underlines the Finnish centrality in VET is a tradition of anticipating skills and competence need in the labor market. If we look at other countries that have this tradition, it is clear that they are all mainly centers (France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and the UK) (Cedefop, 2007). Some other European countries have begun to introduce this system for anticipating skills and competences, while the European Union has to work to create its own model. Although aspects related to social inclusion are present in Finnish policy, competitiveness is the core of the Finnish VET. We can assume that a society, such as the Finnish, with high standard of living has already solved the main issues related to the promotion of social cohesion. For this reason Finland is today focused on maintaining “its position as one of the leading information society services in business and industry, education, training and research, health care, administration and people’s everyday life” (Ministry of Education, 2004: 8). Vocational education and training has always been recognized as a key element to promote European goals. Due to its central position Finland has had the advantage to focus on this system and to improve those aspects, such as quality, mobility, high performance and attractiveness, which are considered fundamental in all documents from the Lisbon declaration in 2000.

The analysis of the Finnish VET system demonstrates how the process to achieve a central position in Europe started even before its inclusion in the Union and occurred in the 90s when this Nordic country was facing an economic recession. The early Finnish orientation to the European Union has certainly provided an advantage in implementing the European directives and consequently its central status, representing an interesting example for two main reasons: as a periphery that became a centre and; as a centre that can easily adapt itself to continuous changes. This example appears to confirm the assumption that central countries are today those realities that have the strongest relations with the global level obtaining apparently immediate benefits.

CONCLUSION

Today power and dynamics constantly change and each place reacts in its own way to these transformations. The European Union is an interesting example when one seeks to observe the relation between the global, national and local levels in relation to the concepts of centre, semi-periphery and periphery. Education and the educational systems are not excluded from these analyses.

The Finnish example shows that a state is not static, but how it can be improved or, on the contrary, worsened. On the other hand, Finland also demonstrates that when a nation becomes a centre, it starts to support the global logic. The more a nation tries to implement and introduce directives coming from global organizations and succeeds, more impact it has on the global level. The power games seem to
reduce any optimistic possibilities of improvement, since it is clear that a centre will only reluctantly relinquish its position and status as a centre. However, we can observe today that peripheral realities are making claims for status at the top. In education we observe the same shifts. Here Finland is a perfect model, as the PISA survey attests. Even in VET the Finnish system today has the opportunity to focus on excellence and improving its institutions since it has already solved some issues related to inclusion. In a general scenario, the escalation of a periphery to a centre implies that a centre or a part of it can decline. However, we have also stressed that even central countries have peripheral conditions, e.g. due to unemployment caused by the displacement of production in cheaper peripheral zones, among other factors. Indeed, education is not left out from these dynamics. In fact, I can suppose that in a longer perspective a central educational system based on excellence can favour the creation of new forms of exclusion. In this case studies on periphery and semi-periphery can be helpful to provide ideas on different strategies that can be employed in central countries.

The triple division is still relevant if we want to examine various mechanisms and transformations introduced by different educational systems. In fact, in a global world where everybody is competing for the same aims and ambitions, knowing one’s own strengths and weaknesses is fundamental for success. Being a periphery does not immediately mean that one is excluded. Finland is an example that shows how the ability to introduce the right measures can result in successful outcomes. On the other hand I hope that Finland, having undergone its transformation into a centre country, does not make the mistake of forgetting its peripheral conditions (e.g. those socially excluded). Such a lapse may result in a de-centring, a situation that can only be viewed as a failure. The strength of a periphery become centre must surely lie in its ability to understand its own history and to fully comprehend what has contributed to its transformation.

NOTES


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GLOBAL INFLUENCES AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIES


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4. INTERPROFESSIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TEACHERS AND LIBRARIANS

Analyzing theoretical and professional arguments for cooperation in an era of globalization

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores theoretical and professional arguments for interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians in an era of globalization. The research question posed in this chapter is the following: Which theoretical arguments substantiate interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians in this context? Three social preconditions are addressed: a social mandate about qualification and democratic inclusion, structural differences between the school and the library, and limits to teacher professionalism in highly specialized societies. It is argued that these social conditions generate a need for cooperation between teachers and librarians for the purpose of realizing the social mandate of education and the teaching profession. Against this background I present studies which highlight the pedagogical value of the library and cooperation between teachers and librarians. The third section is an analysis of whether conceptions of professionalism may be obstacles to interprofessional cooperation. Finally, potential benefits of interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians are summed up with an emphasis on literacy, empowerment and citizenship. I suggest that interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians opens up new strategies for professional development, which may become an important contribution to realization of the mandate of the teaching profession.

The analysis is developed on the basis of international studies of the pedagogical value of cooperation between teachers and librarians, studies of the pedagogical and social value of school libraries and public libraries, and educational research and theory about professional development. I relate the discussion to the Nordic context, as well as to a general discussion of needs for professional development in the teaching profession in view of globalization and digitalization.

MULTIPLICITY, GLOBALIZATION AND DIGITALIZATION

In the present era of globalization, the population is becoming increasingly heterogeneous. Multiplicity characterizes social as well as individual relations (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005). How can education qualify all pupils and contribute to
literacy, democratic participation and citizenship under these conditions? The complexity of the task invites us to rethink how educational research and the teaching profession can meet these social challenges. The theoretical assumption underpinning the following analyses is that interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians about pedagogical work with literacy, learning and use of the library has a great potential in contributing to realization of the educational mandate. The library is a cultural institution with great potential for meeting the multiplicity in the classroom. The expertise of librarians is highly relevant to education. However, interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians about use of the public library or the school library for educational purposes has received relatively little attention within educational research. School libraries have received very little attention compared to, for example, patterns of teacher-student interaction (Dressman, 1997). Use of the school library is not an integrated element in teacher education (Rafste, 2005), and receives hardly any attention in research on teacher education. While educational research has studied education in a multicultural and intercultural perspective (Banks & Banks, 1995; Gordon, 2000; Gundara, 2000; Nieto, 1992), it is primarily within library and information science that the digital revolution and pedagogical use of the library and cooperation between teachers and librarians has been addressed (Albrecht, 2002; Levy, 2005; Limberg, 1998, 2003; Peacock, 2000). Thus the attempt in this article is to develop theoretical arguments for interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians about the use of the school and public library in education.

The social mandate – learning, literacy, democratic participation and citizenship

The social mandate of the teaching profession and the library profession has important goals in common. Qualification and cultural transmission as well as development of democratic participation, inclusion and citizenship are common elements in the social mandate the teaching profession and the library profession. The social mandate is endorsed by the International Associations of Teacher Professions\(^1\) and the International Federation of Library Professions (IFLA).\(^2\) This is articulated in legislation which governs teaching and librarianship. The mandate is reflected in research about multicultural, intercultural and inclusive education (Ainscow, 2004; Allan, 2003; Banks & Banks, 1995; Gordon, 2000; Gundara, 2000; Nieto, 1992), as well as in research on democracy and inclusive aspects of librarianship (Aabø, 2005; Audunson, 2005; Kerslake & Keller, 1998; Matarasso, 1998). The common goals which are shared by teachers and librarians are important social preconditions which may facilitate interprofessional cooperation between the two professions.

At the same time there are important structural differences between schools and libraries which have implications for the professional ethos. In particular, the teaching profession is obligated, not only to qualify pupils and students, but to rank and sort them as well. Assessment is based on national or local curriculum guidelines. In the present era of globalization, standards and requirements, which are applied at the national level, are increasingly based on international standards
provided by OECD and international evaluation agencies which conduct educational assessments, such as the PISA, PIRLS and TIMMS surveys (Kjernsli, 2007; Mullis, Martin, & Foy, 2008; Mullis, Martin, Kennedy, & Foy, 2007). This is characteristic for public education in Europe. A similar development in terms of standardization is taking place within higher education in Europe (Karseth, 2008). In mandatory, public education teachers are held accountable for the performance of their students by governmental institutions as well as by parents. This contributes to an instrumental dimension to teaching. Research indicates that in contrast to what is proclaimed by dominant accountability discourses, high-stakes testing is counterproductive to student learning. In fact a number of large-scale empirical studies document that high-stakes testing contributes to ‘teaching to the test’. This has negative effects on learning, contributes to marginalization of poor pupils and ethnic minorities and drop out in disproportionate numbers (Amrein & Berliner, 2000; Flinders, 2005; Pihl, 2005b; Wiley & Wright, 2004). Nevertheless, teachers are obliged to conduct high-stakes testing, particularly in terms of national tests. This limits professional autonomy.

In the present situation in which discourses of accountability dominate the educational sector, the mandate of the teaching profession is acutely ambivalent. Teaching is supposed to contribute to qualification and democratic inclusion, while research documents that education contributes to reproduction of social inequality (Bourdieu, 1989; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Imsen, 2003; Kjernsli, 2007; Kjernsli, Lie, Olsen, Roe, & Turmo, 2004; Oakes, 1985; Willis, 1981). Reproduction of social inequality is mediated by high-stakes testing (Amrein & Berliner, 2000; Flinders, 2005; Pihl, 2005b; Wiley & Wright, 2004). Against this background and the present state of multiplicity, the question of how teaching can qualify all pupils and contribute to literacy, inclusion and democratic citizenship is a pressing issue.

Librarians, on the other hand, seem to have a less ambivalent professional task than teachers. Librarians are obliged to assist and qualify people who visit the public library on the basis of the wishes of the person in question. It is not the professional task of librarians to assess or control the people, who use the public library. While public education is mandatory, use of the public library is voluntary. Thus the professional relation between the librarian and the user, on the one hand, and the teacher and the pupil, on the other, is rather different. We shall see that these different relations are important, when we analyze the value of the library in education, as well as cooperation between the two professions. Dressman characterizes the library as a “liminal space” in which the autonomy of the user is decisive as regards the use of the library (Dressman, 1997). Audunson characterizes the public library as a “low-intensive” learning arena – a public space in which informal learning and social interaction is possible between people of different social and cultural background, who otherwise may not interact (Audunson, 2005). Rafste characterizes the school library as “back-stage” because it provides pupils with a space outside of teacher control and evaluation, which is so prominent in the classroom that is characterized as “front-stage” (Rafste, 2005). From different theoretical disciplines and perspectives, these researchers conceptualize qualitative differences between the library and the school.

41
The present era of globalization represents great challenges and potentials within education. Prior to the influx of migration, the teaching professions could expect some common conditions of socialization among pupils, though with modifications related to social class and urban or rural background. Today the financial market and the job market are global. Labour migration, particularly from the South to the North, is extensive, as well as migration of refugees and asylum-seekers, due to persecution and wars. The migrant population is diverse along all dimensions; socioeconomic background and status, educational background, linguistic, cultural and religious background. Migrants come from highly developed industrialized areas as well as from rural, poor and pre-industrialized areas. Migrants have very different experiences related to family structures, gender issues, feudal or democratic institutions and religious or secular political conditions, to name only some of the important dimensions. This is the point of departure for teaching pupils with such diverse family backgrounds. To meet the educational needs of all pupils based on a standard curriculum and a single textbook in each subject, which basically assumes that all pupils have similar cultural and social background, is obviously problematic.

To this is added the educational challenges related to the rapid development of research and the information society. In this context professional teachers and their occupational organizations need to be aware of the specific qualifications, competences and expertise of the teaching professions, as well as the limits of teacher qualifications. Fields of knowledge are becoming increasingly specialized. Information literacy is a field in its own right with specific requirements: information literacy is the ability to identify one’s own information needs, the ability to search information (in catalogues, databases, etc.), the ability to assess the information found, the ability to search relevant information and the ability to use the information, in order to solve a particular task or assignment (Barstad, Audunson, Hjortsæter, & Østlie, 2007: 19). Information literacy is a specialty of the library profession and an argument for cooperation between teachers and librarians. The “generalist” teacher, who was educated for teaching once, and who taught many or most subjects at a certain level of education, will soon become, or may already be, a historical phenomenon in many Western countries. Specialization and high qualifications among teachers will increasingly be required in order to keep up with the requirements of the knowledge and information society. Continuous teacher education will be needed as well. In sum, the professional development of teachers in the present context requires teacher qualifications and expertise, based on continuous research and development. But even with specialized teacher education and continuous teacher education, rapid research development and digitalization surpass the formal education of the individual, professional teacher.

This requires reflection on the “limits to teacher professionalism”. There is a need to reconceptualise the concept of teacher professionalism during these times of great social change. That is particularly important in the present situation, due to parallel development that is taking place, in which governments and educational authorities tend to expand the mandate assigned to teachers. In principle, there are no limits to the topics which teachers can be obliged to address in teaching; drug abuse, incest, etc. When teachers are obligated to teach about a range of very complex social issues, for which they were not qualified, this undermines the
autonomy of the teaching profession, and possibly even the authority of the profession.

In this context there is need for professional reflection on the social mandate of teachers and the primary objectives and qualifications of the teaching profession. This is a precondition for resistance against uncritical expansion of teacher tasks, at the expense of the primary tasks of teachers. I call this “reflection on professional expertise and the limits to teacher professionalism”. A focus on primary educational tasks gives priority to qualification of all pupils, regardless of social, cultural or linguistic background or ability. This may require criticism of monocultural and monolingualistic educational policy and a demand for qualification of teachers for teaching in multilingual and multicultural classrooms (Pihl, 2001, 2005a, 2005b, 2009).

At the limits of teacher expertise and professionalism, there is a need for reflection on interprofessional cooperation within the field of education. I suggest that faced with the rapid expansion of research and the information society, educational research and the teaching profession should reconsider traditional conceptions of professionalism. There is a need to look for cooperation with other professions, which have expertise in fields that are highly relevant for education – in this case, the library profession. This can be illustrated with some examples. I have mentioned above that information literacy is a specialty of the library profession. Although qualification in information literacy is entering teacher education, it can hardly be characterized as a specialty of the teaching profession. Another issue is knowledge about children’s literature. The librarian working in the children’s department at the public library is a specialist on children’s literature. It is part of her or his job to read new literature for children. Thus, the librarian will be updated on children’s literature to an extent which is impossible for a teacher. These qualifications and competences, which pertain to the library profession, are highly relevant to education and the development of information literacy and cultural literacy among pupils. An important question in this context is whether dominant discourses on professionalism enhance recognition of other professions’ expertise, or whether these discourses in fact are obstacles to interprofessional cooperation? We shall see that theory of professionalism sheds light on these questions, which will be discussed in a latter section of this chapter.

THEORETICAL ARGUMENTS FOR INTERPROFESSIONAL COOPERATION

In the following, I will develop theoretical arguments for interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians about use of the public and the school library for learning. The arguments are developed with reference to studies which document the pedagogical, social and cultural value of the library and the professional expertise of librarians, as educational theory and theory about professional development. Interprofessional cooperation will be conceptualised as an important element in development of “occupational professionalism” (Evetts 2003) within the teaching profession. How does this research address use of the library for educational purposes? Bergvall and Edenholm (2000) conducted a literature review of studies about how factors and actors influenced integration of
the library in teaching in Sweden, Canada and the USA. They found that teachers and school leaders are often uninformed about what the library can offer and the competence of the librarian. School leaders are crucial to whether the library is integrated in teaching or not (Bergvall & Edenholm, 2000). Another element that plays a decisive role is the nature of the pedagogical work – whether it stimulates investigation and collaborative learning. The attitude and role of the teacher and the attitude and role of the librarian is also decisive to interprofessional cooperation.

Limberg has reviewed international literature on the pedagogical use of the school library (Limberg, 2003). The review shows that there are surprisingly few studies with a particular focus on the role of the school library in the development of literacy among pupils and their reading of literature (Limberg, 2003). According to Limberg, the library has a particular potential in improving learning, but this potential is used only to a limited extent. In line with the study of Bervall and Edenholm (2000), Limberg found that pedagogical use of the library depends on the pedagogy of the particular teacher or school, it depends on media resources at the school library, the school-library room, the librarian and the information system. These interact with the character of the pedagogical work, the assignments given to pupils and the school and organizational culture. Where these dimensions interact and include the library and the librarian, it has proved to enhance meaningful learning of high quality (Limberg, 2003). Rafste draws similar conclusions (Rafste, 2005). In her study of pedagogical use of the school library in Norway, she found that the typical pedagogical use of the school library is for homework. There is very little systematic cooperation between teachers and librarians about educational planning and very little pedagogical work related to use of literature or other library resources in teaching and learning (Rafste, 2005).

A recent study of the school libraries in Norway is a case in point (Barstad, et al., 2007). The study documents a clear division between primary- and lower secondary schools on the one hand, and upper secondary schools on the other regarding personnel resources available, the competence of school library personnel and school library opening hours. At upper secondary schools the person in charge of the library normally has the library as his/her only assignment. This was the case at 80 per cent of these schools. Only 18 per cent of the primary and lower secondary level schools are in the same situation. The average allocation of personnel resources at primary- and lower secondary schools is only 5.4 hour per week, compared to an average of 29 hours per week at upper secondary schools. At upper secondary schools close to 60 per cent of the persons in charge of the school library are educated as librarians at bachelor level or higher – either as a “single standing education” (55 per cent) or in combination with pedagogic education (4 per cent). At primary-and lower secondary schools only 11 per cent of the library staff have the same level of education and qualification (Barstad, et al., 2007: 22) In the report Barstad asks the following question: Do primary- and lower secondary level schools need less librarian resources than upper secondary schools? That would be hard to believe. Why is there such a big difference between priority of the school library at lower- and upper levels of education in Norway?

In the Norwegian context, pupils shall, according to the Norwegian school law, have “access” to a school library. Schools are not obliged to have a school library.
At present there are no public minimum standards for school libraries in Norway. The relatively weak position of school libraries in Norway contributes to different standards of school libraries at different schools. The school leadership decides on allocation of staff and budget resources for the school library. The data may indicate that there still is a resistance at lower levels of education against giving priority to the school library. There may be a number of explanations for this. One possible explanation may be traditional conceptions of teacher professionalism. Teachers regard teaching as the sole responsibility of teachers, it is primarily based on the textbook and it should primarily take place in the classroom (Rafste, 2001, 2005). School libraries essentially are seen as subordinate to classroom activities and the curriculum (Dressman, 1997; Rafste, 2001, 2005). Teachers view librarians as servants or clerks, and the library’s collection is viewed as an “adjunct to the curricular activities of the classroom or as a source of “enrichment” rather than as an integral part of a school’s curricular programs” (Dressman, 1997: 270). In this perspective, allocation of resources to the library and school librarians may be conceived as “drawing resources away” from the teachers and the classroom. When educational resources are limited, a competition between professions may underlie a low priority of the school library. Faced with the educational challenges that go with the multiplicity in the classroom, teachers may prefer fewer pupils in the classroom, before giving priority to resources to the school library. A third possible explanation for the low priority of the school library and interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians, may be that teachers are not being qualified in teacher education for pedagogical use of the library and cooperation with librarians. If teachers have insufficient knowledge of the library as an institution, its resources and the cultural, social and pedagogical value of the library (Aabo, 2005; Audunson, 2005; Bergvall & Edenholm, 2000; Dressman, 1997), it may follow that they do not initiate cooperation with librarians. Hence they do not acquire knowledge about the professional expertise of librarians. Against this background, there is apparently a need to develop theoretical and professional arguments from an educational point of view, for the use of the library as a pedagogical resource, as well as arguments for interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians.

The library – an extraordinarily differentiated learning- and media centre

In Western countries, public, mandatory education includes all children or youth at a certain age level regardless of ability, social, cultural and religious background and gender. Multiplicity at the social level is met with standardised qualification requirements and norms by schools and educational institutions. Discrepancies which exist between the educational requirements and capacity of individual pupils may be due to several factors: differences in cultural capital between the school and the home, differences between the language of instruction in school and the pupil’s first language, or the child’s individual cognitive abilities, just to mention a few. Teachers are expected to meet the needs of all children by didactic measures: differentiation and adjustment of content to the individual child’s needs (Ainscow,
2004; Allan, 2003; Bachmann & Haug, 2006; Flem & Keller, 2000). But to differentiate teaching and adjust it to the individual child in a class with 25-30 pupils is an almost impossible task, especially when this is expected of teachers in every school subject. The textbook, which still structures education and teaching, only matches the qualifications and needs of some of the pupils in a given class. At this point, the library constitutes a crucial resource for teaching. The public library is, in fact, a differentiated learning arena, with books and material that can meet the interests, competence and qualifications of a very diverse population of pupils. Instead of the teacher making tremendous efforts to differentiate a given content defined by the textbook or the curriculum, developing new learning material and didactic methods in order to qualify the child on the basis of the curriculum or textbook, the teacher can make use of the public library and the school library in work with a specific topic. The diversity of library resources has a great potential for meeting the interests and needs of individual children, provided that the teachers and the pupils are able to make use of these resources. At this point cooperation between teachers and librarians becomes crucial.

**Literacies and the unique cultural agency of libraries and librarians**

The library embodies cultural and social memory. This memory is unique in that it is unrestricted to a people or a nation. Library resources are available worldwide – they are in principle global. On demand, the public library can retrieve a book or an article from libraries or archives anywhere. The services of the library are free and open to anyone. This unique aspect of the library makes it a unique cultural agency (Audunson, 2005; Huysmans & Hillebrink, 2008), which has contributed to active use of the public library by the immigrant population in many countries. However, unless young people are introduced and qualified to make use of the library, these services may go unnoticed. That may be to the advantage of pupils who have less access to books and computers in the home than other pupils.

Within literacy studies new conceptions of literacies are gaining momentum, which go far beyond the traditional conception of literacy in terms of acquisition of basic ‘skills’ in reading and writing. New literacy studies analyze literacies as a form of social practice which is socially and politically situated (Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000). Today literacy is conceptualized in terms of cultural literacy, computer literacy, information literacy, visual literacy and political literacy (Barton, 2007). Schools as well as libraries are sites where development of these rich and complex forms of literacies takes place.

Research on the development of literacy emphasises the importance of the content of reading: that schools have access to a broad and varied body of authentic texts, which are suitable for pupils with different interests and needs, and for pupils from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and from different literacy contexts (Alleklev & Lindvall, 2003; Barton, 2007; Cullinan, 2000; Dressman, 1997; Loertscher, 1987; Wagner, Strömqvist, & Uppstad, 2008). Research further documents the importance of pupils being free to choose what they want to read (Donham, 1998) and that pupils with poor reading abilities are offered meaningful
texts (Barstad, et al., 2007:34). The importance of meaningful texts can not be overestimated (Axelsson, 2000). This is important for all pupils, and in particular in an intercultural context (Gundara, 2000; Nieto, 1992). Children, who are fascinated by what they read, become motivated to read by themselves, which is crucial to development of literacy. The literary quality of books offered to children is essential to literacy development. Instead of basing teaching on the standard textbook, which seldom is of high literary quality (W. B. Elley, 1992; Nobel, 1979), and which rarely is suited to the multiplicity in a given population in class, teachers can plan and organise their teaching about specific topics on the basis of library resources and literature. Books in all genres, fiction and non-fiction, books illustrated by artists, these are far better suited to the multiplicity in the classroom than one standard textbook. Based on systematic cooperation and planning of teaching between teacher and the librarian at the public library or the school library, the librarian can find books for work with a specific topic and the specific class, which is responsive to the needs of the pupils in the particular class.

In Sweden, a very successful project was developed in a primary school, in which teaching in all subjects except math, was based on the reading of fiction. Interprofessional cooperation between librarians and teachers and institutional cooperation between the public library and the school library were central to the project. The project was developed in Rinkeby, a poor suburb at the outskirts of Stockholm with a predominantly immigrant population. At the time of the project, 98 per cent of the population in Rinkeby had minority background. An average of 43 per cent of the population in Rinkeby was on welfare, compared to 7 per cent in the city of Stockholm. The project class had 24 pupils with bilingual or multilingual background. The theoretical and educational approach in the project was to develop literacy based on stimulation of joy of reading based on the reading of fiction and “flooding the classroom” with books. The assumption was that reading and work with good fiction engages the whole child; feelings, fantasy, empathy and contributes to development of vocabulary, text competence and the ability to catch the “undertext” in a given text. And even more important, given the nature of fiction, reading contributes to acquisition of cultural capital in a broad sense. Reading of fiction contributes to development of both functional and cultural literacy. The project focused on narratives that are shared among people from different religions and cultures, thus developing knowledge and identification across the different cultural background of the multiplicity in the classroom. The literature was in Swedish. At the same time, priority was given to provide parallel books in the mother tongue of the pupils. The pedagogical work related to reading was diverse forms of oral and written work, drama and aesthetic work (painting, drawing etc.). The classrooms were flooded with books, pictures, texts that stimulated reading. Cooperation between the school and the public library and the teachers and librarians was crucial to the success of the project. The teacher and pupils visited the public library once a month, where the librarian working with children’s literature presented books to the children. Based on extensive work with fiction in teaching and extensive cooperation between the school and the public library, the pupils scored above average in comprehension of Swedish words, reading in Swedish and in math when the project was completed (Alleklev & Lindvall, 2003).
In understanding Swedish words, the project class scored at the top level. The results are quite extraordinary, as poor minority language children competed with, and surpassed the performance of pupils with Swedish as a first language that had higher social status and parents with better educational background. When the pupils finished participation in the project after grade five, they had read an average of 500 books each (Alleklev & Lindvall, 2003). A key pedagogical focus in the project was on the content of reading, which was given priority over form (Axelsson, 2000). The unique qualities of the library and the interprofessional cooperation facilitated development of literacy which far exceeded the traditional work with development of functional literacy, which is so important in school.

The success of the Rinkeby project contradict theories of cultural deprivation, which have influenced education substantially (Coleman, 1979; Hernes, 1974). Theories of cultural deprivation assume that pupils from families with low education, and poor families, “lack culture” which explains why these pupils tend to perform below average, compared to pupils from educated and middle class families. These theories explain educational failure by reference to family background and characteristics of the individual child, without taking into account the content of education. Theories of cultural deprivation have contributed to lowered expectations of poor pupils and pupils with minority background (Nieto, 1992; Pihl, 2005b). These theories tend to neglect the role of meaningful texts (Freire, 1970; Nieto, 1992), which are responsive to the background, interests and knowledge of pupils (2001; 1995; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Thomas, 2002). With due attention to the content of education and recognition of the linguistic and cultural background of pupils, research indicates that poor and disadvantaged pupils have the capacity to learn and develop literacy to an extent which contradicts theories about culturally deprived children. The argument I propose here, is that in order to meet the multiple needs of children in contemporary global classrooms, teachers need to cooperate with librarians. The competence of librarians and the unique qualities of the library are crucial to realisation of the educational mandate (Kühne, 1993). A review of “book flood” projects in nine different countries showed that pupils in these programs learned the second language better and more rapidly than pupils who were taught the second language by traditional methods (Elley, 1991). An international study of the effects on literacy of the reading of textbooks came to similar conclusions. The study was conducted in 32 different countries. It documented that access to, and reading of many textbooks, have no positive effect on the development of literacy (Elley, 1992).

Literature from a wide range of cultural contexts, nations and historical epochs enhances knowledge and respect in an intercultural perspective, which is of utmost importance in the present era of globalisation (Schissler & Soysal 2005, Soysal 2004). Dressman criticises the practice of “tracked” reading in which pupils are denied access to texts beyond their “grade level” or supposed “reading level” (Dressman, 1997:291). This routinely keeps pupils reading texts which by almost any standard are of poor quality and low interest. Contrary to what teachers intend this does not necessarily motivate for further reading. The public library resources, in cooperation with school libraries, represent an alternative, by offering a wide range of authentic and interesting texts at all levels and in all genres. The idea that literacy
INTERPROFESSIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TEACHERS AND LIBRARIANS

development takes place in interaction with texts that are more complex than the supposed literacy level of the reader is supported by theories of language and literacy development, notably Bakthin (1986, 1981) and Vygotsky (1962, 1978).

Empowerment and citizenship

In many Western countries, poverty, social fragmentation and discrimination of immigrant minorities contributes to social problems and undermines democratic participation and inclusion. Young people, notably the white poor and immigrant minorities struggle with experiences of exclusion and marginalisation (Balibar, 2003, 2007; Gundara, 2000). In the present era of globalization this is a challenge to professions and institutions to reconsider and redefine traditional practices in order to work as partisans for democracy and inclusion (Benhabib, 2006; 1994, 2004). Having access to information and knowledge is vital to democratic participation. The library provides access to both. Use of the public library is free and open to all. This is an invaluable asset, particularly to the poor, who otherwise may be excluded from access to information literacy, books, newspapers, music and other services. Education can and should play a crucial role in introducing and qualifying children and youth for use of the school and the public library for learning as well as personal purposes. Pupils who discover and learn to appreciate the resources of the library are likely to continue to use it for their own personal purposes after they have left school. Audunson emphasises the potential of the library as a low-intensive meeting-place in the multicultural society, in which people of different backgrounds interact (Audunson, 2005). As such, the public library may contribute to social inclusion, a sense of belonging to a local community, as well as to the empowerment which goes with the use of library resources for cultural and informational purposes. By opening up for systematic cooperation between teachers and librarians about use of the library for learning and development of literacy, teachers will contribute to the empowerment and inclusion of pupils and the implementation of the democratic mandate of teaching.

PROFESSIONALISM – AN OBSTACLE TO INTERPROFESSIONAL COOPERATION?

How do conceptions of professionalism facilitate for interprofessional cooperation? In the present context, state and political bureaucracies exercise increasing ideological and political control with professions (Karslen, 2002). In sociological research, this has led to analyses of the dual meaning and ambivalence of professionalism. Evetts draws a distinction between professionalism as “ideology of control” and “professionalism as a value system” (Evetts, 2003). According to Evetts the most prominent difference between professionalism as ideology and as value system, is that while professionalism as a value system is optimistic about the positive contributions of professionalism to a normative social order, professionalism as ideology focuses more negatively on professionalism as a hegemonic belief system and mechanism of social control for professional workers.
The ideology of professionalism includes elements such as exclusive ownership of an area of expertise and knowledge. It includes power to define the nature of problems in the specific area and the control of access to potential solutions. During the 1970s and 1980s there were several critical attacks on professions in general as powerful, privileged, self-interested monopolies (Evetts, 2003:401). An important aspect of professionalism is that professions protect their own market position through controlling the license to practice. In so doing, the professions protect their exclusive right to work within the specific social domain of the profession. In education, the teaching profession protects teaching as the domain of the teaching profession. The library profession protects librarianship as the domain of librarians. Professionalism is thus intrinsically linked to jurisdiction. Professions determine the ways of thinking about problems that fall within their domain (Dingwall, 1983:5).

Professionalism strives for professional autonomy and distinction in relation to other professions in adjacent domains. Historically, professionalism has proved to boost the privileged professional access to salary and status and definitional control. This is an important reason why professions support the ideology of professionalism. However, there is a dual character to professionalism. The dual character of professionalism includes, on the one hand, the provision of knowledge-based, qualified service as well as development of an autonomous form of governance. On the other hand, it includes the use of knowledge and power for economic gain and monopoly control. According Evetts, the strive towards monopoly control poses a threat to civility (Evetts, 2003:404). A negative implication of monopoly control may be that reproduction of the exclusive status of professional control of its specific domain becomes more important than professional change for the benefit of the patient/client/user/pupil. This may become an obstacle to professional change for the benefit of the client/user or pupil. Developments in the health sector can illustrate this. While the medical profession had an exclusive position in hospitals in the past, interprofessional cooperation between doctors and nurses has developed over the years. Interprofessional cooperation is also integrated in education within health professions today (Almås, 2007). There has been competition between doctors and nurses about delineation and demarcation of professional domains, control and autonomy. But faced with the complex challenges in the field of health, the professions have over the years engaged in interprofessional cooperation.

“ORGANIZATIONAL” VERSUS “OCCUPATIONAL PROFESSIONALISM”

According to Evetts there seems to be a development of two forms of professionalism in contemporary, knowledge-based societies: “organizational professionalism” and “occupational professionalism” (Evetts, 2006). “Organizational professionalism” is a discourse of control which managers and the state apply in work organizations. Fournier and Evetts argue that the appeal to “organizational professionalism” is “top-down” (Evetts, 2006; Fournier, 1999). Fournier considers ‘organizational professionalism’ as ‘a disciplinary logic which inscribes “autonomous” professional practice within a network of accountability, and governs professional conduct at a
INTERPROFESSIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TEACHERS AND LIBRARIANS

distance” (Fournier, 1999: 280). This is conducive to New Public Management and a situation in which “the state is engaged in trying to redefine professionalism, so that it becomes more commercially aware, budget-focused, managerial, entrepreneurial...” (Hanlon, 1999: 121). The ideology of professionalism is being used to convince, cajole and convince workers to perform and behave in ways which the state or the institution deem to be appropriate, effective and efficient (Evetts, 2003: 411). The irony of this is that when disciplinary measures are introduced and implemented by the state in terms of rhetoric of “professionalism”, the professionals may not recognize these measures as disciplinary means, applied for control of the workers and the profession. According to Fournier and Evetts, the ideology of professionalism is advocated by the state or organizations, in order to bring about occupational change as this is conceptualized by the employers (Evetts, 2006; Fournier, 1999). When this ideology of professionalism is adopted uncritically by workers, the effect is rationalization as well as self-discipline among workers (Evetts, 2003). “Organizational professionalism” becomes an instrument for professional change in which the professionals engage in change such as it is defined by the state or the institution.

Against this background, Evetts argues that there is a need for “occupational professionalism” which can be clearly distinguished from “organizational professionalism”. An important characteristic of “occupational professionalism” is that it is generated on the bases of research and professional knowledge within the profession itself. “Occupational professionalism” is “bottom up” and developed by professional groups. This is the more traditional form of professionalism which involves “discretionary decision-making in complex cases, collegial authority, the occupational control of the work and is based on trust in the practitioner by both clients and employers” (Evetts, 2006: 141). According to Evetts, these two contrasting conceptions of professionalism – “organizational professionalism” and “occupational professionalism” – are competing in the present era of New Public Management, for example in the educational field. A central research question in this context is in what ways the discourse of professionalism is being used by states or by professions themselves, as instrument for occupational change, social control or resistance to change (Evetts, 2006).

Historically, I will argue that a distinction between “organizational” and “occupational professionalism” leaves much to be desired in the field of education. The dominant political discourse is largely taken as the frame of reference for analysis of teacher professionalism. Important as the political discourse may be, a distinction between “organizational” and “occupational professionalism” requires that the teaching profession analyses teacher professionalism on its own terms. Teacher professionalism is largely conceptualized in terms of didactic competence and qualifications. “How” to educate and teach is the primary focus. I will argue that the emphasis on the “how” of teaching, is at the expense of “what”. National, regional, local and even international political authorities and bodies have strong influence over curriculum and requirements in education. This is codified in school laws and curriculum guidelines and prescriptions. My argument is that the content of education, as this is defined by educational authorities in the curriculum in a specific social and political context, is largely taken as the point of departure by
educational research as well as teacher education and the teaching profession. This implies that “organizational professionalism” tends to dominate over “occupational professionalism”. This limits the autonomy of teachers. Given that major educational priorities are outlined by political authorities, there is a need to reflect critically on these very priorities within educational research, teacher education and the teaching profession. Based on educational research and professional knowledge, there is a need to introduce alternative priorities. Such work will expand the space and content of “occupational professionalism”. This may be a way of reclaiming autonomy. The purpose is to improve the work of the teaching profession. The assumption is that educational research and professional teacher competence has the theoretical capacity for development of contributions to education, which may be valuable alternatives to the discourses and practices imposed by “organizational professionalism” based on political decisions.

CONCLUSION

Educational reforms are important vehicles for professional change and development. At the same time, educational reforms contribute to social and cultural reproduction, which implies reproduction of social inequality. In line with educational reforms, changes are introduced in teacher education. These changes are “top down” changes, initiated by political authorities. In the present era of globalization and digitalization, the educational reforms do not necessarily respond adequately to the complex challenges that teachers meet in this context, when it comes to qualification of all pupils for democratic participation and citizenship. However, teachers are expected to change their professional work on the bases of the educational reforms. Within the framework of “organizational professionalism”, the role of teachers is increasingly being reduced to respond to, and implement educational reforms which are defined in terms of accountability discourses. Given the highly contestable nature of the meaning of professionalism (Fournier, 1999), it leaves space for professional institutions and workers to act as a countervailing force against organizational as well as political and state bureaucracies of ideological control (Evetts, 2003).

Arguments for development of cooperation between teachers and librarians are based on educational and inter-disciplinary research and teacher knowledge. The objective is to contribute to high quality teaching and learning in highly complex knowledge and information societies in the global era, when pupils from many countries and linguistic backgrounds are present in the classroom. If and when teachers and researchers cooperate about development of new practices in education, they may become important vehicles for “occupational professionalism” and change, which is distinguishable from “organizational professionalism” and “change” that is developed by the state and state bureaucracies. The main argument for such a development is that occupational professionalism may contribute positively to learning, literacy and realisation of the educational mandate, the focus of which is qualification of all pupils, democratic participation and citizenship. In line with this, interprofessional cooperation between teachers and librarians about use of the public and school library ought to be integrated in teacher education at
all levels. Studies show that teachers need to learn how to make pedagogical use of libraries and how to cooperate with librarians. School leaders need to learn how to integrate school librarians in school leadership. These measures, if accomplished, may become important contributions to professional development within the teaching profession in the present era of digitalization and globalisation.

NOTES

1 Lars Inge Terum, lecture at the conference ‘Research in practice’/FoU i praksis, Trondheim 2008.
3 See Milana’s chapter in this volume about the Lisbon strategy and standardisation of education in Europe.
4 Within library and information science, there is a parallel discourse about new demands to the library profession in the information society, and what this requires in terms of cooperation and teaching.
5 Similar arguments for interprofessional development can be developed and be relevant within the library profession.
6 The Norwegian government launches a program for development of school libraries in 2009. It grants 40 million Norwegian Kroner (ca. 4 € million) over four years for research and development of school libraries. This is a moderate funding, but may indicate a more positive political priority of school libraries. A sustainable priority needs to be formalised in the school law and in terms of annual funding.
7 A plan for pedagogical use of the library and for systematic cooperation between teachers and librarians has positive effects on the quality of school libraries and learning outcomes (Barstad, et al., 2007). Here the position of the school library in the school hierarchy is crucial. Where the librarian is included in the leader team at the school, use of the library is integrated in the organizational culture and pedagogical work at the schools (Barstad, et al., 2007: 19).
8 The following first languages were represented in the class: Turkish, Somali, Arabic, Tigrinja, Spanish, Farsi, Urdu, Bengali, Philippine, Vietnamese, Thai and Serbian.
9 A librarian worked full time at the school library. In her position, five hours per week were assigned for reading children’s literature. To be updated on literature and guide the pupils in choice of books was given high priority. An assistant worked full time at the school library in cooperation with the librarian.
10 Axelsson provides a detailed description of methodology and the pedagogical work within the project (Axelsson, 2000). The Rinkeby project was developed according to Whole Language principles developed by Mary Clay (Clay, 1991).

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INTERPROFESSIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TEACHERS AND LIBRARIANS


INTERPROFESSIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TEACHERS AND LIBRARIANS

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NELLI PIATTOEVA

5. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Contrasting the national model to the emerging post-national agenda

INTRODUCTION

The worldwide legitimacy of the nation-state is increasingly challenged by the complex phenomenon of globalisation. Global economic competition has raised the stakes for nation-states and has attached states to supranational trade agreements and financial markets which limit the scope of national independence and make states ever more vulnerable to economic instability beyond national borders. The cutbacks of welfare schemes are often justified in terms of fierce economic competition which leads to rising disparities within societies. The integration of nation-states into supranational political alliances means that decisions shaping lives of individual people are made by institutions lacking direct political mandate from the people (Bottery, 2003.). Simultaneously, the institutionalization of human rights regimes and instruments, safeguarding cultural rights of minorities, enable individuals and groups to make claims against the state on the basis of international declarations and commitments. The so-called global civil society and transnational advocacy networks make political activity that transpasses the state level ever more viable (Munday & Murphy, 2001).

Nation-states also encounter challenges from within, as separatist or autonomy seeking movements expose the artificial nature of the nation. Furthermore, it is becoming evident that the traditional nation-state ideology, based on an exclusive notion of a homogeneous national culture, is not sufficient to raise allegiance among cultural ‘minorities’. These complex set of conditions, merely sketched here, undermine the legitimacy of the state in the eyes of its constituent citizenries. As people are distanced and alienated from the political decision-making on the state-wide level, they search for alternative identities to complement or replace nationality. Moreover, the bond between the state and the citizen has weakened, due to the ongoing renouncement of the state’s responsibilities towards its citizens. (Bottery, 2003.)

These circumstances have led to the revaluation of citizenship, contrary to globalists’ claims that the concept loses importance in the emerging socio-political reality, characterized by the detachment of citizenship from the state (Kymlicka, 2003; Isin & Turner, 2007). The ongoing debates on the nature of citizenship education across diverse national societies confirm the persistence of citizenship.
In fact, numerous studies of citizenship education attest to the intensifying interest toward citizenship education on the national level. Governments around the world re-evaluate national educational policies and curricula regarding citizenship education, introduce new schools subjects or cross-curricular themes to enhance citizenship and consequently engage in measuring students’ citizenship competences. This kind of surveys rank young people on scales of activity/passivity and generate quantified and comparative information on their loyalty to and knowledge about national and international institutions.

Globalisation is also manifested in a deep qualitative change in the involvement of international actors, such as formal intergovernmental organisations and nongovernmental agencies in national educational policies. We are witnessing a gradual shift from viewing education in national terms to post-national imaginaries, along with new ambiguous ways of educational governance nested in networks, peer review, agreements, cross-national statistics and benchmarking (Nóvoa, 2002). The work of international actors is particularly concerned with a global or regional interpretation of shared educational “needs” and prescription of uniform “responses” (Mundy & Murphy, 2001: 85). International organisations increasingly function as “standard-setting instruments” for national educational policies (McNeely, 1995). Citizenship education, too, has become a matter of concern for international actors. For instance, the world standards advance a more universalised model of human rights education, which penetrates through both organisational links and discursive practices (Ramirez, Suarez & Meyer, 2006).

In the following I attempt to position citizenship education as the foundation stone of the education system and national societies against the ongoing shift from national to supranational educational governance. As Ramirez, Suarez and Meyer (2006) have already suggested in their discussion on the rise of human rights education as a form of global post-national educational paradigm, it would be important to contrast human rights education with other more traditional models. In other words, there is a pressing need to understand the complex relationship between the essentially national model of citizenship education as a basic function and symbol of the nation-state and the new agenda-setting of international actors. The ongoing revaluation of citizenship across states makes this research agenda particularly interesting.

I focus on the work of two formal intergovernmental organisations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe (COE). The influence of these actors extends over a large geographical area diverse in its political and social character. The organisations share key political and moral ideals of developing a more just democratic world order, and recognise the crucial role of education in these pursuits. The extended membership and the aforementioned political agenda along with their modest financial resources distinguish UNESCO and the COE from other large scale intergovernmental actors, e.g. the European Union, the World Bank and the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). Thus it should be borne in mind that their educational philosophy is not automatically shared by the entire spectrum of intergovernmental organisations.

My aims in this chapter are twofold. First I present a general historical account of the emergence of state schooling and the traditional model of citizenship
education closely associated with the rise of the nation-state. Second, I analyse a set of documents issued by UNESCO and the COE in an attempt to interpret the main tenets of their citizenship education agenda. The empirical materials analysed in the course of the study are limited to the official documents and project descriptions issued by UNESCO and the COE. Thus I am only concerned with the general discursive agenda-setting and leave its influence on domestic education policies for other researchers to pursue. I offer a provisional analysis of this agenda in light of the traditional citizenship education rationale and discuss potential implications of the emerging supranational discourses for the nation-state. The main research question is whether citizenship education programmes developed by international agents advocate a post-national ideology of citizenship with significant consequences for the nation-state.

EDUCATION AND THE NATION-STATE—A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The rise of the nation-state model

The linkage between citizenship and education should be examined in relation to the nation-state as a political principle radically different from its predecessors, i.e., the feudal state and the absolutist state. The nation-state emerged in the historical context of the spread of nationalism, which asserted that the nation and the state should be congruent (Gellner, 1983). Nationalism turned the nation, defined in cultural and linguistic terms, into the main source of political legitimation of the state. It extended state monopoly to the cultural sphere, as a high degree of political and cultural integration was crucial to the survival of the nation-state.

The term nation-state, strictly speaking, could only be applied to polities where “a single ethnic and cultural population inhibits the boundaries of the state, the boundaries of that state are coextensive with the boundaries of that ethnic and cultural population” (Smith, 1995: 86). Thus only few contemporary world states could be described as genuine nation-states (Connor, 1994; McCrone & Kiely, 2000). Nevertheless, the nation-state has become a hegemonic state model (Castles, 2005). It is both a national model, legitimising the state in terms of common nationhood, and an international model, conceptualizing the world as divided into coherent, homogenous but mutually exclusive national units. The artificial nature of nation-states relies on the “careful nation-building policies, adopted by the state in order to diffuse and strengthen a sense of nationhood” among its heterogeneous population (Kymlicka & Stræhle, 1999: 73). Nation-building is a process through which a dominant culture tends to become a hegemonic culture of conversion and assimilation claiming a universalistic effect within the territory of the state (Zambeta, 2005). It depends on the effectiveness of various institutions and discourses that promote and legitimise common nationhood (Kymlicka & Stræhle, 1999).

The modern concept of citizenship developed in the 18th and 19th centuries as a crucial precondition for the existence of the nation-state. Citizenship incorporated rights and mutual obligations binding state agents, and defined persons exclusively by their legal attachment to the state (Tilly, 1997: 7). It became a symbol of and a
prerequisite for the political and cultural integration of the nation-state. Individuals are accorded the rights and duties of citizenship only through membership of the people—the nation. Only those who share in the public culture of the people and adhere to the ‘civic religion’ of the national state are entitled to citizenship (Heater, 1990; Smith, 1995; Castles, 2005). In other words, the nationalization of citizenship made citizenship synonymous to nationality defined as attachment to and identification with the nation (Isin & Turner, 2007: 11).

The interrelated concepts of state legitimacy and sovereignty acquired particular meanings with the advent of nationalism. Legitimacy came to be perceived exclusively in the framework of the nation al polity, united by common myths and a homogenised and standardised culture of the nation. The state is legitimate only if it corresponds to the will of the nation and translates the national will into credible policies. In other words, the professional bureaucratic state strives to become our state, whereas political institutions assert to belong to and express the people (Canovan, 1998 emphasis original).

Sovereignty, too, acquired a national connotation and came to be defined in terms of the nation’s supreme political control over a given territory (Encyclopedia of Nationalism, 2001). Sovereignty incorporates an internal and an external dimension with both of them strongly related to the notion of the self-determination of the nation—the right of the nation to exercise political control over itself (Encyclopedia of Nationalism, 2001). Domestically, a nation possesses an absolute right to undertake decisions concerning its fate within the realm of the national state in line with the principle of popular sovereignty (Mayall, 1990). Sovereignty resides with the people on the basis of national self-determination, which is increasingly viewed as a fundamental human right (Encyclopedia of Nationalism, 2001; Soysal, 1994). Externally, sovereignty is related to the representative rights of the nation in the international arena of sovereign and autonomous nation-states. As Mayall (1990: 19) put it: there is only a “single source of authority within the state and not beyond it”. Thus in the national world order, it is the nation that possesses legitimate political power and acts sovereignly in international society. At the same time, the national world order relies on the international society for supporting, promoting and maintaining the hegemony of the nation-state.

Citizenship both symbolises and constitutes means to sovereignty and legitimacy of the nation-state as a status imposed on the individual by the state. The state has retained monopoly over the definition of citizenship and the terms of acquiring and practicing citizenship. Only recently have nation-states begun to change their national legislation to accommodate double or multiple citizenship (Urry, 1999). However, national governments continue to regard multiple citizenship as a threat to loyalty and national security (Isin & Turner, 2007: 11). Historically sub-national identities were deliberately eliminated or made subservient to the state-wide national identity (Urry, 1999). The state authority over citizenship and nationality manifests the sovereignty of the state both nationally and internationally. Only citizens constitute the nation which legitimises the state, and the state has traditionally been accountable to its legal citizens only. The linkage between citizenship, sovereignty and legitimacy explains why international actors have traditionally refrained from intervening in the matters of citizenship. The principle of national
CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

sovereignty equally extended to the realm of national education. From this viewpoint, it is reasonable to ask whether citizenship education projects of supranational actors undermine the established rationale. Before that, we should understand how the nation-state and education grew together.

State education and citizenship

Andy Green’s already classical study of education and state formation in a number of European countries starts with a claim that “schooling itself became a fundamental feature of the state” (Green, 1990: 1). Mass schooling developed into an imperative mechanism, connecting individuals and states, and it appeared precisely where the nation-state model emerged (Meyer, Ramirez & Soysal, 1992). Since the 19th century, control over school education in Europe passed from the Church to the State. Educational participation was expanded from the tiny elite to the ever more heterogeneous masses, followed by the emergence of compulsory school laws. The standardisation of curricula, the introduction of entrance requirements, the inspection and licensing of schools and the certification of teachers by state authorities manifested the growing role of education in the political sphere and the transformation of the relationship between schooling, society and the state (Green, 1990). Green’s central argument is that these modern developments, though unfolding across Europe at different points of time, should be interpreted in relation to the process of state formation.

The process of state formation included the construction of the political and administrative apparatus of government and all other government-controlled agencies comprising the public realm. Importantly, state-making was complemented by the process of nation-building, focusing on the formation of collective beliefs and the legitimisation of the emerging state power in terms of shared nationhood and national character. Green criticises earlier theories for explaining the rise of public education as resulting from economic reorganisation, changing social conditions or political democratisation. In relation to the latter, he convincingly shows that, despite the popularity of the idea of education as a vehicle of human freedom and educational development, dominant educational ideologies were mostly preoccupied with social control, moral conformity and political acquiescence (Green, 1990).

More so, the spread of democratic ideas and institutions appeared to be poorly connected to the consolidation of state-led mass schooling. In fact, the authoritarian and absolutist monarchies of Prussia and Austria undertook educational expansion among the first states in Europe (Green, 1990). Even in the more liberal England the Education Act of 1870, establishing a quasi-national system of education, resulted from elite’s desire to control the effects of the extension of franchise in 1867 (Green, 1990). A similar line of argument could be detected in Finland—the first European country to grant universal suffrage in 1906. The political reform led to serious discussions concerning, among other issues, the introduction of compulsory education. The debates were premised on the assumption that the newly enfranchised citizens needed more education in order to use the powers invested in them wisely and to put the good of the Motherland ahead of personal
Accordingly, the first standardised basic education curriculum in Finland—the Rural School Curriculum—argued that civic education should refrain from encouraging young people to examine controversial issues related to society and the state. Instead, it should concentrate on explaining the laws and the order of society (Council of State, 1925).

The main purpose of state controlled mass system of education was to become an integral part of the state apparatus and a vital means of promoting the new social order (Green, 1990). It was increasingly recognised that education constitutes a potentially powerful instrument in raising political loyalty and creating a cohesive national culture, as it was envisioned by the political elite. The new system of education assumed the primary responsibility for spreading the national language, forging a national identity, encouraging patriotic values, inculcating moral discipline and rooting citizenship in terms of justification of the state to the people and the duties of the people to the state (Green, 1990). These objectives could be perceived as the central virtues of the citizen of the emerging nation-state as well as the main pillars of the essentially national model of citizenship education.

CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II ERA

The general democratisation of European societies in the post-war period added a more democratic orientation to the conception of citizenship education. However, de-colonisation and the disintegration of the multinational states of USSR and Yugoslavia further consolidated the world-wide legitimacy of the nation-state model, as a myriad of new states strove to create coherent nations within demarcated state borders (Lucas, 2001). Due to the universality of the nation-state principle and the continuing justification of state power in terms of shared nationhood, the nationalising task of education has remained largely intact.

The universalisation of the nation-state model accounts for the striking similarities in the expansion of mass schooling across varying national contexts, intensifying in the post-World War II period (Meyer, Ramirez & Soysal, 1992). A set of data analysed in the course of a comparative study of the general aims of education across world regions in the 1950s and the 1970s has shown an increase in the number of countries expressing loyalty and patriotism as the aims of education. Democracy has also shown up as a central issue, whereas world citizenship has spread to a more modest extent (Fiala & Lanford, 1987). Another study conducted in the 1980s and the 2000s indicated a general consensus on the aims of education identified as equality, national identity, citizenship and democracy, whereas world citizenship appears to a lesser extent (Amadio, Gross, Ressler & Truong, 2004). The category of national ideals, which embraces national citizenship, national identity and religion, is consistently more prevalent in both the 1980s and the 2000s. However, references to the universal principles, including world citizenship, tend to grow more strongly (Amadio, Gross, Ressler & Truong, 2004).

The findings of the two comparative studies presented above reveal that the dispersion of the nation-state model across the world has led to the consolidation of citizenship education, based on national ideals and attachment to the nation.
However, the results also demonstrate that the national and the post-national run in tandem, with the latter growing rapidly in recent years. The emergence of a more universal conception of citizenship education does not seem to weaken the position of the national model, but the latter is increasingly complemented with new elements, such as diversity and multiculturalism (Amadio, Gross, Ressler & Truong, 2004). We could attribute the increasing reference to the universal principles to the ever more prominent influence of the post-national education agenda spreading through the work of intergovernmental organisations.3

CITIZENSHIP AGENDA OF UNESCO AND THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Supranationalism

The terms supranationalism and supranational organisations refer to “all organisations, institutions and political and social processes involving more than a single state or at least two non-state actors from different nation-states” (Lucas, 2001: 805). The most important supranational organisations are intergovernmental organisations (IGO) and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) (Lucas, 2001). This chapter focuses on the work of two large-scale IGOs, UNESCO and the COE.

UNESCO and the COE originated in the post-World War II era (1945 and 1949 respectively).4 Their agenda and activities are strongly embedded in the ideology of human rights, rule of law, justice and democracy. The organisations strive to realise these goals on universal (UNESCO, 192 member states) and regional (COE, 47 member states) levels. Written in 1945, the constitution of UNESCO promotes four principles of education: world citizenship and international collaboration, equality and democracy (McNeely, 1995). Its work is premised on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The work of the COE is equally founded on the legal instruments initiated to guard and promote human rights in Europe – the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) and its judicial institution, the Court of Human Rights. Whereas UNESCO’s activities focus on promoting these virtues through the realm of culture, science and education, the COE has a broader scope of activities, albeit limited to the European region. However, the COE has acknowledged the central role of education in the achievement of its key political objectives (COE, 1997).

The strong commitment of the two organisations to democracy, the rule of law, and human rights, which are also assumed to be shared by all their member states, has a strong directing effect on the types of arguments, which can be advanced by the organisations and their members (Macmullen, 2004). The initiation and promotion of a particular type of discourse constitutes the main working mechanism of international organisations. Thus we could say that IGOs largely operate through discursive power. This is due to the fact that, even though national governments are obliged to adopt policies formally agreed upon within an IGO, organisations generally lack monitoring mechanism and the means to discipline and penalise violators (except for suspension of membership or complete expulsion) (Lucas, 2001). In sharp contrast to confederations and federations, IGOs do not exercise genuine sovereignty and authority over important decisions. The authority remains

65
with the constituent member states, whom need to approve proposals (Lucas, 2001; Macmullen, 2004 on the COE).

The strong connection between nation-states and international agents is apparent, when the historical development of IGOs is examined. They assumed an important historical role, only with the rise and consolidation of the nation-state in international politics. Due to the centrality of the nation-state, IGOs continue to struggle to reconcile the prerogatives of national sovereignty with the collective supranational dimension (Lucas, 2001). More so, the sovereignty of states over matters of national development policy has been held as non-negotiable, leading to accusations of statism (Jones, 1999). At the same time, it would be misleading to treat intergovernmental organizations as mere extensions of foreign policy. Jones (2007) and Kymlicka (2007) argue that international agendas are shaped by a complex web of policy professionals, bureaucrats, academics and advocacy groups. As international organizations have gradually established expertise, legitimacy and authority of their own, they are able to develop unique policies which do not necessarily reflect the political desires of member states.

*Studying supranationalism*

The ambiguity of supranational governance, which operates through multiple and intangible ways, makes it hard to pin down the agenda of IGOs. That is why the study of supranationalism and its regulatory ideals requires a particular methodological sensitivity to the discursive practices employed by the IGOs. This chapter attempts to unfold the discursive agenda of UNESCO and the COE by means of textual analysis. UNESCO and the COE have published extensively on different aspects of education. The following analysis is based on the official documents, such as declarations, recommendations and resolutions, which are explicitly concerned with the matters of citizenship and human rights education. These materials represent the common agenda promoted by the organisations. In addition, I studied citizenship and human rights education web-sites of UNESCO and the COE, in order to get a general overview of the current and past activities, their objectives and arguments. The data spans across the period from 1974–2007 for UNESCO and 1978–2007 in the case of the COE. The publication year and the titles of the oldest documents illustrate that both organisations have a long history of working with human rights education, whereas their adoption of the term *citizenship education* is a fairly recent endeavour.

By focusing on discourses embedded in citizenship education programmes of the COE and UNESCO, I adhere to the view that “discourse is as consequential as organisational mechanisms in facilitating new understandings of citizenship” (Soysal, 1994: 6). Discursive modes or scripts form a cultural framework for the meaning and actions of national actors. On the supranational level, this discursive frame both provides models and restricts actions and policies of the nation-state. By acting upon these principles, nation-states reproduce them and the definitions of the global system (Soysal, 1994). In other words, they “articulate their interests and mobilise new policies and strategies according to what is “acceptable” and
“available” within the broader institutional environment” (Soysal, 1994: 33). Discourse advances international organisations and is promoted, sharpened and standardised in conferences, declarations and frames of actions, produced in the context of international activities (Chabbott, 2003).

UNESCO and the COE develop their citizenship education programmes separately and through joint actions. It is remarkable that IGOs join forces on issues which overlap or are complementary in their work, presumably fostering the efficiency of their supranational regulatory power. In this way, they also help to form and maintain the so-called epistemic communities with abilities to transcend conventional inter-state authority and structures, thus consolidating and promoting the agenda of international actors (Jones, 2005). The website of the COE provides numerous examples of inter-organisational cooperation in the field of citizenship and human rights education. For instance, the COE monitors on the European level the implementation of the UN’s World Programme for Human Rights Education, which started in 2005. A European Year of Citizenship through Education was launched in cooperation with a number of international institutions including UNESCO, OHCHR (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights), OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) and the European Commission. Hence the work of the two agents is in many respects complementary. In the following I present the main findings of the analysis of the official documents of UNESCO and the COE which frame their citizenship education initiatives.

If compared to the pillars of modern education indicated by Green (1990), citizenship promoted by the COE and UNESCO is striking in its primary focus on proactive political participation of the individual. The massification of politics in the 19th century linked citizenship to its political dimension, especially the political rights of citizens to monitor national leaders. However, the supranational definition of political participation is somewhat different. It emphasises active participation, encourages critical scrutiny and legitimises action against the state, as opposed to advocating uncritical obedience and order. More so, the crucial role of human rights means that citizens are protected against their home governments and can initiate action against the state on the basis of universal human rights (e.g. COE, 1997). In its guidelines for history teaching, the COE clearly states that governments have used history in a biased manner for political purposes and ideological propaganda. Furthermore, every citizen has a right to learn history that has not been manipulated. In other words the document stipulates that history teaching should encourage a critical approach to information which does not exempt criticism about governmental institutions and political leadership (COE, 1996). The following quite clearly demonstrates how the traditional top-down relationship between the state and the individual is called into question:

…it is not the role of a democratic state to dictate rules for every aspect of human behaviour, since moral and ethical attitudes must remain an area in which the individual has freedom of choice, but always respecting the rights of others (COE, 1999: article 8).
The increased attention of international actors to citizenship and human rights education springs from their declared concern about growing political apathy, racist violence, xenophobia, nationalism and intolerance. All of these developments endanger the fulfilment of human rights and make education indispensable as means to combat societal ills (UNESCO, 1995; COE, 2002). Human rights are in the centre of citizenship education (COE, 2000; UNESCO, 2007a; 2007b). Moreover, education about human rights has become an indispensable part of the very right to education (OHCHR, 2005). This is evident from the numerous references to human rights education in all of the examined documents, as well as in the fact that citizenship education projects of the late 1990s are rooted in the earlier projects concerned with human rights education.

The imperative of human rights illustrates that both organisations adhere to and seek to promote the post-nationalisation of citizenship premised on universal personhood, instead of national and particularistic peoplehood. For instance, UNESCO urges to renounce national patriotism and proclaims universal human rights as the core of citizenship education:

Civic education programmes have become an increasingly important means for countries to educate citizens about their rights and responsibilities. Increasing pluralism within states has encouraged the development of civic education programmes that go beyond simple ‘patriotic’ models of citizenship requiring uncritical loyalty to the nation state. By defining ‘citizenship’ in terms of human rights and civic responsibilities, civic education programmes attempt to avoid concepts of ‘citizenship’ that define nationality in terms of ethnic, religious or cultural identity. (UNESCO, 2007b: online)

Human rights education is expected to foster universal values, such as peace, tolerance, global solidarity, democracy and justice, which are believed to win universal recognition regardless of the socio-cultural context (UNESCO, 1995). This statement implies that supranational agents strive to construct and enhance a set of universal values, as opposed to the particularistic values restricted to the realm of the nation. However, the situation appears to be more complicated than that. UNESCO’s central role within young nation-states has meant that the organisation inevitably aligned itself with the main pillars of western schooling, i.e., state formation, nation-building, identity, productivity and citizenship (Jones, 2005). More so, despite clear references to the notion of world citizenship in UNESCO’s core documents, its ambiguous definition does not seem to contradict or override the primacy of the national in the individual identities of citizens. World citizenship and global education are primarily related to inter-national collaboration and solidarity, world integration, progress of civilisation and appreciation and understanding of international community (UNESCO, 1974; cf. McNeely, 1995).

In the case of the COE, citizenship also remains a vague concept, perhaps due to the sensitivity of the topic (Forrester, 2003). For example, the Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member states (COE, 2002) – one of the core documents of the Education for Democratic Citizenship project – discusses practical,
rather than conceptual or ideological issues of citizenship education. It seems that the organisation tries to strike a balance between national sovereignty and the promotion of a common supranational agenda of citizenship. While all documents commonly make use of the language of “rights” and “responsibilities”, they do not define the polity to which the rights and the responsibilities are confined. It is, however, the definition of the polity which delineates the geopolitical scope of citizenship – whether national (limited to the nation-state) or post-national (extended to sub- and supra-national levels).

Overall, the textual analysis has revealed that there is no consistency in the supranational agenda. While some documents express a post-national agenda of human rights, others, like the aforementioned Recommendation (COE, 2002), underline that national governments decide on the adaptation of the supranational agenda to the local context. Such conceptual eclecticism makes it premature to talk of a coherent post-national agenda. On the one hand, both UNESCO and the COE put strong emphasis on the promotion of and respect for diversity and multiculturalism, as well as the multi-level conception of citizenship. The latter is premised on the understanding of citizenship as simultaneously confined to local, national and supranational (i.e. European and global) dimensions (e.g. COE, 2000: 5; COE, 2001: 4). Already in 1983 the COE’s Committee of Ministers recommended that Europeans should “see themselves not only as citizens of their own regions and countries, but also as citizens of Europe and of the wider world” (COE, 1983: 2). A text on the web-site of UNESCO assures that “a day will come when we shall speak of world citizenship as we now do of national citizenship” (UNESCO, 2007a: online). Concerning the European dimension, the COE’s Parliamentary Assembly, anticipating the geopolitical changes on the European continent at the end of the 1980’s, stated that the European dimension, in the educational sphere, extends to the entire continent and is not synonymous with membership in any European organisation (COE, 1989). Adherence to diversity and a multi-level conception of citizenship identity are the new qualities which substantially distinguish the post-national model from its national(istic) rival.

On the other hand, while stating that citizenship as regards the national context can no longer be identified or exercised solely in the context of globalization, civics education is defined as “educating children, from early childhood, to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society” (UNESCO, 2007a: online). Society is explicitly understood “in the special sense of a nation with a circumscribed territory which is recognized as a state” (UNESCO, 2007a: online). Thus citizenship is still often confined to the national state. The co-existence of the national discourse of citizenship and the post-national discourse of universal human rights indicates that the supranational script of citizenship education is far from renouncing the traditional notion of national citizenship.
Citizenship education is perhaps the most politically sensitive and controversial part of compulsory education, because it plays a key role in forging and maintaining national citizenship, loyalty and identity. It is particularly interesting that citizenship education has become the subject of supranational concern, despite the strong link between national sovereignty, citizenship and education and the fact that education used to lie under the indisputable control of the nation-state (cf. Ramirez, Suarez & Meyer, 2006). Thus the educational activities of UNESCO and the COE could be interpreted in a much wider manner – as evidence pointing to the transformation of the national state in the international arena and the extending sphere of influence of intergovernmental actors. Should the initiatives of international organisations to dictate the terms of citizenship education be perceived as interference with national sovereignty, a threat to national legitimacy and even a gradual closure of the traditional national polity? As the analysis above has demonstrated, the supranational agenda of citizenship education displays post-national features, which manifest changes in the perceptions of national sovereignty and legitimacy of the nation-state. Nevertheless, the intergovernmental character of the organisations also leads to the repetition of the traditional citizenship rhetoric. The conceptual inconsistency arises from the dual position of UNESCO and the COE as autonomous supranational actors constrained by the geopolitical realities and their institutional organization.

The methodology of contrasting the objectives of citizenship education established in the process of nation-state formation to the recent supranational agenda of UNESCO and the COE was premised on an understanding that the two represent antithetical scripts. In the national model citizenship (status, rights and duties) and nationality (identity) were tightly bound together. More so, in the national model, the national state dictated the limits of citizenship and citizen duties in a top-down manner, emphasising order, obedience and unquestioned loyalty (cf. Green, 1990). The post-national model of citizenship decouples citizenship from nationality, as it posits citizen rights within a wider global context, while simultaneously assigning identities to national, sub- and supranational communities (Soysal, 1994; Delanty, 2007). In the post-national discourse, the traditional emphasis on responsibilities is replaced by the notion of rights guaranteed by the state and, increasingly so, by the supranational human rights instruments.

However, it is also evident that the rise of the post-national ideology neither signals the closure of the national polity nor completely replaces the traditional models of citizenship education. Moreover, international agents could not be simplistically positioned against nation-states, with the former epitomising the advent of the post-national era and the latter manifesting the fading power of nationalism. The analysis has clearly shown that supranational discourses are not consistent. In line with the Soysal’s (1994) conclusion, my findings, too, demonstrate that the global script simultaneously adheres to and promotes both the principles of national sovereignty and universal human rights which, by definition, transcend national borders and transform the very meaning of sovereignty. Whereas the
principle of sovereignty reinforces the ultimate autonomy of the nation-state, strengthens state borders and links citizenship rights to the national collectivity, the human rights discourse attributes rights to persons regardless of their citizenship (Soysal, 1994).

UNESCO and the COE follow a double agenda of guarding the principle of national sovereignty and simultaneously promoting the discourse of human rights. In the framework of intergovernmental organisations, like UNESCO and the COE, the state continues to play a central role, as the implementation of the post-national agenda is greatly dependent on the will and the institutional capacity of national governments (cf. UNESCO, 1993). However, its sovereignty and legitimacy are no longer solely subjected to the scrutiny of the national citizenry. They are also linked to the governments and citizens of other countries (Lucas, 2001). In this way, legitimacy increasingly takes a supranational form. In order to uphold international legitimacy, national governments are forced to adopt the language produced in the supranational arena.

Instead of proclaiming a clear shift from the national to the post-national, recent developments in the field of citizenship education attest to the growing complexity of the social-educational reality, characterised by the co-existence of the national and the post-national. This complexity has to be taken into consideration by researchers, politicians and educational practitioners seeking to either analytically examine or practically influence citizenship education.

NOTES

1 The renewed interest in citizenship and citizenship education is reflected in the growing number of studies on the topic. To mention a few which all point to the revaluation of citizenship education: Janmaat and Piattoeva (2007), Grossman, Lee and Kennedy (2008), Osler and Starkey (2006), Piattoeva (forthcoming), Soysal and Schissler (2005). International organisations, too, have studied citizenship education policies, practices and attitudes of young people: All-European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies (COE, 2004), the IEA Civic Study (e.g. Torney-Purta, 2002) and Education and Active Citizenship in the European Union (European Commission, 1998).

2 My ongoing doctoral research focuses on citizenship education policies in Finland and Russia, but locates national policies within the supranational citizenship education agenda shaped by the COE and UNESCO.

3 The aim of this chapter is not to trace the dispersion of the new citizenship education model in the nation-states. I analyse whether the model of citizenship education developed by intergovernmental organizations is different from the traditional national ideal. A study by Mary Rauner (1999) has shown that linkages to UNESCO are significant predictors of the extent to which countries incorporate global orientation in civic curriculum. However, contrary to Rauner’s conclusion that there has been a worldwide shift from national civic education to global civic education, other studies confirm that the national and the global run in tandem, or the national model still prevails (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007; Piattoeva forthcoming; Soysal & Schissler, 2005; Grossman, Lee & Kennedy, 2008). In this respect it seems that the conclusion of Soysal and Wong is most accurate: “Teaching still emphasises national history, society and citizenship. No perception of a global or transnational citizen emerges as such, but the national is now subject to transnational reflections—this is where it obtains its legitimacy. Citizens are still constructed for a world of competitive nation-states, however their competitiveness now comes from how much they contribute to what is held to be global, and thus worthy”. (Soysal & Wong, 2006.)
Information on the history of the organisations is available on their web-sites: www.unesco.org and www.coe.int.

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CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS


73


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6. SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY MAPPING IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

A method for visualizing discourse and social change

“Knowledge” means the outcome of the assimilation of information through learning. Knowledge is the body of facts, principles, theories and practices that is related to the field of work or study. In the context of the European Qualifications Framework knowledge is described as theoretical and/or factual (EQF 2008: 11).

I am enough of an artist to draw freely upon my imagination. Imagination is more important than knowledge. Knowledge is limited. Imagination encircles the world (Quotation attributed to Albert Einstein).

The true division of humanity is between those who live in light and those who live in darkness. Our aim must be to diminish the number of the latter and increase the number of the former. That is why we demand education and knowledge (Quotation attributed to Viktor Hugo).

INTRODUCTION

In this first part of Nordic Voices, discourse, theory and method are the focus for contributors to this volume. In this chapter Social Cartography will be presented as a method for mapping discourse, presenting the theoretical framework on which this method is based. In this chapter I join in on the impossible task which Paulson (2005) left as his legacy: “to acknowledge the partiality of one’s story (indeed, of all stories) and still tell it with authority and conviction” (Serres, 1995 cited in Paulston, 2005: 1).

There can be no doubt concerning the genuine concern for the future and destiny of humanity that underlies this chapter. Increasingly vital human activities, such as learning, knowledge, and education are being re-defined, while equally important human qualities, such as imagination, fulfillment and bildung, receive less and less attention. The re-definition of learning, knowledge, and education has turned these vital human activities into merely a few of the productive wheels viewed as necessary to keep the market economy spinning, de-humanizing them in the process.
Interestingly, imagination has recently entered into the European Commission discourse, albeit entering through a back door, as it were, linked to creativity, innovation, economic development and entrepreneurship. The European Parliament and the European Council have designated 2009 as The European Year of Creativity and Innovation, defining its thrust in the following manner: “Creativity is a driver for innovation and a key factor for the development of personal, occupational, entrepreneurial and social competences and the well-being of all individuals in society” (The European Parliament and the Council, 2008: 2). This chapter does not specifically address the European Commission discourse, which has been done elsewhere (O’Dowd, 2009, 2010); rather it focuses on how discourse can be visualized through mapping, offering three mappings as examples of possible uses for this method.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In 1998 Lynch discussed the “increasingly shrill debate over the objectivity of knowledge and science” (Lynch, 1998: 2). Though less shrill at present, the debate has neither been resolved, nor have the central issues and their ramifications been adequately addressed within comparative education. Rather what we have seen is a power manifestation, in which postmodernism has been identified and defined by its opponents in a number of different manners. These diverse definitions often say more about the authors’ vested professional/occupational interests than the scientific implications of the objectivity of knowledge and science. Interestingly the temperature of the debate and the manner in which it was conducted did not do much to re-instate confidence in the objectivity of knowledge and science. Rust (1998) concludes:

…numerous and often contradictory interpretations of postmodernism contribute to confusion as to its meaning…While postmodernism is a concept that casts its net across a number of orientations, a central orientation is that of poststructuralism (Rust, 1996: 29).

What, then, are the features of poststructuralism? How does social cartography attempt to address its concerns?

Metanarratives

One of the main features of poststructuralism is its rejection of metanarratives, viewing them as “totalizing, standardizing and predominating” (Paulston, 1996: 9). Or as Rust formulates it:

The danger of grand narrative developers is that they and their devotees continue to overstate the potential of their narrative. They play a power game in that they would exclude other narratives, claiming that only their narrative is legitimate (Rust, 1996: 31).
The field of comparative and international education is not without both “grand narrative developers” and “their devotees”, a fact of which one can assume Rust was well aware: when he gave his 1991 presidential address to the Comparative and International Education Society, Rust argued that postmodernism “should be a central concept in our comparative education discourse” (cited in Paulston, 1996: 9). Usher and Edwards (1994) put forth similar arguments:

> We argue that the resistant and lucid postmodernism are two sides of the same coin that each depends for its effect on the other. We…argue for the lucid as a form of resistance needing to always deploy the lucid the better to do its work. Without engaging with the lucid we are left with forms of social analysis which become totalizing despite their intent and remain oppositional but ineffective because as forms they lack the emotional investment of a desire for change (Usher & Edwards, 1994 cited in Paulston, 1996: 26).

**Difference**

Another feature of poststructuralism is an insistence upon the acknowledgement and appreciation of difference. Although it might first appear as if this is not a specific feature, but rather the logical consequence of a rejection of the grand narrative, that assumption may be contrived as an overstatement of the case. The acknowledgement and appreciation of difference, it is argued here, entails a variety of other concerns. Not only does it imply that the voices of others, who have not been heard, are acknowledged as important and that “space” is given to their perspectives, knowledge and their claims, but it also compels us to question the validity and reliability of knowledge claims made on their exclusion. Can we really defend a knowledge base that has been constructed on the basis of a few voices that share much the same concerns and have similar perspectives? Is it enough to include others in the discourse now, in an attempt to rectify past sins of exclusion? Or is it necessary to question the consequences of the exclusion of others in a more comprehensive manner?

Herein lies the challenge of poststructuralism that has given rise to such vehement rejection of its premises, it is maintained here. Is the knowledge base that has been constructed over the years defensible, if it is constructed on the exclusion of others, the perspectives and experiences of so many different groups? As innocent as the claim for the necessity to allow space for difference to enter the discourse might first appear, it ultimately has consequences for the scientific project itself. The cumulative process by which our knowledge claims are assumed to be developed, maintained and defended is questioned, when the process is viewed as an exclusive process, that is, when we take into consideration that the cumulative process has rested on the inclusion of only a portion of the voices, perspectives and experiences concerned. Poststructuralism poses a serious challenge to what we assume to be “the known”, to what we are prepared to acknowledge as “knowledge” and to whom we view as legitimate knowledge producers, who are thus vested with the

It appears to this author that the events that have lead up to what is termed a “global economic crisis” should be evidence enough to question the discourse affecting so many lives today. Rather than shrug the crisis off by exclaiming that it is the result of greed, speculation, and the lack of judgment and foresight of a group with altogether too much power, composed of American investors and “City financiers” (Standish, 2009: ii) and their counterparts in other countries, it appears to be an opportune time to question the discourse that has produced this crisis.

The boundaries between what constitutes Science and what constitutes Business have since WWII increasingly become more and more fuzzy:

The relationship between researchers and industry is undoubtedly one of the most striking trends of recent years, and it significantly characterizes the current organization and policy of research. In areas like microelectronics, nanotechnology and biotechnology, especially, one witnesses an unprecedented interweaving between research and the market whereby “scientific knowledge” is transformed into economic activity (Bucchi, 2008: 135).

This could be as good a time as any to reflect upon whether or not the exclusion of others from the construction of our knowledge base has opened up for the increasing inclusion of Business in Science. Or, to put it another way, had there been an opening for Business in Science, if the needs, experiences and concerns of those whose knowledge has for centuries been deemed illegitimate been seen, legitimatized and taken into consideration? As education is undergoing a re-definition and re-conceptualisation as instrumentalism (O’Dowd, 2009, 2010), those of us who reject this perception of the goals and purpose of education (Harris, 2007; Standish, 2008; Buras and Apple, 2008; O’Dowd, 2009, 2010) and what it entails for the practice of education and the training of future generations, appear to share similar concerns. Harris expresses her concern in the following manner:

The value of education as important in itself is not recognised. There is no recognition of the purpose of education as a means of questioning the self and society. There is no space to think about difference and what it means in a globalised economy (Harris, 2007: 354).

Standish (2008) expresses his concern with “the importance of questions of naming” with reference to new philosophies of learning. He states that there is reason “to question how far accounts of emotional intelligence, well-being and self-esteem, fight shy of direct considerations of ethical matters, becoming in the process a conceptual muddle and offering no more than a panacea” (Standish, 2008: 352). Concern with new learning philosophies is, furthermore, expressed as regards the inevitable categorising of people, which will follow in the wake when “the new learning becomes jargon”. Standish suggests that the use of “such familiar terms as ‘intelligent’ or ‘non-intelligent’, as ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’, can lead to educational deprivation; so what impoverishments may that new jargon hold in store?” (Standish, 2008: 352).
Buras and Apple (2008) focus our attention on the problematic issue of neoconservatism in the United States and its impact on contemporary schooling (Buras & Apple, 2008). Tracing the history of neoconservatism in the US, the authors maintain that:

the unimaginative emphasis of neoconservatives on enforcing academic standards while dismissing the difficult but essential work of debating whose standards count (and to which effect) is narrow and politically naïve (Buras & Apple, 2008: 297).

Moreover, Buras and Apple (2008) question the re-definition of utopianism in the neoconservative context of the United States as blue-print utopianism (thus identifying Socialism and Communism), robbing utopianism of its visionary power. They urge us to consider that transformations are necessary to bring about “more just and humane social arrangements” than those which constitute knowledge in schools at present. The authors urge us to engage in a continued process of “debating, envisioning and re-envisioning” to counteract what they see as problematic:

We reject the deadening standardisation, ‘security’ and ‘stability’ endorsed by neoconservatives, who have endorsed the blueprint but rejected the utopian ideals (Buras & Apple, 2008: 299).

The importance of utopian ideals is stressed by Buras & Apple (2008: 299), who see history as a means by which to “re-educate desire, initiate the infinite process of re-thinking schools and ignite a renewed confidence in the possibilities of imagination”, thereby stressing the marginalising effect neoconservatism is having on imagination. What is utopianism, if it is not the “blueprint-utopianism”, endorsed by neoconservatism? Briefly, utopianism is “[T]he idea that we can possibly go somewhere that exists only in our imagination…The map to a new world is in the imagination, in what we see in our third eyes rather than in the desolation that surrounds us” (Kelley, 2002 cited in Buras & Apple, 2008: 299). If we together view a new world with our third eye, we may envision a new world in which there are new structures of knowledge. What more appropriate time to begin seeing less unimaginatively, than when we are faced with the “global economic crisis”, and the danger posed by the HIV/AIDS and the A/H1N1 pandemics, their causes and consequences for our own lives and the lives of countless others. Wallerstein (1997) identifies this as a time when “[T]he modern world-system has developed structures of knowledge that are significantly different from previous structures of knowledge” (Wallerstein, 1997: 10). He urges us to consider the implications of these new structures of knowledge:

What is specific to the structures of knowledge in the modern world-system is the concept of the “two cultures”. No other historical system has instituted a fundamental divorce between science and philosophy/humanities, or what I think would be better characterized as the separation of the quest for the true and the quest for the good and the beautiful…The idea that science is over here and socio-political decisions are over there is the core concept that
sustains Eurocentrism, since the only universalist propositions that have been acceptable are those which are Eurocentric (Wallerstein, 1997: 10).

This, then, is the core of the “threat” posed by the “post-modern turn”, a turn that has not substantially influenced the field of comparative education. As Phillips and Schweisfurth (2006) state that “[I]t has been claimed that relative to other fields, comparative education has been late in addressing issues of postmodernity” (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2006: 38). In defence of the post-modern turn and in anticipation of its future significance for comparative education, Gottleib maintains:

The ‘post-modern turn’ in comparative education, if and when it takes place, will most likely result in a [different] construction of knowledge. The destabilization of the dominant modernist genres of discourse and the opening up of space for the actors’ voices and authority will introduce indigenous knowledge and new categories into the semantic universe of comparative education, through the typical interpretative underlying metaphors of culture as text, metaphor and game (Gottleib, 2000 cited in Phillips and Schweisfurth, 2006: 38).

SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY

Having taken the post-modern turn seriously, Paulston (1996) developed social cartography mapping and published a seminal work on the topic. In Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change (1996), different mappings are presented by cartographers and comparativists alike, providing insight into how mapping social and educational change can be done. In the same volume Paulston defines social cartography as seeking to “visualize and re-present the simultaneity, diversity and power inherent in all the social “scapes” that can be seen to constitute our world today” (Paulston, 2000: 319).

Each of the contributors to the volume on Social cartography has shown how they have made use of this methodology. In this chapter I wish to explain my use of Social cartography. Therefore three mappings are presented. The first is the mapping that visualises the Malmö Longitudinal discourse, such as it defines the concept of knowledge, which was the topic of my doctoral dissertation (O’Dowd, 2000). It re-presents “The Changing Nature of Knowledge” such as it is constructed in the Malmö Longitudinal Study discourse. The second mapping is that of “Conceptualisations of Knowledge in a European Comparative Education Discourse”, such as it is constructed within the framework of an EU financed Training and Mobility of Young Researchers Network (O’Dowd et al., 2003). The third mapping re-presents a symposium held at the Comparative Education Society in Europe conference in Athens in 2008. It is entitled “Mapping the View from the North on Education: Situating Global Knowledge(s) in a Research Scapes”.

In each of the mappings texts are situated after they have been analysed by the mapper. The texts include those that the mapper has identified as relevant to the context studied. When the texts have been read and analysed, they are positioned on the mapping in relation to a pre-determined framework, with the “poles” used in the mapping either arising from the analysis of the texts themselves or as is done
on the first mapping from two “poles” taken from the analysis and two of the “poles” selected by the mapper. In mappings the mapper’s position in relation to the texts is clearly marked, visualising in this manner the mapper’s way of seeing. Identifying the mapper and her/his way of seeing in this manner is imperative in the context of social cartography mapping. This is due to the historical development of mapping itself, in which “maps have become integrated with science and the state” (Turnbull, 1996: 54), lending both power through a long process of coproduction and through the exclusion of other knowledge, or perhaps more accurately, others’ knowledge(s): “The state in its pre-modern and modern forms evolves together with the map as an instrument of polity to assess taxes, wage war, facilitate communications, and exploit strategic resources” (Wood, 1993 cited in Turnbull, 1996: 67).

Social cartography mapping is envisioned as a process by which this process of coproduction can be interrogated, while at the same time acknowledging that “[p]ower is inherent in the making of all knowledge and all representation. Power…does not merely reside in the use and articulation of maps; it is inherent in them” (Turnbull, 1996: 69). The constructive power of maps is furthermore underscored by Turnbull, who maintains that “maps change the space within which external power can be manifested; external and internal powers are coproduced” (Turnbull, 1996: 69). The importance of maps and especially the mapping of space is further stressed by Turnbull (1996: 55):

Understanding how history is made has been the primary source of emancipatory insight and practical political consciousness, the great variable container for a critical interpretation of social life and practice. Today, however, it may be space more than time that hides the consequences from us, the “making of geography” more than the making of history that provides the most revealing tactical and theoretical world (Soja, 1989 cited in Turnbull, 1996: 55).

Acknowledging the power of maps and the relation between power and knowledge, social cartography mapping seeks to expose the non-innocence of all maps by placing the mapper on her/his own mapping, making it apparent in this manner that maps, especially those whose truth claims are framed as universal, reveal themselves as partial, and context-dependent accounts that are relative to the conceptual schemes in which they are constructed, as are social cartography mappings.

MAPPING THE CHANGING NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE

Theoretical framework

In this first mapping, “The Changing Nature of Knowledge”, the work of Ernest Cassirer and Michael Lynch is used, especially as it relates to concepts. Both philosophers share similar concerns, but distinguish themselves from one another as regards whether or not they view the goal of Science as precise concepts (Cassirer) or as fluid concepts (Lynch). The common ground that Cassirer and Lynch share, in my view, is an understanding – arising from Kant – that “[we]
have, and, must, have a conception of a single world that our conceptual schemes represent” (Lynch, 1998: 152).

Though Cassirer and Lynch reach this understanding by travelling along different paths at different points and by means of differing “conceptual schemes”, they both focus on representations. Here a distinction arises, however, between the two philosophers: Cassirer maintains that, as science leaves the realm of language and enters the world of formulae, or the world of exact science, as he terms it, based on numbers rather than words, it is no longer “descriptive” and thus not “representational” (Cassirer, 1966: 217), while Lynch investigates representations even in these scientific fields through the use they make of representational devices, among other representations. What appears to be the point here, seen at this point of time and, of course, through the conceptual scheme that is mine, is not the fact that these two philosophers differ, but what they share in common and what their differences might be construed to mean in relation to the concept of knowledge and how it has changed over time.

Briefly, Cassirer can be construed as maintaining a stance that advances the supremacy of the scientific concept over all others. This position is based on his evolutionary perspective on human development in which myth, religion, language, art and history all play important roles, leading finally to science, the epitome of human development. Science will, Cassirer seems to say, eventually lead us as near as we can come to an understanding of “the real”, which we have only previously been able to understand intuitively and which we have only been able to represent. Lynch, on the other hand, rejects the possibility that we can understand this “single world” exclusively through science as it makes use of representation and representational devices, while he intuitively accepts that a “single world” exists, and turns outward into the world itself to find an understanding through his theory of metaphysical pluralism, maintaining realism about truth. Lynch’s theory of metaphysical pluralism is termed relativistic Kantianism. Vital to an understanding of his theory is Lynch’s explanation of worldview:

Like our eyes, our worldview is a complex system with various components, each of which must work together if we are to see anything at all. Our worldview includes not only our beliefs and the concepts we employ in forming our beliefs, but the interest we have that help explain why we have those concepts, the values that guide those interests, and the underlying practices and capacities that limit and define our cognitive production and intake. A worldview is what Wittgenstein sometimes called a “form of life” (Lynch, 1998: 51 emphasis in the original).

Lynch and Cassirer's perspectives serve as two of the “poles” in the first mapping. They are both conceptual schemes and at the same time different ways of seeing the scientific enterprise, its place in the world and the legitimacy of scientific knowledge. Cassirer’s stance is understandable, given that it is written in the 1930s and 1940s. On the same premise, Lynch’s position is equally understandable. And yet, seen in the light of the Malmö Longitudinal discourse, both of these
philosophers and their works have relevance for mapping a discourse that spans the years 1939-1995.

While Cassirer maintains the existence of Truth, Lynch asserts that truth, while being intuitively understandable, can be seen as one and the same, and at the same time, different, being as it is true within the conceptual scheme within which it is seen, if it is found to be valid in that scheme. Lynch allows thus for the existence of several truths, while maintaining the existence of a “single world”. The advantages of Lynch’s metaphysical pluralism, linked as it is to the realism of truth, is that it can allow for the compatible existence of different truths, while maintaining the “unity of essence” (Cassirer, 1957: 33). This is accomplished by the acceptance of diversity of direction, in contrast to Cassirer’s “unity of direction”, while maintaining, as does Cassirer, the “unity of essence”, through the realism of truth. This is a particularly suitable tool for this context, which deals with multiple perspectives. It can also be used to explain Lynch’s fluid concept: if diversity of direction is advocated – or to use Cassirer’s metaphor – if pathfinding leads us in different directions, we are all sure to eventually meet again, if the goal to which we are beating up paths are continents, rather than villages, if they are maps, rather than tiny spots on maps, if they are fluid, rather than precise concepts. What is essential is the unity of essence: that the concepts we use have much the same meaning for as many people as possible, rather than that the concepts are not understandable outside of the contexts in which they are used.

Given the introduction of this philosophical perspective in the context of the Malmö Longitudinal Study, the definition of social cartography is modified. Social cartography, as it is used in my work, is further defined as “the art of constructing fluid concepts in space, by means of introducing a new heterogeneous reference point, around which that which is disparate can be gathered in a new context of meaning, providing partial answers with regard to complex phenomena” (O’Dowd et al, 2003: 26).

Mapping the Discourse of the Malmö Longitudinal Study 1938-1995

The concept of knowledge is the topic of work, entitled The Changing Nature of Knowledge: Mapping the discourse of the Malmö Longitudinal Study 1938-1995. The purpose of the work is to study how knowledge has been represented in the body of educational research which constitutes the Malmö Longitudinal Study since 1938. Six seminal texts have been selected, which use the Malmö Longitudinal Study data. These texts span the time period of 1939 – 1995 and have different foci, such as intelligence, social adjustment, benefits of education, recurrent education and quality of life. Discourse analysis has been used to study the texts. The assumption, guiding the analysis, is that representations of knowledge are found in the texts. In this study the representations that are sought are ideas, with reference to knowledge. Social cartography was used to map change, and, in particular, the changes that have occurred during the last sixty years in representations of knowledge in this research. An analysis of the literature based on the Malmö Longitudinal Study is expected to clarify the manner in which
knowledge has been represented during the years 1939-1995 within the context of this longitudinal study. The aim of the study is to clarify the ways of seeing the Malmö Longitudinal Study over time, to show how they have changed, and to map these ways of seeing as an intertextual field.

“Seeing” in this context refers to the way in which Cassirer describes it:

There is creation in the very act of seeing, Goethe said, “and though scientists may do their utmost to exorcise it, they are driven before they know it to invoke the help of the productive imagination”. And this applies not only to the scientifically determined or the artistically formed intuition, but to simple empirical intuition as well. For Goethe himself this relation to the “productive imagination” leads to that “difference between seeing and seeing,” on which he insists over and over again, concluding that all “sensuous” seeing is already a “seeing with the eyes of the spirit” (Cassirer, 1957:134).

The analysis reveals several ways of “seeing”: through (1) the categories of description found in the texts, (2) the perspective found in the texts, (3) the knowledge base, found in the references used and the purposes for which they were used, which disclose the viewpoint from which “seeing” occurs. More specifically, seeing is defined, not as “the sensory activation by some perceptual manifold-out-there” (Amann & Knorr-Cetina, 1990: 86). Rather than “[presuming] a relationship between “seeing” and the linguistic reference to objects, the authors ask us to consider “what if these objects are, as they appear to be in science, visually flexible phenomena whose boundaries, extension and identifying details are themselves at stake” (Amann & Knorr-Cetina, 1990: 86). This question is not rhetorical, as it has relevance for what is considered reliable evidence, one of the foundations of empirical science. Evidence, “is the aesthetically enhanced, carefully composed renderings of flexible visual objects, that, through the meandering interrogatory processes of image analyzing talk, have been “embedded” in procedural reconstructions, local experiences and in the landscape of the data display”, Amann and Knorr-Cetina maintain (1990: 115-116). The “embeddedness” of evidence has consequences for the conceptualizations of knowledge in the texts: inasmuch as evidence is embedded in that which constitutes the way knowledge is constructed, it is assumed that the way of seeing what knowledge is, is embedded in the text itself and can be understood when the text is subjected to a thorough analysis. For the context of the doctoral dissertation reported here, all of the raw data and the interpretations made are fastidiously reported in three chapters. When it has been possible, the authors have been asked to read and comment upon the interpretations made, in order to validate this author’s interpretations. This purpose has been undertaken to ensure rigor in this qualitative approach.

**Differing ways of seeing knowledge**

Discourse analysis has shown that through the normal scientific practices of choosing, judging and interpreting distinctively different conceptualizations of knowledge are constructed and embedded in the texts. The purposes and the
sources, for which these activities have been undertaken, are quite dissimilar, so much so, as to constitute differing conceptualizations of knowledge, underlying these six educational research texts.

Below the conceptualizations of knowledge that are constructed through the normal scientific processes of judging, interpreting and choosing are reported. These are as follows:

- Hallgren (1939) conceptualizes knowledge as an experimental endeavour of practical value, aided by tacit knowledge and defined as the investigation of the unknown.
- Husén (1950) conceptualizes knowledge as an exploratory endeavour, the purpose of which is to acquire predictions, while the endeavour itself is problematic, due to difficulties associated with the adequate measure and isolation of factors, which influence complex phenomena.
- Husén et al. (1969) conceptualizes knowledge as a process of assessment, which is predictive and inconclusive, requiring better measures and cautious interpretation.
- Fägerlind (1975) conceptualizes knowledge as replication, expert knowledge, and a source of controversy.
- Tuijnman (1989) conceptualizes knowledge as esoteric, expert knowledge and as the investigation of predominating social prerogatives.
- Bang (1995) conceptualizes knowledge as strategic choice, understanding and the de-contextualization and re-conceptualization of scientific and everyday knowledge.

The work of Ernst Cassirer and Michael Lynch, introduced into the discourse of the Malmö Longitudinal study as a new heterogeneous reference point, is an attempt to remedy in this context the problem of the “fundamental divorce between science and philosophy/humanities” or “the separation of the quest for the true and the quest for the good and the beautiful.” When science is seen in relation to larger philosophical concerns, when education is framed by arguably more important concerns than national priorities, disciplinary mandates or organisational prerogatives, it can become “the quest for the true and the quest for the good and the beautiful”. The mapping becomes, then, a new context of meaning for educational research, where that which is disparate is gathered together in a fluid concept, entitled “The Changing Nature of Knowledge”.

In figure 1 the texts are positioned in relation to one another and in relation to fluid or precise concepts, as well as in relation to Expert knowledge and Tacit knowledge, two categories of description that were identified in the texts. Over and above these four “poles”, the texts are positioned in relation to their fields of study, their disciplinary specialities, i.e., experimental psychology, empirical psychology, the economics of education and comparative education. Discourse analysis along with the mapping show the following: Over time the discourse of the Malmö Longitudinal Study focuses more and more on methods, culminating in the 1970s on the advent of “expert knowledge” which is defined by an analysis of the manners in which this term is constructed in the texts as “knowledge that is of and for experts only”. The mapping, then, attempts to clarify the ways of seeing, and
thus discloses the following: With reference to the above discussion on ways of seeing, the Malmö Longitudinal Study discourse can be seen to practice inclusion and exclusion. Included are the ways of seeing that support the ways in which seeing occurs in the Malmö Longitudinal Study discourse. Association, to use the term Latour (1990: 35) suggests, is used to strengthen this discursive way of seeing. Exclusion is put to practice by, for example, displacement, invariance and immutability. Displacement occurs, when the way of seeing serves to judge certain data as inappropriate for use, placing women outside of the scope of studies that deal with issues of equality and education. Invariance is used to establish universal constants that are neither time, culture, nor context specific. Immutability is made use of in the discourse to establish truth claims, modelling reality to fit the analysis, i.e., path analysis, and LISREL analysis, and placing these geometrical models in a written scientific context, creating immutable mobiles, furthered by the use of the “panopticon”, i.e., “another way of obtaining the logical consistency necessary for power on a large scale” (Latour, 1990: 25). In this and other ways, the Malmö Longitudinal Study discourse is seen to reify itself and, in extension, legitimizes its way of seeing. At the same time, the mapping shows different perceptions of comparative education, its goals and priorities, within the same institutional context.

Mapping Conceptualizations of Knowledge in a European Comparative Education Discourse

The second example is a mapping entitled “Conceptualisations of Knowledge in a European Comparative Education Discourse”. This mapping is based on work conducted within the framework, broadly defined, as a Training and Mobility of
Young Researchers’ Network, funded by the EU in 1998-2002. Six European universities were included in the network, i.e., Oxford, Bourgogne, Lisbon, Madrid, Humboldt and Stockholm, which functioned as the coordinator of the network. The name of the joint research and training network was Problems of Standardisation and Traditions in a Global Economy, with the acronym PRESTIGE. On the mapping work done within this framework and in association with it is positioned in relation to four “poles”, i.e., “companies”, “academe”, “policy” and “practice”. These “poles” were distinguished through the discourse analysis conducted with the texts. In addition, other sub-themes were distinguished and appear on the mapping in relation to the “poles”; “management strategies”, “constructed concepts”, national priorities” and “skills and competencies”. This mapping shows the complexity of a comparative education discourse on knowledge, such as it is constructed through the texts written by members of the network. In extension, it situates diverse perspectives on knowledge and knowledge production in an intertextual field, in which the texts themselves provide the “poles”, the frame of reference, for an understanding of the different understandings of what constitutes knowledge. On the one hand, the mapping shows a clear focus on knowledge as defined in relation to national priorities, where the texts are more or less focused on national priorities and Academe, more or less policy-oriented or research-oriented. On the other hand, knowledge is conceptualised in relation to Academe and Practice and the study of constructed concepts. Moreover, several of the texts focus specifically on knowledge such as it is conceptualised within the framework of companies, where knowledge management strategies, on the one hand, or skills and competencies, on

Figure 2. Conceptions of Knowledge in a European Comparative Education Discourse

AQ: Please provide citation for Figure 2.
the other hand, are the frame of reference for conceptualisations of knowledge. In the centre of the mapping, two texts are positioned, as they represent knowledge in relation to both policy and practice, the Academe and Companies in a comprehensive manner. Further interpretation of this fluid concept appears to give credence to the claim that the priorities of “Business” are increasingly influencing education and education policy, so much so as to affect conceptualizations of knowledge in a broader European comparative education discourse.

Mapping the View from the North on Education: Situating Global Knowledge(s) in a Research “Scape”

At the 2008 Comparative Education of Europe conference in Athens, members of the Nordic Comparative and International Education Society (NOCIES) organized a symposium entitled Views from the North. Six researchers, who work at Nordic universities, presented their work at this symposium. The mapping presented here is a graphic representation of the symposium.

On the mapping, the titles of the texts presented, the presenters, their cultural contexts, their institutional affiliations and the thrust of their presentations are mapped together, showing in this manner, among other things, the different contexts that taken together both distinguish researchers working together in the same symposium as well as that which brings them together. Over and above this feature, the mapping can be seen as an illustration of the complexity of the

![Diagram of the View from the North on Education: Situating Global Knowledge(s) in a Research “Scape”](image-url)
academic profession today, where it is not unusual for professionals with varying backgrounds to meet, interact and produce knowledge together. Most importantly, the mapping clearly shows how such a common place academic activity as a symposium becomes multifaceted when all of the perspectives inherent in the activity are acknowledged and made visible. One may even argue that such a mapping shows the inherently multifaceted nature of knowledge production today, where cultural origins, institutional affiliations, research theories and methods, despite their distinct differences, nevertheless contribute to the production of knowledge that is enriched by difference. This mapping, in contrast to the previous mappings, makes use of, not only the texts, but also the researchers themselves, entering them into the framework of the mapping. By so doing, knowledge and knowledge production is visualized as being “situated knowledge” (Haraway, 1991), underlining that knowledge is embodied and stressing the influence of the multiple contexts affecting researchers and their knowledge production, i.e., their cultural contexts, their institutional contexts, their professional networks and research perspectives.

THE RESEARCHER’S POSITIONALITY

Paulston (1990) and Benson (1990) have called for reflexive approaches to comparative education, in which researchers take their own positionality into consideration. At the outset of this chapter, three quotations have been presented, framing in this manner the chapter itself and the way of seeing presented herein. Thereafter three examples of mapping have been presented. As regards the first mapping, several questions are posed: What if the goal of the concept is not precision, but rather inclusion of previously excluded voices, perspectives and ways of seeing? What if the aim of the scientific concept is not to seek for the ever-elusive truth out there, but to understand the realities of those who inhabit the world with us at any given point in time? What if science through its belief in the legitimacy of universalism has enabled Eurocentricism and “the fundamental divorce between science and philosophy/humanities…the separation of the quest for the true and the quest for the good and the beautiful” as Wallerstein (1997: 10) argues? Cassirer’s position as regards the goal of the precise concept as universalism is challenged by positioning it in relation to Lynch’s relativistic Kantianism. This positioning is purposeful and timely, given the recent re-appearance of universalism in education. Now among philosophers of education, there are those who wish to advance a “non-toxic universalism” (Enslin & Tjiattas, 2009). The authors maintain that “[d]ealing justly with issues of cultural difference, a concern commonly extended both domestically and across national boundaries, takes us only a limited way in addressing the wider problems that impact on education and its place in human flourishing across the globe” (Enslin & Tjiattas, 2009: 17). The authors maintain that:

Universalism in education is not the gigantic affront it is widely held to be, and there are pressing reasons for philosophers of education to widen their
frame to include moderate universalism of both scope and of justification (Enslin & Tjiattas, 2009: 17).

Seen in relation to Lynch’s and Wallerstein’s arguments, the case for universalism, moderate, non-toxic or otherwise, is difficult to prove. Lynch can be assumed to argue that univeralism precludes pluralism and must therefore be rejected. Wallerstein might argue that the authors’ arguments are a defence of Eurocentricism and the structures of knowledge it has produced, which in turn sustains Eurocentrism. It is argued here that much can be said in the same strain about how knowledge is defined today, especially the definition of knowledge recently published by the European Commission:

“Knowledge” means the outcome of the assimilation of information through learning. Knowledge is the body of facts, principles, theories and practices that is related to the field of work or study. In the context of the European Qualifications Framework knowledge is described as theoretical and/or factual (EQF 2008: 11).

As comparative education scholars, researchers and teachers we need to ask ourselves several vital questions with regard to the definition of knowledge above: Is this a definition that we support? What, in that case, are we supporting? What does this definition of knowledge have for repercussions on practice, policy and, in extension, teacher training, the development of the next generation of learners and on knowledge itself?

What about imagination? What does it have to do with education? To what extent does imagination play a role in our lives, our work, and our research? Was Einstein correct, when he stated that “[I]magination is more important than knowledge. Knowledge is limited. Imagination encircles the world”. Assuming that there is some kernel of truth in this statement, what relevance does imagination have for what we do, what we envision education does, and ultimately for our ways of seeing ourselves, others and our research?

The quotation attributed to Victor Hugo gives rise to other questions: “The true division of humanity is between those who live in light and those who live in darkness. Our aim must be to diminish the number of the latter and increase the number of the former. That is why we demand education and knowledge”. What does Victor Hugo mean? Is his statement a correct assessment of the goal of education and knowledge? Or can it be construed as an expression of Eurocentricism? By dividing the world into those who live in light and those who live in darkness, is Hugo defending “the particularity of Europe’s reconstruction of the world” (Wallerstein, 1997: 12) and thereby contributing to a way of seeing that counteracts a “reunited, and thereby non-Eurocentric, structure of knowledge” (Wallerstein, 1997: 12)? Or is Hugo’s description of those who live in darkness, rather a reference to a state of mind that education and knowledge can and should alter? If that is the case, it could arguably be a mandate for us all to do our utmost to re-instate imagination and utopianism in education and knowledge production.

Despite the apparent difference in the three quotations that frame this chapter, they share one thing in common. They are all ways of seeing, or as Porter calls
them, versions of the world (Potter, 1996). Acknowledging that there are different ways of seeing and different versions of the world comes a long way in promoting our own exploration of ways of seeing and the consequences they might have.

CONCLUSION

My way of seeing have been portrayed in the mappings presented in this chapter, the aim being to open up the discourse on comparative education and present a methodology, developed by Paulston (1996), in which the complexity of phenomena is made visible and acknowledged as such. With social cartography Paulston has challenged comparativists to reflect upon their practice, their research, their ways of seeing and the implications these might have. Gottlieb assures us that, “if and when the ‘post-modern turn’ in comparative education takes place, it will most likely result in a [different] construction of knowledge”, through “the destabilization of the dominant modernist genres of discourse and the opening up of space for the actors’ voices and authority” (Gottlieb, 2000 cited in Phillips and Schweisfurth, 2006: 38). This statement reflects Paulston’s own concern: “as a heuristic tool for comparative education, mapping should . . . demonstrate its epistemological value, practical utility and ethical-political worth” (Paulston, 1996: 432).

In this chapter three mappings have been presented, each of them addressing the issues that concerned Paulson. In the first mapping, “The Changing Nature of Knowledge”, an attempt has been made to demonstrate the epistemological value of mapping. In the second mapping, “Conceptualisations of Knowledge in an European Comparative Education Discourse”, the political worth of mapping is arguably demonstrated, while at the same time bringing into question certain ethical considerations, i.e., what are the implications of conceptions of knowledge that address Business concerns, rather than addressing practice, research and the capacity of individuals to question the self and society? In the third mapping, “Mapping the View from the North on Education: Situating Global Knowledge(s) in a Research “Scape”, mapping can be seen as demonstrating its practical utility, when the common place activity of a symposium is more closely studied, to disclose how multifaceted the production of knowledge can be today, focussing attention on the mobility of professionals and the productive power of networks.

It seems fitting to conclude this chapter by addressing Paulson’s own concerns for comparative education. Paulston (1996: 430-431) maintained

By using maps as a part of our comparative studies we may provide an insider view, a visual dialogue of cultural flow and changing influences appropriate for future work in comparative education, particularly in those instances where cultural values and differences are revealed by competing knowledge claims (Liebman & Paulston, 1994: 244).

Many “scapes” today require mapping, not the least of which is a mapping of a new world. Rather than doing our utmost “to exorcise it”, we need to acknowledge the use we make of our “productive imagination” (Cassirer, 1957: 134), and chart a way forward, “despite the desolation that surrounds us” (Kelley, 2002 cited in Buras & Apple, 2008: 299). It appears that it is time to acknowledge the value of
both conceptual depth and purely visual depth, an awareness that Pauslton strived to share with us when he urged us to make use of social cartography to map social and educational change:

As long as we live in the world of sense impressions alone we merely touch the surface of reality...Awareness of the depth of things always requires an effort on the part of our active and constructive energies...There is a conceptual depth as well as a purely visual depth. The first is discovered by science: the second is revealed in art. The first aids us in understanding the reasons of things: the second in seeing their forms... [In art] we are not concerned with the uniformity of laws but with the multiformity and diversity of intuitions. Even art may be described as knowledge, but art is knowledge of a peculiar and specific kind...The conceptual interpretation of science does not preclude the intuitive interpretation of art...The depth of human experience...depends on the fact that we are able to vary our modes of seeing, that we can alternate our views of reality...Rerum videre formas is a no less important and indispensable task than rerum cognoscere causas (Cassirer, 1944: 169–170) (emphasis in the original).

NOTES

1 Bucchi calls contemporary Science an “academic-industrial–governmental complex”. At present 64% of research funding on a global scale is financed by private companies and approximately 70% of the research worldwide is conducted by private companies (Bucchi, 2008: 134-135).

2 According to WHO, the A/H1N1 influenza has spread with “unprecedented speed”: “In past pandemics, influenza viruses have needed more than six months to spread as widely as the new H1N1 virus has spread in six weeks” http://www.who.int/csr/disease/swineflu/notes/h1n1_surveillance:_20090710/en/print.html accessed july 19, 2009.

3 That which today is known as the Malmö Longitudinal Study began with the work of Siver Hallgren in 1938, when he studied the whole third grade population in all of the schools in Malmö. His original work has been continued over the years by both scholars at the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University, and others who have made use of this continuously updated study of this population. The last large-scale data collection was undertaken in 1995, when the women and men who have been included in this study since the age of 10 had reached retirement age. In 2000 the author published her doctoral dissertation on the Malmö Longitudinal study. The mapping of the discourse of the Malmö Longitudinal study, resulting from this research, is presented as the first example of the use of social cartography in this chapter.

4 Cassirer refers to exact science in The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, Vol. 4, The Phenomenology of Knowledge, as a superstructure, grounded on a substructure, which is composed of the strata of spiritual life. Knowledge, then, is for Cassirer based on the totality of all cultural forms.

5 In Cassirer’s original text, no other information is provided as to the date of publication of Goethe’s work, other than the following: Goethe, J.W. Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften Weimar ed, 6, 302.

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SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY MAPPING IN THEORY AND PRACTICE


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PART II: VOICES OF THOSE STUDYING
TEACHERS, SCHOOLS AND CHILDREN
INTRODUCTION
Should government encourage or discourage private education? This is a contentious issue in the politics of education in Norway, as in many other countries. Advocates of private education say that such schools extend the choice families have, that private schools are of better educational quality, and that by providing competition for public schools, they stimulate the latter to improve. Opponents say that private schools detract from the goal of a common school for all children and youth regardless of family background and that private education generally exacerbates social segregation in the education system between the “advantaged” and the “disadvantaged”.

This study addresses the question of whether private schools disproportionately recruit students from families that are economically better off and in which the parents are highly educated. Are they in fact the preserve of children of the privileged? If private schools give an advantage, do children of immigrants get their fair share of access? Do private schools serve as a conduit of flight from public schools in urban neighbourhoods with a high concentration of immigrant families and high rates of socio-economic deprivation?

The analysis is based on a very large database prepared by Statistics Norway, containing data on more than 619,000 children who were in primary and lower secondary education in 2003-2004. These stages enrol 6-16-year olds and comprise the age range of compulsory education in Norway. The file is based on data from national administrative registers.

It will be shown that, on the whole, private schools that are faith-based stand out by a relatively egalitarian recruitment as to students’ socio-economic family background, and that there are generally few signs of socio-economic bias in the recruitment of pupils to government-supported private schools in Norway.
The average across these 24 OECD countries was 13 per cent in (government funded) private schools. At the “low end” among these countries are Iceland and Norway. At the “high end” is the Netherlands with ¾ of the enrolment in private institutions, a country whose educational history also shows that compromises reached in the politics of religious pluralism can lead to private schooling on a mass scale.

Internationally, there is no clear tendency for private schools to outperform public ones in terms of “academic quality”, once account is taken to the students’ family background. Analysis of the PISA data in Mathematics showed that in most countries the difference was not statistically significant after such controls. Haahr (2005: 145-146) found that “positive” effects of private education within certain countries disappeared entirely if one additionally controls at the school level for the effect of the socio-economic profile of the school’s student intake, though Fuchs and Wössmann (2004) had previously detected an overall tendency for “government funded” private schools to do better than public ones, in the combined sample for the 2000 PISA study. In my view private education is so strongly characterised by institutional variation that one needs to study how performance in different types of private schools, compares with performance in public schools, in particular countries.

Internationally, there is much variation in how far private schools exacerbate reproduction of socio-economic inequality from generation to generation. When private schools serve as conduits to adult elite positions, socially biased recruitment to such schools does pose equity problems (e.g. the past and present role of British elite private schools in easing access to top universities). However, there is no international ironclad rule which says that “private” always spells privilege and exacerbates social segregation in schooling. Nor are private schools always more costly for the poor, since public schools in some countries also charge tuition fees. In the slums of Nairobi in the late 1990s, the fees charged by nonformal private schools were lower than in (the much less accessible) state primary schools (Lauglo, 2004). The history of education in economically advanced countries shows examples of private schools meeting needs in places which are underserved by the state. In Norway, most public secondary schools existing in the first half of the 20th century, outside of the bigger towns, had started as private schools, sometimes as private-public partnerships. Sometimes the private initiative was associated with particular cultural or religious values, but part of the attraction of private schools was simply that they provided the one secondary school that was locally available. In general, to a religious or cultural community within the larger society, running its own school can also have a wider function than merely the socialization of children to identities valued by that community. Schools can be looked at as a means of perpetuating their organized community life (e.g. recruiting members, volunteers, and officials/clergy). A well known example is the Roman Catholic Church which has developed a large scale system of education in many countries, with or without government subsidies. Languages which lack standing in government schools, have also sometimes been promoted by private schools (e.g., private Finnish medium schools in 19th century Finland).
PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION

In general, private education is characterized by much diversity and this is an argument for disaggregating such schools into different types – as will be done in the present Norwegian study.

SOCIAL SEGREGATION

It is hard to justify government financing of private schools if such schools clearly perpetuate socio-economic advantage from one generation to the next. The extent of bias in recruitment to private schools in terms of socio-economic family background is therefore of special interest to policy makers concerned with social justice.

As just noted, however, private education can also reinforce cultural particularism which does not necessarily correlate strongly with a hierarchy of socio-economic statuses, e.g., certain religious denominations, or groups based on language and other bases of ethnic identity. The views that observers have of private schools serving such sectional cultural communities, depend on ideology.

On the one hand, there is the statist and nation-building argument that the role public schools should serve as meeting grounds for young people of diverse cultural backgrounds, and that private schools serving particular cultural segments or religious denomination, can harm the achievement of a sense of common citizenship. Further, under any regime which has an agenda of far-reaching social transformation, public schools will be seen as tools for shaping future generations on the regime’s own transformative terms. A school is then an agent of the state, not an extension of the family. More traditional nation-building concerns can also fuel scepticism of “sectional” private education, not only in an early period of nation-building but also if a country has a substantial influx of immigrants who might wish to establish their own schools to preserve their own identity. Should such schools not only be tolerated and regulated by government but even actively supported by financial measures?

The broad political current which historically has been most hospitable to private schools, regardless of their particular cultural orientation, is Liberalism. A liberal perspective values diversity, competition, and the right of parents to educate their children in keeping with their own faith and culture. The state is not “society”. In that perspective, society consists of individual citizens and their families, the associations which they voluntarily join, and the local government units that are “near” the citizens. The state has a limited and mainly facilitating role. The school in that view is primarily an extension of the family and of the local and civil society, not of the state. “Choice” is favoured because it derives from the main value of “freedom from restraint”. Schools run by voluntary associations are encouraged, and if “public”, they should be run by bodies as close as possible to the citizens and families directly concerned.

Apart from ideologically derived positions, judgements about such private schools will be conditioned by whether social cohesion is perceived to be at serious risk or not. It may be quite unproblematic to give wide play to diversity in private education, in a relatively homogeneous society with a well established legitimacy. However, in a sharply divided society, with different cultural communities pitted
against each other, views on “sectional‖ private education may depend on how far one is committed to the legitimacy of the state. Acceptance of segregated private systems serving different communities may also rest upon judgements about politically necessary compromises, rather than on “ideology‖.

The concept of “segregation‖ generally carries negative connotations. “Community‖, on the other hand, has positive connotations. Yet the two are positively linked in Coleman’s (1988) theorizing about private schools and social capital for education. He stressed the value of socially closed communities for effective socialization of the young, and he postulated (but never tested it!) that children in religiously based private schools benefit academically from family, church and school acting in concert with each other to keep the young on the right track during their transition to adult roles. It would seem that Coleman’s theory implies that rather than being a problem, associated with private schools, their identification with a socially segregated “community‖ is a precondition for their success in terms of academic achievement. This is however a hypotheses which scarcely has been subject to any systematic testing across country contexts.

Norway, in the past, has often been perceived as one of the more culturally homogeneous countries in Europe, whose “cohesion‖ definitely is not at risk. One aspect of cultural particularism that has received some attention in Norway is immigrants (see Pihl, van Der Kooij & Pihl, as well as Biseth in this volume). Questions of complex judgement can be asked about private education and immigrant children. Are “integration imperatives‖ so important that there is reason to be especially concerned that children of immigrants attend public schools? Should private Muslim schools catering to immigrant groups as a matter of course be eligible for State support in line with Christian schools?

In the present study we cannot address empirically the many interesting issues connected with private schools and pros and cons of “cultural segregation‖. Socio-economic segregation is clearly but a small part of the larger theme of private education and social segregation. We shall however address two much more limited questions: Do immigrant children have their fair share of access to private schools? Do private schools serve as a means of “flight‖ from their local public school for a significant portion of families living in neighbourhoods with a very high portion of immigrant children?

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF “CHOICE”

Arguments about the pros and cons of support for private schooling are part of the larger debate about the consequences of encouraging widened choice of schools for families and students. Some national systems have a longer record of “school choice‖ policies, either choice among public schools, or by additional measures that establish a “level playing field‖ in terms of capitation grants from government to both public and private provisions. In either case, schools receive a capitation grant which de-facto is tantamount to a voucher system whereby resources “follow the student‖. Other countries have introduced support to private schools on a more limited scale. What are the “social segregation effects‖ of such policies?
Effects of school choice in New Zealand and Chile

Since 1989 New Zealand has given extensive self government to schools through a charter extended by the state to each school. Schools are given a capitation grant, with extra resources for schools depending on their proportion of students from low SES backgrounds, and the proportion ethnic minorities. Schools need state approval for their admissions criteria. Research on the New Zealand model has pointed to declining enrolments and middle class flight from schools in socio-economically deprived inner city areas (Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Lauder et al., 1999).

Chile is another example of introducing “choice of school” combined with financing vouchers. Private schools were, in this case, also allowed to compete “on a level playing field” with public schools for students. Change in this direction started in the 1980s and led to declining enrolment in public schools and “flight” of middle class families to private schools. Trends in learning outcomes showed no improvement during this period of increased competition among schools (Schiefelbein & Schiefelbein, 2001; Carnoy, 1988). Thus, the radical “choice” policies tried out in these countries have a cost in terms of increased social segregation with adverse effects for the schools from which “flight” has occurred.

Exit from districts with schools of low reputation—an example from France

In countries with “no choice of school”, families can move to districts with local schools that they think are better. As a result, fixed catchment areas for public schools and lack of access to private education, will possibly reinforce residential socio-economic segregation – or so it is argued in advocacy for “choice”: parents who care strongly about their children’s education, migrate from neighbourhoods with public schools of low reputation to areas with better schools, thus possibly depriving socially deprived areas of especially valuable community members. On the other hand, under conditions of “choice of school” or if affordable private schools were within reach, such parents might stay in their original neighbourhood. So goes a well-known chain of reasoning that is invoked in support of “choice”.

I know of no studies that have sought to measure the extent and consequences of such effects. But there is qualitative research on how families seek to circumvent fixed catchment boundaries. France has strict rules about catchment areas for public schools. A case study by Broccolichi and van Zanten (2000) on schooling in the banlieus (suburbs) in metropolitan Paris with a high concentration of North African immigrant families has described how some families seek admission to private schools for their children as an “escape” from public schools, and how others find ways of bending the rules concerning registration of residence, in order to get their children into schools outside the ghetto. One would think that the greater the deprivation and the poorer the public safety is, and the more run down and educationally depressing the local schools are, the stronger will be the urge to “exit if you can” by one means or another, leaving behind those who are “trapped” for lack of resources.
Effects of school choice in England

Some studies of urban localities in the English part of the United Kingdom conclude that stronger social segregation has resulted from policy change that enabled families to seek admission to public secondary schools regardless of residence (Ball 2003; Gerwirtz et al., 1995). However, a long-term national trend of increased social segregation in education during these years has been disputed. Gorard et al. (2002) analyzed data from all secondary schools in England regarding the first ten years (1989-1999) after the abolition of catchment areas, and found only one single school with falling enrolment and increased social disadvantage during this period. They argue that segregation trends are more strongly shaped by change in demography and in the residential distribution of different social classes than by policies on choice of school (see also Gorard et al., 2003). More recently, Gorard and his colleagues (Taylor et al., 2005) have shown that local education authorities in which schools themselves are allowed to set their admissions regulations, show somewhat stronger social segregation among schools, than other authorities.

The United States

As in the United Kingdom, effects of increased “choice” are a research theme of contested findings and interpretations in the United States. In the United States, the issue of “choice” is strongly connected with the matter of whether public funds should be used for private education. Is support for private religious education compatible with the Constitutional separation between state and church? Opposition to public finance for private schools is also based on the fear that public schools in low income areas with a high concentration of racial/ethnic minorities will be further weakened by the siphoning off of students to private education.

On the “positive” side, Coleman and Hoffer (1987) have shown that Roman Catholic schools have given families in working class areas a better chance of upward social mobility for their children. Especially ethnic minority students from low-income families achieve gains in learning outcomes from attending Catholic rather than public high schools. On the “negative” side, multivariate analysis of national data sets confirms that private education on the whole is socio-economically exclusive in a matter which reinforces social segregation: Afro-Americans and Hispanics are greatly underrepresented, use of private education is more frequent among higher income groups, and there is a certain flight to private education among whites and Hispanics from public schools with a high proportion of Afro-American students (Fairlie & Resch, 2002).

In states which provide some financial support to charter schools, the socio-economic profile of student intake tends to reflect the neighbourhood where such schools are located. It is also influenced by the conditions of public support to such schools, which in turn affects the level of fees that charter schools are allowed to charge. Each school is run by its own board and has a charter issued by the state, according to which it receives support for a specified and renewable period, usually 5 years. On the average, such schools receive state funds equivalent to about 45 per cent of estimated cost per student in public schools. The financing formulas are
PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION

(at least in some states) skewed in favour of the lower and less costly stages of schooling, thus covering with subsidies less of the cost incurred at the higher levels. Charter schools must generally cover a considerable portion of their operating costs by means of tuition fees and voluntary contributions from their students’ families. Tight finance induces them also to recruit less costly teachers than what public schools employ.

In many cases, charter schools have been established in localities where there is strong dissatisfaction with public schools, often in economically depressed inner city areas with a large proportion of minorities. Hoxby (2003: 57-58) used national data from 2000-01 to compare recruitment to charter schools with recruitment to their nearest public school. She concludes that charter schools are disproportionately drawing students who have suffered from discrimination, not undue preference, in the public schools (Afro-Americans, Hispanics, the poor). There is, however, considerable variation in this pattern.

Using data from the state of Michigan (which has a high frequency of charter schools), Miron and Nelson (2002: 122) found signs of social segregation by race: “The data suggest a process by which white students are migrating to charter schools, leaving an ever higher concentration of black students in district schools”. They also show how commercial Education Management Organizations (EMOs) act as umbrella organizations and initiating agents, for a growing proportion of charter schools, nationally as well as in Michigan. They suggest that involving EMOs can tempt schools to give preference to applicants thought to be good prospects for positive contributions to the school’s performance indicators. They say that EMO schools are inclined to steer away applicants who give an impression of weak academic potential and that “problem students” are encouraged to leave. They note that “students returning to the local school district [from charter schools] are often in need of special education services or have records of disciplinary problems” (Miron & Nelson, 2002: 122). Ascher and Wamba (2005) have reviewed evidence on such “steering away” of applicants who could become “costly” or especially taxing on the school’s human resources. They have the impression that such practices are widespread.

On the whole, social segregation tendencies in charter schools do not seem to be primarily connected with the staple indicators of “home background” (social class, parental education, income, and ethnicity). Admission is simply discouraged if admission officers think the applicant’s educability is so weak that unusually great resources would be required — or if the school does not possess the needed expertise.

According to Scott (2005), advocates and opponents of “choice” both tend to gravitate towards unjustifiably categorical generalizations about effects of school choice. She argues that there is a need to recognize that effects of choice depend on the context. One would think that the level of school fees will matter for who will apply; and fees are to a large extent a function of the portion of costs covered by public subsidies to charter schools. Other factors likely to make a difference are constraints which the regulatory mechanism imposes on the school’s admissions regime, the characteristics of the target group of students, and the capacity of the monitoring agency to hold schools “to their charter.”
Sweden

Sweden has, since the early 1990s, gradually widened the choice of school partly by subsidizing private schools and also by introducing liberalized choice among public schools. At basic school level (ages 6-16) enrolment in private education has risen to 7 per cent or more. Arnman et al. (2005) reviewed relevant studies over the years on the broader issues of education and social integration in Swedish schools and elicited views by some “key informants” regarding consequences of widened choice among schools (public schools as well as private ones). They found that choice legitimates social segregation in education and is thus contrary to the egalitarian tradition in Swedish education.

An earlier review by the National Swedish Education Agency (Skolverket, 2003: 12) refers to studies on samples of parents and school administrators and concludes that it is primarily the well-educated parents in the larger urban areas who are interested in widened choice of school (both access to private schools and choice among accessible public schools). There is also a research base showing that parents with children in private schools disproportionately often have higher education. The report also refers to some case studies of individual schools which fit the thesis that choice of school has led to increased segregation among schools with regard to students’ ethnicity and level of performance. A recent update from the National Education Agency (Skolverket, 2005) shows that in upper secondary education, there is more “value added” in terms of grade point average in private schools than in municipal ones, as far as the general education tracks are concerned, when account is taken of the grade point average which students received in lower secondary education, but that this does not apply to vocational tracks.

Comment

An internationally consistent social bias in recruitment to private schools is the tendency for children with university educated parents to be overrepresented in such schools. One would expect a similar finding in Norway. Otherwise, the literature suggests the vulnerability of public schools in inner city socially deprived areas, to “middle class flight” when policies widen families’ choice of school. The experience of New Zealand indicates that once a process of flight has started, it becomes difficult to turn such schools around simply by mobilizing extra funding for them (Fiske & Ladd, 2000).

THE NORWEGIAN CONTEXT

Norway has a tradition of public schools run by municipal local government, under strong state regulation. In nearly all municipalities, schools at the basic education stage (ages 6-16) serve geographically defined catchment areas. Since 1971 there has been a legislative basis for subsidizing private schools so generously that one could impose upon these schools a distinctly “low” ceiling for the tuition fees they are allowed to charge. The other side of policy has been very tight restrictions on the kind of private schools that would be eligible for subsidy. According to the
1985 Private Schools Act, to be eligible, a school would either need to make its case for subsidy on its special orientation as to “view of life” (in effect religion), or it would need to practice an “alternative pedagogy” as compared to public schools. There were more standard requirements as well, which were also applied to public schools, as to staff, curriculum, facilities, and admission of students.

Religious minorities play a major role within the distinctly small Norwegian sector of private schools (cf. Table 1). Various denominations and lay groups which are not part of the Norwegian Lutheran state church run more than 50 faith-based school units at basic education level. Lay organizations affiliated with Lutheran state church have not sought to establish their own schools at basic level, but have rather concentrated at upper secondary level (ages 6-19). The few schools which these organizations run in basic education are in effect lower-secondary departments of schools which are mainly post-compulsory.

While support for faith-based private education has been identified with parties on the centre-right of Norwegian politics, support for private schools projecting child-centred forms of “alternative” pedagogy has been identified with middle class “progressives” on the left wing of Norwegian politics. Support for “alternative pedagogy” has then been justified as a means of trying out and institutionalizing within private education, methods which would be of value for workings of the public school system. The main types of education which are recognized by the Ministry of Education as such legitimate “alternatives” are Maria Montessori pedagogy and Rudolf Steiner pedagogy (in some countries known also as Waldorf schools).

The workings of the 1985 Act on private schools resulted in two variants of the Montessori school, larger schools in urban areas serving mainly families with a clear preference for this pedagogy (often well educated middle class families), and on the other hand distinctly small schools in rural communities. The latter serve families for whom the Montessori-affiliation originally was sought in order to get government funding so that their local school could be kept going as a private school when the municipality wanted to close it.

To ensure that private schools would not become a preserve of well to do families, the schools were given a capitation grant equivalent to 85 per cent of the estimated per pupil expenditure in public schools. Account was taken of higher unit costs in smaller schools and in the higher stages of schooling. Schools were subjected to fee capping: they were allowed to charge fees corresponding to at most the “remaining” 15 per cent of estimated unit cost in the public schools. For a primary school (grades 1 through 7) with 40-200 pupils, the ceiling for “allowed fees” in 2003-2004 would have been about NOK7000 annually (about € 875). This amounts to only 1.5 per cent of the estimated median family income, after tax, for parents with children in basic education in Norway during 2003-2004 — this means a very low cost to the great majority of families with children of school age.

In 2003 and 2004, legislation by a centre-right government widened eligibility for government subsidies dramatically. Any private school would be eligible regardless of any special philosophical or religious orientation, or any particular style of pedagogy, so long as it met the standard requirements which public schools have as to curriculum, facilities, staffing, admission, etc. The government also
reinforced the duty of local governments to make the same level of extra resources available for private schools as for public ones, in the case of pupils diagnosed with special educational needs (e.g., immigrant children in need of special tutoring in Norwegian). However, a centre-left government took power in 2005 and reversed the changes of its predecessor, and more or less reinstated the regulatory framework which had been in force before 2003. Before this reversal, base-line studies were conducted on two main policy concerns: effects of private schools on learning outcomes, and effects on social segregation. The present chapter shows the main findings on social segregation with regard to basic education. These findings have been published in greater detail in Norwegian (Helland & Lauglo, 2005, 2007). A similar analysis with broadly similar findings has also been carried out of upper secondary education (ages 16-19) (Helland & Lauglo, 2006).

DATA AND METHODS

Through Statistics Norway, a very large data set from national administrative registers was made available, with due safeguards of privacy of information. It included all children in Norway who during the school year 2003-2004, were of basic-school age and provided information about inter alia, gender, private school registration by type of school (if applicable), place of residence as to public school catchment area, parents’ income, education, occupation, place of birth and family status.

The complete file of 619,412 observations embraces the total population of ‘basic-school aged’ children in Norway during 2003-2004. Basic school in Norway includes the full range of compulsory education, both primary and lower secondary schooling. Information was supplied for well above 95 per cent of this population, on such traits as parental income, education, family status, and immigrant background. The rate of missing information was decidedly higher regarding parental occupation and labour market status. On the whole, the research team at the Institute NIFU STEP carrying out the analysis of social segregation tendencies had the good fortune of working on an unusually large and complete national data.

This chapter will use simple cross tabulations. However, the findings to be shown also found consistent support in multivariate logistic regression (Helland & Lauglo, 2005, 2006, 2007).

TYPES OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN BASIC EDUCATION

Table 1 shows number of schools and enrolment for the types of government-supported private schools which were operational in Norway at the level of basic education (ages 6 to 16) during the 2003-04 school year.

All in all, there were 113 government-supported private schools with a total enrolment of nearly 12,000 children. These constituted only 1.9 per cent of all enrolments nationally in basic education. Thus, we are looking at a national system with a distinctly low rate of enrolment in private basic education.

The two “large” categories of schools are Steiner-schools and schools run by various Protestant denominations outside of the Lutheran state church. Together they account for more than ¾ of the enrolments in private schools.
There were also 21 schools run according to Montessori pedagogy (and which typically cover only the primary stage). Thirteen of these were located in small rural communities. When these communities were confronted with the prospect of losing their school due to municipal school-consolidation, going private and shifting to Montessori pedagogy enabled them to retain a local school, since they became eligible for state funding under the Private Schools Act.\(^6\)

Table 1. Private school enrolments in Norwegian basic education 2003-2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School type</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>% of private school enrolment</th>
<th>% of enrolment in all schools (public and private)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslim school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant schools, outside state church</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4,171</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic schools</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools “within” the (Lutheran) state church</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudolf Steiner schools</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4,385</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Montessori schools</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1,138</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All private schools</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>11,836</td>
<td>100.-</td>
<td>1.9 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the basic level of education there are few private schools run by voluntary organizations affiliated with the Lutheran state church, because these organizations, as a matter of policy, have decided not to compete with public schools at the basic education stage. In fact, three of the four schools included here are lower-secondary departments of larger school units which are mainly upper secondary institutions. For religious schools run by organizations outside the Lutheran state church, one would expect to find close relations between the school and a local congregation of the minority denomination concerned.

SELECTION BIASES IN RECRUITMENT TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS?

Table 2 shows the proportion of children with different characteristics (most pertain to their “home background”) who are enrolled in different types of school.\(^7\)

Throughout this Table greater variation among different types of private schools than between private schools in the aggregate and public schools is evident, with respect to indicators of home background.

The Table starts by showing statistics on the categories that constitute opposite extremes on the rural – urban dimension, as to municipalities in which pupils live (the middle range of municipalities is omitted). Pupils in private schools are considerably overrepresented in the larger urban areas, and underrepresented in the rural peripheries – as compared to pupils in public schools. But there is an exception: one sees a strong representation of Montessori schools in the remote
municipalities. As mentioned, the Montessori-affiliation serves to keep the local school alive, for parents who have striven to prevent the closure of their local school. Otherwise, the only other schools that have a reach into the rural periphery are run by Protestant groups that are unaffiliated with the state church.

Are private schools the preserve of the rich? The income measure used is deliberately chosen so as to bring out the market strength of the parents, rather than merely their consumption capacity. It picks up income from employment or business prior to taxes, and it excludes welfare transfers. Still, there is no overall tendency for students in private schools to come from economically better-off families. The trend is in the opposite direction, especially with regard to mothers’ income. The two largest categories of pupils, those at Steiner schools and those at Protestant schools outside the state church, have parental earnings which are lower than those of pupils in public schools. In particular, the income of the mothers of pupils in the Protestant schools outside the state church is very far below the national average, probably because many choose the traditional role of foregoing gainful employment in order to devote more time to their children’s upbringing.

Two groups stand out by having distinctly richer fathers: students in the lower secondary departments of the schools run by voluntary associations which are affiliated with the state church, and students at the two international schools. In the latter case, however, mother’s income is decidedly below the national average, possibly suggesting a higher proportion of housewives among the international families which may be especially attracted to these two international basic education schools that secured government support on the grounds of pedagogic innovativeness.

Parental education is a quite different matter. For all but one type of school, there is a clear tendency for students at private schools to have better educated parents. The one exception is again interesting: the fairly large group of students at schools run by Protestant denominations outside the Lutheran state church, deviate very little from students at public schools, probably reflecting the “popular” (“low church”) character of independent Protestant revivalism in Norway, as in some other countries.

In the Table sharp differences among types of school as to the family circumstances in the pupils’ home are apparent. For this generation of children, 6/10 grow up in what may be described as “traditional” families: their parents are living together and married to each other. There is also much variation. Among faith-based Protestant schools, 8/10 of the pupils have such families – as contrasted to 5/10 of the students at Rudolf Steiner schools. Interestingly, at the three Catholic schools, the percentage of pupils in “traditional” families is much the same as in the general population of students – in spite of the strict policy of the Roman Catholic Church on cohabitation and divorce. On the other hand, the findings would fit Catholic schools recruiting students far beyond their own religious denomination and frequently from secularized backgrounds.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators of pupils' Background</th>
<th>Type of private school</th>
<th>All private schools</th>
<th>Public schools</th>
<th>All Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protestant, outside the state church</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>Lay org. within Lutheran state church</td>
<td>Steiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>% in &quot;remote&quot; municipalities</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% in larger urban area</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median income before taxes &amp; transfers 2002 (NOK '000s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents have higher education?</td>
<td>% of fathers</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of mothers</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil's parents have basic education or less?</td>
<td>% of fathers</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of mothers</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% with parents married &amp; living together</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>81.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% with both parents immigrants</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% with both parents from non-western country</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td>4171</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>4339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All variables shown had less than 5% missing information
Do private schools receive their “fair share” of children of immigrant families? The two bottom rows of percentage series in the Table show that immigrant children in general, and within this larger group also children of immigrants from non-Western countries, are generally overrepresented in private schools in Norway. But there is much variation regarding the type of private school. Immigrant families very rarely choose schools that are supported by the government on account of progressive alternative pedagogy – Rudolf Steiner schools, and Montessori schools. Rather, their overall strong representation is, due to extremely strong presence in the three Catholic schools, and to strong showing in the large group of schools run by other religious denominations outside the state church.

Analysis on 2150 children living in school catchment areas in which private education absorbs at least 10 per cent of locally resident children, did not alter the overall impression of surprisingly “egalitarian recruitment” conveyed by Table 2 (Helland & Lauglo, 2005: 44-45). Overall, Table 2 shows that private schools in Norway are hardly any preserve of socio-economic privilege. There is no income effect, but then the fees are, by government intervention, kept at a very affordable level. The strongest pointer towards socially exclusive selection is the effect of parental education – especially parents having higher education. However, this effect is negligible in the relatively large number of schools run by Protestant congregations outside the state church.

“FLIGHT” TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS FROM NEIGHBOURHOODS WITH LOW INCOME AND HIGH IMMIGRANT PRESENCE?

Do private schools in Norway too, facilitate “flight” of better-off and better educated families from those urban schools in which very large proportions of children come from immigrant homes?

There are two urban areas in Norway with strikingly strong representation in the school catchment areas of children whose parents are immigrants from non-Western countries – the east end of Oslo and certain neighbourhoods in the close-by town of Drammen. Overall, the percent of school-age children with such a background was 24 per cent in Oslo and 17 per cent in Drammen in 2003-04 (as compared to a national average of 5 per cent. cf. Table 2). A great many nationality groups are represented among the immigrants, the largest one is Pakistani.

About 4/9 of children of school age in Oslo live in school catchment areas in which 1/3 or more of the children’s parents have a non-Western immigrant background. Thus, neighbourhoods with a high immigrant presence are now very common, at the same time the city has become ethnically and socio-economically stratified. Both in Oslo and in Drammen, such neighbourhoods are characterised by sharply lower income levels and lower education levels than what is the case for those residential areas which are strongly dominated by ethnic Norwegians (Helland & Lauglo, 2005: 52, Table 4). Does such ethnic and socio-economic stratification lead to flight from local public schools over to private schools – similarly to what Fiske and Ladd (2000) found in certain urban low income areas?
PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION

with a strong minority presence in New Zealand, after the country abolished school catchment areas?

The indicators in Table 3 are similar to those in Table 2, but in Table 3 the data are from Oslo and Drammen only. Because of fewer observations, a smaller number of categories is appropriate for denoting types of private schools. The schools are grouped according to the two rationales recognized by the Private Schools Act of 1985: “faith-based” or “alternative pedagogy”. The former will include all kinds of religious schools, and the latter combines mainly Steiner and Montessori schools. Altogether 744 students in these urban locations attended 22 private schools. Of these, 604 students were in 10 faith-based schools, and 40 students were in 12 “alternative pedagogy” schools. Though the private schools concerned, obviously, were “accessible” to students from these neighbourhoods, they were not necessarily located in these neighbourhoods.

Education effects

In these “high immigrant” and low-income locations, we again find effects of parental education. The percent of parents having higher education is greater in private schools than in public schools: a difference of 19 percentage points for fathers, and 24 points for mothers. However, with regard to fathers, the magnitude of this gap is the same as it was in Table 2 for Norway as a whole (18 percentage points). With regard to the mothers, the gap appears to be slightly greater than in Table 2, where it was 19 percentage points.

As one would expect, there is an opposite pattern for parents having only “basic education”. More pupils in public schools than in the private ones have parents with such a background. The chance of such families making use of private education is greater in these areas than it was for Norway as a whole, as was shown in Table 2.

Family status

There is no difference overall regarding family status indicators between children in private schools and children in public schools. Like the pattern in Table 2, there is a higher proportion of children growing up in traditional families in the faith-based private schools than in other types of schools.

Immigrant status of family

How far do private schools in these locations function as facilitators of “flight” from public schools? If it occurs, such a flight would not necessarily be a sign of racism. Parents can simply look for an escape from classes in which many children have a weak grasp of Norwegian, and it could attract not only ethnic Norwegian families but immigrant families as well. However, if any such flight occurs, it is not strong enough to affect the ethnic composition of the public schools in these neighbourhoods, since the percentage of immigrant children in “all schools” is
the same as the proportion in “public schools”. The percentage from these neighbourhoods in private schools is 3.4 per cent which is lower than in the towns in which these neighbourhoods are located. This suggests that the main drive behind children going to private schools from these neighbourhoods is not the unusually high immigrant presence in the public schools in these locations.

Table 3. Who goes to private schools in those neighbourhoods in Oslo and Drammen where more than 1/3 of school children’s parents are born in non-western countries?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Private schools</th>
<th>Public schools</th>
<th>All schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faith-based school</td>
<td>School based on “alternative pedagogy&quot;</td>
<td>All private schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of schools</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of students</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% students by type of school</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family background characteristics**

Median income in 2002 before taxes and transfers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Private schools</th>
<th>Public schools</th>
<th>All schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father (NOK ’000)</td>
<td>295.0</td>
<td>272.8</td>
<td>291.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother (NOK ’000)</td>
<td>178.1</td>
<td>153.8</td>
<td>175.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% with higher education Father</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% with higher education Mother</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% with basic education or less Father</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% with basic education or less Mother</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% parents living together Father</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% parents living together and married Mother</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Both parents are immigrants</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Both parents immigrants from a non-western country</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Both parents from non-western country and student born abroad</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Number of schools ‘very large’ but not tabulated.
Immigrant families from these neighbourhoods are underrepresented in private schools (the two bottom rows in Table 3); in spite of the overall strong representation nationally of immigrant families in private schools (Table 2). As in the national figures, immigrant families are strikingly underrepresented in “alternative pedagogy” schools, and well represented in faith-based schools. Among the immigrant population from non-Western countries in these towns, a substantial proportion comes from predominantly Muslim countries. About 2/3 have an Asian background, by far the largest group consisting of immigrants from Pakistan. There are also substantial numbers in the Oslo and Drammen areas from Turkey and North African countries. Yet, the opportunity to send children to a Muslim school hardly existed. At the time, there was only one Muslim school in Oslo, with 112 pupils, and none in Drammen. The overall strong representation of children from non-Western backgrounds in the faith-based schools is, therefore, especially striking.

It is known from other data sets that the children of immigrants in Oslo engage constructively with school, have high educational ambitions, and they work harder than others (Lauglo, 2000). It appears that the schools which are looked to for such mobility purposes by immigrant parents are those with a reputation of more traditional methods, not private schools identified by the government as being of special interest because of child-centred teaching methods.

Is there self selection to private schools of families with higher income?

In these urban locations with relatively low-income, parental income has an effect on children’s propensity to attend a private school. The median gross earnings of fathers of children attending private schools were NOK 291,000 in these neighbourhoods. This is substantially lower than the median noted in table 2 for the country as a whole for such fathers (NOK 331000), yet it is higher than the earnings of fathers of children attending public school in these same neighbourhoods (NOK 267000). We see a similar pattern for the mothers’ earnings. Thus, the earning capacity of families sending children to private schools in these urban locations is higher than the capacity of those using local public schools. In that sense there is some self selection to private schools from the economically more successful families, unlike the pattern found for the country as a whole.

However, earnings are only a portion of income. The proportion of parents receiving welfare benefits is much higher in these locations than in other areas of the same towns: about 20 percent as compared to about 8 per cent. The proportion is especially high (about 30 per cent) among parents who are immigrants from non-Western countries (Helland & Lauglo 2005:36). The parents’ income after taxes, inclusive of welfare transfers, is a better measure of the economic resources which parents have at their disposal—as distinct from their own market power. Table 4 shows results for income after taxes and transfers. Only in the “faith- based” private schools is fathers’ median income higher than in public schools. The median is actually lower for the 140 students who are in the schools with “alternative pedagogy”, than among fathers with children in the local public schools. For mothers’ income, the order is reversed between the two broad categories of private
school. The difference in the disposable income between users of private schools, and those using public schools in these locations is quite modest. An annual gap of NOK 10 000 amounts to € 1276 at the current exchange rate.

Table 4. Median income after tax 2002 of students’ parents, by types of school. Catchment areas in Oslo and Drammen in which at least 1/3 of the students’ parents are immigrants from non-western countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students in “faith based” private schools</th>
<th>Students in private schools with “alternative pedagogy”</th>
<th>All students in private schools</th>
<th>Students in public schools</th>
<th>All students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father’s after-tax income (NOK ’000s)</td>
<td>230.6</td>
<td>195.3</td>
<td>225.2</td>
<td>219.1</td>
<td>219.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s after-tax income (NOK ’000s)</td>
<td>209.5</td>
<td>216.7</td>
<td>210.7</td>
<td>198.0</td>
<td>198.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the effects of income on the probability of sending a child to a private school, from these low income neighbourhoods, seem low and inconsistent. The act of applying to private schools signifies “agency” to pursue a rarely chosen option, not only a preference for such schools. It is then interesting to note that in so far as there are income effects on the choice of private education, these primarily reflect the successful agency in the market (earnings before taxes and transfers), rather than merely a family’s spending power (income after taxes and transfers).

Could this finding suggest that private education drains away from the public schools in these neighbourhoods, children from more resourceful families in terms of other characteristics than their economic resources or education level? Parents who are an educational asset to their children and to the schools attended by their children, are not confined to those in certain educational or social strata. We had no data to assess this issue; but the scale of use of private schools in these neighbourhoods was so low that any such effect on local public schools must have been minimal.

DOES PRIVATE EDUCATION YIELD BETTER LEARNING OUTCOMES?

Within the same evaluation project of private education in Norway, learning outcomes were examined by Hans Bonesrønning and his colleagues at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Bonesrønning et al., 2005; Bonesrønning & Naper, 2006). As measures of educational achievement, they used the scores of students in their final year of basic education on National Achievement tests administered in the spring of 2004, in Mathematics, Norwegian and English. They also collected information on grades received in subjects in grade 10, at the end of basic education, and for students in programs preparing for higher education in the
PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION

first year of post-compulsory education. As in the study on social segregation effects, they worked with administrative register data on entire national cohorts of students, again furnished and anonymized by Statistics Norway. They found that students in private schools had higher average scores on national achievement tests both in grade 10 and 4, with more pronounced differences in grade 10 than in 4. The difference in average scores persists (but with reduced magnitude) after controlling for inter alia parental income and education.

Private schools have lower student/teacher ratios than municipal schools, but higher proportions of teachers who have not completed their training in pedagogy. After correcting these differences in teaching “inputs”, the differences between private and public schools regarding student achievement increased. The “achievement advantage” of private education applies mainly to grade ten and to faith-based schools, not to schools run under the “alternative pedagogy” rationale. It is still unclear whether these differences are due to genuine school effects, or to self-selection of pupils to private schools from families, regardless of the parents’ level of education, bring their children up in ways which are especially supportive for educational achievement.

A stronger test of “school effects” is to use earlier school achievement as one of the predictor variables. Bonesrønning et al. (2005) were able to do this when examining differences in upper secondary education between private schools and public schools. The analysis was confined to students at the end of their first year in the university preparatory tracks in upper secondary education, using grade point average as the dependent variable. Multiple regression analysis then showed no superior “academic gain scores” overall for students in private schools, after controlling for prior achievement (grade point average) in basic education (obtained about one year earlier). However, students in accelerated mathematics programs had higher estimated “learning gains” in private schools than in public ones.

On the whole, it would seem that there are programs within private education that seem to give better educational outcomes than public schools, and the analysis by Bonesrønning and his colleagues suggest that this pertains to faith-based schools. But “private school academic superiority” is not a general finding across programmes and types of private schools in Norway.

A QUESTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH: MORE SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR EDUCATION IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS?

The findings by Bonesrønning (2005) and his colleagues as regards a tendency in “religious” schools towards better learning of academic subjects is interestingly similar to the findings of Coleman and Hoffer (1987) in the United States. Coleman (1988) famously argued that Catholic schools have superior social capital compared to public schools and secular private schools, because the latter types lack an external community to which the families belong. These achievement differences persisted after comprehensive tests for the influence of socio-economic aspects of the student’s family background, and they even persisted after controls for academic achievement at the earlier stage of schooling.
To account for this finding, Coleman (1988) posited superior “social capital for the formation of human capital” in those private schools which were rooted in a community outside the school itself. He postulated close bonds among the parents of pupils who are enrolled in the school, and closer bonds between parents and school in the faith-based schools and assumed that such community-like bonds are beneficial for the education of children and youth.

However, he never put these arguments to any direct empirical test. Since his theorizing, there has hardly been any research on his assumptions, that (a) close bonds among parents of pupils in a school and close bonds between these parents and their children’s teachers, constitute a “social capital” which serves as an educational asset for the children, and (b) that religiously founded schools which involve the pupil’s families in a community outside the school, have more “social capital” than other schools. One study by Morgan and Sorensen (1999) showed findings on data from large scale US surveys, which contradicted Coleman’s theorizing about pupils benefiting educationally from strong bonds among parents at their children’s school. Otherwise, it seems as if Coleman’s theorizing has hardly attracted any research on his assumptions, though it has inspired a great deal of other research on “social capital”. It would seem that his assumptions could be fertile grounds for research on different types of private schools, and on differences between private and public schools, as to how close social ties are among parents, and between parents and the school, and whether such social ties make much difference for learning outcomes of their children.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As of the school year of 2003-04, there was no consistent overall effect of parental income on the probability of attending private schools in Norway. The government had set very low ceilings for the level of fees which private schools are allowed to charge, as a precondition for government subsidies which are set at a high level. This policy seems to have been successful in preventing income-biased recruitment of pupils to private schools.

Parents with higher education make more use of private education for their children than other parents do. This effect varies among different types of private schools. In the largest category of religion-based schools, schools run by Protestant denominations outside the Lutheran State Church, this effect is extremely weak. Other findings than those presented in this chapter, and from the same research material, have showed that the overrepresentation of the offspring of highly educated parents is especially clear cut for students whose parents have higher education within humanities or theology (Helland & Lauglo, 2007). This is a section of the “socio-humanistic” middle class (public sector occupations typically requiring a degree in humanistic or social subjects for employment) which is likely to have a high frequency of public sector jobs and therefore has relatively modest levels of income.

Immigrant parents with a family background from non-Western countries are as well represented in the private schools. This is all the more striking since there hardly exists any religiously based private education catering to Muslim parents
though such parents probably constitute a fairly large share of the immigrant population. Those students from a non-Western parental background, who are in private schools, are very much concentrated in Christian schools. Immigrant families have, on the other hand, a distinctly low representation in schools practising alternative pedagogy of a child-centred type (Montessori, Steiner).

The overall proportion attending private schools (1.9 per cent) is so small that the flow to private schools of children of highly educated parents, does not affect the social composition of the public schools nationally. Also, in urban areas with a high proportion of immigrant families, the “siphoning off” to private schools of students from “better educated homes” had no appreciable effects on the social composition of public schools.

In general, private schools functioned as of 2003-04 in such a way within the larger Norwegian system of basic education that any social segregation effect on the whole education system was minimal or nonexistent. The Norwegian experience suggests that private provisions of education which receives generous public finance but with strict eligibility criteria as to “type of school” for such financing need not have socially divisive consequences. The assumption is that private schools perpetuate social class inequality in the education system. As is shown here, the case it is likely that socio-economic bias in selection to private schools depends on the societal and local context, on the financial provisions for support to such schools, and on the regulatory framework governing such support.

NOTES

1 At the time when this study was carried out Jon Lauglo was Senior Researcher at the research institute NIFUSTEP – Studies in Innovation, Research and Education, Oslo. The present chapter is reprinted from an earlier version in a volume edited by Pusztai (2008) with the editor’s and publisher’s permission.
2 John Craig of the University of Chicago is conducting research into the evolution of these schools.
3 Previously support was given to private schools directly by Parliament on an ad hoc basis.
4 At the post-compulsory upper secondary level (post age 16), there was the additional provision that private schools could qualify if they offer vocational courses not covered by public provisions in the area concerned.
5 Information was missing for 41 per cent regarding mother’s occupation (32 per cent for father’s occupation). For 23 per cent of the students, information was missing about the duration of their mother’s work week (for student’s father it was 16 per cent).
6 In one case, the reason for the transfer to Montessori was community opposition to their school being included under a curriculum variant for schools in the core areas of Sami culture and population.
7 Statistics on gender are not reported since there was hardly any difference among the types of school shown here, as gender ratio. Schools are mixed-sex throughout.
8 Analysis of data from the Youth in Norway 2002 survey (a large scale survey carried out by NOVA – Norwegian Social Research), shows that children do better in school when they have families who are engaged in the public domain (Lauglo & Øia, 2006), that is, when parents talk with their children about politics and social issues. This effect is quite strong after statistical controls for parental education and other measures of the family’s cultural capital. Another study (on youth in Oslo) based on large scale surveys, shows that children from non-Western immigrant background, benefit educationally from the strong family bonds which characterise their families (Lauglo, 2000).
9 There was one school in Oslo in 2003 but it has since that time closed.
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PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION


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8. TEACHER’S VOICES

Challenges with democracy in multicultural Scandinavian schools

INTRODUCTION

Educational institutions in Scandinavia have historically been used as transmitters of democratic values and practices in the quest of fostering future citizens (Jacobsen, et al., 2003; 2004). Teachers are at the forefront of this immense undertaking (Biseth, forthcoming). The aim of this chapter is to take a closer look at challenges with democracy in some urban and multicultural Scandinavian schools with the perspectives of the educators as a point of departure. In this chapter, therefore, the following questions are considered: How is the concept of democracy interpreted by the teachers? How do they develop democratic skills and competencies among the students? How do teachers handle diversity?

Teachers are in contact with large segments of the population, hence uniquely positioned to influence knowledge, attitudes and behaviour related to democracy (Torney-Purta, 2002). ‘Multicultural schools’ as used in this chapter imply the cultural complexity which describes the wide range of socio-economic class, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, sexual, and religious variations that exists within schools (Banks, et al., 2005; Hannerz, 1992). In other words, the majority of schools in all Scandinavian countries could most likely be included in this concept. The term ‘minority students’ refer to students who belong to a cultural, ethnic, linguistic, sexual, or religious minority. However, the main focus of this research is on students with an immigrant background, i.e., a student who is born outside the country of residence and whose both parents were born abroad, or a student born in the country of residence, but whose parents were born abroad.

DEMOCRACY

Discussing “democracy” is about discussing values and, in this chapter, what is supposed to be valued in our educational system. Democracy include individual liberties, human rights and social justice with the intended aim of developing democratic traits, such as purposeful engagement and participation in school activities and society at large, in addition to promoting respect, tolerance, trust, and responsibility as democratic virtues (Kymlicka, 1995; Nieto, 2004; Olssen, et al., 2004; White, 1996). Different perspectives on values and principles deemed to be prominent in school life are widespread. Why? I assert that we are all people with
different upbringing, different values and attitudes. Going through teacher training, compulsory to get a tenured position, does not take these factors away. Democracy presents us with challenges as to how to live in coexistence with others, who have fundamentally different conceptions of the world (Valadez, 2001). In multicultural schools, both students and staff have access to interaction with members of different cultural groups, which, according to Valadez (2001), provides them with the opportunity of getting in-depth knowledge about each other and learning to understand each other, which can prevent negative generalizations about one another.

Biesta (2006) presents the notions of ‘education for democracy’ and ‘education through democracy’ in order to understand the relationship between democracy and education. Education for democracy can be understood as education which is preparing children for their future participation in democratic life. This kind of education has a knowledge component, skills component, and values component. However, there are limits to what can be achieved through teaching democracy, e.g., students are often to an even greater extent influenced by what happens outside school. Biesta (2006) goes on to explain that one way of education for democracy is education through democracy, which implies democratic forms of education and a set of values that permeates all activities in school. Consequently it is legitimate and important to ask: what is the democratic quality of these environments (Biesta, 2006)?

Gundara and Sharma (2008) point out that citizenship education occupies the paradoxical position of being recognized generally as of central importance, whilst being treated as peripheral in many educational institutions. In fact, a struggle over the values, which should inform the development of citizenship education, is taking place in many schools (Gundara & Sharma, 2008). One prominent example in the Scandinavian countries is the significance of religion, more specifically Lutheran Christianity. The subject religion is considered a part of “bildung”, a general education, thus a part of citizenship education in a broad sense (Biseth, forthcoming; Zambeta, 2008). The subject is compulsory in junior high schools in Denmark and Norway, and a part of social science subjects in Sweden. Furthermore, it is compulsory in high schools in Denmark and Sweden, but not a subject in Norwegian high schools. A tight bond between the state and the Swedish church existed in Sweden until the year 2000. This is even more prevalent in Denmark and Norway with a state-church. Such a situation signals Lutheran Christianity being accorded a high status in society and education. Hence, it is possible to ask to what extent this is inclusive to religious minorities in a democracy.

Democratic schools are meant to be democratic places, so the idea of democracy also extends to the many roles that adults play in the schools (Beane & Apple, 1999: 8). Beane and Apple (1999) argue that fully informed and critical participation in various processes in schools are important for both educators and students alike. A hallmark for democratic schools are structures and processes, which create possibilities of participating in collaborative planning and decision-making that affects the students’ lives. Furthermore, Scandinavian schools are run according to
specific legislation and curricula set by the governments in each country, all of which are permeated with references to democracy (Biseth, forthcoming). On the other hand, this does not guarantee democratic education, as practitioners’ interpretation of the policies may be different or may even contrast policy makers’ interpretations (Goodlad, 1979; Yang, 2007).

Against this background I turn my attention to teachers’ voices about the issues at hand. However, before I discuss the actual practice, I will present a brief discussion on methodology and research method used in this study.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHOD

In this study the following question was addressed: How do educators perceive their task related to the democratic mandate assigned through policy documents and how do they claim this to be implemented in their everyday practices? Since this question is related to the perceptions of educators, the use of qualitative research interviews has been assessed as an appropriate research method. This has allowed the researcher to obtain descriptions from the interviewees as regards the meaning of the phenomena in question, thereby gaining insight in the educators’ perspectives (Bryman, 2004; Kvale, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). In analyzing the material, the researcher is re-presenting and writing about experiences and perspectives of the realities of others. In other words, I interpret the statements from the educators, which is not without problems (Denzin, 2003). The findings presented in this study are influenced by the perspectives of the researcher (Stewart, 1998). However, as the title of this chapter indicates, emphasis is given to the teachers’ voices and, thus, staying close to the data and presenting the voices of the informants can be a way of making the interpretation more credible (Janesick, 2003).

Another challenge is what Kvale (1996) calls ‘biased subjectivity’, that is the researcher notices only evidence that supports her/his own opinion and selectively interprets and reports statements justifying her/his own conclusions. One way of minimizing biased subjectivity is to give the interviewees a chance to comment on the researcher’s analysis. As a result, all the educators interviewed in this research were given sufficient time to comment on this manuscript. However, few comments were received and none of them opposed the presentations of findings or inferences drawn.

Furthermore, this is a comparative investigation with the target group being educators in multicultural junior high schools (compulsory) and high schools (non-compulsory) in Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm. A purposeful sampling technique is used, since the aim of the research is to collect data from information-rich cases in order to go in-depth on the issue at hand (Bryman, 2004; Hoyle, et al., 2002; Patton, 1990). The capitals of Denmark, Norway and Sweden are chosen, because they are the urbanized areas with the largest percentage of citizens with minority or immigrant background within each country, making these cities more experienced than other cities regarding the focus of this investigation. The data were collected at three junior high schools, one in each city, and eleven high schools (see Appendix A for a code list). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a
total of 64 educators; 15 educators from junior high schools and 49 from high schools. An interview guide (see Appendix B) allowed for specific topics to be covered through the conversation, but also allowed for flexibility in the situation (Bryman, 2004). The purposeful selection of interviewees included representatives from the leadership, counsellors, and subject teachers in relevant subjects such as Danish/Norwegian/Swedish, history, social science, religion, politics, and philosophy. The junior high school in each city was chosen according to location in an area with a relatively high percentage of an immigrant population. Furthermore, ten male students and twelve female students from these schools were interviewed in their last year of compulsory education. Some of them I have been able to trace into high schools, thus the high schools in this sample were selected on the basis of where students are currently studying.

TEACHERS' VOICES

It is important that I as an adult and professional teacher am very clear about and well-acquainted with the existing values. I cannot be a neutral mediator of knowledge. It is ridiculous to believe that human beings are neutral. On the other hand, I understand my task as to have a thorough knowledge about what I impart and take a stand on (T3-S3, interview 2008-10-16).

According to this teacher the practices in education are never neutral, but an activity based on certain values. The perspectives of the educators are, therefore, important when we consider the challenges with democracy in multicultural Scandinavian schools. Teachers in democratic educational institutions have a complex task of being mediators of democratic knowledge, training students in democratic skills, in addition to being role models as regards how democratic virtues and values are practiced in everyday life (White, 1996). How do they carry out this? How are “existing values” interpreted? The teachers’ voices are divided into four sub-sections; “What is democracy?”, “Citizenship education”, “Student participation”, and “Handling of diversity”. Although these categories do not include all the topics discussed during the interviews, they cover issues of significance. First, it is important to establish how the teachers themselves perceive democracy, which implies that the researcher considers this concept as something socially created. Second, teachers’ voices concerning citizenship education clarify what teachers regard as important elements in empowering students to become members of a democratic society. Third, student participation is part and parcel of the political assignment given to the educational sector and, hence, the schools’ understanding and practice of this obligation is relevant (Biseth, forthcoming). Fourth, how teachers manage to teach and practice the coexistence of different groups in society signals what democratic values they take into account in their activities (Honig, 2001; Valadez, 2001). These are not mutually exclusive categories but, in my view, essential elements of democracy in schools. Furthermore, the voices of the educators are not uniform, but rather present themselves as a diversity of distinct voices.
What is democracy?

Democracy is a multifaceted concept, which implies different meanings amongst teachers. One of the interviewees told an interesting story:

We were discussing ‘belief’ one day and how much belief and religion guides our everyday life. A student said to me: “You believe in democracy! This is your belief, but it might be wrong.” It was quite OK to discuss this in line with other religions, very interesting. I have never considered it in this way before. It is just the way it is, a very fundamental part of our societies. No one is asking any questions about democracy (T2-DK1, interview 2008-02-06).

This teacher was challenged by a student who did not view democracy as an obvious trait of society. The student claimed democracy was similar to religion, based on beliefs on a particular set of values. Such a perspective seemed new to this teacher, hence making the teacher reflect on how embodied democracy is in our lives, often without us even discussing if this is the best way of accomplishing good governance for the benefit of society. Being in a multicultural classroom gave this teacher and the students a possibility of discussing democracy per se, and expressing distrust perhaps in a different manner than a discussion in more homogeneous classrooms. Enforced to reflect upon the concept of democracy can be considered a protective expedient of democracy (White, 1996). Other teachers have expressed that democracy may have different nuances, when in a multicultural school environment:

The students are from different societies. Thus democracy has a particular importance here. If we have students from the war torn Somalia, democracy will be taught from another perspective compared to what we would have done without Somalian students in the classroom (T2-N1, interview 2007-10-01).

Democracy is about reflections, independent thinking and training the students in making their own decisions. The problem with democracy at this place is that when you [as a teacher] give power to the students, they seize it lock, stock and barrel. Then you get a lot of problems because few of these students are used to handling power and individual influence (T3-S1, interview 2007-10-11).

Experiences with democracy vary and this is challenging. In addition, students have different opinions of what democracy is, both amongst themselves and in relation to the teachers’ perceptions, with which they might disagree. According to the teacher in the first quotation above, this makes teaching democracy all the more important in a diverse classroom. The majority of educators in this study refer to reflections and independent thinking as important democratic traits. However, according to T3-S1, this situation makes it all the more difficult with a diverse student population. A question is: whose definition of democracy will prevail under such circumstances? Teachers may seize these opportunities for discussion and dialogue – and it seems that they often do so. One example is the issue of equality.
Our teaching is based on a firm belief in the fundamental equality of all human beings and their right to equal opportunities (T4-DK4, interview 2008-09-10).

Teachers voice equality as an important democratic virtue, especially gender equality. However, in multicultural classrooms, these values may not be shared by one and all. One Principal gives an example:

Some students rebelled against a female teacher using a short-sleeved blouse during summer. They perceive this as contradictory to their religious values. This was a difficult case, but we cannot deviate from our democratic value of equality between genders and freedom of religion, i.e., not forcing your own religious values onto others (T5-DK1, interview 2008-02-07).

This Principal claimed that one of the main tasks of the school is to be a guardian of democracy, which in this case is illustrated through the equal right of female and male teachers to dress in a short-sleeved shirt or blouse. In addition, the religious values of some of the students were not supposed to be imposed on other students or the staff. On the other hand, the courage to speak against and freely disagree with teachers and authorities are often valued, and discussions are encouraged as an important democratic activity. Moreover, dialogue as a tool for conflict resolution is brought up. Handling critique and disagreement are mentioned as important, with dialogue seen as a measure to assist conflict resolution. Therefore, the above-mentioned episode was brought up in a discussion between the school, students and the parents. However, the statement from the Principal displays that this is not always a straightforward issue, as he claimed that the “students rebelled” and he experienced this episode as “a difficult case”.

Teachers proclaim engagement in society important in a democracy and encourage students to, e.g. follow the public discourse by watching the news on television and reading newspapers every day. However, several of the educators interviewed claim that students are not encouraged to do so at home and that dialogue on political issues is particularly important in this school, since students in these areas do not discuss such issues at home due to parents’ lack of education (T1-DK2, interview 2008-09-09).

The parents referred to in this statement are parents with an immigrant background. They are described as un-educated and, therefore, not engaged in societal and political issues. But what does it mean to be un-educated? Some of the parents are described as illiterate. This could be correct if we consider some of them coming from war torn countries, such as Somalia, Afghanistan or Iraq and thus as deprived of the possibility of going to school. On the other hand, does being illiterate necessarily mean lack of interest in political and societal issues?

Some educators consider schooling itself as an important democratic activity. A high school Principal (with 65 per cent of the student population being linguistic minorities) puts it very plainly:
Democracy is to educate citizens who can manage on their own, have a job when graduating from high school, and not live on social welfare. Our main task is to make students complete and pass high school. This is more important than anything else, if they are to be participants in a democracy. If they do not enter further studies or get a place in work life, it does not matter how much democracy surrounds them (T1-N3, interview 2008-11-21).

The overall aim of education is, according to Scandinavian legislation (see e.g. Biseth, forthcoming), to produce citizens who participate in and contribute to society, e.g. not presenting a burden to the existing welfare system. Hence, participation in the labor market is important, since this is a fundamental factor which enables people to provide for their families and contribute to society by paying taxes.

Another teacher points to a particular challenge in understanding democracy in multicultural schools:

It is tougher to defend democracy in a big city compared to more rural areas. Many of the students here have different backgrounds. If their parents have grown up in a democratic society, it is usually a different one from the Swedish democracy. We do not necessarily have equal perceptions of the concept ‘democracy’. Many of the students come from societies with no democracy at all. They have an intrinsic suspicion towards democracy (T3-S5, interview 2008-10-17).

This teacher describes the challenges he has experienced in urban versus rural areas of Sweden. However, the point here is that understanding of democracy tends to be more diverse in schools in areas with a varied student population. Confronting such issues, how do teachers envision the teaching for and through democracy (Biesta, 2006)? With this question in mind, I turn my attention to teachers’ voices about citizenship education.

Citizenship Education

Citizenship education should help all students to acquire the knowledge, values, and skills needed to interact positively with people of diverse backgrounds (Banks, 2007; Beane & Apple, 1999; Biesta, 2006). A Swedish Deputy Principal describes citizenship education as a recent phenomenon and claims this to be more in focus now than previously since the Swedish society has become multicultural, due to arrival of immigrants and refugees. “If a country is fragmented, then discussions about citizenship education start” (T1-S3, interview 2008-10-15). He used the US as an example of a country where citizenship education is required, due to diversity in the population. Maybe he considers people of different origin, i.e., both ethnically and nationally, as contributing towards a fragmented society, which consequently is in need of citizenship education? However, ‘citizenship education’ is a term which often embraces more than training of foreigners in Danish, Norwegian or Swedish citizenry. None of us are inherently democratic and thus all need to acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes congruent with democratic values.
in the society in which we live. This requires knowledge about how society functions, knowledge about the national laws and individual freedoms, awareness of different cultures and religions in addition to development of a culture of human rights (Koenig & Guchteneire, 2007; Osler & Starkey, 2005; Soysal, 1994). The list is not exhaustive, but serves as an example of democratic dispositions that citizens require if democratic institutions are to flourish, according to White (1996).

The endeavour of the high schools is not simply to transmit knowledge about democracy, but to create good citizens, educate students with competences to act and react in a democracy (T4-DK3, interview 2008-09-03).

Citizenship education is perceived to consist of both a knowledge component (knowledge about society, civic rights, duties and responsibilities) in addition to a skills component (Apple & Beane, 1995; Biesta, 2006). These skills are to be based on a solid general education received through both the compulsory educational system and the high school system:

We emphasize a general education, the development of academic, cultural and social traits in each individual. This is an education for the entire human being. Our goal is human growth. The students need this, if they are to handle the paradoxes of this hyper complex world (T4-DK4, interview 2008-09-10).

Citizenship education or civics is not a separate subject in the Scandinavian countries, but is supposed to be an overall aim of the entire education process (Gundara & Sharma, 2008). The above quotation is from a Principal who has incorporated this understanding into his vision for the school. However, it also requires teachers to carry out their work accordingly. The interviews conducted in this research do not disclose that considerable efforts are made in this direction. One illustrating example is a statement by a Deputy Principal:

This overall aim is clearly stated in the National Curriculum. However, it is not that clear in each subject curriculum. This creates a dilemma, since the teachers tend to read only the subject curriculum relevant for their teaching, but the aim of the school is much more than that (T2-S4, interview 2008-10-17).

Education for citizenship through all the activities going on in school, education through democracy (Biesta, 2006), can be considered advantageous, but it requires teacher training and a management in each school which assists the teachers in seeing the relationship between all the subjects, making reflections on citizenship education a standard for the collaboration in each school. It is uncertain whether this is intrinsic in teacher training and it most certainly is dependent on the interests and vision of the Principal in each school.

A trait of citizenship education is teaching peaceful conflict resolution. One Principal spoke about the importance of the staff constituting good role models in this form of citizenship education. The school had a history of violence and lack of discipline and the Principal approached the staff explaining that he:

Spoke with the staff about who is supposed to run the school, we or the students. If we are to be in charge, we have to take on a responsibility. We have
to be visible, active, and clear about what we accept and what we don’t accept. Then we introduced a principle for all contact between human beings in this school: All communication is to be friendly and clear. All adults at this school are to appear as friendly and clear. This is also written in all advertisements for vacant positions in this school. We let all the applicants understand that we presuppose such qualities in every situation. It doesn’t help to yell at our students. The moment you yell and scream, you have lost (T1-N3, interview 2008-11-21).

If teachers manage to be good role models in conflict resolution, they not only teach citizenship education but practice democratic principles and virtues in their everyday life (White, 1996).

Another way of learning peaceful conflict resolution is through learning how to make a case. Students have to learn how to disagree, take a stand and argue for it. Acquiring the skills necessary to participate in focused discussions is, in this study, the most prominent traits of citizenship education presented, as illustrated by this teacher:

We have to create situations where the students have to argue, take a stand. These are not intrinsic skills; we have to train them in this. This is a political activity which will enable the students at their legal age1 to have an overview of the political environment and different ideologies in society (T1-DK2, interview 2008-09-09).

However, disagreements and discussions between students and teachers are also described by several teachers as a cultural shock for many of the students with an immigrant background, although teachers did not explain within the context of the interviews what knowledge they possess about the personal history of the students, e.g., if a personal trait of a student is shyness, hence feeling uncomfortable with discussions in a classroom with many people present. Rather it is simply claimed that students with an immigrant background are not used to disagreements and discussions with teachers as they often come from more authoritarian homes. This tends to create problems when trying to involve students in discussions. Educators perceive one of their main tasks with regard to these students is to promote the cultivation of critical skills, which also involves the questioning of authority. Discussions often have to be facilitated by the teachers, with teachers playing the “Devil’s Advocate”, forcing students to take a stand and arguing for their views. On the other hand, that students do not engage in discussions is a phenomenon not necessarily related to immigrant background. Several of the high school teachers describe students being, in general, indifferent as regards the running of the school or influencing the content of teaching. Hence, this could be a common phenomenon in this age group.

Citizenship education is also considered by the teachers as being about the development of democratic attitudes, such as tolerance towards diversity. However, teachers in schools with a high percentage of minority students tend to complain more about the students’ lack of tolerance, as exemplified here:
The students have a lot of stereotypical perceptions. It is, therefore, relevant to show them the existing cultural diversity by bringing them to e.g. Christiania [an alternative community in Copenhagen] and the annual Gay Parade... We have to introduce them to something that is different. They are quite conventional and want to be like “everyone else” (T1-DK2, interview 2008-09-09).

Being “conventional” is not necessarily a trait associated with minority students only. However, the teacher points out above the need for tolerance towards diversity related to world views (the alternative community Christiania) and sexual orientation (the annual Gay Parade), as well as the fact that negative attitudes towards diversity are even more prevalent among students with an immigrant background. This is also mentioned by a teacher in Sweden:

“I see a need to constantly work with tolerance and respect, e.g. towards sexual orientation. This is often a problem amongst religious students. In the classroom they may show understanding, but many deny that homosexuals exist in their home countries. They often say “Homosexuals exist and I can accept that, but they cannot be in my proximity, then I cannot accept them. They do not exist in my home country” (T3-S3, interview 2008-10-16).

This quotation appears to support the assumption that religious diversity is a challenge, when educating students about democratic attitudes, such as respect for the individual right to life and dignity, regardless of sexual orientation. On the other hand, diversity in the classroom can also be used as a tool for promoting tolerance and respect, also a part of citizenship education:

“We have Kurds and Turks in the same classroom and their perceptions of reality are totally different. The students get this from their parents. Currently one Kurdish student and two Turkish students write together about the Kurds’ situation in Turkey and their history. The Kurd was very upset in the beginning and claimed that the Turkish students had chosen this topic to present a negative image of the Kurds. I had a private conversation with these three students and asked why they wanted to write about this topic. The Turkish students claimed more knowledge about the situation as their motive. I told them to make sure to describe the situation from both sides. This is now the best group I have. This is the way it should work, but this example is more of an exception than the rule (T3-S3, interview 2008-10-16).

Having students from different ethnic groups, groups that are currently in conflict, in the same classroom can be problematic, but this teacher appears to see the opportunities for citizenship education present when she wants them to collaborate. The teacher uses this as a good example of possibilities for teaching democratic skills, using a diverse student population. However, she is one of the few of the educators I have interviewed who is doing this deliberately.

Citizenship education is intended to provide the students with knowledge and skills sufficient to participate in the democratic society in which they live. One common feature mentioned by educators in the three high schools in this research
with the highest percentage of students with an immigrant background (DK5, S4, N3) is the need for practical skills in citizenship education. The emphasis on the school is more in the direction of vocational skills, making students understand the minimum criteria for getting a job (be present and exhibit decent behaviour), how to pay their bills, etc. These are, in other words, the minimum criteria for the acquisition of competence, needed to be an actor in the society in which the students live. Many of the interviewees point out that we all have shared responsibilities for society. This requires participation by the citizens. Furthermore, participation may take place on many arenas; national, regional and local, such as in the school itself. One particular challenge related to multicultural schools is mentioned by this teacher:

We all have a shared responsibility for the society we live in. Many of my students do not know this. They don’t even know how a democracy works, what kind of voting and election procedures that exist or the composition of power in Denmark (T4-DK3, interview 2008-09-03).

If this describes reality in some of the Scandinavian schools, how do these institutions facilitate student participation?

Student participation

Why should students participate and in what? Grand (2004) claims that participation in society affects democratic politics, because in democratic societies, majority interests dominate:

In a society without social solidarity, there is no reason to suppose those interests will coincide with those of the socially excluded; indeed, depending on the reason for the exclusion, the interests of the majority and the excluded are likely to diverge. Hence, democratic procedures will result in majorities having both the means and – due to the absence of solidarity – the inclination to oppress socially excluded minorities (Grand, 2004, p. 172).

If Grand is correct about participation, it is all the more important to emphasize student participation in multicultural schools, since some of the students in these schools belong to minorities. They are not necessarily socially excluded, but at the very least they may have to strive more for equality in work life than a student from a majority group.

All the Scandinavian countries have formalized students’ participation in official bodies. The Class Government in Sweden comprises all students in a class and topics of concern are discussed, often with the teacher in attendance. Something similar is present in Denmark and Norway in the form of “the class hour”, one hour per week or every other week, during which students have the chance to discuss issues with each other and the teacher. However, “the class hour” is not as formalized as in Sweden. A Student Government exists in all the schools composing my sample. This government consists of representatives from each class or track in the school. Some educators claim the student government is there
only because the school is compelled by law to have it. Furthermore, some schools experience problems in recruiting for the student government, exemplified by this statement:

It is depressing when they are to elect representatives for the student government and no one is willing to engage. Many of our students are interested in sports and may experience no time left for other activities. They are not very engaged, nor do they take any initiatives. They do not experience this as very relevant. They are used to having influence. They are good negotiators. However, they are not used to fighting for or using time on a democratic mandate. To be in from the start, construct frameworks and make sure they are sustained is not what they consider relevant (T2-DK2, interview 2008-09-09).

Participation in organisations or bodies and representing other students is believed to be activities that are part of the democratic fostering of students. Why, then, is it experienced by many teachers as problematic to get the students involved? Does the following statement provide an answer?

The students at this school are not very clever in using the student government. Furthermore, the student government is more occupied with social things than professional issues. Maybe this mirrors society at large? We enjoy good lives, therefore we do not engage in society anymore (T4-N4, interview 2008-11-17).

Although this chapter is based on research first and foremost concerned with the teachers’ voices, which tend to describe students as indifferent towards such democratic activities, it is appropriate to ask if these student governments at all provide genuine participation; what are the students actually allowed to decide upon or influence? Several interviewees admitted that this is usually restricted to minor, social matters, e.g., basketball facilities or a new bike stand in the school yard, school sweaters and so on. Maybe some of the students consider this as irrelevant or unimportant, compared to their personal academic achievement, leisure activities or other interests? On the other hand, the teachers claim that students actually can have a genuine influence. However, the students need help as illustrated in this statement:

Students at high school have a lot of power, but they are less interested compared to previous generations. Student governments are difficult to get going and even worse to get them to discuss sensible topics. I believe teachers and the management is to blame. We have let the student government become an alibi for democracy. Students have not understood the potential power present in such a body (T1-S5, interview 2008-10-15).

Many of the interviewees mention this body as the most important forum for student participation and influence. However, the tendency to use students’ seemingly lack of interest in the student government can often hide a more
important issue, i.e., lack of priority given to this matter by both the school management and the teachers.

Another method for student participation is influencing teaching. Many of the teachers interviewed allow students to decide the sequence of the topics to be taught within certain subjects. On the other hand, the teachers report that students often find this time-consuming and do not consider their engagement worthwhile. They would rather have the teacher decide on such matters and focus on the lectures, instead of using time on influencing the teaching. Student evaluation is one common technique which often is compulsory for schools in Scandinavia. Whether or not this is an efficient method for student participation is unclear.

A part of a democratic school is the culture of evaluation. It is a modern and democratic way of giving feedback. All the last year students evaluate their school experience through answering a questionnaire. The results are gathered in a booklet which is given to all staff and students at the beginning of the following semester. This is then discussed amongst the staff and amongst the students. At a school conference in September, this is discussed between all staff and five students from each class. This is to ensure that the personnel understand the perspectives of the students – and vice versa. Students have actually been less satisfied with the school the last year. This is a catastrophe for us! We have to do something. This school conference is an important part of this (T4-DK4, interview 2008-09-10).

This Principal is giving priority to the student evaluation and taking the results seriously by calling a conference between student representatives and the entire staff to discuss the outcomes. However, a teacher at the same school shares a dilemma with me during an interview:

Maybe 50-60% of the students answer “I don’t know” or “This is not important to me” on these evaluations. They would rather be told what to do. In other words, we experience a conflict between the schools’ intention of student participation and their interest or need in co-determination (T3-DK4, interview 2008-09-08).

Why is evaluation conducted when students find it so difficult or irrelevant to answer the questions posed? One teacher claimed it is used for the school to provide the students with a feeling of influence (T2-DK4). Does this imply that evaluation is carried out to create an imaginary belief of student participation? I suppose the evaluations are well-intended, but sometimes not a very efficient method of ensuring student participation.

Is the above-mentioned lack of participation unique to multicultural classrooms? The teachers discuss these issues as general problems, not as particular problems associated with minority students. However, since several of these students struggle with the national language, they are likely to be structurally disadvantaged in participation in, e.g. student governments, which are considered to constitute an important part of education for democracy. Furthermore, factors that motivate for participation, such as a sense of belonging to and identification with the larger
Handling diversity

Conflict about values and interests are common in democracies (e.g. Gundara & Sharma, 2008). Populations are very seldom homogenous and how we deal with diversity in education can reflect how we handle conflicts about essential issues in a democratic society. Diversity can even be described as something promoting democracy. Different perspectives and experiences may constitute a corrective to hegemonic depictions of “reality”. Human rights, values which are considered a basis for the Scandinavian democracies, include respect and tolerance for each individual human being. Discrimination based on, e.g. ethnicity, nationality, race, gender, religion or sexual orientation, should not occur. Diverse student populations provide educators with a multitude of opportunities in teaching about democratic values, in addition to practicing such values themselves and being good role models for students.

It is an interesting difference in preoccupation with diversity in junior high schools versus high schools. The junior high schools in this investigation have a student population composed of between 75 per cent and 100 per cent students with an immigrant background. Diversity is a topic of interest to teachers in the junior high schools and they tend to discuss issues related to diversity with the students to a greater extent than in the high schools. All the high schools in this study have less minority students than the junior high schools. Some of the interviewees claim they do not make diversity an issue at the school, some even state that cultural differences is unimportant. They claim that the academic achievements of the students are what really matters. Some teachers even choose to ignore diversity in the classroom:

Almost everyone at this school is ethnically Danish with a Christian background. This simplifies my task as a teacher of religion because everyone has the same preconception. It is a good thing that I have a homogeneous group of students. I’m convinced that if I had 50 per cent Muslim students in my class, I would instead have become a social worker, and then not able to reach the high academic level I do now (T4-DK3, interview 2008-09-03).

What this teacher describes as a homogenous classroom is not descriptive of the reality, since this teacher actually has students who are neither ethnically Danish nor Christians in his classroom. Nevertheless, he chooses to make diversity invisible, even claiming it to be a threat to the academic level. Homogeneity in the classroom was for this teacher something positive. Getachew and Bui (2005) state that not being noticed or being made invisible is one of the reasons contributing to drop-out from high school among minority students.
One Principal did absolutely not make his students invisible and tried to demonstrate his grand tolerance for diversity by bringing up the issue of hijab:

An example is the use of hijab. Let the girls wear hijab in school! When I went to primary school many years ago, it was common for girls to wear a head scarf. If you look at pictures from the church at that time, all women had head scarves. It is a natural developmental process and they [those wearing hijab] are in this process. We should not look down upon those who have not progressed as far as we have. It comes gradually, it takes time, and it is a process (T5-N1, interview 2007-09-24).

Is this really a display of tolerance and respect for diversity? Although noticing his students and their diversity, he seems to demonstrate a degrading opinion of people with another culture or religion by placing them on a lower step on the imaginary ladder of social evolution. However, he seems sincere and really believes he demonstrates tolerance and respect for diversity.

Some of the teachers interviewed are of a totally different opinion than the two interviewees previously quoted. They believe diversity in the classroom is of importance when teaching and can even constitute a pedagogical tool:

You cannot talk about Turkish and Kurdish problems and pretend that the six students in your class are not present! Or pretend that their background is entirely equal to everyone else’s. We have to articulate what others have experienced, how this is discussed in their homes, and their own perspectives. Then we may use this as a point of departure for a discussion (T3-DK4, interview 2008-09-08).

Acknowledging the diversity existing is a way of demonstrating respect and tolerance. The teacher quoted above recognizes the conflict between Turkish and Kurdish people, illustrates how it can be safe to talk about this in a classroom characterized by specific values, and balances the conflict using students’ experiences from the involved parties to start a discussion in class.

Several educators view the subject ‘Religion’ important in handling diversity and as a pedagogical instrument, as illustrated by this statement:

If the students are open about their religious background, we can use them and their experiences and knowledge in the teaching. It is clearly a good tool to give insight into why we experience others as different from ourselves (T2-DK2, interview 2008-09-09).

Many teachers claim to use the students’ experiences, but they often feel it is important that they have clarified this with each student in advance. They do not want to embarrass the student or end up in a discussion where an individual student is given responsibility for all negative activities conducted in the name of that particular religion. Considerate teachers even discuss different religions in a similar way, i.e., showing how all religions have both positive and negative qualities.

In multicultural schools, linguistic diversity is to be expected. Some students are not born in the country of residence, have another first language, and maybe use
the language of instruction only in school, not at home or with their peers. Such a situation creates challenges for the teachers, as exemplified in the following remarks:

I have to contextualize and find synonyms. Some of the language used for instruction has to be on primary school level. It is very difficult to differentiate my teaching sufficient to cover all the needs present in the classroom. Teacher training did not prepare me for the linguistic challenges in teaching multilingual students (T3-DK5, interview 2008-09-04).

If you have a homogenous group when you consider their background, the linguistic problems and challenges will be more uniform. But I have a very heterogeneous group and this is very demanding for me as a teacher (T2-N3, interview 2008-11-08).

The linguistic challenges facing educators in multicultural schools are sometimes enormous. Few of the teachers in this sample have special training in teaching students in their second language, despite the fact that this has particular pedagogical implications. Regardless of these difficulties, a teacher in Stockholm viewed this as an opportunity of acknowledgment of diversity:

In the subject ‘Swedish’ it is interesting to use authors like Jonas Hassen Khemiri [the author of “Ett Öga Rött”, a novel written in a particular form of broken Swedish] or other authors living today who use the language in a different way than Proust or Strindberg [classics]. It is interesting to bring the language up for consideration. What is this? Is this pollution of the language? How do these students view immigration and what that brings into the language? Unfortunately, the students are much stricter than I am. I find it pretty cool with Khemiri, but the students don’t consider it “correct” Swedish. Then it is possible to discuss what “correct” Swedish actually is (T3-S3, interview 2008-10-16).

This teacher is deliberately using linguistic challenges as a tool for discussion of diversity. What is “correct” Swedish? Who decides this? Considering diversity as an asset in a democratic society is, I would claim, making this teacher a good role model for the students.

CONCLUSION

The voices presented in this chapter represent a diversity of distinct voices, rather than a uniform perspective. Nevertheless, these voices have provided some information about how these teachers interpret the concept of democracy, how they work to develop democratic skills and competencies among the students, and how they handle diversity.

The schools included in this study give the impression of a strong tradition for imparting knowledge of democracy, which is in line with Biesta’s education for democracy (Biesta, 2006). It seems that education for democracy is taking place through the provision of a solid general education containing fundamental
knowledge needed in a democracy, yet without necessarily a thorough investigation or problematization of the concept of ‘democracy’ itself. This concept is more or less taken for granted, which again may challenge the teachers when they face students with different perceptions of democracy. In addition, education through democracy comes to pass randomly, frequently depending on the focus, or lack thereof, of the management of each school. Furthermore, unclear perceptions of which attitudes and values are to be considered democratic and promoted through practice is noticeable.

Citizenship education in the Scandinavian countries is not a separate subject, but commonly considered as a solid, general education adding the provision of skills in peaceful conflict resolution through discussions and deliberation. On the other hand, despite the overall aim of the national curricula being devoted to democracy and citizenship education, a lack of vocabulary with the teachers in regards to citizenship education leads to questioning the awareness of issues involved in this theme.

Legal and formal structures for student participation are in place in all the three countries, only with minor variations between the countries and between schools within each country. However, students are often portrayed as indifferent towards participation in these structures. Nevertheless, many educators admit that students can only decide on insignificant issues, questioning access to genuine participation. Furthermore, some teachers tend to have a stereotypical understanding of societal participation, e.g. through following the ongoing public debate, claiming that their students’ lack of societal participation is a reflection of their parents lack of interest in political and societal issues. None of the interviewees mentioned the possibility of parents being interested in political and societal issues outside of their country of residence. Maybe the parents are more concerned with critical situations in their country of origin, rather than issues in a peaceful Scandinavian country? Not once was this mentioned in the interviews conducted in this study. Jumping to conclusions about the lack of societal and political topics discussed in the students’ home, seems to be more a lack of tolerance from the side of the teachers, since the students may very well follow public debate, but not necessarily the ones preoccupying the teachers.

Individual freedom is a basic human right, which again is claimed to constitute a foundation for the Scandinavian democracies (Biseth, forthcoming; Kymlicka, 1995). Such a freedom promotes a development of identities that will naturally differ. Therefore, diversity could be considered the norm in these democracies. The teachers’ voices in this study, however, do not display much reflection on these issues. Diversity is assessed differently in each of the schools in this study; some teachers see it as a resource and others as a disadvantage. Out of those in the first group, very few are deliberately using diversity as a tool in their teaching for and through democracy. Some teachers reduce or even make diversity invisible, which again may invoke a feeling in minority students of being of less importance or even ignored ((Bui & Getachew, 2005; Delpit, 1988).

Several teachers report lack of training in these issues through their teacher education. They have been instructed in the general legislation related to democracy, but not in tools to be used in their practice, particularly not those related to issues
of diversity and cultural complexity. The teachers in this study raise a multitude of challenges they face in relation to democracy in multicultural Scandinavian schools. However, sufficient time set aside for critical reflections about how to carry out the mandate of developing future citizens through the educational system, is necessary if the outcome is to be satisfactory.

APPENDIX A – CODE LIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School code:</th>
<th>Educators:</th>
<th>Code:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DENMARK:</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK1 – Junior High School</td>
<td>Teacher in Danish, Danish as a second language, Christianity, and geography</td>
<td>T1-DK1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximately 400 students, 75% students with an immigrant background.</td>
<td>Teacher in biology, film science, Danish, and social science</td>
<td>T2-DK1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher in music, Danish, Danish as a second language, and English</td>
<td>T3-DK1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>T4-DK1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>T5-DK1</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK2 – High School</td>
<td>Teacher in Danish and social science</td>
<td>T1-DK2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximately 250 students, Academic tracks with sports. 10% students with an immigrant background</td>
<td>Teacher in social science and religion</td>
<td>T2-DK2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>T3-DK2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>T4-DK2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher in history</td>
<td>T5-DK2</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK3 – High School</td>
<td>Deputy Principal and teacher in leadership and Danish</td>
<td>T1-DK3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximately 500 students, Academic tracks with arts. Less than 5% students with an immigrant background.</td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>T2-DK3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>T3-DK3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Teacher in history, religion, and philosophy</td>
<td>T4-DK3</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK4 – High School</td>
<td>Counsellor and teacher in history and English</td>
<td>T1-DK4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximately 850 students, Academic tracks. 15% students with an immigrant background.</td>
<td>Teacher in religion and Danish</td>
<td>T2-DK4</td>
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<td>Teacher in social sciences and sports</td>
<td>T3-DK4</td>
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<td>Principal</td>
<td>T4-DK4</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK5 – High School</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>T1-DK5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximately 200 students, Grade 10 (preparation for further education, limited number of subjects). 50% students with an immigrant background.</td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>T2-DK5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Teacher in Danish</td>
<td>T3-DK5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NORWAY:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>N1 – Junior High School</td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>T1-N1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximately 200 students. 96% students with an immigrant background.</td>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td>T2-N1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Teacher in Norwegian, social science, and Christianity/religion</td>
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<td>Teacher in the reception class</td>
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<td>Principal</td>
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<td>Country</td>
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<td>Norway</td>
<td>N2 – High School</td>
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<td></td>
<td>N3 – High School</td>
<td>Approximately 550 students.</td>
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<td>N4 – High School</td>
<td>Approximately 820 students.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S1 – Junior High School</td>
<td>Approximately 350 students.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S2 – High School</td>
<td>Approximately 950 students.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S3 – High School</td>
<td>Approximately 600 students.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S4 – High School</td>
<td>Approximately 600 students.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S5 – High School</td>
<td>Approximately 400 students.</td>
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APPENDIX B:

*Semi-structured interview guide for interviews with educators*

If ‘democracy’ is a central concept in your school, what does it mean within the school context?

What are the students expected or likely to learn about it at their current stage of education?

How do you assess citizenship education?

How are programs of civic education organized in your school/class?

What are the students expected to have learned about those belonging to ‘minority groups’ or other groups which see themselves as disadvantaged or disenfranchised in relation to the rights and obligations of citizenship?

How would you describe a good citizen?

What are the students expected or likely to have learned concerning the use of the official language at the current stage of their education?

How do you facilitate language acquisition in the national language in your school/classroom?

How is multilingualism considered in your school/class?

How do you facilitate discussions in your school/class?

What kind of topics do you discuss in class?

To what extent do you facilitate for discussions in class related to different religions and world views?

Are issues like human rights and equal rights discussed in your school/classroom?

How do you deal with racism and discrimination? How is this issue brought on the agenda in your class?

What kind of participation do you expect from students?

In what ways do you give your students advice on future education/vocational opportunities?

How are students empowered to choose the best future education?

What kind of opportunities do the students have to influence the running of the school and content of the teaching?

How would you describe a ‘good’ citizen that has graduated from this school?

NOTES

1 ‘Legal age’ refers to the age at which a youth is considered legally an adult and is granted the right to vote in an election. This concept is also known as ‘the age of majority’. In all the three countries the legal age is 18.

2 The percentage is provided by a representative of the leadership in each school. It is not controlled for in any national statistics.
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**AFFILIATION**

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9. TRAJECTORIES IN A CHANGING FIELD

Teacher Education Students in Denmark and the USA

INTRODUCTION

One of the chief merits of comparative education is that it allows for an examination of patterns of similarities and differences across a number of cases; thus combining depth with a more extensive approach. One of the most fundamental issues for research in comparative education is the question of how to define the units of comparison. In this article I shall try to explain how critical realism might be used to inform research in comparative education with that purpose in mind. One of the main benefits of the critical realist framework is that it offers a methodology for distinguishing between occasional phenomena and more lasting transnational structural factors. However, critical realism in itself can only provide a framework for analysis. When working with small-scale qualitative research, strong theoretical concepts are needed, in order to be able to transform the critical realist points of view into practical empirical research.

The article is structured into two parts. In the first part I shall go into more detail with the theoretical approach, using French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus* and *dispositions* which run through all his works. (These concepts are, however, specifically discussed and explained in Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). I apply Bourdieu’s framework as an example of a methodology which can be understood as based on the critical realist ontology. In the second part of the article I shall try to illustrate my theoretical points by drawing on data from a comparative research project which explores the social conditions of teacher education students in Denmark and the USA.

CRITICAL REALISM AS AN IMPORTANT META THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS

In the following section I shall provide arguments why critical realism might provide a potential methodological avenue for comparative education. In critical realism the social world is viewed as partly structured in terms of regularities that can be investigated and brought forth into the open. However, criticism of its terminology of “law”, mechanisms, causality, etc., has been advanced; the use of these concepts might rightfully be understood as a warning against the relativism encountered in the more extreme forms of postmodernism and social constructivism.

On the other hand, these concepts are at the same time also a strong criticism of blind reliance on positivism. Behind the framework of critical realism lies a very complex understanding of the world which is essentially humanistic. On the one hand, it recognizes the structural forces of social reality, making it an interesting framework, while, on the other hand, it acknowledges the necessity of clarifying how it is viewed, its uses and usefulness.

When trying to make comparisons, questions of ontology, epistemology and notions of theory and causation arise. All methods have ontological presuppositions, and enquiring into them helps us avoid any mismatch between the methods employed and the nature of the object under study. When using a critical realist approach, it is important to open up the possibilities of comparative education in a way that allows for the discernment of structures and mechanisms in an open, structured, complex reality (Archer et al., 1998; Danermark et al., 2002).

One methodological problem with studies in comparative education relates to the assumption about the nature of the social world that informs them. The idea behind large-scale comparative research like e.g. PISA (Program for International Student Assessment of the OECD) is that the world is structured in terms of regularities that can be investigated through large-scale surveys. The survey method results in an understanding of the phenomenon, measured in terms of higher or lower frequencies of traits in the populations under study, as well as the correlations between traits which are at best considered indicators of causal relations. On the other hand, an approach, such as is used in PISA, does not address the nature of the phenomenon itself nor does it identify the causes that produce the phenomenon. It only investigates whether the correlations in the population under study are representative within a certain statistical range. Critical realism has a different objective and asks questions as to the nature of the phenomenon and tries to discover the mechanisms that cause it. This can be done by an in-depth study of even one single case in its context. The question of whether the explanation is representative is a quite different issue which might be added later on. In critical realism it is also important not to mistake correlations for causalities, as “laws” and regularities are considered more contingent and thus also more complex. Critical realists argue that what happens in the world is not the same or equivalent to what is observed, clarifying that events might happen, whether or not they are observable. Empirical data is thus limited, as it can only reflect the tip of the iceberg, i.e., only that which is observable above the surface, while not disclosing what lies below the surface.

Critical realists distinguish analytically between three levels of reality: a) the level of the empirical which consists of the collected data (in this case: interviews); b) the level of the actual which consists of events that happen without our awareness; and c) the level of the real which cannot be observed directly, but must be analytically disclosed through its causal effects. As regards the actual and the real, the following distinctions are important. In a research project, empirical material which theoretically might have been collected do not exhaust the limited set of equivalent realisations that might have been possible. The domain of the real consists of the structures and mechanisms which cause the events observed at the level of the empirical. Structures have certain liabilities and predispositions, and individual and contingent processes determine actual outcomes. Rather than
reducing what exists to what we can know from experience, critical realists seek to investigate and identify relationships and non-relationships between what we experience, and the underlying mechanisms that produce the events in the world. Mechanisms do not necessarily result in the same events and outcomes, they might vary, but they are always in play regardless of outcomes.

The main methodological point of this study is then that within the critical realist framework, qualitative methods might have specific advantages when looking for causal mechanisms, because they are better suited to dig out complex explanations of combining and overlapping social factors, an aspect often overlooked when quantitative and qualitative methods stand opposed to each other. Moreover, the application of the critical realist approach has a unique strategic strength today. Contemporary political trends suggest that research ought to be restrained to producing evidence of what works, and only controlled experiments and statistical analysis of correlations from big samples are expected to produce reliable knowledge about the social world (see, for example, the insistence on the procurement of “best practices” in the discourse of the European Union). Consequently it is paramount, not only to claim diversity of methods, but most of all to show how small-scale qualitative contextualised research can detect what really “works”, that is to say, the causal mechanisms beneath the immediately observable surface.

TEACHER EDUCATION STUDENTS IN DENMARK AND THE USA

In the following section I shall try to illustrate the abovementioned framework with examples from my empirical data. By interviewing teacher education students in two countries, I have chosen to work from a micro-perspective. In order to organise and systematise such a small-scale perspective, Bourdieu’s concepts of field, habitus and dispositions, informed by the critical realist understanding of the different ontological levels, help to structure the perspective.

In this very limited space it will not be possible to give a thorough analysis of the complexities of the two educational systems and their historical background. However, for the sake of a basic understanding, a few issues will be briefly outlined in the following. Firstly, it is important to stress that usually the concept of “teacher” in Denmark refers to the profession which teaches children between the ages of six to sixteen in primary and junior secondary school, whereas teachers for secondary and vocational school have other titles and are generally not included in the term. In the US the term teacher often refers to both primary and secondary teachers. It is important to be aware of this conceptual difference which might cause problems in comparisons, e.g. in discussions regarding teachers’ status.

Secondly, the institutional setting of teacher education in the two countries is quite different. In Denmark teacher education seems to have remained almost unaltered within the same institutional framework for more than 100 years. From a distance the independent teacher education colleges in Denmark seem quite similar to the American “normal schools” which are now only of historical interest. In most places in the USA, these institutions began their transformation into modern state universities almost 100 years ago. Only quite recently (2008), the Danish
colleges have merged into larger and more diversified so-called professional colleges. However, so far these new institutions do not have full university status and only award (four-year) bachelor degrees.

A snapshot of the formal arrangements around teacher education in the USA reveals a very diverse and complex pattern of private and public colleges, state and land-grant universities. In recent years the traditional university-based teacher education programmes in the USA have also met with competition from other certification providers, e.g. private agencies making short cuts into teaching possible (Zeichner, 2008). In the USA the concept of “college” is very important. To be or not to be at college, that is the decisive factor. However, colleges might be public or private, two-year or four-year, located at a public land-grant university or a state university. Hence, even though the concept of college might be the same, the type of institution and its reputation and status is the really decisive factor.

The two American universities included in this study represent two different public universities in the same state. Although located only one hour’s drive apart, they have quite distinctive differences. Fine-town University is a prestigious land-grant university with a lot of research money and only a very restricted intake of students into their teacher education programme. No-town University is a state university with very limited funding for research and no doctoral programme. Instead No-town University’s intake of teacher students is far more substantial than that of Fine-town University. Historically No-town University developed as an institution from a “normal school” (teacher training), it then became a teachers’ college, which was then turned into a regional college, until it achieved its present status as a state university. The two Danish colleges are also public institutions. There are no private teacher education providers in Denmark yet. Urban College represents a prestigious institution in the Danish capital of Copenhagen, whereas Rural College is situated in a rural setting on the west coast of Jutland. It is a highly esteemed institution locally, but, due to the general migration from the area, it has a declining number of students. These institutions have been selected as the basic cases in each country, as they represent contrasts on a number of characteristics and can thus be assumed to attract people with different compositions of cultural and economic capital, respectively.

**Borrowing and lending of American Educational Policies**

As stated above, the comparative/relational perspective has been used throughout the analysis. Often educational research tends to take the economic, historic and cultural context as given. This leads to a more or less consciously reflected rational choice thinking, where a complex mix of reasons are boiled down into one dimension. Idealistic thinking, in contrast to the aforementioned rational choice thinking, prioritises the explicit educational objective. In reality a complex of factors are blended. Basically the comparative point of view is a methodological issue. It is a means by which to discover the influences of distinctive factors in various contexts. In principle, therefore, comparisons between Swedish and Danish students and institutions (Steensen, 2005) might be as interesting as comparisons
between England and France and, in this case, Denmark and the USA. Today
global educational policies and ideas often have American roots, whether they are
spread across the globe through the borrowing and lending of national governments
or through international agencies (Robertson, 2008). Hence, it has become more
and more interesting to pay special attention to American educational policies and
practices, in order to assess the extent to which American trends might gain a
foothold on the national scene. As comparative researchers have pointed out (e.g.
Archer, 1979), global trends have to be translated into local contexts, making the
actual results unpredictable. From studies on the professions we know that
exogenous factors also contribute in shaping the conditions of national professions
(Abbott, 1988). For this reason, the socio-economic context also has been included
in the analysis in this project.

EMPIRICAL DATA AND METHODOLOGY
Data were collected in four institutions (colleges and universities), two in each
country, each representing a prestigious or research oriented environment Fine-
town (US) and City College (DK) and a more regional/non-research oriented
environment, No-town (US) and Rural College (DK). In Denmark students were
selected on the basis of existing data from a previous large quantitative study
(Steensen, 2005). They were selected according to the father’s formal educational
background as an important indicator of the socio-cultural/economic background of
the student. In Rural College, the fathers were unskilled, mainly employed in
different functions in the fishing industry or in agriculture. In City College all had
college degrees, at least at Master’s level, e.g. engineers, physicians, veterinarians
and high school teachers. In the USA I did not have any previous background
knowledge about the teacher students and had to rely on assistance from the
university and college professors to find students for interviews. I also had to rely
on my Bourdieu-informed hypothesis that different types of institutions attract
students with different social backgrounds. I interviewed eight students at each
institution, soon realizing that the hypothesis was sustained, in that the similarities
within each group were striking. In the analysis I have thus included students from
each institution, representing the main group of students as well as a few students
from each institution to illustrate some variations. This is pointed out to emphasize
as mentioned earlier that critical realism assumes that social reality consists of an
open system, where nothing is given in advance, but in which causal patterns can
be discovered. Thus at Fine-town the majority of students had fathers with college
degrees, mainly managers and engineers, while in No-town none of the fathers had
college degrees, but various forms of skilled and semi-skilled jobs. In comparison
to Denmark the students in No-town represent a more semi-rural/urban life style
and background, where urban realities are within reach geographically as well as
habitually. As mentioned in the general discussion of the critical realist approach,
the investigation was never intended to be representative in the general or
statistical sense. I do not maintain that all students at each institution had the same
background and in this study I was not interested in whether these students
represent a percentage of the total student body. The main objective was to find
groups of students with similar “social characteristics” (positions) who could then be compared with one another as to “professional positionings”. One might argue that mothers might be seen as important in influencing educational choice, which also appears to be the case as regards Fine-town, where five out of six mothers were in fact teachers. However, as I had to choose one main indicator for the totality of the family position and status and in social analysis, the father’s position is still considered the major factor when estimating the social position of the family as such.

Interviews were carried out as a combination of life history and thematic interviews. The main inspiration has been the interviews in the Weight of the World (Bourdieu et al., 1999) in the sense that the effort was directed towards collecting the story and analysing it with a double perspective. One the one hand, student narratives are analysed from within their own perspective. On the other hand, the stories are analysed not only from an inside, but also from an outside perspective. This is not a mysterious third point in space or a know-all attitude, but a methodological choice which stems from the fact that, when the stories are compared to each other and the narratives are interpreted according to the habitual circumstances of each student, systematic, though complex regularities appear. The life history perspective was needed for two purposes to establish the social background information in order to interpret the orientations and perspectives on schooling of each student, but also to provide contextual information which could be used as a characterization of the local environment. This subjective point of view was then supplemented by other types of data, e.g. statistical material, other research reports, newspaper articles, etc., in order to give a detailed contextual description. The thematic part of the interview was intended to provide information on the subjective perspectives (i.e. positionings) of individual students.

The dispositions cannot be detected as absolute entities, and they cannot be detected, if a few interviewees are selected at random only. Instead they were selected carefully on the basis of prior knowledge of background factors. Like any other point of view, the dispositions are constructed from a specific point in social space; that is why prior indicators of background social factors are needed. The researcher must listen to what the interviewee says (or omits) as well as how it is said. Careful listening is also needed, in order to be able to grasp the real subjective points of view and leave out official rhetoric and general discourses, which might be included for a lot of different reasons, e.g. that the interviewee tends to adapt to what she thinks the interviewer wants to hear, etc. Thus close attention should be paid to both the outside and the inside perspective.

BOURDIEU’S CONCEPTS OF HABITUS AND DISPOSITIONS

It is important to emphasize that critical realism only offers a meta theoretical understanding of reality which must be transformed and applied with theoretical approaches that have the same explicit or implicit assumptions. Bourdieu’s theory is taken as an example of an approach which can be understood within the framework of critical realism (Vandenberghhe, 1999), as habitus/dispositions (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) can be interpreted as the
“causal mechanisms” that partly influence the attitudes and orientations of the actors which might be discovered on the empirical level. The two concepts of “habitus” and “dispositions” were developed at different stages of Bourdieu’s work, but basically they allude to the same reality, and they will be used interchangeably in this text. Although still thought controversial by some researchers, dispositions/habitus have become increasingly popular in empirical studies. However, as discussed by Reay (2004), the concepts are too often used as a general explanation of social differences, instead of being applied as working tools. Often it is less obvious how these dispositions/habitus actually appear to the researcher. Thus, it is often not clear how habitus can be sustained as a finding. In other words, what does it look like? This question is not easily answered, since habitus/dispositions are theoretical concepts. This indicates that working from the level of the real, they cannot be directly observed. Habitus/dispositions can only be revealed through analysis of the content of the points of view as well as analysis of how these points of view are expressed by people. In this case I refer to teacher education students who share some basic social conditions, when these are compared to those of teacher education students who come from other social conditions. Thus the analysis of an interviewee’s life story must be supplemented by analysis of other types of data material (e.g. statistics, historical accounts, economic data, newspaper documentation, etc.) in order for the subjective points of view to be related to the contextual factors of social reality.

In this study, the objective was to identify the underlying dispositions through analysis of interviewees’ conditions of living, including their own everyday descriptions of social reality. As mentioned above, these dispositions do not exist as substantive entities in and of themselves, but only relative to other orientations. On the basis of Bourdieu’s underlying framework, the different socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds of interviewees have been detailed, in order to apply a relational analysis of the points of view of the interviewees, e.g. male-female, urban-rural, different socio-economic backgrounds, etc. This is based on the researcher’s understanding that there is a certain social reality behind knowledge, feelings and practices. This second order social reality is the reality expressed through the concepts of habitus/dispositions. The habitus is difficult to grasp. It does not appear in a specific, definite form; it is to be understood as a certain orientation underlying various empirically observable utterances, feelings and actions. Habitus is embodied history and comes very close to culture, a concept which is generally acknowledged and widely understood and accepted, although at a closer look just as complex. The habitus mediates between a specific position in social space, empirically ascertained through the cultural and economic capital of the interviewee’s family and the interviewee’s points of view. In this research, the points of view concern the interviewees’ schooling and future teaching career. In Bourdieu’s theory, this connection is expressed as a relationship between a position in social space (i.e., society) and certain positionings (i.e., attitudes, statements and actions). The habitus is thus considered to be the mediator. It is vital to understand that positions and positioning are directly observable empirical findings, while the habitus is not directly observable. However, we assume that the habitus does exist,
as we can empirically ascertain that certain positions are associated with certain positionings (see Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic/ Socio-cultural Characteristics</th>
<th>Fine-town(U.S.)</th>
<th>No-town(U.S.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents with college degrees (father: businessmen, engineers, professionals) High level economic and cultural capital. Working mothers. 5 out of 6 mothers in education Attended public schools</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parents with some education (plumber, policeman, farmer etc) Some economic and low cultural capital “at home mom”. Attended Parochial or private schools</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Utterances/indicators of dispositions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fine-town(U.S.)</th>
<th>No-town(U.S.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I want to experience something new” “The world is full of opportunities” “I want to make a difference in life and do something good” “Career orientation” “School familiarity”</td>
<td>“I want to go home” “I work hard” “The world is dangerous” “I will do my best to reach my goal” “Home and family orientation” “School safety”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic/ Socio-cultural Characteristics</th>
<th>City College (DK)</th>
<th>Rural College (DK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents with college degree Engineers, doctors, professionals High level of economic and cultural capital Some “at home-moms” Public and private schools</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parents with no formal education Agriculture, fishing industry, small trade Little capital “At home moms” Public schools</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Utterances/indicators of dispositions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fine-town(U.S.)</th>
<th>No-town(U.S.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Revert to habitual status” “Job must be fun” “I am called to see to school improvement” “Career, private schools and further education” “School familiarity”</td>
<td>“Remain on the spot” “I can do it” “They are not going to tell me my place” “Schools are not necessarily just” “Adaptation and some optimism in relation to their future new status” “School distance”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the concepts of habitus and dispositions might be found at what is called in the critical realist terminology the realm of the real. Furthermore, it is maintained that the habitus and dispositions might be revealed through the way things are said as well as what actors actually say at the level of the empirical. Similarities at the level of the empirical might have different causes at the level of the real, and
differences at the level of the empirical might have the same roots at the level of the real.

In many research projects that attempt to investigate the identities of teacher education students (e.g., Lindblad & Prieto, 1992), students are assumed to carry certain (usually positive) images from their own school time with them as an important factor influencing their choice of future teaching career. In a survey students might be given the choice of indicating whether they saw themselves as good students or troublemakers during their school days. However, the same indication might represent totally different and even quite opposite social realities. To be able to investigate these realities is one of the advantages of the qualitative approach informed by critical realism.

The following example illustrates this fact. Two male Danish students both see themselves as having been undisciplined “trouble makers” during their own school years. Firstly, this might be an image more frequent in males than in females, a factor which might later be controlled using quantitative method. However, the main point here is that their so-called “trouble making” has very different social origins, as the whole social context and parents’ reactions to their “trouble making” might be more important for their future teacher identities than the “trouble making” itself. One student attends the prestigious urban college. He comes from an upper-middle class background. His father was a civil engineer and his mother is a physician. His parents’ solution to his “trouble making” is also very much in line with a middle class attitude to schooling; if something is wrong, it must be the school’s or the teacher’s fault. His parents’ immediate reaction is to find another, more exclusive school for their son. Based on their son’s own reflections, as they are accounted for when he is enrolled in teacher education, this change was for the better. Retrospectively, he explained his “trouble making” as an expression of his boredom and that he was too clever for his age. He knew how to read even before he started school; he became successful in the more challenging surroundings. All these explanations and reactions are quite understandable. However, they contrast sharply with the story that the second “troublemaker” told.

This student attends the rural college. He grew up in a small fishing village on the west coast. Both parents were unskilled; his father was a fisherman and the mother was a housewife. Their reaction to his “troublemaking” differed from that of the upper middle-class parents. He was told that he should try to adapt to the school rules. His parent also told him that they thought that the most important thing was that he kept out of real trouble and that eventually a good job (in fishery) could be found for him when he left school. In retrospect he explains that he did not see himself as the “bookish” type. After primary school he started out as a butcher’s apprentice. Encouraged by his girl friend and her father, who is a teacher, he decided to catch up with secondary school later. At the time of the interview, he still appeared somewhat surprised that he ended up as a teacher education student.

The analysis of these two stories reveals that beneath the same statements on the empirical level, very different social realities are apparent. These realities might also contribute to the development of different teacher identities and different ways of understanding school from the perspective of pupils.
Unlike the example above, which showed how similar reactions on the empirical level had different realities on the level of the real, the following example demonstrates how two students from Fine-town College express visions for the future. On the surface (empirical level) the stories might sound very different, but they are nevertheless based on similar social realities.

I thought about coming back for administration. You would be working on the policies and working with people who are running the schools and the teachers who are teaching and then you would be working with the people who make the higher decisions and the decisions which are coming from above in a sense, I would love to work with administration (Caroline Fine-town in Steensen, 2007: 224).

I would probably want to move to Arizona actually and I wanted to move out west and I am thinking of Colorado, California, Arizona, I have never lived out of state, well besides going abroad. I feel the need to move to something new and see something different and new places (Linda Fine-town in Steensen, 2007: 225).

The above quotations illustrate that an interpretation of ambitions from the level of the empirical level alone might focus on very different ambitions. While the first reflects an interest in the structuring of schooling, the second appears to reflect an interest in the context of schooling, respectively. If, on the other hand, these are viewed from the perspective of dispositions, it is clear that both of quotations reflect equal optimism and confidence in a world of opportunities opening up after graduation. As both Caroline Fine-town and Linda Fine-town have similar backgrounds, the quotations reflect a common social context. The underlying causal patterns become clear through a relational approach, i.e., comparisons of life-stories and statements made by students from different socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions. This becomes even more apparent when the examples above are contrasted to the statement from No-Town below. This point of view will be elaborated further in the next section of this chapter.

**BASIC DISPOSITIONS**

In the following I shall try to illustrate how the theoretical points of the concept of habitus have been applied to the interview material. As mentioned before, I build on an understanding of social reality as a relational phenomenon. Therefore, students have been selected from positions (social backgrounds) that clearly differ from one another.

In general, students from Fine-town (a prestigious urban university) in the USA are characterized by dispositions, which demonstrate familiarity with and inside knowledge of the world of education. Their parents have college degrees and thus have economic as well as cultural capital. Interestingly this fact appears to have influenced their relation to the educational system. All but one has attended a public school. They and their parents do not hesitate in contacting directors and
TRAJECTORIES IN A CHANGING FIELD

teachers at their own discretion, and they appear to trust the school system, because they know how to handle it:

I attended W-high school. It is inner-city and it was great there. There was a lot of theatre, music and dance, things that I have always been interested in. It was a very diverse inner-city school. And I was also in a great elementary school, where I got a latino principal, a female black principal, and I was in an experimental bilingual first grade, so I was really exposed to Spanish (Susan in Steensen, 2007:221).

To grasp the real significance of the above statement, it should be compared to the statements of students from No-town who also dealt with issues of inner-city schools and diversity, but from a position where the negative side is more imminently threatening. In the interviews this is expressed in terms of safety.

It was a very safe environment. My dad was a police officer, so he made sure that wherever we were, it was somewhere safe (Karen-No-town in Steensen, 2007:215).

A lot of it is safety issues. They are very safe-conscious all over. And I have heard things about public schools. I really do not want my daughter to be exposed to it at this age. A lot of it is safety for me (Jennie-No-town in Steensen, 2007:216).

Overall all Fine-town students report that they have done well at school without really making a big issue out of it. A clear positioning which accompanies these positions is that they trust teacher education to give them access to a world of opportunities.

We would love to stay in Fine-town for a while, if we could. Eventually we want to move abroad hopefully. I would love to go to France or Quebec, which are French speaking. If we can obtain a five-year residence permit in France that would be fantastic (Susan in Steensen, 2007:225).

I think there are so many opportunities for teachers which I think they are not taking advantage of. You know there are summers off. I think there are a lot of things I want to do. There is an opportunity called “teacher at sea.” You go to stay for three months with a marine biologist at sea and you can communicate with your class via satellite and learn more about science, which is obviously something which interests me so (Jannie in Steensen, 2007:226).

On the empirical level the above-mentioned two descriptions of job opportunities might be expressed as very different career perspectives. Some students express a desire to move to another state (warmer and sunnier), one student wants to settle in Europe, another student instead explains how as a teacher she might have the opportunity to participate in science expeditions and participate in research in natural science which she feels will enhance the curiosity of children, etc. However, the underlying common tone in these interviews is optimism and a world of
opportunities. Again this point of view should be contrasted, e.g. with the concern for "safety" expressed by the students in No-town.

In No-town (semi-rural state university and former teachers' college) students came mostly from unskilled or semi-skilled backgrounds. What might strike one as strange at first glance is that the majority of students in this group have shunned public schools and instead attended private, mostly small parochial schools, but one even attended a more expensive Catholic private school, even though her parents were far from wealthy. Her mother was a nurse’s assistant and her father was a policeman. However, she reports in detail and repeatedly how getting the right schooling had been a top family priority and investment in her upbringing.

I went to an all girls’ Catholic high school. I think that was the greatest thing my parents ever did for me. I did have options, but they definitely pushed for private school, because we actually live in x-town, so they did not want me in the x-town school system, because it is not as strong as some private schools. So private schools were definitely valued in my family...private schools are better than the public schools, if you want to pursue something further beyond high school. They prepare you pretty well for that, so it is important (Karen in Steensen, 2007:218).

The values of her upbringing are then again reflected in her career orientation and her attitudes to parents.

I know that families pay for their children to be at those private schools, and I know that they pay a very good amount of money, so I know that they are going to be involved in their children's lives academically. I know that they are going to be at the schools more so necessarily than at some public school system. The teacher I worked with said that sometimes she has to hunt the parents down in order to have them involved, to have parent-teacher conferences with them. Sometimes parents will send their children to school at the beginning of the year with a pencil that is half-used and that is all the kids get for the whole year, no books, no folders. Sometimes parents do not care what their kids are doing in school. They do not care about making sure their homework is done. I know this will be emotionally very difficult environment for me to work with and so I know I will be more confident in a private school setting (Karen in Steensen, 2007:229-230).

Such a finding really shows the complexity of social reality and how it might run counter to everyday reasoning which tends to relate high status with private schooling and low income with public schooling. This of course is true (see Langlo’s chapter in this volume), but the cases in the present study show that it is a truth within the limits of a totality of factors. The relational methodology enables us to see the complex realities surrounding basic empirical responses, like the answer to the question: “did you attend private or public schooling?” In this social context, families see good schooling as the only way forward, and they are willing to invest hard work, money and a lot of effort in achieving their goal. They do not have the same basic familiarity with, trust in and ease with the public school
system as appears from the narratives of Fine-town students. Their positioning as to future career as well as their attitudes to the parents at the local school varies along the same lines. Where Fine-town students saw interesting opportunities, the narratives of No-town students are characterized by a much more tense focus on the importance of getting a decent job, which will provide economic security in safe surroundings at the lowest possible cost. They do not put forward exciting dreams of travelling or glorious careers. Their plans for the future concentrate on “going home” or at least getting a job in “safe” district, and they can distinguish between the specific attributes of the local schools.

Many of the R school districts are not that good. B is not a good area. But if you get into the BT area that is good, that is a wealthier subdivision, even in J town. M is a better school than F because of the money in the area. MM has more money than W School area, so it just depends. If you need a job bad enough you will even go to those districts (Jennie in Steensen, 2007: 233).

It might be argued that these relational differences are accidental or merely the constructions of the researcher, a case which must always be taken into account. However, to substantiate the main points, the comparative (i.e., relational) approach is applied. Thus it is disclosed, that when the Danish case is analysed, the same relational differences between urban and rural reappear, although expressed according to a different national setting. In City College (Danish urban prestigious college) we also meet students with an upper-middle class background; they come from family backgrounds of doctors, veterinarians and civil engineers. One of the important distinctions in Bourdieu’s work is the distinction between “economic” and “cultural” capital. Where families in Fine-town had a balanced composition of cultural and economic capital (fathers in business and engineering and mothers in education), several students from City College appear to be leaning more towards the economic pole in that both the father and the mother work within business, accountancy, etc. This might explain their positionings, which show that these students prioritize a career perspective, which does not to the same extent focus on the opportunities within the public schooling system, but first and foremost will send them home into their “habitual” upper-middle class environment. They prefer to teach in private schools, get into management, advance into secondary school, etc. Compared to Fine-town, mentioned above where the parents were quite positive towards the public school system, students at City College and their families see schools from a more outside critical perspective in line with the present day political reform logic, although like Fine-town, they handle the school system with ease. Their basic dispositions have consequences for their career ambitions in that they feel that their mission will be to improve school standards, preferably from a management point of view. Another striking feature is that male students in this group express that their main reason for choosing teaching was that they wanted their job “to be fun”, an indicator of ease. This statement should be related to the “world of opportunities” of Fine-town students, and contrasted with the preoccupation with “safety and going home” of No-town students as well as the modest optimism among students at Rural College. The latter have as their main
characteristics that they are in fact somewhat surprised that they finally made it, and they intend to remain in the local area.

In Danish Rural College we meet students who come from unskilled background, firmly rooted in the local rural traditions of agriculture and the fishing industry. The majority are older, second-career students, who enter a teaching career through the back door and much to their own surprise. Their main strength, however, is a life-long perspective of schooling, seen from below, so to speak. They have experienced how it is not to be an obvious school success from the beginning, and although they are now about to enter a teaching career, they are still rather impressed that they have really made it. At the same time they feel that finally they have got the recognition they deserve. New energy and certain self-confidence appears, because it turned out they were not that unqualified after all. Above all, most of them remain sensitive to the fact that schools might be a repressive experience for some students.

It is important to stress that there is absolutely no normative judgement in these observations and no evaluation as to who will become the best teacher. The effort has been to substantiate the point that social conditions (positions) matter in the formation of orientation of the initial teacher identity, but in very subtle ways.

The table below shows the major social characteristics and dispositions of the interviewed students at the four colleges. Please note that indicators of dispositions are statements constructed by the researcher on the basis of the totality of the stories where positions and positioning are analysed in relation to each other as well as to the positions and positionings of the other groups.

CONCLUDING REMARKS, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN A CRITICAL REALIST PERSPECTIVE

As mentioned in the introduction, the objective of this chapter is twofold. Firstly the intention is to demonstrate the usefulness of a critical realist approach for research in comparative education, and, secondly, to point out a few points of general relevance for teacher education.

Bourdieu’s framework informed by critical realism has been used to show complex patterns of similarities between students who share a certain social background in two different countries, the point being that patterns of social distinctions are repeated across borders. This finding confirms the productivity of the critical realist approach and of the Bourdieu model of habitus/dispositions as a tool for social research. I have tried to demonstrate the specific enrichment comparative education research might receive from these theoretical approaches, the point being that in different points in space and over time the same mechanisms explain a diversity of phenomenal events.

I have also tried to demonstrate how the interplay of diversity and identity emphasizes the limitations of a teacher education aiming at the creation of a standardised professional identity. On the one hand, this re-socialising effort, which strives to reduce the diversity of teacher education students and make them conform to a national ideal of values in upbringing, might fail. If, on the other hand, it does not fail, it will work to the detriment of the diversity of schools,
parents and learners. Therefore, teacher education should begin to confront this
dilemma openly. Although a complete understanding of one’s own habitus is not
possible, students could consider the relationship between life histories and values.
This might lead them to further reflections on the significance of their own upbringing.
In addition, teacher education could put more emphasis on the methodology of
anthropological investigation rather than mono-cultural moralisation as a major
focus in professional development. This should not be understood as an argument
for cultural relativism or negligence of universal human values, but as a possibility
for insight and understanding of complex socio-cultural and socio-economic realities
and their importance for education.

NOTES

1 The meaning of “public” in the USA is today more a historical feature than a question of funding.
2 This does not imply that all students in each of the chosen institutions had the same background.
Social reality is more varied than this. The main reason for the specific choice of these students was
the intention to have the maximum possibility for contrast. There will, of course, be a lot of
variations and overlapping in between these two extremes. However, it is important to point out that
it has never been the intention to create any form of representativity, this is where the
understandings and reflections of critical realism on in-depth contextual analysis enters, the main
intention being to look for causal explanations in different settings. All this aside, the background of
the students was not atypical either, in each institution about 40% of the students in all had the
described background. This general hypothesis of a certain homology between type and prestige of
institution and students’ social background helped me in my work in the USA where similar
distinctions appeared although I did not have access to similar background information in advance.

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10. VOICES FROM THE FIELD

Negotiating literacy education in a multicultural setting

INTRODUCTION

The topic of this chapter is a research- and school development project, in which researchers, teachers and librarians are cooperating in the development of literacy. We address a specific issue where theory and practice divert between teachers, on the one hand, and researchers, on the other. The issue is a “deficiency discourse” among teachers, related to educational performance among pupils with linguistic minority background. This discourse materialized in terms of “tracking” of educational provisions organised separately for pupils with different abilities, and particularly for “low achievers”. We will expand on how teachers and we as researchers viewed these issues and the implications of the different views on literacy education.

We will proceed to show how theory and practice are undergoing transformation through the research- and development project. Finally, we will expand on how key concepts within “the philosophy of multiplicity” have proven to be particularly productive in generating the processes of educational and theoretical transformation (Deleuze, 2001; Deleuze & Guattari, 2005). These are the concepts of “multiplicity” and “becoming”. The article is written two years into the project and refers to observations and reflections made during the initial phase (2007-2008) and early stages of implementing the interventions (2009-2010).

THE MULTICULTURAL SCHOOL

The school has approximately 550 pupils and 70 staff members. Of the pupils about 75 per cent have an immigrant background. Many of the pupils were born in Norway and have a first language other than Norwegian, while others are foreign-born and have migrated to Norway at elementary school age. The population of the municipality is comprised of a 17 per cent immigrant population, with roughly 30 different nationalities represented in the school. Approximately 25 of the staff members are bilingual, with first language instruction given in 20 different languages. Initial reading and writing education is provided in the child’s best language whenever possible.

The school was opened in 1971 in a new neighbourhood of high-rise apartment buildings on the outskirts of a mid-size city in Norway. The immediate area surrounding the school is the most densely populated in the city and has the highest
number of foreign-born residents. The school is situated centrally between the high-rise apartment buildings. A branch of the public library is located in a municipal building next door to the school. The forest is a short walk away and the teachers and students enjoy frequent hiking trips and regularly take their class work outside as a way of concretizing teaching and building vocabulary.

From Problem Focus to Pride in International Resources

Since the first immigrant pupils moved to the neighborhood in 1975, the school has gone through substantial changes. During the first decade, a rapidly growing immigrant population was seen by the school as problematic. There was a problem-oriented focus (Coleman, 1979; Ruiz, 1988) on pupils and parents with immigrant background. In 1985 the school began a reform process aimed at turning around a negative school culture characterized by social, disciplinary and learning problems. The aim was to develop a positive resource-oriented school culture and discourse. The principal and the teachers have been active in the debate about multicultural and bilingual education regionally and nationally. The school has prioritized bilingual, antiracist and peace education. The school bases its work and philosophy on theories of multicultural and bilingual education (Bialystok, 1991; Cummins, 2000; Cummins, Baker, & Hornberger, 2001). The school’s vision is that diversity, rather than homogeneity, is the normal situation and multilingual, multicultural and international competence is a resource in a globalised world.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research-and-development project involves a partnership between two schools, two teacher education institutions and a public library. The aim of the project is the development of literacy and inclusive education on the basis of providing pupils with extensive access to reading and the use of the public and school libraries in education. Our research intervention for achieving these aims is a “book-flooding” program, in which the pupils are engaged in extensive voluntary reading of a wide variety of books in the classroom and at the library.

The school, which is discussed in this chapter, has a large multicultural and multilingual population and the socio-economic status of the families is on average low. The other school which is located in the same area has a predominantly monolingual Norwegian-speaking population with a mixed labour and middle class background.

The research-and-development project was initiated by us as researchers. Institutional contact and cooperation was established with the leadership of the two schools and the director of the local public library. The project period is four years, from 2007 to 2011. The project involves three classes at each school. In this article we address the development of the project at the school with a large population of multilingual students. Approximately 60 students and six teachers, one assistant, two bilingual teaching assistants from the school, one teacher responsible for the school library and one librarian from the local public library are currently
participating in the project. The children are divided into three different classes, each with two teachers. The teachers and assistants in each grade comprise a team. Children belong to a class, but are sometimes in groups with children from other classes. The pupils were in the third grade when the project started.

The research questions guiding the project are the following:

- Under what circumstances can inclusive education be developed through systematic cooperation between teachers, librarians and researchers in a multicultural context?
- Under what conditions can cooperation between schools as high-intensive learning arenas and libraries as low-intensive arenas contribute to literacy, empowerment and citizenship?

The research design involves the use of mixed methods. We use qualitative interviews, document analysis, questionnaires and participant observation. In addition we collect and analyze data from assessment tests. The research and development is done by a team of researchers working in close cooperation with the involved teachers and librarians at the public library and the school library. Teachers, school leaders, librarians and researchers meet regularly to plan interventions and to reflect on the direction and meaning of the activities. In addition, the researchers meet with each other to discuss the progress of the project, issues related to research methodology, theory and documentation.

Our task as researchers in the initial phase was to identify what the teachers and school leadership saw as their students’ needs and to discuss ways, in which this project could be applied to meet those needs.

The key intervention is a literature-based program for literacy acquisition, which includes all of the pupils in one cohort (in the fourth grade during the period described in this chapter). An important principle guiding the intervention is that all the participating pupils are given equal access to literature, which they find interesting, and that they are together when they read and write. Development of literacy is a form of social practice, which is a lot more than acquisition of skills (Barton, 2007). People develop a passion for reading in contexts where reading is social and enjoyable (Barton, 2007; Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000). Studies show that segregated educational provisions for ‘low achievers’ give no positive results and may even give negative results in terms of literacy and educational performance (Amrein & Berliner, 2002). This is an important theoretical argument for educational provisions that include all pupils regardless of educational performance.

A DEFICIENCY DISCOURSE AND TRACKING

In the process of identifying needs, negotiating and planning interventions, we learned about teachers’ ideas of teaching in a heterogeneous classroom and the gauging of effectiveness by using tests.

The issue discussed in this chapter concerns differences in approaches to raising the performance of disadvantaged school children. Related to this are “tracked” educational provisions; “tracked reading” and provision of library resources exclusively for low-achievers. The primary challenge and task of the school is
described by school leaders and teachers as “closing the gap” between the school performance of children with immigrant minority backgrounds and pupils with Norwegian as a first language. The school leaders and teachers were looking for new ways of compensating for what they characterise as “holes” in the everyday knowledge, conceptual understanding and vocabulary with which immigrant minority children come to school.

We identified two discourses at the school. A deficiency discourse and a resource discourse co-exist. The deficiency discourse was a challenge to the implementation of the research and development project, where our aim was educational provisions which include all children. The teachers suggested separate educational provisions for “underachievers”. From our research perspective, these provisions were propounded with a discourse of cultural deprivation and compensatory education (Gundara, 2000; McLaren & Torres, 1999; Nieto, 1996).

Key concepts in the following analysis are the “fourth-grade slump”, compensatory teaching for children considered to be at risk of low academic performance, the idea of multiple literacies and theories of multicultural education and multiplicity.

“Closing the gap”

When the research project started in 2007, the school leadership selected the third grade for participation. The school leadership’s rationale was that the project could help the school find a new way to remedy the “fourth-grade slump”. The school experienced low achievement and reading comprehension difficulties in the dominant Norwegian language that began to develop around the fourth grade among many students, who were performing well up until the third grade. The teacher discourse, which explained this phenomenon, was that the students who develop these difficulties are lacking knowledge and vocabulary, which is increasingly assumed by textbooks. The teachers felt that students, who were not given access to the out-of-school knowledge assumed by school curriculum and learning materials, were at a disadvantage.

The “fourth-grade slump” is in literacy studies described as difficulties in reading comprehension that arise as reading materials become increasingly complex around the fourth grade. Additionally, reading to learn school knowledge, which becomes a central activity during the second half of elementary school, poses a greater challenge than reading to learn to read (Meichenbaum & Biemiller, 1998; Snow & Biancarosa, 2003; Sweet & Snow, 2003). Researchers have also found that “world knowledge” drives expository text comprehension. They conclude that this indicates that the “low-knowledge children” are not able to make the knowledge-based inferences required by the expository text (McNamara, Floyd, Best, & Louwerse, 2004).

The deficiency discourse co-existed with a school discourse, which viewed multilingualism as a resource for the individual child as well as the school. The school’s vision of diversity as a norm and international and multicultural competence
as a resource (Ruiz, 1988) for the individual and society is important in analysing the pedagogy of the school.

The school’s educational development plan is based on Thomas and Collier’s research on bilingual development (Thomas & Collier, 1997). It is a strategy to improve education for minorities, which is based on insights about bilingual children’s needs. Inclusive education at this school is defined as education adapted to the needs of bilingual minority pupils. When the teachers and school leaders speak about inclusive education, the needs of bilingual children are self-evident.

The vision and goal statements are used actively in the school and are manifest in the school’s work with minority parents as resources for their children, participation in multicultural education programs nationally, international cooperation and anti-racist and anti-bullying work, among other activities. The school works actively to enhance the learning of the Norwegian language and the academic knowledge and skills necessary for integration into society as well as affirming the children’s sense of identity and self-esteem.

How can we understand the coexistence of a resource discourse and a deficiency discourse at the school? The directions handed down by the national government and municipal school authority should be considered in understanding possible inconsistencies in the discourses and practices of the school. The school is required by law to follow the national curriculum and an assessment regime. The assessment of proficiency in minority languages is not part of this regime. The school law and national curriculum mandate a transition model in relation to linguistic minority pupils. The educational objective is teaching in Norwegian as early as possible. Bilingual education has low priority and is only optional in grades one through three as a transitional model (Hvistendahl, 2009; Øzerk, 2007). Mainstreaming and focus on the teaching of basic skills is the norm in schools in Norway (Engen, 2009).

Formal qualification of the pupils and assessment of success or failure is done according to these central guidelines. In order to function as a social equalizer and integrative factor, the school must help the pupils reach the goals set by the government and ensure that they gain the “paper qualifications” necessary for upward social mobility (Gundara, 2000).

In the course of our interaction with the fourth-grade teachers, we have found that only the Norwegian language is being used in the classroom. This is in contrast to the school’s emphasis on theories of bilingual development and bilingual education, which argue for the importance of the development of children’s first language skills and possibilities for bilingual children to take advantage of their total linguistic repertoire, when studying school subjects. This practice is in line with educational policy. Throughout the Norwegian school system, emphasis is on learning the Norwegian language and becoming acculturated in the sense of acquiring the vernacular knowledge which is expected of readers of Norwegian school textbooks and an implicit pre-requisite for expository text comprehension (McNamara, et al., 2004). There is a pressure to “teach to the test”, as is commonly found where high stakes testing is employed and where emphasis on basic literacy and numeracy skills is dominant (Popham, 2001).
This is the social context for the teachers’ discourse about “closing the gap”. They prioritize achievement, based educational provisions within a setting in which monolingual education is the norm and the standard frame of reference for educational assessment. Activities, which do not directly relate to the development of the skills and knowledge which are measured by national tests, would be difficult to legitimize – even though the school can legitimize them based on educational research and theory. The call for compensatory teaching needs to be seen in relation to this problem; the school is pressurized to focus on preparing the pupils for taking tests.

Teacher arguments for achievement-based grouping and the use of tracked reading materials referred to the resource discourse at the school, which conceptualises diversity as the norm. The teachers see differences in academic achievement and intellectual ability as dimensions of diversity, like many others found in the school population. According to educational policy guidelines, the school is supposed to offer all children an education, which is adjusted to their individual needs. This is interesting. Teachers’ reference to the resource discourse was a good point of departure for discussion about means to reach the goals. It opened up for deliberation about the value or problem with achievement-based grouping.

As researchers we question the use of this form of differentiation and offer an alternative model. We fully appreciate the importance of acquiring good proficiency in the Norwegian language for pupils with a minority background. It is for this reason that we have initiated a literature-based literacy program which, in other countries has been documented to have very positive effects (Alleklev, & Lindvall, 2003; Axelsson, 2000; Elley, 1991). We suggest that, instead of organizing pupils in groups based on achievement and offering the pupils a tracked reading program, educational provisions should be diverse in content and, as such, meet the diverse needs of the individual child and the pupils in the classroom. The book-flooding program is an intervention and educational provision, which is an example of this.

**Tracking**

In the project we encountered tracking in two forms. The first was a tracked reading program, which the teachers worked with before we started the book-flooding program. The reading materials in the tracked reading program are classified in different ability levels. There are fictional and factual texts. There are also tests, which assign a child to a particular competence level in reading. This decides when she or he is ready to progress to the next level. As researchers we questioned what the assignment of pupils to a literacy “level” based on these tests actually implies. Does the assessment identify the “real” literacy level of the pupil, or does it merely document literacy performance according to the items, which are measured? We pointed out the danger of confining the pupil to a particular ability level. We also argued that tracked reading books were of low literary and aesthetic quality. They were not interesting and illustrations were generally of poor quality. We argued that tracked reading is not a good pedagogical
provision within literacy education. We also argued that there are additional benefits to be had from reading extensively books of high aesthetic value. In short, our arguments were the following: The children will be exposed to life experiences, which they will not be able to have first-hand and they will benefit from intercultural learning, if books from a variety of settings are used; children will thus be able to expand their vocabularies and gain knowledge, which is often assumed that they have when they come to school; children will also be challenged to reach beyond their current level of reading skills and comprehension, independent of test results. Despite our arguments, the teachers did not share our point of view in the early phase of the project.

The second form of tracking we encountered was that teachers organised groups of low-achieving pupils with immigrant background, who were given special access to the library. Educational policy guidelines do not allow permanent achievement-based groups to be established in Norwegian schools. However, children are regularly organized in groups according to ability in particular subjects or particular subject areas. At a planning meeting, the teachers presented their plan of allocating extra library resources to a group of children whose reading test scores were around the “critical edge” on a widely-used reading test. The extra library resources would be provided in the form of weekly visits to the public library, including book orientation and reading by the librarian, the sharing of reading experiences and time to browse the shelves and borrow reading materials. They argued that the extra focus on reading and literature would be especially beneficial for these children. According to the teachers, the low-achieving children who were selected for the “library group” needed the extra motivation that the teachers hoped would be provided to them by regular library visits. The teachers decided that only these low-achieving pupils with immigrant background would visit the library regularly.

This separate provision for low-achievers was not in line with the philosophy and pedagogical theory which underpins our project. A key element in the research-and-development project is that all pupils are included. Our aim is that all children get access to the library, and that social events which involve reading include all pupils in the class. Our research aim was that no pupils were to be taught in segregated groups, based on low literacy performance. Several studies show that segregated teaching seldom has positive educational or social effects (Amrein & Berliner, 2002; Nordahl, Kostøl, & Mausethagen, 2009). Segregated teaching is also counterproductive to reaching the school’s goals of integration, equality and democratic participation. However, the teachers were not convinced by our arguments. We respected the authority and autonomy of the teachers and accepted their judgement. Thus in the fall of 2008, visits to the library were organised only for the 12 pupils with immigrant background, who were selected because their literacy performance was just at the critically low level, as measured by the reading test.
Within New Literacy Studies (NLS) (Street, 1995, 2003) literacy teaching and acquisition is conceptualized as a form of social practice. Street writes:

...literacy is a social practice, not simply a technical and neutral skill; that it is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. It is about knowledge: the ways in which people address reading and writing themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity and being. It is also embedded in social practices, such as those of a particular job market or a particular educational context... [Literacy that is promoted is] rooted in the desire to dominate and marginalize others (Street, 2003: 77-78).

School literacy is only one form of literacy. This perspective leads us to an understanding that literacy is not limited to a singular literacy, which can be measured and identified in terms of a literacy score which assigns the child to a specific literacy level. Rather, we are experiencing a multitude of literacies which co-exist within different domains and sometimes in hierarchical relationships (Barton, 2007; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000).

Literacy, as defined in the national core curriculum and by the test regime, is the dominant form of literacy in Norwegian education. Teaching of literacy is traditionally based on the use of one textbook. The degree of children’s school success is defined in terms of their ability to show fluency in this dominant Norwegian language.

Following this, compensatory teaching can be seen as the school’s effort to empower pupils within a monolingual educational context. They need to be fluent in the dominant literacy in order to have a chance of upward social mobility. On the other hand, this focus on preparing the children for the test by teachers teaching to the test (Amrein & Berliner, 2002) could contribute to the continued marginalization of the knowledge and perspectives, which children learn out of school, and the consequential privileging of children, whose parents have access to the cultural capital preferred in the education system. This strategy will likely not be successful for bridging the gap between minority and majority pupils (Engen, 2009).

As researchers we recognise the importance of qualifying all pupils in the dominant language and providing pupils from linguistic minorities with good linguistic and cultural competence in Norwegian. Our proposition in the research and development project is that a book-flooding program has a strong potential for the development of literacy for all pupils. Studies indicate that voluntary reading of books of high aesthetic value will contribute to motivation for reading and incidental learning of language and content (Elley, 1991). In this sense, our research intervention appeals to the resource discourse at the school, which co-exists with the deficiency discourse at the school.
PHILOSOPHY OF MULTIPLICITY

Multiplicity and becoming

In dealing with heterogeneity in the classroom, which has dimensions pertaining to social and linguistic background and ability, we are inspired by philosophical concepts introduced by Deleuze and Guattari. In their “philosophy of multiplicity”, difference is a primary analytical concept (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005). Difference does not only pertain to “the other”, but to any phenomenon. Even identity can be conceptualized as difference, according to Deleuze and Guattari (2005). This is in contrast to the traditional Western conception of difference, which poses difference as opposed to identity and opposed to the singular or the same. Within traditional Western philosophy, identity is a primary analytical concept. Within that conceptual framework difference is subordinated to identity. Difference tends to be perceived as deviance.

Within the philosophy of difference, Deleuze and Guattari introduce an alternative concept of difference which they call “multiplicity”. They conceptualise difference as “difference in itself” and in a process of becoming. Any multiplicity is seen as in a constant process of becoming. From this philosophical perspective, new possibilities open up in our project of cooperation with the teachers.

The co-existence of contradicting educational discourses among teachers is no surprise from the perspective of the philosophy of multiplicity. We do not expect a unified, coherent educational discourse without inconsistencies. We expect to find difference, and that interaction between forms of difference, generates processes of becoming. We have confidence in interaction and are open to what it generates.

If people are defined in terms of categories, they tend to be confined to the categories. An example of this is the category “low-achievers”. A pupil who is defined as a “low-achiever” tends to get treated as a “low-achiever” in school. This will tend to reproduce the pupil’s situation and position as a “low-achiever” (Amrein & Berliner, 2002). Ranking and sorting is given priority over learning. The alternative concepts of multiplicity and becoming, however, conceptualise any phenomenon – whether it be a person or a relation – in terms of difference and a process of becoming. In this perspective, the educational focus changes from placing pupils within a specific category and group, to seeing each individual fundamentally as in a process of becoming. The primary objective is then to provide the most stimulating educational environment for individual and social development and learning. This philosophical position informs the development of our research- and development project, as well as pedagogical arguments for implementation of book-flooding programs in literacy education. The one textbook offered is seldom of high literary quality. It is seldom interesting reading, and it rarely meets the multiplicity in the classroom. In other words, it is not well suited to the multiple interests and needs of children in socially and culturally complex classrooms.

In a research and school development project, there is continuous interaction between teachers and researchers. The interaction has several components; dialogue and discussions, cooperation in the classroom, research interventions, teacher
practice and student learning. Teachers relate to and reflect on all these elements. Their interaction and development of teaching practices depend on how they experience the development of the project. There is reason to believe that if or when they experience positive development of student learning related to interventions in the project, they will engage in new forms of educational practices. This has happened in our project.

As researchers we have pedagogical arguments for our suggestions in interaction with the teachers. The interaction generates processes of becoming among the teachers and ourselves. After an initial phase when the teachers brought only “low-achievers” to the library, four out of six teachers have changed their practices when it comes to taking their classes to the library. They have extended use of the library to two out of the three classes which are involved in the project. Our experience was that teachers did not accept our arguments against achievement-based provisions as such. That is why they initially decided to provide library resources only to the “low-achievers.” But after a while, teachers decided to include all the pupils in their class in regular visits to the public library. It appears to us that the teachers’ experiences with the book-flooding program, in which they saw that book-flooding in the classroom stimulated all the children to extensive voluntary reading, convinced the teachers of the value of providing all pupils in the class with extensive book resources. Our analysis is that this played an important, and perhaps a decisive role, when teachers decided to extend library visits to the whole class. Their experiences with good educational practice, which resulted in extensive reading among the children, supported the arguments that we put forward earlier in favour of providing library resources for all the pupils. This development in the project is an argument in favour of educational research where teachers and researchers collaborate over an extended period of time.

When it comes to tracked reading, two out of six teachers have so far decided to drop the tracked reading. Their argument is that the content of the books in the tracked reading program is of little relevance to the pupils in their class, where all the pupils have multicultural and multilingual background. These teachers have decided that they want all pupils to read and work with a particular novel. This gives all the pupils and the teachers the opportunity to share a reading experience and a literary event, based on a novel which has relevance for the lives of the children. This is in contrast to the tracked reading, in which all pupils read different books, often of very little interest to them. During the next two years when we further develop the research- and development project, it will be interesting to see whether the arguments by these two teachers in the team of six teachers, will influence the other four teachers and their view of tracked reading.

DISCUSSION

As researchers and initiators of the project, we reflect on the theories of multiplicity, multicultural and bilingual education and New Literacy Studies mentioned above, as we interact with the teachers on the issue of literacy education and school-library partnership. In our collaboration we have attempted to
understand the decisions made by the teachers. We have put forward suggestions as to how teaching and literacy acquisition can be improved.

We see time and the experiences teachers have of methods that work, as important factors in effectuating changes in teaching practices (Bueie & Pihl, 2009). At the outset teachers were hard-pressed for time. It is difficult to find time for collaboration between teachers and researchers. Time is needed for cooperation, reflection and the gathering of experiences in the project. Against this background, we decided to extend the project period from three to four years. The next step in the project will be to investigate changes in knowledge and practice related to literacy education and inclusion among the participating teachers, school leaders, librarians and researchers.

Meeting with practicing teachers and school leaders has challenged us to reflect on established theories of multicultural education. We have been challenged to question academic discourse which often tends to categorize school culture, educational programs and teaching practice as either deprivation or resource-oriented, as either inclusive or segregating or as either assimilatory or anti-assimilatory. In our project we have found that these discourses and practices in fact co-exist within the same school.

We see that choices made by teachers in their practice are a matter of negotiation with outside bodies, such as the national government, the municipal government, the school leadership, representatives from higher education and research institutions, needs of the pupils and their families and available resources. As researchers we find that it is not satisfactory to make a normative judgement of teachers for using ability-based grouping or tracked reading or for speaking about the differences between the vernacular knowledge of the children and the knowledge assumed by the school system in terms of a deficiency discourse. In a research- and development project it is important to respect the autonomy and judgement of the teachers. At the same time it is important that the researchers propose alternative concepts and educational provisions during the process of collaboration. Internalization of new concepts and theory, as well as putting new theory into practice, takes time. It takes time to see what works and what does not.

The project accounted for in this chapter offers the pooling of resources which are already available in the local community: The public library with its wealth of books and other learning materials and digital resources and the professional librarians who are qualified for counselling and serving the public and educational institutions in particular. Based on collaboration between librarians, teachers and researchers, the teachers are given opportunities to see alternatives to the readymade packages of didactic reading materials which are provided by the school. Teachers are not left to themselves in keeping track of the wealth of children’s literature, but engage in inter-professional cooperation with librarians about use of the library resources, thus providing the children with a wealth of interesting reading material.

Guided by the concepts of “multiplicity” and “becoming”, we perceive all participants in the research- and development project in terms of these concepts, including ourselves. We see this as an affirmative theoretical approach. It is open to the unexpected, to unforeseeable events and developments in the research and development project. We have found this to be productive. In line with this, we see
the great potential in introducing children to the world of literature in education, and in introducing cooperation between teachers, librarians and researchers to facilitate this educational development. We have experienced that the project gains momentum from our research interventions which interact with other circumstances and unforeseen events that influence the development of the project. From our theoretical and methodological point of view, this opens up new possibilities. We are open to what this process of “becoming” will do to the development of literacy among the children, to the practice of teaching in the years to come, and to our own theory- and methodology development within the project.

NOTES

1 Disadvantage is here used with regard to native-born children of immigrant parents and immigrant children with low socio-economic background, who are performing lower than Norwegian children in their age groups.

2 “Low-knowledge” as related to the taken-for-granted vernacular knowledge, based in the dominant majority culture.

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11. A DIGITAL DIVIDE

Challenges and opportunities for learners and schools on each side

INTRODUCTION

One of the educational challenges we are facing today is the uneven access to and skills in information and communication technology (ICT). Despite a policy emphasis in most countries of the world on the development of computer competence, differences in computer skills and proficiency are apparent. The centrality of information technology in so many aspects of our lives is thus linked to the marginality for those without it (Castells, 2003). There are huge differences between and within continents, countries and areas, as well as different societal groups. Van Binsbergen (2004) asks, for example, whether ICT can belong to Africa at all or if it belongs to the North Atlantic region. These differences have often been characterized by the term digital divide. There have been many interventions and ideas on how to bridge it. However, the whole discourse around the digital divide and ICT has been criticized for being predominantly Western based and strongly connected to power structures in the world (Gudmundsdóttir, 2009; van Grasdorff, 2004; Wasserman, 2003). Kanwar (2007) has also criticized the use of the metaphor of bridging the digital divide because bridges will not eliminate chasms but only provide temporary solutions. She asks instead how we can convert a digital divide into a “digital dividend” and urges us to look at successes and failures on both side of the divide. She recommends increased collaboration between the ‘north’ and the ‘south’ in order to complement strengths and to promote quality education for all.

With that vision in mind, we look at opportunities and challenges which schools, educators and learners face when using computers and the Internet on the ‘north’ and the ‘south’ of the divide. In this chapter, we present results of a study conducted in 2007 on computer use among seventh graders in four South African schools and compare the findings with an ongoing study in Icelandic schools, which shows how learners’ computer use has developed from 1998 to 2008. Our aim is to explore computer skills and attitudes of young people in South Africa and in Iceland in order to point out some of the common challenges and educational opportunities these nations face. We focus on the similarities as well as the differences in computer implementation, thus hopefully contributing greater understanding of the meaning of ICT within education in different cultural contexts.
ICT and national policy

Iceland and South Africa are far apart geographically and the living conditions for the majority population in South Africa are quite different than for the population in Iceland. Iceland is one of the Nordic countries with a strong welfare system. On international indexes of human development Iceland is among the highest and the inequalities in the society and social stratification are minimal. South Africa however is known for being highly stratified, struggling with the legacy of apartheid and oppression for decades. Despite the abolishment of apartheid in 1994 followed by the new Constitution from 1996 (South African Government, 1996), the living conditions of different population groups are far from being equal.

Similar to what is happening in most countries in the world, South Africa’s society and economy is changing and reshaping, due to the information revolution taking place. The country shows evidence of the global move towards greater ICT access with digital competence being viewed as a primary development contributor (Tlabela, Roodt, Paterson, & Weir-Smith, 2007). Scholars have pointed out the importance of universal access and digital competence to avoid social exclusion, to strengthen social movements and participation, and to decrease the urban/rural divide (Castells, 2000, 2003; Czerniewicz & Brown, 2005; Jacobs & Herselman, 2005; Mlitwa & Nonyane, 2008; Warschauer, 2004; Wasserman, 2005a, 2005b).

In South Africa the White paper on E-education from 2004 was developed in order to stimulate four main elements: equity, access, capacity building and creating national norms and standards (Department of Education, 2004b). The National Education Information Policy from 2004 is intended to provide a framework to coordinate and monitor the education information system (EMIS - National Education Information Management System), in order to provide better access, planning, monitoring and delivery of educational information (Department of Education, 2004a). On the information website of the South African government (South African Government, 2008) several other ICT initiatives are mentioned, such as the Thutong portal providing access to learning materials. Also a framework for teacher education is being adopted in order to increase ICT skills and training of teachers and principals by 2013 (South African Government, 2008).

In Iceland the ICT educational policy Risk with responsibility: Policy for ICT in education, science and culture 2005-2008 the emphasis is on access to the information society, new opportunities and innovative practice, ICT infrastructure, digital content and finally ethics and safety (Ministry of Education Science and Culture, 2005). The national policy Iceland the e-nation includes some educational measures such as increasing the use of ICT by creating digital educational materials, increasing the variety of distance learning studies, supporting IT leaders in schools and providing online examinations (Macdonald, 2008; Prime Minister's Office, 2008). The current curriculum guide for primary and lower secondary schools identifies outcomes for different subjects including ICT (Ministry of Education Science and Culture, 2007). The guide has changed very little since 1999 when it...
introduced profound changes which have not been easily adopted by schools (Macdonald, Hjartarson, & Jóhannsdóttir, 2005).

The concern with more digital content, better learning opportunities and increased digital competence is a common challenge that ICT policies of both countries address. The emphasis on digital competence is a global trend. Within the European Union it is defined as follows:

Digital competence involves the confident and critical use of Information Society Technology (IST) for work, leisure and communication. It is underpinned by basic skills in ICT: the use of computers to retrieve, assess, store, produce, present and exchange information, and to communicate and participate in collaborative networks via the Internet (European Union, 2006: L394/315).

In South Africa the greatest emphasis is, however, still on universal access to increase equity. As universal out-of-school access is no longer a problem in Iceland, the policy subsequently addresses the issue of responsibility and ethics and safety of users, especially children. Increased digital competence is and will continue to be a common challenge in both countries.

Digital dualism and differences in digital competence

More than thirty years ago the notion of international technological dualism was introduced by Singer (1970) who maintained that technological dualism referred to an unequal development in technology and science between rich and poor countries. Connecting technological dualism to the digital divide James (2003) points out:

IT [information technology] is in many respects a reflection of the same pattern of international technological dualism that has helped to produce the pronounced gap in incomes between rich and poor countries. From this point of view, the digital divide … is merely another technological gap that emanates from and reflects the highly skewed distribution of global research expenditures between the north and the south (James, 2003: 23).

During the early days of information technology people frequently used the terms information rich and information poor countries or more commonly information haves and information have nots. These are problematic terms as they entail an ethnocentric way of looking at differential access, simply classifying those with limited access as being people, literally speaking, without information.

As the use of computers and the Internet has developed and escalated, the concept digital divide is being used as the term to describe the differences in access and digital competence (Companie, 2001; Monroe, 2004; Norris, 2001; Warschauer, 2004). The digital divide can be described as a pedagogical emergency (Cartelli, 2008). Many studies have notably pointed out that ICT has not lived up to its expectations, when it comes to equalizing opportunities for learners in the world. Similarly there are also studies showing the downside of too much access (Jakobsdóttir, 2006; Konráðsdóttir, 2007). Another paradoxical problem was noted by Cuban (2001)
when he found schools in the Silicon Valley that were relatively well equipped, but in which computers were just occasionally used in the teaching practices. Similar findings can be seen in Icelandic schools which are well equipped, but in which teachers do not use computers as actively in class as might be expected (Empirica, 2006). Monroe (2004) points out that typically these studies are based on schools in high-income communities, whereas the situation in low-income communities is much more serious. Noteworthy findings from research among university learners in the Western Cape region in South Africa show a marked divide between information literacy skills, according to ethnic and social background (Czerniewicz & Brown, 2006; Sayed, 1998).

The centre of attention is increasingly moving away from material or physical access and more towards the skills needed and the opportunities that one has to possess in order to be able to use the tool. This change is reflected in research in the area of functional literacy, digital literacy or digital/computer competence (Krumsvik, 2008; Saldanha, 2005; Sayed, 1998; Warschauer, 2004). The focus on lack of motivation and the ability to use ICT is increasing. Van Dijk (1999) declares the new divide as the problem of mental and material access versus the skills to apply the technology. Thus, even though we see an increase in basic material access, digital skills, user mentality and cultural appropriateness remain a constraint (Norris, 2001; J. van Dijk, 1999; J. A. G. M. van Dijk & Hacker, 2003). To address the digital divide in the world, UNESCO (2008) has been promoting empowerment of people through information and media literacy as an important prerequisite for fostering equitable access to information and knowledge, and building inclusive knowledge societies.

On Each Side of the Divide

South Africa and Iceland deal with some of the same challenges when it comes to putting an ICT policy into practice within the educational sector. Both countries have, for example, a special language situation. Iceland is one of the smallest language communities in the world with nearly 320,000 inhabitants; South Africa has approximately 48 million people and 11 official languages. A common challenge for both countries is to provide teachers and learners with digital resources in their own languages (Gudmundsdóttir, 2009; Hólmarsdóttir, 2001; Macdonald, 2008).

Internet use is restricted to a relatively small group of the total world’s population. According to an estimate from the Internet World Statistics (2009) there are as of March 2009, 1.6 billion people connected 4 to the Internet in the world or roughly 24 per cent of the world’s population. Out of these, 48.9 per cent of the European population is connected, while only 5.6 per cent of inhabitants of the African continent have access to the Internet. In Africa 8.5 per cent of those connected are located in South Africa, where there are about 5 million users out of a total of 49 million inhabitants (9.4 per cent of the population). The African continent together with the Middle East has the highest usage growth for 2000-2008 with an average growth of over 1000 per cent. 5 This creates challenges, but also opens up new opportunities.
The Nordic countries have been in the forefront of investing in ICT in education and have by far the highest computer use and Internet diffusion in the world (Pedersen, et al., 2006). In Iceland computers are widely used and Internet access reached 88 per cent of the whole population in 2008 (Statistics Iceland, 2008). The access for households with children under the age of 16 years in Iceland reached 98 per cent with access to computers and 96 per cent with access to the Internet. The lifestyles of young people are increasingly characterized by online activities (Jakobsdóttir, Gautadóttir, & Jóhannesdóttir, 2005). Thus, a challenge in Iceland may be the extent to which educators and parents limit or monitor computer use and Internet access of learners/children as well as the promotion of safe and responsible use of the Internet (SAFT, 2009).

In Iceland, studies have indicated problems related to computer use among children and adolescents, both physical (Jakobsdóttir, 2006) and social/psychological (Jakobsdóttir, 2006; Konráðsdóttir, 2007). South African learners deal with a lack of access, whereas Icelandic learners deal with the consequences of excessive access. Icelandic homes are equipped with computers, not only one but several. In Icelandic schools, ICT skills are seen as an integrated part of most subjects in the curricula, but recent research indicates that computer use by young people in Icelandic schools may not be increasing, in contrast to use at home (Jakobsdóttir, 2006). In South Africa the situation is the opposite. The use at home is often very limited, but, due to policy reforms and emphasis by educational authorities, access to computers is increasing quickly in South African schools, e.g. in Cape Town (Scipio, 2006; Western Cape Education Department, 2008).

The Methodology of Comparison

The early years of comparative education were often characterized by encyclopedic and positivistic approaches of comparison. Later the focus has moved from policy borrowing and lending to emphasis on adapting to cultural context and learning from each other’s differences (Arnove & Torres, 2003; Crossley & Watson, 2003; Samoff, 2003; Watson, 2001). The field of comparative and international education is based on diverse and multidisciplinary traditions and does call attention to the strengths of comparison (Bray, Adamson, & Mason, 2007; Crossley & Watson, 2003; Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2006; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). As Crossley and Watson (2003: 130) point out, it is also “a field that has long recognized the significance of global forces in educational research and development, and one that has consistently examined the dilemmas associated with the transfer of educational policy and practice from one cultural context to another”. Similarly Little (2003) argues that, due to globalization, there is a great need for educators in different parts of the world to discuss mutual challenges.

To compare our study cases, we use a framework provided by the school computer culture model developed in the mid 1990s by Jakobsdóttir (1996). Before that time research had indicated a gender-related digital gap (Kay, 1992; Sutton, 1991) in Western societies. The framework was initially developed to examine the use of computers in schools in a contextual manner, providing help to understand
why a gender gap emerged in relation to computers and their uses in some studies but not others. Jakobsdóttir applied Dobbert’s (1982) culture definition to define a school computer culture in terms of interrelated parts or factors: i.e., computer implementation (customs/patterned way of life), hardware and software (materials and technology), social context (interrelationship between people and groups), and learners and staff within the culture of different ages and gender with their attitudes and beliefs (beliefs/ideologies/values). The factors Jakobsdóttir referred to as internal were a part of the culture itself and affected learner computer uses and their reactions to computers directly in the schools. In addition, Jakobsdóttir identified external factors that were not a part of a school computer culture, but which nevertheless helped shape and influence it as well as affect the people involved in it. The external factors can be located within the school, school district, community, homes, and the culture as a whole and include home computer access, technology funding and support, and media messages. There are several other more recent frameworks and models exploring the digital divide. Warschauer (2004), for example, uses a division of physical resources, digital resources, human resources and social resources, arguing for the importance of access to all of these resources for a technology that will benefit social inclusion. His framework matches components of the computer culture model quite well.

We will apply the school computer culture framework, which can help us compare our cases. We will identify factors that affect learners’ digital competence, related attitudes and challenges.

The research questions which guide the discussion are:
– How do Icelandic and South African learners evaluate their computer skills and what are their attitudes in relation to computer use?
– What are the ICT related challenges and opportunities learners and the educational sector face in the different cultural contexts of Iceland and South Africa.

METHOD

Participants and data

Table 1 gives an overview of the participants in the studies involved and the data collection methods. In the South African study the participating learners were all in grade seven whereas data from the Icelandic study is from grades seven to eight but we have estimated the average age of learners to be similar. In the Icelandic study, the age range varied somewhat by year (see Table 1). However, an estimated average age was 13 for all four groups. The typical South African seventh grader was perhaps a bit younger (12+) but there were several students in the group who were also somewhat older than that. The schools in the South African study all belonged to the greater Cape Town area (both inner city and suburban schools) whereas the Icelandic studies were conducted in schools in the capital area (Reykjavik) as well as in smaller villages or towns in rural areas.
Table 1. Overview of the studies: types of data gathering, number of schools and participants (grades/age range).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>Grades (age range)</th>
<th>No. of learners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Interviews, observations, learner survey</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7 (12+)</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Learner survey, school survey</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7-8 (11-14)</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Learner survey</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7-8 (12-14)</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Learner survey, school survey</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7-8 (11-14)</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Learner survey, school survey</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7-8 (11-14)</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Iceland an online questionnaire was used, with minor changes from 1998 to 2008, to collect data from learners. It included questions on ICT-related skills, attitudes, types of computer, video games, and Internet use in school and out-of-school, home computer ownership and access, peer computer use, and school computer use. From 2002 learners also responded to questions on physical and social problems they associated with computer and Internet use, and more types of computer use were added (including online games and blog). In 2004 the questions regarding problems were improved. Also, a question on the use of mobile phones was added. In 2008 a new question regarding the use of social networks was added as well. In all years, except 2004, a school survey (one for each school) was also completed by one staff member in each school. The questions for staff related to computer and technology access and location, teaching methods, teacher collaboration, development of ICT-related school policy and curriculum, use of computers by teachers and in which subjects.

The questionnaire used in South Africa was similar to the latest version of the Icelandic one but not identical. It was developed as an online questionnaire but due to technical difficulties all of the learners ended up using paper copies. After a pilot study in 2006 to test the relevance of the questions, it was adapted to the cultural setting and simplified both with regard to the wording of the questions as well as the answer options. The Icelandic questionnaire had, for example, a five-point Likert scale in several attitude-related questions. In the South African questionnaire, answer options to those questions were simplified to agree/don’t agree, due to confusion and misunderstandings with the five-point Likert scale during the piloting phase. Additionally, the South African questionnaire had several questions on the connection between language and ICT. Questions on problems due to excessive use were not included as such problems were not identified in the pilot study. Comparison of questions on each questionnaire on ICT skills can be found in Table 2. Observations and interviews were also used in the South African study.

Procedure

In Iceland, in all years except 2004, data were gathered in the first half of the school year (November to December). It was done with the help of graduate students in a course on ICT in education who were all practicing teachers.
In 2004, data were gathered by staff members in the participating schools in the second half of the school year (mainly in April to June).

In South Africa the school year starts in January and follows the calendar year. The school year is divided into three or four semesters and the data were gathered during the first and second semester (January to July) in 2007 by Guðmundsdóttir.

RESULTS

In this section we first present findings regarding the ICT skills of learners and computer-related attitudes and motivation as well as problems they report. Following that we will describe the school computer culture, both external and internal factors, which may be affecting learner skills, attitudes and problems. We present results from each country in each subsection, sometimes sequentially but sometimes together or mixed where we have comparable numerical data presented in figures.

Learners: ICT Skills, Attitudes & Motivation, Problems

ICT skills

In both countries, learners indicated on the questionnaire whether they had acquired various ICT related skills (see Table 2).

Table 2. ICT skills assessed by questionnaires in South Africa (2007) and Iceland (1998 to 2008). The nine skills on both lists that are the same or similar are in bold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills – categories (no of skills on both lists)</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>Iceland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic skills/file management (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information finding and retrieval (1)</td>
<td>seek information on the Internet</td>
<td>find information on the web</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online communication (2)</td>
<td>chat blog</td>
<td>Chat blog (not in 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative/presentation (4)</td>
<td>design web pages</td>
<td>create web pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analytical/programming (2)</td>
<td>program software</td>
<td>program software</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play (0)</td>
<td>play computer games</td>
<td>use spreadsheet to calculate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total (9) 14 skills 14-17 skills
Figure 1 shows the mean number of skills (only the nine exact or very similar ones were counted) which learners claimed they had in Iceland 2002, 2004 and 2008\textsuperscript{10} and in South Africa in 2007. The figures show considerably higher means for the Icelandic learners, both girls and boys. The means were 4.7 to 5.7 skills, whereas the mean for all the schools in South Africa was 3.7. ANOVA for the Icelandic learners (also including learners from grade nine to ten) revealed a difference in the mean number of skills by year (F(2,859)=23.1, p<0.001). A post hoc test revealed that the mean number of skills for 1998 was lower than for both 2002 and 2004, but there was not a significant difference between 2004 and 2008. Looking at 14 ICT related skills which were on all the Icelandic lists from 1998 to 2004, learners gained on average half a skill per year from 1998 to 2004; girls gained more than boys; and the younger age group (grade seven to eight) more than the older (nine to ten). It is interesting that the above rate of gains in the particular skills assessed did not continue. The 2008 group did not report more skills (in the group of 14) than the 2004 group. It should be noted, however, that a new skill had developed (not asked about on earlier questionnaires). About 70 per cent of the seventh to eight graders in the 2008 group claimed to know how to create a social network. Supporting that claim was that in an open-ended question regarding the learners’ last computer use, many learners reported the use of Myspace, Facebook and/or MSN. Gender differences, favoring boys, in the mean number of skills were significant in 2002 (as was the case in 1998). However, in 2004 and 2008 those gender differences were not significant although it is interesting to note that boys reported slightly more skills in 2004 whereas the opposite was true in 2008. Girls appeared to be slowly gaining on and even overtaking boys from 2002 to 2008 regarding the nine skills involved. Perhaps because of their interest and increased experience with different types of online communications.

![Figure 1. Mean number of skills reported by learners in Iceland (IS), grade seven to eight; and South Africa (SA), grade seven.](image)

Figure 1. Mean number of skills reported by learners in Iceland (IS), grade seven to eight; and South Africa (SA), grade seven.
What is most striking from the South African study is the difference between the schools in the study (Figure 2). Learners in two of the four South African schools indicated similar number of skills as did the Icelandic learners in 2008 but in two schools much lower numbers were reported. There was a significant difference between the South African schools and the number of skills, $F(3,280) = 42.8, p<0.001$. The means were from 2.2 to 5.2 skills regarding the nine skills involved in the comparison but from 3.1 to 9.1 ($F(3,280)=63.34, p<0.001$) if all 14 skills in the South African questionnaire were included. On the other hand, the range between the five participating Icelandic schools in 2008 was much smaller, only 5.0 to 6.3 skills, a difference which was not significant.

![Figure 2. Mean number of skills reported by learners in the four participating South African schools.](image)

Figure 3 shows the percentage of participants who claimed having individual skills (the nine skills on all questionnaires). The 5-6 skills the Icelandic learners most commonly reported having in 2008 were to find information on the web (90 per cent), chat online (81 per cent), create a web site (73 per cent), create slides (65 per cent), create pictures/graphics and blog (62 per cent), and calculate with spreadsheet (59 per cent).

In Figure 3 it can be seen that Internet-related skills for Icelandic learners increased over time (correlations were statistically significant) whereas the number of learners claiming to know how to word process and create graphics decreased over time (also significant correlation). On the other hand, the learners in South Africa most commonly stated that they knew how to write with word processing (71 per cent). The other most commonly reported skills by the South African learners is creating pictures/graphics (54 per cent) and finding information on the web (51 per cent). Programming and blogging were, however, the skills the fewest of them indicated that they had (20 and 21 per cent respectively).
In summary, the Icelandic learners tended to indicate that they were capable of using the computer and the Internet in more varied ways than the South African learners. The number of skills Icelandic learners claimed to have increased between 1998 and 2004 but not between 2004 and 2008. This may, however, be explained by high participation in online communities with the use of Facebook and Myspace. In South Africa learner skills varied a lot from school to school, which was related to the different languages and population groups in each school. Whereas the most common skills in South Africa were categorized in the creative/presentation and information retrieval category the skills most common among Icelandic learners were spread across the main categories (see Table 2).

Attitudes and motivation (assessed by questionnaires and observations)
Attitudes and motivation regarding computers and their use was assessed by several survey questions in both countries. There were seven questions that were the same on both lists. Figure 4 shows how learners answered those questions. For the Icelandic learners, the neutral answer has been added to each column (white part).

It appears that the South African learners were more positive in their attitude in many of the questions than were the Icelandic learners; although it is hard to compare because the South Africans did not have an option to give a neutral answer (on a five-point scale) as did the Icelanders. However, statistical analysis (ANOVA) revealed a significant difference by year in the attitudes of the Icelandic learners in all questions. Learners tended to become less positive by year, perhaps
because of a decreasing novelty effect in relation to computer use and more exposure to negative effects. Learners in 1998 were more likely than learners in most or all the other years to indicate that computers were important for their future, that computers were necessary tools in study and work, and that it was exciting to use computers. Learners in 2008 were less likely to do so than learners in the other years. In addition, the 2008 group was less likely to agree it was fun to try new things on the computer; and they were more likely than other groups to agree that too much computer use could have bad physical or social effects. However, the 2008 group indicated more confidence than learners in the other years by being more likely to agree that they were good at using computers in many different ways.

Figure 4. Percentage of learners agreeing (or being neutral) to attitude statements. (IS=Iceland, SA=South Africa).

Learners in the Icelandic study were not observed during computer use at home or school, but their description of the school computer use in open-ended questions tended not to reflect much enthusiasm regarding school use. The learners sometimes expressed negative attitudes. On the other hand, observations of school computer use in the South African schools supported the findings from the questionnaire regarding the high motivation and positive attitude of the learners. As in Iceland this can perhaps be explained by novelty effect and the fact that many of the learners had very limited access to computers outside of school, which made school use more exciting. One might also assume that in a situation, such as in South Africa, where access to computers is highly unequal, the use and implementation of ICT within the school system is of even greater importance than in cultures, such as Iceland, where access
outside of schools as well as within schools is not an obstacle but rather has been thoroughly integrated into the overall socio-cultural context.

During the observations in the South African schools, the reactions of the learners were similar to the questionnaire results. The learners were highly motivated and enthusiastic, when given the opportunity to use computers at school. The teachers in the schools were at times insecure about the content of the software or how the system operated. This meant that many teachers solely used the main software provided by Khanya called CAMI. Both learners and teachers have been using this particular software since computers were implemented in the school and it was considered convenient and uncomplicated.

Learner behavior during school computer use in South Africa reflected enthusiasm, attention, and concentration. The most noticeable behavior appeared to be how involved they were in the computer room and how enthusiastically they interacted with the computer, even if no teacher was with them or monitoring them. This was somewhat surprising in the schools where the computer skills were low and the learners were working with similar drill and practice assignments week after week. During interviews with the learners, they all stated how interested they were in learning how to use computers and how important computers were for their future study and/or work. They showed genuine interest in learning more. This interest should be viewed as a great opportunity for educators and policy makers to follow up. When the teachers were asked whether they used the learner motivation to experiment or try out new things on the computers with the learners, many of them answered, unfortunately, that they either did not have the capacity or the time to follow up on their students’ interest.

Another interesting behavior of the South African learners indicating high involvement with the computer was animism or verbal behavior addressing the computer/computer screen. When more than one learner was working in front of one computer (sharing), the computer could be included in the group as a participating member of the group. It was also quite common that the learners talked out loud, discussed, counted, conferred and argued “with” the computer, especially when they got an immediate response in CAMI math that they had given wrong answers. This kind of behavior has been reported by other researchers where computers have recently been adopted (Smith & Pohland, 1991). Additionally this can also be an indicator of how learners feel about the computer and themselves and how they integrate the computer in their learning experience.

To summarize the South African learners were more positive and motivated regarding school computer uses than the Icelandic learners which can at least partly be explained by the novelty effect. According to the survey in South Africa, the learners were highly motivated and interested in computers. This was common for all the four schools, despite the somewhat monotonic use of ICT in the least resourced schools. During the observations, this finding was confirmed. The Icelandic learners have started to mention the downside of too much use and are aware that too much computer use can have negative health and social effects. Also, heavy exposure at home to entertaining activities, game playing and interacting socially online with friends may cause some learners to view school computer use as less interesting.
Problems (physical and social)

The Icelandic learners in 2002, 2004 and 2008 were asked to indicate on the questionnaire whether they associated different types of problems with computer use. Learners reported both physical problems and social problems in relation to computer use. There appeared to be more learners complaining of physical rather than social problems (see Figure 5). Headache, eye problems and shoulder and neck pain were most commonly reported in the former case but problems related to potential Internet and/or game addiction in the latter. Statistical analysis (ANOVA) revealed gender differences. Girls tended to complain more than boys of all physical problems except pains in elbows/arms; and also of sexual harassment. Boys complained more than girls did of online fraud and potential game addiction (spending too much time on game playing). However, complaints of a physical nature appeared to decrease significantly by year, except regarding back pain and shoulder/neck pains. It was also interesting that in an open-ended question where learners could report the main problems they associated with computers, many learners reported social problems (e.g. that they or those they knew were spending too much time on the Internet and/or playing games). Perhaps the physical problems were thought to be more manageable so they were not mentioned as the main problem.

![Figure 5. Percentage of learners in Iceland in grade seven to eight reporting problems related to computer use of physical or social nature in 2004 and 2008 to be medium, large or very large (answer rates are 90 to 93 per cent).]
School staff was also asked about problems related to computer or Internet use. There were replies from four of the five schools. In one school there were reported to be no big problems; the main problem being that students sought to use MSN and web-surfing when they were expected to be working on the computer. Similar problems had appeared in another school. A staff member there reported that students liked to play games on the web, go to Facebook or YouTube when they were expected to use the computers in relation to their studies. In addition, there had been a problem with use of the hardware/computers in a disorderly manner. The school had reacted by setting up simple, but clear rules regarding computer use and to sometimes allow free time for favorite activities. In bad cases, the school had to close or limit school computer access for individual students. In that school there was an interest in software to control Internet use.

The third school reported problems regarding online bullying with videos or pictures being published online or sent between students via mobile phones. There were incidents in that school of very angry parents, complaining that telephones had been taken from children because of irresponsible use and/or disturbing teaching. Negative effects from MSN use were reported to sometimes spread and affect other activities in the school and students’ interaction with each other.

In the South African study questions on physical or social problems, due to excessive use, were not included as they were not considered relevant. The problems in the South African schools were rather connected to limited use, resulting in minor frustration between the learners and commotion in the classroom.

School Computer Culture - External Factors

Society, culture

In the background section of this chapter we have already provided some relevant information and comparisons between South Africa and Iceland in relation to the countries’ cultures and national ICT policies and curriculum. All of these can affect how computers are used in the schools and how learners’ ICT skills and attitudes develop. We are aware, however, that there may be a gap between policy and practice (Macdonald, 2008; Macdonald, et al., 2005). In this section we provide additional information that is especially relevant in the South African context.

The South African schools in the study are in the Western Cape, one of nine regions in the country. It is the Western Cape Educational Department (WCED) which is in charge of educational matters, such as curriculum development, educational planning, strategies, evaluation and policy implementation. The Khanya initiative under the WCED provides a business plan, with the rationale for ICT implementation in public schools in the region (van Wyk, 2002). Khanya’s plan is to implement computers in all public schools by 2012 and give all learners and teachers access to ICT. In the business plan it is stated that implementing ICT in all public schools will address the shortage of teaching capacity by assisting teachers to increase their teaching capacity. Furthermore, it is seen as a significant factor to coordinate efforts towards educating a qualified workforce for the future. ICT is also seen as an important factor in bridging the digital divide and preparing the
region to participate actively in the knowledge economy of the 21st century (van Wyk, 2002). On the Khanya website, it is stated that “all indications are that this target will be reached. Starting with the poorest of the poor schools, Khanya aggressively works towards eradicating the digital divide and striving towards racial and gender equity” (Khanya, 2009: online).

Many external factors do, however, affect computer implementation in schools in negative ways. One hindrance is the cost of maintaining the system as well as the training of teachers for schools with few resources. The technical support coordinated and provided by Khanya was considered inefficient by some of the headmasters that were interviewed. The region is vast and the technical support team serves many schools, thus resulting in a long processing period. Ultimately, teachers are supposed to run the system themselves, but, for the schools with the fewest resources, staff previously unfamiliar with ICT and a relatively short time since the implementation of ICT took place, the lack of technical support proved to be problematic. Hiring of supervisory or supporting personnel was economically impossible. As a result, teachers with limited skills had to monitor the computer lab themselves.

In the Khanya schools it is typical that they need to bear the cost of partially building the computer room itself (supporting walls and roofs, alarm system, etc.) as well as being responsible for updating the software they get in the “starting basket” from Khanya. Khanya provides the hardware, the software starting basket and initial training of teachers. Some of the schools have experienced theft and damage of the equipment. This obviously affected the computer use, as it could take a long time to reinstall or repair the equipment or to find the necessary funds to do so.

Community, districts, schools
The study conducted in South Africa focused on learners in four schools. Three of them are classified as schools for previously disadvantaged learners. This refers to the black and colored population of South Africa. Additionally one ex Model C school was included in the study, which is historically a white-only school.

The participants were primary school children all in grade seven and the schools were all located in the Western Cape. The three schools with a majority of the learners being black and colored were all connected to the Khanya project, whereas the fourth school, the ex Model C school, did not receive support from the Khanya project as it had already established advanced computer use and had good computer facilities. The seventh graders in these schools together with their class teacher and computer administrators were observed using computers and the Internet. The focus in the project was on the three Khanya schools.

Three of the Icelandic schools were in villages or small towns, but two of the schools were in the capital area in or close to Reykjavík. There is considerable variation in the lifestyle of people in these communities. However, most people belong to the middle class and there appears to be little or no digital divide in terms of computer or Internet access between schools or districts (Empirica, 2006).
changes in the number of schools that had prepared an ICT related policy – less
than half of the schools had such a policy during all three years, although in all
years most or all agreed that there was high interest in increasing computer use in
the schools.

*Homes*

The number of ICT skills the Icelandic learners claimed to have had a significant
positive correlation with learners’ home computer and web use for all years of data
collection, as well as the number of software types learners used at home. Such a
connection was much weaker with school use of computers, web and software
types. This is not surprising as learners tended to spend much more time using
computers at home than at school. Correlation with school computer use did, for
example, not reach significance for the learners in grades seven or eight in 2008
whereas the correlation with home computer use was highly significant. In 1998,
there was a big gender gap in home computer use, which was reflected in girls
indicating less confidence than boys in using computers as well as girls claiming a
lower number of ICT skills than boys. In 2008, the gender gap concerning ICT
skills and time spent on using computers had dissipated. However, boys
indicated more game playing than girls, while girls indicated more use of
communication tools (online chat and social networking, mobile phones).

In the South African study there was also a significant correlation between
number of ICT skills learners claimed to have and with computer access at home
\((r(285)=-0.395, p<0.001)\). Mean number of skills had a tendency to increase with
computer access at home and also with Internet home access \((r(275)=-0.470, p<0.001)\) and frequency of use outside of school \((r(269)=0.377, p<0.001)\). On the
other hand, the number of ICT skills was not significantly correlated with
frequency of school computer use, which corresponds to the Icelandic study.

Figure 6 shows the access of the learners in Iceland and South Africa to
computers and Internet, which is very different, and to mobile phones, which
appears similar.\(^1^2\) It should be noted though that the mobile phone access for the
Icelandic students refers to personal mobile phones, which may not be the case for
the South African learners.\(^1^3\) Almost all of the learners in Iceland (97-98 per cent)
indicated access to computers and Internet at home, while only about half (51 per
cent) of the South African students had computer access and less than one third (31
per cent) had Internet access at home. Furthermore, in 2008, 75 per cent of the
seventh to eighth graders in Iceland indicated that there were two or more
computers in their home, and 42 per cent of that age group claimed to have a
computer of their own. Results from a question about learners’ last computer use
also showed a big difference in the location of that use. Most of the Icelandic
learners had used computers at home, while a far higher percentage of the South
African learners had used computers in their school (see Figure 7).
Figure 6. Learners’ access at home to computers, Internet and mobile phones. (IS=Iceland, SA=South Africa).

Figure 7. Location of learners’ last use of computers. (IS=Iceland, SA=South Africa).

The home access to computers and Internet is very diverse in South Africa, due to costs and thus highly associated with socio-economic status. Cost and lack of landline access is the greatest hindrance for the poorer disadvantaged groups/communities in the society. Mobile phones are, however, very popular and used much more often than landlines. There was a significant difference between the South African schools, both for computer access ($\chi^2 = 90.6, p<0.001$) and access to the Internet ($\chi^2 = 86.7, p<0.001$). Most learners in Freewill primary school, where the majority of learners are white, had home access to both a computer (83 per cent) and the Internet (70 per cent), but the learners in the other three schools had limited access with Xolani (all black learners) reporting the least access (13 per cent and 5 per cent respectively). On the other hand, mobile phone access was similar in all schools (78 to 90 per cent) which indicates how extensive mobile phone use is in South Africa.
School Computer Culture – Internal Factors

Hardware and settings
In the South African schools computer access for the learners was through the computer lab. In the computer lab there were 20-25 computers. The classes differed in size from 30 to 50 learners. Three of the schools were connected through broadband connection, while one of the schools had a dial-up connection. During the fieldwork period technical problems had some negative effects on the computer use. These problems included malfunctioning hardware and software and lack of updating license for some of the educational software. This was especially visible in the school which was located in the middle of one of the townships of Cape Town. It is a “non-fee” school and it has very poor financial resources.

It was obvious that the schools had difficulties maintaining the software and the hardware, due to financial constraints. Some of the computers were not functioning. There were problems with the server or the network, and sometimes the software was not working as it should either due to lack of license renewal or incorrect installation. These problems resulted in less computer use during the observation period, less computer access for the learners and higher learner:computer ratio, which meant more sharing of computers. Sharing a computer, keyboard and mouse often resulted in minor frustrations between the learners as well as commotion in the classroom. Learners had difficulties coordinating their use together and it was often problematic for them to work two and two together or even more in front of one computer screen. This was understandably a greater problem in the schools with big classes. The school which functioned best had a specially assigned computer teacher and a headmaster with a strong vision for ICT. This made it possible for the school to get optimal use of the computer room with maintenance problems being solved within the school without the Khanya technical support desk.

There was a big difference between computer access in the South African schools and the Icelandic schools. Figure 8 shows the access calculated as the number of computers per 100 students in the South African schools and the schools participating in 2008 in the Icelandic study. The means were 17.7 and 4.9 respectively. However, there was considerable variation by school. The school with the highest access (8.1) in South Africa was similar to the school with the lowest access in Iceland (10.0). All the four South African schools had one computer lab for their learners.

Data from the Icelandic schools showed that computer access increased considerably between 1998 and 2002, perhaps due to the national ICT policy and curriculum, which was published at the end of the 1990s. The learner:computer ratio changed in the participating schools from 7.5 in 1998 to 14.9 computers per 100 students in the schools participating in the study 2002. Computer access has not increased much after 2002. In the participating schools 1998, 2002, and 2008, there was at least one computer lab and computers also located in classrooms. Also, some schools had mobile laptop labs in 2002 and 2008. In addition, computers were located in the library in most or all schools all years. Access was also provided for teachers or other staff in the teachers’ lounge (or work room).
Figure 8. School computer access: Number of computers per 100 students. (IS=Iceland, SA=South Africa).

Some schools had computers available in a room for special needs learners. Internet access increased from 60 per cent of Internet connected computers in 1998 to 100 per cent in the later years. In 2008, the school survey indicated that two of five schools indicated that needs were met, regarding allocation of money towards ICT, but in three schools allocation of funds was considered insufficient.

**Digital resources and language**

The CAMI maths software was used in all the South African schools for math-related drill and practice. The CAMI reader software was also used and other programs found in the “basket of software” which was a standard package provided by Khanya to all the Khanya schools (van Wyk, 2007). Eaglewood additionally prioritized from its own school budget to buy a license to South African developed educational software called Computers4kids. In Freewill, the non-Khanya school, the learners are taught computer literacy and basic word processing skills together with using computers in consolidating math, spelling, language and sending e-mails. There seems to be strong emphasis on word processing skills as the majority of the South African learners reported to know how to use it.

One of the most challenging issues within the educational system is the language of learning and teaching (LoLT). Learners normally get the first three years of primary school in their home language, but from the fourth grade onwards, it is most often either English or Afrikaans. In this study, questions of LoLT and home language were included and during the observation period it became apparent that learners with isiXhosa as their home language struggled in the classroom situation resulting in code switching and code mixing of the learners (Gudmundsdóttir, 2009). The learners in Freewill and Eaglewood who had English as LoLT from grade one and those having English as their home language as well, did not experience as many hindrances in using computers, the Internet, and searching for information as it was in a familiar language. Very limited software is available in the local languages, especially the African ones. Afrikaans speaking learners in this study
could use CAMI in Afrikaans and as a result they were often much more aware of the importance of having access to software and information in their home language than were the isiXhosa speaking learners who did not have access to any software in their schools and can barely find any information online in their home language.

As noted earlier learners were not observed in the Icelandic study and there was no direct evidence that language was a problem in relation to computer or software use. However, with the small language population, it is a big challenge to provide software and digital learning resources of high quality in Icelandic for the educational market (Hólmarsdóttir, 2001). Each cohort of Icelanders age 6 to 16 has, for example, only 4100 to 4600 children (Statistics Iceland, 2009). Macdonald (2008), in a background report for Iceland in an OECD/CERI project about digital learning resources (DLR), identified the smallness of the country as the biggest weakness in relation to ICT in education and DLR policy. She also pointed out that the Icelandic language was under considerable threat because of the high exposure young people had to English when they were online although it could also provide them with an opportunity to make an international contribution.

Computer implementation and social context
The computer implementation in Khanya schools in South Africa is focused on literacy and numeracy skills to start with. The ultimate goal is to implement the use of computers in all subjects, but now the focus is on these two subjects. Most of the teachers at the three Khanya schools were eager to use the computer lab in the literacy and numeracy classes. However, it was often a simple extension of the lessons that the learners had been through in the classroom, not adding anything new or using the computers in a different way to approach the mathematical problem or the literacy issue as in the classroom. The lessons followed the assignments in the software, and teachers rarely used the computers independently or tried out new things. There was, however, a clear difference between the three schools. In two of the Khanya schools, every now and then the learners were not in the computer room, when they were supposed to be according to their timetable. The reasons the teachers gave was that they had forgotten, that they were on the way or that they did not have anything particular to do that specific day. Typically for all the schools, classes were assigned specific times on a timetable to work within the computer room and learners were dismissed from class to practice their mathematical or literacy skills either individually or in groups of two to three in front of every computer. In the four schools included in this study, time in school for computer use ranged from 30 minutes to two times one hour a week (according to the timetable but not always in practice when it became even less).

In the Icelandic schools, unlike the South African Khanya schools, the overall focus was not on specific subjects (or skills). Schools have had flexibility in how computers have been implemented. In the 2002 study, learners described computer uses in the schools in different ways. For instance, learners in one school emphasized that they learned how to use different kinds of software, in another school the emphasis appeared to be on keyboarding and/or word processing skills,
in the third on computer use in projects, and in the fourth on essay writing. In one school that participated both in 1998 and 2002, computer integration in various subjects appeared to have decreased during the period, but instead concentrated on special ICT classes. All schools in both years 1998 and 2002 had a special subject where ICT was taught and in 2002 and 2008 all schools had mandatory ICT classes (compared to 78 per cent in 1998). However, the schools reported an increasing number of teachers using computers with learners from 1998 to 2008, when about 69 per cent of the teachers in grades seven to eight were reported to use computers with learners (up from 26 to 30 per cent in 1998). The learner surveys, on the other hand, did not indicate an increase in computer use, although there was more web use reported in the years after 1998. In 2008 only approximately 17 per cent of the learners indicated more than two hours per week of computer use at school; although there were significant differences by school. Nevertheless, the learner surveys indicated that number of subjects, in which computers were being used, was slowly on the rise. However, on average learners tended to indicate only one other subject (which varied by school) besides ICT in which computers were used. In 2008, about a quarter of the learners identified social science and a quarter English, 23 per cent Icelandic, 20 per cent mathematics, and 18 per cent Danish. Just over half of the learners reported using computers for home work.

In South Africa, the learners in all the four schools helped each other during the computer classes. Typically, the learners who had good computer skills were often asked to help and walked across the computer room together with the teacher. This type of behavior can give an indication of learners’ empathy, attitudes, and learning, because it is largely apparent and easy to observe and record. In the Icelandic schools in 2008, about 64 per cent of the learners had a computer to themselves during computer use. That percentage was higher than in 1998 (40 per cent) but actually lower than in 2002 (70 per cent) and 2004 (82 per cent). These figures perhaps reflect more emphasis on project/collaborative work. In 2008 about 27 per cent of the learners wanted to use the computer all by themselves, 32 per cent with others nearby or together with a friend (37 per cent). Only 4 per cent preferred to use computers in a larger group.

**DISCUSSION**

Some maintain that the digital divide is diminishing and people will eventually have equal opportunities and become active participants in the global information society. This may be true in some ways, for example, regarding a gender gap in use of computers in Western cultures. However, others argue that globalization processes are further marginalizing the majority of people. The already marginalized will be kept even farther behind, it is argued. They will gain fewer opportunities than before, if no precautions are taken towards universal access and better computer competence for future learners.

In the age of globalization there is a growing trend to find global solutions to global problems. To a certain extent these trends have ignored the local context and cultural relevance, for example, with regard to educational challenges across the world (Crossley & Watson, 2003; Monkman & Stromquist, 2000; Steiner-Khamsi,
2004). However, even though there may be similar challenges found in the educational system of many countries; the culture, capacity and administrative framework is hugely different. In this chapter we have discussed some of the challenges and opportunities we have found through our study of computer use of young people in two countries on each side of the so-called digital divide, Iceland and South Africa.

Applying the school computer culture framework (Jakobsdóttir, 1996), we examined interrelated internal and external factors of these cultures; and investigated which could affect learners’ skills, attitudes and reactions to computer use. The learners in Iceland who have been exposed to computers for a longer time than the South African learners show varied skills and are able to use computers in many different ways. A gender divide in computer use that was very prominent in 1998 has disappeared a decade later, in terms of amount of home computer use and number of ICT skills. The main reason is perhaps the development of communication tools that girls have easy access to at home and tend to enjoy using socially with friends. Many boys also use those tools, but the focus for them may be on games, which may limit their involvement with other computer-related activities.

There is a much greater range in ICT skills between the learners in South Africa than between the learners in Iceland which signals a special challenge for South African educators and policy makers. This can partly be explained by varied out-of-school access. Our study supports research that shows a strong correlation between home use (out-of-school use) and computer competence (see for example Facer, 2002; Ito, et al., 2008; Selwyn, 1998).

Being a multicultural and multilingual society, as well as dealing with great differences in the socio economic background of learners, is nothing new for South African educational authorities. In South Africa the rhetoric around ICT is optimistic and it is argued that ICT can have an equalizing effect. In Iceland, which has been a homogeneous population and monolingual nation for centuries, the situation is changing quickly. Increased immigration makes communities and schools far more pluralistic than before, which has already resulted in some increased language challenges and more stratification in society. This is certainly a field where Iceland can learn from South Africa.

It is also of great importance for both countries to stimulate development and use of digital content and educational software in their own languages. This can be done, for example, through supporting the National centre for educational materials in Iceland and the National portal of educational materials Thutong in South Africa as well as regional initiatives such as the Khanya project. The problem is, however, that the Icelandic language community is small and it is very costly to produce local material. The same applies for South Africa with its eleven official languages, if all material is to be produced in all of the languages. The cost is also a challenge when it comes to maintenance, updating hardware and software and buying new software licenses. With an international financial crisis new ways need to be sought that are less costly. The Open Education Resource movement (OERs) promotes collaboration instead of competition and open course content, open source software, and free course development and delivery tools (Kanwar, 2007). In developing countries, including South Africa, there is hope that the use of open resources can
cut costs, increase flexibility and open up for better localization of content (Translate.org.za, 2008). It may be debatable whether the total costs are lower (Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 2008), but there may be a question of how money is allocated. Should we pay high license fees to foreign companies or involve local people who can help adapt open content to local needs? There is a small movement in Iceland for the use of open source in education and there is also a recent policy from the office of the Prime Minister about the use of open source in public institutions (Prime Minister's Office, 2007). Reactions to this policy have, however, not been extensive so far.

In some of the South African schools in this study computer use is focused around basic ICT skills whereas in others it reaches the levels of the schools in Iceland. The use varies a lot according to socio-economic background of the learners and is similar to what Hohlfeld et al. (2008) found in the US when comparing different socio-economic status schools and ICT use and skills. The development in Iceland seems to have slowed down in some ways and there is a slight decrease in number of skills that learners in 2008 report compared to learners in 2004. There is a need to increase the competence of educators by offering pre-service training in ICT use in education, as well as continuous in-service training and technical support.

Even if computer access was far better in the Icelandic schools than most of the South African ones, the time each learner gets to use computers in school is a challenge in both countries, and computers are more likely used to support the curriculum rather than to extend or transform it according the CPF framework (Twining, 2002). However, most of the Icelandic learners had easy access to computers in their homes, while the South African learners did not get much time practicing and adding to their skills at home. On the other hand, increasing access alone does not guarantee the ability to make constructive use of the technology.

Our study showed that many of the Icelandic learners complained about physical and social problems they associated with computer use. Some worry that they or their friends spend too much time online affecting study or friendships in a negative way; or that it is difficult to stop playing computer/online games even if they want to. There are also instances of sexual harassment, bullying and social exclusion through online communications. With increased access both countries certainly need to pay attention to ethical and safe use of computers. There may need to be more emphasis on the development of self discipline and monitoring learning.

Through the years South Africans have based their economy on mining and Icelanders on fishing. In both cases it is clear that to get large-scale benefits, large investments are needed, time, planning, coordinated efforts, and processing of what is dug up or caught to produce value. The same is certainly true if schools and learners are to benefit from the information revolution in both countries.

NOTES

1 These studies were partially funded with grants from the Icelandic Research Council, Iceland University of Education, University of Iceland, the Icelandic International Development Agency and the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo, Norway.
Social stratification may be increasing in Iceland. There has, for example, been an influx of immigrants in the past decade. People born in different countries than Iceland now comprise ca. 7 per cent of the population, compared to less than 2 per cent in 1998 (Statistics Iceland, 2009). Also, the financial crisis hitting Iceland in October 2008 may result in increased social stratification.

According to Internet World Statistics an Internet user is a person that has access to an Internet connection point, and a person that has the basic knowledge required to use web technology. It should be noted that the average growth is somewhat high due to the low Internet diffusion before 2000 in Africa. In Somalia for example, which has the highest average growth rate in Sub Saharan Africa at 48,900 per cent, it can be explained with the huge increase in use from 2000 (estimated users in 2000) to 2008 (estimated users 98,000).

A culture is a historically developed, patterned way of life which includes beliefs and ideologies; formally and informally established interrelationships between persons and groups; and material goods and technologies, all of which are systematically related so as to form an integral whole (Dobbert, 1982: 10.).

Computer implementation could in turn be analysed further in different ways, for example, with the CPF - the computer practice framework (Twining, 2002).

In the Icelandic study, more students participated (see an overview in Jakobsdóttir, 2008) than is indicated in the table but for the purpose of the comparison only those from similar age/grade are included.

At Iceland University of Education which merged with University of Iceland in 2008 so it is now University of Iceland – School of education.

The 1998 data were not included in the comparison because two skills of the nine were not included in the 1998 version of the questionnaire.

The Khanya project is a Western Cape Education Department initiative. Its goal is to implement computers in all public schools in the region by 2012. See further http://www.khanya.co.za/

In 1998 and 2002 questions of mobile phones were not included.

In the South African questionnaire learners were asked whether they had access to a cell phone and not whether they owned a cell phone.

Educational authorities divide schools into quintals. Those in the poorest neighbourhoods with learners (parents) of the lowest socio economic layers are non-fee schools.

http://www.computers4kids.co.za/about.htm

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A DIGITAL DIVIDE


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THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT
ANDERS BREIDLID

12. THE HIV/AIDS PANDEMIC IN SOUTH AFRICA

Cultural constraints and education

INTRODUCTION

An estimated 5.5 million South Africans out of a population of 46 million are infected with HIV (UNAIDS, 2006). The virus is, however, unevenly distributed among the various population groups in South Africa. The disease is most prevalent among the black population, almost six times as frequent as among the second most affected population group, namely, the coloured. What is even more alarming is the steady increase in the prevalence rate among the blacks in South Africa, in a context of decline amongst other population groups (Chirambo, 2008: 144).

The seriousness of this situation can be illustrated by projections indicating life expectancy with or without AIDS, figures that will affect black people the most. According to UNDP and the US Bureau of Census (Chirambo, 2008: 147) the life expectancy projections for South Africa without AIDS in 2010 is 68.3 and with AIDS 35.5 years of age. The counter factuality of these figures notwithstanding, they nevertheless signal a bleak future, if interventions fail to make a difference.

The consequences for the economy with a decreasing labour force are difficult to predict in detail, as are the consequences for the education system, when as many as one third of the teachers are HIV positive. However, it is undeniable that the future consequences are very serious, indeed.

Since the prevalence rate is much higher among blacks than other population groups, one aim of this chapter is to discuss some of the challenges in dealing with HIV/AIDS by situating the issue contextually and culturally.

There are a number of conceptual issues that arise from the literature on cultural values, and on cultural values and HIV/AIDS. The most significant is an essentialist orientation in the use of the term ‘culture’ or ‘traditional culture’ to signify African culture. It is not always clear in the South African research context the extent to which difference in the behaviour of adolescents, for example, can be attributed to aspects other than a narrow definition of the terms. It would seem that some studies compare the behaviour of adolescents using language or ethnicity as key variables without considering that these are not always indicative of the practices from which the group is drawn (see e.g. Wood & Jewkes, 1998 and Tillotson & Maharaj, 2001). Other studies infer that the results are indicative of a specific culture’s values (for instance, LeClerc-Madlala 2001, 2002; Breidlid, 2002). As has been noted in relation to the Xhosa culture:

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There is a sense that despite the intertextuality and dialogic exchange between various value systems, the indigenous cultural values are retained, not only as a means of social cohesion, or as a kind of low-key cultural resistance, but as a fundamental element of Xhosa identity construction (Breidlid, 2002: 43).

While it is acknowledged that tradition is often subsumed in modern practices and vice-versa, tensions can exist where communities are still very traditional and youth are influenced both by tradition and modernity, thereby making it difficult for the youth to navigate their way within social and cultural practices that are fluid and sometimes contradictory (Breidlid, 2002). This difficulty notwithstanding, this chapter suggests that cultural practices impact seriously on the spread of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa and that various intervention programmes have been largely inefficient in halting this development, since they have not taken cultural factors into consideration and since the interventions have often been put across in a culturally insensitive language. Admittedly changing cultural practices is very difficult, even in the face of this serious pandemic.

A number of South African studies acknowledge explicitly or implicitly the importance of cultural context in the efficacy of intervention programmes. Cohen (2002), for example, suggests that cultural aspects present serious constraints in the attempt to fight the pandemic (besides socio-economic circumstances) and Archie-Booker, et al. (1999) states that HIV/AIDS prevention education must be responsive to culture, in order to be effective.

However, not only is the impact of cultural beliefs on sexual behaviour, negotiation and change not always clearly spelled out, but also, the use of cultural knowledge in intervention programmes seems more or less absent. The reason for this may be the sensitive nature of HIV/AIDS as a disease that invokes issues of sex, sexuality and disease that many communities struggle with, due to aspects of class, ethnicity and gender. In South Africa, a nation striving to achieve a national identity across former differences, such discussions may also be deemed politically incorrect. The seriousness of the pandemic means, however, that such cultural and political considerations must be approached more creatively in an attempt to design more efficient strategies.

The chapter explores first the so-called Caldwell hypothesis that African sexuality is different from Eurasian sexuality. It proceeds to discuss more specifically cultural sexual traits in Africa, with a particular emphasis on Southern Africa and the myths surrounding the prevention of HIV/AIDS infection among certain population groups. Third, the South African government policies on HIV/AIDS are explored, focusing particularly on the ideological and cultural content of strategies linked to prevention programmes. Finally, the chapter explores the role of education as a site for knowledge transmission and queries to what extent the correlational link between knowledge and behaviour is addressed in educational intervention programmes.
CULTURAL CONSTRAINTS IN FIGHTING HIV/AIDS

Cohen’s (2002) suggestion that there are serious cultural constraints in fighting the pandemic is an important point of departure for the following discussion.

The Caldwell hypothesis

While there is a danger of projecting age-old western stereotypes and prejudices onto African cultures, there is also the risk of evading the whole topic of African sexuality and simply talking of preventative measures that are often Western in approach and origin. Caldwell, Caldwell and Quiggin argue that “there is a distinct and internally coherent African system embracing sexuality, marriage, and much else, and that it is no more right or wrong, progressive or unprogressive than the Western system” (Caldwell, et al., 1989: 187).

According to Caldwell, et al. (1989) there are certain elements of African cultural practices with a bearing on sexual behaviour, which may have adverse consequences in the age of HIV/AIDS. According to these researchers, aspects of sexual behaviour are not placed at the centre of African moral, religious and social systems, nor do such systems sanctify chastity (Caldwell, et al., 1989: 194). This is in deep contrast to the focus on sexual behaviour and chastity and the tremendous solemnity regarding sex in large segments of the Euro-North American population. The impression is that attitudes towards the sexual act are simple and straightforward, and that virtue is related more to “success in reproduction than to limiting profligacy” (Caldwell, et al., 1989: 188). Reproduction is, according to Caldwell et al. (1989) a central element in indigenous African religion. Thus it is argued that the touchstone of the contrast between Eurasia and Africa is not male, but female sexuality (Caldwell, et al., 1989). These researchers state that:

A pragmatic attitude exists in Africa toward the latter, with a fair degree of permissiveness toward premarital relations that are not blatantly public, and a degree of acceptance that surreptitious extramarital relations are not the high point of sin and usually should not be severely punished (Caldwell, et al., 1989: 197).

There is no indication that either female premarital chastity or male sexual abstention has been supported by religious sanctions. Moreover, the claim is that many African societies admire risk-taking, especially dashing behaviour by young men (Caldwell, et al., 1989: 224-225).

Sickness and death are most often not considered natural events, but ascribed to evil spirits and breaches of taboos and are, therefore, explained, not in the behaviour that led to them, but in relation to who or what caused the sick person’s misfortune. When the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS is recognised within this framework of understanding, Caldwell finds that “even many who recognise the role of infection and pathogens believe they are merely the intermediary mechanisms... In these circumstances there is little point in avoiding the one type of infection only to find that the malevolent forces settle for another mechanism” (Caldwell, 1999: 11). The situation is aggravated by the commonly held belief that
one’s time to die was decided long ago, or that they will die in the not too distant future anyway. “Some men practicing high-risk sex say that, if the latency period is a decade, they are not worried because they are likely to die of something else in such a long time” (Caldwell, 2000: 10-11).

By linking this lack of cautiousness about one’s health to what she terms as “non-HIV life expectancy” Oster (2007) finds that responsiveness to risk awareness corresponds to the length of life expectancy without HIV/AIDS. The assumption is somewhat problematic, however, given the figures above showing the huge gap in life expectancy with and without AIDS.

Caldwell’s thesis of African sexuality has been contested, most notably by Ahlberg (1994), who claims that Caldwell, et al. (1989) has left out all data suggesting that “there was moral restraint attached to sexuality in Africa” (Ahlberg, 1994: 223). Ahlberg (1994: 230), by referring to the Kikuyu culture, shows how taboos and regulations “were extensively used in the maintenance of good conduct” in terms of sexual discipline. Other African communities had similar regulations (Krige, 1968; Evans-Pritchard, 1965). As Epstein states:

Just as anywhere else, sexual behaviour on the (African) continent is governed by strict moral rules. They may not be the same as Western rules – polygamy and other forms of long-term concurrency are considered acceptable to many people – but they are rules all the same (Epstein, 2007: 146).

This is in line with Mbiti (1969) who also claims there was no anarchy in terms of sexual norms. Sexual offences were taken very seriously:

When adultery is dealt with it is seriously dealt with…Fornication, incest, rape, seduction, homosexual relations, sleeping with a forbidden ‘relative’ or domestic animals, intimacy between relatives…all constitute sexual offences in a given community (Mbiti, 1969: 147-148).

While traditional sexual mores in many communities were highly regulated, Ahlberg (1994) claims that during colonialism, “sexuality was dramatically transformed, from a context where it was open but kept within well defined social control and regulating mechanisms, to being an individual, private matter surrounded largely by silence” (Ahlberg, 1994: 233). This led to the existence of two distinct moral systems, “neither of which has much authority over sexual behaviour” (Ahlberg, 1994: 233). Accordingly, there are no simple mechanisms to discipline deviant sexual behaviour or to enforce traditional sexual norms.

SEXUAL PRACTICES AND MYTHS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

While knowledge of traditional sexual regulations is important, particularly in designing alternative intervention strategies, the contemporary sexual practices discussed below are extremely problematic in combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic, whatever the underlying causes for such practices are.

Nattrass acknowledges that sexual culture in Southern Africa is an important dimension relating to the AIDS pandemic (Nattrass, 2004: 279). According to her
“gender inequality, sexual violence, a preference for dry sex, fatalistic attitudes and pressures to prove fertility contribute to a high-risk environment” (Nattrass, 2004: 26-27). LeClerc-Madlala is more specific in her discussion of cultural sexual practices by referring to the Zulu sexual culture which is “underpinned by meanings which associate sex with gifts and manliness with the ability to attract and maintain multiple sex partners” (LeClerc-Madlala, 2002: 31-2). This clearly contributes to the spread of HIV. LeClerc-Madlala goes on to characterise the Zulu culture in terms of:

- gender inequity, transactional sex, the socio-cultural isoka of multiple sexual partners, lack of discussion of both men and women to accept sexual violence as ‘normal’ sexual behaviour along with the ‘right’ of men to control sexual encounters, and the existence of increasingly discordant and contested gender scripts (LeClerc-Madlala, 2001: 41).

Other problematic cultural traits refer to the practice where young women form sexual liaisons with older men for financial advantage and where sex is a currency by which African women and girls are frequently expected to pay in a desperate situation; “there is no romance without finance”.

Nattrass refers to Zambia where women, educated about the virus, nevertheless offered sex during a famine because they would rather die of AIDS than of hunger (Nattrass, 2004: 27). This means that they may be more exposed to contracting diseases, thus making them vulnerable to HIV infection. This is particularly so in relationships based on exchange or money, because it is under such circumstances young women have little power to insist on condom usage (Kelly & Ntlabati, 2002: 52).

Added to these cultural sexual practices are the myths surrounding the disease and its possible cures. While some myths are harmless (“African potato cures AIDS”), others are critically dangerous to the spread of HIV; particularly the myth that having sex with a virgin or a baby is curative. Moreover, misconceptions that HIV can be caused by witchcraft weaken intervention strategies, as well as the current debate about whether forced sex is rape or simply sex¹ (Mandela, 2002: 82). These myths and misconceptions have sprung out of cultural beliefs that are nurtured by an indigenous epistemology based on magic and supernatural phenomena and explanations. Such myths are associated with the reported increase in child rape and the sharp increase of HIV among young girls. The strength and pervasiveness of these myths and misconceptions is, however, disputed (Nattrass, 2004: 141).

The socio-economic situation

Poverty poses another challenge to combating the pandemic. According to UNDP, South Africa is becoming increasingly unequal (UNDP, 2003), and “more people were living in poverty in 2002 than 1995” (Chirambo, 2008: 147). Statistics show that provinces with higher levels of poverty also have higher levels of HIV/AIDS, and this correlation shows the “relevance of including poverty as a contextual
variable in any social science discussion of the epidemic” (Chirambo, 2003: 147). To the extent that women’s sexual behaviour is a product of economic circumstances, interventions at the level of individual behaviour and sexual culture are unlikely to be very successful. Therefore, the link between poverty and sexual behaviour poses another major challenge for AIDS interventions.

Sexual culture, ethnicity and education

The cultural sexual practices referred to above are often associated with Black African culture, and are, if Caldwell et. al. (1989) are anything to go by, different from Euroasian sexuality. Nattrass (2004) questions this difference by referring to a qualitative study by Marcus (2002). Marcus found that it was usual among white university students in South Africa to engage in multiple partnering (both serial and concurrent), as well as casual sex for its own sake (Marcus, 2002). Marcus’ research notwithstanding, there seems to be no study on white sexual behaviour in South Africa, which makes the link between cultural sexual practices and the spread of HIV. Moreover, the link between myths, magic and HIV/AIDS does not seem at all to be prevalent among the white population. Pointedly a district survey in the Western Cape Province (Nattrass, 2004: 27) carried out at 374 facilities, involving the testing of 5,964 people, revealed that the black townships of Gugulethu and Nyanga had a prevalence rate of HIV of 28.1 per cent and Khayelitsha 27.2 per cent, far above other districts in the Western Cape. While the prevalence of HIV follows ethnic lines, it is worth noting that the prevalence also seems to follow income groups and education levels. Both Gugulethu/Nyanga and Khayelitsha are townships with relatively low income and education levels, thus upholding the view referred to above of a correlation between poverty and the escalation in HIV rates. While African households in the Western Cape Province have an average annual household income of R 33,449, white households averaged R 165,320 in the same Province (UNDP/UNAIDS, 1999: 33). According to Nattrass, and since malnutrition and parasite infection increase HIV susceptibility, there is good reason for assuming our previous contention that poverty is a breeding ground for the spread of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa (Nattrass, 2004: 29).

Levels of education are also noted to be an indicator of HIV infection. A national survey of South African youth reported that there were lower reported levels of sexual activity among better educated youth. Those with tertiary educational qualifications had lower rates, and “those in high skill bands have relatively low levels of HIV infection” (Nattrass, 2004: 30).

Government policies and strategies

Inadequate responses by most African governments have no doubt contributed to and are still contributing to the AIDS pandemic. The often conflicting messages by the Presidency in South Africa has resulted in messages about infection not being taken seriously, thus weakening the impact of intervention programmes. The defensive reaction by the government to criticism of its HIV/AIDS policies limited
the possibility of engaging with and improving on the government’s capacity to implement policies. This stance has been detrimental to the government in that opportunity was missed to obtain evaluative input, which may have led to improvement and better implementation of the nation’s AIDS policies.

This notwithstanding, the South African government’s policies regarding the pandemic are changing at a slow, but steady pace. In *HIV/AIDS Emergency: Guidelines for Educators* the government acknowledged that the HIV pandemic is an emergency that would have serious consequences for the education sector. “If the current rate of infection does not slow down, by the year 2010 one in every four people in the country will have HIV. In ten years, the disease will have made orphans of three–quarters of a million South African children” (DoE, 2000/2002: 4).

The Guidelines also acknowledge that the disease is spreading so fast “mainly because many South Africans, especially men, are careless about their sexual behaviour…This means that the death rate from HIV/AIDS is still climbing rapidly among men and women of all ages, especially among sexually-active people” (DoE, 2000/2002: 4). The document warns that “unless we take the necessary precautions any one of us may contract HIV”. The Guidelines concur with statements by other researchers early on that acknowledge the role of social and economic circumstances in the increase of HIV-prevalence.

HIV/AIDS is a new disease that was not there when our old customs were created. The arrival of HIV means we have to make some changes to our culture because if we do not make these changes very large numbers of our young people may die and we may do so as well. Changing the rules about discussing sex does not mean that our culture will be threatened. There is much more to our culture than codes and practices relating to sex. In fact, cultures change all the time. That is how it survives…We need to adapt our customary attitude toward sex and talking about sex, because the lives of our spouses and partners, our children, and those in our care, depend upon us (DoE, 2000/2002: 12).

The message in this document also refers to aspects of religious beliefs that are detrimental as regards the present HIV pandemic. The religious taboo of discussing sex openly in the families is questioned, since information about sex is said to be vital in containing the disease. Moreover the message stresses the moral aspects involved: “…The threat of HIV does not mean to discard our moral code. A strong and clear moral code was never more necessary” (DoE, 2000/2002: 12). This emphasis on the moral aspects is important in a situation where the government’s HIV campaigns have been criticized for being too technical and too modern in their approach.

Strategies to combat the pandemic are varied. The question is to what extent the strategies to combat the disease take into account how cultural practices, not only impact responses to intervention programmes, but also the extent to which the implicit and explicit messages they attempt to convey are received.

*The HIV/AIDS/STD Strategic Plan for South Africa 2000-2005* (GoSA, 2000: 16) calls for “an effective and culturally appropriate information, education and
communications (IEC) strategy.” This notwithstanding, implementation of the plan seems, to a large extent, have focused either on the use of condoms or on improving access to and the use of male and female condoms, especially amongst 15-25 year olds (GoSA, 2000: 19).

The ABC strategy that prioritises A for abstinence, B for Be faithful and C for condom use has been criticised in South Africa by some quarters for paying too little attention to abstinence and faithfulness and too much reliance on condoms, especially with regards to the allocation of resources, both in terms of funds spent on the purchase and distribution of condoms as well as the funds spent on promoting them.

The reason for the focus on condom distribution is not necessarily due to a sexual liberation ideology, but more likely due to the acknowledgement that changes in sexual behaviour are both time-consuming and very difficult, and that “safe” sex is an urgent priority, even if deeply-rooted sexual practices (other than condom use) are not changed. Questions about the cultural appropriateness of such an approach are often not in question, particularly when a common response amongst youth is: “Using a condom is equivalent to eating a banana with the peel on.”

The new HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infection (STI) Strategic Plan for South Africa (the NSP 2007-2011) expands on the above and emphasises the gender problem and human rights protection. It is a comprehensive plan intended to address the multiple challenges across a wide range of sectors, including “areas of prevention, treatment, care and support; human and legal rights; and monitoring, research and surveillance…” (Chirambo, 2008: 142).

HIV/AIDS and education

According to a 2005 survey by the HSRC (Human Sciences Research Council, 12.7 per cent of teachers in South Africa are HIV-positive. This corresponds to the national statistics, and is confirmed by very high teacher absenteeism (Chirambo, 2008). The regional variance of teacher absenteeism also correlates with the different rates of prevalence of HIV in the various provinces, i.e., teachers from KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga have the highest prevalence rate in the country. According to Chirambo (2008) this corresponds with the national statistics, and is confirmed by very high teacher absenteeism. The regional variance of teacher absenteeism also correlates with the different prevalence rates in the various provinces, i.e., teachers from KwaZulu Natal and Mpumalanga have the highest prevalence rates in the country.

In The HIV/AIDS Emergency: Guidelines for Educators (DoE 2000/2002: 5) educators are given a special responsibility along the lines of an ethical model: “Educators must set an example of responsible sexual behaviour. In so doing, they will protect their families, colleagues, learners and themselves.” The role of the teacher is not, however, without its challenges. Few, if any, studies have been done on the role of teachers in HIV-prevention programmes. Are teachers willing and able to teach? Can they teach about sex, sexuality, and disease in the public space of the classroom without fear of repercussions from school authorities and
communities? What is their attitude and do they in fact position themselves? What is their moral position on teaching HIV/AIDS education? These questions are not explored in AIDS education literature and thus make the assumption about an easy fit between teachers and the curriculum unsustainable.

According to a national review in South Africa of more than 10,000 women under 50 years, teachers commit a third of all rapes in South Africa (Jewkes, et al., 2002) thus putting doubts on their capacity to, not only teach about sex education to children, but also about their position of authority as role models over their children’s lives. If teachers are sexually abusing children, this is made all the more drastic in that “South Africa’s 443,000 educators constitute the largest occupational group in the country. At least 12 per cent are reported to be HIV positive” (Coombe, 2000: 6). This means that in excess of over 40,000 teachers are HIV positive. To give credence to these fears, Hickey (2002: 45) states:

Schools, particularly in rural areas, can be a breeding ground for the disease by providing opportunities primarily via sexual relationships between male teachers and young girls. Reportedly the measured infection rate amongst young women between age 15 and 19 rose from 12.7% in 1997 to 21% in 1998.

The DoE (1999: 14) states that “educators may not have sexual relations with learners or students” suggesting a political will to confront teachers who abuse their position and those entrusted to their care. Questions do remain about the consequences for such offences and whether or not punishment is always meted out.

Educational intervention strategies

According to Baxen and Breidlid (2004), some studies (e.g. Wood et al, 1997; Levine and Ross, 2002) have sought to examine and gain some understanding of what knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP studies) those participating in the educational endeavour (teachers, youth, and adolescents) carry. Often these studies have as their main outcome recommendations towards the development of “effective” prevention strategies for those perceived as “most vulnerable”, which in many instances, are youth between the ages of 14-24.

There is very little co-ordinated information on what South African youth know about reproductive health. Judging from some of the studies, some South African youth have a very sketchy understanding of reproduction, puberty and sexually transmitted diseases (Wood et. al., 1997). However, Kelly (2000), in a study commissioned by the Department of Health, found that youth had good access to accurate HIV/AIDS information, and were regularly exposed to such information.

Even though Kelly’s research might be true in some instances, the educational intervention programmes have not, it seems, been able to effect a positive correlation between knowledge and behaviour. It seems, therefore, some South Africans are constructing their sexual identity and ideas about safety from infection in a complex, discursive space where competing knowledge systems co-exist to produce and reproduce conflicting messages about risk, contraction and infection.
In an attempt to examine ways of increasing the possibility of behavioural change, Wight (1999) found in his study that learner-driven classes do not work as well as teacher-driven ones. Wight argues that there are severe limits to the efficacy of pupil empowerment in sex and HIV/AIDS education. Skinner (2001), however, found that educators were seen as out of touch with youth. He described this as another factor distancing youth from scientific information and making them inclined to look to alternative sources of knowledge.

Although a number of studies describe South African cultural beliefs that have a bearing on sexual behaviour, it has been noted that few studies investigate the intersection between either cultural context or cultural beliefs, and intervention programme efficacy.

The emphasis on intervention and prevention programmes (giving youth more knowledge) referred to above seems to be underpinned by reductionist views of the association between knowledge and behaviour. This view creates a dissociation of the interface between sexual identity, education and HIV/AIDS. More importantly, what it leaves unattended is the deeply complex nature of the social, contextual and cultural discursive fields in which youth receive and interpret the HIV/AIDS messages and how they understand, experience and use this knowledge in the face of or while constructing, performing and playing out their sexual identities.

Louw (1991) argues that the medical model which favours information on safe sexual practices, especially condom use, has had some results, but “it has been shown that information and education campaigns (as in the case of tuberculosis) do not stop the spread of a disease; medical information is not enough in the long run” (Louw, 1991: 101). He favours an ethical model as a long-term strategy that might have the desired effects of reducing infection among youth. Such a response does, of course, raise questions about whose ethics and what ethical framework might be applied in a complex context like South Africa. Questions may be posed, therefore, about productions and interpretations of morality and its inclusion in prevention programmes in a context where its constructions are often open to transformation.

The interface of tradition and modernity has had an impact on some cultural practices with detrimental effects. This has resulted in an underplay of the traditional social support systems in terms of sexual norms and behaviour; aspects that, in some communities, remains intact. Ahlberg’s (1994) reference to positive sexual norms and practices in traditional African communities noted earlier in this chapter is important knowledge in strategic discussions of the pandemic. Therefore, under-communication of these in discussions of intervention strategies to combat the pandemic can be seen as a factor contributing to HIV/AIDS-intervention inefficiency.

CONCLUSION

Cultural practices are not static. Sontag (1990) suggests that the ways in which we understand HIV/AIDS is, therefore, more indicative of our broader societal discourse of politics and economy than of any salient features of the disease itself. Sexual practices alone cannot explain the virulence of the spread of AIDS in
Africa. The combination of cultural, socio-economic factors and biomedical factors together with unsafe sexual practices produce fertile ground for the spread of HIV.

Prevention programmes can thus not be limited to certain sectors of society, i.e., education or health, but must address the multiplicity of areas that critically impact upon the spread of HIV and AIDS. Moreover, these interventions must transcend a mere economistic and technical discourse and take into account the deeply ingrained cultural factors and practices among the various groups in a complex South African society. While cultural essentialism should be discarded, interventions must acknowledge and identify cultural and contextual aspects which, it has been noted, clearly play an important and sometimes detrimental role in the negotiations and decision-making with respect to sex.

Further, it would be important to examine the interface between discourses of tradition and modernity in the development of more appropriate intervention strategies that could lead to behaviour change. Such a space would encourage discussions about, for example, how modern concepts of women’s behaviour are juxtaposed with traditional conceptions of male sexuality. When HIV/AIDS is blamed, for example, on the “modern” behaviour of women, and when control is reassured over women’s bodies in virginity-testing through the contemporary reinvention of traditional practices, this is the expression of an anxiety over the relationship between tradition and modernity.

The failure of modernist interventions to achieve behavioural change makes it urgent to explore the extent to which traditional processes, practices, dynamics, structures, and networks within communities are under-reported and under-utilised as resources to support or facilitate behavioural change. There is a sense that reference to traditional norms and values stands a better chance of being accepted and adhered to than alien, modernist interventions which so far have been met with massive, if not tacit resistance on the behavioural level. Interventions devoid of any acknowledgement of cultural and contextual specificity may be those that would have detrimental consequences for success in reducing the effects of the pandemic.

Undoubtedly the AIDS pandemic is threatening the democratic foundation of the new South Africa. As Steinberg states:

A new democracy is an era of resurging life. Sex is the most life-giving of activities. That a new nation’s citizen’s are dying from sex seems to be an attack on ordinary people’s and a nation’s generative capacities, an insult too ghastly to stomach (Steinberg, 2008: 6).

Former president Mbeki has re-echoed these sentiments in his conspiracy theories about the disease, and the former Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang has rightly been accused by scientists and grassroots activists for her unconventional and very controversial support for beetroot and garlic as treatments of AIDS. The myths that the former Mbeki government have spread about the disease have probably reinforced the stigma attached to it. The medical fact that the disease is most pervasively spread through sexual contact is not easily accepted, and as has been noted earlier in this chapter all kinds of mystical explanations are given to explain the occurrence of the disease. “Some people have maybe sent a demon to
have sex with me: a demon with HIV. That is why I am scared to test. I think I will test positively” (Steinberg, 2008: 15).

People are afraid of testing because people with AIDS are in many ways ostracized, particularly in the rural villages. As Steinberg maintains “where there is AIDS, there is blame. It is said in the villages that the virus was hatched in laboratories to be let loose on blacks until whites become an electoral majority” (Steinberg, 2008: 6). And since people are scared of being tested, they are not making use of ARVs that might really improve their life situation substantially. Therefore some people prefer to die with the disease rather than to come forward to get help with the disease. There are stories of people dying of AIDS just a few yards away from clinics with ARVs.

While Mbeki failed to make ARVs widely available, the new Health Minister, Barbara Hogan, has indicated a radical change in the authorities’ attitudes to ARVs and to the pandemic in general. Stating that the government policies over the past ten years have failed, Hogan has promised to step up the fight against HIV/AIDS in a country where life expectancy has fallen to 52 and where more than half of all public hospital admissions are AIDS-related and more than one quarter of the national health budget goes to fighting the disease. Acknowledging the widely accepted cause-effect relationship of the disease, Hogan has also appealed to the scientific community to come with better tools to fight the disease.

This is indeed good news. As one commentator put it “health has been rescued from the madness of lemons, garlic and beetroot, which are now restored to their role as nutritious fruit and vegetables, liberated from being the weapons of mass destruction that Manto (Tshabalala- Msimang, the previous health minister) had made them” (Mail & Guardian, 2008).

While the new policies of the government are welcomed, the situation will not change overnight. The former government’s denial policies have naturally impacted on the common man’s perception of the disease, and research shows, that even if knowledge about the disease is available, behaviour change is slow to come. Cultural practices and perceptions are still a great obstacle to behaviour change, and the one-size-fits-all modernist interventions do not seem to address the issues in an adequate way. Time has come to look at how information is transmitted about the disease.

The question thus arises as to if the message is diffused through the most appropriate channels, and in a culturally sensitive way. The various transmitters of knowledge need to address this issue, and most probably differentiate the interventions according to the various recipients in the country (Breidlid & Kadalie, 2009). As Steinberg has shown (2008), medical expertise intervening in the rural villages might often face a credibility problem as they invade the rural space without necessarily having the cultural knowledge necessary to communicate with the population. The schools seem in many ways to face a similar problem, not being able to convince the pupils that knowledge about the disease has to be translated into behavioural change.

As the government now seems to be entering a new and more productive phase in the combat of HIV/AIDS, it is important to emphasize that it is not only a matter of spreading ARVs more evenly across the country or discovering more effective
vaccines against the disease, but also of analyzing ways of diffusing the message of the pandemic in such a way that people both start a process of behavioural change as well as taking advantage of the drugs now made available to them without experiencing stigmatization and ostracisation.

NOTES

1 These beliefs seem to be fairly pervasive within certain ethnic groups, where forced sex is not seen as coercion. The longer the relationship, the more “right” a male has to demand sex from the “submissive” female. Should she resist, he has the cultural “right” to beat her into submission. Cultural systems carry immense gender inequalities.


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13. A TALE OF TWO COUNTRIES
Language policy in Namibia and South Africa

INTRODUCTION
As in the introduction to Charles Dickens (1859) book *A Tale of Two Cities*, what Namibia and South Africa experienced during apartheid was “the worst of times” (Dickens, 1859: 1). This was a period in which the majority population suffered greatly due to the systematic social engineering that took place, entailing an uneven distribution of resources, inequitable access to institutions and knowledge production. All of this had substantial implications for the education sector.

After Namibia gained its independence in 1990 and the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, the new governments had the enormous task of transforming their countries. One of the many sectors requiring transformation was the education sector. Language became a central issue in both countries, with both governments seeking to bring about “the best of times…the spring of hope” (Dickens, 1859: 1). Each country took a different path. While Namibia chose English as a sole official language; South Africa increased the number of recognized official languages from two to eleven. Despite the different paths taken the two countries have experienced difficulties in implementing their different Language-in-Education Policies.

In this chapter, however, I will focus my attention on the actual development of the language policy in both countries as seen through the backdrop of a globalization and language relationship framework (for details concerning the implementation of these policies see Holmarsdottir, 2001, 2005).

LANGUAGE POLICY FOR MULTILINGUALISM
It is acknowledged that almost no country in the world has one language spoken by everybody. In Europe, for example, only Iceland, where the population has Icelandic as their mother tongue, and Portugal, where the official language and the spoken languages are so similar to each other that they really can be considered as being part of the same linguistic system, are considered monolingual and monoethic countries, at a policy level. However, within these countries it is possible to find other languages spoken by, for example, immigrants. In a practical sense, neither Iceland nor Portugal are really monolingual either. It may, therefore, be argued that the majority of countries’ worldwide are in fact multilingual. The difference between countries lies in the nature of multilingualism, i.e., whether it is subtractive.
or additive neither of which indicates a static linguistic situation. Annamalai (2003) describes some of the issues surrounding language policy for multilingualism. In subtractive multilingualism, the new or existing languages of a country may lose out to the dominant language(s), but new languages will keep coming or the lost languages may be revived. At any given point in time, there will be more than one language in the country as described in the case of Iceland and Portugal. In additive multilingualism, the new languages add new signs to the multilingual system. Annamalai (2003) argues that it is not the case that no language will be lost in additive multilingualism, but the loss of languages will change the pattern of the multilingual system, as does their addition. The constant in additive multilingualism is the language system itself, though the functional relationship between the languages in the system may change. In order to clarify the issue further it is important to look deeper into the idea of what a nation means as this is distinctly linked to the language issue. Thus it is argued that language policy is related to the idea of nation-building and in response to the argument that attention to multiple African languages could be an obstacle to nation-building, Djite states that:

…it is one thing to argue that a common language is a necessary and sufficient requirement in nation building…and another to suggest that development can occur in someone else’s language (Djite, 2008: 6).

The notion of language has been intrinsically bound up in the understanding of the concept of a nation from a European perspective which, for example, Wright (2001: 46) argues that:

The idea of the nation had two expressions in Europe, civic and ethnic. In the civic version, the boundaries of the state were set by dynastic expansion. The disparate groups that found themselves within the state boundaries fell under the nation-building pressures of the state as it then attempted to weld them into a cohesive nation…In the ethnic version, the leaders of a cultural and linguistic group aimed to provide the group with territory within which they would be the sole or dominant group.

When a nation is viewed as “a geographical area, it is possible to think of the many languages in that area as a cluster with no functional relationship between them” other than sharing a country (Annamalai, 2003: 115). However, Annamalai (2003) argues that this is hardly possible because a nation is also a political unit and sharing a country means sharing a political boundary. A nation is more than a politically bound territory and it has a lot more to share than a boundary. Of importance with regards to sharing is the idea of a nation defined by a set of values, institutions and symbols. Language is one such symbol and it plays a role in defining a nation (Haugen, 1966). In this chapter I also recognize that a country may have more than one language that can play a symbolic role in defining the nation as has been the case in both Namibia and South Africa during and after colonialism. Likewise, the nation is a social entity structured on some principles, with language playing a role in this structuring. Thus, the languages in a nation should have a relationship with each other on political and social grounds, with the
difference in multilingualism between nations being the kind of social and political relationship between languages (Annamalai, 2003). The functional relationship between languages also reflects their social and political relationship.

Annamalai (2003) makes a reference to language networks and argues that the universality of many languages in countries means that the language policy in any country must relate to multilingualism and more specifically to multilingual arrangements. The system, that is the network, is built on the functional relationship between languages (Annamalai, 2003). “Language policy, then, is not about a language but is necessarily about languages, about the functional (or ecological) relationship between languages” (Annamalai, 2003: 116). Tollefson (1991) believes that language policy is one mechanism for locating language within the social structure of a country so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources. Therefore, language policy is one way in which the dominant groups establish hegemony in language use, and the language policy of a country may range from achieving and maintaining dominance for one language (or more than one language) against others to balancing the power of languages by containing the dominance of one language (or a few languages) at the expense of others. The case of both South Africa and Namibia serves to illustrate how language has been used as a tool in establishing the hegemony of the colonial languages and their speakers at the expense of others.

Indeed, the language policy of a country is basically about deciding on the relationship between languages (Fishman, 1965; Appel & Muysken, 1987). It involves choice of functions and the choice of language(s) to perform each of the functions (Fishman, 1965; Annamalai, 2003). The choice is made by the government for a purpose of serving the perceived needs of the society. It is assumed that the community and individuals will not have a different choice or that they will accept the government’s choice. It does not mean a government’s policy cannot be changed by the people and in a democratic state change can take place (cf. Holmarsdottir, 2005; Onoma, 2005). The changes in the language policy in both Namibia and South Africa serve to demonstrate how such transformations occur as both countries revised their language policy after apartheid (Holmarsdottir, 2001, 2005). Furthermore, it is also recognized that communities and individuals may be allowed to make their own choices, but that they may not be able to replace the government’s choice. In fact some governments may not allow any choice, at least in the public domain.

A government is considered as having an exclusive right to make and implement policy (language policy) in the interest of all the people. A government is also seen as representing the interests of groups, most notably the interests of the groups in power or have access to power. The interests of the groups which neither hold nor have access to power are often not represented in the policy (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2003; Holmarsdottir, 2005). Furthermore, the language policies of governments may broadly be classified into three categories in terms of the goals of policy, i.e., i) implicit or explicit policy of elimination of multilingualism, ii) implicit or explicit policy of tolerance of multilingualism, and iii) implicit or explicit policy of promotion of multilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Annamalai, 2003).
LOCAL POLICIES AND GLOBAL FORCES

It has been argued that attempts to initiate policies and practices that contribute to major improvements in education are dominated by the neoliberal economic and educational agendas of the major international financial agencies (Arnove, 2003). These agencies include the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, as well as the bilateral technical assistance agencies of North America, Europe, and Japan, and national governments, both conservative and liberal. The neoliberal agenda and structural adjustment policies have taken place within a context of intensified globalization, which has led to an international “apartheid system” with significant winners and losers (Faulk, 1994: 478). Among those excluded from the so-called benefits of international market forces and policies of privatization and decentralization are large sectors of Africa (Samooff, 2003). In an effort to understand globalization and its effects on the educational sector, Arnove (2003) identifies three principal dimensions that provide a framework for the analysis of polices within the educational arena: the economic, the cultural, and the political.

The process of globalization has certain effects on the education sector. The competitive, global market ruled by a market discipline has led to a decrease in government spending, affecting the education sector. Weakening governments with less funding for education may result in the consideration of policies that are often connected to the global forces as opposed to local needs. In my analysis of the language policy, with reference to the educational sector, I make use of the globalization framework to help understand both the local and the global forces that affect the policies of the two governments.

Economic The economics of globalization represents the contemporary process of capitalist accumulation. This process is manifest through global commodity chains and a global division of labour; the global mobility of capital; the increasing concentration of industries into a small number of transnational corporations; the development of global regulatory institutions and; a shift in world trade from goods and services to financial instruments. At the centre of this process are international elites who have been able to bring the world economy under the domain of multinational corporations without losing the national economic priorities of the leading core states (Arrighi, 1994).

Understanding the global forces might also be constructed in the economic policies of the developed world, which Omoniyi (2001: 138) argues are “sometimes tied to policies authored by the developed world for its own purposes”. Perhaps more directly relevant is the funding support granted to African nations for education and literacy or language development as part of larger social and economic development schemes. In this regard, agencies such as the World Bank, UNICEF and UNESCO as well as individual western donor countries and their agencies through various bilateral agreements have been major players (Brock-Utne, 2000). Brock-Utne (2000) demonstrates how powerful donor agencies and donor countries work by exerting their influence over governments when aid is tied to the promotion of certain languages, which in some cases can affect the language in education policy of many African countries. For example, the British Council, which is charged with the promotion of British culture overseas (Phillipson, 1992;
A TALE OF TWO COUNTRIES

Pennycook, 1994) and with more than one hundred branch offices around the world and an annual budget that exceeds £100 million, is directly connected with the dominance of English which according to Canagarajah (1999: 41) is “not only a result of political-economic inequalities between the centre and periphery, it is also a cause of these inequalities”.

**Cultural** The culture of globalization is about the increasingly interconnected social world, which both weakens the uniqueness of national ways of living, local cultures and non-capitalist values, but also encourages a convergence of communication and style among diverse people throughout the world. The process of cultural globalization preferred by the international elite is one that conceptualizes the world community as consumers of goods and services produced, developed, and distributed by transnational corporations – that is, consumerism of the western model is the dominant process of cultural globalization. This western model creates a de facto language policy, which works together with the market to reduce linguistic diversity under the market principles of efficiency. Moreover, the cultural equivalent is the McDonaldization of the world, expedited by the spread of movies and programs from the West and North, especially from the US, to the rest of the world (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Arnove, 2003). Correspondingly the increased use of English as a language of scholarly production and advanced studies along with the language of business and diplomacy is a part of cultural globalization.

**Political** The politics of globalization is represented by the emergence of global governance and the increasing contradictions between and within nation states. The central political tension of globalization rests between increasingly powerful transnational institutions (like the World Trade Organization, United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, as well as multinational corporations) and sovereign nation-states over the regulatory landscape of global capitalism (Arnove, 2003). Globalization involves a shift in organization from a nation-state level to intra-regional and transcontinental levels of political organization. This means that the relationships between nation-states are increasingly mediated through institutions of global governance. As a result transnational institutions are able to exert their influence on the nation-state in the area of policy development and, in particular, language policy development (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Brock-Utne, 2000).

Furthermore, the continuing link that binds the former colonies to their previous rulers regularly results in the ex-colonial powers continuing to serve as role models. Colonialism subverted previous traditional structures, institutions and values, forcing them into positions subservient to the economic and political needs of the imperial powers. Additionally, it may be argued that the policies put into place by the independent states, such as the promotion of ex-colonial languages in education, have, in many instances, carried on even after the end of colonialism (Holmardottir, 2001, 2005). In order to understand this influence a brief historical account of the language policy issues in both countries is provided here along with an analysis of the current language policy in each country.
Mbamba (1982) states that the type of education given to Namibians under the Apartheid regime was not only insufficient but also had the “aim of disintegration, oppression, pacification, dependence, and underdevelopment” (Mbamba, 1982:121). Moreover, it has been noted that the linguistic situation in Namibia has been manipulated as far back as the beginning of the German colonial era in 1884 (Legère & Trewby, 1999). The South African administration of the country subsequently added to the manipulation of the language situation by introducing the South African system of racial segregation/apartheid in which white supremacy was the ultimate goal. One of the important factors in the apartheid system was language and within the system it was used to classify people into tribal entities and to isolate Namibia from other countries (except South Africa) “by imposing Afrikaans as the official language” (Legère & Trewby, 1999: 4). Education was also seen as an important means by which the apartheid policy was to be implemented. Education was meant to keep the educational standards in most schools low and to be consonant with the apartheid ideology that education should provide for cheap manpower with a minimum of educational qualification. As a result of the minimal educational requirements, the linguistic varieties spoken by the majority (i.e., national languages) were not systematically developed to cope with the role they should and could play in modern society.

Thus, before Independence, in line with the global framework discussed above, Afrikaans was a politically enforced lingua franca and the national/local languages were basically ignored. It is, therefore argued that language policy during this period was used to establish hegemony in language use (Tollefson, 1991) and the language policy thus maintained the dominance of Afrikaans only. Yet publicly the white minority supported the promotion and development of the national languages, but for specific ideological reasons. For example, the recommendations found in the Odendaal Commission Report of 1958 stated that the medium of instruction was in the mother tongue up to standard II in the Southern region with a transition to Afrikaans or English after that. In the Northern region, where more than 50 per cent of the population lived (and still live), the language of instruction was mother tongue up to standard III and then Afrikaans or English (Odendaal, 1963). In addition, the recommendations made in the report supported separate development along ethnic lines.

Therefore, under the auspices of separate development, the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction was supported. As a result, the South African administration supported the idea of mother tongue instruction with the underlying ideology of white supremacy and the use of the indigenous languages in education carried with them a negative connotation. Ultimately the Commission recommended the use of the mother tongue in education with the unquestioning hegemony of the whites over the lives of the blacks and a clear idea of separate development hidden in the argument of cognitive development (Holmarsdottir, 2001).

The practical value of the official languages referred to the need for the black population to be able to communicate with white employers. As far as opportunity for further study for the indigenous population went, there were few schools
available for them and these schools were mainly for teacher-training only (Mbamba, 1982).

In general, the educational objectives were seen as an aggressive and racial policy for separate educational and linguistic development in Namibia similar to the development in South Africa:

It is a policy which suppresses all feeling for national unity. Instead, it "teaches" and encourages the creation of tribal identities. This educational policy advocates training people of different races for different jobs or positions... The educational development and the provision of educational facilities in Namibia are a reflection of South Africa's apartheid ideology, her racial policy, and her laws (Mbamba, 1982: 76).

The question is: whether the new policy would then challenge this kind of thinking by acknowledging the use of the national/local languages?

Toward a language policy for Namibia – UNIN 1981

The principal aspects of the Namibian language policy for an independent Namibia were already formulated and adopted before Independence in the years of the liberation struggle. These aspects can be found in the key document: Toward a language policy for Namibia. English as the official language: Perspectives and Strategies (UNIN 1981: 123). This document contains an extremely thorough survey of the language and educational scene in Namibia, a distillation of relevant experience in adjacent countries, a description of the options open to Namibia and strategies for achieving language planning goals. The text is based on the work of three named scholars attached to the United Nations Institute for Namibia, one an American, one a British Council employee and the third an Indian. The document was written after an international conference, with strong British and American representation, which was held to consider the implications of the choice of English as an official language for Namibia. “he Ford Foundation financed the publication. “The South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) decided that English should be an official language in independent Namibia – although this became the official language in the title of the report” (Phillipson, 1992: 288).

In order to judge the suitability of a language as the main official language certain criteria were employed. The choice of these criteria was a highly political choice. The criteria chosen were: 1) unity, 2) acceptability, 3) familiarity, 4) feasibility, 5) science and technology, 6) pan-Africanism, 7) wider communication, 8) United Nations (Phillipson, 1992). Criteria which are of extreme relevance but were not chosen are: 1) ease of learning, 2) Namibian cultural authenticity, 3) empowering the under-privileged (which could include democratization and self-reliance) (Phillipson, 1992). Another criticism of the criteria is that they overlap each other. The British socio-linguist Robert Phillipson (1992: 293) concludes that “it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the criteria seem to have been selected so as to make English emerge as the absolute winner.” It is also difficult to overlook how the criteria reflect all three dimensions of the globalization framework with
the criteria that were chosen reflecting first and foremost the economic dimension as these are directly tied to powerful agencies and thus the promotion of certain languages (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994; Brock-Utne, 2000). Additionally these criteria reflect the political dimension by way of pressure from global governance agencies such as the United Nations (Arnove, 2003). Finally, the cultural dimension reflects not only the interconnectedness that exists, but also the convergence of communication as English is seen as a consumer product, which should be then marketed (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Arnove, 2003).

The languages which were judged according to these criteria were: indigenous languages, Afrikaans, German, French and English. As can be seen from the list above, all of Namibia’s own languages were just lumped together in one category, with none being given separate treatment. The three European languages and the one European-based language (Afrikaans) each were given separate treatment! English was said to be the language that best would promote Pan-Africanism. It is tempting to ask; between whom? Among the minute elite in so-called Anglophone African countries? Most of the people in these countries never use English.

According to the report choosing an official language had two related purposes: 1) the need to combat South African-engineered divisiveness, and 2) the unity of Namibians. These factors are local rather than global. Even so, global factors receive more prominence than local, when the criteria are operationalised. For most Namibians international contacts will not be a pressing concern. The option of trying to merge some of the different orthographies of languages which actually are just dialects is not discussed. This might have been a better way to combat South African-engineered divisiveness. It further seems unlikely that a language spoken by less than one per cent of the Namibian population will create unity in the nation. Though many saw English as “the language of liberation”, it was still a language built on European and western culture, which served to overshadow the local alternatives.

Furthermore, there were never any other alternatives considered, “such as whether the de facto multilingualism of Namibians might be recognized in language policy, or whether local languages might be given a prominent role in education” (Harlech-Jones, 1998: 2). It does, however, recognize the rights of the indigenous languages – the “Namibian languages” spoken by an overwhelming majority of the African population, but does not discuss how these languages can now be used to unite the people instead of dividing them.

After Independence the language policy pursued by the SWAPO Government reflects the decision to have English as the official language as stipulated by the Constitution of Namibia in Article 3 (Republic of Namibia, 1990). Accordingly English was to be the sole medium of communication in all executive, legislative and judiciary bodies from the Central Government level down to the grassroots. This decision was made, even though the 1991 census figures on main languages spoken in Namibia, showed that only 0.8 per cent of the total population spoke English as a mother tongue (Holmarsdottir, 2001).

The basic document which deals with languages in education are the proceedings and reports of working groups of the Ongwediva Conference in 1992 (MEC, 1993a).
The Minister for Education and Culture at the time, Nahas Angula, himself sketched important features of language planning for schools.

In 1993 the Ministry of Education and Culture in Namibia issued the policy document: *Toward Education for All - A Development Brief for Education, Culture and Training*. This policy document aims at translating the Namibian philosophy on education into concrete government policies that could be implemented.

When it comes to language policy this document states:
- All national languages are equal regardless of the number of speakers or the level of development of a particular language.
- All language policies must consider the cost of implementation.
- All language policies must regard language as a medium of cultural transmission.
- For pedagogical reasons it is ideal for children to study through their own language during the early years of schooling.
- Proficiency in the official language at the end of the 7-year primary cycle should be sufficient to enable all children to be effective participants in society or to continue their education.
- Language policy should promote national unity (MEC, 1993a: 65).

In June 1993 the Ministry of Education and Culture issued their pamphlet entitled *The Language Policy for Schools - 1992 - 1996 and Beyond*. The above-mentioned principles are repeated with slightly different wording in this document and called “criteria and key factors for policy development” (MEC, 1993b: 3). This policy document also comes up with the following in relation to the goals:

The 7 year primary education cycle should enable learners to acquire reasonable competence in English… and be prepared for English medium instruction throughout the secondary cycle; education should promote the language and cultural identity of learners through the use of Home Language medium at least in Grades 1-3, and the teaching of Home Language throughout formal education, provided the necessary resources are available; ideally, schools should offer at least two languages as subjects; beyond the primary cycle (Grades 1-7), the medium of instruction for all schools shall be English… (MEC, 1993b: 3).

A likely interpretation of these goals seems to be that they stress the importance of the home language as the language of instruction at least in the three first grades and even open up for it being the language of instruction all through primary school. It is therefore strange to read the official interpretation of the goals presented in the same policy document (MEC, 1993b: 9) under the following heading *What the Policy Means* in which it is stated that “grades 1-3 will be taught either through the home language, a local language, or English”. As a result of this interpretation of the policy goals, it may be argued that this opens up for the use of English as the medium of instruction right from Grade 1. There are also those in the Ministry of Education who believe that the policy is actually promoting “English only” and not a language policy for multilingualism (Holmarsdottir, 2001). This belief is reflected in statements made by officials who have been interviewed by the author such as the following: “the policy is not supporting
multilingualism as was historically the case in Namibia. Traditionally, Namibians were multilingual, but the policy is working against this” (Holmarsdottir, 2001: 61). The language policy in Namibia appears to represent one way of conceptualising language networks in a country. This policy may be seen as one in which multilingualism is tolerated, but not necessarily promoted and “may also include [the] continuance of historically distributed functions of languages, however imperfect they are” (Annamalai, 2003: 121). Moreover, this new policy heavily reflects both the political and economic dimensions found in the globalization framework. The political given the heavy influence by the United nations, while the economic seen in terms of the ability of Namibia to not only to compete globally, but also for citizens to acquire jobs locally (often entailing a good knowledge of English). Nevertheless, Annamalai also warns us that:

When the policy of tolerance aims at any change in the nature of the existing multilingualism that promotes emergence of dominant languages, it keeps itself out of the private domain, and thus differs from the policy for the elimination of multilingualism. At the same time it does not take any measure to counter forces outside language policy that encourage language shift (Annamalai, 2003: 121).

Consequently, it is argued that by choosing English as the official language of Namibia the government may simultaneously be encouraging the elimination of multilingualism (either implicitly or explicitly), thus promoting language shift. While the case of Namibia serves as one way to deal with the relationship between languages in a multilingual context, South Africa may be seen as taking another route.

A HISTORICAL LOOK AT LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Historically the language issue in South African education has mainly centered on the position of English and Afrikaans. When the African languages were considered, it was not for reasons that benefited the majority black population, but rather for reasons designed to serve the needs of the whites. Decisions concerning language in education have been taken for the African language speakers and not by them (Hartshorne, 1992).

In the 1950s language planning in education was organized centrally and stood directly under government control. Language planning was top-down, and differentiation between the various racial groups was introduced to enhance their separate development, while simultaneously securing the hegemony of the whites. The Eiselen Report “paved the way for the abolition of missionary education” (Malherbe, 1977: 545) and replaced it with an apartheid education specifically known as Bantu Education. Under the Bantu Education Act (1953) the government assumed control of public education for blacks under which education for this racial group was expanded and simultaneously firmly controlled; blacks now had to submit to an inferior system of education, preparing them for inferior status in South African society.
Bantu Education imposed a uniform curriculum that stressed a separate “Bantu culture” with the intent to prepare students for little more than manual labour. Under the Bantu Education Act the foundations were also laid for the development of the mother tongue in addition to an increased emphasis on Afrikaans. The Bantu Education policy reinforced the use of the mother tongue in the junior primary school in addition to enforcing the teaching of both English and Afrikaans (the two official languages at the time) as subjects in the first year of schooling. Under this policy mother tongue education was compulsory for African language speakers in the early grades with a sudden transition in later grades to English and/or Afrikaans as the medium of instruction.

In analyzing the language-in-education policies that have been in effect up to the time of the 1994 elections, I argue that for the speakers of African languages a number of different approaches have been applicable with different programs being utilized.

- The pre-1910 period can best be described as a laissez-faire approach to the language issue vis-à-vis the speakers of African languages. During this period the state was mainly concerned with education in general and language, specifically, with reference to the English- and Dutch-speaking settlers.

- The period 1910-1948 was characterized by a struggle between the two white groups over the distribution of power, resulting in the hegemony of the two official languages of the period, namely English and Afrikaans. Concerning the speakers of African languages, it was found that since English had, for the most part, already been established in the mission schools (initially the only schools for African language speakers) then English would continue to dominate. Therefore, in this period a transitional approach, namely an early-exit model, was in effect, which is often seen as a subtractive form of bilingual education.

- During the apartheid period of 1948-1976 the policy in force was also a transitional approach for the speakers of African languages, but the model may also be defined first as a segregation model, given that this was the ideology behind apartheid. Simultaneously, it may also be described as a late-exit model, in which the “linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue…[were] initially instructed through the medium of their mother tongue for a few years and where their mother tongue…[was] taught as though it has no intrinsic value, only an instrumental value” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 593) before making the transition to another language, namely English although in theory it was to be both English and Afrikaans (of course this was an abrupt transition).

- The declining years of apartheid 1977-1994 are still defined by a transitional approach; however, the model now in use is that which was also utilized in the pre-apartheid years. Thus an early-exit model becomes the de facto approach and, although the events in Soweto were instrumental in influencing this change in the policy, it would not become official until 1979. Here the policy, passed in 1979, then reduces the number of years that the mother tongue is used as a medium of instruction from eight to four years with a choice thereafter of either English or Afrikaans, with most schools selecting English as the medium. Thus a subtractive language-learning situation results as opposed to an additive one.

231
“In the period of negotiations (1990-3) prior to the installation of a democratic government in South Africa, the language debate took on a new vigor and a new relevance” (Hartshorne, 1995: 314). It is believed that this period has had considerable influence on the outcome of both the Constitution and the LiEP.

Language policy in the new South Africa

Early in the 1990s the ANC began to review their position on language policy. The initial work on this began with a Language Workshop in Harare, held in March 1990. Hartshorne (1992: 209) argues that, “given the past history of South Africa...and the divisiveness of previous language policies as applied under apartheid, it is very clear that ANC language policy...will have to lean towards unity rather than to diversity”. He notes that in the Harare Language Workshop there were indications of this trend which I believe favored English as a means of achieving this goal, as one delegate noted:

In building a unified South Africa, a new government may have to select a national language. In a multi-lingual context such as South Africa, a linking or common language is essential...Choosing any particular African language, on the other hand, carries a high source of potential conflict, since it will elevate one cultural group above others (Benjamin 1990 cited in Hartshorne, 1992: 209).

The assumption here is that African languages present an ethnic conflict and there is an unstated acceptance of English as being a “neutral” language. This falls within the realm of the political dimension of globalization as there is a perceived need to reduce possible conflicts in the nation-building process and thus English is seen as a non-threatening option. Furthermore Hartshorne argues that in the NECC report on the Harare Workshop there appeared to be no discussion paper from an African language speaker. He then asks if this is again “a signal that decisions are going to be taken for the ordinary parent” (Hartshorne, 1992: 217fn23 emphasis added). However, there were alternative views expressed which focused on the neglect of African languages, maintaining that “indigenous languages should be developed and actively promoted for the purposes of medium of instruction” founded on the belief that “no person should be prevented from gaining access to economic, social and political life because of the language she/he spoke” (Desai, 1990: 27), but this contribution was only included in a report after the conclusion of the workshop.

In reviewing the ANC’s position on language issues before 1990 I examined a number of draft documents that show that within the ANC there was a strong bias towards English (ANC, 1992a, 1992b). It is interesting to note that English has always served as the ANC’s working language from its conception in 1912 to the present. Even in the ANC school in Tanzania (the ANC ran a school in Tanzania during the years that they were banned in South Africa), English was the medium of instruction from preschool through to the secondary level and even adult literacy classes were concerned with literacy in English (Hartshorne, 1992).
that needs to be considered is, whether this bias towards English is still present in the ANC’s thinking, given this strong and clear bias towards English in the earlier ANC documents? Although the specific mention of English was subsequently dropped from the LiEP, as a result of local forces, one may wonder how much earlier documents influence the actual ideology and practice of the ANC-led government and how much influence the global forces have on the actual language practice.

Through the interaction between the NP and the ANC it is possible to see the competing agendas in play. The ANC’s ideology was that English should serve as the lingua franca and that this was in part influenced by their own internal language policy and the beliefs of many of the senior members as a result of their experiences in English-speaking countries during their exile. In an interview I conducted with Neville Alexander, he draws attention to the role played by the Afrikaners, who supported a different position than the ANC, concerning the language issue with reference to the Constitution.

We have a Constitution that today in its essence promotes multilingualism and equality of language rights and so on...mainly because of the position which the Afrikaner political leadership took up during the negotiation settlement...In getting multilingualism into the Constitution and the equality of languages into the Constitution had to do with the fact that Afrikaners wanted Afrikaans to maintain its equality with English. And the black middle-class leadership could not accede to Afrikaans if it did not also accede to the African languages, that is the fundamental point. But that does not mean that they were convinced that it was possible (Holmardottir, 2005: 246).

The implicit message here is that the identity of the Afrikaner people embodied in their language ultimately became a powerful symbol of a minority group willing to demand their language rights while simultaneously demanding the language rights for all language groups as a way of combating the hegemony of English. The Afrikaner claim for self-determination is in fact a demand for the recognition of the Afrikaner group as one minority group amongst many others. Norval argues that the “disempowerment of the Afrikaner led them from a position of being a Government in control of what they considered to be their own land, to a position of a minority subjected to a majority which is clearly willing to enforce its majority position, without any reference to a legitimate form of group rights that would ease the apprehension of the minority group” (Norval, 1998: 98). In essence the Afrikaans lobby “shifted from the segregationist position to a language as a right, in order to protect its inevitable minority situation in the future and a tentative commitment to language as a resource” (Alexender & Heugh, 1999: 12). The result was that the NP promoted equal status for all9 of South Africa’s languages, seeing language as a right and multilingualism as a resource in their effort to maintain the status of Afrikaans (Ruiz, 1988). The language network was thus to promote Afrikaans and the African languages as a way to fight against the influence of English as described in the globalization framework. A final version of the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) was then developed as a result of the draft
document along with discussions and consultations among the informed individuals and NGOs.

Furthermore, it is noted that nowhere in the document (the LiEP) is it stipulated that a transition from the mother tongue to English as the language of learning and teaching must take place at all. It is, however, assumed by many (teachers, principals, parents and students) that this transition must take place (Kimpel, 2007). Previously this switch occurred in fifth grade and now it occurs even earlier in the fourth grade. The result is that the status quo is maintained and the de facto 1979 language policy remains intact. In 1979 the switch from mother tongue to English became law “empowering the use of English from Std 3” (Grade 5) (Hartshorne, 1992: 204). However, the 1979 law is no longer subject to the pre-1994 laws, but it remains the current practice.

CONCLUSION

The denial of a multilingual policy may not be hidden in the policy itself but may be reflected in other sectors of society or other policies (such as economic policy, education policy, etc). For example, the legal sector or the economic policy may indirectly and discretely promote one language, while education policy promotes many languages. When there is such a contradiction, people may choose their own policy (Kimpel, 2007). Likewise, when there is a lack of coordination between different areas in the implementation of the language policy, people may also choose their own policy or actions and often such actions can lead to a kind of policy, whether official or unofficial. When the implementation of a multilingual policy moves slowly, for example, in matters of law or within the economic sector, that is, within areas of power, people make their own assumptions about the language policy in education. It is argued that language policy in education does not operate in a vacuum away from other areas where the language policy is implemented. Thus language policy in general does not work when framed in isolation of other areas which touch the lives of people. A policy for multilingualism is inadequate if it stops simply with a symbolic claim for the rights of many languages as its goal and does not address itself to the actual implementation of said policy. Certainly this is the situation found in both cases reported in this paper. The fact that the indigenous African languages have been recognized in the Language-in-Education policies in both countries, although South Africa has gone further than Namibia by including African language as official language, the policies have merely remained a symbolic gesture, because when it comes to the implementation both governments have simply allowed people to make their own assumptions about the language policy in education (see Holmarsdottir, 2001, 2005 for the actual implementation of these policies as space constraints do not permit a detailed discussion here). What is important to point out is the way the globalization framework can be used to compare both cases. While Namibia has been heavily influenced by both the economic and the political dimensions, South Africa has been less affected by these. Basically the language policy for independent Namibia was written by outsiders beforehand. South Africa, on the other hand, received support for their policy development through the
support of outside actors working against the pressures of globalization while at the same time there was a certain amount of internal activism taking place to support the various languages (something that was not so present in Namibia). Thus, despite the links between the two countries in terms of the apartheid history each chose a different path.

Nevertheless, a government is not the only actor in shaping the language behaviour of the people through its policy. Another forceful actor in this arena is the market. The market does not make a language policy as the government does, but it does reward certain language choice over others. For example, certain languages in both countries are seen as important allocators of jobs. The power of the market (reflecting the economic dimension) makes this choice a de facto language policy in violation to the government’s proposed de jure policy. This de facto policy works to reduce the linguistic diversity following the market principle of efficiency. This market force that works to shape language behaviour is also a major challenge to a multilingual policy and its implementation. The market principle is also affected by global forces as mentioned earlier.

One way of meeting the challenge of multilingualism and turning around the monolingual preference is to emphasize the necessity for the language(s) of solidarity, loyalty, and camaraderie against the inevitability of the language(s) of power. Moreover, recognizing the importance of the indigenous languages in allowing large numbers of African people access to knowledge is another way of challenging and turning around the monolingual preference. Yet, governments need to go beyond mere symbolic gestures and instead need to demonstrate a political will to implement the multilingual policies. In so doing the economic forces working against multilingualism will be counteracted by the cultural forces which strive to enforce this reality. The paradox of linguistic inequality in multilingualism can only be solved by a fundamental change in the way economics, politics and education operates. Thus the indigenous languages must be accepted into these power domains. In doing this we accept an alternative model of development in which development is not constructed on the elimination of diversity, biological, cultural and linguistic, but rather on recognition of this diversity. In view of the suspicions and uncertainties surrounding globalization and its linkages to another form of imperialism, multilingualism would appear to be the appropriate way to go in Africa. Multilingualism would go a long way in enabling the facilitation of a greater African contribution to global knowledge production, while at the same exploring the potential to develop African languages and equip them to disseminate knowledge to large numbers of African people.

NOTES

1 This chapter is developed from an earlier paper presented at the 50th Anniversary Celebration Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) hosted by the University of Hawaii. It was during this conference that the idea for this book began. I would like to thank Allan Pitman, the series editor, for his encouragement with regard to this publication and for his belief in the important contribution of the Nordic Comparative and International Education Society (NOCIES) to the field of Comparative and International Education.
Of course it is recognized that those who have immigrated to Iceland do not necessarily have Icelandic as their mother tongue and thus the reference here is the ethnic Icelandic population.

It is important to note that although I use the term country here I will also use terms such as nation and nation-state. Moreover, I examine the idea of nation building and link this to the language issue. Although I acknowledge that others (for example those working on issues such as democracy) might object to my usage of the terms nation or nation-state, preferring the term country instead, these terms are generally accepted and often used within language policy research. Thus the issue of language policy has been closely linked to the idea of the nation-state and nation building. Furthermore, I argue that a nation-state is a political unit consisting of an autonomous state inhabited predominantly by people sharing a common culture, history and language. I further acknowledge that the borders of the nation states in Africa have been artificially drawn by the former colonial powers, and in doing so they did not take into account culture, history or language.

Hebrew is an example of a “lost” language that has been revived (for more examples of language revitalization see Hinton & Hale, 2001).

Here it may be then argued that the ethnic version as described by Wright (2001) is not in use.

Even the languages of the Nordic countries are under threat due to the hegemony of English (for further information see Brock-Utne, 2001 & Holmarsdottir, 2001).

In the old educational system Standard I was equal to Grade three. Thus, Standard I plus two equals Grade three in the new system.

It is not clear from Hartshorne’s referencing whether this statement, made by Jean Benjamin, is taken directly from the conference itself (if he was present and wrote it down) or if it is found in one of the conference reports. In the list of references in his book there is no listing of this reference directly. Thus I refer to Hartshorne in citing this information.

The term “all” used here does not suggest that all languages found in South Africa were to be included as ultimately the Constitution gave official status to only eleven languages.

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A TALE OF TWO COUNTRIES


237
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14. MAKING AND IMPLEMENTING EDUCATION POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF EXTERNAL SUPPORT TO SECTOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The Case of Mozambique, with Comparisons

INTRODUCTION

The context of this article is the gradual shift from the project mode of development cooperation towards supporting sector development programs that has taken place particularly in the education and health sectors (e.g. Gould, Takala & Nokkala, 1998). Traditionally, development cooperation has been nearly synonymous with donor-funded projects. Over time, the project approach has come under growing criticism for being parallel with the operation of developing country governments and eroding the capacity of the latter. Moreover, the poor sustainability of projects’ results has been a recurrent finding of evaluations. Admitting the weaknesses of the project mode, donors have collectively adopted the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp) to development cooperation from the mid-1990s onwards. An often-quoted definition characterizes SWAp as follows: “…all significant funding for the sector supports a single sector policy and expenditure program, under Government leadership, adopting common approaches across the sector, and progressing towards relying on Government procedures to disburse and account for all funds” (Foster, 2000: 9).

There is an accumulating body of analyses of the sector program mode in general, and of support to Education Sector Development Programs (ESDPs) more specifically (for overviews, see Appadu & Frederic, 2003 and UNESCO, 2006). However, the existing analyses typically focus on short-to-medium term practical concerns (what works? what should be improved?) and hereby do not give much attention to the wider socio-political context in which ESDPs are negotiated, planned and implemented. In recent years, the new focus of several analyses on the links between the ESDPs and the national Poverty Reduction Strategic Plans (PRSPs) has to some extent led to an increased awareness of this wider context (e.g. Caillods & Hallak, 2004). Furthermore, as most of the studies on ESDPs have been carried out as commissioned consultancy work, they are rarely based on systematic data collection. A related typical feature of such studies is the absence of the voices of stakeholders, particularly those from the South.

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Earlier work by the author of this article has focused on the context and the preparation processes, and, to a lesser degree, on the implementation, of EDSPs in four countries: Mozambique, Nepal, Ethiopia and Tanzania. These studies have been based on various combinations of document analysis, interviews with key informants and stakeholders, and the author’s personal experience as a consultant to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, UNESCO and the Ministry of Education of Mozambique (publications include Takala, 1998; Gould, Takala & Nokkala, 1998; Martin, Oksanen & Takala, 2000; Stenbäck et al. 2002; Takala & Marope, 2003; Takala & Doftori, 2007).

This article gives particular attention to an in-depth analysis of the case of Mozambique. Thereafter, the perspective is widened to comparisons with three other cases: Ethiopia, Tanzania and Nepal.

MAKING OF EDUCATION SECTOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AS A POLICY PROCESS

As an evolving new mode of development cooperation, support to sector development programs is intended to bring about national ownership of these programs. Paradoxically, however, aid-dependence has been a contributing factor in those developing countries that have devised and adopted sector programs. Lavergne (2004) refers to different degrees of aid-dependence as an explanation of the fact that SWAp is much more commonly adopted in Africa and the aid-dependent Asian countries, such as Vietnam and Bangladesh, than in most of Latin America or in large Asian countries such as China and India. Consenting to sector program support has enabled countries to gain access to debt relief, increased grant funding and preferential credit arrangements from donor agencies. By contrast, less aid-dependent countries have more autonomy to assert their own policy choices in the design of national sector programs and, hence, may be more inclined to favour the project approach of external assistance as a complement to their own programs.

A critical position underlines the observation that SWAp is a donor-initiated formula, which may strengthen the position of the donor agencies collectively in the making of educational policy in aid-dependent countries (King, 2004). From this perspective, it is paradoxical that the increased emphasis placed in the development cooperation discourse on ownership of Southern governments is accompanied by a consensual and collective donor agenda that shapes the educational policies of developing countries (Takala, 1998; Samoff, 1999; Al-Samarrai, Bennell & Colclough, 2002: 60). Because of the united front that donor agencies can represent under conditions of sector program support, external funding has gained more leverage and aid-dependent countries have less freedom to experiment beyond the policy framework that has been agreed upon with donors (Tomlinson & Foster, 2004).

The globally defined EFA by 2015-target is the strongest example of external influence on national policy-making, obligating countries to build their education policies and sector plans around this target and its implications. The focus of the first generation of ESDPs on basic education (and within this sub-sector, predominantly on primary schooling) has facilitated the building of a policy
MAKING AND IMPLEMENTING EDUCATION POLICY

Consensus between the donor agencies and developing country governments: enrollment in primary education is to be increased at a maximum possible pace, special attention is to be given to gender equality and to other dimensions of socio-cultural disadvantage, and the quality of education is to be improved. At the same time, contentious issues of post-basic education (cost-recovery, public vs. private provision) have been left to be discussed outside the sector program context.

Notwithstanding the premium placed on national ownership of ESDPs, the negotiation and design of these programs is strongly conditioned by technical-economic rationality. This is evident, e.g. in the preparation of Medium Term Expenditure Frameworks, which define the volume of public expenditure for each sector and relate to conditions attached to financial support from donor agencies. For countries participating in the Education for All Fast-Track Initiative, technical-economic rationality has become tangible in the “indicative framework”, which defines target parameters for resource allocation and cost-efficiency in the education sector. In the development cooperation relationship, external funding agencies, in particular the World Bank, are the prime proponents of technical-economic rationality, and they have ample resources for conducting policy-related studies, whereas local technocratic elites of developing countries can often be seen to act in alliance with the external agencies (Gould & Ojanen, 2003). By contrast, both the local and expatriate education professionals, who participate in the preparation of ESDPs, are not necessarily very competent as regards to relating their planning work to the macro-level parameters, and they may even be unaware of the latter.

The technocratic approach, which has been predominant in the design of sector programs, is problematic in that it sidelines the institutions and processes of political democracy—which again contradicts the emphasis otherwise given in development cooperation to the promotion of representative democracy as a fundamental precondition of development (Seppälä, 2000: 188; Packalen, 2007: 32–35). On the other hand, the required national ownership of and long-term commitment to the ESDPs are vulnerable in relation to the inherent unpredictability of national politics, which is due to inter-party competition in electoral campaigns, changes of Ministers or entire Cabinets, and to the legislative and budgetary powers of Parliaments.

The mainstream thinking about sector programs is also very unclear on the possible and preferable roles of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the sector program context (Takala & Doflori, 2007). “Consultation with representatives of civil society” is a requirement voiced by both external funding agencies and international and local NGOs in the preparation of ESDPs, in the name of increasing local ownership of these programs and ensuring that the interests of the disadvantaged population groups are attended to. From this perspective, it is important to note the possibility of conflict between some interpretations of the above-mentioned consultation requirement and the role of the established or incipient institutions of representative democracy.
A document published by the Ministry of Education of Mozambique (MINED 1998) describes the process of preparing the Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) as an effort led by MINED itself. According to this account, the government first prepared and approved a national education policy (MINED, 1995), through a process of consultation with education professionals and civil society and in dialogue with the donor agencies. The Sector-Wide Approach to development cooperation, which in itself is, of course, not presented as a home-grown innovation, is referred to as a principle that corresponds to what the Ministry of Education perceives as the ideal form of implementing its policy with assistance from the external funding agencies (MINED, 1998: 13–15). In the same vein, one of the significant findings of the study conducted by Takala and Marope (2003) was that the introduction of the SWAp in the education sector was uniformly and strongly regarded by the high-level Mozambican interviewees to be a process initiated and controlled by MINED. From their point of view, the impetus to change from the project mode to sector program support was primarily a result of the inherent limitations of the project mode (setting of priorities by the donor agencies, fragmentation of assistance and bypassing Government structures). By contrast, SWAp held the promise of improved allocation of external resources and greater reliance on national systems of management.

In contrast to the perception of the Mozambican interviewees, the agency representatives that were interviewed typically saw the change originated from outside Mozambique and, more specifically, from the World Bank. In this perspective, the interpretation of the introduction of SWAp in the education sector in Mozambique focuses on the country’s extremely high degree of dependence on aid, brought about by the civil war and the parallel decline of the socialist experiment of the FRELIMO Government. According to this view, the Government had little choice but to accept the World Bank paradigm of development, introduced through the Economic Structural Adjustment Program since 1987, which also had ramifications for education policy. The new way of thinking gradually overrode the previous differences among the external funding agencies as partners to the Government of Mozambique (GoM).

The notion of GoM ownership in adopting the SWAp in the education sector is obviously in contradiction with the above interpretation, which emphasizes the element of imposition from the outside. The contradiction is perhaps somewhat mitigated, if imposition is not taken to mean “by force,” but is regarded as having less naked (aggressive?) forms. Nevertheless, the conclusion remains that there are clearly divergent perspectives on the introduction of the SWAp into the education sector in Mozambique.

The ultimate goal of the ESSP “is to support the Government’s national development strategy by building an educational system that provides Mozambican citizens with the knowledge and skills they need to obtain sustainable livelihoods, accelerate the growth of the economy, and strengthen the institutions of a democratic
society” (MINED, 1998: 8). The three main objectives of the ESSP were: 1) to expand access to and equity in education; 2) to improve the quality and relevance of education; and 3) to strengthen institutional capacity in the education sector. In terms of coverage of the sector, the focus of the plan was on primary schooling, but activities in non-formal education for adults, secondary school construction and development of a strategy for vocational education were also included in the ESSP document.

In 1998, the ESSP was appraised jointly by the Government and the principal donor agencies involved in the education sector in Mozambique, and subsequently moved to implementation. The ESSP initially covered the period 1998–2003, but, due to the longer than expected duration of preparing the successive version of the program, the lifetime of ESSP was eventually extended until 2005.

Role of the Education for All Fast-Track Initiative

The emergence of the EFA Fast-Track Initiative (FTI) as a source of additional external funding to ESDPs initially created a confusing situation in the potential beneficiary countries, where the requirements of the FTI for analysis, planning and negotiation were superimposed on the already ongoing sector program processes—in Mozambique the ESSP. Preparation of the country-level FTI proposals entailed use of a financial simulation model, developed by the World Bank and then tailored to country-specific conditions. This model linked the issues of sector financing to the macroeconomic framework and fiscal projections, and enabled analysis of the financial consequences of different policy options in the primary education sub-sector. In Mozambique, the simulation exercise was beneficial for the further development of the sector program itself. It also came to strengthen the position of MINED/MEC in later negotiations with both the Ministry of Finance and the donor agencies on additional funding.

Mozambique submitted its first FTI proposal in November 2002. The group of in-country donors signaled their general endorsement of the document, but also provided feedback for its further development. Subsequent to positive assessment of a revised plan, the international FTI donors’ meeting of March 2003 endorsed the Mozambican plan as qualifying for additional funding, but also communicated the message that additional work would need to be done on both policy and implementation issues. The FTI process provided opportunities for the donor agencies to call attention to issues that they perceived as not having received sufficient attention within the ESSP. Importantly, the agencies were able to put pressure on the process by signaling that their additional funding commitments would be conditional on political approval by GoM of new policy choices.

The assessments of Mozambique’s FTI proposals made by the in-country donors and the FTI Secretariat specifically pointed to the high level of projected classroom construction costs and teachers’ salary costs as risks to the sustainability of the policies on which the proposal was based (In-country cooperating partners, 2003; FTI Secretariat, 2003). The levels of both of these costs were considerably above the benchmarks, established in the FTI “indicative framework.” With respect to the
construction costs issue, an additional underlying motive on the donor side was to reduce the risk of large-scale corruption linked to big construction contracts. In the FTI proposal GoM responded to the concern over construction costs by stating the intention of developing models for greater reliance on community involvement (MINED, 2003: 21, 24).

The Strategic Plan for Education and Culture (2006–11)

The policy dialogue with FTI prepared ground for the design of the sector program document to succeed ESSP I, through a process of numerous successive drafts and over a period of eventually more than three years. This process became a test of the degree of consensus between the perspectives and agendas of MINED, on the one hand, and the donor agencies, on the other. Some consultation with civil society also took place in this process, and the resulting document has been endorsed by the national coalition of educational NGOs Movement on Education for All.

The new sector plan is entitled Strategic Plan for Education and Culture (SPEC) and covers the period 2006–2011 (MEC, 2006a). While retaining the three main objectives of ESSP I, the scope of the program was both broadened and deepened through incorporating the sub-sector strategies that had been prepared for adult literacy and non-formal education, secondary education, vocational education, teacher education and higher education. As compared with the ESSP, the structure of the SPEC document has become more a reflection of the internal administrative division of MEC, so that for each component of the plan it is clear which department or unit within MINED is responsible for implementation.

The above-mentioned principle of low-cost school construction through community involvement reappears in the SPEC document (MEC, 2006a: 17–20). The option of significantly revising the existing teacher recruitment and remuneration policies, in order to contain the cost increase resulting from expansion of the system, is politically quite contentious, as MEC is rather faced with pressure to improve teachers’ remuneration. Moreover, decision-making on the salary scales of teachers is possible only through a process of consultation with the Ministry of Planning and Finance, the Ministry of State Administration and the Teachers’ Union.

The question of teachers’ salaries was debated intensely as part of the preparation of the strategy for this sub-sector, both between MEC and the donor community and within MEC. The final outcome was the decision to shorten the duration of the main model of training primary school teachers from two years to one, to be strengthened by an expanded system of in-service training (MEC, 2006a: 34). As the level of salary is related to years of education and training, this decision has significant consequences for the salary level of future teachers. It allows an increase in the output of teacher training institutions and in the recruitment of teachers within a stabilized total wage bill for teachers. At the same time, it is noteworthy that some cost containment has already happened by default, through increased recruitment of untrained teachers into primary schools—with presumably detrimental effects on the quality of teaching. Introduction of the new model of training should reduce the number of untrained teachers in the future, but there is
also the risk that the primary education sub-sector will lose much of its trained teachers to the rapidly expanding secondary schools.

From plan to implementation, monitoring and review

In conditions where the education sector program and the Government budget in themselves do not guarantee that all parts of the program will receive the requisite funding, the allocation and channeling of funds become an important additional level of policy-making. Moreover, the monitoring of implementation feeds back into a discussion on prioritization within the program and as a result some components may over time receive greater emphasis, others may be subdued, and new priorities may also be inserted.

Beginning in 1999, the ESSP Annual Review Meeting (ARM) became the main forum for continual dialogue on policy issues. At the early ARMs it was not uncommon for donor representatives/consultants to voice opinions on prioritization within the ESSP and on measures needed “to get things moving.” The recommendations emanating from the ARMs have to some extent served as checklists for subsequent monitoring and further planning. As a result of the matured dialogue between MEC and donor agencies, as well as of decentralization of decision-making within the agencies, the participation in the ARMs from donor headquarters has been reduced in recent years and expectations concerning the role of the ARM have become more realistic. The in-country donor representatives continue to have a window on policy discussions also as members of the thematic Working Groups that have been established to facilitate the implementation of ESSP.

According to the evaluation of ESSP implementation (Mario & Takala, 2003) MINED had been successful in communicating the essential content of the national ESSP to provincial levels. This had allowed people at different levels of the system to use the same language to describe their activities, thus facilitating their appropriation of the ESSP as a framework for more concrete planning. Networking among the educational NGOs is in Mozambique at a modest level, but an important development has been the formation of a national coalition, Movimento de Educacao para Todos (Movement for EFA), which is active in policy advocacy and is exploring ways to dialogue with MEC (e.g. in the area of special needs education). At the early Annual Review Meetings of the ESSP no NGOs were invited to participate. More recently, some NGOs have become part of the ARMs, but their role in this forum has remained marginal.

As the progress towards the ideal of sectoral budget support proved to be much slower in practice than had been initially envisaged both on the GoM and the donor side, the creation of a pool fund was proposed by a group of donor agencies as an interim arrangement. This fund was designated the Education Sector Support Fund (FASE). Important features of the FASE arrangement are that earmarking by funding agencies will not take place and MINED/MEC is to indicate the target areas of FASE on an annual basis. The stated purpose of pooling part of the external funding to the education sector is to “finance priority areas within the ESSP” in a flexible manner (Memorandum of Understanding, 2002). At the outset
of the new system, this meant in concrete terms such components of the sector program, which had not been attended to sufficiently by the GoM budget or by externally funded projects.

The FASE system of financial management was devised to rely on the existing GoM procedures, strengthened with the use of separate FASE bank accounts at central and provincial levels and independent auditing. After a protracted period of preparatory work and related training for MINED financial management staff, FASE became operational during 2003, with initially five bilateral agencies channeling part of their support to the education sector via this system. In its first year, FASE represented only 5 per cent of the total external funding to the education sector, and in the early stage of FASE operation, problems were encountered in both disbursement and reporting. This gave reason for skeptical commentary on the prospects of sector program support in the Mozambican context.

From 2006 onwards, the FASE funds have been included in the GoM budget. In recent years, the number of agencies willing to channel most or at least a small portion of their funding through FASE has increased to ten, out of a total number of 22 multi- and bilateral agencies that support the education sector. Some of the contributors to FASE are known as pioneers as regards following the SWAp principles in practice, and others have gradually been encouraged by the example of the former group. Concurrently, the share of funding channelled through FASE of total external funding to the sector (excluding General Budget Support) has grown significantly and reached 40 per cent in 2007, and the share of project-type funding has declined correspondingly (EFA Fast-Track Initiative, 2007b; Ernst & Young, 2007).

In the stages of the design and introduction of FASE, the agencies contributing to the pool fund constituted a group of their own, which created some feeling of an inner circle in their mutual relations and in contacts with MINED. However, with only few exceptions (China, Kuwait, and the Islamic Development Bank), the multi- and bilateral agencies that operate in the education sector in Mozambique are now in some measure involved in the process of monitoring the sector program, under the leadership of a rotating coordinator. The inclusive approach to donor coordination on the part of the key FASE donors, together with the capacity that MINED/MEC has demonstrated in managing its relationships with the donor agencies as a group, has produced a situation where the previous division into FASE/non-FASE donors has lost its significance among the great majority of agencies that participate in education sector coordination.

The target areas designated for FASE support have to some extent varied from year to year, but overall have included construction and furnishing primary schools, promotion of girls’ education, inclusive education, adult literacy classes, provision of learning materials, in-service training of teachers and school directors, supervision of schools, and HIV/AIDS-related activities. Such sub-components of the sector program can be supported in a more rational manner through FASE than through discrete projects with their parallel management structures, thereby also mitigating the risk of unbalanced support to the different provinces.
After several years of experimentation and negotiation, a new system of financial management has been adopted across the entire public sector administration from 2006 onwards, and a new GoM system of procurement was recently introduced. These reforms have already proven their effectiveness over the previous situation in improving the flow of funds, but this is not to say that constraints have been overcome. In particular, the concerns related to school construction capacity have proven to be persistent ones. Achievements in this area have remained notably modest, which is both an effect and a cause of disbursement bottlenecks (MEC, 2006b: 6; MEC, 2007: 6, 11).

During recent years, piloting of community-based models of school construction has been carried out and this type of construction is on the increase, with a gradual impact on average construction costs. This is an example of donor influence on policy, where problems encountered in implementation are much more complex than becomes apparent in manipulating numbers within a simulation model and their complexity is not easily grasped by education sector professionals. The low-cost, community-based model of construction has not eliminated the allure of corruption, local contractors are not necessarily willing to work with communities, and the standard of materials to be used often becomes a source of disagreement between the view of communities and local authorities, on the one hand, and centrally defined criteria for what is accepted for funding, on the other.

The sensitive issues of the impact of HIV/AIDS on the education sector and of the potential role of schools in HIV/AIDS—prevention were initially more a concern voiced by the donor representatives than one expressed by MINED. However, the report of a joint mission on these issues brought them onto the agenda of the ESSP Annual Review Meetings for the first time in 2001. Subsequently a Working Group on HIV/AIDS was established as part of the ESSP ad hoc organs and a strategy was prepared for MINED on work in this area, aligned with the comprehensive national anti-AIDS strategy. HIV/AIDS issues have also been incorporated in Mozambique’s FTI proposal and in the SPEC document (MINED, 2003: 22–23; MEC, 2006a: 48, 103–5). In the area of HIV/AIDS-prevention, manuals have been produced and training has been organized to prepare teachers to deal with these issues, but it is notable that the significant sums of funds that have been made available for these activities have remained unspent. The linkages of HIV/AIDS with gender issues have also surfaced in public discussions and measures to address the problem of sexual abuse in schools are explicit in the SPEC document (MEC, 2006a: 21, 48, 104). International NGOs have recently had an important role in both investigating this problem and initiating concrete actions to counteract it (Matavele et al., 2005).

Conclusion

The evaluation of ESSP implementation (Mario & Takala, 2003) concluded that the sector program had contributed to building assertiveness in MINED’s thinking and position-taking in policy issues. At the same time, there were perceptions by many commentators that the ESSP was to some extent sidelined from the
mainstream political process (GoM Economic and Social Plan, Poverty Reduction Action Plan) and hence appeared to many Mozambican stakeholders more as a large project than as an integral part of GoM plans. Throughout the 1990s, there was an exceptional degree of continuity in political leadership and among senior level civil servants in MINED, which contributed to ownership of the ESSP in its early stage (Takala & Marope, 2003). Subsequently, there have been more frequent changes of personnel, which at times have appeared to weaken MINED/MEC’s ownership of the program or parts of it, but only temporarily.

Overall, the role played by the donor agencies has not primarily been in exerting direct influence on the policies defined by MINED/MEC, although there are examples of such influence, particularly through the FTI process, and many more examples of efforts to the same. Rather, the expectations and demands from the donors have obliged MINED/MEC to clarify and defend its positions, taking into account domestic political and cultural realities. In the early stage of the ESSP, Mozambican ownership was manifest mainly at the level of senior managers who are the main interlocutors with the donor agencies. Over time, this core group has succeeded in transmitting the ownership also more broadly within MINED/MEC and to the lower levels of the education sector administration, as well as in building a positive rapport with stakeholder groups in civil society. Another discernible long-term trend is that the MINED/MEC has become more conscious of its own capacity and more demanding in terms of the quality of expertise required from the donor agencies’ side.

COMPARISONS

This section takes a comparative look at three countries other than Mozambique: Ethiopia, Nepal and Tanzania. In each one of them, the sector-wide approach to development cooperation has been pursued in the education sector since the mid-1990s. The comparisons draw both on studies in which the author has been involved and on analyses conducted by others.

Ownership vs. donor influence

A study of the preparation process (1994–98) of the Education Sector Development Program in Ethiopia found through a questionnaire survey and interviews that in the opinion of both the Ethiopian participants in this process and the donor representatives involved, the adoption of the SWAp was genuinely initiated and led by the Ethiopian Ministry of Education (Martin, Oksanen & Takala, 2000). This corresponds to the view of Mozambican informants on the origin of SWAp in the education sector in their country, but in Ethiopia this interpretation of events was not contested by an alternative view, as was the case in Mozambique. Policy dialogue with the Ministry of Education in the preparation of the ESDP was mainly carried out by the World Bank (the lead donor in the education sector), to such an extent that there were feelings of exclusion among the other donor agencies. A comprehensive set of studies were conducted, primarily by local experts, to inform
the design of the ESDP. The most obvious example of subsequent influence on policy is in the area of textbook provision, where the respective study prepared ground for discussions and agreement between MoE and the donors on privatized production of textbooks.

In Tanzania, the SWAp came onto the agenda after the formulation of the Government of Tanzania (GoT) Education and Training Policy document, adopted in 1995. In spite of an emphasis on GoT ownership on the part of the Nordic countries, the early SWAp process became largely donor-led, with an overwhelming number of studies on policy issues carried out by expatriate consultants (Lind & McNab, 2000: 428–433). Through a complicated process, a consensus between the donors and GoT was achieved and materialized in the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) in 2000. The first part of the sector program to become operational was the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP), initially covering the period 2002–2006. Evidence gathered from analysis of policy documents in Tanzania (Packalen, 2007) shows that the degree of external influence on the formulation of the education policy has been considerable. According to an evaluation, both the Ministry of Education and Culture and the donor agencies have expressed their discomfort with their mutual relationships in the sector program context. The Ministry has seen the donors as being too demanding and interfering, whereas the latter have criticized the Ministry for not showing adequate attention or capacity to define the policies of the sector (Independent Monitoring Group, 2005).

The education sector program of Nepal commenced as the sub-sectoral Basic and Primary Education Program (BPEP). In its first phase (1992–98), BPEP was designed and implemented as a large conventional project. During this period the Sector-Wide Approach was introduced and became the framework for the second phase of BPEP (1999–2003). BPEP II was supported by a group of donors through a pooled funding arrangement, where the agencies’ financial contributions are merged into a single fund but not channeled via the Government of Nepal budget. The successor to BPEP is Nepal’s EFA 2004-9 programme, designed within the framework of the fifteen-year National Plan of Action for Education for All by 2015.

Nepal’s volatile political climate has entailed frequent changes in the leadership of the Ministry of Education: since the mid-1990s the turnover of Ministers of Education has in Nepal been much higher than in Mozambique, Ethiopia or Tanzania. Likewise, the configuration of ownership/donor influence in education policy in Nepal can be characterized as unstable over time. Within the overall policy consensus between Government and the donor agencies that is needed for the sector program process, there have been different views regarding the relative emphasis placed on the different components, e.g. building of additional classrooms and other physical facilities vs. improvement of the quality of education. In response to donor concerns, the size of the school construction component was radically scaled down from what was initially planned by the Government. As enrollment in primary schools has risen rapidly, the supply-side constraints to further expansion and the tradeoffs between expansion and the quality of education have become even more salient. Divergent views have also existed with regard to
the desired policy for pre- and in-service training, recruitment and deployment of teachers, where the donor side has repeatedly voiced a concern about efficiency and fiscal sustainability (Stenbäck et al., 2002: 85; EFA, 2007; EFA, 2008).

Among the four countries dealt with in this article, the FTI has had a role in at least Mozambique and Ethiopia. In addition, Tanzania belongs to the first group of countries that were invited to participate in the FTI, but according to the 2007 Annual Report of the FTI, the status of Tanzania is still: “expected to have an endorsed sector plan in 2009” (EFA FTI, 2007a: 9). The content of policy discussions related to the FTI process in Tanzania is not evident from the material available for the writing of this chapter. Nepal is a different case: a country which meets the formal conditions of eligibility for FTI funding (existence of a Poverty Reduction Strategic Plan and of an education sector program), but has chosen not to participate in the FTI process.

In Ethiopia, a separate proposal to the FTI was prepared in 2002, but this document was not taken through the assessment-endorsement process, so as not to override the ongoing Government-donor discussions on the national ESDP, which is not confined to basic education but is truly sector-wide (Rose, 2005). The criticism from Ethiopia towards the kind of role initially envisaged by the FTI for itself was also important in the decision that FTI-plans separate from the existing education sector programs would no longer be required (EFA FTI, 2005). Based on the assessment of the in-country donors, the Ethiopian ESDP was later declared as formally endorsed by the FTI. As in the initial preparation phase of the ESDP, studies on policy issues were conducted to inform the further development of the program. Issues raised by the donors included resource allocation between basic viz. post-basic education, a concern over the quality of education at all levels of the system, gender-related, regional and other inequality in the provision of basic education, and alternatives in financing vocational education and training (Donor summary comment, 2005). The donors involved in these discussions had already an established presence in the education sector in Ethiopia and it is difficult to see a separate influence on policy by the FTI. The issue of the salary level of teachers, which was highlighted by the FTI in Mozambique, and related efficiency issues in the deployment of teachers, have also come up in the monitoring of the Ethiopian ESDP (Education Sector Development Program, 2006: x–xi, 18, 25).

A comparative analysis of the role of NGOs in the sector program context in Nepal and Tanzania (Takala & Doftori, 2007) concluded that in both countries NGOs have pioneered educational innovation on a small scale and stimulated wider debate on issues of education for disadvantaged groups. In Tanzania, the research work of major NGOs on EFA matters has also been prominent and has influenced Government policy, notably in abolishing school fees and in special needs education. One of the major goals of donor agencies in supporting Southern NGOs is to contribute to the building of civil society and thus to giving voice to disadvantaged groups in policy dialogue with government. However, the question of how such support is perceived by the developing country governments is seldom given explicit consideration. Tanzania is an example of a situation where NGOs, that are active in advocacy and social mobilization and do not possess prior experience in educational service delivery, are regarded with suspicion by
government. In Nepal, selected NGOs with a sound track record in providing education to disadvantaged population groups have over time become increasingly involved in policy discussions on more positive terms than is the case in Tanzania. At the macro-level, it is also evident that the government-NGO relationship is conditioned by the attitude of the government towards democratization in society at large and by its level of dependency on donor agencies, which can play a matchmaking role between a reluctant government and willing NGOs.

**Implementation**

In the four countries dealt with in this chapter, as well as in other countries where ESDPs are implemented, the system of monitoring and continual policy discussion typically includes periodical review missions and annual review meetings, in which both Government and the sector program donors are represented. Within this common framework, differences between countries can be observed in the roles of the two parties. In addition, there are varying other forms of policy discussion, such as meetings of major education sector donors with key officials of the Ministry of Education, thematic working groups and special studies commissioned on policy issues.

In Tanzania, the discrepancy between policy as stated in the education sector program and as implemented is very clearly evident in the resource allocation within the PEDP. Although the budget of the program has been formulated to reflect the policy emphasis on quality improvement, rather than quantitative expansion, and on promoting equity, these priorities have had little effect on actual disbursements (Independent Monitoring Group, 2005). As a consequence, the de facto emphasis on quantity over quality has become a regular point of disagreement between GoT and the donor agencies (Wedgwood, 2005: 13).

The record of implementation of Nepal’s BPEP shows that a substantial share, around 1/3 of the total amount of pooled external funds made available for the program, actually remained unused, due to disbursement bottlenecks (Stenbäck et al., 2002: 88). Subsequently during Nepal’s EFA program, the rate of disbursement of the pooled funds has surpassed 90 per cent. Data on implementation by program component show that even recently the activities designed to improve the educational situation of ethnic minorities and other socially disadvantaged groups have been implemented less successfully than the other parts of the program (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2007: 9, 25–27). The review missions of BPEP/EFA program have been primarily an instrument for the donors to voice their concerns and positions.

In a comparative perspective, the Government-donor relationships in both Nepal and Tanzania are examples of persistent donor efforts at influencing the education sector program in a prescriptive manner (within the overall consensus that exists on the EFA agenda) and “watchdoging” its implementation, whereas the respective relationships in Mozambique and Ethiopia can be characterized as more matured dialogue. In the case of Ethiopia, it is particularly significant that this has been possible in the context of a sector-wide ESDP. In Mozambique, a remarkable degree
of policy consensus has been achieved, not only between Government and donors participating in the education sector pool fund, but gradually also including the agencies that continue to provide their support in the project mode. By contrast, in Ethiopia there have also been significant tensions between the SWAp-minded donors and those that seek to promote their own agendas and visibility (Yizengaw, 2006).

CONCLUSIONS

The possibilities of the donor agencies to replace national politics in the making of education policy should not be exaggerated. Even in a situation where the formulation of the official policy is constrained by dependence on external funding and influenced by the agenda of the donors, there is still room for the domestic political considerations to influence actual implementation of many aspects of stated policy. The magnitude of this room to maneuver, again, is variable with regard to different kinds of policy issues. For instance, if teachers’ salary scales are revised downwards or the length of teacher training is reduced, this kind of measure becomes also implemented policy. By contrast, e.g. policy statements in favor of promoting gender equality in education or the use of mother tongues in basic education can easily be left at the rhetorical level.

In simplified terms, the contrast between a situation dominated by externally funded projects and the sector program context can be formulated as follows: in the former, the Government may have an ambitious education policy document, which is formulated as a compromise between observing domestic political realities and appealing to the donor agencies. When it comes to implementation, the donor agencies have a strong hand in determining priorities through funding earmarked to projects, with their separate implementation structures. Projects support selected parts of the Government’s education policy and may also promote agendas that deviate from the priorities of the former, whereas some other parts of the Government policy document remain rhetoric, due to the lack of effective funding. By contrast, support to sector programs typically entails a stronger influence of the donor agencies in policy formulation, but as the implementation-disbursement relies to a larger degree on the Ministries of Finance and Education and on the lower levels of the administration, there are increased possibilities for passive resistance and subversion.

The donor agencies’ existing practice of providing direct funding to NGOs parallel to the funding that is increasingly channeled to the sector program, which is obviously a complicated situation against the donor agencies’ insistence on national ownership as the foundation to their sector program support. Southern NGOs can thus appear as more accountable to the funding agencies than to their constituent and beneficiary groups or the national government.

NOTES

1 In Mozambique, the term “donor agencies” has been replaced by “external cooperating partners.” Similar changes in vocabulary (e.g. “development partners”) have been introduced in some other countries. For the sake of consistency, the term “donor agencies” is used throughout this article.
MAKING AND IMPLEMENTING EDUCATION POLICY

2 Cf. the following interpretation, given by Hall and Young (1997: 198), on the origin of the Structural Adjustment Program in Mozambique: The program “was largely sponsored by the IMF and the World Bank, and indeed much like SAPs imposed elsewhere on African states … FRELIMOs claims, that the Program was a national effort, were intended partly to sustain its own prestige and partly followed from IMF/World Bank requirements that SAPs be presented as wholly “voluntary.””

3 The renaming of the sector plan reflects the change in the name of the Ministry of Education to also include “Culture,” which also changed the respective acronym from MINED to MEC.

4 Reality is thus very different from the simplistic and counterfactual picture given in the EFA FTI Progress Report as early as April 2004: “The FTI has helped the government (of Mozambique) develop high-quality standards for construction that shift from centrally managed to community-managed implementation, increasing ownership and reducing costs from $ 20 000 per classroom on average to $10 000 or less per classroom for all donor- and Government-supported construction” (EFA FTI, 2004: 22).

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MAKING AND IMPLEMENTING EDUCATION POLICY


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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the world, millions of children are currently missing out on education because they live in countries affected by armed conflict. Approximately 36 million children who are not receiving primary education live in or come from countries affected by armed conflict—amounting to one-half of the 72 million children who are out of school globally (International Save the Children Alliance, 2007). This has dire consequences for the achievement of Education for All (EFA) by the year 2015.

While armed conflict generally has a negative impact on education systems, this relationship is not uni-directional. In various ways, education can and has played a role in the outbreak of armed conflict. However, just as education can play a contributory role in the outbreak of armed conflict, so too can education play a role in transforming armed conflict, in preventing its recurrence, and in building peace for the long-term. This chapter examines the role that education can play in building peace by outlining a conceptual framework regarding the relationships between education, armed conflict, and peace. I argue that education, as a social institution, can transform conflict-affected societies and build sustainable peace via the four dimensions of the proposed framework.

The chapter begins by defining peace, armed conflict, and education. The four elements of the framework are then explored in the following sections, concluding with a discussion on the possible areas for future research in the field of education, peace, and armed conflict.

PEACE AND ARMED CONFLICT

Armed conflict is defined as ‘open, armed clashes between two or more centrally organized parties, with continuity between the clashes, in disputes about power over government and territory’ (Smith, 2003: 3). Armed conflict revolves around an incompatibility of some kind between organized groups of people, in response to which the conflicting parties resort to the use of force to achieve their objectives (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005; Wallensteen, 2007). The focus in this chapter is primarily on internal armed conflict, or civil war, conflicts that do not take place between the governments of two sovereign states but rather between parties within a single state, one of which may be (and often is) the government.
It is this form of conflict which has predominated worldwide since 1945, and which has become the scourge of the developing world since civil war now occurs almost exclusively in poor countries (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005; Harbom & Wallensteen, 2007).

Theories regarding the reasons behind the outbreak of armed conflict are numerous and varied, with the “greed versus grievance” debate dominating the scholarship on the causes of armed conflict. This debate questions whether it is the economic opportunities associated with armed conflict, or the historical grievances and social injustices such conflict potentially resolves, that are causal factors of civil war. This chapter explores both sides of the debate but gives greater support to the idea that education—whether the lack of it or the poor quality of it—can create a strong sense of injustice over group exclusion. Such a sense of exclusion formulates a strong sense of group identity that can be used to mobilize individuals to initiate and participate in organized violence against the state or other actors on a large scale.

Resolving an armed conflict and building peace in the aftermath of conflict entails more than ending direct, physical violence, especially given the high risk of conflict recurrence. Often, the factors that initially caused a war are still present in its aftermath, necessitating that the root, structural causes (the incompatibilities between the parties) as well as the consequences of a conflict must be transformed, so that peace is a sustainable and lasting arrangement (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005; Gardner, 2002). This, in turn, requires reformation of the social institutions that produce and reproduce violence, whether in its direct, structural, or cultural forms, in order to promote social justice (Harris & Morrison, 2003; Galtung, 1990). The presence of social injustice and structural violence in the form of “economic deprivation, social neglect, and racial or class injustices ... provides, not only the immediate violence of repression and oppression, but also the breeding grounds for the development of war or other direct violence, such as crime” (Elias & Turpin, 1994: 5). Thus, the absence of positive peace (social justice) creates the conditions for the outbreak or re-emergence of armed conflict (direct violence).

As an ongoing process both before, during, and after a conflict, peacebuilding addresses the root structural causes of conflict and the long-term relationships between warring parties in order to change behaviors and transform identities and institutions (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005; Ponzio, 2007). In the view of the United Nations (2001), the peace building process can address the root, structural causes of conflict and the long-term relationships between warring parties by changing behaviors and transforming identities and institutions via three mechanisms: (a) the consolidation of internal and external security; (b) the strengthening of political institutions and good governance; and (c) the promotion of economic and social rehabilitation and transformation, for instance in the education sector.

Thus, as I argue, education has a critical role to play in building peace because it directly contributes to creating and sustaining social justice in conflict-affected societies, and to addressing the incompatibilities at the heart of an armed conflict (which in many cases revolve around education). In particular, formal education systems can play a positive or negative role in influencing motivations to engage in
armed conflict to seek justice for actual or perceived injustices; social acceptance of and social constraints regarding the use of violence and participation in armed conflict; and the costs of engaging in armed conflict, such as social and opportunity costs.

EDUCATION, PEACE, AND ARMED CONFLICT: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The concern in this chapter is with the role that formal education systems can play in creating the conditions for positive peace in countries affected by internal armed conflict. A formal education system is a mass schooling system that is regulated, financed, and provided as a universal public service to all citizens by the state, on an equal basis (at least in theory). This kind of schooling is chronologically and hierarchically structured and takes place in specially constructed buildings for a certain number of hours a day, over the course of many days during a year (Ramirez and Boli, 1987).

Armed conflict generally has a significantly detrimental effect on the formal education system by limiting the availability of schooling and lowering its quality. The supply of education is decreased due to the destruction of education infrastructure and materials, the closure and/or centralization of services, the diversion of funding to military expenditures, and the depletion of the stock of trained teachers and education personnel as they die, flee, or join the fighting. The impact on educational supply in turn impacts learning outcomes and the quality of the education system. Demand for education decreases due to the climate of insecurity during a conflict, as students go into exile, as their families lose the incomes needed to pay for schooling, and as young people are recruited into fighting forces (O’Malley, 2007; Lai & Thyne, 2007).

However, as stated earlier, the relationship between education and armed conflict is not uni-directional. Formal education systems can themselves play a role in fuelling the outbreak of an armed conflict. The question of education is strongly connected to the root causes of armed conflict, which include the distribution of resources, access to political power, the recognition of identity and cultural development, and poverty and low levels of economic development (Degu, 2005; Gardner, 2002). But, education is also intimately intertwined with the building of peace in conflict-affected societies, where peace is understood to entail the provision of social justice and the realization of human rights, such as the right to education.

Thus far, knowledge and analysis regarding the relationships between education, armed conflict, and peacebuilding has fallen within the domain of non-governmental and international organizations which administer education programs in situations of armed and post-armed conflict, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, civil war scholars in the academic realm. The debate on ‘greed versus grievance’ dominates the academic debate surrounding internal armed conflict, promoting the view that the outbreak of armed conflict is explained by the desire to pursue self-interest to exploit the material gains generally associated with armed conflict. Education in these studies is treated as a proxy variable for the opportunity cost of engaging in armed conflict. Where education levels are low and income-earning
opportunities scarce, the opportunity costs of participating in armed conflict are low and the pool of potential rebels large (Collier, 2000).

While the argument about opportunity costs is an important element in understanding what role education can play in the outbreak of armed conflict or in sustaining peace, it does not sufficiently explain the comprehensive role that education can play in mobilizing individuals to participate in an armed conflict, in preventing the outbreak of conflict, or in building peace in countries where conflict has occurred. The formal education system involves a multitude of other factors which can also play a role in the outbreak of armed conflict and alternatively, in the building of peace. In the first place, the lack of educational access is a significant grievance for groups of people, but other factors such as socialization and relationship building play equally important roles in explaining the relationships at play between education, armed conflict, and peace. Moreover, the benefits of education are not only monetary; education endows a variety of non-monetary benefits which can be important factors in preventing the onset of a conflict and in recovering from an armed conflict. Thus, exploration of the role that education can play in building peace and preventing the outbreak of armed conflict must highlight other mechanisms besides opportunity costs, and instead address both sides of the greed versus grievance debate. I aim to do this by detailing a conceptual framework centred around four elements that I argue mediate the relationships between education, armed conflict, and peace. These four elements are inclusion, socialization, social capital, and the benefits of education. I now turn to explore each of these concepts in turn.

_Inclusion_

If formal education systems are to play a role in building peace, they must be equally inclusive. Inclusion entails who has access to the education system, to what levels and types of schooling, as well as what is included in the curriculum. Equal inclusion in the education system is important not only because children are often denied the opportunity to go to school during a conflict, but because educational exclusion occurs long before the outbreak of a conflict. Educational exclusion can thus contribute to the formulation of a sense of injustice amongst those groups of people who are marginalized from the provision of public services such as formal schooling. Mobilization around such grievances is a key contributing factor to the outbreak of armed conflict (Gurr, 1970).

Education is not an equally distributed public service, particularly in developing countries where both educational inequalities are rampant and civil war predominates. In poor countries, where resources are scarce and universal primary school coverage expensive, education is often the privilege of the elite, who can afford schooling. But educational exclusion is not only a function of cost; restricted, unequal educational supply is also a function of power. “Those who control political and economic power tend to allocate priority of educational opportunities first and foremost to their own children and then to those who are next in line to maintain the power holder’s position of interest (ethnic, religious/regional
EDUCATION THAT BUILDS PEACE OR FUELS ARMED CONFLICT

communities)” (Degu, 2005: 138). Thus, educational inequalities reflect social inequalities more broadly, since dominant groups in society, particularly dominant ethnic groups, generally control state resources and discriminate against minority groups in terms of access to social resources (such as education) in order to maintain and reproduce their own elite status. As Davies (2005: 359) points out, “social exclusion is not random, but concentrated in already marginalized groups”. Education systems are thus strong sorting mechanisms, creating, reproducing, legitimizing, and exaggerating social and structural inequalities and privileges as groups maintain the status quo through the education system both in the short-term and in the long-term as inequalities compound over time (Østby, 2004; Smith, 2005; Carnoy, 1990; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

While education is the vehicle by which all societies in the world reproduce themselves, including rich countries, formal schooling has not always been the institution by which this has occurred. Formal schooling (as defined earlier in this chapter) was instituted in developing countries during Western colonial rule for particular social, political, and economic reasons. The historical function and philosophy of formal education was bound up with the creation of nation states in the developing world, wherein formal schooling was intended to provide a limited supply of cheap, local manpower for the colonial administration, to maintain and justify Western rule, and to spread Western culture. This situation was largely maintained even after state independence was achieved, to the exclusion of the majority of people. Educational inequalities were designed from the very beginning to function as a form of social and political control and to reproduce newly created social, political, and economic structures and hierarchies (Fägerlind & Saha, 1989).

If conflict transformation entails a deep transformation in the institutions and discourses that reproduce violence, including physical, structural, and cultural violence, then educational inclusion has a key role to play in such transformation because of the larger social equalities and inequalities that are (re)produced through education. In this way, educational inclusion can represent a form of social justice. But educational inclusion is not measured merely by the number of children enrolled in school, as this does not give a finely enough tuned picture of access and tells us very little about the various ways in which educational inclusion works. Rather, inclusion is measured via five indicators: recognition of the right to education; equal access to different levels and types of education; equity and equality in the distribution of resources in the education system; merit-based selection practices; and through attention to what is included in the curriculum and to the language in which teaching takes place.

Recognition of the Right to Education

Education cannot be considered fully inclusive and thus able to play a role in building peace until it is codified as a universal right in national laws and policies. This is because positive peace entails the presence and promotion of social justice through the protection of human rights, including the right to education. But, positive peace must be about more than just protecting human rights, because protecting
human rights assumes that these rights already exist and are in theory enjoyed by citizens, which is not universally the case. Rights must therefore not only be protected: they must first be recognized and then fulfilled by the state. Where rights are promised but not fulfilled, this sets up a fundamental tension that can nurture rebellion against the state.

**Equal Access to the Education System**

The right to education must be accompanied by the implementation of policies that facilitate access to the education system. Access entails enrolling in, regularly attending, and remaining in the formal education system until a certain phase of schooling has been completed, and encompasses both the levels of schooling to which individuals have access, as well as the types of schooling (such as public or private). Access thus depends on the distribution of resources in the education system, an issue that is examined separately in the following section.

Unequal educational access results in spatial discrimination, which can evolve into a source of friction between groups of people and create both the opportunity and motive needed to mobilize people to engage in armed conflict. In the first place, low levels of education in a poor country can create a pool of individuals who can be more easily recruited by armed groups which provide access to loot and food. But, importantly for the mobilization of groups of people to initiate an armed conflict, unequal educational access can increase levels of group cohesion around a collective sense of injustice at being marginalized. Educational inequalities can thus act as a mobilizing tool to convince groups of people to participate in violence, regardless of the economic benefits of participation in an armed conflict, benefits which generally appear only after a conflict has started and which many people never enjoy (Bøås & Dunn, 2007; Davies, 2004; Degu, 2005; Stewart, 2002).

Østby (2004, 2008) has found that, statistically, there is an increased likelihood of civil war in countries with large social horizontal inequalities (rather than economic or health horizontal inequalities), which are measured in terms of access to education and employment opportunities. Indeed, the areas and groups of people where educational (and thus social) exclusion and low socio-economic development are concentrated in conflict-affected countries often correspond to those areas and groups involved in fighting an armed conflict. Thus, “poor systems of education [do not simply] work through some other mechanism [such as opportunity costs] to lead to rebellion; rather, the failure of the government to provide for an adequate system of education is so severe that it, in itself, is the root of rebellion” (Thyne, 2006: 735). Unequal educational access was a contributory factor in the outbreak of conflicts such as the Rwandan genocide and the Kosovo conflict, mobilizing people to fight in these conflicts (Aguilar & Richmond, 1998; Sommers, 2002). In the case of Sierra Leone, primary and secondary school enrollment rates actually declined in the five years preceding the outbreak of the country’s civil war, creating both large group of young people from which the rebel Revolutionary United Front recruited, but also a serious grievance that many young people felt was worth fighting for (Richards, 1996; Peters & Richards, 1998).
Exclusionary educational access can create deep feelings of exclusion, shame, resentment, and humiliation, feelings which can serve as powerful recruitment tools for armed groups. This seems to negate the claim that Carnoy (1990: 66) makes about the pacifying aspect of educational inequality: “failing in school ... helps to pacify those who might otherwise claim increased access to resources and political power, since such claims are officially restricted to those of proven ‘merit’”. The lack of access to education can thus have the perverse consequence of actually building support for a rebel group in two ways. First, when the state fails to provide education and other public services, this gives rebel groups and other actors an opportunity to function as surrogate service providers, enabling them to gain legitimacy and support for their cause among the population, as well as creating dependency on the armed group for the provision of such services (Singer, 2006). Hezbollah has done just this, building up its support in Lebanon by providing health services and schooling. Alternatively, rebel groups such as the Taliban in Afghanistan may attack the education system to weaken the state and as a way of building support for their cause, recognizing that the existence of other opportunities may undermine their support among the population.

Thus, in the context and aftermath of armed conflict, addressing grievances over educational exclusion by creating more equally inclusive formal education systems is one way in which education can play a positive role in building peace. Educational access can act as an important peace dividend for groups fighting a conflict when the state commits to improving educational provision. Improved educational access is an important signal from the state which can diffuse mobilizing dissent, lower incentives to engage in fighting, demobilize society through the diversion of military spending to the provision of social services, restore faith in the government, and indicate that the state is committed to the well-being of its citizens (Thyne, 2006).

**Distribution of Resources**

Equal access to the education system relies on the equal and/or equitable distribution of resources within the system—equal and/or equitable both in terms of the locations and numbers of resources such as money, trained and qualified teachers, teaching and learning materials, school buildings, and school furniture. Equal opportunity within the formal education system entails that educational access does not depend on an individual’s socio-economic position or geographic location (Wise, 1968). An unequal distribution of education has long-reaching effects, creating further inequalities as distribution affects the equality of educational quality, the equality of learning outcomes, and the equality of survival within the education system (Farrell, 2003). Thus, inclusion is not only about the degree of educational coverage (that is, the pure numbers of individuals participating in the system), but is also about the social outcomes and consequences of that coverage.

Yet, it may be that educational policies which favour equity rather than equality are needed in the context and aftermath of armed conflict. Whereas equality entails sameness and non-discrimination, equity is about fairness and implementing
positive discrimination to achieve equality (Samoff, 2003). These two things, however, are not always compatible: it might be thought necessary to give disadvantaged, marginalized groups special, equitable treatment through positive discrimination or affirmative-action policies to raise their status, despite goals of equality. Rural areas and areas populated by marginalized groups are often neglected in the distribution of educational resources, particularly where there has been a tradition of centralization within the education system, and equity-oriented policies may be called for in addressing conflict through the education system (Degu, 2005).

Whether policies of equality, or alternatively, of equity in the distribution of resources and educational access should be promoted to overcome conflict-mobilizing inequalities is context-dependent, but they are important factors in creating more just societies and a more level social playing field. In a conflict situation, educational services and reconstruction are often concentrated in urban areas, which are generally safer to operate in and offer more resources. Reconstruction efforts which continue this urban bias can inadvertently contribute to continuing the same patterns of spatial discrimination and centralization which led to the conflict in the first place.

Merit-Based Selection Practices

Nepotistic, discriminatory, and corrupt selection practices—such as ethnic-, class-, or caste-based favouritism or the promotion of family or political party members into teaching positions or higher grade levels—undermine the foundations of an inclusive, equal-opportunity education system and reinforce exclusion amongst marginalized groups. Non-merit-based practices that reinforce or worsen existing group inequalities within the education system can thus help to fuel grievances that can lead to conflict. The requirements of equity and meritocracy may, however, be at odds with each other, in that the promoting and privileging of disadvantaged groups through positive discrimination may not necessarily be merit-based or encourage merit-based selection.

Merit-based practices have an essential role to play, not just within the education system itself, but also in relation to the selection function that education performs within a society more generally. Through education, individuals are selected for jobs and other positions on the basis of their innate ability, rather than in the interest of any particular group. Reinforcing meritocratic social selection through fair selection practices in and expansion of the education system can diffuse grievances over the monopolization of power by certain groups in society and can instil the belief that all people have the same chance to achieve higher social and economic status in society.

The Curriculum and Language of Instruction

An education system that is designed for and transmits the knowledge of the dominant group in society; that is appropriate only for a minority or privileged group; that does not reflect the history, needs, values, and social and economic
realities of the majority of people (including their language); or that perpetuates damaging stereotypes may fuel grievances over exclusion and people’s inability to make use of what they have learned. The education system may transmit knowledge that is appropriate only for formal employment in office environments when the majority of people secure their livelihoods through farming, for example; or, the curriculum may transmit and indoctrinate children with hateful ideologies that can increase levels of group cohesion needed to sustain a rebellion. The elitist formal schooling model inherited from the colonial state and which was centred around the transmission of narrow academic knowledge needed to create a limited number of desk workers for the colonial administration still predominates today in school systems around the world, despite how livelihoods are in reality generated in most developing countries. Patterns of restricted education access parallel the knowledge that is conveyed through the curriculum; dominant groups access schooling and are taught the values, worldviews, and knowledge relevant to their own group, to the exclusion of other groups. This has the consequence of creating large numbers of school-leavers who are frustrated by their inability to use the education they have invested in receiving.

Yet it is not only what is (or what is not) taught that is important regarding the perpetuation of exclusion through the curriculum, but also the language in which actual teaching takes place. The argument is sometimes made that pluralistic language-of-instruction policies can heighten tension and contribute to conflict, as ethnically diverse countries seem to have a higher incidence of instability and risk for conflict (Easterly, 2001). But denying the use of particular languages as mediums of instruction is a form of cultural repression and social exclusion, one which perpetuates social privilege and social injustice, since language mediates access to education and thus to power (Degu, 2005). While ethnic identity may be used to mobilize groups of people for conflict, the denial of linguistic rights may in fact become a grievance around which groups mobilize—making state management of diversity critical. Diversifying the language of instruction can improve the educational and social playing field by equalizing enrollment, retention, and completion rates, and thus the life chances of children. It can also instil a sense within the public that the government values the diversity and social equality of all citizens and all groups in society, lessening the potential for violent dissent against the state and instead promoting tolerance and inclusion as civic virtues.

SOCIALIZATION

Socialization refers to the types of behaviours, beliefs, values, and attitudes that schools and education actors such as teachers implicitly and explicitly sanction and communicate through the curriculum, as well as through social interactions. It is the process by which individuals become functioning members of society by learning about the society in which they live, the norms, values, behaviours and customs preferred by that society, and how to interact with others (Sturman, 1997; Goslin, 1969). School-based socialization is a critical element in the relationship between education, armed conflict, and peace, since many children spend a large amount of time in schools during their formative years, where they learn from and
adopt the behaviours, attitudes, and values communicated by teachers, staff, and other students.

What young people learn at school about acceptable uses of violence, the resolution of conflict, and the rules and enforcement of authority are critical, because armed conflict necessitates that groups of people have agreed to the use of violence to achieve an objective. Violent school socialization processes not only teach children about the approved uses of violence in society, but they can also play a role in the formulation of feelings that may motivate and thus mobilize people to join rebel groups and participate in armed conflict (Davies, 2004; Brett & Sprecht, 2004). Changing behaviours and interaction patterns as manifested in disciplinary methods, in teaching methods, and in what type of knowledge is transmitted can encourage the adoption of non-violent behaviours and attitudes.

**Disciplinary Methods**

Violence is embedded in the school practices of many countries around the world, most obviously in disciplinary practices, which in many developing countries continue to entail corporal punishment and verbal abuse. The use of corporal punishment is an essential element of an authoritarian model of schooling that is centred on the view of students as passive, powerless recipients of a narrow range of academic knowledge that reproduces an elitist and exclusionary social order. In a situation of armed conflict, when violence is prevalent in the world outside the school and direct violence has been used to resolve conflicts, violent disciplinary methods sanction and are sanctioned by the violence of the conflict and the wider patterns of violence in society. Using violence at school fails to challenge more general violent patterns of behaviour and has long-term consequences, increasing the chances of children becoming physically aggressive and delinquent (Gulbenkian Foundation, 1995).

Harsh physical and verbal punishment may create powerful motivations to use violence and exact revenge for the feelings of fear, powerlessness, shame, and humiliation that result from the use of these disciplinary methods (Brett & Sprecht, 2004). This should be taken very seriously, as the example of Sierra Leone shows, where young combatants attacked and even killed their teachers to avenge past humiliations suffered at teachers’ hands. In this way, the violence of a civil war may have an important psychological benefit for young combatants, “including an immediate reversal of relationships of dominance and humiliation that have sometimes prevailed in peacetime...and a chance to avenge past wrongdoings” (Keen, 2000: 23).

**Interactions between young people and teachers**

Teachers are the most powerful socializing force within the school context, because they are responsible for providing the environment and encouragement for learning (Berns, 2001). To a large degree, teachers determine the quality and nature of the school environment, and their behaviour, attitudes, motivation, and training
are key to ensuring that a quality learning environment is maintained. The daily interactions between children and teachers are important because, as Wentzel and Looney (2007: 387) write, “when their interpersonal relationships are responsive and nurturant, children are more likely to adopt and internalize the expectations and goals that are valued by others than if their relationships are harsh and critical”.

The kinds of power relationships that are expressed and reinforced in relationships and interactions between children and teachers teach children how to relate to and interact with people in society more generally. Teachers can enforce and reinforce authoritarian power relations over children and young people, leading to children dropping out of school if they are humiliated, scared, and/or physically beaten by teachers. This provides both motive and opportunity to mobilize when an armed conflict breaks out. Students learn from the attitudes and behaviours of teachers, to include discriminatory and exploitative practices, the behaviours that teachers reward or punish, and the communication of stereotypes regarding the gender, ethnicity, caste, religious group, and/or socio-economic class of students (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). For instance, teachers who politicize the learning environment can negatively affect students in times of conflict. There is a risk that, in a situation of armed or post-armed conflict, the line between “politicking” for political parties or causes and the recruitment of children and teachers into fighting groups may become blurred, or transgressing it may become acceptable.

In a post-conflict situation, students learn from the ways that teachers treat children associated with parties involved in the conflict, including ex-combatants, as well as children who may have been refugees or internally displaced during the conflict. How teachers treat these categories of children is critical to learning reconciliation, forgiveness, tolerance, and respect, especially in the aftermath of a conflict, and for promoting educational inclusion. In this way, schools can serve as sites of reconciliation, paving the path for the reintegration of former combatants and displaced persons into society and for wider social reconciliation and conflict transformation through the transformation of relationships between people. Recreation activities such as sports and clubs can also promote reconciliation and provide opportunities for children to socialize together outside the classroom, where they are then able to share with their peers and to learn about viewpoints different from their own or those of their family members.

Rote teaching methods reinforce strict vertical social hierarchies and control over what knowledge is considered acceptable and who is in charge of communicating that knowledge. This “banking model” of education is facilitated by the militarization of the school, where teachers have absolute authority in the classroom, commanding students during their lessons, while schools often make it obligatory for children to wear uniforms, speak in unison, and stand and sit in lines for assembly and classroom lessons. Such practices fail to instil critical thinking and participatory skills in students, instead rewarding overly obedient behaviours that may result in a failure to critically question participation in armed conflict (Galtung, 1973).

The use of rote learning teaching methods is reinforced by the physical construction of a school building. As stated earlier, the model of mass, compulsory schooling that is predominant worldwide is an authoritarian model that has historically functioned as a form of social and political control where pupils are
continually disempowered and do not control the schooling process, seen instead as passive recipients of knowledge in an educational process designed to discipline bodies and regulate minds. Schools and classrooms are physically structured to legitimize different rights for different people and to physically and pedagogically control students through, for example, the style of classroom seating (Meighan & Siraj-Blatchford, 2003).

Instituting the use of child-centred, active, participatory teaching methods which democratize the learning process and that equip children with the ability and skills to think for themselves, to question the world around them, and to seek out information can help to eradicate the use of direct violence in the classroom and socialize children into relationships built less on hierarchical, domineering power relationships and more into patterns of behaviour that respect and fulfil human rights and the pursuit of social justice.

The Curriculum

The curriculum is the main instrument for the organization of teaching and learning within the education system, but it is also an important mechanism of socialization, as the curriculum directly and indirectly transmits values and attitudes to students. It is also a highly political and highly contentious issue, since some knowledge is included in the curriculum while other knowledge is left out. The curriculum is thus often seen as an ideological or political tool (Smith, 2005). One example of this is provided by Bosnia and Herzegovina, where three parallel curricula emerged during and after the conflict there, “each one purporting to represent the heritage and ideology of one of the country’s three constituent peoples—Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs—and accompanied by deeply entrenched, ideologically based policy positions” (Stabback, 2004: 41).

School curricula have been used in the past to oppress various groups, such as black Africans under apartheid in South Africa; to promote jihad, for example against the Russians during the 1980s in Afghanistan; and to perpetuate intolerant, xenophobic, racist, and militant ideologies in other contexts (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davis, 2002; King, 2005). Stereotyping and scapegoating of different groups in textbooks can contribute to social tension by hardening identities and thus solidifying the levels of group cohesion needed to overcome collective-action problems and mobilize for participation in armed conflict. Negative teaching about certain groups can justify inequalities, which can be compounded if group discrimination already exists within the education system—for example, in patterns of educational access (Gardner, 2002). What is included in the official curriculum is therefore critical for reducing intergroup prejudices and forming non-exclusive identities. But a significant challenge in ensuring the curriculum promotes peace rather than conflict lies in the issue of identity. School systems such as that of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina which permit extreme curricular segregation between groups can reinforce, rather than diffuse, harden, exclusive identities and erode cooperation between groups of people.
Reviewing curricular materials for negative content and adding peace education, human rights education, and/or civics and citizenship education to the curriculum as separate subjects can create a window of opportunity for educators to begin addressing these issues and to emphasize a new set of social norms and values in the context and aftermath of armed conflict. Schools must, however, supplement what is taught in the classroom with access to other books and information, so that students can learn about alternative, non-violent ways of solving problems.

**SOCIAL CAPITAL**

Social capital is here concerned with the types of locally embedded social relationships that schools, the education system, and educational actors such as students and teachers are embedded in and sustained by. More generally, social capital is “the web of cooperative relationships between citizens that facilitates the resolution of collective action problems” (Brehm & Rahn, 1997: 999). It encompasses the “connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 2000: 19). As Kalyvas (2003 and 2006) discusses, the importance of local-level relationships and conflicts should not be overlooked in understanding the causes and dynamics of civil war. This is because “actions “on the ground” often seem more related to local or private issues than to the war’s driving (or “master”) cleavage; [and] individual and local actors take advantage of war to settle local or private conflicts often bearing little or no relation to the causes of the war or the goals of the belligerents” (Kalyvas, 2003: 475–476).

Schools are embedded within and sustained by a variety of local relationships, to include relationships between parents, other community members, the state, civil society organizations, and the school. A situation of armed conflict seriously erodes levels and norms of trust and cooperation between people that may under other circumstances facilitate peaceful interactions and nonviolent conflict resolution (Colletta & Cullen, 2000; Putnam, 2000). School-centred relationships are critical elements of the strength of schools within communities, but they are also critical to building peace in the context of armed conflict in that they can mitigate collective-action problems related to maintaining peaceful relations within and between groups in society (de Soysa, 2002).

Meaningful participation in school processes—through, for example, the participation of parents in school management committees and/or parent–teacher associations—is one way of building up relationships outside the school, and thus levels of trust, cooperation, and reciprocity within society. The creation of strong horizontal relationships (i.e. between civil society groups) and vertical relationships (i.e. between the state and communities) which create both “bonding” social capital (strong intra-group solidarity) and “bridging” social capital (strong inter-group solidarity) by enforcing norms of cooperation and trust may provide additional mechanisms for resolving conflict peacefully (Goodhand, 2006). The strength of these relationships may heighten social and individual constraints against engaging in armed conflict owing to the greater benefits of being able to resolve collective-
action problems without resorting to the use of force and violence, along with the ability to effectively sanction those who do use violence or fail to cooperate.

Community-Based Organizations

Increased levels of positive cooperation and trust between individuals and groups are facilitated by fostering participatory relationships in school management and in educational governance. Promoting participation in school management is an important way to re-establish a sense of security and for building up strong reciprocal bonds between individuals and groups which can facilitate the peaceful resolution of collective action problems. Participation can also defuse grievances over exclusion from decision-making in elitist, centralized systems of education, restoring faith in the government. The participation of young people in decision-making processes is particularly important in this respect, as children and young people are not traditionally listened to, and are among the more disempowered members of many societies. In conflicts where children and young people have made up a significant amount of the fighting forces, such as in Liberia, it is important not only to teach and practice tolerance by reintegrating young ex-combatants into school, but also to give children effective ways to participate and to be included in and learn about non-violent decision-making and change. Student-based organizations can be important ways to promote children’s participation and empowerment, allowing children to take active roles in achieving positive, non-violent social change in their communities.

However, attention must be given to two elements when examining how school-based organizations can play a role in building peace: the membership of school-based participatory groups, and the nature of decision making. First, the membership of school-based groups such as School Management Committees, Parent-Teacher Associations, or student groups can promote discrimination and reinforce larger social inequalities, such as inequalities based on gender, ethnicity, or caste. Men, or individuals of a particular caste, class, or ethnic group might dominate a participatory body, to the exclusion of other groups of people. Second, accountability within decision-making is also critical for ensuring inclusive and meaningful participation. Accountability—and thus the maintenance of trust—can be ensured through open, transparent decision-making processes and trustworthy money-handling within school-based organizations.

THE OUTCOMES AND BENEFITS OF EDUCATION

Formal education endows both monetary and non-monetary benefits on both individuals and societies. People with more formal schooling often differ from those with less formal schooling, and, as more schooling is obtained, individuals change, usually in positive ways (Carm, et al., 2003). Generally, individuals with more formal education have better jobs, higher incomes, and are healthier, while countries with higher education levels have better standards of living (Vila, 2000). The benefits derived from education differ between individuals and groups in
society because of differences in social positions (such as income group, gender, religious group, or regional location), differences in the quality of the education individuals receive, and differences in the amount of education individuals receive. In terms of understanding the relationship between formal education systems, armed conflict, and peace, both the public benefits (such as the acquisition of particular behaviours, attitudes, values, and beliefs) and the private benefits (such as improved income, social status, and reputation) of education must be examined.

In terms of peace building, the role that the public, non-monetary benefits of formal schooling can play in transforming armed conflict is multi-dimensional. In the first place, improved educational access can improve access to information and to resources, and can endow individuals with the skills and confidence to pressure their leaders and fellow citizens to behave peacefully. In countries where very few people are formally educated, those with more education tend to be more socially, politically, and economically powerful and to have better access to information and resources. They can then command disproportionate rank and power within the society, and individuals may as a result be more inclined to follow educated war-makers than might be the case were educational levels more equal and access democratized. Furthermore, raising educational levels can create awareness about the rights of individuals and about alternative, non-violent ways of resolving conflict. These benefits can provide critical alternatives to engaging in violence and hope for the future.

The private, monetary benefits of education are also critical in the relationship between education and peace. As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, improved educational coverage at all levels should increase the opportunity costs of going to war for individuals, since they would have more and higher-paying options than those offered by joining a rebellion (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). Educated persons have more to lose economically, and are thus less likely to risk death or imprisonment by participating in an armed conflict (Thyne, 2006). As Collier (2000) writes:

if young men face only the option of poverty, they might be more inclined to join a rebellion than if they have better [income-earning] opportunities. I proxy these income-earning opportunities by the amount of education in the society—the average number of years of education a population has received (Collier, 2000: 94).

However, examining the years of education in a population as a proxy for opportunity costs does not fully capture the problem at hand. Many poor countries with low education and socio-economic development levels have experienced armed conflict, in line with Collier’s point. But how can we explain countries with high education levels and low levels of socio-economic development but which have experienced armed conflict, countries such as Yugoslavia, Russia, Georgia, Cyprus, and Lebanon? Collier’s opportunity costs argument cannot explain why more highly educated societies should go to war, as it assumes that there is a congruent relationship between education and income-earning opportunities, namely employment in the formal labour market (Sambanis, 2004).
What must be examined are educational outcomes, namely the relationship between education levels in a population, formal employment levels, and the outbreak of conflict. If the expansion of the formal education system is pursued as an end in itself without addressing job creation, education can contribute to the outbreak of armed conflict by creating a dangerous aspiration gap, whereby the expectations of the educated regarding formal employment remain unfulfilled and become the basis for mobilization, particularly where large numbers of the unemployed originate from disadvantaged communities (Degu, 2005; Gurr, 1970; Huntington, 1968). The problem of educational outcomes is directly related to the historical philosophy of formal schooling, a model “built [on the] promise [of] formal employment in modern enterprises, when in practice such opportunities are rare” (Boyden & Ryder, 1996: online). When formal schooling does not fulfil expectations of employment, mobility, or a higher standard of living, this can leave young people frustrated, disillusioned, and angry, their aspirations unfulfilled (Gurr, 1970; O’Brien, 1996). High unemployment, particularly among the educated, is thus “one of the most destabilizing and potentially violent socio-political phenomena in any regime” (Urdal, 2006: 612), as evidenced in former Yugoslavia, where unemployment rates soared in the period before the outbreak of conflict following the implementation of liberal economic reforms (Urdal, 2006; Sambanis, 2004). This creates a “damned if you do, damned if you don’t” situation, in that excluding people from accessing education provides both motive and opportunity to engage in armed conflict, while providing education without concern for what individuals will do with their education can also provide motive and opportunity for mobilization.

Thus, better coordination between the economic and educational sectors can provide an important peace dividend and a defence mechanism against the onset of armed conflict. Unemployment is of course made worse by a situation of armed conflict, and as a result, incentives to build peace may be far lower than incentives to re-engage in conflict, if a cycle of revenge and war-profiteering has been established. But if the formal school system can provide individuals with the opportunity to engage in alternative activities, especially ones that are closely related to the acquisition of skills that can result in a secure livelihood, this would benefit both individuals and societies as a whole.

CONCLUSION

Education is not alone responsible either for the outbreak of conflict or building of peace. But, as I argue in this chapter, education is a critical element of building peace in conflict-affected societies where the formal education system is an institution that provides both social justice and connects to income-generating opportunities. Equal access to a schooling system that is better aligned with the economic realities of the country in question can help to offset both motivation and opportunity to participate in armed conflict. Equal treatment at school, participatory management of the system, and an emphasis on non-violent, more democratic school practices and curriculum content can heighten constraints against engaging in violence and help to transform exclusive identities. Such an education system
EDUCATION THAT BUILDS PEACE OR FUELS ARMED CONFLICT

can address the grievances of the warring parties and the opportunity structures
needed to mobilize individuals to fight, as well as the consequences of a war which
can reignite a conflict. Thus, both are needed to build peace through the education
system.

However, building peace through education necessitates a shift away from the
authoritarian model of formal schooling that predominates throughout the world.
Formal schooling has now been adopted as the hegemonic mode of knowledge
management and transmission all over the world, particularly with the advent of
the EFA campaign in the 1990’s. The EFA campaign was constructed to achieve
the fulfilment of a basic human right and to further socio-economic development.
At its heart, EFA is a social re-engineering mechanism, in that it challenges the
elitist structures of a formal schooling model that was inherited from the colonial
era by emphasizing equal access to schooling and thus increased social equity.
EFA aims to improve living standards by levelling the kinds of gross inequalities
that characterize the societies of many developing countries and which are directly
related to the outbreak of armed conflict (Hallak, 1991). However, the approach
adopted to realize universal primary coverage has largely emphasized sheer numerical
expansion of education systems. What remains largely unchanged throughout the
developing world is the embedded, structural authoritarianism of formal schooling
systems, such as that found in teaching methods and school management. It is this
second element, I argue, that should be the focus of education reforms in countries
that have experienced armed conflict in order for education to play a positive role
in creating the conditions for peace.

For formal education to work as an effective peace-building mechanism in
societies affected by armed conflict, formerly elitist systems of education must not
only be expanded and access democratized, but the whole mode of knowledge
management and transmission must be redesigned. The types of knowledge
transmitted, the methods used to communicate that knowledge, and the purpose of
education itself must be democratized and brought into line with norms of social
justice, the fulfilment of human rights, and the socio-economic realities of the
country in question. Educational access has in the past functioned as a form of
social control, knowledge narrowly conceived as indoctrination for the elite, and
management of the education system the domain of those who rule. Education is
not a benign institution, and the potential that formal schooling holds to wield great
harm warrants increased attention. Armed conflicts revolve around political
incompatibilities between groups of people, and political solutions are thus needed
to resolve armed conflicts. Education is a fundamentally political matter since it
reproduces society, and is thus a critical part of conflict resolution and prevention.

The aim of the conceptual framework presented in this chapter is to flesh out a
more comprehensive range of mechanisms at play in the relationships between
education, peace, and armed conflict. Further development of the framework is
needed through empirical testing of each element to determine the relative
importance of each element for building peace under different circumstances and in
different contexts. Many of the issues presented here, such as educational exclusion
and the problem of the educated unemployed, are characteristic of poor and even
rich countries around the world which have not experienced armed conflict.
Determining the exact nature of the relationships between the elements outlined here and the outbreak of conflict or the creation of a stable peace is imperative in scholarly, policy, and normative terms in order to prevent the onset or renewal of armed conflicts, but also to create formal education systems that enhance the well-being of all people.

NOTES

1 Post-conflict countries have a very high risk of conflict recurrence, perhaps as much as a 44% risk of returning to conflict within five years of a conflict’s end (Collier et al., 2003).

2 Structural violence entails ‘circumstances that limit life, civil rights, health, personal freedom and self-fulfillment. It occurs when wealth and power exploit or oppress others, and standards of justice are not upheld. It is created by the deprivation of basic human needs and creates suffering for individuals’ (Harris & Morrison, 2003, p. 12). Cultural violence entails cultural attitudes and aspects that legitimize violence, whether in its direct or in its structural forms (Galtung, 1990).

3 The right to free primary education is still not constitutionally recognized in countries as diverse as Fiji, Laos, Burundi, Botswana, and the Central African Republic (Tomaševski, 2001, 2006).

4 It should be recognized that violent school socialization processes are found in poor countries that have not experienced or are not experiencing armed conflict, such as Ghana or Zambia, and that bullying is found in schools in the richest countries in the world.

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EDUCATION THAT BUILDS PEACE OR FUELS ARMED CONFLICT


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PART IV: CONCLUSION
16. A WAY FORWARD

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the future prospects for Comparative and International Education (C&I) in the Nordic countries. In order to be able to do so, I feel it is necessary to have a holistic perspective which means (a) to consider historical trends, and (b) to have a broad perspective on contemporary educational phenomena. The chapter outlines in a somewhat critical manner principal changes in the world during the past decades, and how these changes have interacted with policy-making and C&I research and training. Realities change, often in unpredictable ways, especially with the intensifying globalization processes. Such processes now add to the traditional tasks of and requirements on education and have radically changed the conditions for C&I. We need new theories and methods that help us understand what is taking place, what will take place with education around the world and why. Throughout the chapter, a number of issues are meant as areas for future research.

Some features of changes in primary and secondary education, higher education, “domestic” education research, world systems and globalization theories are screened before we enter the field of C&I. It is concluded that the mission of C&I, like that of other fields of research, is to make discoveries, but also to play a critical role in society.

EDUCATION AND “NATIONAL” EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The principal task of education systems has traditionally been to qualify people for roles as producers, consumers and citizens. Education is now also required to produce the competitive human capital needed by the economy. Increasingly, educational processes and outcomes are judged and measured in terms of costs and students’ academic achievement at the expense of a more humanistic and value-oriented view (Crossley & Watson, 2003; Samoff, 1996). Education is most fruitfully seen interacting with structural and cultural realities; there is a dynamic and dialectic relationship between education and society.

The trend in educational policy during the past decades has been to combine loose coupling in some aspects (de-regulation and less pro-active control) and strong coupling in others (monitoring, assessment, reporting, self-evaluations). Such a combination may in fact bind schools stronger to the central level and make them less autonomous in certain regards (Angus, 1994). States have not withdrawn...
from education to the extent and in the ways that has often been argued; they do not spend less as percentage of GNP (Pierre, 2000: 1). What they do is to spend more on monitoring and evaluation and less on social welfare as percentage of GDP (Gilbert, 2004).

At least until the end of the 1950s, it was more or less taken for granted that schools effectively fulfilled the functions they were supposed to fulfill (the Sputnik hysteria in the USA is perhaps an exception), with the functionalist theory predominating (Parsons, 1964). Initially in educational research, teachers and students were the study objects, studied principally from a psychologist point of view (Husén, 1989). Then, coinciding with the struggle for equality (Farrell, 1999), focus moved to student background, and the study conducted by Coleman et al. (1966) contributed to this move. Educational reforms took place principally in response to national (and domestic) requirements and demands until the mid-80s, although some international borrowing of educational features occurred, except for the countries that once were colonized.

Apart from a large number of empirical studies, theorizing was also an important research activity. Two of the principal approaches were (and still are): varieties of the reproduction theories and of the human capital (HC) theory. Neither HC nor reproduction theories investigated what was taking place within the schools and were, therefore, criticized for treating school as a ‘black box’. How is human capital produced? How is reproduction of class and power relations achieved in the schools? The black box came to be studied from ‘culturalist’ and phenomenological perspectives and with the help of theories and methods borrowed from ethnography (Hargreaves, 1972; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). Efforts were made to find the mechanisms that differentiated and sorted students within schools. Apple (1980), Giroux (2001) and Willis (1977), among others, have made contributions to reproduction theory in that they have developed the theory of resistance and demonstrated more specifically what is going on in schools and how schools work in society (Morrow & Torres, 1995). Giroux (2001), for example, argues that students, by the mere fact that they are ‘living their cultures’ at school, contribute to their own sorting.

Table 1. Realms of Research and Realms of Policy Making and Production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realm of Research</th>
<th>(a) Basic research (for the sake of curiosity and discovery).</th>
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<tr>
<td>Grey zone</td>
<td>(b) Critical analysis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(c) Applied research</td>
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<tr>
<td>Realms of Policy-making and Commodity and Service Production</td>
<td>Commissioned investigation (in the service of society but on its own conditions)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Daun, 2003).
Some empirical research was in the service of the state during the period of national construction of the welfare state in industrial societies. Yet the boundaries between and the functions of the policy realm and the research realm were relatively clear. Most of the research took place at universities, and basic research, for instance, had a distinct role. Ideal typically (in the Weberian sense) the “division of labour” in the construction and generation of knowledge may be presented in the following way.

Subsequently, tremendous changes in all aspects of life have occurred, most of them due to globalization.

WORLD SYSTEM AND GLOBALIZATION

An international framework for countries’ action and interaction has existed for a long time, especially for small countries, but world system and globalization constitute phenomena qualitatively different from internationalization. Two sets of theories deal with the global phenomena affecting education: (1) world system (WS) theories (a. political-economic world system and b. institutional world system), and (2) globalization theories. The two types of WS theory (political-economic and the institutionalist) differ in several aspects from globalization theories. One such difference is that in WS theories the dynamics of historical development is a principal ingredient, while this is not the case in most globalization theories (Clayton, 2004).

According to the political-economic WS approach, the drive for competitiveness, profit and accumulation is the principal ‘cause’ of or condition for what occurs globally (Elwell, 2006; Wallerstein, 1991, 2006). Wallerstein (2006) defines four different categories of countries or areas, but all of them participate in the drive for competitiveness (Dale, 2000). The world system consists of nations, corporations, organizations, etc., and when the links between them form extending chains, this may generally be seen as globalization (Henderson, 1996). The position countries have in the world system may vary from marginalized to strongly incorporated into (competitive) world markets. As a result of this, countries have become more vulnerable to fluctuations in world production, consumption and prices. The economic world system has its phases of economic growth and economic recession (something which became very evident as recently as in 2008), and these shifts occur globally. Countries ’situated outside’ of these flows (the poorest countries in the world) are marginalized and at the same time indirectly influenced in that their frame of action as it is conditioned by the world system (Castells, 1993; Foreign Policy, 2006; Griffith-Jones & Campo, 1999). All the Nordic countries, on the other hand, are strongly incorporated into the World System. The institutionalist WS theory assumes the existence of a world polity, which is not a physical body or institution, but a symbolic, cultural construction and a discursive entity with enforcing characteristics (Meyer et al., 1997). The world polity embraces world models consisting of “cognitive and ontological models of reality that specify the nature, purposes, technology, sovereignty, control, and resources of nation-states and other actors” (Meyer et al., 1997: 144). These models may be seen as ‘stored’ in policy documents and disseminated from international organizations (e.g.
OECD, Unesco, and the World Bank). National decision-makers are assumed to have the ambition or to feel compelled to organize the state apparatuses (including the education system) and their functions so that they meet the expectations implied or recommended in the world models.

So far World Systems theories. Globalization can be seen as the processes taking place within the framework of the world system; it is something more than the sum of the actions taken by single nations, because it has an existence of its own (Cardoso, 1993; McGrew, 1993; Sklair, 1995). There are at least three different views of globalization. The first includes processes, such as compression of the world (in space and time) through ICT, and the second is about economic interdependencies of global reach. The third is more sceptical and treats globalization more as an ideology (Cox, 2000) or “the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992: 8).

In the most globalized economic sectors among countries in the North, employment takes place mainly in the Post-Fordist mode of production (Cox, 2000; Waters, 1995), while in the countries in the South, most jobs are in the simple organization (ILO, 1998). The former is characterized by autonomy and requirements of flexibility, creativity, and so on. Even among countries in the European Union (EU), there is a great deal of variety in the mode of production, and hence, varying needs for different types of competences. Lorenz, Lundvall, and Valeyre, (2004), for example, found four different modes of organizing companies and work in Europe and that, for example, 60 per cent of the labour force in the Denmark are employed in companies characterized as post-Fordist, while the proportion is 19 per cent in Greece. The four modes of course require different types and levels of education and training.

Seen from the new governance perspective, there are many governing forces in addition to the state: market forces, civil society organizations, Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), findings from international studies of students’ academic achievement. Market forces and market ideals are reaching most places on the globe, and to a large extent provide the foundation on which institutions are dependent and life is organized and most areas of life, among them education, are penetrated (Cox, 2000; Gill, 2000; Story, 2000). Economic processes are the most globalized ones and are governed by market forces, that is, ‘governance without government’ (Gill, 2000), while there is no world-wide body corresponding to the state, dealing with the common good, welfare, equality, and environmental problems on a global scale (Anheier, 2007; Attac, 2004; Duffield, 2003; Griffin, 2003). The de-territorialization of companies and organizations results in even more governance problems for the national states.

NGOs (Non-governmental organizations), INGOs (International NGOs) and IGOs have grown considerably in number (Boli & Thomas, 1999). Between 1909 and 1993, the number of NGOs increased from less than 200 to more than 4,000 and the number of IGOs from 37 to 286 (Mannin, 1996). This means that NGOs, INGOS and IGOs affect policy-making and implementation more than ever before (Jones, 2005; Mundy, 2007). All of this results in governance problems for the national states.
From an international perspective, national states are responsible and accountable for what happens to their education systems, and for the state to govern now means to coordinate efforts so as to achieve various (mainly economic) goals within its territory.4

States respond differently to globalization processes (Brown & Lauder, 1996; Cox, 2000; Gill, 2000). Whatever the national state’s response, globalization forces enter the national context, and ‘hybridization’ (Nederven Pieterse, 1995) and ‘glocalization’ (Robertson, 1995) take place in the encounter between the global and the local cultures, ideologies, policies. Hybrids and glocalized items are different from both the originally borrowed item and the planned outcome. Therefore, nationwide implementation of globally standardized educational policies tend to have different outcomes, something which has implications for C&I.

Culturally, globalization causes or encompasses standardization and homogenization as well as particularization and heterogenization; secularization as well as de-secularization and revitalization of moral and religious values (Berger, 1999; Norris & Inglehart 2004; Robertson, 1992). Globalization of neo-liberal policies makes economic imperatives dominate over all others, and the ‘universalized’ aspects of cultures challenge and question local cultures and taken-for-granted aspects (Giddens, 1994; Mayer & Roth, 1995). This sometimes provokes revival and revitalization of local ideas and value patterns.

The combination of change caused by globalization, on the one hand, and state withdrawal from its traditional roles in society, on the other hand, results in insecurity and uncertainty reaching individuals’ lifeworlds (Carnoy & Castells, 1995; Lash, 1990; Zürn, 2003). Also, policy-making seems to be more future-oriented than before and, therefore, more risk-taking (Giddens, 1999). In this situation of increasing risk and uncertainty, religious revival is taking place around the world. The world religions compete and challenge one another (Turner, 1991). Islam is challenged by the globalization of market-oriented and liberal ideas, but is at the same time itself one of the globalizing forces; it is the most expansive religion today (Ahmed, 1992; Beely, 1992; Berger, 1999; Daun & Walford, 2004).

As Giddens (1994:22) argues: “Globalization is not just about the creation of larger systems, but about the transformation of the contexts of social experience.”. ICT now makes this intrusion from the global to the private possible (Best, 1994; Kumar, 1995; Lash, 1990). An increasing proportion of individuals’ lifeworlds in high-tech countries is constituted by symbols and re-presentations, implying that children, for example, spend more and more time with phenomena they do not experience directly but as re-presented via ICT.

**DISCOURSES**

The production of discourses seems to be increasing, to a large extent due to their dissemination via mass media and ICT. A discourse is an articulation of certain cultural and ideological features; it determines not only the selection of themes, concepts, and terms to emerge in the international and national educational arena.
and what ideas and concepts are opportunite, appropriate or even legitimate to articulate but also who is allowed to have a voice in the public debate. In the long term, a predominating discourse tends to be institutionalized and embodied in material structures, everyday life and power relations, a phenomenon that tends to condition peoples’ perceptions, beliefs and actions (Ball, 1990; Foucault, 1991).

Often different discourses have tended to be pre-dominating at different levels (from the central level to the classroom) and in the realms of research and policy-making. For example, constructivism is an important ingredient of the predominating discourses, but teaching in the classroom seems to be rather independent from this discourse.

Globalization relates to discourses in at least three different ways: it contains itself a ‘package of globalization discourse’; it carries other discourses; and it makes discourses disengage themselves from place (specific countries, specific communities, traditional places of knowledge generation, etc.).

In regard to the relationship between education and society, four principal types of perspectives or discourses may be distinguished. The education system: (a) mirrors societal changes and adapts to or is deliberately reformed according to these changes; (b) is the spearhead or motor of societal change; (c) interacts in a dialectic or mutual relationship with other components of society; or (d) education is de-linked from society or is relatively autonomous in relation to society (Johnston, 1990; Karabel & Halsey, 1977). During various periods of time, one of them has been predominating, with (a) and (c) prevailing in the sociology of education in the 1960s and the 1970s, while (b) has been most common since the beginning of the 1980s. On the other hand, (d) has been the predominating perspective among some researchers now and then.

Today’s discourses have a common ontological basis: the foundation in development optimism and evolutionary, teleological and linear thinking, and the belief in rational planning. They take for granted, at least implicitly, that development follows a predetermined path (Esteva & Prakash, 1998; Tenbruck, 1991). They are idealistic in that they tend to: neglect hard economic realities; see education as a panacea for or the motor of development; see problems in terms of technological and professional solutions rather than in terms of culture, meaning and motivation; and see and analyse educational issues from a top-down perspective (Moulton et al., 2001). Due to the predominating discourses, researchers and policy-makers tend to see economic problems as a failure of education, and not as a failure of the labour market due to weak or non-existing economic growth and differentiation, and ultimately, the country’s position in the world system (Griffith-Jones & Campo, 1999).

Since the beginning of the 1980s, the world models include parts of and carry combinations of contradictory as well as complementary or overlapping ideas, such as the utility-maximizing autonomous individual as a rational chooser. The following educational discourses have been on the international agenda, and all of them (except some traditional communitarian varieties of the Islamic umma, Hinduism, Buddhism or religions of African origin) have their roots in the liberal Western culture: the market-oriented; the etatist-welfarist; the traditional communitarian-oriented; the
modern communitarian-oriented; and post-modernism(s). Since the 1980s, the first and the fourth discourses have been globalized and have dominated the global educational agenda: the market oriented and the communitarian.

In the Market discourse, education is seen as a good or commodity, and when all consumers can choose, the quality of the goods and services improves. Privatization, unlimited choice, competition between schools, vouchers and school fees are the most important ingredients of this discourse (Brown et al., 1997). Gender, class and ethnic differences are not taken into account within this discourse. Nor is anything said about the mechanisms that create inequalities (educational and otherwise). Everybody has equal chance to get education and well-rewarded positions. The Market discourse includes the HC theory and is compatible with the functionalist theory and managerialism. The latter is the narrow view of leadership, mainly as steering towards students’ academic achievement (Codd, 1994).

Communitarians form two different categories, one “traditional”, one “modern”. They share the idea that schools should be locally owned and run, either by local communities, NGOs or other associations (Barber, 1996; Etzioni, 1995). Informal and non-formal educational arrangements have traditionally been important issues in both varieties of the communitarian discourse: Sunday schools, Koranic schools, adult education arrangements, literacy activities, and so on. Schools are expected to repair “under-education” (as regards moral, ethics, values, etc.) taking place in many homes today, but the schools are too narrow and too test-oriented to accomplish this task (Coleman, 1988; Etzioni, 1995).

Traditional communitarians want to literally restore the Gemeinschaft of the local community, while modern (or postmodern) communitarians join on the basis of “sameness” – which could be global – and strive to establish Gemeinschaft at the global level – as opposed to the global Gesellschaft resulting from the market forces (Offe, 1996; Robertson, 1992).

A basic feature in the post-modernist discourse is the rejection of all types of grand scale “narratives”, and grand scale solutions to human problems. Individuals are unique, and each individual has his or her own view of things, and, therefore, there is no objective reality. Instability, change, and “crisis” are seen as normal conditions. The different branches of post-modernism (e.g. post-colonialist and post-structuralist studies) have as common denominator; a break with male-dominated perspectives, eurocentrism, and the “Third World” as a construction. Post-modernists seldom use nations as the units of comparison (Callinicos, 1995; Kumar, 1995; Lash, 1990; Tikly, 2001).

The denominator that the market, the modern communitarian and the post-modern discourses have in common has attained a hegemonic position in world models. Elements, such as “the agent”, “the micro”, and so on, have taken a leading position in educational research and policy communities (Morrow & Torres, 1995; Popkewitz, 2000; Pratt, 1978). This common denominator is impregnating C&I and its terms are often taken for granted (see Table 2).
Table 2. Basic Features of the Market-oriented, and Communitarian-oriented Discourses and Their Common Denominator

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Market oriented</th>
<th>Globally hegemonic common denominator</th>
<th>Communitarian-oriented</th>
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<tr>
<td>Civil society includes profit or utility maximization; effectiveness; efficiency; competition; human capital; cognitive achievement.</td>
<td>Individualism; freedom of choice; purposive (technical) rationality; decentralization; participation; individual autonomy; state withdrawal; education as an individual investment.</td>
<td>Civil society includes neither the state, nor the market; Human Rights; NGOs; solidarity; values; multiculturality; local community; Human development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education as an individual matter.</td>
<td>Education seen as the motor of development.</td>
<td>Education seen as a collective issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifelong learning.</td>
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(Source: Elaboration Daun, 2003)

In development policy and research, something of a vacuum “crisis” or “impasse” occurred in the beginning of the 1990s. The intended or predicted development had not been achieved. This fact was seen as a result of the type of policies and research employed so far. Theoretical approaches to the study of development were revised (Schuurman, 1993), but throughout this period, human capital theory and modernization (and functionalist) theory survived. Failing development was perceived to depend on lack of knowledge (or HC) or errors in the way of handling knowledge (Farrell, 1999), a view akin to the one seeing education is the motor of development. However, out of the crisis, the Human Development (HD) perspective was born, and it was presented by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as “a process that enlarges people’s choices” and it is “for people to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living” (UNDP, 1991: 11). Individuals should not be seen primarily as instruments to be improved (human resources) or as passive receivers of welfare items satisfying their needs (as in the etatist-welfarist discourse, see Cornia et al., 1987); instead, they should be seen as active and complete persons. Education is not seen only as something contributing to more productive and technological competence, but also to well-being in the broadest sense (UNDP, 1991, 2005). HD has a certain denominator in common with the modern communitarian and to some extent with the etatist-welfarist and market discourses.

HIGHER EDUCATION (HE) AND RESEARCH

Despite standardization through globalization, we find different modal types of universities, due to geo-cultural and economic differences between countries.
A WAY FORWARD

For example, Asia with rapid expansion of private HE and market forces, low and middle income countries in Africa and Asia struggle with the survival of public HE institutions, while private institutions are expanding; the USA with strong corporate forces (Levy, 2006).

Since the 1980s, universities around the world have been and still are going through tremendous changes, a fact that has implications also for C&I, partly because it is involved and partly because one of its missions is to study HE. HE institutions are challenged and pressured by the overall drive for economic and educational competitiveness and different forces threatening academic freedom. HE institutions are challenged by (i) the massification of HE; (ii) market mechanisms (marketization; outcomes-based funding) and shrinking funds; (iii) managerialism; (iv) the ICT development; (v) growing fields of knowledge; (vi) internationalization; and (vii) increasing cooperation with economic interests (Meyer, 2006).

The growing demand for HE all over the world since the 1980s came as a surprise for most academics, and the increase in enrolment has been largest in low and middle income countries (Unesco, 2006). Most countries have implemented market mechanisms in HE. This implies performance-based funding and competition for students. Universities are supposed to find resources in various ways to finance their activities. China, for example, is a big buyer of higher education from Australia. The application of market mechanisms in a way means a stronger coupling of the university to the state and economy at the expense of academic autonomy and freedom. The struggle for competitiveness results in improving quality of education and knowledge, in the best cases, while in the worst cases, it leads to fraud and the establishing of fake net universities. Such universities have increased enormously during the past years, and the fabrication of false diplomas causes a large number of problems and includes large costs, not least for employers (Hansson & Johansson, 2004).

Managerial governance means that the leader is a chief executive driving the processes in the organization and other employees are passive receivers who are expected to implement of his or her vision (Bush, 1995). The organizational principle of managerialism has become a philosophy impregnating most aspects of university life. According to Currie and Newson (1998), institutions are increasingly “defining their activities in terms of business rather than of education” (Currie & Newson, 1998:142). The ICT development has had tremendous consequences for all the aspects of higher education institutions, at least in high income countries. The number of virtual universities (completely built on ICT) organizing distance education via internet has increased enormously (Altbach, 2004; Newson, 1998). Due to changing demands related to competence in various occupations, but also to the need for universities to market themselves, new areas of knowledge/skills are created, and courses previously given at lower levels have been up-graded to higher education levels. One example is the subject of Gastronomy which is given at some universities (Lambert, 2006: 7). Another dimension is integration (“project” and interdisciplinary production of knowledge) versus diversification.
and specialisation of knowledge and the emergence of research and teaching specialties.

Internationalization of higher education is taking place mainly through: the rapidly growing exchange of students and researchers, sale of and investments in education, internationalization of curricula and research abroad. The latter type of internationalization is driven both by states, universities and corporations. The contents of the curricula include international features; scientific knowledge and innovation is increasingly globalized, largely in private enterprises, private enterprise networks and by the IGOs. Certain concepts and terms are universalised; “best practice”, “lifelong learning”, “empowerment” and “efficiency”.

The link between universities and industry/business has traditionally been much stronger in the USA and Japan than in Europe (European Commission, 2003: 3), but around the world today universities are pushed to create “partnership” or “alliances” with industry, entailing not only education and training, but also research. The increasing market orientation of universities encourages Wasser (1997: 48) to argue that the “university as a cultural institution is disappearing, to be replaced by the university as a corporate enterprise into knowledge industry”.

The position of research and production or generation of knowledge is now changing in three principal ways: (i) relations between the research realm and the surrounding society are changing, (ii) the generation and production of knowledge increasingly takes place outside the universities, and (iii) knowledge itself is being redefined. According to Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1998) “the university and the firm are each assuming tasks that were once largely the province of the other. The boundaries between public and private, science and technology, university and industry are in flux...” (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1998: 203).

Gibbons, et al. (1994) argue that in the new knowledge production, the relevance and validity of scientific knowledge are now determined, not only by scientific criteria, but also by criteria linked to utility, marketability and reflexivity. The major international agencies (OECD, Unesco and the World Bank, for instance), and many NGOs have established their own research bodies or hire researchers to work according to predefined terms of reference (Slaughter, 1998). The area of evaluation has become a grey zone between research and policy-making, and the number of bodies dealing with evaluation and assessment are growing rapidly (Ball, 1990; Booth, 1993; Gilbert, 2004). This is in line with states’ shift from pro-active control and regulation to retro-active monitoring and assessment of activities in society (see Table 1).

The definition of knowledge itself is changing. There is a tendency that accumulation of pieces of information are seen as knowledge – sufficient and solid – upon which to base policy-making. For example, the World Bank declared itself in 1996 to be a knowledge bank (King & McGrath, 2004). Under various themes, it creates pieces, fragments and more holistic texts, which are accessible on its home page. This view of knowledge seems to be predominating in the consultancy activity.
COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION (C&I)

General

The C&I field of knowledge, well established since the 1950s, includes different components: “International Education”, “Comparative Education” and “International and Comparative Education” and “Comparative and International Education”, exist as research and training at more and more universities. With globalization and internationalization follows an increasing need for researchers competent within this area (Daun, 2006c).

“International Education” includes programs and training dealing with education around the world and learning about other cultures (inter-culturality/trans-culturality), globalization, etc. People with direct experience from development work in the South are well represented here. “Comparative Education”, on the other hand, has tended to be more research and analysis oriented and deals mainly with comparison (Crossley & Watson, 2003).

Both components have expanded rapidly since the 1980s, due to general globalization, increasing migration, more intensive and extended international contacts in academic work and training as well as expanding tourism and the international testing of students’ academic achievement. Particular events, such as September 11, also contribute to this increasing interest. New institutes are established and existing “domestically oriented” departments are internationalizing (Daun, 2006c).

Although a speciality in itself, C&I is a disparate field of knowledge, and there are different views among researchers on almost everything: comparability, appropriate units of analysis, definition of knowledge, and so on. What is comparison? This question is raised as a way into the debate on comparison and comparability. Comparability has been and is a matter of debate in C&I. What sometimes appears to be comparable is not and vice versa. Raivola (1985) has made a thorough review of dimensions and traps in comparisons, and his discussion also has a lot to do with units of comparison. The “national” scale has for a long time been taken for granted as a unit or level in C&I research (Crossley & Watson, 2003). Such comparisons have been frequent, but more and more comparative studies ignore the nation/country as a unit of analysis or make it irrelevant. For example, classrooms have been compared across countries and cultures. Although structurally and organizationally rather similar, classrooms differ between European countries in type of motivation and learning styles among the students, due to cultural differences (Broadfoot, 1999). The same has been found in studies across continents (Alexander, 1999).

At the level of methodology, we can distinguish between the following principal types of studies: (i) large scale, cross-national studies, (ii) small scale cross-national approaches dealing with a few cases, (iii) small scale sub-national or “a-national” studies, (iv) theoretical approaches (e.g. discourse analysis), and (v) the tremendously increasing amount of reports produced by international consultants and IGOs. The latter type of knowledge is the one being most internationally disseminated, not least because such works are of interest for mass media.
With all described aspects taken together, we find different categories of research and researchers doing comparisons. Oyen (1990:5) presents four different views on cross-national studies:

- (a) the **purists** argue that comparative studies are not different from other kind of sociological research. Every study which aims at more than a simple description is by nature comparative; as soon as there is variation, comparison starts.

- (b) The **ignorants** “pursue their ideas and data across national boundaries without even giving a thought to the possibility that such comparisons may add to the complexity in interpreting the results”,

- (c) the **totalists**, who are “too well aware of problems of doing cross-national...(but) consciously and deliberately ignore the scientific requirements regarding the testing of hypotheses in settings which do not and cannot meet the conditions for such testing”, and

- (d) those who **acknowledge the points made by (a) and (c)**, but argue that “in order to advance our knowledge about cross-national research it is necessary to raise questions about the distinctive characteristics of comparative studies” (Oyen, 1990: 5).

From a broader perspective, one can argue that C&I includes three different types of knowledge producers (adhering to different epistemologies, methodologies, and so on): universalists, relativists and non-academicians. For universalists, all human beings have identical drives. Development is seen as a linear process leading to higher economic and technological levels (Tenbruck, 1991). Globalization (meaning the extension of the market economy) contributes to economic growth and will homogenize the world to the extent that cultural differences will disappear (Fukuyama, 1991). Educational convergence makes it increasingly appropriate to use a standardized methodology, regardless of culture and geographical place. Universalists tend to see education as a panacea for societal and personal development, and education is believed to solve most problems; poverty, war, inequality, dictatorship, and so on. Also, universalist studies tend to be formalistic, large-scale and statistically oriented (Daun, 2006a).

From the universalist point of view, the overall aim of comparative research is to establish empirical generalizations, to test hypotheses, to explain, predict and construct scientific theories, rather than merely to identify and describe (Noah, 1973; Noah & Eckstein, 1998). Single cases (i.e., nations) are the basic units, but are not of very much interest as long as they do not “disturb” the establishing of generalizations or theory building. The same relationships between the variables are assumed to exist in different countries, but the strength of these relationships may differ between countries and, therefore, information about single countries is collected and serves the interpretations of the cross-national differences (Khoi, 1981; Lijphart, 1971). Studies of student achievement or adult literacy in a large number of countries are examples in this genre: PISA, TIMMS, IALS (Keeves, 1992; OECD, 2001).

From the relativist point of view, human beings are socially and culturally constructed. It is argued that it cannot be taken for granted that people everywhere act, according to capitalist (market) principles. Societies differ in important dimensions, and development is seen as a complex process. Globalization has
resulted in a tremendous economic differentiation and cultural differentiation due to globalization and hybridization. Consequently, the national implementation of the globalized and standardized educational policies may have different outcomes. Education is seen as interacting with hard economic structures and global realities. When it comes to societal development, education cannot make it alone. In their research, relativists struggle to understand other cultures and their history. They believe that educational phenomena have to be interpreted, not in universal terms, but in local terms (see chapters in this volume by Breidlid, Dupy, Holmardsdottir and Takala).

In addition to these two categories, another view has emerged in social sciences: the post-positivist (Phillips & Burbules, 2000) which deliberately ignores some of the traditional criteria of comparison, verification and falsification or make them irrelevant (see also post-modernism). With the change of governance to monitoring of outcomes, the consultancy activity has grown tremendously, especially in the domain of development policy. It consists to a large extent of terms, concepts, ideas and findings strongly conditioned by the hegemonic denominator of the predominating discourses. Educational development cooperation is increasingly informed by casual, ad hoc or similar types of texts produced by agency staff or hired consultants, rather than by findings derived from basic research (Crossley & Watson, 2003; King, 1999; Phillips, 2000).

Important themes and approaches in C&I have been feminist studies (Stromqvist, 1998), post-colonial studies (Tikly, 2001), or social capital approaches (Bourdieu, 1990; Coleman, 1988). These themes or approaches are becoming more and more important in C&I. Studying school leadership and schools as organizations in terms of school effectiveness is a theme more prevalent in the realm of policy-making. Problems and their causes tend to be seen more narrowly as situated in the education system itself or, more precisely, in the schools themselves, rather than in social structures and students’ background (Gannicott & Throsby, 1992; Hargreaves & Woods, 1983). Finally, the focus on students’ achievement has been accompanied by constructivist views of learning and knowledge, and here the discourse differences are visible: in the policy and research discourses constructivism is proposed, but in many places teachers do not know very much about learner-centered teaching or are unable to apply it, due to large classes, for example (see, for instance, Storeng, 2001).

Finally, focus in policy-making and research has become more directed towards cognitive outcomes and testing (Armove, Altbach & Kelly, 1992). Articles dealing with this matter have been frequent in, for example, the Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research during the past ten years.

**The Nordic countries and C&I**

The Nordic countries are intensively involved in globalization and experience most of its features. The European Union (EU) both reinforces and renders more difficult general globalization processes; the first mentioned by doing within its border what globalization generally does and the latter by the very fact that the
same borders filter and mediate globalization processes (Apeldorn, 2000). As in economics, the smaller the size of a country, the more contacts, specializations and reliance upon comparative advantages are needed in research and training. That is, the Nordic countries are small and have comparatively small institutions, units or sections involved in C&I. However, the size has a lot of implications for C&I, some of which are mentioned below.

Judging from participation in international conferences, and published books or articles in well-known scientific journals in this area, there are altogether some 25 educational comparativists in the five Nordic countries. This is more or less the same number as, for example, a C&I unit has at bigger universities in the USA. Comparative research involving two countries or more needs both generalists (or universalists) as well as specialists (relativists with area knowledge), but small units do not have such a team. Therefore, cooperation is needed. This confronts smaller departments with the challenge to maintain a balance between cooperation and competition, since they need cooperation more than larger units do.

As previously mentioned, internationalization is one of the principal missions of higher education institutions, also in the Nordic countries. Internationalization is a process (becoming international), but it seems often to be added to the ‘normal’ (domestic) activities and tasks and to constitute a comparatively small proportion of all activities. Also, for some researchers and educators, internationalization seems to be the same as Europeanization (cooperation and research in and on Europe). On the other hand, to be international means, among other things: (a) to have a “helicopter perspective” in research and training; (b) to have a student body which is mainly international, and (c) to be most of the time involved in the international matters. The helicopter perspective implies that the researcher perceives all cases (whether they are countries or not) from a high level of abstraction and does not view phenomena in other countries through the lenses of his or her own country and culture.

What type of “international research” takes place in the Nordic countries? Judging from a review of scientific journals in C&I and in the Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research (SJER), being international does not mean being global. A review of the articles published in this journal during the period 1998-2008 shows that most of the articles present findings from within-country studies.

**Table 3. Types of Approaches in the Principal Nordic Educational Research Journal**

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<tr>
<td>Number of articles</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles dealing with cross-national comparison</td>
<td>6 (4%)</td>
<td>17 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles dealing with developing countries</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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The proportion of articles dealing with cross-national comparisons increased between the two periods, yet they constitute only one tenth of all articles. Still fewer articles in SJER deal with development issues. On the other hand, some ten Nordic researchers have during the past decade published books or articles in well-known international, non-Nordic scientific journals.

THE PROSPECTUS FOR C&I

Society, students and education

Against the background of the changes described so far, what societal and C&I scenarios might be expected – especially in the Nordic countries? What are the paths forward? Let us speculate about this. In my view, it does not make sense to merely take the trends within C&I as a point of departure, but one needs a holistic perspective including societal and educational development around the world. In the following, selected themes will be briefly mentioned.

The economic competition will continue, not only globally between countries, but also within countries and even more so among de-territorialized companies. This competition will lead to further economic restructuring and, together with the international testing of students’ knowledge, it will place further pressure on education systems. It seems that the stronger the economic competition in the world, the larger the number of losers and the more severe will be the marginalization of those unable or unwilling to compete. This, in turn, will imply reinforced sorting and selection of students in schools. The growing number of policy documents dealing with the themes of “inclusion” and “cohesion” might be an indication of the concerns among politicians and policy-makers in this regard (see, for instance, OECD, 1996). What are the relationships between competition, cohesion and education, for example?

According to established (constructivist) theories on children’s learning and development (Piaget, 1971; Vygotsky, 1978), children, at least until the age of 12-13 years, learn through direct and concrete experience. Therefore, it will be necessary to study how re-presentations via ICT are assimilated by children spending a great deal of time with this new technology (see chapter in this volume by Guðmundsdóttir & Jakobsdóttir). How are re-presentations learned, and what do they mean to children? Are there cross-cultural differences in the images that are constructed in children’s minds from these re-presentations?

Around the world, education systems experience one or several of the following contradictory pressures and demands: a unitary vs. diversified system; religious-moral vs. secular curriculum components; local vs. national or international curriculum components; education as an individual good vs. education as a common good; competition and elitism vs. solidarity and cooperation; focus on tests and performance vs. more holistic considerations; and mother tongue vs. international language(s) (Daun, 2002; see also chapter in this volume by Holmarsdóttir).

As a way to tackle the above-mentioned contradictions, most countries in the world have implemented or at least included in their policy formulations elements
that appear in the world models for education. Such standardization will extend to more geographical areas and more aspects of life; however, they have had and will continue to have different outcomes, due to the hybridization and glocalization taking place in national and local contexts in which they are implemented. In some places, these policies will also encounter increasing particularization (or parochialization and perhaps growing fundamentalism) as a response.

Educational governance has been another theme in the reforms suggested in the world models. Decentralization, one of the principal components of world models, may also be seen as an attempt to respond to the contradictory requirements mentioned above, but also as a way to relocate “wastage”, uncertainty, risk and finance to lower levels in society. Few types of decentralization actually relax control from the central level. Instead, actors at the local level have to follow strict parameters established centrally. This is often combined with requirements of self-evaluation and reporting and economic measures, which punish or reward local communities or schools in accordance with their performance. Thus, the changing governance will require the existence of a central state that coordinates activities and collects information about and monitors the performance of the decentralized bodies. Moreover, privatization and freedom of choice (two other components in the new governance) will lead to increasing diversification and differentiation, but also to larger cleavages in society (see chapter in this volume by Lauglo). Also, there appears to be a lot of ambivalence in relation to school leaders, teachers, and market forces. It seems that they are not trusted, since inspection has been reintroduced in several countries. Therefore, steering of some measures and structures that threaten coherence and inclusion will be re-centralized.

Luisoni, Instance and Huttmacher (2004) have attempted to create scenarios of the future development of education. They draw three principal scenarios: status quo, re-schooling and de-schooling. Each of them has two varieties. The role of school leaders and teachers varies a lot between the scenarios. The most likely development of compulsory education is that countries around the world will experience a mix of all these three, although the proportions between them will vary from country to country. However, the outcomes will be more diversification and heterogenization of education within countries. Also, as a way to tackle some of these contradictions, states will take two principal measures. On the one hand, they will increase the number of teaching hours per year in certain subjects, but, on the other hand, some education will be out-sourced to private “learning stations” or run as distance education.¹¹ There is also in most societies a sceptical view towards formal schooling. Among these groups, the ideas of de-schooling and home schooling have survived and, in fact, grown in some countries (Holt, 1996; Illich, 1971; Villalba, 2003).

There are elite-mass cleavages in many societies (not least in Europe) (Andeweg, 1996). The elites tend to be more internationally and human capital-oriented than the masses. If the national education systems are unable to provide the children from the elites with this type of knowledge, international schools with a large portion of international content and training in, for example, ICT skills taught in English, will be established by supra-national organisations or by the “internationalists” themselves (the discontent of the elites with the national
education could also be a reason for introducing “learning stations”). Also, the number of “internationally mobile employees” is increasing, and their children tend to attend international schools.

Discourses will continue to influence peoples’ lives. Their role will be reinforced through mass media, but the questioning of their “truth” will also become more intense (see chapter in this volume by O’Dowd). This applies in particular to discourses related to policy-making. We know, for example, that important aspects of the reforms since the mid-1980s around the world were implemented on the basis of a combination of perceived educational problems and ideological convictions, rather than on research evidence. Such contradictions will receive more attention from C&I in the future, partially because many aspects of the reforms have not remedied what was perceived to be educational problems or reform needs. And when this is revealed, the validity of some discourses will be the object of critical discourse analysis.

For example, the discourse on lifelong learning emerged in the light of increasing competence demands and marginalization of certain groups of people, due to economic competition. It will continue to be one of the most important discourse themes in education. One category of researchers will make efforts to define and measure it. Another category will make important findings about learning at different ages and in different situations/cultures by using a combination of socialization theory and/or Bronfenbrenner’s ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and ethnographic methods. A third category will conduct discourse analysis in order to clarify the nature of the relationships between policy texts and hard realities (see chapter in this volume by O’Dowd).

C&I

The questions are then: What will be the future role of C&I in the Nordic countries? This broad question can only be partially dealt with here. Previous chapters in this book show a great deal of variety, and most of them report or discuss findings of the basic research nature. They cover a much broader area – thematically and geographically – than the articles in JSER. My contribution here will just be a few hints as to what constitutes the future.

– Generation of knowledge in the field of C&I needs to be placed in the larger context of philosophical, theoretical and methodological orientations. For example, there is no commonly agreed upon view of what is meant by “comparability”; there are different views and it has to be like this. However, it is important that the criteria used by the researcher are overtly reported.

– The trend so far has been the spread of knowledge generation, and this trend will be reinforced, implying that the proportion of knowledge generated by university departments will become smaller in relative terms. Both centralization and decentralization of knowledge generation are taking place and this development will continue. The IGOs and the European Commission (centralization), for example, will conquer a larger share of the knowledge production, and it is not unlikely that specific units for conducting research will be established in these
bodies, especially, if basic, critical research starts to grow in the traditional research institutions. On the other hand, the consultant activity (decentralization) will continue, but will probably be more bound to scientific criteria or linked to academic institutions than what has been the case so far.

- Quantitative, large scale approaches have been favoured by funding agencies and IGOs, and this development is likely to continue. Case studies have increasingly been attributed the role to complement such studies. That is, apart from the cases studies conducted for their own sake, case studies will be used to fill “gaps” in the understanding provided by large scale studies.
- The nature of research projects ranges from small micro studies, e.g. students’ learning in a classroom, to macro or meta studies, e.g. studies of student achievement in a large number of countries. This will continue, but it is likely that the country or the nation as a unit of analysis will be less important in more academically oriented studies, while it will receive still more attention in international studies run by the IGOs and national ministries of education.
- It is impossible to analyze or understand a national education system without taking the world system into consideration (Adick, 1992; Crossley & Watson, 2003; Ginsburg et al, 1990). Accelerating globalization will force C&I to adopt the world systems perspective, which is something different from and more than cross-national or even cross-cultural comparisons (Meyer et al., 1997; McGrew, 1992; Sklair, 1995). It is easy to agree with Oyen (1990: 2) when she argues, that “an understanding of poverty in the Third World cannot be isolated from a consideration of the wealth accumulated in the rich countries”. A world systems perspective means, for instance, that nation states and national education systems are viewed as elements of a larger system. The relationships between the national system and the world system (B1-B3) become a dimension for comparison, apart from all other dimensions (A1-A3) traditionally used. Normally, countries are compared with each other directly, but in addition to these comparisons, we need to include comparison of each country’s relationship to the world system. The latter comparison should preferably imply a certain time period which makes it possible to see changes over time.

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Figure 2. Traditional Comparison and Comparison of Country’s Relationships to the World System

- C&I has to employ multi-disciplinary and multilevel approaches including both quantitative and qualitative methods and data. Both universalists and relativists are needed, and both categories require area knowledge as well as specialist knowledge. In other words, comparativists need to have both a “helicopter” perspective as well as area knowledge and to take the global and local seriously.
A WAY FORWARD

into account. However, this does not mean that every single actor needs or is able to have all these competences. What all of them need is to have a global-local perspective and profound knowledge in theory of science in order to be able to evaluate what different theories and methods can and cannot do as well as to judge the validity of the various studies and the implications of the findings. It is necessary to convince politicians and other policy-makers that long term basic research is indispensable for a profound understanding of educational issues.

– Contrary to what universalists believe, hybrid items will not be amenable to large scale, quantitative comparison. Instead case studies will be needed if we are to understand meanings and functions of hybrids among local people.

– Economists and their models and concepts have dominated educational research and policy-making since the end of the 1980s. So far their findings have not contributed very much to a deeper understanding of educational phenomena. Therefore, decision-makers will realize that the research approaches used by cultural anthropologists and ethnographers will generate broader and deeper knowledge, indispensable for a better understanding of educational features. As women increasingly enter the academic world (especially in the domain of education and educational research), not only will feminist approaches nuance research, training and policy-making, but the increasing presence itself of women will by necessity contribute to researchers gaining new or more nuanced perspectives on phenomena, and hence new knowledge.

– In national as well as some international studies of the various relationships between, for example, student achievement, teachers, classroom processes, school organizations, and home background variables have been studied by the help of varieties of quantitative multilevel analysis. An approach including all levels (home background – student – teacher – classroom – school – district – province – country – world system) would give new insights, but so many levels and variables are hardly possible to handle. One solution could consist of a combination of quantitative multilevel analysis and a qualitative one.

– A qualitative multilevel approach has been suggested by Bray, Adamson and Mason (2007) and Bray and Thomas (1995), including three dimensions: geographical/locational levels; non-locational demographic groups, and aspects of education and society. The macro in their model is the country or nation, but it could, of course, be the world system. In addition to the level and sphere, a time dimension is needed, because it is difficult to understand the present without taking the past into account. Benveniste’s (2002) case studies in Latin America shows how global influences and world models are mediated and reinterpreted in national contexts, and the case studies in Daun (2006) illustrate how global processes are handled and mediated by different nation-states. The multilevel model suggested by Bray et al. (2007) is not used in these case studies, but their data could easily be incorporated into a similar model. Furthermore, some educational phenomena will not be comprehensible unless we take a grassroots or bottom-up perspective.

– Comparative education increasingly deals with cross-cultural phenomena. A genuine comparative study requires special competence. There is, thus, a need
DAUN

for a specialization called “comparative education”. In the Nordic countries C&I is a field in the discipline of pedagogik. Unfortunately C&I has left many issues to be studied by “domestically” oriented researchers, for example what learning is and how and why it takes place. As can be seen from the review above, there will be many issues for C&I to study.

Finally, the strong coupling to the drive for competitiveness implies a sub-ordination of research to certain values and does not leave space for critical analysis of society. However, a sound society can hardly develop and preserve its humane characteristics and humanistic values without continuous “inside criticism” coming from free and autonomous intellectuals.

NOTES

1 It is normally assumed that the state and the government are the central core from which policies emanate. In the new governance perspective we have to look at all the forces that contribute to the outcome of the formulated policies. Such forces are socio-economic class, ethnicity, etc. working, not only vertically, but also horizontally (Mundy, 2007).

2 In Sweden, Volvo and Saab are perfect examples of this; they are owned by American companies and with the crisis in 2008, it was debated in the US congress whether or not to support these companies, when it was not certain that the subsidies did not go to the units in Germany and Sweden.

3 A distinction may be made between deliberate steering mechanisms and steering forces. Among the steering forces, the following ones may be mentioned: Constitutional status; socio-economic and cultural context (economic level, socio-economic classes, political culture, cultural heterogeneity-homogeneity, etc.); ideological orientations in society; gender. These forces combine in different ways and at different levels. For example, at the classroom and school level, they are condensed and combine with everyday practice making (Daun, 2006. See also Hamilton, 2003 and Hannaway & Woodroffe, 2003).

4 Normally, the state has the power to formulate and implement policies, but weak states or states in countries with a low technological level tend to have problems in steering the processes and their outcomes.

5 For example, the predominating discourses from the 1980s and at least to 2008, makes it out of fashion to argue that there exist different paradigms or discourses.

6 It seems that after the collapse of Soviet Union and the failure of development in many low incomes countries until the 2008 crisis, the utopia most disseminated was that of the autonomous and freely choosing individual.

7 The etatist-welfarist discourse had an important impact during the period of nation-building in the South and the construction of the welfare state in the North. This discourse did not inform policy-making very much from the beginning of the 1980s to 2008, although at the international level “Global Keynesianism” (Hetne, 2003) was discussed and Väyrynen (2003) sees three perspectives on global governance: the market liberal, the critical (popular movements), and the reformist (state-driven Keynesianism).

8 For example, it has been very difficult during the past decade to argue that educational problems in some parts of the South might have something to do with the global division of work, production and resources and that a small and poor country locked into a position in the world system is to a large extent conditioned by this position and cannot achieve economic growth due to competition.

9 The number of hits on Google may be one indication of the importance of the area: “International Education” gave some nine million hits, “Comparative Education” some 36,000 and “International and Comparative Education” some 88,000 in December 2006.
Among the consultants, we also find people with research training, but in their function as consultants, they have to follow the extra-scientific parameters and criteria established by those hiring them.

Moderaterna (the political party that has been seen as the conservative party in Sweden) suggested in January 2008, that children being absent from school due to school fatigue should be offered internet-based distance education, which they can follow at home. This is a step in the direction I have in mind here.

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306
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Comparative and International Education teaching and researching in the Nordic countries is presented in this book as an academic field, characterized by its international outlook, such as it is required in the 21st century, a century characterized by globalization. As the significance of national boundaries are increasingly giving way to large-scale federations, the potential importance of teaching and researching within the field of Comparative and International Education has dramatically increased. The significance of this field is recognized by Nordic scholars who have provided noteworthy contributions to its development. A number of these contributions are revealed through the wide variety of chapters found in this volume, which not only clarify the dynamic characteristics of research conducted in the field, but also the influence of research training taking place within the region. It is our hope that this volume serves to provide a unique contribution to the field of Comparative and International Education by highlighting the perspectives of those engaged in teaching and conducting research in the Nordic region. With this book, our intent is to reveal the diversity of voices engaged in Comparative and International Education in the Nordic countries and thereby show the range of issues that are prominent in both teaching and research within the field, while at the same time highlighting what is unique for the Nordic region.

Implicit in this volume is an understanding of the consequences of globalization for education, educators, pupils and students alike. Although different voices, different views and different perspectives constitute this volume, it is maintained here that all of these differences provide the field of comparative and international education with its dynamics and its legitimacy. Harris (2008) proposes what she calls cultural internationalism that recognizes “a relation to the other, a difference between nations, despite a global capitalism which seeks to replace national cultures with global consumerism” (Harris, 2008: 355). Ultimately, difference matters, as the contributions to this volume exemplify, in education, research and training and most assuredly in the field of comparative and international education. In an effort to capture the field and describe it in terms of similarities, we run the risk of divulging it of its core, the differences that matter the most. In his article on fear and desire in twentieth century comparative education, Ninnes (2008: 346) describes the effects of the discourses that characterize the field of comparative education: “First, they act to prescribe the boundaries of the field and its future possibilities, in terms of aims, methods, and purposes and so on. Second, they act to position authors and readers within or outside the field. By analyzing these discourses of fear and desire, we begin to recognize how authors in the field either
contribute to its growth and development or alternatively seek to limit, preserve or constrain it”. Like Daun in this volume, Ninnes sees the mission of comparative education as a critical field of knowledge and knowledge production, in which “the substantive development of desires for education systems” might appear “too radical, marginal or peripheral” in the broader comparative education context (Ninnes, 2008: 353). As was stated in the Introduction, the Nordic countries, being on the periphery in relation to the rest of the world, may be endowed with the capacity to anticipate changes and new directions, such as that Finland has exhibited with regard to vocational education training in the European Union context (see Frontini in this volume). Arguably, the desire for change in education policy, practice, training and research is strongly expressed in this volume by Nordic comparative and international education scholars, who differ in the ways they envision change is to be accomplished. Hence this anthology concludes with a mapping of the means by which change is envisioned, as expressed by the contributors to this volume.

As the mapping above illustrates, the texts in this volume are positioned in relation to four means to accomplish change, i.e., through policy reform, through economic measures, through altered power relations, and through altered
perspectives and practices. The mapping is constructed on the basis of a thorough analysis of the texts and an interpretation made by the mapper, O’Dowd. In recognition of intertextuality and what it entails (Allen, 2000), the interpretation is based on the mapper’s analysis of the texts. As can be seen above, the overriding concern appears to be change through altered perspectives and practices, which is most clearly expressed in Biseth, Skinstad van Der Kooij and Pihl, Dupuy, Steensen and Pihl. While Skinstad van Der Kooij and Pihl and Pihl express the need for change in perspectives and practices as regards the educational performance among pupils with linguistic minority background, Biseth focuses on teachers’ perspectives and practices as regards democracy, also in increasingly complex multicultural school settings. Dupuy is interpreted as seeking change through altered perspectives and practices in relation to authoritarianism in formal schooling, especially as regards its influence on peaceful co-existence, while Steensen urges altered perspectives and practices in teacher education, as well as altered perspectives on policy and altered practices in research on teacher education.

Change through altered perspectives and practice is also expressed in Breidlid, Daun, and O’Dowd, where change through altered power relations is also a concern, albeit the texts identify different power relations that require change. At the same time these three texts are interpreted as also seeking change through policy reform, although this source is not expressed as strongly in the texts as are change through altered perspectives and practices and altered power relations. While Daun and O’Dowd are interpreted as urging change in the Comparative and International Education discourse, Breidlid is interpreted as identifying change more closely with altered power relations and their consequence for the alleviation of poverty and its consequences for the spread of HIV/AIDs in South Africa.

Piattoeva, Frontini, Takala, Milana, Holmardsottir, and Guðmundsdóttir and Jakobsdóttir are interpreted as advocating change through policy reform, while at the same time assuming a critical stance to current policy and its influence on policy implementation. Important in all of these texts is power relations and their influence on policy implementations. In Frontini Finland’s move from the periphery towards the centre of the European Union as regards vocational education is described, whereby Finland has changed its relation to power through anticipation of future labour market needs. EU policy on competence development and its consequence for European national and labour market contexts is described in Milana, while in Piattoeva supranational organisations and the influence these have had as regards nation states is clarified. In Holmardsottir and Takala power relations are interpreted as influencing policy formation and implementation, with the focus in Holmardsottir being access to adequate schooling and knowledge development and in Takala on aid-dependence. In Guðmundsdóttir and Jakobsdóttir the digital divide is discussed as a manifestation of power, especially as regards unequal access to information and the development of skills. The focus in Lauglo is Norway’s legislative control of the free choice in schooling option, in which economic measures have ensured that free choice in Norway has not exacerbated the socio-economic gap between private schools and public schools, as it has done in other countries.
If an overall conclusion can be drawn from the mapping of Nordic Voices and their views of the means for accomplishing change, it would appear that the contributions to this volume express an awareness of the need for altered perspectives and practices and the need to alter power relations in order to effect change. Moreover, the contributions express concern as regards the effects of policy and the implementation of current policy, especially as regards national, labour market and individual needs. Although the issues dealt with are dissimilar, reaching far beyond the borders of the Nordic countries, the comparative scholars presented in this volume through their on-going research appear to share similar concerns regarding Comparative and International Education and its mission, i.e., effecting substantial change in the provision of educational opportunities and the perspectives, practices and policies that greatly influence the quality of education around the world.

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