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EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

What you are opening is the fourth English issue of the *Orbis scholae* journal. Its title – ‘Educational Change in the Global Context’ – is borrowed from the title of the conference that we have organized at the Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Education on the turn of August and September this year (see the conference report in this issue). Even though a large part of this issue is represented by the papers presented at the conference – including keynote presentations of Mark Bray, Wolfgang Mitter, Joe Tobin, and Tony Welch, and Botho Von Kopp’s paper presented in the sessions – there are also three papers that were not presented at the conference; they however do enrich our knowledge of other education systems and of the changes in education in general. We believe the set of papers provided in this issue will enrich the world-wide scholarly discourse on the global issues in education and the understanding of educational change, and namely the role of comparative education in understanding global issues and driving forces for change in different countries and world regions.

The issue is opened by Botho Von Kopp’s paper *Do we need comparative education in a globalized world?* Even though the answer to the question in the title seems obvious (especially to all those of us who work in the field of comparative education and are reading this issue), his question actually is what form of comparative education we need today. Referring to the criticism of the past development of comparative education, that was not research based, he then posts the critical stance to what PISA (and other large-scale international assessments) did to the field, bringing it on more advanced methodological level, but not really bringing the added value to the comparative education development. The paper also discusses the scholarly perception of the impact of PISA namely in the German context.

In the following paper, Alex Wiseman’s has chosen Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries as a case study for analyzing the impact of a ‘global educational community’ on the educational change. He critically reviews the literature on institutional isomorphism and he uses TIMSS 2007 data to analyze the case of GCC countries, which is particularly interesting since Muslim and Arab societies are traditionally resistant to Western ideology and culture.

Wolfgang Mitter’s paper analyzes the educational transformation in the East Central Europe (ECE). Building in part on the papers from previous issues of the *Orbis scholae* journal (the thematic issue 2/2007 on educational transformation and a Cesar Birzea’s paper in the 2/2008 issue – to follow the previous discussion on post-communist transformation, kind readers may download full texts of these issues from our journal website www.orbisscholae.cz in the section ‘Archiv’), his analysis goes back into history of the countries (region) concerned to see the recent changes in a larger picture; historical considerations are raised even when we try to define what East Central Europe means. He then reviews main trends and changes

in ECE and identifies four-level pattern of change – national, European and global level plus the level of modernisation.

While the Wiseman's and Mitter's papers focused on particular world regions with their specific local contexts being impetus for our general understanding of global forces on education, Mark Bray's paper brings out the global phenomenon of supplementary private tutoring and shadowing education, which blurs the boundaries between traditional private and public education. The forms and reasons for private supplementary tutoring are different in different regions, which makes the topic particularly fruitful for international comparisons. They also differ within regions and individual countries from the perspective of their users – dependent on whether tutoring is provided to high or low achievers. The importance of the issue of privatization of public sector is of even higher concern today, in the times of budgetary cuts being introduced in many (if not all) regions. So as Mark writes, even though supplementary tutoring is by no means a new phenomenon, the expanded scale of tutoring dates from recent decades.

Joe Tobin and Fikriye Kurban present the results of their comparative research project *Children Crossing Borders* on early childhood education and care programmes in England, France, Germany, Italy and the US which aim to serve recent immigrants. From the data obtained through video-cued ethnographic interviewing with pre-school practitioners and immigrant parents, they analyse differences in beliefs in both groups on what the goals of preschool education shall be – academics or play?

Immigration is certainly a global phenomenon (though not a new one) that brings us to comparing cultures not only between countries, but even within individual countries. In the opening paper to this issue, Botho Von Kopp reminded us of Jullien de Paris seminal comparative study in Switzerland, which offered variety of climates, languages, religions, etc. in twenty-two cantons of the Helvetic Confederation. To a certain degree, Australia also represents a unique single country case for the analysis of immigration and multicultural education, as represented in Tony Welch's paper.

Holger Daun's paper is similar to the topic of Wiseman's paper on the role of world models in education change happening in different national contexts. As an example, he analyses the changes in educational governance in Czech Republic, Greece and Sweden in the context of globalization and Europeanization. Daun stresses that the world models are mediated through European Union and further disseminated through the Open Method of Coordination in the member countries. Europe thus represents a special case for studying the impact of world models and Daun's analysis of marketization and choice in education, and decentralization tendencies in three countries shows that the results differ and that the models have been implemented/accepted in these countries at different levels and forms.

Hubert Ertl and Hugo Kremer in their paper look at the reforms of vocational education and training (VET) in England and Germany. In their research they interviewed VET practitioners in both countries, to see the relation between the macro-level agenda of VET reform and its translation to the level of school. Their

research is important for the present issue in two ways: (1) it reminds us that teachers are the key agents in the implementation of reforms and without them the reform would only remain written down; (2) it turns our attention to VET, which is an under-researched area in both, the national contexts and in comparative studies. Nevertheless, large (even majority in some countries) population of student cohorts have this school- or work-based experience and there are organization at the European level (CEDEFOP - European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training) that stress the comparison and benchmarking, even though the academia is still not reflected enough the issue, its problems and importance. So the VET presents a challenge to comparative research for future. And the Open Method of Coordination in VET through the CEDEFOP, world models of relationship between the school and work are further issues for the theoretical concern with far-reaching policy implications.

Let us come back to the opening paper of Botho Von Kopp and his reminder the 1993 CIES presidential address, in which Stephen Hayneman was critical to the lack of research in comparative education. Today, there are some who worry that comparative education will be limited to large-international comparative studies without enough theoretical and contextualized understanding of local contexts and global trends. The present issue, we believe, is a positive example of balance of theoretical papers, policy and comparative analyses based on national statistics, contextualized interpretations of TIMSS data and as well unique comparative researches that use qualitative research methods (focus groups and interviews in this volume). We hope that kind readers will find this issue inspiring for their work and thinking.

David Greger & Petr Najvar

DO WE NEED COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN A GLOBALISED WORLD?

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Abstract: *Globalization, and presently predominant educational governance and research strategies, certainly pose a new challenge on the theoretical and methodical background of comparative education as an academic field. Large scale research on education systems conducted all over the world uses uniform methodologies facing allegedly a more only preliminary not yet completely uniform “world education system”. However, in this global research, uniform items are “compared” only in respect to scales, and not as substantially different entities embedded in different contexts of complexity. Using a critical view on these tendencies and strategies, we find strong arguments for the necessity to reconsider why we still need a more complex understanding of comparison and the continuation and even further advancement of a comparative education field which is apt to take into account the complexity of a non-uniform education world.*

Key words: *globalisation, comparative education, education systems*

“Research should look at the meaning of questions and not at the quality of data; rigorous methodology leads to bringing about a substantial loss of reality”

(Education psychologist Rindermann, 2006)

Collecting data is a waste of time if it does not serve as a catalyst for theories

(Anthropologist Arthur Maurice Hocart (1883-1939))

The art of comparing is, and remains, the king’s road to knowledge

(Political scientist Ulrich Menzel)

In the history of Comparative Education (CE) we find several paradigm changes, with the pendulum sometimes swinging to and fro. On the one hand, it follows general science history, on the other hand, such oscillations might be innate to the very concept of CE. It proudly refers to its early “foundation date”, and the endeavour to establish it as an empirical (“positive”) academic discipline.

Usually, the “birthday” of this new field is considered the year 1817, when Marc-Antoine Jullien, called Jullien de Paris (1775–1848), published his “*Esquisse et vues préliminaires d’un ouvrage sur l’éducation comparée, et séries de questions sur l’éducation*”. He postulated the establishment of a European institute for comparative education research, and published the first outline of a standardized, internationally comparative questionnaire for a study which was first to be carried out in Switzerland, and then throughout Europe. Switzerland was chosen “because of the great variety of climates, languages, religions, political organizations, and governments in the twenty-two cantons of the Helvetic Confederation, an infinite variety of educational establishments and systems, reproducing every possible known form is to be found there” (quoted from: Gautherin, 2000, p. 6). As we know, CE evolved differently from the visions of Jullien for various reasons. Apart from the general historical development, there also seemed to be basic discrepancies in Jullien’s new discipline’s design. Jaqueline Gautherin speaks about the “shaky construction of his ‘science of education’, which is indeed a curious piece, arranged for several voices, that of the honnête homme confident of the progress of reason, that of the former revolutionary interested in social and political change, that of the administrator concerned with efficiency and rationality, that of the amateur scientist, and that of the traveller curious to observe the minutiae of school life. This ‘science of practical utility’ is not only torn between a concern for specifics and the requirements of universality, or between anthropological realities and lofty generalizations, dichotomies ... but also hesitates between disparate formal schemata, and cannot make up its mind between ‘knowledge, will, and action.’” (Gautherin, 2000, p. 8). These inconsistencies of a “curious piece arranged for several voices” might be seen as a birth defect, which tears apart the envisioned discipline. But we should certainly also take into consideration that they are not so much the consequences of a basic antagonism, but rather an intuitive anticipation of a unique new and very challenging multidisciplinary, without which this new field can hardly develop its full potency. This disturbing ambiguity of CE has been a challenge up to today.

In the 1980’s, Edward R. Beauchamp questioned if comparative education was an academic discipline on its own, and he concluded: “My own reading of the substantial body of literature on the nature and methods of Comparative Education leads me to the inescapable conclusion that there is no such thing as Comparative Education, that is, Comparative Education as a field of study does not exist.” (Beauchamp, 1985; quoted from Epstein, 1988, p. 117). CE was in a crisis. In its majority it consisted of secondary analytical, descriptive, and historical studies. They were sometimes inspiring and problem oriented, but hardly empirical, and rarely explicitly comparative works. This was confirmed empirically by a large study (Rust and others, 1999)¹. The authors analyzed over 2000 articles from three front-ranking comparative education journals (Comparative Education Review, Comparative Education, and International Journal for Educational Development)

1 These journals are: “Comparative Education Review”, “Comparative Education” and “International Journal for Educational Development”.

from the 1960's up to the 1990's, and they revealed that in the 60's and 70's nearly 50 percent of all articles in these journals had been secondary analytical studies (literary reviews), and only about 15 percent each were to be classified as empirical or explicitly comparative research texts. In the 1980's and 90's the share of empirical papers grew, but the share of explicitly comparative papers remained roughly at the same level as before (Ibid).² A similar analysis of the German journal *tertium comparationis* revealed similar figures, with a still higher share of secondary analytical and less empirical studies (von Kopp, 2003, chapter 3). These figures suggest a worrisome neglect of empirical, and a constant alarming neglect of explicitly comparative work over the given decades.

The feeling of a crisis in CE had culminated towards the turn of the 1990's and it was Stephen P. Heyneman in his presidential address at the CIES-congress in 1993 who analyzed it comprehensively and critically, and at the same time outlined his vision of the basic principles of the way out of it (Heyneman, 1993). He pointed out that in recent years CE had faced a fast growing amount of important and urgent questions, which, however originated not from the "centre" of its academic representatives, but from the "periphery", from public officials, from institutions, areas, and other disciplines which had all become increasingly interested in and concerned with comparing education (politics, economy, sociology, economics, etc.). CE, was his argument, had no adequate answers, or had ignored these questions. We can see this presidential address as a turning point within CE which marks the definite start towards a new CE ("NewCE"). Its goals and *raison d'être* derive from the context which is dominated by a new (elite) class of international professionals, who are bound together in growing networks of intensified transnational co-operation and control over the sources of CE (compare Münch, 2009, p. 60). In the last two decades, education research and its context have changed substantially. Empirical studies and tests came to dominate CE, and I should like to ask anew Beauchamp's question in the light of these changes, and especially if NewCE has strengthened the position of CE as an academic undertaking – though inclusive, open to welcome "peripheral" disciplines, and based on the principle of interdisciplinarity.

Globalization

'Globalization' is nowadays often used as a slogan. However, it is a reality which can be well documented empirically, although in social science literature we find different interpretations of its character, and of its dating and phasing (Menzel, 2004, p. 33ff). In any case, as a reflection of the recent acceleration of globalization, only between 1985 and 1995 the occurrence of the term "globalization" in social sciences literature increased about twentyfold (Menzel, *ibid*). Market, media, and political internationalization, have all added to a grown awareness of globalization. Supranational organizations (OECD, UNESCO, EU, etc.) intensely push forward globalization, among other things, in the field of education. But also in everyday

2 A study on the comparative education journal "*tertium comparationis*" a few years later suggested a similar tendency for Germany: von Kopp, 2003.

life more and more international contacts – not least increasing migration – expose not only researchers, but also students, parents, and teachers to the comparison of different attitudes, values, and pedagogical system experiences. Hence, generally we could assume that we can count on a fast growing demand for comparative education research. On the other hand, if globalization pushes for convergence and standardization (perhaps even uniformisation) of world society: what would be left over at the end for comparing?

In education research, in the first line is PISA, which is an agent of globalization. In PISA, the global ambitions are not only expressed quantitatively (69 countries took part in 2009) but also qualitatively: Its intention is nothing less than to accomplish a “world education revolution” which is allegedly founded in “generally valid basic principles”, and is lastly based on “institutionalized cognitive rationality” (Baumert et al, 2001, p. 21). If we take these propositions seriously, then we have to ask, how close the PISA testing comes to mirroring rationality principles of a revolutionizing schooling in various system and culture contexts in a new and relevant way. Despite it dominating most public discussions in recent years both nationally and internationally, PISA to my mind did not contribute substantially either to new comparative theoretical and methodological, or to comparative practical pedagogical knowledge and better schools. Its measuring and scaling is not comparative education.

We might even suspect that the real relevance of PISA is less in education. For the German theorists of international law, Armin von Bogdandy and Mathias Goldmann, PISA and TIMSS came into the focus of their research not for their pedagogical contents and aims, but “the OECD’s PISA Policy” seems to be “a paradigm for a New International Standard Instrument”. Their value as models for international policy lies in their pioneering of a new “Governance by information”³, meaning a “process which impacts on a given policy field by shaping the cognitive framework of policy-making through the collection, processing, and dissemination of information in the respective area” (von Bogdandy & Goldmann, 2008, p. 3). Since its genuine – supra- and transnational – sphere of action has only a few established and generally acknowledged rules, the present phase of globalization is characterized by a only rudimentary form of global governance in the form of a loosely knit and multifaceted co-existence and co-operation of communication and acting on different levels of liability. Under these conditions of international politics, it seems to be promising to frame a specific, “softer form of governance” (Goldmann, 2008, p. 1) than can be found within the nation states: not sets of existing formal rules and laws, but a process which through co-operation and the establishment of facts, practices, and habits attains gradual accountability. Seen in this way, PISA is a “laboratory” for learning how to deduce “soft rules” for establishing hierarchical, supervisory, fiscal, legal, market, peer, and public reputational “accountability mechanisms” of global governance (Goldmann, 2008, pp. 15–20).

As for the “standardization” of education which would make comparison

3 Other authors speak of “Governance by persuasion”, “Governance by opinion formation”, “Governance by rating and ranking” – von Bogdandy / Goldmann 2008: 3 footnote 10).

unnecessary, the reality of globalization outside the laboratories of test designing is not simply about detecting and constructing convergence and uniformity. It is accompanied by, and it produces itself, contradictions and “antagonistic constructions” (Münch, 2009, p. 60), centralization and decentralization, convergence and fragmentation, etc. on various levels. Certainly, globalizing structures and processes induce convergence and standardization to a degree. But this is not a linear process, and in order to analyse and classify the related processes relevantly, CE – a comparative education which is adopted and continuously adapting to the contradictory changes – is needed more than ever. How could we otherwise explain that, for example, Germany’s education system during the last two decades implementing globalization and Europeanization, is splitting off at the same time, more than ever over the past decades, into increasingly diverse school systems. Today it can be characterized as a labyrinth of “16 ... education systems, in 16 mini-education-states ... several thousand different curricula, and nearly a hundred variations of teacher training” (Der Spiegel, 2010, pp. 56–67). It seems to be difficult for any comparative research to identify behind this chaos the ‘invisible hand’ of “generally valid basic principles” without contextualized interdisciplinary analysis.

New Empiricism and ‘New Comparative Education’

Empirical studies have come to dominate education research. Especially international and large scale assessment (LSA) test based research (like IEA and PISA) has advanced during the last decade, and it disposes of an increasingly sophisticated methodology. Seen from the point of view of the former (in many respects: justifiable) criticism of negligence of empirical research, this new accentuation seems to have advanced CE to a higher level of a scientific discipline, efficiency, and respectability. However, in spite of the grown methodological sophistication of international empirical research, there are reasons for scepticism if the new CE (NewCE) made really substantial progress and respectively went in the right direction. I should like to direct attention to some important aspects: The quality of statistics, the quality and functions of large scale assessment LSA studies using the example of PISA, evidence of data and its interpretation, and complexity as a challenge for empirical research.

Statistics

Heyneman, in his already mentioned critics of the “old” CE, ascribes deficiencies of statistics explicitly to countries like Nigeria, Pakistan, Egypt, Brazil, Bangladesh, and regions like Africa, and Central and Eastern Europe. This list somewhat diverts from the problems with statistics in the rich and economically leading countries where – after reading the above list – we expect more than we get. It goes without saying that generally in the leading rich countries statistics are more sophisticated

(sometimes also more sophisticated in their manipulations), and – handled with care – generally very useful for comparative research, but they are not without errors, missing data, doubtful compilations. They virtually always need re-analysis and reprocessing by means of up-to-date comparative education research which is well founded in the continuity of theoretical and methodological development. At any rate, they are far from being qualified for an immediate comparison.

All present relevant international education statistics are based on ISCED 97 (International Standard Classification of Education in its 1997 version). Its categorizations and data merge with PISA data in today's leading international publications on education, such as *Education at a Glance*, *Eurybase*, etc. Although it's true that ISCED 97 provides us with a relatively detailed standardized pattern for comparing international education systems – which, however, leaves the assignment of the data to categories to the individual countries. Following the UNESCO definition, ISCED97 "... aids policy-makers and others who are looking to learn from the international experience in developing education systems, and to benchmark their performance with other countries". But without a comparative analysis based on the extensive knowledge of the respective education systems, direct comparisons are risky, and, depending on the question of comparative interest, often misleading. For example the secondary, postsecondary, and tertiary systems, which in each system usually have distinct and very complex structural and functional arrangements, are in those statistics very poorly differentiated. Artificially standardised data on a seemingly homogenous "upper secondary education" sector obscure, e.g. in the case of the hierarchical system of Germany, important social and professional career implications of certificates from different institutional types. In Japan, to give another example, a quantitatively and nominally homogenous upper secondary education sector is in reality extremely organized into a strict hierarchy (which, in addition, can change every few years). The problems behind these very sketchy examples are found generally in the whole apparatus of international education statistics.

PISA

More often than statistics, LSA studies meet with criticism. Some of it is substantial: For example, for the German mathematician Meyerhöfer, progress in the respective methodology is nothing but "increasingly filigree statistical constructs with a constantly growing number of test persons", and he even doubts the accuracy of measuring: "Because we discover for TIMSS and PISA grave haziness of scaling, co-measuring of test-ability, errors, language distortions, and destruction of mathematical ratio, my work queries the appropriateness of these tests as an instrument for measuring" (Meyerhöfer, 2005, pp. 5–6; also: Rindermann, 2006). He also points to the fact that the large numbers tested, and the level of standardization of tests do not necessarily produce accuracy and reliability of the test, and in this respect the PISA scale points might not be very different from those of general school tests and marks as they have long been used in schools. This

assumption, it seems, has never been checked and analyzed (Mayerhöfer, 2005, p. 217ff).

Other criticism argues that PISA testing is nothing more than the old intelligence tests in a new form. The German, Heiner Rindermann, connected this argument in an interview with a comparison of international data and the allegation of “uneven distributed intelligence” among populations (Rindermann, 2007). Although he linked levels of tested intelligence to levels of modernization, he was confronted with accusations of racism. Apart from this, however, as a psychologist he had many more detailed technical questions on the construction and validity of the test (Rindermann, 2006).

There is also substantial criticism on the socio-political dimension of the new empiricism. The German sociologist Richard Münch in his studies pointed at grave contradictions of topical empirical research designs and their interpretations. As a general context, he sees the emergence of a new global elite and its claim for power, as well as its definition of economy, governance, and science. This argument reopens the criticism with which some comparativists reacted immediately at Heynemans presidential address. Steven Klees, for example, also a member of CIES, saw in Heynemans argumentation (and in his background as a former member of the World Bank) the interests of a neo-conservative movement which lobbied for the LSA studies (at that time mainly IEA-studies) which he characterized as “methodically questionable” and “in their outcomes inadequate” (Klees, 1994, p. 3 and 10). Münch’s criticism is, however, not only a repeat of earlier political arguments, but empirically analyzing experiences over the last decade of LSA research and its transfer into education governance patterns. There is such a multitude of examples that this transfer ends up in twisted constructions. As Münch shows in a detailed analysis, evaluations based on “quality benchmarking” – designed to support competition by incentives – do not at all direct systematically financial means to the most successful institutions (Münch, 2007). Whatever the reasons – contradictions and antagonisms evoked by inadequate reforms, or clashes between “global” and local elites and their power positions (as Münch assumes) – “decentralization” can end up in centralization, “autonomy” far from seldom means in reality more dependency, “competition” often ends with monopolies, etc. (compare von Kopp, 2008, pp. 23–25). The constant stream of this kind of “newspeak” hazes reality and hampers critical analysis. Subservience of research under these structures Münch calls “normality science”, and it goes without saying that there is no place left for critical and classical scholarship (Münch, 2009, p. 60).

Evidence of data and its interpretation

Education science, apart from its other functions, legitimizes education policy, governance, and pedagogical action. A key element of legitimacy today is the claim of an “evidence-based education” (von Kopp, 2008, especially pp. 20–23). This concept in its present meaning first came into use in the early 1990’s in medicine as “evidence-based treatment” (in German “evidenzbasierte Medizin”, or “empirische

Medizin" respectively), and was soon taken over into education.

Although we all probably agree that we prefer medical treatment based on evident efficiency over arbitrary treatment or treatment based on superstition, still, there is serious criticism in medicine itself, which should be taken seriously in general also in other fields. One typical problem with evidence seems to be the widespread mathematical analphabetism of the "stakeholders" (as they are called today): "The term risk appears in the title of more than 10,000 medical articles published every year ... It should be alarming that, at the same time, most physicians and patients do not understand the crucial statistical numbers which medical research provides them. Collective innumeracy impedes the efficacy of evidence-based medicine and the ideal of shared decision making. From our studies ... we estimate that some 80 % to 90 % of doctors are innumerate, that is, do not understand the outcomes of standard tests, and are confused about the meaning of basic concepts, such as sensitivity and false positive rates" (Gigerenzer, 2007/08, p. 54). In a survey, doctors were asked: "What is the probability that someone who tests positive, actually has ... cancer? The correct answer is about 5%. However, the physicians' answers ranged from 1% to 99%" (Ibid).⁴

I doubt that the situation for the "stakeholders" in education is better – which in fact is not a shame, because the correct interpretation of statistical and probability data is quite difficult, even at a basic level – and rather neglected: What seems to be needed therefore is Statistics Education in school Mathematics, because: "... the curricula in Western countries are almost entirely preoccupied with the mathematics of certainty, from algebra, to geometry, to trigonometry. The central role statistical thinking plays for educated citizens in a modern technological world has not yet been recognized in ... school..." (Gigerenzer *ibid.*, p. 56).⁵

Complexity as a challenge for empirical comparative research

A complementary aspect of evidence is "indicators", today used so widely in education research and NewCE. They mean signals giving condensed information about the functioning of given systems. It goes without saying: Education policy and governance need indicators. But in many contexts I found an understanding based on naive machine analogies ("a red dashboard light warning that something

4 Gigerenzer is psychologist and director of the Center for Adaptive Behavior and Cognition at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development – in German: "für Bildungsforschung" The example in detail: "German physicians with an average of 14 years of professional experience were asked to imagine using the Haemocult test to screen for colorectal cancer. The prevalence of cancer was 0.3%, the sensitivity of the test was 50%, and the false positive rate was 3%. The doctors were asked: What is the probability that someone who tests positive actually has colorectal cancer? The correct answer is about 5%. However, the physicians' answers ranged from 1% to 99%, with about half of them estimating the probability as 50% (the sensitivity) or 47% (the sensitivity minus the false positive rate) (Gigerenzer et al., 2007/08: 54)."

5 Consequently, Gigerenzer and colleagues developed a first textbook of stochastics for high schools, and they work on methodologies of teaching probabilistic thinking to younger students: *Ibid*

is wrong with the car" – I heard this allegory at an international education conference from an expert⁶). Relevant indicators, vis-à-vis the complexity of today's society, cannot comply with such simplistic models which pretend an "all inclusive certainty". Education Comparativists are well aware of this fact. Similarly to the quoted Gigerenzer, Edmund King postulated an "education for uncertainty" (King, 2000, p. 268). For empirical research this means to take increasingly into consideration systematic empirical modelling, and designing research of non-linearity, complexity, and contextualization. This lastly could boost the knowledge on conditions of quality education, which de-contextualized, average-measurement-focused-testing cannot provide.

As pedagogues have always known, a complex multitude of top-priority-factors and conditions on the micro-levels of education are relevant for its quality, and lastly, the individuals are the main focus of education. In order to discuss how this can be translated into empirical comparative education research, I should like to turn once again to the latest discussions in medicine: There is increasingly evidence – and concern – that medical treatment based on statistical average data is effective only for certain fractions (in some cases, only the minority) of patients, depending on certain characteristic groups of patients. In some cases, such treatment with drugs that normally heal, can even be harmful. The (very young) strategy of coping with this phenomenon is known as "personalized therapy" – a somewhat misleading term, because it does not imply that (at least at present) there could be a special treatment fit to the individual conditions of every single person, but rather for certain groups with certain common physical conditions and predispositions. I think empirical education research – when copying the model of evidence basing from medicine – should not ignore these findings, and direct its attention to look for possible models of coming to an empirically based "personalized pedagogical diagnosis" which would include comparative data on typical learner profiles, as well as more up to date empirical data on profile-related didactics, supportive strategies, etc.

Such research is already done in fields other than medicine. Recently, the American technology writer Stephen Baker traced the efforts of mathematicians to compose significant patterns of consumer behaviour (all the relevant data can be found on the internet, especially in social networks and in databases on "loyalty bonuses" and electronic "trading stamps" of big stores). It seems that only a tiny elite of mathematicians is able to process this complexity of data meaningfully. Baker calls these specialists "numerati" in allusion to the role of "literati" in ancient China (Baker, 2008). Education research, of course, is not primarily interested in consumer behaviour (although research on education expectations and demands of parents and students as education "consumers" is an important aspect) but in a

6 Similarly, the following quotation of a German politician when a journalist denoted him and his fellow politicians as "machinists of power". He exclaimed: "That's to the point! excellent term"! and continuing referring to the last two years of government work: "... at the latest after two years we got it which car journals are in danger to overheat, where to refill cooling water, where to lever, where to oil, where to grease, where to cushion, how to adjust the hydraulic system." (Der Spiegel, Nr. 36, 2009, p. 63).

multitude of aspects and factors which determine success or failure of individuals in the education system. True, probably many of us feel uneasy in the face of fishing for data (although we ourselves often quite carelessly expose so many of them to the net). However, such evidence of “personalized profiles” would not be interested in data of concrete, identifiable individuals, but in typical groups of constellations and conditions which go hand in hand with school success in order to support the favourable, and to prevent the unfavourable ones. The target of such comparative research would result in “large scale” evidence on the micro-level of social and cultural, as well as school contexts, on conditions of cognition, rationality, volition, and emotion in learning environments.

Complexity has been treated up to now mostly as a problem, a barrier, a hindrance for empirical research, because the conventional (binary-linear) type of data collection and processing (which is fully compatible with the linear-mechanistic thinking I mentioned above) quickly encounters its quantitative limits. Consequently, science often resigned or postponed the problem of complexity, and started to design simple but internally highly sophisticated models. This also happened, for example, in the research on cognition. “Emotion, context, culture, and history were de-emphasized in early cognitive science because, although everyone believed they were important, everyone also knew that they complicated things enormously. It was argued “that getting the program started required a simple model of cognition. The field therefore deferred consideration of affect, culture, context, and history until such time as there was a good model of how an individual worked in isolation. It was hoped that these things could be added later” (Hutchins, 1999, p. 367)⁷. However, this strategy of modelling cognition, did not add “these things” and, as the most aspiring outcome of cognition research – modelling artificial intelligence – shows, created “deaf, dumb, and blind, paraplegic agents as models of human cognition” (Hutchins, 1999, p. 368).

What Kind of Comparative Education Do We Need?

Summarizing the preceding argumentation and the experience in my research, I have to conclude that NewCE has gained a dominant position in CE and changed its profile strongly, but it has not changed it substantially, and it has followed conventional paths. LSAs have substantially improved their methodology. But the huge input of money and research energy did not translate into added value for comparative knowledge on education and education systems in a globalizing world. True, due to its dominant position in the field, and its strong policy affiliation, NewCE promotes comparative education research also outside and on the periphery of the discipline. Unfortunately, the researchers and administrators as groups responsible for PISA have done little to prevent wrong or overstressing interpretations from the side of political clientele, which lastly could discredit serious CE.⁸

⁷ Hutchins refers here to Howard Gardner: *The Mind's New Science*. Basic Books, 1985.

The impressive amount of data all in all did not go beyond the measuring of averages, it did not pave the way for new sophisticated and micro-level related "personalized education diagnosis" in the above discussed sense. It has also theoretically and methodically failed to overcome the limits of the philosophy of "mathematics of certainty", which Gigerenzer and others ask for. Therefore the dominant paradigm of "NewCE remains in the sphere of linear thinking and "binary idiocy" (Sloterdijk, 2004, p. 31), and it is not really prepared to adequately model the rapid changes and uncertainties of the globalizing world.

To caution against an overly simplistic model of standardization is not necessarily a "conspiracy" of researchers who believe "that empirical research with universal standards of excellence violates natural complexity ... and is politically unacceptable" (Heyneman, 1993, p. 383). But we must also see that the concept designed by Heyneman in 1993 heralded the dawn of an "economization" in the field of comparative education, which came to be criticized by so many pedagogues and researchers. The point for me here is not, if behind this was a "conspiracy" or not (this is not to be decided here) but that this "marketization" did not bring us nearer to standards of evaluation and standardization which would be better fit to grasp the complexity of education reality. It promised more efficiency, more grass-roots autonomy, and more diversity, but the "real marketizing" – with NewCE being a powerful "transmitter" in the field of education – did in the reality of education practise and research, partly supported monopolization and partly fragmentation.

In its very essence, CE is in theory, research, and practise about "border crossing". Its paradigmatic plurality and its positioning between humanities, social sciences, education policy, and education practise, is constitutional. NewCE with its dominance of the PISA-type empiricism was probably a necessary reaction on the former negligence of empirical research in comparative education research. But in establishing a dominance over the whole field, it has not supported – but rather suppressed – a balanced consideration of the different "voices" and methods – empirical, historical, ideographic, hermeneutic, "thick descriptions" – inherent in and of central importance for CE. Only respecting the balance, CE will have the potential to develop further into a unique and innovative "interdisciplinary discipline", and have a sustainable impact on education research and education policy.

As for education policy and governance, certainly they are a legitimate part of the "voices", but the power centre of the discipline has shifted away from a centre based on an academic self concept. This does not mean that Heyneman's "periphery" of practitioners is not important, they are part of the education establishment, which indeed is internationalizing, and consequently they are becoming increasingly interested and involved in CE. But their dominance over defining what research is should be challenged. True, an overemphasized academism often retarded

8 When the results from PISA 2006 were presented, German's federal minister, understanding that the mean score points of Germany had risen in comparison to the two previous studies (especially in science, less in the two other areas), jubilated "The message of the day is that we have the best schools in Europe." (Der Spiegel, 2007, No. 49, p. 86).

the development of CE (as of other fields). "Self-generated" research without immediate practical reference, sometimes endless and tedious self-circulating discussions – in the words of Heyneman: "the research community's eternal squabbling" (Heyneman, 1993, p. 385) were, however, never the *raison d'être* of CE. But they were, and are, a part of the often tenacious process of establishing, evaluating, and re-evaluating a discipline which defines itself as academic in the sense of upholding the standards of science. Research, which is not primarily based on the rules and ethics of an academic discipline, will gradually degenerate. In the end, a CE giving up its academic pretensions and being pushed into the position of a service industry, a "Service-CE", in order to do the preliminary work for the officials who pose the questions, would gradually devalue its answers, and in the end will not serve the officials because the seriousness and validity of the answers is directly dependent on the academic and theoretical power of research.

Wolfgang Hörner summarized the classical functions and tasks of the discipline as idiographic, melioristic, evolutionary, and experimental (Hörner, 2010, pp. 5–6). Apart from this, as a teaching discipline it provides, to a high degree, "the kinds of skills that individuals who directly face the challenges driven by changes in global order need to have – 'how to think and act flexibly and strategically, how to move readily from one project or region to another, how to grasp a new situation quickly, and how to start solving pragmatic problems'" (Epstein, 1997, p. 118). Perhaps still more important: CE could have the potential and the function to become a "relevant voice of criticism and dissent" not only, as Torres argued, "in face of the distortions of globalization" (Torres, 2001, p. viii) but, I would add as a basic function of science based on research and knowledge: to be critical against all forms of belief in the given, and in any other, form of authoritarianism. Therefore CE could resume and pass on the heritage of the critical and emancipator idea of humanistic education.

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THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF A GLOBAL EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY: THE IMPACT OF IMPOSITION, INVITATION AND INNOVATION IN THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL (GCC)

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Abstract: *How does world culture impact the development of educational policy in the Gulf Cooperation Council countries? This paper begins by describing the ways that the development of the educational system in the GCC is shaped by the global community, and further impacted by the emergence of a global education governance structure. Legitimizing transnational actors frame national, regional and local policy options in GCC countries, which lead to a “global” perspective being the chief priority in GCC educational policymaking often in spite of regional and local needs. However, the global discourse has limits in GCC countries because of the unique ideological traditions of Arab and Muslim culture. Therefore, while ideological discourses frame education policy at each level in GCC countries based on international norms and values for both education and society, educational policy and reform balances these international norms and values with traditional and conservative norms and values. This paper concludes by analyzing how Western rhetoric is harmonized with Arab and Muslim norms and values with seemingly little contradiction and little educational impact as well in the GCC countries’ education systems.*

Key words: *Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Education policy World culture Education governance Transnational actors*

International comparisons of educational systems, policies and practices have become standard practice for most educational policymakers and scholars around the world. While a lot of the attention around international educational comparisons and reform is geared toward “global competition” there is a large discourse focusing on the development and impact of a global educational community, or as some call it, “world culture” (Boli, 2005). There are others who argue that global educational competition and global education community are at odds with each other and with local cultures and communities. These arguments suggest that combinations of various communities and cultures either cannot co-exist or only do so according to imbalanced power hierarchies (Silova, 2010; Silova & Abdushukurova, 2009; Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006). For example, much has been written about the impacts that “world culture” can have through certain

global institutions, such as mass education (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Resnik, 2006). So, the balance between local cultural context and global educational community is particularly important, especially if there are specific ways of thinking about education that either permeate or are embraced by local communities in spite of, in addition to, or because of a world education culture.

Most troubling to critics of world education culture is the phenomenon of “normative isomorphism”. In particular, normative isomorphism is often dismissed as being a concept that is either too homogenizing or somehow aligned with neoliberal agendas for mass education (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004), but it is short-sighted to mislabel or reduce the complexities of institutional isomorphism to basic “homogenization” and declare that specific regional, national or local conditions are the only valid indicators of culture. One way to think beyond the specifics of parochialism is to consider how global educational community develops across nations based on—rather than in contradiction with—the characteristics of local and regional cultures and communities within nations.

A “global educational community” is an international community of individuals, societies, nations and systems shares common educational expectations, experiences, successes and failures, but not as a result of homogenization. Global educational community is shared not just within each country’s own “closed” system, but is also shared among other systems, schools and individuals worldwide. Shared expectations are not necessarily homogenizing, as some suggest, but are an interesting phenomenon resulting from a dynamic international confluence of expectations and experiences (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997). And, because certain educational expectations, experiences, successes and failures are shared worldwide, there is going to be some variation in the way that these are shared from system-to-system, nation-to-nation, school-to-school, and individual-to-individual. Since variation across systems, nations, schools and individuals is often the focus of comparativists, the context for cross-national or cross-system variation deserves a few moments of explanation here.

The immediate or local context is of special importance in understanding how a global educational community is either received or resisted. For example, many comparative education researchers assert the importance of local cultures in shaping the development and implementation of primary, secondary, and tertiary educational policy and practice (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Schriewer, 2000b). But, the local, indigenous or traditional culture not only resists educational change, it also can embrace it. This fact is sometimes lost when the comparative focus is limited to locating or exposing agents and agency in policy and practice reform. Because so much comparative attention and scholarship has focused on highlighting these differences and on locating resistance to global educational community, the discourse needs to be balanced with some evidence investigating the impact of world culture by examining ways that “global educational community” develops and spreads.

Local culture and context can be resistant, neutral or receptive to change (Schriewer, 1990), and comparison can fuel resistance and lead to local agency

(Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Comparison can also aid receptiveness and diminish resistance (Baker & LeTendre, 2005), and the ebb and flow of resistance and receptiveness is critical to understanding the balance of forces that comprise institutionalization in and of education. This combination suggests the importance of working through the context and framework of the experiences of students and teachers worldwide, but particularly in communities and systems that are traditionally and historically resistant to hegemonic Western ideology and culture. For this reason, it is especially productive to highlight Muslim and Arab societies and systems and, in particular, the countries that comprise the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to see how the process of institutionalization of a global educational community either does or does not seem to be happening. The GCC countries include Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. These countries comprise the heart of the Arab and Muslim world, and have traditionally been resistant to the influence of Western culture and ideology.

To get at the complexities inherent in both global and local cultures in the formation of a global educational community, the process of institutional isomorphism is necessary to empirically observe. However, beyond the global expansion of modern mass schooling—and the organizational culture and Westernized ideologies, which accompany it—the empirical investigation of global educational isomorphism has been limited (Schriewer, 2000a). There are indicators, however, that will help to empirically isolate several elements of the institutionalization of mass education worldwide and that contribute to the formation of “global educational community”.

Elements of Institutional Isomorphism

The vagaries of isomorphism have long been both an aid in thinking about how organizational cultures and structures spread across otherwise different systems as well as a weakness in terms of imprecise identification of particular factors contributing to isomorphism. The classic criticism of those whose understanding of educational change is consumed by hierarchies of hegemony and power is that the spread of systems and cultures across nations is a function of dominance and power relations beyond all other factors (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). And, while there is no question that power relationships factor prominently in the ways that culture and structure spread cross-nationally, there is also no comprehensive explanation for why expectations about schooling and experiences of education become institutionalized across otherwise unique communities and local cultures or why these unique communities do not fully resist the spread of shared educational expectations and experiences.

DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) sociological explanation of the coercive, mimetic and normative characteristics of isomorphism covers the basics of why institutional change occurs. Coercive isomorphism suggests that force or agency is a factor, which certainly leads to educational systems and practices becoming increasingly similar over time. Mimetic isomorphism, likewise, suggests that copying or mimicking

educational policies and practices of one educational system by another leads to similarity, but the factors pushing mimicry are much more complex than mere force. Finally, the isomorphic impact of norms on educational policy and practice is perhaps the least well understood element of the world institutionalization of education. In spite of its flaws, this basic outline of isomorphism, accompanied by often-sophisticated analyses, has served for several decades as the foundation for understanding how global institutionalization of education occurs (e.g. Kamens, Meyer, & Benavot, 1996; LeTendre et al, 2001; Ramirez & Ventresca, 1992). Yet, there are additional characteristics of institutional change that either stretch or add to these. In particular, a “global educational community” may be institutionalized through (1) imposition, (2) invitation, and (3) innovation.

Imposition may occur when a system or set of expectations that are foreign or unwanted in the target culture or society is “imposed”. Imposition closely resembles “coercive isomorphism” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), and is often easy to identify in post-colonial systems (Quist, 2003). Imposition is also widely spread through policy dominance by multinational organizations, which are active across the globe and in all nations and systems (Martens, Rusconi, & Leuze, 2007). So, for example, if an influential international organization suggests that countries it works with should participate in an international educational assessment of math and science performance (such as the Programme for International Student Assessment, PISA, or Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study, TIMSS) as one more piece of evidence to track human capital development, and then a developing country either wholly or partly decides to participate in PISA or TIMSS because of this suggestions, then it is a form of imposition even though a country’s own educational policymakers may make the final decision to participate in these international assessments. This coercive pressure may bring countries into the global testing community and even builds their national capacity for educational standards development, accountability tracking and large scale testing, but for very different reasons and under very different conditions than politically, economically, and socially influential nations like the US or Japan participate.

A “global” perspective in the policy priorities at the national, regional, and local levels characterizes *invitation*. Ideological discourses that frame education policy at each level are globalized. Legitimizing transnational actors frame national, regional, and local policy options (Lawn & Lingard, 2002), but they do so to varying degrees and with adjustment for cultural and community context even while retaining the core shared elements of the organization’s agenda or mission (Chabbot, 2002). In the case of invitation, there may have been an original coercive element to participation in a particular educational event, practice, or policy, but the continued participation or shared experience is not directly the result of coercion anymore (Kijima, 2010). It becomes taken-for-granted that a particular teacher, school, or educational system will do or participate in a particular way or for a particular reason, which is common to what other teachers, schools or educational systems may be thinking or doing around the world (Baker & Taylor, 1995). The availability and commonness of international educational information and data can be a major

contributor to the phenomenon of “invitation” (Wiseman & Baker, 2005).

Finally, there is *innovation*. This occurs when new ideas or systems are developed within countries or educational systems. Innovation is often tied to “best practices” and overlaps with both imposition and invitation (Carnoy, 1998; Rogers, 2003). Innovation may be a form of local agency or resistance, but is more importantly a way for local educational policymakers and educators to solve immediate and real problems regardless of the cultural, ideological, or political baggage that a particular solution may bring. This is especially true if “best practice” relies on an idea, program or process that has its origins in another system or culture, which may even be a hegemonic system or culture (Westney, 1987). The importance of innovation to understanding normative isomorphism in education is that it allows for individuals and communities to be agents determining their own path. Ignoring or not allowing for this agency in research on “world culture” by implying that “borrowing” is only a coercive process orchestrated by dominant, hegemonic decision-makers and never recognizing that individual agency is often at work in both more or less imbalanced power hierarchies, subverts and disempowers those educators and policymakers in systems at the periphery and semi-periphery.

It is, therefore, a mistake to only leave comparativists with a dichotomous choice that swings between two extremes by asking: Is a global educational community the product of (1) agenda-driven agency or of (2) normative isomorphism? This is, of course, a flawed question since agency and isomorphism are not necessarily contradictory, yet some comparativists have largely focused on the role of particular agents in dictating or producing agenda-driven educational change. For example, Resnik (2006, p.173) asserts that certain forms of educational change are “promoted by specific agents, be they scholars, experts, research institutes, or national or international organizations”. Others provide evidence that global educational competition and global education community not only co-exist, but often align. Meyer and Ramirez (2003, p.131), for example, have noted that even without or in spite of diverse agents, agendas and agency, “types of programs, and educational sequences seem strikingly homogenous and change in similar ways around the world”. And, while alignment in structure or sequence is not necessarily proof of global educational community, it is an interesting indicator.

This still leaves the question of whether global educational community is the product of agenda-driven agency or of normative isomorphism. The concept of scientific rationalization applied to educational decision-making and information sharing provides some foundation for answering this question and understanding the ways that agency and isomorphism are able to coexist and even integrate in the development of a global educational community.

Scientific Rationalisation

Given the debates surrounding agency and isomorphism, how do “global educational communities” form? In societies around the world, education is not just about academic learning or individual opportunities for development. The scope of the discourse around education includes academics (of course), but is also tied to expectations for social, political, emotional, and economic assistance, progress and solutions in spite of what education—at any level—is actually able to provide. What different kinds of discourse lead to in education is a certain level of legitimacy, which (for better or worse) creates both a familiarity with and an acceptance of educational forms, practices, and expectations that might otherwise be resisted or questioned rather than embraced (Charle, Schriewer, & Wagner, 2004). And, the discourse surrounding education also gains legitimacy from those who contribute to the discourse itself.

The limitations of scientific rationalization and normative isomorphism discourse are important to address as well. For example, coercive and mimetic agents are relatively easy to identify because evidence often points to individuals and organizations that either force or copy based on their identifiable needs and agendas. This scholarly finger-pointing is done frequently in the field of comparative and international education. For example, noted educational comparativist and World Bank critic, Steven Klees (2010) has suggested that many of the problems with education worldwide might be solved by getting rid of the World Bank’s coercive influence and role in education development. While this may be true (even if impossible to accomplish) this proposed solution would predominantly address only the coercive and mimetic impact that international organizations and others have. What about normative forces that lead to change and evolution in education policy, reform and delivery worldwide?

This is where the process of scientization comes in. It is important to note that scientization is neither celebrated nor demonized here, but it is identified as an important factor shaping the development of a global educational community. The process of scientization is largely an isomorphic process of scientific rationalization, which occurs in three normative dimensions (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). First, scientific rationalization is characterized by specialized technical knowledge—often like that produced in empirical research coming out of universities. Second, it will have the characteristic of tightly-coupled management techniques, which emphasize the role of market-driven reforms in the public education sector. Finally, it will often be increasingly inclusive and flexible in spite of traditional norms and values.

There are several “de facto” assumptions that provide us with a rationale for why education is the focus of national reforms across social, political, and economic sectors (LeTendre, 1999; Smith & Baker, 2001; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). The first assumes that “good” school systems develop human capital. This suggests that “good” schools give exchange value to schooled people. The second assumes that

the more human capital (exchange value) that people have, the more competitive their nation is. In other words, schools improve aggregate exchange value. The third assumption is that how “good” an educational system is can be measured with standardized test scores (which are commonly available, but often misused). The fourth assumes that the quality of national educational systems can be determined by comparing national average scores on standardized tests. Finally, the fifth assumption is that those nations at the top of the comparative ranking will be the most competitive –not just in education– but in each of the sectors mentioned before: society, politics and the economy.

These de facto assumptions often drive the use and promulgation of internationally comparative assessments of educational achievement (Kamens & McNeely, 2010; Wiseman, 2010). Two international tests typically dominate the discussion. These are the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) administered by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) administered by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). TIMSS and the IEA have a longer history and a wider impact and national participation worldwide, so will be used as examples here.

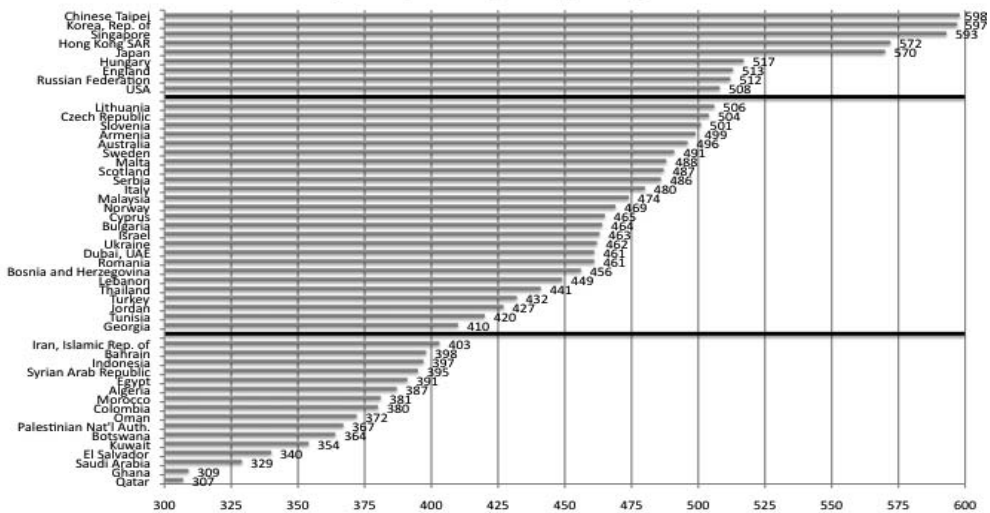


Figure 1. 2007 TIMSS 8th grade mathematics scores by country (Mullis, Martin, & Foy, 2008)

The global institutional context for scientific rationalization, which is generated around international achievement tests, is demonstrated by the basic country rankings of national average achievement. Figure 1 shows the rankings from highest to lowest for all participating countries in the 2007 TIMSS 8th grade math test. The five highest scoring countries are Chinese Taipei (598), Republic of Korea (597), Singapore (593), Hong Kong SAR (572), and Japan (570), but there is also a

large “below average” group. Specifically, there are many GCC and Arab nations in this lower group, including Bahrain (398), Syrian Arab Republic (395), Egypt (391), Morocco (381), Oman (372), Palestinian National Authority (367), Kuwait (354), Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (329) and Qatar (307).

Figure 2 shows the rankings from highest to lowest for all participating countries in the 2007 TIMSS 8th grade science test. Note again the five highest scoring countries are Singapore (567), Chinese Taipei (561), Japan (554), Republic of Korea (553), and England (542). There are some obvious consistencies between the highest scoring nations in both mathematics and science. But, again there is a large “below average” group that includes many GCC and Arab nations. In science, the low scoring GCC and Arab countries are Oman (423), Kuwait (418), Lebanon (414), Egypt (408), Algeria (408), Palestinian National Authority (404), Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (403), Morocco (402), and Qatar (319).

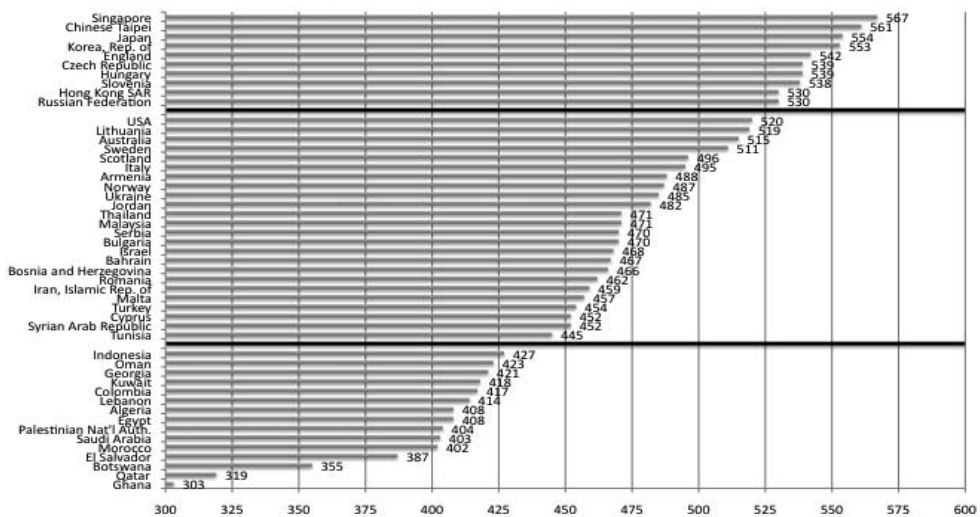


Figure 2. 2007 TIMSS 8th grade science scores by country
(Mullis, Martin, & Foy, 2008)

The questions are: (1) if so much of the comparative understanding of educational systems in the GCC and wider world are based on this sort of competitive ranking system, and (2) if countries that are “losers” in the rankings are also ideologically and culturally resistant to hegemonic Western ideology and culture, then how is a “global educational community” formed, especially in the GCC countries? Or how is it even an option or consideration? The more critical expectation would be the linear argument that global educational community cannot form under these conditions because the Western hegemony that drives it would not have any “power” over Gulf Cooperation Council countries in this situation. However, the evidence instead suggests that both rankings “winners” and “losers” from both Western and Islamic societies participate in global educational community – for different reasons perhaps – but they all participate. In other words, all nations are

seemingly able to scientifically rationalize participation in shared experiences and activities, which indicate participation in a global educational community. And, if we have basic evidence that countries around the world participate in global educational community, then how does this global educational community become institutionalized worldwide?

The GCC in International Comparison

In order to show how the comparative data that leads to so much global competition focused on schools and academic performance can be used to also identify global trends and provide indicators of “global educational community”, data from the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and additionally the Ministry of Higher Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will be analyzed. It is important to note that although much of the evidence presented here is quantitative, it is not valid simply because it is quantitative. There are many alternative forms of evidence, but quantitative data is used here because of the breadth of coverage and nature of the analysis.

TIMSS is an internationally comparative assessment dedicated to improving teaching and learning (Martin, Mullis, & Foy, 2008). It provides information between cycles, across countries, and to address specific teaching and learning issues in participating countries. TIMSS collects educational achievement data to provide information about trends in performance, and extensive background information to address concerns about the quantity, quality, and content of teaching and learning (International Study Center, 2010).

In 2003, 49 countries and 4 benchmarking communities participated in TIMSS. Of those countries and communities, 10 (19%) were Arab. In 2007 the number of participating countries rose to 60, and were accompanied by 8 benchmarking communities. Of those 60 countries and communities, 15 (22%) were Arab. In 2011, 64 countries and 4 benchmarking communities are participating of which 15 (22%) are again Arab.

The IEA, which administers the TIMSS, is careful to emphasize that national policymakers, researchers and educators have the “greatest insight into their own system” and are “able to make informed decisions most skillfully” (IEA website, 2010). The TIMSS data can be used to develop descriptive empirical indicators of imposition, invitation and innovation. In particular, the idea of “global educational community” can be investigated using comparative evidence specific to the experiences of students and teachers in schools in the GCC, other Arab educational systems and broader international trends. These TIMSS survey indicators are:

- Speaking the language of the test at home
- Visiting other teachers’ classrooms to observe teaching
- Time students spend listening to lecture-style presentations
- Time students spend working in small groups

These indicators are explained below, including how they provide evidence of the existence or spread of global educational culture in GCC countries.

Language of instruction is a key indicator of *imposition*. In other words, if students in GCC countries are being instructed in a language other than what they speak at home this can be an indicator that a system that is foreign to the local culture or society is being imposed on individual students through schooling. Of course, there are exceptions to the rule. For example, many GCC countries have large non-national (and non-Arabic speaking) school populations. This is important to remember as we interpret this data.

Figure 3 gives the percent of 8th grade students reporting that they “always” speak the language of the test at home in each of the participating GCC countries/communities, the GCC mean, the Arab mean and the international mean.

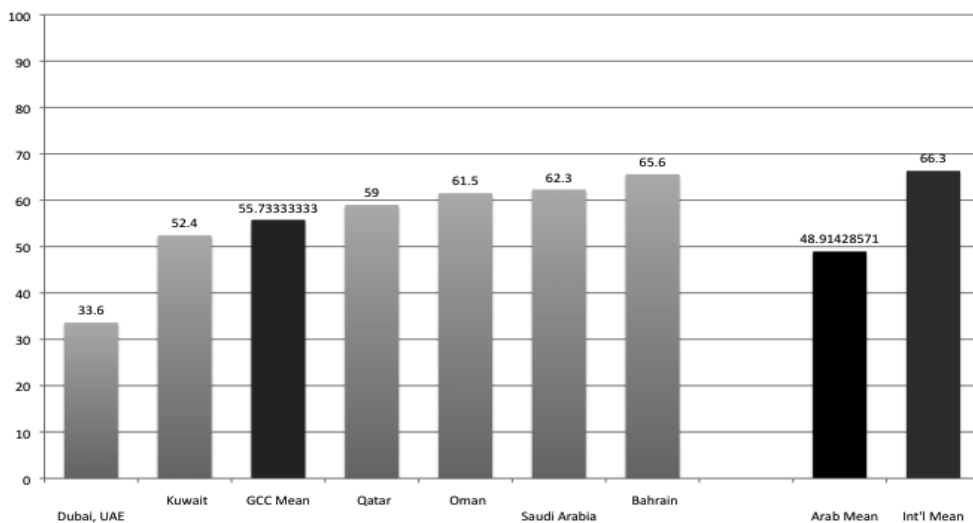


Figure 3. Percent of 8th grade students “always” speaking language of test at home (TIMSS 2007)

Five GCC national systems participated in TIMSS (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and Saudi Arabia) and one system (Dubai) participated as a benchmarking community. The Arab mean is the average for the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the following countries: Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestinian National Authority, Syrian Arab Republic, and Tunisia. The international mean is the average for all 60 countries worldwide that participated in TIMSS 2007. Figure 3 specifically shows that in all but one GCC system, the language of instruction (and testing) is the same as the language spoken in the home for more than half of the students who took the test, which is above the Arab mean but below the international average.

In the case of the GCC, this suggests that there is perhaps some imposition of culture through schooling, but that it is more than likely imposition of unique Arab or Muslim culture on international and non-national students rather than vice versa, which is interesting because it runs counter to the critical lament that national or ethnic cultures are being suppressed or abolished by dominant Western ideologies

spread through mass education. Instead, this evidence suggests that non-Western culture has co-opted Western models of mass education to its own advantage, and is used as a tool for imposition itself instead of in the favor of Western culture or ideology.

The percent of time teachers visit other teachers’ classrooms and observe their teaching is an indicator of the degree to which teachers are willing to *invite* new methods, systems or ideas into or alongside their own culture or ideology. Figure 4 shows the percent of students whose 8th grade math teachers “never or almost never” visit another teachers’ classroom to observe teaching. In other words, it measures how much *invitation* is either resisted or ignored in the GCC compared to Arab and International means.

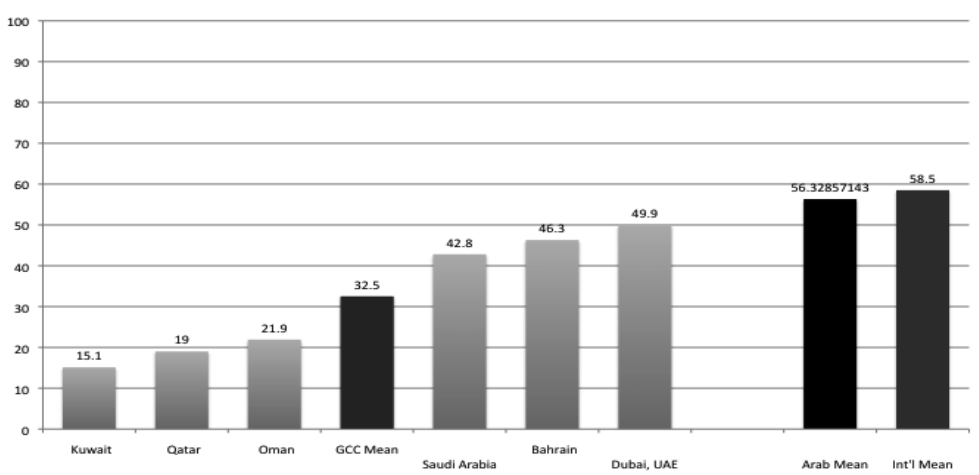


Figure 4. Percent of 8th grade math teachers “never/almost never” visiting another teachers’ classroom to observe teaching (TIMSS 2007)

Variation across the GCC is quite large for this variable ranging from about 15% in Kuwait to almost 50% in Dubai. The GCC average of about 33% is significantly below both the Arab and international means. This suggests that Kuwait, Qatar and Oman are perhaps the most open to inviting new methods, systems or ideas into their schools and classrooms, while Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Dubai are the most resistant to invitation.

Figures 5 and 6 deal with the type of instruction that students receive in their classrooms, and are indicators of *innovation*. Specifically, Figure 5 shows the percentage of time 8th grade students in the GCC spend listening to lecture-style presentations, and Figure 6 indicates how much time students spend working in small groups. In other words, Figure 5 indicates how little innovation there is in teaching, while Figure 6 indicates how much.

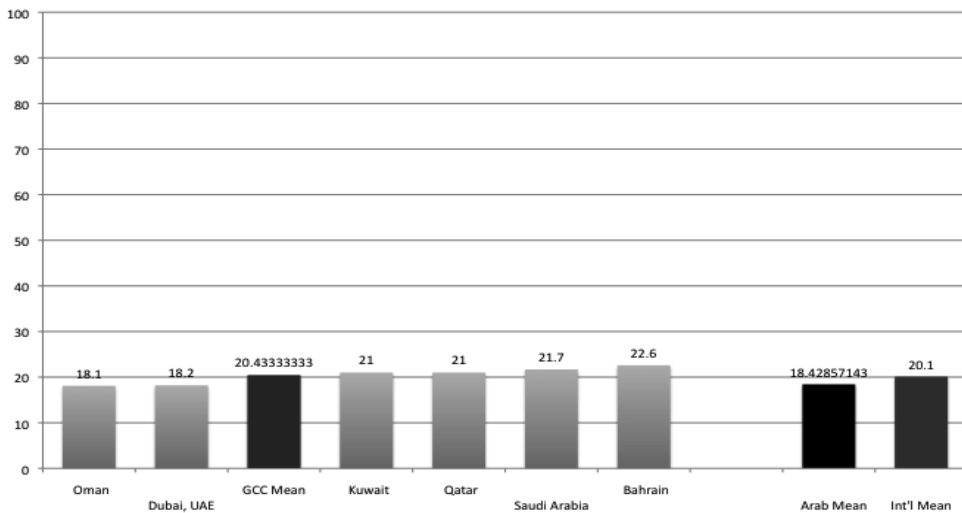


Figure 5. Percentage of Time 8th grade students spend listening to lecture-style presentations (TIMSS 2007)

Figure 5 shows that the lecture style of teaching is only prevalent in about 20% of the classrooms in the GCC, participating Arab nations and around the world. In fact, even when individual nations' averages are reported, there is not significant variation in how much time GCC students listen to lecture-style presentations versus the Arab and International mean. This may mean that classrooms around the GCC and the world really are moving away from traditional methods and innovating more in the classroom, or at the least it suggests that when teachers and students respond to these items on a questionnaire they at least know that the lecture style should not be the dominant model of teaching.

Conversely, Figure 6 tells us the percentage of 8th grade students spending "every or almost every" lesson working in small groups. This can signal either innovative teaching methods and decision-sharing in the classroom, or it could indicate that teachers in these schools are no longer monitoring or keeping accountability for their learning. There is again significant variation across GCC nations with Bahrain averaging about 7% of their students working in small groups every or almost every lesson, while Qatar reports about 42% of its students spending every or almost every lesson working in small groups. Overall, the GCC mean (18.6%) is significantly more than both the Arab and International means, which suggests that innovation in teaching is greater in the GCC compared to the rest of the world. This is a significant finding given the low performance of GCC students on international tests and widespread overt resistance to dominant Western ideology and culture.

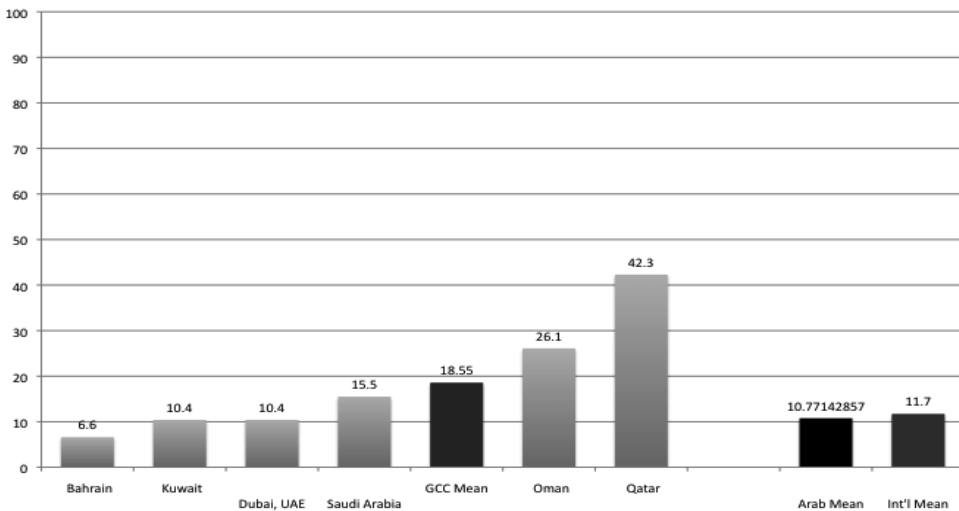


Figure 6. Percentage of 8th grade students spending “every/almost every” lesson working in small groups (TIMSS 2007)

In summary, the TIMSS indicators for language of instruction, teachers visiting other classrooms to observe instruction, and students participating in lecture-style versus small group learning in the GCC compared to the Arab and international means suggest that: (1) imposition of culture and ideology is shared between Western models of mass education and instruction given the prevalence of Arab-language instruction in the GCC delivered in mass education classrooms; (2) invitation of ideas and models indicated by teachers’ propensity to share ideas by visiting their colleagues’ classrooms is low across the GCC in general, which suggests that invitation is not as common a method of creating global educational community as imposition is in the GCC; and (3) innovation representing the likelihood that students will receive lecture-based or small group instruction suggests there is both reception and resistance to the traditional culture or norms of both the local and global communities.

Global Educational Community in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Given the context of culture and the normative rationalization that characterizes scientization, some specific examples are needed to show how traditional culture and scientization come together to form global educational community in spite of the ebb and flow between resistance and receptiveness. In particular, there is one case, which is simultaneously extreme as well as representative of normative trends. This is the case of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). There are three elements of the KSA’s educational development and system, which particularly exemplify the global spread of scientific rationalization and its contribution to participation in a global educational community. These elements include the KSA’s participation in

the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), the relatively recent King Abdullah Public Education Development Project (Tatweer), and the impact or role of gender in primary, secondary and tertiary education in the KSA.

Saudi Arabia is a good example because their educational system represents both extreme cultural differences between traditional and indigenous versus global and largely Western culture as well as being an interesting example of the impact that legitimizing discourse can have on the development of education within systems where global and local culture both intersect and contrast. The KSA's participation in TIMSS in 2003, 2007, and 2011 is one example of scientific rationalization given the fact that thus far participation in TIMSS and actual functional use of the data or reported results to inform educational policy and decision-making have been largely de-coupled in the KSA, yet national educational decision-makers continue to recommend participation in TIMSS cycle-after-cycle.

First of all, the KSA's participation in TIMSS is neither an example of coercive nor mimetic isomorphism because there are few actors or stakeholders in the position or having authority to force the KSA's participation in TIMSS, nor are there any overt actors pushing for KSA participation particularly. Indeed, there is still some confusion among the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Education as to why they participate and what they should do with the results. In short, the discourse around the importance of knowledge and data production has gained increasing legitimacy in the KSA through their participation in TIMSS.

The second characteristic of scientific rationalization is the introduction of tightly-coupled management techniques, specifically those that resemble New Public Management (Lawn & Lingard, 2002). The King Abdullah Public Education Development Project (Tatweer) is an example of how culture, discourse, and scientific rationalization manifest themselves in newly-developing educational policy, reform and implementation structures in the KSA. In particular, the Tatweer Project is coupled with a public holding company that gives the educational reforms it is trying to implement a market-orientation. This is the epitome of market reliance in a public sector institution because the implementation of any reform or development idea created by the Tatweer Project results in a request for proposals, which is then submitted to the Tatweer Holding Company. This holding company then solicits proposals from different companies or service providers who are able to implement the created reform in the most cost-effective, efficient way.

Finally, the expansion and inclusion of girls and women in primary, secondary and tertiary education in the KSA is one of the most interesting and complex examples to be found of the impact of alignment with and participation in a global educational community. The unique challenge of gender-segregated schooling in the KSA's secondary education system has been discussed elsewhere (Wiseman, 2007; Wiseman 2008), but the persistence, attainment and achievement of girls and women in the Saudi educational system into and through higher education is unique and especially relevant to this discussion.

One of the hallmark characteristics of the scientization of education worldwide is the social rationalization that is both attached to and achieved through education.

At the primary and secondary levels there is evidence that access, achievement and opportunity to learn are the same or favor girls in the KSA (Wiseman, 2007), but because of the strong Saudi cultural requirement of complete gender segregation outside of immediate family communities, the expansion of women’s access, achievement and opportunity to learn in Saudi higher education is an important piece of evidence that social rationalization is occurring throughout the Saudi educational system and into Saudi higher education in spite of as well as alongside otherwise resistant Saudi culture.

For example, evidence on new student enrollment at the KSA’s flagship public university (King Saud University) shown in Figure 7 shows female enrollment by faculty major. While male students still dominate engineering, tourism, applied medical science, and architecture (meaning that the gender ratio in education and nursing is not surprising), the expansion of female students into business, science, computer and information science, and agricultural science suggests that even where post-education opportunities are limited women are moving into previously male-dominated subject areas—and even specializing in these areas in spite of limited opportunities beyond higher education. This evidence suggests that shared expectations and experiences of schooling can be and are highly decoupled from the reality of real world chances and careers for Saudi girls and women in the labor market and Saudi community at large.

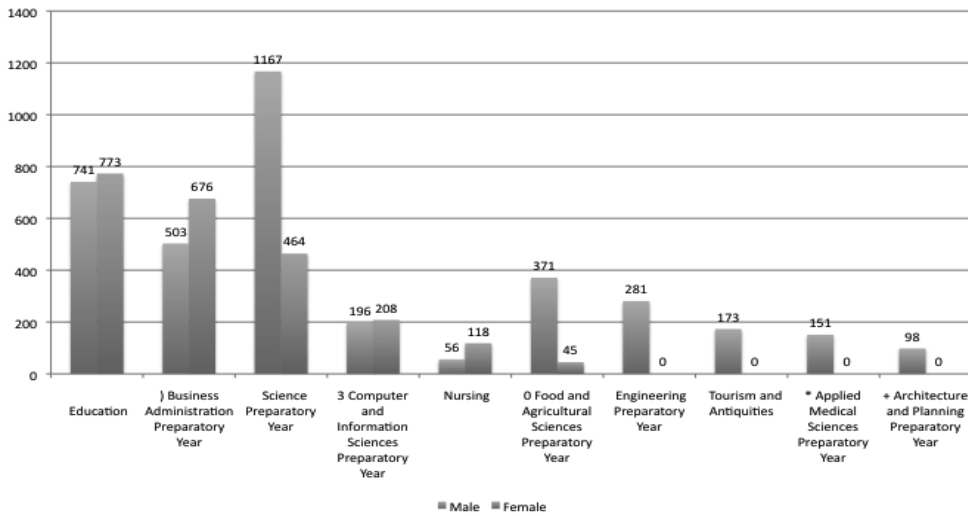


Figure 7. New students enrolling at King Saud University by faculty/major (2008-2009)

A more basic look at new student enrollment in higher education across the KSA shown in Figure 8 suggests that an overwhelming majority of students going to university in the KSA are female, and although the examples here are limited to the KSA, this female surge in higher education enrollment has been documented in other countries and regions around the world, too.

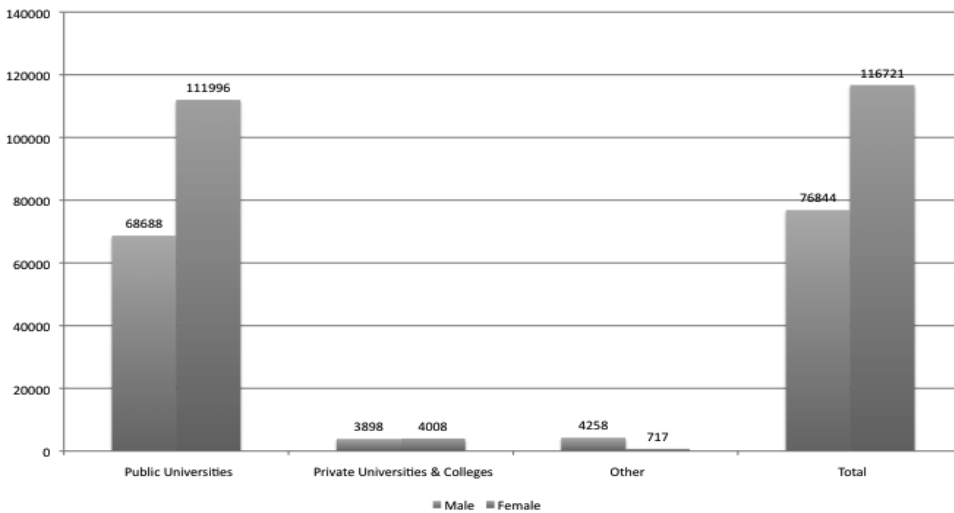


Figure 8. Summary of new entrants in higher education institutions for the academic year 2008-2009 by sex

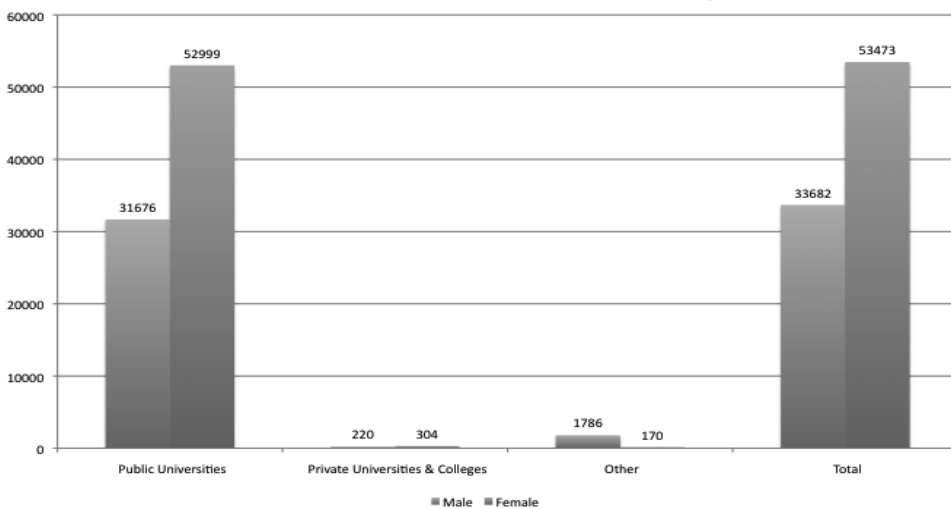


Figure 9. Summary of graduate students in higher education institutions for the academic year 2008-2009 by sex

Finally, evidence shown in Figure 9 suggests that female advantage in enrollment in Saudi Arabia at the graduate level is also prevalent in spite of opportunity structures beyond higher education. So with these summary examples of the expansion and advantage of female enrollment overall and the prevalence of female enrolled students in previously male-dominated subject areas or majors, the social rationalization characteristic of scientization is evidenced in Saudi higher education.

In other words, the construction of and participation in a global educational community in part occurs as a process of scientization—specifically scientific rationalization. This process is contextualized by a contrast or balance between local and global educational cultures, and is moved forward in part by normative discourses on education that take place in alignment with traditional society or local cultures that may differ from world culture, but are not necessarily shifted or replaced by it.

Balancing Imposition, Invitation and Innovation in the GCC

Unique phenomenon of national versus non-national students in the GCC makes imposition flipped from its traditional “outsider” reputation, but evidence presented above suggests that on average GCC countries themselves are imposing their own version of a global education community on their students more than other Arab nations, but less than the rest of the world. Invitation as a way into a global education community was indicated by GCC teachers’ willingness to seek and share with other teachers more than in other Arab nations or around the world, although special recognition goes to Kuwait, Qatar and Oman for being particularly inviting. Finally, innovation was evidenced by the low overall use of traditional lecture-style teaching in favor of small group work, but Qatar and Oman are either particularly innovative or particularly daring in their willingness to innovate in the classroom.

These findings suggest that overall GCC countries have embraced a “global educational community” perhaps more so than their Arab neighbors and global competitors and in spite of their performance on international tests or resistance to hegemonic Western culture and ideology, which permeates modern mass schooling. This is an important finding because it suggests that the GCC is particularly good at incorporating otherwise foreign or new ideas and ways of doing things into their own systems. It also suggests that they are poised to compete better between nations and internationally as a result of their involvement in the global educational community, but there is certainly much more data and discussion needed to confirm this.

In short, local culture and global discourse uniquely frame the creation of a global educational community. This is especially striking in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) because of the overt and rapid development of this community over the final decades of the 20th century. Further research might ask, why is education so important to social, political, and economic reform in the GCC? The evidence presented here suggests that the answer is because of the institutionalization of a global educational community throughout the countries of the GCC, which embraces and is embraced by even those nations and systems that rationally should resist.

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BETWEEN RETROSPECT AND EXPECTATION: TRENDS AND DIMENSIONS OF EDUCATION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

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Abstract: *Twenty years of transformation have gradually opened the educational systems of the East Central European countries to the common challenges of Europeanisation and Globalisation. On the other hand, the 'educational map' gives insights into existing or even re-awakened differences among the individual national patterns tracing back to socio-economic, political and cultural particularise. Recognising this fundamental tension lays the ground for the recent history of education reforms and for contextualising them within their specific societal frameworks. Special emphasis will be laid on the outcomes of reforms due to controversial approaches and political decisions within given constellations within their national ranges and their involvements in the policies of the European Union.*

Key words: *education reforms, Europeanisation, Globalisation, East Central European education systems*

Retrospect

When the Iron Curtain was torn down at the threshold to the nineties of the twentieth century, feelings of joy and relief were spread all over the region which had been liberated from Soviet communism and totalitarianism: from the Baltic States to the Balkan Peninsula. The nations of that region had been subjected from Soviet domination as the results of the collapse of the Nazi regime and the subsequent division of hegemony between the two big power systems of that time. It is true that attempts at shaking off or at least loosening the Soviet yoke had been taken place at several times: in Poland four times, namely in 1956, 1967, 1970 and 1980, in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. All of them had failed, while, now at the end of the eighties, the decay of the Soviet Union, caused by internal and external factors, pointed the way to the emergence and success of liberation movements as well as to the retreat of the Soviet armies and, finally the self-resolution of the Warsaw Pact. The *velvet revolution*, to extend Václav Havel's

famous catchword to the analogous events in the whole region¹, was supported by two essential concomitants. On the one hand it was achieved in a peaceful way which needs to be emphasised in view of many warlike and inhuman parallels in the rest of the world. On the other hand it was just that peaceful transformation that facilitated the entry of the liberated nations to the economic standards which had been reached by their Western neighbours during the preceding decades. The two exceptional cases should not be explicitly discussed in this context, namely Romania crossing the threshold under violent and somewhat dubious circumstances, and Yugoslavia, the 'autonomous' communist state whose transformation was darkened by disintegration and a decade of civil war, chauvinism and cruelty. Only the Republic of Slovenia in the Northwest of former Yugoslavia could keep out of the turbulences²

Where are the countries of East Central Europe, to identify the 'inner circle' of the former belt of Soviet 'satellites', to be placed after twenty years of post-communist transformation? As in most comparable cases, the coin reveals two sides. On the 'dark' side we get aware of socioeconomic relapses and even crises as apparently unavoidable corollaries of the new 'Western orientation' as well as with political conflicts characterising the thorny paths to democracy and civil society. On the 'bright' side, however, observations lead to perceptions of progress as regards the transformation processes in total. To explain this duality, let us begin by exemplifying the positive aspect.

First example

Though not free from temporary disturbances, all East Central European republics have managed changes of parliamentary majorities and governments due to constitutional principles, with special regard to acceptance of the outcomes of parliamentary elections.

Second example

The economic development taken as a whole, has contributed to attaining a degree of stability which, though far from being called satisfactory, can certainly stand comparisons with some of their Western counterparts, let alone the countries in South East and Eastern Europe. For the time being the measures of tackling the economic world crisis can be taken as a visible example.

1 Cesar Birzea (2008, p. 105) mentions Havel' catchword as one of corresponding terms used in other transformation countries, such as televised revolution in Romania, melancholic revolution in Hungary and singing revolution in Estonia.

2 The „Ten-day War“ between the Yugoslavian army and the Slovenian home forces, following Slovenia's declaration of independence (June 26th,, 2010) came to an end by the agreed stop of the warlike actions (July 4th, 2010).

The 'dark side' of the coin is reinforced by various aspects of disillusion, compared to the euphoric start twenty years ago. Yet, are we not reminded of the growing awareness of this *euphoric* substance as such, which was typical of many comments and speeches in the period of velvet revolution? Is this valuation legitimated in an affirmative way? The spontaneous answer traces back to the recent and preceding history of the region. When the nations concerned set off for building their 'new democracies', they had lived for forty years under communism, certainly a short period in regard to the millennium of their national existence of pre-existence, yet a long period as related to the life-times of the generations affected. One should never forget that the people in East Central Europe had been living for at least four decades under non-democratic conditions, when confronted with or even awakened by the 'new' challenges! This awareness becomes particularly relevant, whenever educational issues are discussed.

When entering their transformation processes the East Central European nations were united in their capacity as former members of the 'enforced community' under Soviet domination. However, even under that pressure they had experienced their 'national' variations in different ways. This observation may be exemplified by comparing the developments in the post-Stalinist decades, namely between 'quasi-liberal' Poland (with her special experience of *Solidarność* in the eighties) and 'strictly ruled' Czechoslovakia. Education and educational research can serve as suitable comparative subjects in this connection. It is that observation which leads to the question of why the East Central European nations began their marches into the democratic future from different starting-points, the more so, as they had experienced the preceding Nazi oppression under various conditions, either directly subjected to the German occupation authorities, such as the Poles in the *Generalgouvernement* or ruled by quasi-independent governments, such as in Hungary and Slovakia, The *Protektorat Böhmen and Mähren* (Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia) took a place in-between. Accordingly, the chances of individual survival were comparatively more or less favourable, if related to the everyday lives and to the prospects of the oppressed nations, as projected by the Nazi plans for their 'post-victory strategies'.

Beyond the two periods of totalitarianism we have to look back into the history of many centuries. The East Central European nations bear a heritage which is characterised by commonalities and diversities, the latter demarcating the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary from Poland. Let us take a look at some historical essentials. The search for stimulating answers begins with identifying the geographic location of East Central Europe in the Eastern border zone of the Roman Catholic (and later partially Protestant) region of Europe. This retrospect traces back to the medieval roots characterised by the emergence of three spacious kingdoms with remarkable standards of internal consolidation and international reputation. The Bohemian Lands (officially: *Lands of the Bohemian Crown*), Poland and Hungary. Their national and cultural cohesion turned out to be solid enough to outlive even the radical 'interruptions' in later centuries, such as the Turkish occupation of the central part of Hungary (during the 16th century), the subjugation of the Bohemian

Lands to Hapsburg absolutism (from 1620 onward) and three partitions of Poland (last third of the 18th century). This cohesion can be even detected in the emergence and stabilisation of the modern nation-states in the beginning 20th century and in their revolutionary revival at the end of the eighties. It is only the Slovak case which lacks this historical continuity because of its millennium-long subjugation to Hungary (until 1918).

In the texture of the pluridimensional commonalities and diversities education (as a societal sub-system) can be definitely considered as an essential component of Central Europe's particular position. This is why it seems to be legitimate to look back into the educational history of the region and to identify it as a, though indirect, historical source of understanding the present. The past three centuries are worth to be given special attention, since they are characterised by rise and development of the *modern state*, even when we consider the perceptible signs of its decline in the current epoch (cf. Mitter 2004a). To return to the former periods, formal education in Central Europe can be easily related to the history of the whole of *Europe* in its widest meaning including the Roman Catholic territories of the continent. In the Middle Ages the establishment of schools and universities was initiated and sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church, later on rivalled by kings and princes. In this context the foundation of the Universities of Prague (1348), Cracow (1364) and Pécs (1367) proved to be prospective events affirming the active participation of the East Central European kingdoms in Europe's progress in education and culture. The history of commonalities was continued by the course of Reformation and Counter Reformation that indicates some similarities, in particular with regard to the educational efforts of the Jesuit order on the one hand, while on the other hand Jan Amos Comenius' various activities in the Bohemian Lands as well as in Poland and Hungary considerably contributed to the educational progress in those countries.

It is, however, the period of Enlightenment and Enlightened Absolutism that has set a landmark to educational history of the East Central European region on the whole. It consists of political initiatives, theoretical concepts and practical measures. At the same time, however, the commonalities to be observed have to be opposed to the differences of the contextual political frameworks, as regards the Hapsburg Empire on the one hand, the *Rzeczpospolita Polska* (Polish Republic, in its constitutional statues of Electoral Kingdom) on the other. In the Hapsburg Empire the Enlightened Absolutism under Maria Theresia and Joseph II contributed to the formation of the modern state including the establishment of an effective state education system due to the rulers' express intentions (Heckel & Avenarius, 1986, p. 3):

to instruct the subject in the most necessary cultural skills to enable him to read the directions given by the authorities, to make himself understood in the State of civil servants (*Beamtenstaat*) and, above all, to play his part in the growth of the State's welfare through economic efficiency...

In this context it should be anticipated that, in principle, the responsibilities of the modern state, as defined by this statement, were taken over by Czechoslovakia and Hungary (and Austria) in 1918 as independent succession states of the Hapsburg Empire, in that the 'subject' was transformed to the 'citizen' as the addressee of the State's educational efforts (cf. Heyneman, 2002, pp.16-18). It is true that Hungary had assumed a special status within the Hapsburg Empire after the Turkish occupation (cf. Hives et al., 2007, p. 341). This is why Maria Theresia's educational reforms were materialised in separate legal directions: the *Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-, Haupt- und Trivialschulen in sämtlichen K. und K. Laendern*" (General School Order for the German Normal, Secondary and Elementary Schools) for the Western and Northern provinces of the Empire in 1774 and the *Ratio Educationis* (The Educational Plan) for the provinces of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1777. Her and her son Joseph's educational policies pointed the way to the progressive development of education throughout the nineteenth century. In particular, the schools in the Bohemian Lands reached high standards and were highly reputed all over Europe (and the rest of the world), from the kindergartens to the institutions of higher education (cf. Mitter, 2004b, p. 27).

In the 18th century the development of education in Poland resembled that of her Hapsburg's counterparts, insofar as it was distinguished by remarkable efforts initiated by the authorities to build an education system rooting in the ideas of Enlightenment. The most significant achievement of this policy was the formation of the *National Educational Committee* in 1773 which has taken its place in European educational history as the first institutional manifestation of a Ministry of Education. However, this promising process came to an early end with the second and third partitions of the country (the first had been effected in 1772 already), and formal education was totally subjected to legislation and governance by the occupying powers (Russia, Prussia and the Hapsburg Empire). It is true that in the Austrian part (Galicia) Polish-medium schools (up to the level of higher education) were included in the aforementioned Hapsburg policies, but, in the Prussian and Russian parts the mainstream education system was under the permanent pressure of denationalisation in terms of language, culture and historical awareness, while on the other hand it "was commonly accompanied by unofficial private educational institutions that strove to preserve a national identity" (Hörner & Nowosad, 2007, p. 590). This peculiarity of Polish education resulted in the formation of widely illegal, but effective parallel institutions, established at the grassroots by committed teachers, educators and other educated members of the middle class. To a remarkable degree all these counter-activities were initiated or supported by the Roman Catholic Church. In legal forms they should enrich the revival of education throughout the period of independence between the two World Wars and even survive and prove their vital strength in the periods of suppression during and after World War II under the Nazi and Soviet regimes.

Identifying East Central Europe

Since the changes of the '*European map*' at the threshold to the nineties the terminological issue of defining *East Central Europe* has been widely and controversially discussed. Yet, its application for part of the post-communist region of the European Union, as used in the present chapter according to the self-definition of the liberated countries concerned, is not cogent, neither under geographical nor under historical aspects. There are three criteria to be explored in this context. Firstly, this definition necessarily suggests the question of an existing 'West European' counterpart. Accordingly, in the interim period between the two World Wars Germany and Austria were considered to be parts of *Central Europe* in political literature and journalism. In the discussion of today this allocation has not entirely disappeared, but has been widely confined and is now applied, as *pars pro toto*, to the Region comprising the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland. Secondly, as regards the historical roots of the region, the door is open to reflecting a wider concept of East Central Europe, as has been proposed by Cesar Birzea (2008, pp. 105-113). On the one hand the Baltic States share their affiliation to their Southern neighbours, both to the medieval Holy Roman Empire of German Nation, as regards the territories of modern Estonia and Latvia, and to Lithuania's close union with Poland for several centuries. Thirdly, in former periods the religious borders separating Roman Catholics from their Orthodox and Moslem neighbours in the South East region of Europe (Romania, Bulgaria, the Eastern parts of former Yugoslavia) played an essential role in regard of the applied terminology. It is true that this criterion has lost its former political significance against the concept of independent nation-states, but has maintained its place in the encounter of religions and cultures. To end up the present excursion into the field of terminology, contemporary historians, particularly in Germany and the United Kingdom, tend to apply the notion of *East Central Europe* (*Ostmitteleuropa*) in order to emphasise the peculiar geographical, economic and cultural position of the region in question.

The complexity of the discussion is event widened by relating this concept to the *whole of Europe* and its demarcation to the other world regions, in geographical, socioeconomic and cultural terms. As regards the current debate, may it suffice to exemplify it by the following, as it seems, both original and appropriate comment made by the British historian Anthony Pagden and cited by his Polish colleague Piotr Sztompka: "Europeans are, I suspect, unusual in sharing in this way a sense that it might be possible to belong to something larger than the family, the tribe, the community, or the nation, yet smaller and more culturally specific than 'humanity'..." (Pagden, 2002, pp. 33-54; Sztompka, 2004, p. 485). In this sense the people in East Central Europe can be easily identified as members of the wider Europe on the whole.

In an extended view it is tempting to include East Germany in the current discussion. On the one hand this temptation traces back to the aforementioned definition of the Central European region during the interim period between the two World Wars. On the other hand the *German Democratic Republic* (GDR),

established by the Soviet Union on her occupied territory in 1949, shared with her Eastern and Southern neighbours the politically and ideologically based status of a 'Socialist' republic. There was, however, one significant particularity. At no period of her existence the GDR was able to enforce a 'feeling of national identity' among her population which needs to be considered as an essential item, because it was just this trait that strongly constituted the national self-awareness of her neighbours even under the oppression of both totalitarian systems. Moreover, this divergence was compensated by the permanent influence exercised by the Federal Republic of (Western) Germany by ways of political statements and appeals, by the transmission of the media and, as far as allowed, by interpersonal contacts across the border all over the decades of the German partition. Both factors laid the ground for the survival of an all-German identity which, though far from being unlimited and undisturbed, survived the four decades of partition and eventually led to the victory of the 'reunification project' against a few concepts of a 'third path' in form of a 'truly democratic' East German state, as was suggested in the transition year (1989/90). This decision has been materialised in the inclusion of all the legal, administrative and economic essentials in the constitutional structure and its acceptance by the vast majority of the re-united Federal Republic, notwithstanding the continuation of resentments among the former 'socialist' elites. According to that particular form of transformation, the education systems of the East German Länder (states), as regards their structural, curricular and pedagogic characteristics, were established as components of the German federalism. Yet, the aforementioned experience of having spent part or even one's whole lifetime under communist rule has not left attitudes and emotions in East Germany untouched which makes comparative studies between East Germany and East Central Europe reasonable with regard to the analogies and differences to be investigated. Education is expressly included in this desideratum (cf. Mitter, 2005).

The Place of Education in Transformation Process

When talking about the part education plays in transformation processes, it seems to be legitimate to take a glance at some significant items. In the social sciences the discussion of this issue is frequently narrowed to the *supporting* function of education in its relations to the political, socio-economic and cultural trends within the societal super-system. This widespread view seems to explain the comparatively weak attention paid to developments at the macro- and micro-levels of education against the 'more significant' trends at the socioeconomic and political levels – with all the fatal corollaries for the implementation of legislative and administrative reforms as regards, for instance, insufficient or misdirected budgets or inadequacies in teacher education. Such deficient approaches neglect the functions in which education is directly involved with its *co-operating* function in decisions and the implementations, let alone the chances of success concerning educational reforms for the sake of adjusting the systems in total or parts of them to the changing societal conditions and requirements.

This consideration traces back to the base of human-existence at all and is particularly relevant in societal shifts such as the transformation in East Central Europe. Individuals think and act, and in these capacities they are exposed to the exceptional challenges emerging in transformation processes. It is true that the political and economic élites are mostly affected by these challenges, but the 'common citizen' does not remain untouched either, as public actions (debates, demonstrations etc.) and elections indicate. Furthermore, the forms and standards of human thoughts and actions are essentially dependent on the outcomes of how the individuals have been trained and educated and what they have learned in the course of their childhood and adolescence in the 'old' system, in the given case under communist rule. The ranges of the socialisation and education processes are not limited to the institutional establishments, such as schools and youth organisations, but also, though in an indirect way, affect families, peer groups, working places and, under special circumstances, as particularly given in Poland, churches. In this context, one has to distinguish people's diverse attitudes: from (voluntary or enforced) acceptance of the communist norms via opportunist adjustment to passive or even active resistance.

Finally, people's capacities as consumers of commodities and media must not be disregarded in this connection. As 'products' of these overarching education and learning processes they enter the 'new' (in this case democratic) system, whereby in a general estimation it is irrelevant at which age they pass the threshold. What is relevant, however, is their individual mental attitudes to the challenges of transformation: Are they prepared and willing to devote their capacities to the required reforms and innovations, or has the impact of the 'old' system turned out to be so strong as to make them join those who want to brake, stop or even pervert the transformation, as is demonstrated by the survival and continuation of 'communist' and 'leftist' parties? This is why thoughts, intentions and actions of the individuals concerned outlast 'revolutionary' shifts and, moreover, exercise great influence on the start of state and society into the 'new' system with all its effects of success or failure. The revival of communist or leftist groupings or even political parties (as in the Czech Republic) exemplifies the political level of such persisting forces. Needless to emphasise that education is directly involved in these processes and, therefore, in the results of transformation.

Criteria of Educational Transformation

The criteria outlining the current stage of education in the East Central European countries, related to its departure from the 'socialist' era, are presented in the following survey (cf. Mitter, 2005, Steier-Jordan 2003, Walterová 2007). Although the periodic (or unforeseen) changes of parliamentary majorities and governmental coalitions have often been accompanied by vacillations concerning the setting of priorities and by controversial debates, the external observer is able to identify some essential features of a continuity to be referred to all the four countries. It goes without saying that the following outline does not claim any completeness.³

Decentralisation and deregulation of governance

The Education Act which had been passed in Hungary in 1985, i. e. already in the pre-transformation period, opened the door to a trend aimed at deregulating governance in the education systems of the East Central European region from the top to the provincial and local bottom. In 1990 this trend was taken up in Hungary by the first democratic government. Poland joined it on the base of its 'pre-history' of communal self-government. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia similar initiatives began later. Regardless of the aforementioned governmental changes one can assume that decentralisation and deregulation have proved to be a continuous feature of commonality. It comprises the transfer of decision-making from the centralised administration to self-governing competencies of the local and school levels with special regard to management and curricula. Trans-national differences have been caused by preferences within the national authorities for particular strategies and measures and by economic bottlenecks on the one hand, and existing experiences with a well-operating administration on the other.

Finance of education; tendencies of privatisation

In all the four East Central European countries the deregulating measures have been simultaneously confined and stimulated by budgetary deficits. In general the introduction of market economy led to economies entailing remarkable curtailments in the area of education. These procedures have continued until today and even been reinforced by the global financial crisis of our days with their impacts on the national (and EU's) policies. Austerity does not only debase the equipment of many schools, but also tends to freeze the low teacher salaries and to make qualified teachers to look for situations in the private economic sector. Furthermore, it exerts a detrimental effect on the provincial and local school budgets, since these are widely defrayed by the national budgets. However, the free entry to public primary and secondary schools has not been affected. In this respect educational policies do not only continue the 'socialist heritage', but also act in agreement with the constitutional and legal provisions which determine educational policies in Western Europe. At the level of higher education, however, tendencies of charging study fees are to be observed, also in agreement with

3 Beside the titles quoted in the main text, the author is particularly obliged to the members of the comparative research project "The development and State of Educational Systems in the Visegrad Countries in the Context of Social Transformation" which has been conducted at the Charles University (Prague) with Eliška Walterová as chair-woman. While she herself wrote the key article, the country studies were elaborated by David Greger and Eliška Walterová (Czech Republic), Gábor Halász (Hungary), Andrzej Janowski (Poland), Beata Kosová and Štefan Porubský (Slovakia). Further basic help to the present paragraph has been provided by the authors of the handbook "The Education Systems of Europe", ed. by Wolfgang Hörner, Hans Döbert, Botho von Kopp, Wolfgang Mitter: Jan Průcha (Czech Republic), Tamás Hives, Tamás Kozma, Imre Radacsi and Magdolna Rébay (Hungary), Wolfgang Hörner and Inetta Nowosad (Poland), Štefan Švec and Mária Hrabinská (Slovakia).

recognisable tendencies in parts of Western Europe. In this context special mention should be made of Poland, where universities and other higher education institutions have established sections for those fee-paying students who have not passed their entrance examination.

Privatisation was introduced into the education systems in the early stage of transformation already, as a radical response to the rigid state monopoly exercised by the 'old' system. Though with different intensity, it covers all school levels: kindergartens, primary and secondary schools as well as – mainly - vocational training establishments and institutions of higher education. Furthermore, private institutions offer in-service training courses for teachers being in a need for upgrading their qualifications. To stabilise and control the expansion of the private sector, the ministries of education have intensified the directions for accreditation, particularly for the universities. As regards the developments of the private sector at the levels of primary and secondary education, the quantities have remained rather marginal which, however, does not concern the qualities of individual schools. There are four types of private schools to be specified. Firstly, the big religious communities have opened (or re-opened) schools of their own. Secondly, schools have been founded by private providers on the base of distinctive educational philosophies. Among them Rudolf Steiner (Waldorf) Schools and Montessori Schools have placed themselves most successfully. Thirdly, in Poland some private schools fill gaps which have been left open in the public sector. Finally, there are private schools which have been opened on a purely commercial base. They charge especially high fees and frequently occupy teachers of public schools who thus get the desired chance of a 'second job'.

Structural reforms

Transformation has effected the departure of the 'socialist unity school' which had dominated the structure of compulsory education during the communist period. This principle, however, had been actually undermined by the existence of special schools with intensified and extended instruction in sciences and foreign languages. The structural reforms of the nineties were mainly aimed at re-organising the lower secondary level where the current 'school map' shows three arrangements.

- The lower secondary level has been maintained as part of the existing nine-year comprehensive schools for the majority of pupils in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia.
- In Poland the lower secondary level has been separated from the five-year primary school and organised in form in a three-year gymnasium as one of the main components of the school reform of 1998 which was implemented from 1999 onward.
- In the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia the traditional 'long' gymnasiums (not to be confused with the aforementioned 'new' gymnasiums with the same name in Poland) have been revived in form of eight- or six-

year institutions. The acceptance of this system is not undisputed, as had been demonstrated by the educational policies in the Czech Republic at the threshold to the 21st century. The former social-democratic government had a *White Book* elaborated with recommendations for a compulsory comprehensive public secondary school, but was unable to get its planned reform carried through the parliament. This is why the maintenance of the 'long' gymnasiums is likely to be consolidated for the foreseeable future, since it is supported not only by traditional conservatives, but also by the adherents of 'market liberalism'

Vocational education at the upper secondary level has been most affected by the structural reforms until now. The complexity of the reforms is caused by the radical changes in the economic system which has no demand any more for workforce having been trained according to the former requirements of the rigid planned economy. It is interested in differentiated, flexible and modulated structures. It seems to be evident that vocational education has to cope with particularly thorough and dynamic reforms.

Curricular reforms

The curricula have undergone comprehensive changes, too, during the past two decades. This is true of central regulations by the ministries of education as well as the numerous projects that have been conducted at many schools, thanks to the aforementioned deregulation policies. The reforms began with 'cleansing' of the ideologically overloaded syllabi and textbooks, in particular in the subjects of history, civics, geography and mother tongue. In the subsequent years *all* subjects were modernised. There have been thorough innovations in foreign language instruction in a twofold way, namely by a differentiated choice of languages, connected with the abolishment of the former monopoly of Russian as first foreign language, and by promotion of methods focused on the acquirement of modern language practice, including the recruitment of native teachers. Special mention is needed of the advancement of the electronic media into the classrooms, though this requirement is often delayed by budgetary curtailments. As regards the curriculum reforms in total, the new provisions consist of disentangling the overloaded subject matter and of introducing innovative learning standards to be oriented to the transmission of cognitive competencies. The implementation of these innovations is often checked by inadequate teacher education, let alone deficits in the field of in-service-training. The partially unsatisfactory outcome of the first three PISA evaluations (see next paragraph) are likely to stimulate the reform debates, which, however, is also true of West European education systems. In general, the current curricular reforms indicate the entry of the East Central European countries into European and global trends (to be tackled below), including continual emergence of resistances and disturbing factors. Finally, special attention is demanded by the general position of religious instruction which reveals different approaches, where

Poland takes an exceptional place, in that religious instruction has been granted the status of an ordinary subject up to the termination of upper secondary education.

Evaluations and examinations

The changes having been effected both in school management and large-scale assessment are worth articulating insofar, as they are directly related to the goal of quality assurance as a contribution to an efficient conveyance of competencies to be required in the modern world. In this respect the development follows the global trend based upon the assumption that the demands raised by the modern society for adequate workforce (at all levels of the labour market) could be optimally fulfilled by competing education systems organising school instruction according to trans-national learning standards and subjecting it to continual evaluations mainly based upon standardised achievement tests. The procedures are oriented at the norms of *objectivity* (by identifying system-related standards), *anonymity* (by external – state or private – testing agencies) and *quantification* (by application of hared testing instruments). The innovations continuing in all states of the region comprise evaluations of individual schools and local, regional and national educational units as well as individual and collective achievements tested in classes and age-groups.

Particular attention should be paid to the participation of the East Central European countries in the international school assessments in view of its diametric outcomes which are, in this context, presented by exemplary data.. The Czech Republic and Hungary took part in the TIMMS 3 Study with over-average success, while their outcomes of PISA 2000 indicated negative scores: in reading comprehension below average for all of them, in mathematics below an average for the Czech Republic, below average for Hungary and Poland. Only the outcomes in sciences resulted above average in the Czech Republic and on an average in Hungary. The above-average outcome for Poland from PISA 2003 have been ascribed to the school reform of 1998, in particular the introduction of the three-year gymnasium with new curricula. Special attention is finally required by the striking contrasts of the data between above average in mathematics and sciences against below average. In total, the oscillating findings mirror, as has been expressed in representative comments, the transformation processes in the education systems as such in regard of their administrative, structural and curricular features, but also, what has been often neglected, changes in the test arrangements and competence definitions made by the international expert groups. This is particularly true of the targets from knowledge reproduction to the proof of cognitive competences.

The impacts of the innovations on evaluation necessarily entail the outcomes of qualification awards, in particular to be observed in the terminal examinations of the lower and upper levels of secondary education. The current trend gives insight into various approaches resulting from compromises between 'traditionalists' and 'modernisers'. They can be exemplified by the adherence to traditional forms of essay writing and oral examinations versus the reduction of these (above all, in

foreign languages) and the application of standardised testing. A second field of conflict consists the – at least partial – maintenance of school- and teacher-centred organisation of examinations (according to the 'Central European' tradition) against centralised procedures (to be compared to the French and British practice). There is a clear trend in favour of the 'modernisers' to be hardly delayed by articulate resistance by the 'traditionalists'. Finally, there are trends of upgrading maturity examinations as terminal awards of upper secondary learning by abolition of the hitherto dominant duality between these and the university entrance examinations.

Developments at the level of higher education

The present article is focused on the general section of the primary and secondary levels. Yet, they should be extended to an outline of basic issues concerning transformation at the level of higher education. The more so as the rapid expansion of this level, having been distinctly demanded by policy-makers and representatives of the economic system, casts its increasing shadows on the lower levels of the education systems. Recent findings demonstrate that in higher education the impacts of transformation are most manifest and far-reaching. Above all, this is true of the enactment of laws and decrees as well as their implementation. These are the most significant reforms aiming at:

- Changing the legal status of universities in the direction of self-governing competencies and differentiated structures.
- The return of research from the widely occupied monopolies of the Academies of Sciences to the universities.
- Finance in co-operation with firms and banks (as far as possible).
- Curricular innovations by disentangling the former rigid syllabi to modern teaching and learning schemes, in particular in modular arrangements.
- The introduction of the three-tier graduation structures (Bachelor, Master, Doctor) which have been modelled on the Anglo-Saxon higher education systems and elaborated in the course of the *Bologna process*. This trend, however, is not uncontested, in particular in regard of the new graduation structure including the departure from the 'well-tried' diplomas and its acceptance by the labour market.

The Four-Level Pattern of Change

Analysing commonalities and diversities of the nation-bound transformation processes in East Central Europe is complicated by their inclusion in super-ordinate trends on the European and global scenes which, on their part, are paralleled by the overarching trend of world-wide modernisation in the field of science, technology, economy as well as social relations and actions. Actually, we get confronted with *four levels of change* giving insight into the complexity of the transformation processes with their progressive directions and setbacks. Furthermore, the complication of

the analysis is reinforced by the emergence of counter-trends at each of the four levels. The complex change in total can be reduced to the following antithetic configurations with their specific impacts on the East Central European region.

The national level

At the national level the march of the East European nations into the challenges of democracy, civil society and market economy is counteracted by both the survival of the 'socialist heritage' and the revival of attitudes and feelings tracing back to the 'pre-socialist' periods. Features of these traces can be primarily perceived in manifestations of history-based patriotism and nationalism which are mirrored in political speeches, publications and actions of various kinds as well as in curricula and textbooks. They reach the everyday school practice e. g. in how teachers use the monopoly of interpretation during and outside the classroom instruction. However; it would be one-sided to confine this counter-trend to East Central Europe against similar trends in Western Europe and on other continents.

The European level

"Back to Europe" has been identified by Cesar Birzea as "one of the influential slogans ... on the background of post-revolutionary euphoria" (2008, p. 107). It is true that "a sign of membership was not listed in any of the political programmes or documents of the 1989 revolutions" (ibid.) Yet, this attitude should quickly give way to opposite policies, formally leading to the accession of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia (as well as Slovenia and the Baltic States) to the European Union in 2004; Bulgaria and Romanian followed in 2007. The question of whether this accession should be called "the second transition" (cf. Birzea, 2009, p. 105) or, in a more cautious interpretation, regarded as the second step following the first step of the revolutionary upheavals, should be left open⁴. The importance of the inclusion of the East Central European region in the trend of *Europeanisation* as such, however, is incontestable, the more so as the accession of the four countries had been preceded by an intense 'examination procedure' including requirements of educational reforms. As a cogent consequence of this accession process, the 'new' member countries have been incorporated in the EU's educational policies, based upon the Treaty of Maastricht of 1993 and the *Open Method of Co-ordination* (OMC) resolved by the Lisbon Summit of 2000.

Moreover, they have been invited to take part in the multifarious activities extending the EU's sphere of action below the 'upper level' of formal decision-

⁴ As regards the identification of historical periods, the transformation research offers several approaches. The aforementioned comparative project (vid. footnote 3) follows the scheme which was devised by Jiří Kotásek, the initiator of the project (who passed away in 2006). It consists of the periods of *deconstruction*, *partial stabilisation*, *reconstruction*, *implementation of systemic reform*. Alternative models periodising educational transformation in East Central Europe have been presented, among others, by Cesar Birzea and Janusz Tomiak. Cf. Mitter, W. 2003, pp. 83-85.

making. The 'lower level' is demonstrated by exchange programmes for teachers and students in higher education as well as of trainers and trainees in vocational education of the secondary and post-secondary levels. The European Commission continually publishes memoranda whose medium-term impacts on the educational policies of the member-states should not be underestimated, the less so as those publishing activities are getting associated, in particular in the framework of OMC, with the invasion of international evaluations of achievement (IEA, PISA, etc.) into the decision-making procedures both of the European Union and its member-states. This trend must be taken very seriously, although the participation of the national governments remains formally based on 'voluntary' decisions. In this connection further mention should be made about the comprehensive Commission Report of November 2001 containing the programme of "creating a European space of lifelong learning" (Eurydice, 2001). All these documents reveal an actual change in the self-identification of the European Union, namely to grow, beyond economic, social and political integration, into "an educational and cultural community" (cf. Hochbaum, 1993) and, consequently, into a 'European space'. Finally, the European Commission has engaged in financing innovatory projects concerning school management, curricular development, education for integrating migrant children and youth and other educational fields. All these projects, to be allocated to the 'medium level' of the European Union's activities, are aimed at contributing to the improvement of their achievement standards and to the harmonisation of the education systems on the whole. As regards the pursuit of these policies, the East Central European countries and the other 'newcomers' are definitely treated as privileged addressees. Weighing the totality of all these promoting activities, one feels legitimated to the comment that these projects are likely to be the most effective achievements initiated by the European Union to ameliorate the education systems in that region and to adjust them to the Post-Lisbon strategies. Summing up, the 'European space' has taken concrete contours. However, these should not be overestimated against the impacts coming from the United States, particularly in higher education.

A parallel stream of harmonising education in Europe, and that at the level of higher education, has been initiated by the Bologna Declaration signed by the European Ministers of Education and Culture in 1999. In the meantime it has considerably expanded beyond the borders of Europe by the accession of numerous non-European countries. The implementation of its aims concerns the deregulation of governmental competencies in favour of self-governing ones by the university bodies, the harmonisation of qualifications by installing a cross-national system of graduations (bachelor, master, doctor) and, finally, the introduction of compulsory guidelines for accreditations to be acknowledged all over the 'Bologna purview'. It is true that the Bologna Declaration has reached cross-continental range which should not make us disregard, however, its particular European origin and its relevance for the harmonisation of higher education in the European Union including the East Central European countries.

The global Level

At the global level educational policies and educational practice get increasingly determined by the demand for socio-economic competitiveness, due to the dominating ideology of neo-liberalism. Consequently, the market pervades school management and planning and, moreover, even reaches the everyday classroom instruction by internet and other media. The border-crossing and market-driven training and qualification programmes, emerging in the framework of the *World Trade Organisation* (WTO) and the *General Agreement of Trade and Services* (GATS), reinforce this process. It is true that this worldwide trend contributes to learning and cognitive achievement. It would be erroneous though to underestimate the dark sides of this influence caused by the impacts of globalisation on education and learning. Schools have to cope with an increasing divergence between standardised assessment and traditional school philosophies (e.g. neo-humanism) having essentially shaped the 'intern core' of education and learning aimed at the pupils' mental and moral development and identity. East Central Europe has been greatly affected by this divergence, the more so, as the neo-humanistic message had exerted focal influence on the curricula and attitudes of teachers and pupils and their mutual relationships, while with the progress of the contemporary utilitarian conceptions they tend to become obsolete. The counter-trend of *educational pluralism*, as part of *localisation*, is signalled by recent advancement private schools based on individual-oriented and humanistic conceptions.⁵ Furthermore, the growing demand for self-government must be observed in this context. Its subjects are to be identified in local communities, schools and governing boards, parent committees, associations of the civic society and, last but not least, inside the schools with head-teachers, teachers and further educational staff, and, finally, pupils. However, in the context of this presentation one should not forget the 'counter trend within this counter-trend', namely the attempts of central educational authorities to use self-government for unburdening the state budgets by loading schools, governing boards, sponsors and parents with new responsibilities, in particularly in the areas of budget controlling and fund raising.

The level of modernisation

Modernisation, whose importance in the context of the present article should be limited to general comments, differs from the three other trends, in that it is not bound to any spatial dimension. It comprises all advancements in modern society. In the education systems its impacts are particularly relevant in the educational management and finance as well as the development of information and communication technologies both in steering centres (e. g. school directorates) and classrooms. Special emphasis should be laid on the modern patterns of evaluation

5 In this context the parallel increase of purely commercialised schools with their utilitarian philosophies remains outside the present discussion.

and assessment. On the other hand the *post-modernist* trend comes to light in the catchwords of 'decentralisation', 'deregulation', 'self-government' and 'autonomy'. The tension between the two poles may be exemplified by the opposition of 'deregulation' of governance in education to centralised quality assurance by standardised assessment procedures and centralised examination rules.

As regards the part of education in the four-level pattern of change, suffice it to propose some illustrative examples:

- Learning projects directly aimed at promoting international co-operation and trans-national (e.g. European) commitment have to cope with counteracting resentments among members of the adult generation (teachers, parents) focused on the perseverance of nationalist resentments and intolerance in its various manifestations.
- Advancing integration of educational policies, as conceived and implemented by the European Union is paralleled by competing strategies toward stabilisation of national particularities in form of laws, orders and curricula.
- Border-crossing teaching and learning experiences and migration processes have to compete with the advancement of self-government at the grassroots of individual schools.
- Modern information and communication technologies in schools and classrooms as well as respective shifts in educational management collide with individualised and differentiated learning processes.

It would be erroneous to disregard the positive elements of the antithetic configurations emerging in these examples. They can serve as items of progress, harmonisation and reconciliation, provided they are based upon the core values of human rights and tolerance. If these, however, are neglected, they are exposed to conflicts.

Concluding Considerations: Quo Vadis, East Central Europe?

The shift of paradigm challenging the societies of the East Central European countries in view of the 'four-level' transformation processes, has affected the education system with all its power. The level of *Europeanisation* materialised by the accession of the four countries to the European Union, should awaken our particular attention in the following concluding considerations. In this context the German sociologist Barbara Lippert has commented this shift of paradigm by applying a three-dimensional model which pluralises the trend to Europeanisation in a plausible approach, namely in her article with the symptomatic title "*Sternstunde oder Stolpersteine? Erweiterung und europäischen Integration*" (Sidereal Hour or Stumbling Stones? Expansion and European Integration) (Lippert, 2004, p. 60)

At first the newcomers must develop a feeling of ownership in the success and negotiation story of the European integration. Therefore they are in need of target-points. One can think that for the most new members the projects are to be looked for rather in the context of the 'Lisbon strategies' concerning the dynamisation of growth and competitiveness as well as the struggle against unemployment than in the development of the EU as a global actor. The new members will strongly discuss the historical dimension of the European integration (reconciliation according to the German-French example) and an answer to war and violence (among the European countries) on the one hand, and the pragmatic dimension (the Single Market and the sectoral policies) which, consequently, must be preserved and continued at the transition to the strategic dimension...

This three-dimensional model can be transferred to the curriculum planning of the schools in East Central Europe. In the *historical* view we discuss the comparability of the national, ethnic, religious, political and cultural traditions with the claims for integration confronting the young generation with the 'wider' Europe. The *pragmatic* view concentrates on the question of how the modern globalisation can be harmonised with the European particularities, defined by Anthony Pagden. These become manifest subjectively in the implementation of economic, political and socio-cultural desiderata, subjectively in the search of a 'European' identity. The transfer of the *strategic* view emerging on top of both the preceding views to the curricular issue points to the target-setting in instruction and education with respect to preparing the young generation to making national, European and universal (global) tasks compatible in their thoughts and actions.

Discussing the strategic aspect immediately leads to the identity issue including its conflict potentials. In this context it is worth resuming Piotr Stompka's analysis and, in particular his concluding considerations. He pleads for breaking up the ages-old unity of national (tribal, ethnic) identities and citizenship and thinks this approach to be the "best way to assure the development of a balanced and 'trouble-free' identity" (2004, p. 394). In the sociological literature the new stage of identity is analysed within the concept of "multiple identity", as presented by Sztompka's following reflections (*ibid.*):

People craft themselves, rather than receiving themselves ready-made. Transnational, continental, or even global identities appear as new additional options, but do not necessarily eliminate other identities or orientations linked to regions, nation, ethics, religion, occupation, gender, sexual preferences, life styles, consumer communities, fashion-communities, leisure communities, etc. Multiple identities imply the enrichment of bonds, social networks and opportunities of experience and expression.

There is no doubt that the development of *multiple identities* appeals to European education in total. In this respect teachers and pupils in the East Central European countries have a lot to catch up on their way of attaining standards and attitudes that have been, though insufficiently too, reached in Western Europe. This observation comes out in Barbara Lippert's perception of "stumble stones". In the context of the present analysis it points to the aforementioned gaps in the structural and, the more so, in the curricular and attitudinal areas of educational research, policy-making and everyday practice. The retrospect to the past twenty years, however, gives insight into the complementary perception of "sidereal

hours" as well. They become manifest in the openness to innovations, for instance in ways how to deal with self-government at the grassroots of the education systems, or in successful participation in the international assessment studies of the past two decades. The outcomes of the comparative study *The transformation of education systems in the Visegrad countries*, conducted by Eliška Walterová and her international team, provides a source revealing, after all, that "Back to Europe" cannot be solely dismissed as unrealistic expectation.

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BLURRING BOUNDARIES: THE GROWING VISIBILITY, EVOLVING FORMS AND COMPLEX IMPLICATIONS OF PRIVATE SUPPLEMENTARY TUTORING

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Abstract: *Recent decades have brought intensification of what in some settings has been called the shadow education system of supplementary private tutoring. Pupils in regular fee-free public schools attend supplementary fee-paying classes after school, at week-ends and during vacations. This practice is especially evident during the period leading up to major examinations, but for some pupils occurs at all levels of education systems. The practice blurs conceptual boundaries: it is no longer a question of public or private education, but increasingly a question of public and private education. The practice has long been ingrained in the cultures of East Asia, and is now increasingly evident in West and Central Asia, in Europe, in North America, and in Africa. Moreover, new types of tutoring over the internet are being provided across national boundaries. In this respect, tutoring is blurring geographic boundaries. This paper describes and analyses the phenomenon. It notes that different types of tutoring dominate in different cultures and income groups, and remarks on the forces of technology and globalisation. Shadow education brings complex implications for policy-makers and practitioners. It has positive as well as negative dimensions, and requires sophisticated analysis and greater attention from researchers in both East and West, and North and South.*

Key words: *shadow education, tutoring, private education, social inequalities, global change*

Introduction

For most pupils around the world, the learning day does not end when the school bell rings for the end of classes. Homework must be done, to consolidate classroom learning and to prepare for the next steps. This homework may be accomplished by pupils individually or in groups, and perhaps with the assistance of family members.

In addition, growing numbers of pupils receive private supplementary tutoring. Such tutoring may also be received individually or in groups, and is sometimes received in large classes. The content may be linked to the specific lessons covered that week in school, or it may have additional material. The tutoring may be received after school hours on school days, and/or at week-ends and public holidays, and/or during school vacations.

This tutoring has become widely known in the literature as shadow education (see e.g. Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Bray, 1999; Lee et al., 2009). The label is appropriate for several reasons. First, private supplementary tutoring only exists because the mainstream education system exists; second, as the size and shape of the mainstream system change, so do the size and shape of supplementary tutoring; third, in almost all societies much more attention focuses on the mainstream than on its shadow; and fourth, the features of the shadow system are much less distinct than those of the mainstream system.

Shadow education takes different forms in different cultures. The dominant models in East Asia are different from those in South Asia; and the dominant models in Western Europe are different from their counterparts in Eastern Europe (Bray, 2009, p. 24). Even within geographic regions may be significant diversity. In East Asia, for example, differences in dominant models may be found in Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea (Dierkes, 2008; Kwok, 2009; Liu, 2009; Jung & Lee, 2010); and within each society is a range of types serving different categories of clients. However, some commonalities may be identified, which permits shadow education to be viewed as a global phenomenon.

The nature of tutoring is changing over time. As societies become more competitive, in part because of the forces of globalisation, school systems also become more competitive which in turn expands the demand for tutoring. Since the turn of the century, the scale and nature of tutoring have intensified in most regions of the world (Bray, 2009). Also striking is the impact of new technologies. In particular, the internet has significantly altered the geographic space within which tutoring may be provided. Some forms of tutoring are becoming globalised in which, for example, for pupils in the USA pay by credit cards for tutoring from India using the internet and web-cameras (Ventura & Jang, 2010).

This paper addresses some dimensions of this phenomenon. It commences by outlining the scale and nature of private supplementary tutoring. It then elaborates on the forces which are shaping the phenomenon, before turning to some of the implications.

Scale and Nature of Tutoring

Reliable data on shadow education are difficult to obtain because much tutoring is conducted on an informal basis. Tutoring establishments may not be registered, and enrolments may be unstable. Further, tutors commonly avoid taxes on their earnings and therefore dislike attention. Pupils may also hesitate to reveal the amounts of tutoring that they receive, partly because they feel shy about seeking either remedial support or competitive advantages over their peers.

Nevertheless, a picture of cross-national patterns and variations may be sketched from a range of studies. Table 1 shows that tutoring is a substantial phenomenon in many regions of the world. In some parts of East Asia, particularly Japan and South Korea, tutoring has a long history, though greatly grew in magnitude during the 1980s and 1990s (Zeng, 1999; Lee, 2010). These are prosperous countries which are influenced by Confucian cultural traditions that value learning and effort (Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996; Chan & Rao, 2009). Tutoring has also become more evident, though perhaps for different reasons, in low-income countries such as Cambodia and Bangladesh (Dawson, 2009; Hamid et al., 2009), and is increasingly being reported in Africa (see e.g. Sambo, 2001; Eilor, 2007; Paviot et al., 2008). In Eastern Europe and Central Asia, tutoring has emerged as a major enterprise following the collapse of socialism and the advent of the market economy (see e.g. Silova et al., 2006; Silova, 2009). The proportion of pupils receiving tutoring in other societies may be lower, but it has also become increasingly evident, with different dynamics and underlying forces, in Western Europe (see e.g. Melot, 2007; Peters et al., 2009; Smyth, 2009) and North America (Gordon et al., 2005; Davies & Aurini, 2006; Mori, 2009).

Table 1. Cross-National Indicators of Supplementary Private Tutoring

| Location | Patterns |
|------------|---|
| Bangladesh | National survey data from 16,400 households in 2005 were compared with similar data from 33,229 households in 1998. The data showed that tutoring was substantial, and expanded over this period. In 2005, 31.0% of primary school students were receiving tutoring (28.2% in rural areas; 51.73% urban) but in 1998 21.4% of pupils were receiving tutoring (18.1% rural, 44.3% urban). |
| Cambodia | Respondents in 31.2% of 77 primary schools surveyed in 1997/1998 indicated that pupils received tutoring, which consumed 6.6% of the total costs of primary education. A 2004 follow-up study showed that costs increased markedly at secondary level. In the top grade of lower secondary schooling, average household costs of tutoring were over four times those in the top grade of primary schooling. |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| Canada | The number of tutoring businesses in major cities grew between 200% and 500% during the 1990s. In a 1997 national telephone survey, 9.4% of 501 adults with school-aged children indicated that their children received private tutoring outside school hours, and a further 8.4% indicated that their children had done so in the past. |
| China | The 2004 Urban Household Education and Employment survey covered 4,773 households. It indicated that tutoring was received by 73.8% of primary, 65.6% of lower secondary and 53.5% of upper secondary students. |
| Cyprus | A 2003 study of 1,120 college students found that 86.4% had received private tutoring when in secondary school. |
| Egypt | A 2004 study estimated that households devoted 61.0% of education expenditures to private tutoring. A 1997 study estimated that household expenditures on tutoring in all levels of schooling accounted for 1.6% of gross domestic product. A 1994 survey of 4,729 households found that in urban areas 64.0% of primary children with 52.0% in rural areas had received supplementary tutoring. |
| Hong Kong | Government statistics suggest that 34% of primary and secondary pupils received tutoring in 2006. A 2004–2005 survey of 13,600 households suggested that pupils receiving tutoring were 36.0% at the primary level, 28.0% in lower secondary, 33.6% in middle secondary, and 48.1% in upper secondary. |
| Japan | A 2007 survey found that tutorial schools known as <i>juku</i> served 15.9% of Primary 1 children, that this proportion rose steadily in later grades, and that it reached 65.2% in Junior Secondary 3. In addition, 6.8% of Junior Secondary 3 pupils received tutoring at home, and 15.0% followed correspondence courses. |
| Kenya | A 1997 national sample of 3,233 Grade 6 pupils found 68.6% receiving private tutoring, ranging from 39.0% in North Eastern province to 74.4% in Nyanza Province. A parallel survey in three geographically distinct districts indicated that tutoring was much more common in urban than rural areas, and among boys rather than girls. |
| Vietnam | In a 2001 sample survey of 72,660 Grade 5 pupils in 3,639 primary schools, 38% of pupils indicated that they were receiving tutoring. In 2002, tutoring was said to have consumed about 20% of household education expenditure. The figure peaked at 29% for pupils preparing for university entrance examinations, and was especially high in urban areas and in the Central Highlands and Southeast Regions. |

Sources: Various studies reported in Bray (2009, pp.18-19).

The nature of tutoring is partly determined by class size. At one end of the scale is individualised tutoring, often in the homes of the pupils or the teachers; and at the other end of the scale are mass lecture theatres with overflow rooms served by closed-circuit television screens focusing on what in Hong Kong are called 'idol tutors' who in some respects resemble film stars and popular musicians (Kwok, 2009). Between these extremes may be small groups, medium-sized classes and large classes.

Diversity may also be found in the ages and qualifications of tutors. In many settings, secondary school students earn pocket money by tutoring primary school children, and similarly university students tutor secondary students. At the other end of the age scale, many tutors are retirees who wish still to contribute to society and earn some extra money. Between these two extremes of age are others who provide tutoring on a full-time or part-time basis, and who may or may not have formal training. Again this picture contrasts with mainstream schooling, in which teachers are expected to be aged between 21 and 65 and to have formal training.

In many systems, mainstream teachers themselves provide supplementary private tutoring. In such countries as Australia, Germany and Singapore, teachers are prohibited from providing paid tutoring to the children for whom they already have responsibility in the mainstream. However, in such countries as India, Lebanon and Nigeria it is common for mainstream teachers to provide remunerated supplementary tutoring for their own mainstream pupils. In some settings this creates a problematic form of blackmail, in which teachers cover only part of the curriculum during school hours and then require pupils to come to the private classes for the remainder of the curriculum. This mainly occurs in countries in which mainstream teachers receive low salaries. The level of salaries on the one hand forces the teachers to seek supplementary incomes, and on the other hand makes society more sympathetic to the practice than it might otherwise be. The fact that teachers in the public system of education provide private tutoring blurs boundaries in classifications. This blurring is especially evident when teachers are permitted to hold private classes on school premises.

High-income societies have additional forms of tutoring that harness technology. Telephone tutoring is one option, but has increasingly been displaced by internet tutoring. Such technology means that the tutors and tutees may be distant from each other and perhaps even in different countries. For example, one company in the USA is named InteractiveMathTutor.com. "No longer is there the discomfort to have a math instructor in your home", it has declared on its website, "or the inconvenience to travel to a learning center for math tutoring assistance and make a one-hour tutoring session a three-hour debacle". The company adds: "Whether you live in New York, California or any location around the world, effective, personalized math tutoring help is only a sign up away". Payments can be made online by credit card to people whom the tutees are unlikely ever to meet in person.

Other dimensions in the supply of tutoring concern the corporatisation of provision. Kumon is among the major international providers, headquartered in Japan and quoted on the Japanese stock exchange. Kumon started in the 1950s as

a father-to-son operation, and has grown to 3.7 million clients served by franchised outlets around the world and particularly in Japan, South Korea, the USA, Taiwan, Brazil and Australia (Russell, 1996; Ma, 2005). Other major international franchises include Sylvan, which is headquartered in the USA and has a network in Canada, Hong Kong and the Gulf States (<http://tutoring.sylvanlearning.com>); and Oxford Learning which is headquartered in Canada has a network in the USA, the Gulf States and elsewhere (<http://www.oxfordlearning.com>).

Concerning the content of tutoring, in general the supply is shaped by demand. The subjects in greatest demand are ones required by examination systems at each stage of transition. Mathematics and the national languages tend to be in especially high demand. The demand for elective subjects, such as art and religious studies, is usually more limited. Whereas much tutoring provides “more of the same”, i.e. reinforcement of materials already covered in mainstream classes, other forms of tutoring provide enrichment. Much depends on whether the tutoring is remedial and helping pupils to keep up, or whether it is targeted at high achievers who want to achieve even more.

The Driving Forces

To understand the reasons for the existence of tutoring, it is useful to look at both the consumers and the producers. The consumers include the parents as well as the pupils. Davies (2004, pp.238-239) has pointed out that many families invest in tutoring as part of “intensive parenting”:

That is, the hiring of tutors may be part of a wider strategy in which parents place a great premium on education, value a cognitively stimulating environment for their children, and closely monitor their children’s activities. This style of parenting emphasizes a careful plan of structured activities for children, in which tutoring is part of a series of private lessons that also include music, dance, and sports.

Davies’ remarks were made in Canada, but could equally apply to ambitious and elite families throughout the world. Such families are particularly likely to favour individual and small-group tutoring. Their investments in social and human capital can indeed promote learning and generate long-term rates of return. Children who receive such tutoring are likely to perform better in school and to stay in the education system for longer durations.

In sharp contrast are parents in low-income societies who are faced by unavoidable demands on their children by their mainstream teachers. In Cambodia, for example, teachers commonly provide private tutoring for their own students in the same classroom after the close of the official school day (Bray & Bunly, 2005; Dawson, 2009). Teachers may stress that the system is not compulsory; but parents know that if they do not pay, their children will be handicapped not only by failing to secure the curricular knowledge but also probably by incurring the disapproval of the teachers. Moreover, since the teachers control the end-of-year examinations and determine who proceeds from one grade to the next, parents are aware that if

they do not pay for tutoring then their children are likely to have to repeat grades. For many parents, the arithmetic becomes simple: it is less expensive to pay for the tutoring than to pay the costs of repeating a year.

Both parents and students are also influenced by peer pressure. Kim (2007, pp. 7-8) presented a case study from Korea, highlighting the demands on a mother and her daughter. The mother felt that the pressures on her daughter were very strong, but the mother's view that tutoring was an investment was reinforced by the perspectives of other mothers. Similarly, pupils often choose to enrol in tutoring classes because it appears that all their peers are doing so (Bray, 2009, pp. 42-44).

More widely, tutoring is driven by competitive pressures in an increasingly globalised world. Many governments pay strong heed to rankings in cross-national assessments such as those of:

- the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD),
- the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), and
- the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ).

Some governments in turn promote competition through public ranking of achievement by schools; and schools promote competition through public ranking of achievement by pupils. Governments see education as an instrument for competitiveness in international markets, and this view gets translated into pressure on young people to achieve grades by all means including private tutoring.

Implications

Private tutoring has obvious implications for social inequalities. High-income families can afford greater quantities and better qualities of tutoring than middle-income and low-income families. At the same time, middle-income and low-income families may find themselves forced to invest in tutoring simply in order to keep up with their peers.

To some extent, such patterns may also be evident internationally. Elaborating on the observation above, governments may see their place in the international rankings of PISA, TIMSS etc. and feel that pupils need extra support through a variety of means including tutoring. In the USA, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation was introduced in 2002 for a number of reasons which included concern about international competitiveness. The NCLB machinery has permitted government resources to be used to pay private tutors (Burch et al., 2006; Vergari, 2007), thereby again blurring public-private boundaries. It is true that Finland, which is among the highest-ranked countries in PISA surveys, does not have strong traditions of tutoring; but that has not dissuaded at least some other European governments from encouraging the phenomenon. For example, the French government has

encouraged families to invest in tutoring by permitting 50 per cent of household payments to private companies to be deducted from liability for income tax (Cavet, 2006, p. 12).

Private tutoring also has other implications for social development. On the one hand, it can be taken as a mechanism for increasing the stock of human capital; but on the other hand, it increases pressures on young people who may find that they have little space for play and other needs. Tutoring also exacerbates geographic inequalities insofar as it tends to be more strongly demanded and more easily available in urban than in rural areas; and in some societies more tutoring is received by boys than by girls (see e.g. Buchmann, 2002).

In addition, out-of-school tutoring may have implications for in-school processes. Among the most problematic aspects are cases in which private tutoring becomes a substitute for the mainstream. Especially near the time of major external examinations, schools in some countries may be perceived by pupils to be less able to cater for their specific needs because they have to serve a wide spectrum of demands and also have broader social and political goals. In Turkey, this has reached the extreme of pupils paying to secure medical notes to allow them to be absent from school. Especially during the semester when pupils take secondary and tertiary education entrance exams, they concentrate on attending the private tutorial centres and on their preparations at home rather than attending mainstream classes. Tansel and Bircan (2007, p. 8) reported that at this season "most students receive false medical reports of sickness which enable them to be absent from their mainstream classes" and that this "has become a widely accepted and expensive process".

The intensity of private tutoring may also of course affect pupils' concentration spans. In Korea, Kim (2007, pp. 16-17) reported on the effect of tutoring for the entrance to special purpose high schools (SPHs). The tutorial centres are widely perceived by the pupils as offering training that is more relevant. Since the demands of the tutorial centres are heavy, students commonly sleep during school time. The pupils themselves recognize this (Kim, 2007, p. 17):

School teachers do not like SPH applicants. They do not concentrate on class and sleep instead. Grades of the second semester of third grade are not counted by SPH. So the teachers do not like them because those students mess up matters during class...

SPH applicants are all high achieved. They do not study hard in class. It makes mess in class.... Actually many of them sleep during class or do private institute homework or study other things in need.... In English class, most of them [SPH applicants] are sleeping. We already learned the content. And teachers know it.

The above quotations raise issues not only about concentration spans but also about diversity within mainstream classrooms. When tutoring assists low achievers, it usually reduces the diversity and in this respect assists the mainstream teacher. However, much market-driven tutoring serves high achievers. As explained with reference to Mauritius (Bah-lalya, 2006, p. 75):

When some pupils [receive] private tutoring but others do not, mainstream teachers may face great[er] disparities than would otherwise be the case. While supplementary tutoring can enhance learning of regular lessons, it can detract from learning and teaching during the normal school hours.

Among the challenges may be that the pedagogy of private tutors differs from that of mainstream teachers. In mathematics, for example, pupils may learn in tutoring centres to solve problems mechanically, rather than through understanding the mathematical principles concerned. In the USA, the NCLB scheme has been criticized for its lack of requirement to coordinate supplementary services with the classroom curriculum. Critics add that providers have not been required to communicate with classroom teachers, with the result that the tutoring services “weaken the organizational capacity of schools to develop a coherent instructional program” (Sunderman, 2006, p. 118).

Conclusions

Private supplementary tutoring is not *per se* a new phenomenon. In various cultures, tutoring has a long tradition, especially in elite families. However, the expanded scale of tutoring, at all levels of education systems and for a much wider range of social classes, dates from recent decades. Significant growth and spread has been evident even in the period since the turn of the 21st century. During the latter decades of the 20th century, the phenomenon was chiefly evident in East Asia, in South Asia and the countries of the former USSR. More recently, private supplementary tutoring has become increasingly evident in Africa, the Caribbean, North America and Western Europe. It has thus become a global phenomenon, albeit with different manifestations in lower-income countries such as Bangladesh and Cambodia compared with higher-income countries such as France and Japan.

Further, while some parts of the private tutoring industry are very localised, others are globalised. The global manifestations take two forms in particular. First the large multinational corporations such as Kumon, Sylvan and Oxford Learning which operate through franchises; and second are the forms of tutoring that take place across national boundaries via the internet. The latter, in particular, may be considered a phenomenon of the 21st century. Both forms show strong potential for growth in the years to come.

Some aspects of tutoring may be considered positive. Tutoring provides incomes for tutors, and can create constructive out-of-school activities for young people. However, tutoring may also distort parts of the mainstream system, place an economic burden on households, and create excessive pressure for children and adolescents. Thus, a strong case can be made at least for monitoring the spread and nature of tutoring, and in some cases for limiting, regulating and channelling it.

The tutoring phenomenon is also a fascinating and instructive focus for comparative study of education. It is instructive to note not only the patterns of change but also the variations in different cultures, locations, socio-economic

groups, and levels of education. Analysis requires care in classification of models, and shows blurring of traditional categories as new forms of education emerge and develop. As such, researchers should be encouraged to look closely at the phenomenon both across and within national boundaries.

NOTE

Parts of this paper are reproduced from Bray (2006) and Bray (2009). Those publications elaborate on the remarks presented here.

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PRESCHOOL PRACTITIONERS' AND IMMIGRANT PARENTS' BELIEFS ABOUT ACADEMICS AND PLAY IN THE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM IN FIVE COUNTRIES

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Abstract: *Children Crossing Borders* is a comparative study of how early childhood education and care programs in England, France, Germany, Italy, and the US are approaching the task of working with children of recent immigrants and of areas of agreement and disagreement in beliefs about what should happen in preschool of recent immigrant parents of young children and their children's teachers. The method used in the study is a version of video-cued ethnographic interviewing, in which preschool parents and practitioners were shown 20-minute videos of days in preschools in their own and other countries and asked for their reactions and evaluations. This paper focuses on how immigrant parents and preschool practitioners talk about the ideal balance of academic preparation and play in the curriculum. A key finding is that immigrant parents tend to favor greater emphasis on academic instruction than do their children's teachers, except in France, where teachers as well as parents see preschool as a place for academics rather than for play. Our analysis suggests that reasons for immigrant parents' preference for a greater academic emphasis include past experience with education in their host country; pragmatic concerns about their children's vulnerability to failing in school; and ideological beliefs about curriculum and pedagogy that are tied to a larger social conservatism as well as to social class.

Key words: *early childhood education, immigrant families, ethnography, comparative approach*

Introduction

Immigration is a challenging social and political issue for the United States and the countries of the European Union. It is a key political issue that connects domestic to international policies, that is closely linked with urban poverty and related social problems, and that reflects core concerns about what it means to be a nation, a people, and a union. The treatment of immigrants has become even more salient in the post-9/11, post-7/7, post-market crash climate of heightened concerns about national security, high rates of employment, and rising xenophobia.

And immigration is a key issue for education as well, beginning with the education of young immigrant children.

A significant and growing percentage of the children enrolled in early childhood education and care (ECEC) programs in the United States and many countries in Europe are children of recent immigrants. For most young (3-5 years old) children of parents who have come from other countries and cultures, ECEC settings are the first context in which they come face to face with differences between the culture of home and the public culture of their new country. For parents who have recently immigrated to a new country, enrolling their child in an early childhood program is the paradigmatic moment where cultural values of their home and adopted culture come into contact and, often, conflict. For countries with high rates of immigration, ECEC programs are key sites for enacting national goals for social inclusion and the creation of new citizens. In the contemporary world preschools are the single most salient sites where the immigrant's culture of home meets the culture of the host society. As such, preschools that serve immigrant children and their families are crucibles for the creation of new citizens, new communities, and hybrid social and cultural forms.

And yet the field of early childhood education has conducted too little research on the experience of immigrant children and their families. The majority of the research that has been done in this area focuses on language issues, with much less attention to cultural issues. There has been very little research that focuses on the perspectives of immigrant parents.

With these concerns in mind, an interdisciplinary group of scholars from the US and Europe began meeting in 2002 to create what eventually became the five-country, comparative educational study we call "Children Crossing Borders." The research team includes specialists in early childhood education, child development, linguistics, and anthropology. The countries in this study are England, France, Germany, Italy, and the US. We eventually were successful in receiving major funding for the international research from the Bernard van Leer Foundation. The two authors of this paper coordinated the international research effort.

The research questions that guided this study are:

1. What do immigrant parents want for their children in ECEC programs?
2. How are the perspectives of immigrant parents like and unlike the perspectives of their children's preschool teachers and of non-immigrant parents?
3. What are the implications of our research findings for practice and policy for serving immigrant children and their families in ECEC programs?

The interviews we conducted with parents and teachers produced thousands of pages of transcripts of discussions on a wide range of issues including second language acquisition and home language retention; academic readiness; cultural and national identity; notions of childhood and child development; the role of the teacher; and parent-participation (Adair & Tobin, 2009; Bove & Mantovani, 2006;

Brougere, Rayna, & Guenif-Souilamas, 2008; Guenif-Souilamas, 2008; Pascal & Bertram, 2007; Tobin, Arzubiaga, & Mantovani, 2007). In this paper we focus on just one of these issues: teachers' and immigrant parents' notions of the proper balance of academics and play in the early childhood curriculum.

Method

The method of this study is straightforward, and follows the approach Joseph Tobin used with David Wu and Dana Davidson in *Preschools in Three Cultures: Japan, China, and the United States* (1989) and with Hsueh Yeh and Mayumi Karasawa in the sequel, *Preschool in Three Cultures Revisited* (2009). As in those studies, in the Children Crossing Borders study we made videotapes of typical days in classrooms for four-year-olds in Early childhood education and care settings in each of the five countries, and then used these videotapes as tools to stimulate a multivocal, intercultural dialogue.

In this method, the videotapes function primarily not as data but rather as a cue or stimulus, like a set of interview questions in conventional social science research or an inkblot in a psychological study. The core assumption of the method is that the video material we shoot and edit is a stimulus that is simultaneously richer, better contextualized, and less abstract than a verbal question asked in an interview. For example, if we ask immigrant parents what sort of curricular approach they are looking for in preschool, the question is likely to be difficult to answer. But if we show them a videotape of a preschool in which children are seated behind desks in rows facing a teacher who is writing words on a blackboard, parents find it much easier to voice an opinion. Similarly, if we ask a practitioner in an ECEC setting to explain her approach to classroom management, the question is so abstract as to make a meaningful response difficult. Showing her a videotape made in her classroom in which a fight occurs and asking for her reactions and reflections works much better to elicit her beliefs.

The other key idea of the Preschool in Three Cultures method is the production of a multivocal conversation of parents, teachers, and directors in five countries all taking about the same set of tapes. As in a projective test, the differences in how people respond to our tapes reveal differences in their beliefs and worldviews. As we show a tape made in a classroom to the classroom practitioner, then to her supervisor and colleagues, and then to the parents of the children she cares for, and then to audiences of early childhood educators at other sites in her country and then in other countries, the effect is to create a virtual conversation among a diverse community of stakeholders.

By showing the same set of videotapes to parents and practitioners in multiple sites in each of the five nations in this study we were able to produce data that allows us to uncover similarities and differences in how each nation approaches the promises and challenges of bringing immigrants into the fabric of society and differences and similarities in the perspectives of parents (both immigrant and non-immigrant) and practitioners.

The steps of the method are straightforward:

1. The research team in each country selected a site, a classroom for four-year-old children in a ECEC program serving a significant number of children of recent immigrants.
2. During a one-week visit, we shot a video of a more or less typical day.
3. Based on the initial feedback from the teacher, children, and parents, we edited the 10-12 hours of videotape from each site (5-6 hours per camera) down to approximately 2 hours and then down to 20 minutes. The logic of this winnowing process was to select a balance of shots that best reflect the program's approach to working children of immigrants and shots that we anticipated would function effectively as cues to stimulate informants to explicate their beliefs and philosophies.
4. We showed the edited video to the teacher(s) in whose classroom we filmed and made sure they were comfortable with everything in the video, and we then made additional edits, as needed.
5. We invited parents to watch and comment on the videotape made in their child's classroom.
6. We conducted focus-group sessions with parents and teachers in each country. The videotapes functioned as cues for these focus-group interviews, with groups of 4-10 parents or practitioners watching and discussing the tapes together.

We conducted these discussions with parents and practitioners in at least five sites in each country, sites, chosen to reflect regional, social class, and ideological variation. In these sessions we showed both the videotape made in a preschool in their country and videotapes from two of the other countries in the study. For example, French informants were shown the German and English tapes, while Italian informants were shown the French and US tapes. In each country, parent and teacher comments on what they found attractive and repugnant in the practices of other countries served to clarify and highlight their own beliefs and values.

This multivocal, multi-step method produced a great deal of data, in the form of thousands of pages of transcripts of the discussions we conducted with parents and practitioners. We conducted a total of about 150 focus groups across the five countries. From this larger set, we chose 75 (15 focus groups per country, ten with parents, five with practitioners) to transcribe, translate, and code. In some cases the transcripts were translated twice, as for example first from Turkish to German and then from German to English.

We used two parallel modes of analysis to make sense of these transcripts: content analysis (using a qualitative data analysis program, and the coding category framework we developed) and interpretive/textual analysis, which borrowed analytic techniques from structural anthropology, discourse analysis, and Bakhtinian literary analysis (Tobin, 2000).

We faced many problems of translation and definition of terms and concepts across borders and cultures. A challenge in any international study is arriving at shared definitions of key terms. This is partly a problem of translation (e.g. how

to translate “*école maternelle*” into English) but more significantly a problem of contextualized meanings (the term “preschool” is used in both England and in the US, but the meanings are different). For the purposes of this study, we are using “early childhood education and care (ECEC) settings” to refer to a variety of institutions that serve three- to four-year-old children, including child centers, preschools, *école maternelle*, *scuola dell’infanzia*, reception, and kindergarten.

Even more difficult to define precisely than “early childhood education and care setting” is the term “immigrant.” We use “immigrant” in the title of our project and in this paper in its generic, rather than legal sense, to refer to children whose families have recently migrated, whether permanently or temporarily, to the country where they are currently living.

Our analysis features several different levels of comparison, as our design allowed us to compare the perspectives of: parents and practitioners; immigrant and non-immigrant parents; practitioners in five countries; and immigrant parents in five countries. We have data that allows us to make some conclusions about differences and similarities across these categories of informants, but we are mindful that this study is more contrastive than comparative in that although we endeavored to keep the method as consistent as possible, each context in which we conducted focus groups was different and for each of our categories of informants the task we asked of them was qualitatively unlike.

Site Selection and the Problem of Typicality

This use of this method inevitably raises questions of typicality: How can one early childhood setting per country be enough? How can we claim that one setting can be typical of a country, or that the day we videotaped is typical of other days in that setting? If we were using our videotapes as data, a videotape of one day in one program in one country would not be adequate. But we have used these videotapes not as data but as stimuli or cues to get a range of stakeholders in each country to talk about how early childhood programs should work with children of immigrants. What is important for our videos to work as stimuli is that they be typical enough so that viewers within each country will find what they show familiar and unexceptional. A viewer from an *école maternelle* in Lyon, for example, might find the videotape we made in an *école maternelle* in a suburb of Paris to be different in various ways from her program, but she should not be surprised that there could be such a program.

For site selection, we balanced comparability with typicality: the sites we selected for each country were as comparable as possible in terms of age of the children, the percentage of children who are immigrants; the heterogeneity of the setting, the socio-economic background of the families, and level of urbanization: each program serves four-year-olds, from struggling rather than middle-class families, in large cities. We selected a program in each country that serves children from a variety of cultural backgrounds and in which the percentage of immigrants is greater than 20%.

We were able to address the typicality of the day we videotaped by beginning our investigation by asking the practitioner of the classroom where we videotaped to tell us whether the tape we made shows a typical day and if not, in what ways it is atypical. By showing a tape made in one setting to audiences in five other settings in each country, we enlisted our informants in the task of helping us understand in what ways the site we have chosen is typical and in what ways it reflects regional, ideological, or programmatic variations within the country. For example, early childhood educators in (the former) East Germany and in Frankfurt did not hesitate to tell us how their approach differs from that of (West) Berlin.

Academics and Play

The question of the proper balance in the preschool curriculum between play and academic learning produced very different responses from country to country in our focus-group discussions. There was much discussion and debate about this issue in the US, with teachers declaring the value of a play-based curriculum and warning against the dangers of a “pushed-down” academic approach and immigrant parents (and many non-immigrant parents as well) wishing that their children’s preschool would give more emphasis to the direct teaching of letters and numbers. In France, in contrast, teachers and parents were largely in agreement on this issue, with both teachers and immigrant parents supporting the *école maternelle’s* emphasis on *consigne* (school instructions and rules) and school-like curriculum (Brougère, Guénif-Souilamas, & Rayna, 2008). In England, Germany, and Italy, teachers were consistent in emphasizing the importance of a child-centered, play-based approach, and in rejecting a dichotomization of learning and play. Immigrant parents in these three European countries tended to want more emphasis on academics than did the teachers, but in their focus-group discussions they expressed this wish with somewhat less fervor and less often than did their counterparts in the US.

There is a research literature that suggests that parents who immigrate from more traditional societies, who are religious, and/or who are from working class urban or agrarian backgrounds (all of which are true for the majority of the immigrants in our study), tend to hold more conservative views on education than do contemporary progressive practitioners (Delpit, 1996; Valdes, 1996; Vandenbroeck, Roets, & Snoeck, 2009; Tobin, Hsueh, & Karasawa, 2009). This dynamic is true not only in the domain of education, but in other domains as well. This dynamic lies at the core of many of the tensions about the “Islamization of Europe”, a fear voiced increasingly often in Europe that Islamic immigrants bring with them beliefs that are antithetical to the liberal, progressive, democratic, modern beliefs Europeans believe distinguish themselves from Islam.

Reasons immigrant parents prefer a more academic emphasis in the preschool curriculum include:

1. Pedagogical backgrounds. The schools many immigrant parents attended when they were young were more authoritarian and less constructivist

than their child's preschool. A more academic, more structured (*consigne*) approach is therefore what many immigrant parents know and expect when they arrive in their new country. This was particularly the case for Turkish immigrant parents in France, whose country of origin shares with their host country Republican values and pedagogical approaches. In contrast, newly arrived Turkish immigrant parents in Germany found the German kindergarten's play-based, multicultural curriculum to be odd and ill-suited to their needs and preferences for their children (Kurban, 2010).

2. Match with their ideological beliefs. Beliefs about preschool pedagogy are tied to more general beliefs about learning, knowledge, and authority. This is true for both more conservative and more liberal beliefs. It is therefore to be expected that immigrants who are members of socially and morally conservative communities will have views on pedagogy and curriculum that are more conservative and that reflect a view of knowledge as something that is transmitted rather than socially constructed, of the asymmetry of adult-child relationships, and of the appropriateness of children showing deference to teachers and other authorities. These values are, of course, not limited to immigrant communities. They are characteristic of education programs in most Catholic, evangelical Christian, orthodox Jewish, and Koranic schools.
3. Pragmatism. Immigrant parents tend to be pragmatic and strategic in the way they think about their children's early education. Rather than having fixed, rigid ideas about what should happen in their children's preschools, immigrant parents make calculations (correct or incorrect) about what their child needs now, the world he/she will encounter in the near and more distant future, and the kind of person they want to see their child become. This parental calculation includes a consideration of both their hopes and their fears, and reflects their assessment of the local context in which they live. Many immigrant parents want the preschool to provide more of an emphasis on academics or on host-language acquisition, not based on a theory of learning but instead on a pragmatic concern about how their child will do in primary school and the consequences of their child doing poorly.

Immigrant parents in Europe and the US tend to think pragmatically about their children's academic readiness for primary school, thinking that leads them to wish for the school to do all it can to help their children "catch-up" with their non-immigrant peers. Immigrant parents see their children as starting out behind and they see it as the school's responsibility to help close this gap. Parents see the gap as resulting not just from their child's lack of fluency in the national language when he or she starts preschool but also from their own lack of cultural capital. This leads them to want the preschool to compensate for what they can't do for their children, such as preparing them to speak, read, and write in a new language. Feeling that they can do a better job on social and moral education than they can on language and on academic preparation, immigrant parents look to the school

to do what they can't. As an immigrant parent in Germany said, "We can send our children to a play group, but that's not why we send them here." Susanna Mantovani speculates that one reason immigrant parents in Italy are unlike Italian parents in giving higher priority to academic over social skills in the preschool curriculum is that most Italian children are single children, whereas immigrant parents, who tend to have more than one child, are more confident about their children's social skills, and more worried about language and academics.

Given that many immigrant parents have more conservative views on the curriculum than their children's preschool teachers, curricular disagreements are inevitable. This issue played out dramatically at one of our US research sites, a Head Start program in New York City that originally served a mostly African-American community and now serves a mostly Hispanic, new immigrant community. The director and half of the teachers are African-American, the other staff members are from Mexico and Central America. Here, as in many other sites in the U.S. where we conducted research, parents expressed appreciation for the quality of the education and care their children were receiving but also some dissatisfaction with aspects of the curriculum. In a discussion conducted in Spanish, parents expressed support for the program's emphasis on social and emotional development and an understanding of the program's philosophy that children learn best through play. But many of the parents also told us that they wanted more academics and less play:

Interviewer: Is there anything you would like to see changed here?

Mother 1: "The most important thing is get them ready for kindergarten."

Mother 2: The teachers are very nice and the playtime is good. But I wish they would work more on their letters.

Mother 3: "They should know how to write their names and they should know their numbers."

Father 1: Maybe just a little more time on learning their letters and numbers.

Mother 1: So they'll be ready for kindergarten.

When we concluded the discussion by asking these parents if there was anything they wanted us to communicate to their children's teachers, one mother said: "Just ask them, 'Would it kill you to teach my child to write her name before she enters kindergarten?'"

We did ask this question in a subsequent meeting with the teachers, whose answer was that to give in to such pressures from parents would mean to go against their professional beliefs and knowledge. In an interview we conducted in Spanish with five of the teachers, most of whom are themselves immigrants from the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, they explained their core beliefs:

Ms. Gomez: Some parents think that we do not teach the ABC's.

Ms. Diaz: We do teach it, but not formally like "Sit here, this is an A, this is a B, but rather through play.

Mr. Alomar: Many parents bring their children to us with the hope that they will learn to read and write here.

Ms. Gomez: With the same methods that they learned as children.

Ms. Diaz: But we use different methods, because times have changed.

Ms. Gomez: For example, back in our country, when they go to school for the first time, most children did not go Head Start; they just went to kindergarten in a place like Santo Domingo [the Dominican Republic], where the teacher would seat you at a desk, and it's like, "Let's go. Write these letters." They would even hold your hand, you know, to show you how to write the letters. That was really something. The parents, like us, who come from another country, think that when they come here. . .

Ms. Diaz: . . .that it should be that way.

Ms. Gomez: And they don't understand that through playing they are learning.

These teachers suggest that parents' perspectives reflect antiquated methods from the old county, which they describe as simplistic, mechanistic, and prescriptive. A teacher states that in the old system teachers would guide the child's hand to show her how to write and they suggest that nowadays pedagogy has developed more sophisticated ways of working with children.

We returned the next year to share our preliminary findings with the school's director, an African-American educator with a Master Degree in Early Childhood Education from the Bank Street College of Education (one of the centers in the US of constructivism):

Tobin: Many of the immigrant parents here told us that they want more direct instruction and academic emphasis. Are you aware of this?

Director: Yes, of course. We hear this all the time.

Tobin: What would you say to the idea that you should change your approach to be closer to what the parents want?

Director: "We shall not be moved."

The director's invoking here of the key line in the anthem of the American civil rights movement is pointed. This citation of the African American struggle for civil rights (and specifically of Rosa Parks' refusal to move to the back of the bus) suggests that it would, in a metaphorical sense, kill her and her staff of teachers to teach the ABCs because it would force them to go against their understanding of themselves as professionals and to betray their core professional beliefs.

Given that many immigrant parents have more conservative views on the curriculum than their children's preschool teachers, curricular disagreements such as the one above are inevitable. A key finding of this study is that preschool teachers who work with immigrant children and their families often find themselves caught between two core professional values: their beliefs in constructivist, progressive, pedagogy on one hand, and their belief in being culturally responsive and sensitive on the other. (This tension is much less strongly experienced by teachers in France, where being culturally responsive is not a professional expectation of teachers, than it is in England, where such responsiveness has been written into law).

Most progressive educators (again, except in the case of France) are more than willing to bring the culture of the home into the classroom in the form of songs, stories, artwork, holidays, and food. But teachers are much less willing to adjust or modify their teaching in response to parents' cultural beliefs involving gender issues or the curriculum. We found many examples in our focus-group discussions of teacher's willingness to make accommodation for dietary concerns of immigrant parents, and (except for France) to tolerate or even celebrate cultural diversity in dress and in holidays. For example, in response to our questions about their willingness to change their practice to accommodate immigrant parents' wishes, teachers in Germany, Italy, and England most often cited how they have made allowances for children who for religious reasons do not eat pork. But, as we can see in the "Would it kill you to teach my child to write her name"/"We shall not be moved" example, when discussion moves from food and clothing to questions about the curriculum, teachers and directors become much more resistant to making accommodations for parents' wishes.

Christa Priessing suggests that one reason many of the German teachers in this study are uncomfortable about the idea of entering into dialogue with immigrant parents is that:

Teachers fear they would have to change their work to make it more aimed at preparing children for the formal school system. Teachers told us, "If this happens, we would lose our autonomy based on our professional beliefs and backgrounds. These parents ask us teachers to have the children bring home more produced projects, handicrafts, etc, which we won't do." These teachers fear engaging with parents who have more conservative expectations than they do, and fear coming under pressure to defend their professional work (Priessing, 2009).

There are several reasons for this resistance. One is that teachers believe that their curricular and pedagogical knowledge is what distinguishes them from parents and that the power to decide what and how to teach is at the core of their professionalism. Most ECEC practitioners think of their curriculum beliefs as based on research, logic, and their training in best practices, and not as being culturally constructed, contingent, or habitual. Most teachers do not conceive of parents' curricular wishes as being cultural beliefs that, like beliefs about food, religion, and dress, should be respected or negotiated but instead view parents' curricular preferences as forms of ignorance, to be corrected. The cost of early childhood educators seeing their beliefs about practice as professional codes that must be followed is that they position parents' wishes as deficits, as misunderstandings needing correcting rather than as ideological differences needing negotiating. In many cases the gaps between teachers' and parents' views are not huge, but they are often perceived by teachers as being insurmountable. (France is an exception here, in that there is little or no expectation in the French ECEC system of teachers being responsive to parents).

Reasons for teachers' hesitation if not outright refusal to engage in discussions and negotiations over the curriculum with immigrant (and other) parents include: a defensiveness growing out of their feeling of relative powerlessness--though

more powerful than immigrant parents, preschool teachers in many settings feel vulnerable and disrespected; a fear of losing their hard-won professionalism (to accede to parents' curricular requests might make them appear to other teachers, directors, and evaluators to be back-sliding and failing to perform the progressive positions in which they were trained; fear that if they agree to enter into dialogue with parents about their practices that this will "open the floodgates" and they will have to compromise core beliefs; the fear of being outnumbered in meetings with parents; the fear that immigrant parents will have exotic and unrealistic requests, demands, and expectations; and the fear of saying something politically incorrect and offensive and then being attacked.

Michel Vandebroek eloquently summarizes the dilemma that confronts not only progressive preschool teachers and directors, but the early childhood professoriate and policy community as well:

Some ethnic minority parents protest against what they view as a non-academic direction of multicultural curricula and ask for a more 'traditional' *magister*, directing the learning and disciplining the children when necessary. Some parents reject the presence of bilingual assistants or of the home language of the child in the centre. . . .As progressive academics or practitioners, how can we not take into account the perspective of parents who wish to 'conform' to standards of academic achievement (or to achieve this cultural capital as Bourdieu could have said), rather than to discuss holistic education? But on the other hand, how can we, if we have consecrated a major part of our lives to child centeredness? As a critical pedagogue I may argue that this parental question of conformity with the dominant norms and values is to be considered as "internalised oppression" (Freire, 1970). But then again, wasn't it also Freire who said "Dialogue cannot exist without humility. [...] How can I dialogue if I always project ignorance onto others and never perceive my own?" (1970, 78). (Vandebroek, p. 167, 2009)

Culture, Class, and Ideology

Many of the positions we have presented here as characteristic beliefs of immigrant parents are beliefs that were also put forward in our focus groups by non-immigrants parents. This is especially true for immigrant and non-immigrant parents of similar class backgrounds. For example, in the US focus groups we found that the desire for more explicit emphasis on academics that was expressed by many new immigrant parents was shared by many working-class white and African-American parents. This suggests the need to attend to the intersectionality of immigration status, culture, and class. Some differences between immigrant parents and teachers that we have ascribed to culture could be ascribed to class. And just as we should be careful not to use the category of culture to mask class, we need to avoid using the concepts of culture and class to mask ideological disagreements that transcend these categories. Beliefs about the means and ends of early childhood education cross cultural and class lines, as in the case of some socially conservative upper- and middle-class parents in our study who share with many of the working class immigrant parents a preference for an approach to education that emphasizes respect for teachers and a transmission model of learning. An irony is that those members of society who tend to be the most

anti-immigrant often tend to share with many immigrants socially conservative perspectives on education.

This having been said, there are also concerns that are particular to immigrant parents as, for example, concerns about first language retention, experiences of anti-immigrant prejudice, and worries and ambivalence about cultural identity and citizenship issues both for themselves and their children.

Conclusion

In preschools as in other social settings and domains, there is a tendency to project onto immigrants problems of the larger society. We found many examples of such projection in our interviews with teachers and non-immigrant parents. For example, many teachers complained of the pressure they get from immigrant parents to give more emphasis to academics, but making this complaint about immigrants masks the reality that this pressure comes as well from many non-immigrant parents. Teachers in our study complained that it is difficult for them to communicate with immigrant parents, a statement that implies that it is easy for them to talk to non-immigrant parents, when the literature on parent-teacher relationships suggests that this is not the case. Projecting the problem of communicating with parents onto the immigrant allows teachers to avoid dealing with the fact that they struggle to communicate with parents in general.

Engaging with the difficult questions raised by the challenge of working with immigrant children and their families can have the benefit of leading to an opening up of dialogue on issues that impact all children and families. The presence of immigrants can catalyze a rethinking and reworking of educational practices and policies, not only practices and policies for educating children of recent immigrants, but practices and policies for all children. The immigrant, as a stranger, presents both a threat and an opportunity for the host society. As Michel Vandebroek writes:

It is the Other who urges us to make our decisions transparent and therefore disputable and who forces us to acknowledge that these disputable decisions can never be merely the results of protocols for the sake of protocols or based on a higher moral order. This requires various ways in which decisions can be documented, to make them transparent, and therefore disputable. What it also requires is the time and space to allow ourselves to ask the difficult questions about how the dispute compels us to rethink our conceptions of what 'good practice' may be, over and over again. Obviously, this makes the work of professionals in early childhood quite demanding, both for researchers and practitioners in the field, as it questions too many taken for granted assumptions (p. 168, 2009).

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GLOBALISATION AND TRANS-NATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY: A TEST CASE FOR MULTICULTURALISM IN AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION?

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Abstract: *A key feature of contemporary globalisation is international migration, which has long been a feature of Australian education. Indeed, it is often remarked that other than Aborigines, all Australians are migrants. This is very different to the European experience, and is more like countries of migration such as the USA and Canada. The paper examines the character of multiculturalism in Australian education, from both historical and contemporary perspectives, and uses brief sketches of two migrant communities (Muslim Australians and mainland Chinese) as ways to illustrate some of the key issues, and how the patterns of migration and multiculturalism are changing.*

Key words: *globalisation, migration, multiculturalism, Australian education,*

Multicultural Australia?

Of 150 million students enrolled in higher education worldwide, some 3 million are classed as international. This includes both those who travel abroad to study, as well as those who study an international programme at home, either via distance, or at a branch campus of a overseas university.

Australia has been signally successful in attracting large numbers of students to its universities and more recently to its vocational education sector. In higher education, of a total current student population of 1 million enrolled in Australian universities, around 250,000 are international students. With the singular exception of Switzerland, hardly any other country comes close to this ratio of 25%. As is seen below, however, the flood of students has not always been well regulated, and has become something of a test-case for Australian openness and diversity.

With around 24 per cent of Australians born overseas, and a reputation worldwide as a prototype of a modern, diverse society, Australia can fairly be deemed multicultural. Yet many teachers, students, and their parents may also remember recent events such as efforts to demonise asylum seekers and prevent their landing on Australian shores (Gale, 2004); the violent, racist clashes in December 2005; demonstrations against victimisation of Muslim Australians, (*SMH*, 2005, 31 August, 3 December); and attacks on Indian students, principally in Melbourne.

In the following, it is argued that cultural differences have long been a critical element in Australian education and society. Indeed, it can fairly be claimed that with the exception of Indigenous groups, Australians are all migrants. This key feature of Australian society became even more marked, in the context of its vigorous post-war migration program, a planned piece of social engineering that sets it apart to an extent from other countries of migration, such as Canada, Argentina, or the United States, where immigration was less persistently planned (Jupp, 2002).

More recently, a trend towards migration from the Asia Pacific region is evident, notably including international students, some of whom decide to remain in Australia at the conclusion to their studies. As is illustrated below, while such students are generally welcomed, the trend has not been without its problems, largely of Australia's own making.

The fact that Australia has long been a country of migration does not mean that it has always been a bed of roses for migrants, nor that the education they received was always well suited to diverse migrant cultures and aspirations. As is evident below, while Australia can fairly be said to be one of the more successful multicultural nations, its history is also replete with racism, making it critical for each generation to renew the commitment to diversity and multiculturalism, including in education. This could not always be taken for granted. It has often been the case that first-generation migrants have had to struggle for acceptance, while the second generation has more commonly enjoyed the fruits of their parents' labour, including in education. As is argued, education has often been a powerful incentive for Australian immigrants, with parents aspiring to better educational options for their children in the new country, and the social mobility that more and better education can confer. At the same time, some groups have been more successful than others in negotiating associated processes of adaptation, integration, and cultural maintenance.

A key focus within the article is the role of international students, who present something of a test case for Australian multiculturalism. Of the 15 million students enrolled in higher education worldwide, an estimated 3 million are classed as international.

Culture, Language, and Identity in Australian Education

The fact that around 200 migrant communities exist in Australia raises complex issues of culture and identity. Given that language is clearly a key bearers of culture, it is clearly important for Australia to foster its community languages, and knowledge of relevant cultures. This enhances its social, cultural, and economic relations both with its neighbours—including for example, China, Vietnam, and the world's most populous majority-Muslim country, Indonesia (SMH, 2009, Feb. 21), as well as Europe, from which Australian migrants have long been drawn, and the Middle East. Yet, a recent analysis concluded that, while both of Australia's largest cities have populations of which at least 25 per cent speak another language at home, far too little is being done to nurture this store of cultural knowledge and expertise:

Like some other English-speaking countries, such as the United Kingdom, the United States and New Zealand, Australia is treating languages at best as a luxury and not a necessity, at worst as a diversion from more important things, which are defined in monolingual terms (Clyne, 2005, p. 22).

The *Australian Language and Literacy Policy*, or ALLP (1991) listed a range of priority languages (European, Aboriginal, and Asian). The second policy, the *National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools* (NALSAS) of 1994, was based on the economic premise (see chapter 1) that certain key Asian languages were of critical importance to Australia's future (as part of a larger move to integrate Australia more with the region). This instrumental approach to the learning of languages and cultures intended that 60 per cent of Australian school pupils would take one of the priority Asian languages (Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, and Korean). A National Asian Languages and Studies Program, initiated by the new federal government in 2008, represented a modest re-commitment to Asian languages, but the funding cap of \$62.4 million for the 2008-11 triennium ensured that it would fail to fulfil the then (Mandarin-speaking) Prime Minister's goal of substantially lifting Asian language proficiency, nationwide.

Table 1, following, shows the main community languages spoken in Australia, and their degree of growth, or decline.

Table 1. Selected community languages spoken in Australia, 2001, with percentage change from 1991

| Language | No. of speakers in 2001 | Percentage change since 1991 |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Italian | 353,606 | -15.6 |
| Greek | 263,718 | -7.7 |
| Cantonese | 225,307 | 38.9 |
| Arabic | 209,371 | 28.6 |
| Vietnamese | 174,236 | 58.1 |
| Mandarin | 139,288 | 155.9 |
| Spanish | 93,595 | 3.4 |
| Tagalog (Filipino)* | 78,879 | 33.4 |
| German | 76,444 | -32.6 |
| Macedonian | 71,994 | 11.7 |
| Serbian | 49,202 | 102.2 |
| Hindi | 47,817 | 110.4 |
| Korean | 39,528 | 100.1 |
| Indonesian | 38,724 | 42.4 |

Source: Clyne, 2005

* Tagalog, the main language of the Philippines, cannot be distinguished in the Census from Filipino, the national language.

The overall pattern of languages taught in Australian schools is compared with their national rank throughout Australian society, and their significance among 0–14 year olds, in table 2.

Table 2. Top ten community languages in Australian schools, 2001

| Language Rank (Schools) | No. of Students | Language Rank (National) | Top 20 rank, among 0–14 age group (national) |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Japanese | 402,882 | Not among top 20 | 17 |
| Italian | 394,770 | 1 | 5 |
| Indonesian | 310,363 | 20 | 13 |
| French | 247,001 | 18 | 20 |
| German | 158,076 | 9 | 15 |
| Mandarin Chinese | 111,464 | 6 | 6 |
| Arabic | 31,844 | 4 | 1 |
| Greek | 28,188 | 2 | 4 |
| Spanish | 24,807 | 7 | 7 |
| Vietnamese | 22,428 | 5 | 2 |

Source: Clyne, 2005

The data show that patterns of language use, and the cultures that they support, are closely related to waves of migration. Migration has affected Australian society, and changing constructions of national identity, in different ways, however, including in education.

Australia's Migration History

In 2002, Australia welcomed its six millionth immigrant—a Filipina information technology specialist. Paradoxically perhaps, at the very same time, Australia was establishing internment camps in remote desert locations (Woomera, Port Hedland), and offshore in places such as Nauru and Manus Island, to incarcerate asylum seekers from countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and Iran. Some camps were deliberately established overseas, to prevent asylum seekers from landing on Australian shores. Why was Australia warmly welcoming some immigrants, while at the same time desperately seeking to prevent other aspirants from settling in the country?

The first point derives from the fact that it was the British (rather than Dutch or Portuguese or French explorers) who colonised Australia, (in 1788). Other key features of Australian immigration are also linked to British colonialism. By the time

of federation (1901), some 20 per cent of Australia's populace was overseas-born, including significant Chinese and German minorities, and smaller populations of Pacific islanders and Afghans. Nonetheless,

Australian immigration policy over the past 150 years has rested on three pillars: the maintenance of British hegemony and 'white' domination; the strengthening of Australia economically and militarily by selective mass immigration; and the state control of these processes (Jupp, 2002, p. 6).

This led to a key contradiction of Australian immigration history: the tension between place, and dominant cultural heritage. On the one hand, the continent's location at the heel of South East Asia, in the South Pacific, with all of its nearest neighbours being non-European (the single exception, then as now, being New Zealand), suggests an Asian–Pacific influence. Yet the arrival of a few hundred Indian and Melanesian settlers) and tens of thousands of Chinese migrants in the aftermath of the discovery of gold in the 1850s, was met with racist outbursts, and riots, among elements of the dominant ethnic group, largely of British extraction (Jupp, 2001, p. 45). Largely as a result, many Chinese settlers who migrated as a result of the gold discoveries, in the hope of making their fortune, eventually returned home (Sherington, 1990). China-born settlers declined from 38,142 in 1861 to 6404 in 1947 (Hugo, 2005a).

Such outbursts by local whites, however, underlined that place was much less important than perceived racial purity and notions of dominant culture. Australia's cultural referent was unmistakably British: the colonial ruling class during the nineteenth century still looked to 'Mother England' for cultural inspiration, values, and the design of legal, parliamentary, and social institutions, including education. Legislation in the various colonies embodied these prejudices, using devices such as poll taxes and residence fees to effectively proscribe immigration by Chinese settlers, and subsequently by Indians. (Much the same occurred in Canada and the USA at much the same time, of course.) Such racist views, a by-product of European imperialism of the nineteenth century, viewed Indian and Chinese migrants to Australia as dangerous.

Such views underpinned what came to be known from the 1880s onwards (at a time when the total of Chinese and Indigenous population would have reached no more than 5 per cent of the national figure) as the 'White Australia' policy, enshrined in the infamous *Immigration Restriction Act* of the new national parliament in 1901, and effectively in place until the 1960s (Sherington, 1990). As a result, in the 1947 Census the proportion of the Australian populace that was neither Caucasian, nor Aboriginal, stood at a mere 0.25 per cent (1 in 400). 'Australia had become one of the whitest countries in the world, outside northwestern Europe' (Jupp, 2002, p. 9). In the late 1930s, such exclusionary ideology was used to prevent many Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Europe from being accepted in Australia, with a 3-year cap of 15,000 being set (Tavan, 2005, p. 28; see also Bartrop, 1994). Even some of those who did gain entry were promptly interned because their language was German, despite being refugees from Nazi persecution (Jupp, 2001, p. 179). (Again, this was

little different to the USA, at the same time.) Assimilation remained official policy well into the post-World War II era, including in education. Migrants were advised 'not to behave in any way that would attract attention. Assimilation would be complete when nobody noticed the newcomer' (Jupp, 2002, p. 22). By 1950, while still in place, the policy was being interpreted more flexibly (Tarvan, 2005, p. 65). At a time when the overseas-born proportion of the Australian population was a mere 9.8 per cent, 'White Australia had been struck a small blow' (Tavan, 2005, p. 66).

A further scheme, targeting those from Europe's post-war refugee camps, brought 70,000 immigrants per year to Australia, a figure that grew to 150,000 in later years (Calwell, in Jupp, 2001, p. 71). Nonetheless, it was only from the mid 1960s that the policy of policing entry, with only 'white' and preferably British migrants being sought, effectively ended. When the White Australia policy ended in the 1960s, British migrants still formed half of Australia's annual intake, and were only replaced (by New Zealand!) as the largest source country in 1966. Nonetheless, the 1961 Census revealed a dramatic rise in non-British, non-indigenous elements of the Australian population (Jupp, 2001, p. 67), as indicated in the following Table. Ultimately, the election of a social-democratic Labor government in 1972 saw the abandonment of discriminatory migration, replaced (as Canada had already done) with a points system, based on both 'desirable' personal and social qualities, and occupational status (Jupp, 2001, p. 68).

Peak migration years for several European migrant groups was in the 1970s, and thereafter a degree of cultural ossification often occurred, as fewer European migrants refreshed the cultures of those communities. Much the same had been true for Germans who migrated to Australia in the nineteenth century, and for East Europeans and Scandinavians before the Second World War. Education played a role in this phenomenon of cultural ossification, as schools often used outdated textbooks from the homeland, embodying a culture that had long since changed, while language teachers (rarely native speakers themselves) were often unfamiliar with recent developments in the source culture.

Table 3. Major non-British, non-indigenous ethnic groups, by birthplace, and total, Australia 1947, 1961, 1996, 2006.

| Ethnic Group | Number 1947 (by birth place) | % total populace 1947 (by birthplace) | Number 1961 (by birth place) | % total populace 1961 (by birth-place) | Number 1996 (by birthplace) | % total populace 1996 (by birth-place) | Total number, 1996* | Overall % populace, 1996* | Overall % populace, 2006* |
|------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Italian | 34,000 | 0.45 | 228,000 | 2.10 | 274,000 | 1.50 | 600,000 | 3.28 | 4.29 |
| Greek | 12,000 | 0.16 | 77,000 | 0.72 | 167,000 | 0.91 | 348,000 | 1.90 | 1.84 |
| German | 14,000 | 0.18 | 109,000 | 1.00 | 141,000 | 0.77 | 675,000 | 3.69 | 4.09 |
| Polish | 6,573 | 0.09 | 60,000 | 0.56 | 72,000 | 0.39 | 164,000 | 0.89 | 0.82 |
| Chinese | 12,000 | 0.16 | 14,395 | 0.14 | 293,000 | 1.60 | 369,000 | 2.02 | 3.37 |
| Vietnamese | 715 | 0.00 | 2,747 | 0.03 | 176,000 | 0.96 | 176,000 | 0.96 | 0.87 |
| Lebanese | 1,886 | 0.02 | 7,245 | 0.07 | 158,000 | 0.86 | 224,000 | 1.22 | 0.92 |
| Total Aust. Population | 7,579,358 | 1.06 | 10,634,267 | 4.62 | 18,310,700 | 6.99 | | 13.96 | 16.2 |

Source: Jupp et al 2001, Sherrington 1990, Official Census 1947, 1961, 2006

Notes:

1. The use of birthplace as the principal measure in the above table, based on Census measures, significantly underestimates total numbers and proportions of longstanding ethnic groups, such as Italians and Germans. Hence, the final two columns (marked with an *) incorporate second and other generations. Also, in 2006, respondents could give 2 answers to 'ancestry'.
2. Chinese also includes ethnic Chinese from SE Asia, and elsewhere.
3. In 1947 Census Lebanese includes Syria, Vietnamese were included in category: 'Other Countries in Asia'
4. In 1961, Census, Vietnamese were included in category: 'Other Countries in Asia'

Notwithstanding moves to end race-based migration, towards skill and family reunion, migration from countries within the region grew relatively slowly, at least in absolute terms. By 1981, of a total population total of some 14.5 million, 'there were only about 300,000 Australians of Asian origin' (Sherington, 1990, p. 166). But this was changing rapidly. Whereas in 1982–83, UK-born settler arrivals comprised 28 per cent and China-born 1 per cent, by 2002–03, UK-born settlers had declined to 13 per cent, while China-born arrivals now comprised 7 per cent of the total (Parliamentary Library, 2005). 'By 1996, around 41 per cent of Australians were either immigrants or children of immigrants, one in five was not of British ... descent, and one in twenty was not of European descent' (Jupp, 2001, p. 70). Tables 4 and 5 illustrate some of these changes.

Table 4. Settler arrivals by birthplace 1993–94 and 2003–04: leading countries

| Birthplace | 1993–94 | 2003–04 | % Change |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| UK & Ireland | 9563 | 19,214 | 100.9 |
| New Zealand | 7772 | 14,418 | 85.5 |
| China | 2740 | 8784 | 220.6 |
| India | 2643 | 8135 | 207.8 |
| South Africa | 1654 | 5849 | 253.6 |
| Sudan | 340 | 4591 | 1250.3 |
| Philippines | 4179 | 4111 | -1.6 |
| Malaysia | 1252 | 3718 | 196.9 |
| Indonesia | 622 | 2584 | 390.8 |
| Singapore | 502 | 2224 | 343.0 |
| Vietnam | 5434 | 2212 | -59.3 |
| Zimbabwe | 143 | 1620 | 1032.9 |

Source: DIMIA, cited in SMH, 2005, 29 October

Note: Just as in Table 7.4, it is likely that some of the migrants from Vietnam, Indonesia, and Malaysia are of Chinese ethnicity. See Jupp, 2001, p. 81.

Table 5. Family and Skilled Migrant totals, 1990–91 & 2003–04

| Eligibility Category | 1990–91 Total | 1990–91 % | 1996–97 Total | 1996–97 % | 2003–04 Total | 2003–04 % | 2008–09 total |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Family | 53,934 | 44.3 | 36,490 | 42.6 | 29,548 | 26.6 | 56,500 |
| Skilled | 48,421 | 39.8 | 19,697 | 22.9 | 51,529 | 46.8 | 115,000 |
| Gross annual intake | 121,690 | | 85,752 | | 110,000 | | 190,300 |

Source: Parliamentary Library, 2005; Jupp, 2002, DIC 2009

The balance between permanent and temporary migration also shifted. Whereas in 1982–83, the numbers of permanent arrivals outstripped that of long-term temporary arrivals (83,010, compared to 79,730), by 2002–03 long term arrivals had risen to 279,879, while permanent arrivals had risen only slightly, to 93,914 (Parliamentary Library, 2005). Many of the former are international students, principally from the Asia-Pacific region. In many cases, Asian migrants were more highly educated than the general Australian population, as with Asian migrants to Canada and the United States.

As indicated in earlier tables, the current situation is still very mixed. Rather like Canada, and other such countries of migration, Australia has had open, non-discriminatory migration for close to 40 years. By the late 1970s, this meant that something like 30 per cent of Australian migrants stemmed from the Asian region. Current estimates are that 39 per cent of Australia's current annual intake of migrants stem from the Asia-Pacific region (Tavan, 2005, p. 1). By the mid 1980s, less than half the population could claim direct maternal and paternal descent from British and Irish stock (Sherington, 1990, p. 170), while of the total overseas-born among the Australian population, the proportion of UK-born declined from 58 per cent to 25.4 per cent, from 1901–2001 (Parliamentary Library, 2005). Other aspects have remained more stable—since 1971, the proportion of overseas born in the Australian population has ranged from 20 to 24 per cent (Parliamentary Library, 2005).

The spread of migrant communities is also very mixed. By far the greatest density reside in the capital cities, most particularly Melbourne and Sydney. Several suburbs that in the 1960s were largely peopled by working-class Anglo-Australians, and some European migrants, are now vibrant centres of Vietnamese culture, for example, or were settled by significant Lebanese, Chinese, and other communities. Outside the cities, however, many Australians still lack much direct experience of living, working, and studying with people from other cultures. Equally, some migrant groups have intermarried more than others: more recent migrant groups such as Indo-Chinese and some Lebanese have had little time to do so, while earlier minorities such as Greeks, Italians, and those from the former Yugoslavia have displayed relatively low rates of inter-marriage. Equally diverse are patterns of English language usage at home (Clyne, 2005; Cruickshank, 2003).

Implications for Education

The far-reaching changes in Australian society sketched above have not left education untouched, and illustrate the complex role of education in social change. Australian education has not always kept pace with other dimensions of social change, in particularly the increasing levels of ethnic diversity.

Nineteenth century education in Australia was no less susceptible to the prevailing ideologies of race and religion than other aspects of society. Indeed, religion and racism were often mixed. Even the (largely Irish) Catholics, who represented a significant element of the Australian populace, were commonly seen as different, and discrimination was common. How much more so for Chinese and

Indians in Australia, who were not merely non-Christians, but who were also non-Caucasian? Christianity itself was not unsullied by racist doctrines (Evans et al., 1975, p. 102), while newspapers, magazines, and anthropological journals commonly paraded spurious assumptions about the characters and physical appearances of non-whites (Evans et al., 1975, p. 6; De Lepervanche, 1980, p. 28; Welch, 1996b, pp. 28–33, 107).

While Aboriginal Australians suffered most from such assumptions, Asian settlers also suffered. The rising tide of evolutionary theory, epitomised in the publication of Charles Darwin's famous *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, was popularly held to give scientific support to the view that a racial hierarchy existed, with Aboriginal Australians at the base, and white European society at the apex. Asian races fell somewhere in between, it was commonly held. Hence, with very few exceptions, little or no provision was made in schools for the cultures of Aboriginal children. A severe and unyielding mix of science, Christianity, and capitalism was the basis for the white curriculum, to which all others were also subjected. As indicated above, many of the colonies had passed legislation severely restricting Asian immigration in the 1880s, and since Indians and Chinese were prohibited from settling in Australia, and Asian men were prohibited from bringing their wives and children with them, appropriate schooling for them was largely irrelevant. And for those 'Asiatic' women who did give birth, federal legislation, soon passed, in 1912, denied them the Commonwealth maternity bonus, of £5, for every live birth (Tavan, 2005, p. 8).

The Cultures of Australian Education

The above sketch shows that, for the entire period since the British colonised Australia at the end of the eighteenth century, Australia has had significant numbers of settlers from key non-UK sources. At the onset of the new millennium, this diversity is even more evident. But what forms of education have been provided, and what has been the experience of migrant Australians in education? Examples of the education of Muslim Australians, and of highly skilled Chinese migrants, illustrate the changing face of education and immigration.

As with some of the countries of Europe, where in France, for example, the Muslim population is now close to 8.5%, a growing proportion of Australians are now Muslim (although this includes more settlers from the majority-Muslim countries of SE Asia, than is the case in Europe).

Table 6. Muslim Settlers, Australia and Selected OECD countries, 2010.

| | US | Germany | France | UK | Spain | Canada | Australia |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Total Population | 305.5m | 82m | 65m | 62m | 46m | 34m | 22m |
| No. of Muslims | 2.5m (0.8%) | 3.3m (4.0%) | 5.5m (8.5%) | 2.4m (3.9%) | 900,000 (1.95%) | 1m (2.94%) | 350,000 (1.60%) |
| No. of Mosques | 1,900 | 2,600 | 2,100 | 1,500 | 454 | 198 | 100-300 |

Source: Time 2010, DFAT, islamia online

Given the larger numbers of such migrants, Islamic education has understandably grown. The growth of Arabic speakers has been commensurate, from 50,000 in 1976, to 120,000 in 1986, 163,000 in 1991, and 210,000 in 2001. Of these, 40 per cent are Australian-born, while another 40 per cent are Lebanese-born (Cruickshank, 2003, p. 54). Community schools are currently responsible for the teaching of about 50,000 students of Arabic language, but retention rates are poor, while in primary and secondary schools only a small proportion of Arabic speakers learn their language. Teachers of Arabic are often untrained language teachers, and some have 'uncertain proficiency in MSA (Modern Standard Arabic)' (Cruickshank, 2003, p. 66). Currently, there are Islamic schools in almost all states with a total of perhaps 12,000 to 15,000 enrolments (Saeed, 2003, p. 151). The two decades of the 1980s and 1990s were when most of the schools were established, reflecting the patterns of migration from Lebanon and neighbouring countries, as well as from other regions. By 1986, there were more than 109,000 Muslims in Australia, from the Middle East, Cyprus, Yugoslavia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Egypt, Fiji, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Kabir, 2004, p. 152). Asmar cites 200,805 individuals who identified themselves as Muslim in the 1996 Census (Asmar, 2001, p. 140); by 2006, this had risen to 281,600 (ABS, 2006).

The profound disruptions to employment and education experienced during the Lebanese Civil War by many third-wave migrants to Australia meant that, according to the 1986 census, although a higher per cent of Muslims possessed higher degrees than the general Australian populace, and almost as many had Bachelor's degrees, far fewer held vocational qualifications than the Australian population (Kabir, 2004, p. 168). Young Turkish Australians were generally less well educated than the overall Australian population (Kabir, 2004, p. 172), although significant progress had been made compared to a decade or two earlier. By the 1996 census, Muslim Australians were shown to be as educated as the Australian-born population, and in the categories of Bachelor and higher degrees, more so (Kabir, 2004, p. 273). Overall, at least 10,498 Muslim students were reported as studying at Australian universities in the 1996 census, yielding a rate of attendance higher than that for the general population. (It should be noted, however, that some of these Muslim students were likely to have been international students.) Nonetheless, the rate of higher education participation is very differential: some gaining the higher educational qualifications needed to access professional and managerial jobs, while others experience inter-generational unemployment and poverty' (Batrouney, 2001, p. 568).

The same census showed that the unemployment rate for Muslims was 25 per cent, relative to 9 per cent for Australia-born and the total population (Kabir, 2004, p. 272, Donohue-Clyne, 1998), a disparity that persists in parts of both Melbourne and Sydney. This rate was also significantly higher than that of their Christian Middle East-born counterparts (Kabir, 2004, p. 275; see also Humphrey, 1998). Language issues were partly to blame for higher levels of unemployment:

Some Arabic-speaking children dropped out of school early, especially if they had an inadequate command of English ... for them employment would be difficult. Some also left school because they could not relate to the school's dominant culture. (Kabir, 2004, p. 275).

Despite numerous promises by state and federal politicians in the aftermath of the Cronulla riots of 2005, youth facilities in such areas are often sadly lacking:

There's no ... youth centre out here... We've been speaking to the Premier, we've been speaking to MPs, but it comes to nothing... Look at our streets: some of them, they're like ghettos' (SMH, 2008 August 22; SMH, 2008, October 23).

Muslim schools

Schools vary greatly in size, with some having enrolments of over 1000. By 2005, there were 28 Islamic schools in Australia, 12 in NSW. Nationwide, enrolments totalled 13,000, with 7,000 in NSW (where, however, 90 per cent of Muslim students attend a non-Muslim school (AIS, 2005)). Many schools enrol both primary and secondary students, and although many were able to obtain support for their establishment from both local Islamic communities, and from overseas sources, all now depend heavily on government support. This is no different from other religious schools, such as Christian, or Jewish: 'In most cases, around 80 per cent of the funding for the running of the school comes from the government. Fees vary from as low as \$600 to around \$2000 per annum' (Saeed, 2003, p. 150). Some Islamic schools have already become very successful in the high-stakes Year 12 results race, which determines not merely university entry, but also functions as a powerful recruitment tool for parents deciding which school to choose for their children. One, in Sydney's western suburbs, has been unapologetic about weeding out less academic students, whom it feels are less likely to bring it credit by gaining high HSC scores in the increasingly competitive and status-ridden New South Wales school system (SMH, 2004, 7 October). Largely as a result, *Malek Fahd* was ranked within the top twenty-four schools across the state. While some other Muslim schools are also very successful, others are located in poorer suburbs, qualifying for heavy subsidies from government. Overall performance of the sector varies greatly.

Curriculum is governed by state Education Departments and boards of studies, as for all schools. With the exception of religious teachers, who are generally required to be fellow Muslims, 'the teaching staff ... are much like other public schools' (Saeed, 2003, p. 155), although perhaps more diverse, stemming from the Middle East, South-East Asia, and Turkey among others. Just as with other faith-based schools, religious instruction is emphasised—several hours a week are devoted to the study of Islam, including midday prayers (*Zuhr*) and Friday prayers (*Jum'ah*). But, as with other minorities, finding qualified teachers can be a problem, while difficulties are also experienced with textbooks for religious education, which are almost always imported and hence often do not reflect the Australian context adequately (Saeed, 2003, p. 154). Attention is also paid to the observance

of key religious festivals, while food supplied at the school must conform to halal standards. Modesty is deemed important, hence Islamic dress codes dictate long pants for boys (shorts are not thought proper), and long-sleeved blouses, and slacks or long skirts, for girls. Headdresses are common. Some schools are mixed, others single-sex.

Even before the first Gulf War (1991) instances of 'name-calling, ridicule, harassment and physical threats' against Muslim students were reported (Kabir, 2004, pp. 175–176; Aslan, 2009), although the incidence of Islamophobia is less than in countries such as Germany, (Gardner, Karakasoglus, & Luchtenberg, 2008; SMH, 2009). Incidents of such harassment only increased in the aftermath of the war, especially against Muslim women, some of whom were often more conspicuous due to wearing the *hijab*. One New South Wales parliamentarian, the conservative Christian Fred Nile, even called for Muslim women to be banned from wearing the *chador* in public (Kabir, 2004, p. 283), as have one or two other federal parliamentarians since. There are also charges by some who 'see Islamic schools as divisive, preventing full participation of their female students in Australian society' (Saeed, 2003, p. 151). Interestingly, much the same critique was made of schooling for Greek girls in Australia, as late as the 1970s and 1980s (Welch, 1996b, pp. 126–128; Strintzos, 1984). Clearly, there are different gender regimes within branches of Islam, including its educational institutions. Some recent scholars have attempted to disinter a form of Islam that is less patriarchal (Barlas, 2002).

The fact that unemployment rates for young Islamic men in suburbs of Muslim density are around twice the average of young males in Sydney, and Year 12 completion rates are less than two-thirds of the average for the country are part of a worrying pattern of a 'lack of understanding of community and authority' (SMH, 2005, 19 December) among a small section of the Muslim community, mostly males, leading to feelings of anger, frustration, and alienation: 'They feel they don't owe any allegiances to anyone' (SMH, 2005, 19 December). When allied to racism in the wider society, particularly against Muslims (Collins et al., 2000; Poynting et al., 2004, Aslan, 2009), these problems fuel an explosive mix of alienation on the part of some young Muslims, and resentment on the part of some white Australians. On occasion, extremist sentiments – 'provocative nonsense' – have been expressed by segments of 'white bread' suburbs, such as Camden in Sydney or Carara on Queensland's Gold Coast, opposed to the establishment of a mosque, cultural centre or Muslim school in their area (Courier Mail, 2008).

Highly skilled migrants—recent Chinese migration and education patterns

Other migration and settlement patterns reflect flows of high-skilled migrants. As was indicated above, patterns of Australian migration have shifted substantially in recent decades, from a concentration on filling labouring and manufacturing jobs, to emphasising high levels of skill, and appropriate work experience, such

individuals now form around half of all settlers, annually (Table 5). Over much the same period, the policy of non-discriminatory migration has led to a significant increase in the numbers and proportions of Asian migrants to Australia. Table 5 shows that, while family-reunion visas became a smaller proportion of the total over the period, the skilled visa category has grown significantly, as a proportion of the total intake. The ongoing loss of expensive, high-skilled labour from the Asia-Pacific region to Australia is contributing to charges of 'brain drain' from some of Australia's neighbours, although as is evident from the case study below, 'brain circulation' is sometimes a better descriptor, as the loss to developing countries is not always permanent, and even when it does result in more permanent resettlement, modern communications technology allows sophisticated transnational networks to be built up and sustained (Welch & Zhang, 2005, 2008; Yang & Welch 2010). Of these diasporic communities, the Chinese is the fastest growing.

The trend towards high-skilled migration adds another dimension to older understandings of multiculturalism in Australian education, which have often been based on less highly-skilled migration patterns. There is no doubt that such knowledge diasporas will become more important in the coming years, particularly for those with good English. Australia's developing relations with Asia gives added impetus to the trend towards highly skilled migration, as does the age structure of the Australian academic profession, and ongoing skills shortages in other key professions such as nursing, teaching, and engineering.

Effective Multiculturalism in Education: Policies, Programs, Parameters

Australia, rightly regarded as a successful example of a modern, diverse society, has had multicultural education policies for some 30 years; yet this is no cause for complacency, nor does it mitigate racist legacies, as recent events demonstrated.

Multicultural education policies introduced by both Commonwealth and state governments from the late 1970s, moved beyond mere acknowledgement of the fact of ethnic and linguistic diversity, to affirming multiculturalism as a value (Welch, 1996). Despite early criticisms that multiculturalism in fact failed to include class differences within ethnic communities, and later criticisms that mainstreaming multiculturalism weakened its focus, all state and territory governments have long affirmed the importance of multiculturalism in education. This is no surprise: 40 per cent of Australians are either migrants, or have one migrant parent, and in the two most populous states, one in four students in public schools come from language backgrounds other than English. But what do the policies emphasise?

A common principle of Australian multiculturalism is that diversity is both dynamic and enriching, and something from which all should benefit – not just recent settlers, ethnic minorities, or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Education Victoria, 1997, p. 8). Common too, is the acknowledgement that schools play a vital role in promoting values of respect for cultural diversity, within a shared

set of overall values: '... achieving unity in diversity and the existence of shared democratic values for all Australians (DECS, 1996, p. 4). While English is often acknowledged as the national language, in which everyone needs to become proficient, support for linguistic and cultural diversity is a core value, as is the development and maintenance of culturally and linguistically inclusive learning environments (DECS, 1996, p. 4). Anti-Racism policies stress the responsibilities of educational authorities, including TAFE Directors and school Principals, to monitor practices and policies, to ensure these are consistent with, and support, the policy; to provide an environment where differences are respected, and to deal promptly and fairly with complaints.

Community language programmes are an important element of Multiculturalism; in NSW, for example, the Department of Education funded classes in 47 languages by 231 community groups in 2004 (DET, 2005). Other states, too, emphasise both languages other than English (LOTE), including after-hours ethnic schools, and the provision of English as a Second Language (ESL) programmes (Education Victoria, 1997, p. 8). Also important are workshops and professional development for the regions, for example workshops on effective education for refugees, or inclusive strategies for Muslim pupils. Ethnic Community festivals also gain support.

Barriers to more effective multicultural education have been pointed to above (see also Kalantzis, 1990; Welch, 1996b, pp. 105–131). Securing good-quality teachers of community languages, and appropriate curriculum resources, are difficult for contemporary Muslim communities, but were also reported as difficult in Greek (and other community) schools in the 1970s. Textbooks in the humanities and social sciences have become more culturally inclusive, but more needs to be done on this front also. School participation rates of several of the more successful migrant communities, notably East and some South-East Asian, Greek, and Jewish, have now surpassed that of the overall population, but other immigrant communities (such as Maltese, Arabic, Turkish, and Pacific Islander) have been less successful (Cruickshank, 2003):

The Lebanese have been left behind compared with other groups such as the Chinese, Vietnamese, Greeks and Jews. Their level of education and therefore their level of employment and employability are lower than average ... So there is a lot of resentment there (SAWF, 2005).

This pattern was exacerbated by cutbacks to migrant English programs, savaged for more than 20 years (Welch, 1996b). The privatisation of the Adult Migrant English Service withdrew one of the key means to effective citizenship. The closing or mainstreaming of specialist agencies such as the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs and the Bureau for Immigration and Population Research further weakened the focus on migration and resettlement, while cutbacks to public schooling systems in all states have effectively reduced specialist services such as English-language support programs for NESB students. Services to refugee children, too, are stretched, and at times *ad hoc* (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007; Victorian Foundation, 2007). The hidden curriculum still often perpetuates monocultural values and practices, while school organisation could often still do more to respect

and promote difference. Assessment procedures, too, need to be re-examined to see whether a variety of cultural responses are considered legitimate, or legacies of monocultural practices persist. Bullying of ethnic minorities, sometimes by other minorities, is also not new. 30 years of multiculturalism, and a longer period of non-discriminatory migration, mean that ethnic bullying is hopefully less common. It still exists, however, as the recent Australian film *The Combination* with its unflinching portrayal of racial tensions and bigotry in a western suburbs high school, fuelled by male adolescence machismo on both sides, illustrated. State departments of education now have anti-racism policies and programmes, that are designed to ensure that students and teachers respect cultural diversity, and that racist incidents are minimised and not allowed to persist. Cyber-bullying has added a new dimension, however, at times more removed from parental and educators' gaze: 'All the stuff that was on the website was all stuff about my coloured skin and things like that, just really bad racist comments' (ABC, 2009). Professional development is available to teachers, complaints manuals are made available in different languages, and websites help educate pupils and teachers about dealing with racist bullying at school. Ethnic discrimination is illegal under the federal Racial Discrimination Act (1975), and state legislation such as the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act (1995).

Indian students in Australia: case study or test case?

The spectacular success of Australia's efforts to recruit international students to its education sector, over more than two decades, has undoubtedly enriched those institutions with a major vein of talented students, principally from the Asia-Pacific region. In some cases, such students have gone on to gain appointments at Australian universities, after completing their doctorates (Hugo, 2005; Welch & Zhang, 2005, 2008). Chinese students comprise perhaps 40 percent of total international enrolments in higher education, while Indian numbers, although as yet less prominent in higher education, have grown particularly rapidly in recent years, now comprising perhaps 20 per cent of overall enrolments in education.

The downside to burgeoning enrolments also became apparent, however. The unintended consequences (Boudon, 1982) were the result of a pattern of inadequate regulation, over-enthusiastic recruitment, too tight a nexus between education and migration, and an emphasis on the economic returns provided by the sector, particularly in private Vocational Education and Training (VET) institutions, which in one state (NSW) alone numbered 552 in 2006, some 58.5% of the total number (944) of registered training organizations (RTOs) (VETAB, 2006, p. 5). By 2009, the overall total of RTOs in NSW had increased even further, to 1,042. Overall international enrolments exploded in recent years, rising from 50,000 in 2004, mainly driven by spiralling enrolments in private training colleges (SMH, 2010b).

Overall, extraordinary growth has been evident in Australia's international education sector, with enrolments rising from 228,119 students in 2002 to

491,565 students overall in 2009 (ESOS, 2010, iii). (About half of this total were higher education students). Among other things, this has resulted in an industry estimated to be worth A\$17.2 billion overall in 2008–09; although the key benefits have been cultural, diplomatic and educational. All in all, as the principal author of a major review commissioned by the federal government put it recently, while benefits have outweighed disadvantages, the results have been more complex than has often been admitted. This unprecedented inflow of international students undoubtedly

enhanced Australia's cultural richness, strengthened diplomatic ties and delivered great economic benefit to Australia. It has also put a number of pressures on the sector in terms of education quality, regulatory capacity and infrastructure. (ESOS, 2010, p. iii)

In a sense, the problems that arose were predictable - a direct result of changes to Australia's migration programme, instituted as a response to perceived skills shortages. From another perspective, they illustrate what the French sociologist Boudon termed 'effets pervers' (van Parijs, 1982; Boudon, 1982). For many years, the Australian migration programme has emphasised skilled migration, to some extent at the cost of other migration categories. Some years ago, the former Australian government, responding to perceived skills shortages, introduced the Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL). As from the early 2000s, overseas students were allowed to remain in Australia; and graduates of listed courses automatically gained points on the scheme that formed the basis for Permanent Residence, the first step towards citizenship. The fact that the MODL listed 106 occupations, including such qualifications as hairdressing and cooking, led to a proliferation of poor-quality private training institutions, that were more devoted to quick turnover, and fee-generation, than the provision of quality training or adequate facilities: "This link (between education and migration) has resulted in some providers and their agents being interested in 'selling' a migration outcome to respond to the demand from some students to 'buy' a migration outcome." (ESOS, 2010, p. 7; see also 4 Corners, 2009). A survey released in 2010 indicated that 24 per cent of international students enrolled in 10 sampled universities were studying 'in the hope of gaining permanent residence, up from 5 per cent when the question was asked in a similar survey in 2005 (SMH, 2010a). One provider pungently pointed to problems with English language proficiency, and lack of practical skills requirements, at some private colleges, which had mushroomed in response to the changed regulatory framework:

It was crazy. The students coming out of these courses are never going to solve the skilled labour shortage in my industry You can't train people in 14 months who don't have the (English)language. One school still has 1500 people doing hairdressing at one time. The chances of them cutting the hair of a real, live client before they leave the course is 1000 to 1. (Australian, 2010)

Even at his own college, he admitted,

I would say it would have been lucky to have been one in 10 who ended up working in the

hairdressing industry after doing a course at my school. The rest were just doing it to get a visa. (Australian, 2010)

Under such relentless pressure to expand, the number of registered training organisations (RTOs) in the most populous state (New South Wales) rose to 1,042 in 2009, from 946 in 2006, stretching to breaking point the capacity the capacity of state authorities to regulate this growth. State-based agencies charged with regulating the sector simply could not cope, retreating in some cases from site visits to 'desk audits'. Other states experienced similar problems, leading one submission to the ESOS review to lament that "*..the coupling of immigration and education has brought short-term benefits to a few providers, to the long-term detriment of the sector as a whole.*" (ESOS, 2010, p. 6).

Unscrupulous agents, some themselves Indian, preyed on unsuspecting students, promising them (wrongly) that completion of a course in Australia would guarantee them Permanent Residence. And, although the problem was more widespread in the VET sector, some Australian universities, too, exploited the opportunity, thereby becoming almost 'immigration factories' (t-net, 2006).

A further problem, relating to work experience, further highlighted the lax regulatory environment. For courses such as cooking or hairdressing, a substantial and critical component was practical work experience. Some of the more unscrupulous training providers simply certified that the practical experience had been done; even when it had not. Some even charged the students extra to provide the false evidence of having satisfied work experience requirements. Others used the work experience requirements to service their labour needs, to prey on, exploiting vulnerable students as unpaid, or underpaid, workers.

In response to these growing problems, the Minister for Immigration announced in February 2010 that the existing nexus between education and migration would be ended. Some 20,000 General Skilled Migration applicants were to have their applications withdrawn, and any fees returned. The MODL was to be phased out and replaced by a Skilled Occupations List, (SOL), that would target "high-value professions and trades." (Evans, 2010). At the same time, a review of the points scheme was announced, that would report to the federal government on whether some occupations should warrant more points than others, whether sufficient points were awarded for work experience and excellence in English, and whether points should be awarded for qualifications obtained from overseas universities.

International students with a student visa (vocational, higher education or postgraduate) were still deemed able to apply for a permanent visa if their occupation was on the new SOL. If not they could apply for a temporary skilled graduate visa on completion of their studies, which, if awarded, would allow as much as 18 months in Australia to acquire work experience and seek sponsorship from an employer. As a result of the capacity strain experienced by individual state regulators, a national VET Regulator was also announced, to begin operations in 2011.

Other perverse effects of the unparalleled growth, particularly in the private VET sector, were even more troubling, making headlines in both Indian and

Australian media, and temporarily disturbing bi-lateral relations between India and Australia. A worrying pattern of attacks on Indian students, some racist and some opportunistic, particularly in one state (Victoria), was unexpected, unprecedented and unexplained. Crimes such as robbery and assault against persons of Indian origin in Victoria rose from 1,082 in 2006-7 to 1,447, and further, to 1,525 in 2008-9 (Australian, 2010). While some arrests were made (The Age, 2010), and a high level working group established (Thaindian News, 2010), the tardy responses by both the Victorian Premier, and the Police Commissioner, attempts to pass the attacks off as simply opportunistic, in the face of evidence that some proportion were indeed racially motivated, and a failure to fully investigate the spate of attacks, made a bad situation worse, fuelling the anger and frustration felt by Indian students and their families. Even if the picture was unclear, and the phenomenon as yet unexplained, "Over time, it has become increasingly difficult to deny – but equally impossible to prove statistically – that Indians are being deliberately targeted by racists in the suburbs of Melbourne" (Australian, 2010).

What is to be done?

Clearly, vigilance is required, both to prevent discrimination and bullying. Security concerns by international students must be addressed, both by police and campus security, and efforts made to investigate scrupulously the attacks on students. While Australia is a safe place to study, more needs to be done to improve student security.

Another good start would be to give more support to languages. The growth of English as a global language has only weakened further the already lamentable failure of native English language speakers to study other languages, while community languages still languish in the school curriculum. As Clyne argues, although languages are designated a Key Learning Area (KLA) within the school curriculum, implementation often falls far short of ideal. The hidden curriculum of the school values such subjects as mathematics, the sciences, and English well above that of languages. Yet well beyond the economic benefits that are usually cited in a neo-liberal era as the defence for learning a language, there is the important move away from what has been termed a monolingual mindset. Learning another language provides another window onto the world, with all the attendant benefits of increased flexibility and understanding. Australia's rich mix of languages and cultures needs work to be preserved, yet too often children grow up without the benefit of their parents' language, cutting them off from that culture, and often resulting in barriers developing between generations. As a recent Governor General lamented:

The thing that distresses me most is how little most children and grandchildren of overseas-born Australians retain of the cultures and languages of their lands of origin. The loss of ancestral languages is grievous for the individual and the nation. We should be a nation of great linguists (Clyne, 2005, p. 65).

The longstanding failure of many Australians to learn languages other than English (LOTE) is but a proxy for the wider problems of understanding cultural difference, however. It is here, that the education system can arguably do more, by promoting genuine respect for other cultures. The German theorist Hans-Georg Gadamer (1975); see also Snodgrass, 1992; Welch 2007) has provided a typology of relations between self and other, which, if extended to the arena of intercultural relations, could offer a means of analysing different modes. Notably, his notion of a *fusion of horizons*, arguably the structural equivalent of Habermas's *ideal speech situation*, is predicated on only the desire to reach consensus, in the spirit of dialogue.

Within Gadamer's fusion of horizons, relations, including in principle intercultural relations, are based on an open-ended dialogue, where neither party is in control. As with Habermas' Ideal Speech Situation, this is where we 'risk and test our own prejudices' (Bernstein, 1983, p. 144). In this form of interaction, there are no privileged epistemological or cultural positions.

Here, Gadamer argues, the 'I' must go beyond the world of his/her taken-for-granted cultural and epistemic realities, proceeding with genuine openness and respect, to engage with the Lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*) of the other ('Thou'). (See also Habermas, 1971, 1981, 1990; Thompson & Held, 1982; Hesse, 1976). The goal of coming to an understanding is to bring about an agreement that terminates in the intersubjective mutuality of reciprocal understanding, shared knowledge, mutual trust, and accord with one another. Agreement is based on recognition of the corresponding validity claims of comprehensibility, truth, truthfulness [or sincerity], and rightness (Habermas, 1979, p. 3).

In this final form of relationship between self and other, the interest is in freedom from coercion, in egalitarian social relations. Mutual recognition is thus seen as the basis for human communication, but, at least for Habermas, understood in relation to a critical conception of society. The question that remains for a critical social science is still that of what kinds of social, political, and economic conditions need to be realised in order to sustain an open, non-hegemonic society. For the model of an ideal speech situation is one in which neither party has an interest in anything other than the reaching of agreement. This occurs via an open dialogue, in which each protagonist accepts that their understanding of the other is open and changeable. It resists, however, situating that dialogue within current relations of power in society, which have the capacity to deform open dialogue.

Multiculturalism can also not flourish in education if children do not mix with those of other cultures, and there are some worrying signs that show that certain schools are becoming more culturally concentrated, with a corresponding reduction in the opportunity to mix on a daily basis with those from cultures that are significantly different. For example, some schools in Sydney have now become largely confined to students of Arabic background, with a major decline in students of English language background. (Cruickshank, 2003, p. 48).

Even with widespread support, can multiculturalism in Australian education fulfil

such lofty ambitions? Not on its own, certainly, but it has an important role to play. And the notion of fusion of horizons, or the ideal speech situation, each provides a useful empirical and ethical benchmark, against which to measure programs and policies. Given such a benchmark, the persistence of masculinist cultures among some Anglo and non-Anglo Australians; racism, including in our schools (*SMH*, 2005, 23 December); efforts by the federal government in recent years to demonise asylum seekers, and to create a climate of fear regarding the other (Marr & Wilkinson, 2004); populist law and order ('zero tolerance') campaigns by state politicians that result in higher rates of imprisonment without addressing the root of the problem; strident opposition by some locals to plans for a Muslim school in 'our' area, and sensationalist reporting of both international and domestic affairs (*Australian*, 2005, 14, 17 December; *SMH*, 2005, 21 December) that has the effect of stereotyping Muslims, Chinese or Sudanese, for example, (Poynting et al., 2004) are a poor base for mutual intercultural relations, including in education. It goes without saying that attacks on Indian students are a betrayal of such principles.

The formation of the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council in December 2008, which includes representatives of both Chinese and Islamic communities, was a welcome re-commitment to Australian multiculturalism, including in education. That this commitment must be forged anew, with each generation, is evident from the following:

Many opponents of the (Muslim) Carrara school have claimed it will stop the local Islamic community from assimilating into Australia. On that logic, we would be opposing every religious school on the basis it could potentially cause a schism in our increasingly secular society... The antipathy displayed by some protesters reeks of fear and ignorance and will achieve nothing other than to deepen cultural divides (*Courier Mail* 2008, December 4).

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THE NEW MODE OF GOVERNANCE IN EUROPEAN EDUCATION – IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION AND EU-IFICATION

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Abstract: *Certain types of educational reforms are discussed or even implemented in many countries around the world. Their features are rather similar, at least in discourse and policy formulation, and it may be assumed that they derive from what could be called the world agenda or world models in education. The core of these models may be extracted from the documents published by the large international organizations (OECD, UNESCO, the World Bank). In the case of Europe, the European Union (EU) has added a dimension to this world agenda, and the EU agenda is disseminated through the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), among other measures and channels. This paper compares educational changes in three European countries in the light of the European and the world agendas.*

Key words: *educational reforms, comparative perspective, EU, OMC, globalization, educational governance*

Introduction

In Europe, educational policies were to a large extent conditioned by factors internal to each country until the end of the 1980s. Since then, changes in educational governance¹ need to be seen in the context of globalization and Europeanization. This paper makes a short review of World systems perspectives, globalization and Europeanization and then an overview of changes in educational governance in Europe. Three European countries with different characteristics (Czech Republic, Greece and Sweden) are compared along selected dimensions of educational governance. These countries have been selected so as to illustrate different backgrounds and developments and differences in the degree of implementation of the standardized policies deriving from borrowing from world models and single countries. The description, based on documents presented by EU and OECD and on various research works. The paper focuses on formulated and

¹ We make the following distinction: Governing is what governments traditionally have used, while governance is substantially broader and includes different (vertical as well as horizontal) forces steering processes and outcomes (see Gornitzka, 2006, p. 11).

“officialized” policies (Apple, 1991) in primary and lower secondary education.

In many respects Europe differs from other continents in that modernization was accompanied by secularization and a declining importance of traditional religious values in large parts of the continent (Berger, 1999; Davie, 1999; Norris & Inglehart, 2004). However, Europe has maintained a Christian foundation in its educational systems. On the other hand, the European elites increasingly demand education principally as formation of competitive human capital (European Commission, 2004; Karlsen, 2002; Steenbergen et al., 2005; Sultana, 1995). Also, there are substantial economic, political, religious and cultural differences, relevant in relation to education and its governance, among the countries, in: economic level; degree of cultural homogeneity-heterogeneity; religious pattern; type of state; and type of response to and interaction with Europeanization and global processes. This is despite trends of convergence due to globalization and EU interventions.

European Characteristics

The states differ in ways that have bearings on education, such as degree and type of corporatism, immigration, and response to and interaction with globalization processes. (Cerny, 2003; Gilbert, 2004). For example, there are different models of capitalism (Radaelli, 2003). Among the fifteen countries² that were members of the EU in the beginning of the 1990s, the GDP per capita varied in 2005 from 19,954 US dollars in Greece to 37,738 in Ireland, and the variation became still larger when the east and south European countries became members. The gap between the “richest” and the “poorest” among the fifteen countries increased in absolute terms between 1990 and 2005 (UNDP, 2005). Due to economic and technological levels as well as cultural differences, the way of organizing production and work varies a lot across European nations. In addition, there are, within each country rather large socio-economic and geographical inequalities, mainly in Greece, Spain, Lithuania, Cyprus, and Ireland (Otero & McCoshan, 2004).

Traditionally, degree of state corporatism has been a factor likely to condition educational policies. Corporatism is a more or less permanent cooperation between different interests and the state. If we include only labour market parties and material interests, Austria, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden traditionally have had a high degree of corporatism, while France, Spain, and the UK have had a low degree (Johnson, 1987; O’Connel, 1989). (For historical reasons, CR has not been included in studies dealing with corporatism)³.

With liberalization of the economies and increasing globalization, these internal corporatist relationships have been partially undermined and partially replaced by neo-corporatism and intensifying connections between single states and international government organizations (IGOs), such as EU, OECD, etc.) and non-

2 “Nation” and “country” are used interchangeably here. “State” refers to the central, authoritative steering body and its executive branches in a country,

3 Czech Republic, Greece and Italy have not been included in the studies of corporatism known to the author.

governmental organizations (NGOs) (Cerny, 2003).

When it comes to religious interests, the private sector of the education systems has traditionally been conditioned by religious patterns as well as church-state relationships. In Protestant countries (e.g. Denmark, England, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden), where religion became the state religion, religious interests and the church have, during the past decades, to a large extent been marginalized from educational matters, and the private sector has been comparatively small (with the exception of Denmark). In a second group of countries (mainly southern European countries), the church is separate from the state but has been able to exert influence over educational policies through corporatist arrangements (negotiations, tacit agreements, etc.). In a third group of countries (some of the former communist countries), the churches have generally not had any power over educational matters. However, Poland and to some extent in Hungary are exceptions (Greger & Walterová, 2007; Halász, 2007; Janowski, 2007; Kozma, 1992; Offe, 1996).

People in Austria, Ireland, Italy, and Spain are the most religious (Christian), while the populations of the Nordic countries, England, France, and the Netherlands are the most secular as measured along the dimensions used in the World Values Study (Norris & Inglehart, 2004). Ethnical or religious minorities exist traditionally in several European countries (e.g. Czech Republic, and Greece).

During the past three decades, immigration has added to the traditional diversity. Despite EU efforts (through the Open Method of Coordination – OMC, for example), the European countries still are very different in this regard. In some countries immigration is of long duration and they have ended up with a large proportion of individuals of “foreign” background, while another group of countries (e.g. Sweden) started rather recently to receive a large number of immigrants. A third group (e.g. Czech Republic and Greece) has continued with restrictive immigration policies. Due to this variation, the percentage of students with immigrant backgrounds differs (from less than one per cent in CR and Greece, for example to more than ten per cent in Sweden to 15 or more per cent in Belgium and Germany) (European Commission, 2004).

Finally, the elites in Europe tend more than the population in general to be internationally oriented and global and pro-European in their world view and to prioritize education producing cultural and human capital (Andeweg, 1996; Norris & Inglehardt, 2004; Steenbergen et al., 2005).

World System (WS) and Globalisation

In the 1970s, globalization started to accelerate. Two different types of theories are relevant here: world systems theory (WS) and globalization theories. According to the *politico-economic* WS approach (Dale, 2000; Elwell, 2006; Wallerstein, 2006) states act so as to improve the conditions for competitiveness and profit-making, while the *neo-institutionalists* (Meyer et al., 1997) suggests that there is a world polity (more or less a symbolic and discursive entity) in addition to national policies. National decision-makers act so as to make their countries more modern or appear as more modern and in this way improve their position in the international/global arena. For the European countries there is an explicit EU goal to make the union the world's most competitive knowledge economy (Gornitzka, 2006). We need to apply a combination of elements from both types of WS theories; education is restructured according to the requirements and demands of the economy (to make people and countries competitive) (Dale, 2000), and the world polity (embodying world models) informs governments about "appropriateness" of different elements in education systems and types of educational governance. National governments are encouraged, persuaded, and so on, to borrow elements or packages from the world models (Meyer et al., 1997). For example, a review of policy documents published by the big international governmental organizations shows that decentralization, privatization and choice are important elements in these models (Daun, 2006).

The views differ as to what globalization is: (a) a processes of compression of the world (in space and time) through ICT; (b) the processes of extending interactions and interdependencies of various types (Cox, 2000; Gill, 2000) (in particular economic interdependencies of global reach); (c) an ideology (Cox, 2000), or "the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1992, p. 8), but also (d) the spread around the world of educational models and ideas; for example, how to govern and steer educational processes. What comes out of these global influences is filtered and localized by the internal characteristics of each national society (economic level, organization of production, cultural-religious pattern, and so on).

Economically, the EU has been a facilitator of globalization; it is to a large extent doing within its territory what globalization does worldwide (spread of neo-liberal ideas and policies) (Apeldorn, 2000), as well as a filter by requiring its members to introduce customs and tariffs in relation to goods and services coming from outside the union. In the discourse, however, EU also makes efforts to maintain a social dimension. Fractions of the EU decision-makers and administrators have the ambitions is to counter balance and complement the market forces with a social profile (to "internationalize Keynesianism") (Apeldorn, 2000; Cerny, 2003; Otero & McCoshan, 2004). This discourse includes concepts such as third way between competitiveness/market and cohesion/social inclusion; between inter-governmentalism and supranationalism; between neo-liberalism and social democracy; and the concept of "hybrid" welfare state (Gornitzka, 2006; Radaelli, 2003; Tucker, 2003).

Europeanization, EU and the Open Method of Coordination (OMC)

Education has always been seen as a national affair, and national educational diversity among the European countries as legitimate; the education systems have been closely related to the nation-states, nation-building and citizenship. The member countries have not been willing to transfer legal competencies to the European level (Gornitzka, 2006). Education was an area where the question was not “can policies be coordinated – but “should they be” (ibid., p. 48). Generally sensitive issues such as social welfare and education had been avoided at the European level.

However, in 2000, the aim of the European Council meeting in Lisbon, was to make Europe “the most competitive economy (later the most competitive knowledge economy) in the world (Gornitzka, 2006; Radaelli, 2003), and education was seen as one of the principal instruments in this struggle. The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) was launched as a way to modernize and improve different sectors (including education) of the European societies. From the beginning of the new millenium “the question was apparently no longer whether it was a good idea to coordinate Member States’ education policy, but how this could be made possible” (Gornitzka, 2006, p. 13). The OMCs were a means to steer the member countries in a “soft” way towards the over-riding goal; education systems were to respond to the requirements of the knowledge economy. However, the Lisbon summit opened up for the launching of “a method that in principle could enable a common European approach also in education” (ibid., p. 12). Later the following goals were then established for education: (a) improved quality and effectiveness of education, (b) improved access to education and (c) opening up national education and training systems to society. These goals were to be achieved in 2010 through a 10 year work programme.

Coordination and mutual learning were to take place through demonstration of best practices (later good practices), performance indicators and benchmarks for monitoring (Radaelli, 2003; Tucker, 2003). Quantifiable targets were established and comparable standardized indicators defined. In OMC education, the benchmarks are seen as “reference points for where the EU would like to be in 2010” (Gornitzka, 2006, p. 36). According to Gornitzka (2006, p. 3), “The main elements of the OMC (are) ... 1) identifying and defining common goals for the Union with specific timetables for achieving them; 2) establishing indicators and benchmarks for assessing progress towards the goals; 3) translating common objectives to national and regional policies taking into account national and regional differences; and 4) engaging in periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review organised as mutual learning processes”. Mutual learning is the basic feature of the OMC governance. There are different thematic working groups (clusters and peer review groups) under the Commission, working group for indicators and benchmark have been established.

Some principal outcomes or results of the “general” OMCs have according to Gornitzka (2006), Radaelli (2003), and Tucker (2003), been: competitiveness is a ‘master discourse’ (Radaelli, 2003, p. 20) legitimizing concerted efforts among the EU members; OMC varies considerably across policy areas. In its ideal typical form, OMC is a new form of governance. OMCs have created a normative framework, and with this type of governance, governmental and societal actors may be “pressured to either adhere to the prescriptions (OMC guidelines) or provide evidence-based arguments to defend their interests and actions within the normative and cognitive framework being produced by the Lisbon OMCs” (Tucker, 2003).

In the comparisons taking place (at least implicitly through the usage of indicators), “a normative pressure is placed on countries to look good and fear embarrassment” (Gornitzka, 2006, p. 46). The norms developed within the OMC framework have reached a taken-for-granted status, and the Lisbon “is an ideology that persuades, argues, and stigmatizes...” (Tucker, 2003), and the “EU has incrementally built a supranational administration specifically for education as a policy area .. This level relies heavily on the networks that tie together levels of governance and actors in European education” (Gornitzka, 2006, p. 25). Also, it is likely that the tools used and the monitoring and reporting make the mind sets of national policy-makers directed towards the European implicit or explicit requirements.

The OMCs have by some researchers and policy-makers been named The New Mode of Governance (Radaelli, 2003). However, as we shall see, this is a rather narrow conceptualization of the New Mode of Governance because it excludes a number of forces that condition educational processes and their outcomes.

The New Mode of Governance

Traditionally states have been governing education through: regulation/control; economic measures, and ideological measures. In the educational domain, regulation and ideological measures have traditionally been the most common means (for example, definition and selection of knowledge to be handled in schools through the curriculum, syllabi, teacher guidelines, etc.). In practice, these modes of intervention overlap or combine. Globalization (including the dissemination of neo-liberalism) is changing the conditions for the traditional modes of state governing and intervention by restructuring national societies and education. With the comprehensive changes in education (e.g. networks, decentralization and introduction or reinforcement of market mechanisms in the public sector) during the past decades, the state leaves - either deliberately or as adaptation to globalization forces - to the market and civil forces to implement and administer educational issues. Europeanization is taking place through the OMCs and otherwise, but in each country the central level establishes the parameters of decision-making and actions for bodies at lower levels. The state employs “productivity criteria” (subsidy per pupil) and ideological measures, such as scientification, information, persuasion and self-regulation, efforts to influence

the public discourse and mind sets and retroactive monitoring by the help of evaluations, testing of student achievement and commissioned research. With deregulation and decentralization, “horizontal” forces contribute more than before to the shape and content of educational processes and their outcomes.

What has been described so far may be termed the New Mode of Governance (NG) which works vertically between different levels of decision-making power and administration (from the national level to school level) as well as horizontally between, on the one hand, education and schools, and on the other hand, social systems and forces at the same level (Kooiman, 2000). One important feature of the NG is that it to a large extent allows forces other than monitoring and accountability requirements to steer educational processes. For example, the policies of restructuring (decentralization, privatization and choice) are initially driven from the political arena but with the transfer of their implementation and funding to levels below the national level, other steering forces start to work. Therefore, it is necessary to use a broader concept of educational governance, including change of mentalities (Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991). OMC, then, is but one component or aspect in this wider definition of NG.

The components of the NG may be divided into steering mechanisms (which are deliberate mechanisms or instruments) and steering forces (Hamilton, 2003; Hannaway & Woodroffe, 2003). At the local level, they are condensed and combine with everyday practice. *Deliberate steering and monitoring mechanisms* include: national curriculum or national goals and guidelines; local arrangements for “site involvement”, participation and decision-making; inspection or monitoring of attainment of national goals from the central level; accountability requirements (including testing, reporting of student achievement, economic accounts, etc. from lower to parallel or higher levels or to boards/councils at the local level), self-evaluation/self-assessment; market mechanisms (per pupil pay to schools, choice possibilities, vouchers, etc.); and privatization. All these allow market and civil society actors to contribute to the educational processes and their outcomes.

Steering forces include the scope of a decentralization program (general for all sectors or specific to education); constitutional status of decentralization (from simple delegation or de-concentration to devolution protected in the Constitution); socio-economic and cultural context (economic level, political culture, cultural heterogeneity-homogeneity, etc.); ideological orientations in society and stimulation of self-regulation (Daun, 2006). The cultural and economic contexts as well as existing choice-opportunities, the formulas for allocation of resources and the catchment area of the school vary (see e.g. Abu-Duhou, 1999; Ladd, 2003; Welsh & McGuinn, 1999).

Educational Governance in Europe

The mode of governing in the education systems in Europe differed prior to accelerated globalization, so the change of governance started from very different baselines (Daun, 2002; Daun 2008). This change is sometimes and in some countries in the direction of the NG and will here be described along certain strategic dimensions, such as: size of the private sector in education; degree of decentralization – centralization; degree and type of regulation, control and monitoring; types and levels of subsidies to private schools; and choice possibilities.

The size of the private sector in education varies according to the extent to which private schools are: allowed to give compulsory education even if they are not approved; are subsidized; controlled/regulated, inspected; compelled to teach a centrally established curriculum; and are teaching religion is a part of the curriculum (Daun, 2008). How these variables combine is conditioned by national features in interaction with globalization and Europeanization processes. Relevant are also internal interactions - between religious pattern, degree of corporatism, role of the church, on the one hand, and private education on the other.

The size of the private sector has traditionally been comparatively large in Catholic and culturally heterogeneous countries. In Europe, the proportion of pupils enrolled in private schools varies from 100 per cent in Ireland and 70 per cent in the Netherlands to one to two per cent in Finland and Norway (Unesco, 2005). Private school enrolment is largest and the range of variation in this enrolment is widest in among Catholic countries, even if the extreme case of Ireland is excluded. With the changes since the beginning of the 1990s, this sector has grown in Sweden only; the percentage of comprehensive school students in private schools increased from less than one cent in the beginning of the 1990s to more than six in 2009 (Skolverket, 2010).

All countries regulate how schooling should be organized and the content of compulsory education (Eurybase, 2005). Non-approved private schools (without state subsidies) are legitimate alternatives for compulsory education in some countries but not in the three case countries.

Where regulation and control was very strict until the 1990s, it has been relaxed (e.g. CR and Sweden) (Greger & Waltarová, 2007). Although they tend to apply stricter rules than before 1990, some Catholic countries continue to accept non-approved schools to organize compulsory education. Pro-active regulation has been relaxed in several countries (e.g. CR and Sweden) and has to some extent been replaced by evaluation, testing and accountability mechanisms. Accountability emerged as a theme in the 1990s and mostly implies self-evaluation reports and school reports to stakeholders at the local level and to higher level authorities, reporting on student achievement, budget, and so on.

Countries with large subsidies and having different types of contract between the state and the school also tend to have a comparative large proportion of students in private schools. Subsidies to private schools vary from zero to 100 per cent of the cost of a student in the public sector in Catholic countries (Eurydice, 2006).

Protestant countries have the highest minimum level of subsidy to private schools, which seems to indicate that they are likely to provide funding if they have approved the schools. From the beginning of the 1990s, practically all EU countries (except Greece) allocate subsidies to private schools. In some countries (e.g. Netherlands and Sweden) only not-for-profit schools are subsidized (Eurydice, 2006). Also, in most countries (including the three case countries), there is a centrally established framework for the content and it has to be taught also in private schools, if they are approved. National testing has for a long time been very systematic and strict in France and Sweden, and is now being introduced in more and more countries.

Practically, market mechanisms did not exist in any country before mid-1980s. Such mechanisms have then been introduced in several countries and among the three case countries they are of importance in CR and Sweden. The latter country has the most radical arrangement, more radical than in New Zealand and in many states in the US, for example.

With the restructuring of education systems, the units of inspection disappeared or were at least given a less important role in some countries. (e.g. CZE, England and Sweden) but have then been revived and reinforced. Specific bodies for steering, monitoring and assessment have been established where such bodies did not exist before.

Choice

We may distinguish between two types of choice: value-based choice (based in pedagogical and/or religious considerations) and market choice (based in human capital and academic considerations). Choice possibilities have traditionally existed in several countries, while countries practically without choice arrangements before 1990 (e.g. CZE, Finland, Norway and Sweden) have during the past two decades introduced them but mainly on a market basis.

The Netherlands, France and Spain have by tradition choice arrangements related to choice based on values (religion). The Netherlands has traditionally had wide choice opportunities, which have been exploited by the parents almost exclusively on the basis of religious or pedagogical concerns. Choice linked to market mechanisms has then been introduced in CZE and Sweden, while the situation in Greece has not changed very much in this regard.

However, in countries such as those in southern Europe, market mechanisms have not been implemented or have not been exploited by parents or schools to any large extent (Eurybase, 2005). In other countries (e.g. CZE, Finland, Iceland and Norway) market mechanisms have been introduced during the past two decades but parents have not responded to them to the same extent as in Sweden. In the CZE, schools charge fees and this is evidently the principal reason for parents not to choose private schools to a larger extent than they do.

Decentralization/centralization

Before the era of NG, decision-making competence was in most countries (e.g. CR, and the Nordic countries, France and Greece) situated at the central level, while it was comparatively decentralized in England, Germany and Switzerland (Eurydice, 2007; OECD, 1995). Decision-making has during the past two decades been moved to lower levels, often in combination with the introduction or reinforcement of market mechanisms and freedom of choice have been introduced. CR and Sweden have decentralized radically, France and Netherlands less and Greece and Italy not very much in practice.

Decentralization programs differ considerably between countries in in at least the following regards: baselines from which decentralization starts and the level to which the tasks or decision-making power is moved; type of decentralization; tasks or issues being decentralized, and whether there are mechanisms for participation at the school level or not. We may distinguish between four types of decentralization. *Deconcentration* is the transfer of work and tasks from higher to lower levels within the administration; decision-making power is not transferred. Most often issues have been moved from national to provincial level (e.g. France, Greece, Italy and Spain). *Delegation* implies conditional transfer of decision-making power or administrative tasks to lower levels in the hierarchy. Devolution is the transfer of authority to autonomous units or local bodies. This has been the most common type of decentralization in CR and the Nordic countries, for example. Finally, sometimes *privatization* is seen as a type of decentralization (Welsh & McGinn, 1999).

In practice, countries often employ a mixed approach. For example, Sweden has devolved most of the decision-making power and issues to the municipality level and some to the school level. Then municipalities in varying degrees have delegated decision-making power and issues to the school level (more precisely: to the school head).

Table 1. Baselines and Levels of Decentralization and Centralization, Some Examples

| From level | To level | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------|------------------------------|--------|
| | Central/ national | Region/state | Municipality/ district | School |
| Central -> | - | Greece, | Czech Republic, Sweden | Sweden |
| Region/state -> | | | Czech Republic Sweden | Sweden |
| Municipality/ district -> | | | - | Sweden |
| School -> | | | | - |

The issues most commonly being decentralized are: evaluation, recruitment of school principals and teachers, services, school construction, and financial and management audit.

Finally, centralization (or re-centralization) has taken place in some countries and of certain issues. For example, in England curriculum and evaluation have been centralized.

Europeanization has so far influenced, not so much the policies of individual countries' mode of governance in education, but rather the view of what should be the principal role of education in society and what educational quality is, i.e. ideas and mind sets of people. On the benchmarks and indicators, some countries "come up at the top (Finland and Sweden), some at the bottom (Greece and Poland) (Gornitzka, 2006, p. 47). And Radaelli (2003, p. 47) found that southern European countries (e.g. Greece), more than others, were under pressure to adapt to the standards. (Researchers have not yet explored to what extent the OMCs and other measures of Europeanization have affected national education systems.)⁴ It may then be assumed that the world models (spread via OECD, UNESCO and other international governmental organizations) inform national ministries of education about the mode of educational governance required or appropriate in order for this to be achieved.

Some principal characteristics of the three case countries and the components of their educational governance are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Comparison Between the Seven Case Countries
in Some Governance Components

| | Czech Republic | Greece | Sweden |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Religious pattern | Heterogeneous | Homogeneous. Orthodox | Homogeneous. Lutheran |
| Type of state | Centralized. | Centralized. | Centralized. Strong corp. |
| Globalization - Europeanization | Medium globalized. Mixed approach. Elites divided in relation to Europeanization | Weakly globalized. Closed approach. Elites not very pro-European | Strongly globalized. Open approach. Elites divided in relation to Europeanization. |
| Centr/dec | From national level to districts and municipalities and then to province. . | From ministry to regions and municipalities. | From national level to municipality and school levels. School head. |

⁴ The author of this paper got some insights into the working and functioning of peer review groups and clusters when he served as a consultant in this context. It seemed that a few country representatives participate frequently in the meetings and took initiative to host meetings, while other country representatives participated sporadically.

| | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|
| School-based bodies | School councils obligatory | PTA and teacher committee | Municipality board and school director |
| Choice | From none to full choice. Open enrollment | Possible to upper secondary but rarely to compulsory. | From none to full choice: Open enrolment. Market forces. |
| Market mechanisms | Subsidy per student, choice, competition. In reality very few parents choose | Theoretical-ly but in reality very few parents choose | Subsidy per student, full choice, competition |
| Private | Stable < 1 % | From >1 to 2% | From 1 to 7 % |
| Subsi- dies to private | From none to not-for-profit schools. Related to per student cost in public schools. | None (*) | Related to per student cost in public schools. Varies somewhat between municipalities |
| Regul. of private | National curr. Same rules as for public schools. | National curriculum. | Same rules as for public schools. Apply national curriculum |
| Testing | National testing, sporadically | National, annually | National, systematic testing annually in certain grades |
| Evaluation | Bottom-up self-evaluation. | Not systematiccally | National systematically in sampled schools. Bottom-up self-evaluation. |
| Inspection | National and regional | Plan for national. | National and regional |
| Plans, reports | School plans, bottom-up reporting | None. Plan for self-evaluation. | School plans, bottom-up reporting |

Discussion and Conclusion

First, a distinction needs to be made between (a) discourse (including symbolic policy-making), (b) policy-making, (c) decision-making, (d) implementation, and (e) outcomes. This paper has dealt mainly with (a) and (b) and to some extent with (d).

Globalization questions and challenges cultures and life styles and generates pressure on education to contribute to competitiveness and to focus on cognitive skills. The steering of education is changing in the direction towards the New Governance (features that largely appear in the world models). For influences in the European context, different concepts – such as Europeanization, Europeification, EU-ification... have been used (see, for instance, Featherstone, 2003). In this paper, focus has been mainly on the last mentioned concept. In Europe, the drive for competitiveness has resulted in certain changes in the educational systems, not least in regard to private schools and level of governance. The OMC mode of governance contains several elements of “endemic tensions”. Radaelli (2003, pp. 27-29) argues that i) OMC seeks to de-couple issues, promote diversity and mute politics, (ii) competitiveness and “social Europe” are difficult to combine, and (iii) the balance between (inter-national) competition and cooperation (among member countries) is difficult to attain and maintain. For Gornitzka (2006, p. 39) the challenge is to keep a balance between institutionalisation, experimentation and disintegration. Radaelli (2003, p. 46) maintains that the OMC mode of governance contributes to socialisation of elites, and change in domestic opportunity structures. That is, the elites are trained to “think European”, and those who participate in the EU-ification are likely to get new opportunities of power nationally through this participation. A change is taking place in educational thinking, at least among the elites.

In education, the OMC (especially the work with indicators for education policy at the European level) has resulted in a situation different from before the Lisbon agreement. Also, “the quantified aspects of the OMC process have been most deeply institutionalised and this is the most well-established part of the OMC in education, also compared to other sector OMCs” (Gornitzka, 2006, p. 35).

In all, some convergence in educational systems between the European countries has taken place in that (a) educational thinking is changing in the same direction, and (b) many countries (among them the three case countries) have adopted certain and similar aspects and elements of the world models. Such convergence tends to imply de-coupling of education from domestic characteristics. All three case countries have, at least during the decades following the second world war, had a unified education systems and monolithic policies. Such countries seem to have been more responsive than before to diversified demands for private schools, a feature that corresponds to some components of the world models. On the other hand, Greece has not responded to globalization and EU-ification to the same extent as the two other countries. Some variety of decentralization has been introduced in all countries during the past two decades, but less so in Greece.

Among the case countries, CR and Sweden have implemented NG components to a larger extent than the other countries, Greece to the smallest extent. This pattern

seems to correspond to the countries' general way of dealing with globalization and Europeanization processes. However, in order for the NG to be fully implemented, effective response from stakeholders and local agents is required: school principals who take on the new decentralized tasks, parents exerting choice, people who establish private schools, and so on. With the restructuring of education since the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, such response has occurred mainly in CR and Sweden. More autonomy has been given to municipalities and schools, but at the same time (and perhaps therefore) extension and intensification of monitoring and supervision from the central and regional levels have been introduced. Decentralization has in some cases (e.g. Sweden) been combined with market mechanisms.

However, despite tendencies of convergence, a great deal of traditional educational patterns in Europe has survived. Or rather: The components of the NG have been less implemented in some countries, and when they have, the outcomes differ due to the interaction with the local and national contexts.

The NG in its wide sense has been fully implemented in Sweden, to a large extent in CR but less so in Greece. The certain outcomes of the NG reforms is change in administrative and decision-making structures and in installing new ones, but it seems to be less successful in terms of genuine local participation. Neither has any significant country-wise change (either improvement or deterioration) in student achievement been observed. Among the 25 European countries, only England has had some improvement in students level of knowledge (on international tests) since the beginning of the 1990s.

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EDUCATIONAL CHANGE AND INNOVATIVE TEACHING PRACTICE: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF REFORMS ON THE WORK OF LECTURERS IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN ENGLAND AND GERMANY

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on the connection between system-wide reform in vocational education and training and the implementation of these reforms in learning and teaching processes. The study that is the subject of this paper conducted interviews with teachers in school-based vocational education in England and Germany. These interviews generated data on how teachers perceive reforms and in which ways they adapt their teaching as a result of reforms. This paper concentrates on the question in how far the interpretation of reforms by teachers leads to innovative processes at classroom level. The comparative design of the study aimed at identifying differences in innovative practice of teachers in Germany and England. It is concluded that the comparatively stable situation that German teachers find themselves in allow them to engage more actively in, and reflect more freely on, innovative practices than is possible for teachers in England. In contrast, innovative activities of teachers in England are often focused on the management of new teaching contents and the preparation for the teaching of a constantly changing portfolio of qualifications.*

Key words: *vocational education, vocational training, innovation, school-based VET, VET reform, innovation competence*

Introduction

Reforms in vocational education and training (VET) are a wide-spread and ongoing phenomenon observable in most countries world-wide (Green et al., 2007; Brown et al., 2001). In the European context, reforms in VET at the European Union level seem to be inextricably linked to rationales and aims connected to the economic and monetary union (EACA, 2010). However, the Lisbon agenda links the aims of VET reform within the European Union to the wider challenges of competitiveness and the knowledge economy in a global context (Ertl, 2006). Reform at national level has attempted to affect change in the way vocational learning is organised and conducted in most European countries (Maastricht Consortium, 2004; Green et al., 1999).

The dynamics of change are considered the only constant feature of information and technology driven societies. VET systems are directly affected by these dynamics and policy-makers in most European countries have reacted with distinct and often prolonged reform agendas. In the UK, for instance, the Foster Report has set the tone for the expected impact of reforms: '(...) a comprehensive set of reforms across the whole of the FE (Further Education) system (...) will provide the basis for a progressive enhancement in FE' (Foster Report, 2005, p. 8). The envisaged improvements of VET as a result of reforms of the framework for training have been for some time a topic in the academic discourse in a number of countries (cf. Green et al., 1999). This is to a certain degree also true for the impact of reforms on the work of teachers and lecturers in the system. For the German context, for instance, Dubs observed that the preparedness of teaching staff to initiate innovation has significantly reduced ("not yet again something new to deal with") (Dubs, 2003).

Against this background, this paper reports on two linked, small-scale projects that investigated the connections between VET reform and the processes of teaching and learning in VET. In particular, the question whether educational reform leads to innovation at classroom level needs to be addressed. Therefore, the main focus of this paper is on the ways in which curricular changes in college-based VET in Germany and England result in innovative teaching and learning processes. The findings were used for conceptualising a follow-up project which is outlined at the end of this paper.

Project 1: An Exploratory Study of Educational Change and Innovation in College-Based VET

This exploratory study was conducted in Germany and aimed at developing an understanding of the impact of educational change on the work of lecturers at vocational colleges. More precisely, the project attempted to establish the link between VET reform and innovation in college-based learning environments, i.e. whether Teachers and lecturers working in these environments regarded developing innovative practice as part of their professional identity and how 'innovative competence' can be achieved. The study had two main research foci (see Figure 1), (1) a structured review of the relevant literature and (2) a series of interviews with experts in the field and lecturers. Research questions included the following:

- How does educational reform affect the work of lecturers?
- What constitutes innovative activity of lecturers at vocational colleges?
- What role plays innovation in the day-to-day work of lecturers?
- What knowledge, abilities, skills and expertise are necessary for innovative competence?
- What is the connection there between innovative competence and lecturers' professionalism?
- How can 'innovative competence' be developed?

The results of the two research foci were analysed to achieve a clearer view of the concept of 'innovative competence' of lecturers at vocational colleges in Germany. However, the study also identified a number of gaps in the research. One of these gaps, the lack of relevant comparisons of innovation in college-based VET with other countries, lead to the conception of a similar study in England (see Project 2, down below).

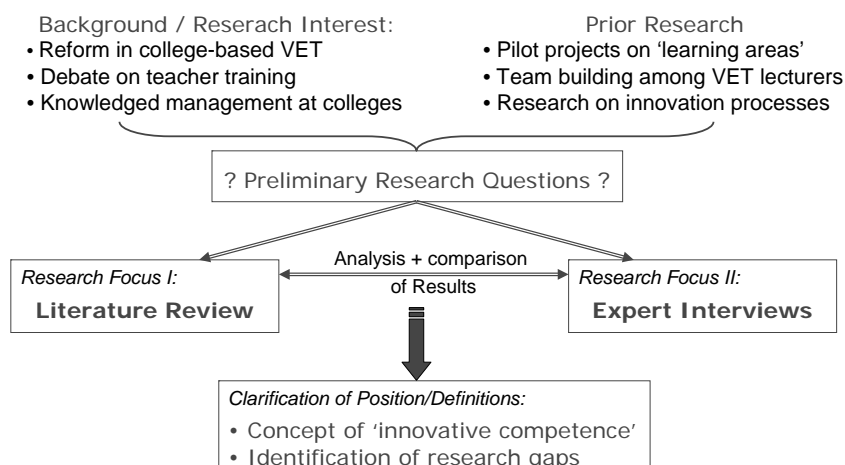


Figure 1. Research design

Research focus 1: literature review

The literature review was conducted through a structured search of relevant databases and online sources. In addition, ten years of three major academic journals in VET were hand-searched.¹ It became clear that there have been a number of investigations of particular areas of innovation in education, such as innovation and IT, and the implementation of new curricula. However, there are only few studies that look at the meaning of innovation in colleges in more general or conceptual terms. There were also a number of projects looking at the impact of college leadership on change processes in primary and secondary schools in general, but only a few studies focused on VET contexts (Ertl & Kremer, 2005a). A further area that has been covered is that of the innovation potential of pilot projects and problems related to the transfer of the findings derived from pilot projects to the wider context. Most of these studies focused on the introduction of IT at schools and colleges. Overall, most of the research on innovation in schools and colleges discussed in the German literature was conducted in the UK or in the USA, relevant research in the German context is rare in comparison. Also, it

¹ This search included *Zeitschrift für Berufs- und Wirtschaftspädagogik*, *Zeitschrift Berufsbildung in Wissenschaft und Praxis*, *Zeitschrift Wirtschaft und Erziehung*.

became clear from the literature review that the research findings have not made a substantial impact on school and college practice. This is particularly the case for research on innovation in other fields than education. For a detailed report on the methodology and findings of the literature review, including some findings from the 'non-educational' literature, see Ertl & Kremer (2005b).

Research focus 2: interviews

On the basis of the literature review and previous work undertaken in this area, questions for a series of semi-structured interviews were developed. The interviews comprised seven interviewees, including lecturers at vocational colleges, experts from VET research institutes and lecturers involved in teacher training. The interviews focused on the questions in three main areas:

- the perception of innovation by lecturers (lecturers and innovation),
- the connection between innovative practice and lecturers' competence (competence and innovation),
- the pre-conditions for innovative practice at colleges (supporting and hindering factors of innovation).

For analysing the data a hermeneutically-oriented concept developed by Lamnek (1995) was used as a starting point. The concept uses several rounds of analysing interview transcripts and tapes to identify main themes, topics and open questions. After developing an initial understanding of themes, topics and open questions for each interview, clarifications and conceptualisations are sought by comparing concentrated versions of different interviews and identifying similarities and differences between interviews. Lamnek's analytical concept was developed further by systematically making use of the research team members' different perspectives of the interviews. This was achieved by analysing and comparing concentrated transcripts of the interviews independently before jointly discussing differences and similarities between the different interviews. The resulting findings are summarized here according to the three thematic areas stated above:

Lecturers and innovation

Innovation was perceived by the interviewees as an important element in the work of lecturers at vocational colleges. This general statement is supported by the opinion that most lecturers are motivated to learn new things and to employ them fruitfully in their teaching. They are generally happy to contribute to pilot projects, experiments and other innovative activities. The improvement of teaching processes is seen as a 'continuous and central task of lecturers'.² However, if probed further, the interviewed lecturers made it clear that this positive stance mainly covers subject knowledge, for which 'keeping up-to-date' is regarded as essential. Rethinking teaching methods, ways of providing students with advice and

2 Direct quotes in this and the following sections are taken from the expert interviews.

improving teamwork between lecturers is not at the forefront of lecturers' agendas. Therefore, it can be concluded that innovation is a relevant topic for lecturers, and an issue that has a strong impact on their day-to-day work but only in certain areas of practice.

Innovation and competence

In the interviews a variety of attitudes and skills were pointed out as being important for teachers' abilities to deal with and to initiate innovation. These included openness, willingness to change, reflection, communication, teamwork and the ability to work in projects. The concept of 'innovative competence' was mentioned by several interviewees who stressed that this competence requires a number of other elements such as communicative competence, learning to learn competence and social competence. Therefore, innovative competence was regarded as a complex 'meta-competence', incorporating other competences. Some interviewees developed a complex map of constituent elements of innovation competence and the connections between these elements. However, the interviewed lecturers stressed that up-to-date knowledge about the subject is at the heart of innovative competence.

Pre-conditions for innovation

The results in this area of investigation show, *inter alia*, a strong reluctance of teachers regarding the implementation of external reform initiatives, but also positive attitudes and a high degree of engagement towards reform when it leaves sufficient freedom to determine the direction the reform takes at their college. In this latter case, teachers become the driving force of the development of innovative teaching practices. On the other hand, 'bureaucratic, hierarchical structures', 'rigid organisational patterns at colleges', 'top-down reforms', and 'lack of time' were mentioned as hindering factors of innovation. One interviewee encapsulated the ever-increasing pace of change and reform in the phrase 'innovation avalanche' which has a detrimental effect on lecturers' motivation and can even lead to 'resistance to innovation'. In contrast, 'external impulses' (pilot projects, co-operation with training companies, etc.), 'reduction of the number of teaching hours', 'feedback and advice structures', and 'communication tools' were mentioned as factors supporting innovative practice. Overall, the role of college leadership in initiating, supporting and sustaining innovative practice was stressed. Co-operation between teachers seems to be a prerequisite for implementing educational reform. This teamwork between teachers was described as 'in need of improvement' by most interviewees. Therefore, further research has to focus on the behaviour of groups of teachers.

In summary, the findings from the German study show that innovation at vocational colleges is regarded as an important topic, but is actively taken on by lecturers mainly in the areas of subject knowledge and improving teaching

practice. Organisational and teaching issues, which are important areas of reform in VET at the moment, are not at the forefront of lecturers' agendas. In a triangle constructed by the dimensions of subject knowledge, organisational set-up and teaching concept, the reception of innovations by lecturers at German vocational colleges seems to be firmly located in the corner of subject knowledge. In other words the political reform agenda is interpreted mainly as having an impact on the way lecturers deal with their knowledge about their subject area. This constitutes a tension with educational reforms at the macro level, whose implementation requires far-reaching changes in the organisational structure of colleges and in the concepts of instructions applied by lecturers (see Figure 2).

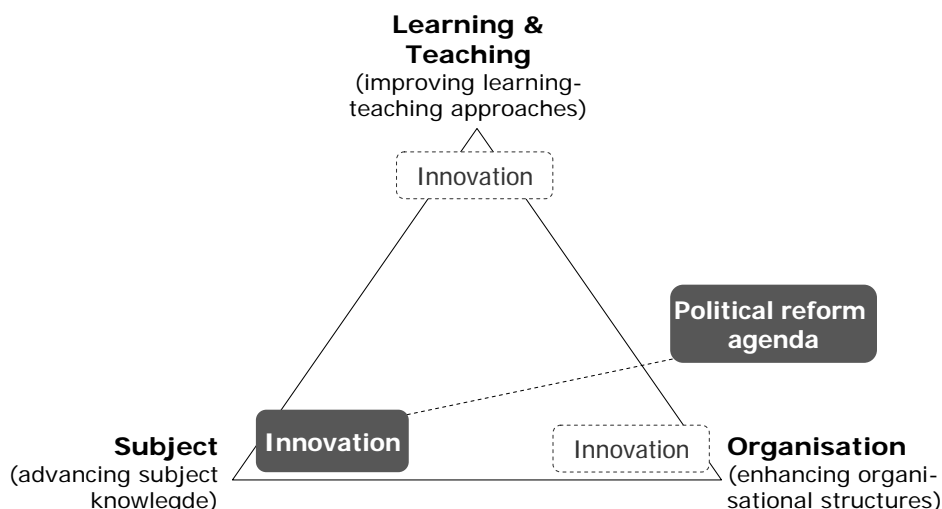


Figure 2. Dimensions of reform and innovation at German vocational colleges

Project 2: Innovation at College-Based Training in a Comparative Perspective

Rationale and Questions

The ultimate aim of this research is to develop a better understanding of the implementation of reform processes in college-based VET contexts and to suggest ways in which innovative processes at colleges can be initiated. The underlying assumption is that educational reforms are either implemented in or redefined by pedagogical practice. In the former case, reforms ultimately change the context in which teaching and learning takes place. In the latter case, reforms are revised and the change takes place at the level at which reforms were conceived.

The exploratory study in the German context outlined here was designed around the concept of innovative competence of teachers at vocational colleges.

On the basis of the experiences in and findings of this study, a further project was developed that looked at similar issues in the English context. The aim of this project was to produce comparable data in another national context in order to determine in how far the findings in Germany are determined by the particularities of VET in Germany and in how far innovative processes in college-based VET contexts are generic and can be found in a similar way in a different system (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. Innovation and reform in VET

An important assumption for the comparative project was that innovative processes are subject to changes at different levels connected to the work at colleges. For instance, at the political level, decisions on the introduction of new qualifications and curricula are made. Key players at this level are the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (DIUS), the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF), and the Qualification and Curriculum Authority (QCA) in England and the Standing Conference of Ministers of Culture and Education (*Kultusministerkonferenz*, KMK) which regulates the college-based part of the dual system of training in Germany. At the instructional level, new teaching and learning arrangements are developed, used and tested by teachers and lecturers on the basis of new qualifications and curricula.

Between the political and the instructional levels, an organisational level can be identified at which the results of political negotiations and prescriptions are transferred to the level of the educational institution; for the project this means vocational colleges in Germany and FE Colleges in England. At this level, organisational preconditions for the development of instructional designs are determined, for instance the resources (time, material, staff, etc.) available for implementing new qualifications and curricula into actual teaching and learning processes. It is important to note that decisions made at one level have an influence on the work at the other two levels and that successful innovation processes usually occur when there are negotiations across the levels.

The English part of our research aimed to investigate how the wide-ranging

reforms in the FE sector influence the work of Colleges and teaching personnel. From an institutional perspective, it examined how far the administrative and leadership structures of Colleges are prepared to embrace changes and in how far these structures result in a reactive or proactive stance regarding educational innovation. From a personnel perspective, the lecturers' attitudes towards change were investigated. Their perceptions of current curricula and qualifications reforms were examined as well as the connections between reforms and their translation into educational innovation.

From 2002 onwards, the Department of Education and Skills put increased emphasis on the reform of FE provisions in England. This can be regarded as the continuation of a long line of attempts of structural and organisational reform in the FE sector in recent decades (Lucas, 2004). Nevertheless, the far-reaching aims of the report entitled *Success for All – Reforming Further Education and Training* and the accompanying consultation process signalled an ongoing reform agenda for the years to come. The suggestions in the 2005 White Paper concerning the introduction of Diploma for 14-19 education and training as a new type of qualification has given the reform process a further impetus and to a certain extent a new direction. The Leitch Review (2006) and the subsequent *White Paper Further Education: Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances* (DfES, 2006) predicted a rapidly rising demand for skills and attributed a key role to FE Colleges in providing opportunities for skill development. In order to achieve the skills aims, a whole host of reforms affecting 14-19 education in general, and the FE sector in particular, was set out at the political level (for an overview see Hayward et al., 2006).

It is in this situation that the question of the viability of reform becomes an issue. The insight that teachers and lecturers are at the heart of reform processes that result in sustainable innovations in school and college contexts has been described in the relevant literature (cf. for instance Fullan, 1998). However, this has not yet been translated into corresponding research programmes in the English FE sector.

The research aimed to compare the ways reforms and educational change at the system level more widely are implemented in vocational college contexts in England and Germany. On the basis of a substantial understanding of how German lecturers perceive and influence institutional and pedagogic innovation, the particularities of English FE Colleges in terms of their capacity to embrace change were investigated. Research questions included the following:

- What are the contexts and agendas of reform in college-based vocational education in England and Germany?
- What are the perceptions of FE lecturers regarding the reform of the FE sector?
- Are reforms being translated into innovative educational practice?
- What are the main supporting and hindering factors in the development of innovative educational practice in both systems?
- What kinds of working environments are necessary for the implementation of new learning forms?

The main tools applied were a systematic literature and documentary analysis, a

series of interviews with lecturers and management (including heads) of a number of FE Colleges as well as with policy implementers, and a comparative analysis of quantitative and qualitative data derived from both the English and German contexts.

Findings

Although the investigation in the English context started from a different contextual background and asked slightly different questions, the following sections try to summarise the first findings from the interviews at FE Colleges using the same categories and a framework similar to the one employed for the data analysis in the German context. The findings are presented in comparison with the German results.

Lecturers and innovation

Faced with the concept of innovation, lecturers at FE Colleges seemed to be more surprised than their German counterparts by the fact that researchers were asking questions regarding innovative practice and also about the fact that research is conducted in this area at all. The FE lecturers stressed the perception of their work as taking place in a competitive environment, a notion that was not expressed in the German context. Competition with other educational institutions is regarded as a driver for change and improvement, developments which the FE lecturers interviewed described as innovation. While lectures stressed that the introduction of new qualifications (replacing GNVQs, for instance), is often the starting point for changes in their work, they do not really discuss the wider political reform agenda affecting the FE sector and their own work. For these changes, co-operation with agencies developing qualifications, awarding bodies and sometimes with industry was regarded important. Within the college, change is instituted in co-operation of lecturers with their programme managers.

Reflections regarding the content of new qualifications offered at the college were central. Therefore, there seemed to be a focus on subject knowledge in dealing with changes and reforms on the part of the lecturers – a finding that is in line with the results of the German study. The consequences of new subject knowledge for teaching approaches often become apparent only towards the end of a term or a year and do not seem to represent a primary concern for lecturers.

Overall, lecturers regarded work on initiating and carrying out of innovation as lying 'at the periphery of the working day'.³ They stressed that their teaching and administrative commitments only allow them to take on initiatives you which promise 'immediate benefit'.

Similar to the German context, English lecturers also described their perceptions

3 Direct quotes in this and the following sections are taken from the interviews with FE College lecturers.

of reforms that merely seem to reinvent previous changes. This usually has an adverse effect on the willingness of particularly more experienced lecturers to engage in change processes ('it does become very wiry, you have been there before').

Innovation and competence

As in the German interviews, FE lecturers stressed the importance of learning to learn competence as an important element of developing innovative practice in their work. The examination of new qualifications and curricular guidelines requires the competence to engage with new contents and challenges. Therefore, the dynamic environment of changing qualifications in FE is regarded as the main impetus for change. This was put in the context of professional development for which lecturers regarded innovation as a central element. Most lecturers focused on formal training, college-based courses and in-service teacher training when being asked about measures that were suitable for preparing them for innovative practice. 'Innovative competence' as a concept was not used by the interviewed lecturers; when asked about it they mentioned 'presentation skills', 'IT-skills', 'communication' and 'co-operation' as important elements of such a competence. It is important to notice that the comparison in this area is impeded by different notions of competence that dominate the VET discourse in England and Germany (cf. Ertl & Sloane, 2005).

Lecturers frequently mentioned personal attitudes and characteristics as pre-conditions for innovation: 'hunger for research', sharing knowledge with colleagues, and external collaboration (because it is much more productive). More than their German counterparts, FE lecturers mentioned 'sharing ideas with colleagues from other colleges' as both a pre-condition and valuable means of implementing innovation. It appeared that inter-college co-operation is institutionalised at some colleges via working groups or project collaboration. The experience shows that such co-operation across colleges requires a great deal of co-ordination of the shared work as well as measures to build trust between colleagues from different colleges.

Pre-conditions for innovation

FE lecturers placed greater emphasis than their German colleagues on the lack of time as the main hindering factor for innovative practice. The increase of teaching hours and increased administrative burdens were mentioned as the main factors that have limited the opportunities and motivation of lecturers to engage in change processes and to try out new things in recent years. Some lecturers mentioned the need for dedicated 'research time' in order to take innovative initiatives forward. In contrast to the interviews in Germany, FE lecturers compared their situation with that of lecturers in HE, who – in the eyes of FE lecturers – have more room for innovative activities.

Hindering factors that played a minor role in the German study were mentioned frequently in the interviews at FE colleges were lack of equipment and suitable rooms, inefficient communication and information processes with qualification developers, and fluctuation of teaching staff. This takes on added significance in view of the fact that 'co-operation with other lecturers and programme managers' featured strongly among supporting factors for innovation in the English interviews.

Interestingly, the role of the college leadership was not mentioned as a factor affecting innovation at colleges by FE lecturers. Rather, there was a sense of isolation from the college leadership: 'As long as you deliver bread and butter you are left undisturbed'. Some of the interviewees did not perceive it as the role of the leadership to positively initiate innovation, instead 'they [college leadership] tend to react more to negative things'. This leads to a situation in which lecturers 'are left to deliver our courses with freedom, which is great', but in which they also feel to be '[...] left on [their] own, without direction'.

The role of college-based courses and professional development measures was assessed as ambivalent. Some lecturers regarded these measures as helpful for innovative activities; others saw them mainly as a means of the leadership to control lecturers. Courses on new IT products and developments in the subject were regarded as most valuable.

In summary it can be argued that FE lecturers mainly emphasised the lack of time as the major factor, preventing them from engaging in innovative work. Other factors were discussed at some length and some interesting contrasts with the German context arose. The most important difference seemed to be the perceived lack of impetus from the college leadership, which was not emphasised as strongly by lecturers in Germany. This can be regarded at least partly as a consequence of different organisational set-ups of colleges in the two countries.

Like their German counterparts, lecturers at English FE Colleges viewed innovative practice mainly as impacting on their subject knowledge. Organisational changes and implications for teaching approaches were not discussed to a substantial extent. Using a similar triangle for illustrating the results than in the German context, innovation at FE Colleges is also firmly based in the corner of subject knowledge. However, contrary to the German situation, innovative tasks also take place in the process of planning for teaching units for new qualifications. This dimension of lecturers' activities can be regarded as one aspect of what German lecturers discuss within a wider concept of improving teaching and learning approaches. The narrower view of conceptualising and innovating learning-teaching approaches lecturers at English FE Colleges seem to hold, compared with their German colleagues at vocational colleges, probably represents the single most important difference in the professional identity of the two groups.

Similar to the German context, it can be concluded for FE sector in England that there seems to exist a tension between far-reaching educational reforms at the macro level, whose implementation require substantial changes in the organisational structure of colleges and notions of professionalism held by

lecturers, and the specific ways in which reforms are interpreted and implemented at college level (see Figure 4).

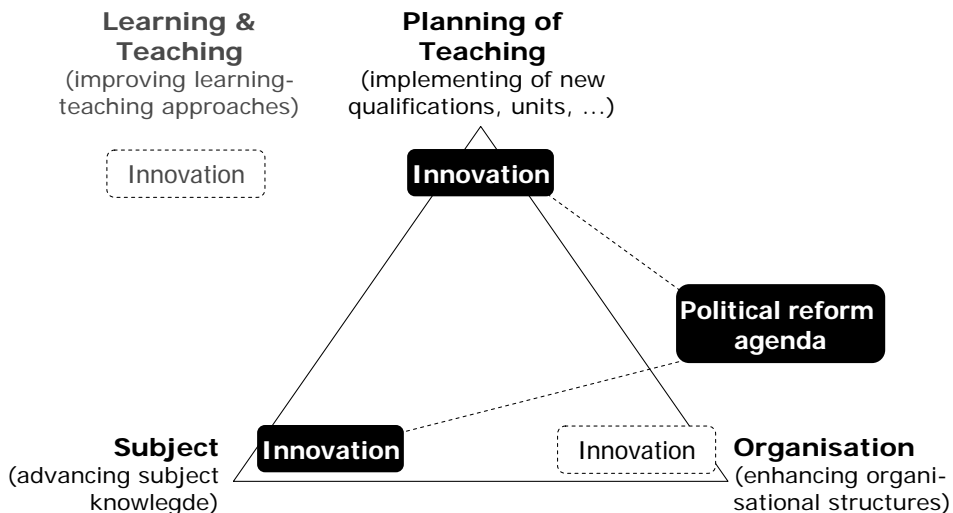


Figure 4. Dimensions of reform and innovation at English FE colleges

Conclusions and Further Research

The findings and attempts at comparisons between results derived from German and English contexts need to be regarded as tentative and to a certain degree as speculative. Like in qualitative research often the case, limited sample sizes do not allow any generalisations of findings. However, even this small-scale early stage of comparison indicates clearly that the way in which lecturers talk about innovation is very different in the two countries. Whereas the German lecturers are clearly used to discuss innovation and use the concept of innovation competence frequently, English lecturers needed some introduction into this topic. They then emphasise more than their German counterparts the limitations for innovative practice, which are mainly due to time constraints, the pressures of the competitive environment FE Colleges find themselves in, and due to the ever-changing qualification programmes offered by FE Colleges. The more stable situation at German vocational colleges seems to allow lecturers to reflect more freely on innovative practice in general.

It may, therefore, be concluded that innovative activities of FE College lectures are often limited to decisions regarding the management of contents in the teaching of yet another new qualification. In response to the frequent and far-reaching changes in short periods of time they are faced with they often react with standardised procedures they develop individually or in teams over time. In contrast, the work of German lecturers is almost entirely unaffected by competitive

pressures and is guided by a comparatively stable structure of established qualifications. In most cases change takes place at the level of curricula which allows lecturers to make decisions – to some extent – regarding the contents they teach and certainly regarding suitable learning-teaching approaches. It can be argued that German lecturers enjoy a greater degree of pedagogic autonomy in their work, and that overall working conditions allow more space for lecturer-initiated innovation; space that is clearly not always used effectively, particularly in terms innovation of teaching approaches.

The longer duration of teacher training seems to equip German lecturers with a repertoire of 'pedagogical jargon' used to discuss the topic of innovation. However, the influence of more formalised pre-practice teacher training in Germany compared with shorter in-service training in England on innovative competence of lecturers cannot be assessed on the basis of our research because it did not constitute a focus of our investigation.

Despite this limitation, it appears from our interviews that the ways in which the two systems in question develop notions of professionalism of lecturers influence the interpretation of innovation. This is connected with the definitions of roles of lecturers in the two different college systems. Therefore, system-specific factors have a clear influence on how lecturers deal with innovative tasks. Surprisingly similar seems to be that in both systems lecturers tend to focus their attention on subject-specific innovation rather than innovation regarding teaching and learning approaches. In both systems effective ways of developing innovative competence of lecturers still need to be found.

It is hoped that further interviews, accompanied by a more in-depth review of the relevant literature on FE Colleges, will show whether these first impressions can be substantiated. If this is the case, our research would demonstrate the wide-ranging effects of the respective VET systems, including teacher training structures, on innovative practice in college-based training in England and Germany.

In order to argue this point convincingly, it will also be necessary to improve the conceptual understanding of what represents 'innovation' in college contexts. The lack of a comprehensive and theorised terminological framework was one of the starting points of this research, which was partly confirmed in the literature analysis. More work on concepts developed in other fields of research might be necessary in this respect.

In order to shed some light on these issues, a follow-up project supported by a doctoral grant from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) was initiated in 2010. This project focuses on the impact of educational change on the work of VET lecturers in a comparative perspective. It will build on and broaden the investigation in England and Germany and will extend the comparison to another country, namely Austria. The focus on VET practitioners is based on the assumption that it is teachers and lecturers who are ultimately asked to interpret reforms and to implement change. The project aims to generate a substantially larger data base from interviews with practitioners and classroom level observation.

It is hoped that the findings from this project will allow us to develop a better understanding of how educational reform is linked to changes in day-to-day pedagogical practice in the area of VET. Due to the different conceptualisations of what is meant by terms such as 'vocational' and 'training' in the three countries of comparison, it is also hoped to develop recommendations for improving the transfer of change intended in political reforms and change that is actually implemented in practice in the area of education more widely.

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REVIEW

FAZAL RIZVI and BOB LINGARD *Globalizing Education Policy*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2010. 218 pp.

The publication by two known scholars engaged with global studies in education and education policy is focused on the changes in the field over the past two decades. In 1997 the authors together with Miriam Henry and Sandra Taylor published the book *Educational Policy and Politics of Change* analysing a broad framework of public policies guided by dramatic education change at the edge of Millennium.

In this new book the global processes lie in the centre of authors' attention. They are engaged with recent literature on globalization and educational policy. They utilize own research and teaching experiences at their home universities in Australia and also rich "global" experience in other countries where they met significant inspiration working on international projects.

The new configuration of a globalizing world of education gives them a particular perspective of "postnational" dimensions without ignoring the realities of the state. Authors consider national governments as a site increasingly influenced by both, transnational institutions and global ideologies that seek to steer the social imaginaries of policy actors, and national traditions and local policies. The perspective of global, postnational, dimension taking into account the state realities is for the authors starting point for development theoretical and methodological approaches to study educational policy in the age of globalization.

Nowadays the dominance of neoliberal order has been challenging in many aspects. Especially present global crises affects whole policy area and national education systems in particular. Economic and social consequences of the misleadings of neoliberalism has given rise negotiating the social issues and new ways of educational policy and practice.

The book is divided into nine chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 gives a fundamental overview of educational policy concepts and maps development of approaches since 1950s until present: a) Nationalist approach prevailing until 1980s, b) growing heterogeneity of theories and ideologies, c) emergence of market ideology framed by neoliberalism joint with globalization in transforming context of public policies after the fall of Berlin wall in 1989 being a significant source of a new global policy paradigm.

Authors' critical introduction to policy studies in education is articulated. Resistance, contradictory and differences, particular configuration of values which are allocated at the intervention of global, national and local processes,

are pointed out. Discursive regime, non-linear relationships, inconsistency of values have broken, according authors, classical model of educational policy. The new state formation, new managerialism and new public/private sector relations have been described as ushering in *transition from government to governance*. Interaction educational policies with policies in other fields including social affairs has been necessary. The influence of international comparative studies (*pisa, oecd* et others) contributes to global dimension of educational policy. Marketization and medialization influence the culture of educational institutions and relations to them. Policies often result in unpredictable and unintended consequences. Education systems have reacted by stressing accountability and standard frameworks to ensure achievement of the policy goals. Infrastructures of measurement pervade educational systems and technicize pedagogies. The paradox of the tension between required policy and limited professional autonomy and individualization of educational demands during last two decades „has become almost synonymous with educational change and educational professionals become more sceptical of reform agendas and less committed to fidelity in policy implementation“. This lifelike authors' observation could be a memento to policy makers. For authors the shifting character of educational policies has not avoided the role of the state in rearticulation of global pressures and finding balance against competing national and local interests.

The focus on conceptual discussion in this chapter opens the space for perspectives of theoretical and methodological considerations and practical consequences.

Chapter 2 debates a range of historical specifics and interrelated processes accompanying globalization and affecting educational systems in different way. The filtration by political and cultural traditions and, particularly by social imaginary is analysed together with „the mechanism of globalization“. The mechanism stems from a similar motivation supported by policy networks and certain communities. The role of supranational agencies (OECD, WB, UNESCO, EU and others) creates a global context which needs a special global analysis. Chapter 3 logically concerns issues of such globalizing educational policy analysis. Authors argue in the favour of „critical reflexivity“ and recognizing of „relationality and interconnectivity“ of policy development which demands also *historical orientation* of the analysis. They suggest the historical constitution of the problem in the temporal and spatial frames as a *policy ecology framework*. **The past and the present are manifest in policy and aspirations to the contemporary education policy for broader historical constitution of education.** The *positionality* of researcher and value position should not be avoided for knowing if democracy and social justice is assumed.

Chapter 4 exams educational policy from aspects of values. Values are interpreted from the philosophical, political and economic points of view. Authors position does not avoid critics of misinterpretation though narrow neoliberal values in economic terms linked to social efficiency based on market dynamics and organized education as a private good. On the contrary global interconnectivity and interdependence are shown as radically different ways. A requirement to

engage with transformations in technologically and informatively developed society goes over the prioritizing economy. Ignorance to complexity of cultural and social values leads to widen inequalities not only across nations but also within the particular communities.

Chapter 5 focuses on curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. How is reshaped the triade which has created a broad variety of axes of national policies towards schooling? Traditionally issues relating to this triade have not been major focus in education policy and have usually considered as a separate field of educational theory and practice. But authors point that ongoing educational policy reforms are evidently linked to reframing curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation responding to global economic challenges, transforming identity and citizenship. Numerous examples (from England, Scotland, Germany, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan and other countries) of curriculum reform and models of productive pedagogy are given. Particularly new regime of accountability measured by testing students' performance is examined by authors. Internationally compared performance plays a major role determining effectiveness of national education systems and consequently influences their quality.

Chapter 6 outlines changes in the policy rules associated with the move from government to *governance* which is not state-centred but polycentric with private involvements inside the state and also with global layers. The OECD case and WB example demonstrate how the global agents take a role of educational policy actors articulating a particular neoliberal version of globalization. Finally also the „governmentality“ (Foucaults originally used concept) as a form of self-governing and self-interested individuals with entrepreneurial disposition underpin the new possessive form of governance in the context of neoliberal globalization. A danger of inhibition of practice under this new policy technologies (indicated as *debilitating impact*) displays its authenticity, generates resistance or capitulation of educational actors and professionals or anti-global movement.

Chapter 7 concentrates on issues of equity policies in education. A comparative analysis shows how different countries have emphasised different aspects of justice. Authors argue that globalization influence public management of individual choice, quasi-markets and system accountability to claim a commitment to educational justice, without criticism on even extends inequalities. The globalization transforms the ways of educational policies effecting different groups and communities variety. It creates disparities around the world with some benefits for ones and disruptions of other. At the same time globalization has restricted the authority of the state in redistributing policies and programmes. The policy of choices has promoted competition, economic efficiency and individualism. Therefore heterogeneity and plurality is become the norms for justice in education. The previous distributive paradigm is not longer sufficient to capture the complexities of identities. Respect, recognition, rights, opportunities, powers are underscored in the process of the policy recognition in the global flow of people, ideas and technologies. Demands for a new ethics of globalization are addressed not only to nation-state but also to a global community in which issues of identity play a central role.

Chapter 8 shows excellently how the growing mobility of people beside mobility of capital, finance, cultures, information and ideas creates a cosmopolitan possibilities in education. The global mobility however have created a range of policy dilemmas: how to deal with cultural diversity, how to encourage academic flow, how to develop language policies not avoiding linguistic and cultural traditions and how to internationalize curriculum. Special attention is given to globalization of English and teaching foreign languages. The problem of *brain drain* and *brain circulation* is by authors pointed particularly as a highly problematic. Global mobility of skilled people on one side and the role of global networks of professionals (real and virtual ones) is consistent with imperatives of a global knowledge economy. On the other side a brain drain has become asymmetric and creates global inequities and cultural diasporas.

Chapter 9 insists that the interpretation of the globalization concept should be reconsidered and reinterpreted in relation to the bottom up emerging initiatives. They have emerged as alternatives of anti-globalization movement. The World Social Forum, NGOs and other civil society organization opposed the basic tenets of neoliberalism. Also political leaders, not only left-oriented, are mentioned as a developers of a new regulatory roles of the global economy. The contemporary global economic crisis tests educational policy and capacity of national governments to fund education, to reconsider social and educational policies and reimagine another globalization seeking human interconnectivity and interdependence of the world. security, physical and environmental, equity and social cohesion together with democratization of globalization is challenged as well as humanization and construction of cosmopolitan citizenship. The authors' challenge for „rethinking the meanings of the values of efficiency, equity, community, liberty and security which have underpinned all public policies, including educational policy“ sounds very urgently.

The book presents both essential critical arguments on the address of globalizing educational policy, and findings on theoretical and practical initiation for rethinking and relaborating educational policy. The perspectives most sound mind and common sense in interconnected world are challenged. I recommend the book to reading, consideration and further discussion to all educational experts, politicians and practitioners.

Eliška Walterová

CONFERENCE REPORTS

Educational change in the global context

The international conference *Educational change in the global context* was held in Prague, August 30th – September 3rd, 2010. The conference was organised by the Faculty of Education of Charles University in Prague, its Institute for Research and Development of Education (IRDE), and the Comparative Education Section of the Czech Pedagogical Society, under the auspices of Václav Hampl, the Rector of Charles University. The conference was part of a long term project by the Research Centre on Education, supported by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport.

The end of summer is a busy season for educational conferences. Despite the competition of several annual meetings, the conference brought together more than 120 participants, half of which were from the Czech Republic, and half from twenty foreign countries representing all continents except Africa. This very representative group of comparativists from all over the world was attracted by the opportunity to gain first-hand experience of the region with a record of twenty years of rather turbulent educational change.

The participants were welcomed by Radka Wildová, Dean of the Faculty of Education, and Stanislav Štech, Vice-Rector of Charles University. In her opening speech, Eliška Walterová, Chair of the Conference and Director of IRDE, introduced the conference theme, and presented a short outline of the recent history of education in the hosting country.

The first plenary session continued with an invited lecture on educational transformation in East Central European countries by Wolfgang Mitter (Deutsches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung, Frankfurt a. M.). This prominent educationalist and a long-term friend of the hosting country was awarded the Silver Medal of Charles University for outstanding contributions to Czech comparative education at the conference welcome reception, hosted by the Faculty of Education.

Generally, the conference had a strong selection of keynote speakers – besides W. Mitter, they included Mark Bray (University of Hong Kong); Joseph Tobin (Arizona State University), and Anthony Welch (University of Sydney). The full texts of their papers are part of this issue of *Orbis Scholae*, so we will not comment on them in detail. From Tuesday to Thursday, the outstanding programme consisted of further keynote lectures, parallel sessions of submitted papers, symposia, and poster sessions. Each late afternoon, a guided tour or field trip was offered.

The first parallel session on **the responses of educational systems to global challenges** above all discussed the key question about the role of comparative education in a globalized world. Sophisticated but uniform methodology of studies of educational achievement, backed by global actors of educational policy, were critically analyzed as not respecting the complexity of the different cultural contexts and richness of the world of education. Strong arguments for

the necessity to reconsider more complex understanding of comparison and comparative education fields were presented. Comparative education based only on measuring indicators serves as an instrument of educational policy, or of certain power groups or persons. The rich understanding of educational systems needs qualitative research and deep understanding of human identities as well. Such comparative education as the academic field could interpret critically new phenomena in education (e. g. marketization, privatization, competition) and their consequences for change of educational models. The qualitative renewal of comparative education fostered the development of its capacity to respond to major global challenges through interpretation of the global phenomena in different cultural and social contexts. Reflection of changing socio-cultural context helps predict changes in educational culture and expectations. This consideration was confirmed by several papers concerning, e.g. new paradigms of visual culture, or dealing with social and cultural change at universities shifting from elite to mass or universal education.

The session on **educational transformation after the collapse of totalitarian regimes** included individual country studies as well as more comparative pieces of work in post-communist countries. Papers presented in this session referred to developments in the following countries (in alphabetical order): Bosnia-Herzegovina, China, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Russia. Not only comparison among post-communist countries was presented, but these countries were often confronted with “western countries” as a reference point (e.g. changing values in East and West). The thematic areas that have been tackled emphasized, among other things, the early tracking and other issues of equity and access (educational inequalities, education experiences of refugee children, home schooling), structural changes in educational systems with special emphasis on vocational education and training, transformation of values in post-conflict societies, and growth and forms of privatization of education. The session has pointed out that the analyses of educational change in post-totalitarian regimes not only help to understand the social processes and inform the educational policy in the region hosting the conference, but also contribute to the development of theories of educational change.

The session on **school change for real improvement** covered problems of school management and leadership, school culture, new literacies, social aspects in education, as well as teacher professional development. Increasing school autonomy and decentralization seems to be a common and significant shift in all represented countries during the past approx. 20 years. School autonomy promotes desired choice in education, as well as a quasi-market environment. For the success of reforms, it is important to listen to the voices of all stakeholders in education (not only ministries, boards, and directors, but also teachers, pupils, parents, etc.). Teacher education faces the problem that yesterday’s teacher educators (with yesterday’s technologies) educate teachers for tomorrow.

Last but not least, the session on **changing approaches to curriculum and curricular policy** included reports on curricular reforms in several Central and

West European countries. The presentations addressed, among other things, several general issues of curricular reforms: de-centralisation of curricular design and school-based curriculum development, the troubled subject knowledge/key competencies relationships, differences between the intention and reality of curricular change. Overall, the presentations stressed rather weak theoretical foundations of the reforms, the large difference between the intended and delivered curriculum.

The following **symposia** took place:

1. International Education – New system of knowledge or holding corporation of separate (but equal?) fiefdoms? chaired by Josef Mestenhauser (University of Minnesota, USA);
2. The implementation of education for sustainable development as a key concept to meet global change – chair Verena Holz (Leuphana University of Lueneburg, Germany);
3. Globalization, diversity, citizenship, and education: Studies of social science curricula, chaired by Francisco Ramirez (Stanford University, USA);
4. Resocialization Education/Pedagogy – a new topic in the theory and practice? – chair Karel Rýdl (University of Pardubice, Czech Republic).

As one of us has a long-term interest in social studies textbooks, we really enjoyed the third symposium by Ramirez and his team from Stanford University (USA). Among others, the presentations addressed the fundamental tension between the traditional goal of education – promoting a cohesive national identity, and the need to teach respect and equality among diverse social groups in contemporary society. Patricia Bromley showed how the balance between diversity and national unity is reached in Canadian social studies textbooks by different strategies, e. g. by framing human rights and interculturalism as a part of national identity, or by celebrating Canadian contributions to world culture as a source of national pride.

The **poster session** was used mostly by the Czech and Slovak researchers as an opportunity to present additional insights into the problems of their school systems and receive feedback, both from the leading experts in the field.

On the last day of the conference, the concluding panel discussion, **20 years of educational transformations in post-communist countries**, chaired by David Greger, put together experts from post-totalitarian countries with researchers who monitor the changes in Central and Eastern Europe from the outside. While the participants from transforming countries (Nina Borevskaya from Russia, Stanislav Štech from the hosting country) talked about their disappointments, negatives, and dead ends of changes in their countries, observers from the outside (Wolfgang Mitter from Germany, and Alex Wiseman from USA) emphasized the scope of changes, and reminded us that the open climate and free discussion of problems of change during this conference are proof that transformation from a totalitarian society was mainly successful.

Those who like to get out of the lecture halls into the field had an opportunity to visit a basic school (primary and lower secondary comprehensive school), or an upper secondary school (technological college). The visitors saw the facilities and

met the heads of the two different and successful schools. The participants enjoyed the guided tours through lesser-known parts of Prague, while the pre-conference trip to the Terezín Ghetto served as a remembrance of the clandestine education of imprisoned Jewish children during the Holocaust.

The presentations and discussions showed that the changing educational environment is *not* typical only for post-totalitarian countries. This phenomenon is reflected throughout Europe, and the whole world. An international comparative perspective can be a starting point for fruitful discussions, and a unique opportunity for learning from each other as different educational contexts, historical circumstances, and different cultural backgrounds may sometimes lead to similar problems and challenges in education. However, there seems to be a more or less wide gap between educational researchers and policy makers. Comparative educational research should be able to bring persuading empirical evidence and arguments, and then communicate them to decision making bodies through an understandable language.

The relatively broad thematic scope of the conference offered an insight into aspects of education that may be outside of the specialised professional range of a particular researcher, and contributed to greater appreciation of the role of contemporary comparative education.

This enriching, but also enjoyable, scientific experience would not be possible without the commitment of keynote speakers and all of the presenters, the session and symposia chairs and discussants, and all the participants. The Organizing Committee and the students and staff of the Faculty of Education deserve thanks for their hard work and dedication, and for making the conference a success.

Most of the presentations can be downloaded from the conference web site: edconf2010.pdf.cuni.cz.

Karolina Duschinská, Dominik Dvořák

Education and Cultural Change: The European Conference on Educational Research 2010

Between 25th and 27th August 2010, an annual European Educational Research Association's ECER conference took place at the University of Helsinki, Finland, following a pre-conference carried out between 23rd and 24th August. This year, the main topic of the conference was *Education and Cultural Change* as both educational research and practice have to react to the ever changing cultural contexts of today's Europe.

The pre-conference was traditionally aimed at PhD students and young researchers, offering a platform to not only introduce their own work but also get acquainted with the work and philosophy of the EERA. The Czech Republic was represented by Masaryk University Jana Stejskalíková (*Europe in History Textbooks*), Kateřina Lojdová (*Finding Identity in Subculture*) and Zuzana Makovská (*Student's Use of Behavioural Alteration Techniques*). Apart from the presentations of young researchers in parallel sessions, three keynote speakers tackled the problems of using and interpreting visual data in research (Gunilla Holm, Yen Yen Woo: *Visual (Re) presentation of Data / (Re)presenting Research in Visual Forms*), ethical dimensions of research (Päivi Honkatukia: *Sensitive issues as ethical issues: studying ethnic minority young men in prison*) and the criteria for dissertation theses (Shosh Leshem, Vernon Trafford: *What Do Examiners Look for in Doctoral Theses/Dissertations?*) in the first day. The next day, parallel workshops took place focusing on various aspects of educational research such as longitudinal research (Martin Goy and Rolf Strietholt), research in the classroom (Birgit Pepin), or ethical issues of educational research (Vicky Coppock). For further information, all abstracts and data can be found at <http://www.eera-ecer.eu/ecer/ecer2010/ecer-2010-pre-conference/>.

The main conference was divided into twenty-seven parallel networks, each of them focusing on a particular aspect of education related to cultural change. Apart from topics typically associated with the notion of cultural contexts such as gender, ethnicity, age or ability, other sections aimed at less standard areas like local and global contexts of educational processes, extra-curricular activities, popular culture, and social, environmental and religious movements at the background of education. The last but not least section concentrated on didactics and the processes of teaching and learning in the present setting of cultural changes.

Apart from the parallel sessions, several meetings as well as keynote speakers' presentations took place during the conference. On Wednesday, two keynote speeches were presented: *Intersections and translocations: new paradigms for thinking about identities and inequalities* by Floya Anthias and *Dealing with cultural diversity in education: global narratives, local policies and experience* by Marie Verhoeven. In the evening, the New Associations' Meeting was held in order to provide information for delegates from countries without an EERA member association.

A symposium called *A Global Society; Implications for Education and Educational Research* took place on Thursday and presented invited speakers Ingrid Gogolin (*How can Educational Research contribute to Equal Educational Opportunities in a Global Society?*), Beatriz Álvarez González (*Transnational families. The role of schools to uphold educational processes*), and Martha Montero-Sieburth (*Understanding Culture and Youth within Educational Institutions: Beyond Cultural Definitions to Cultural Change Contexts*). The same day, a round table organised by European Educational Research Journal (EERJ) took place, focusing mainly on the new contexts of educational research and its interdisciplinary as well as trans-disciplinary dimensions.

On Friday, another invited speaker Lisbeth Lundahl presented her paper (*Paving the way into the future?*) using particular Scandinavian examples to demonstrate how educational policies attempt to face the sometimes conflicting demands stemming from different economic, cultural and political contexts. The same day, the last but not least keynote speaker Fazal Rizvi (*Re-thinking Issues of Diversity within the Context of an Emergent Transnationalism*) supported the need for a new outlook on diversity, not based on nationalism any longer, but rather being defined by transnational processes in the era of globalisation. He then discussed the possible implications of the change for educational research. In the evening, the EERA panel on the conference theme, *Education and Cultural Change*, was held by the four keynote speakers (Marie Verhoeven, Floya Anthias, Lisbeth Lundahl and Fazal Rizvi) who used their previous speeches as a springboard for discussion on the conference theme, leaving ample time for the delegates to ask questions and talk over the emerging issues related to the topic.

Further information on ECER 2010 can be obtained from the conference official web site <http://www.eera-ecer.eu/ecer/ecer2010/>.

Marie Doskočilová

World Congress of Comparative Education, Istanbul, June, 2010

The last World Congress of Comparative Education, historically already the fourteenth one, has been in many respects extraordinary. It was held during celebrating the 40th anniversary of World Council of Comparative Education Societies (established in 1970) and it was as well the largest congress so far (there were 1500 participants from 111 countries coming from all continents, among them a great deal of doctoral students and young researchers in the fields of comparative education).

The international congress called *Bordering, Re-bordering and New Possibilities in Education and Society* took place in Istanbul, Turkey, which is a large multicultural city inhabited with more than 20 million people and situated in pretty unique geographical location between two continents which are interconnect by two bridges over the Bosphorus. Its atmosphere of modern, dynamic and vibrant city with antic Greek, Christian and Islamic historical roots made extremely supportive grounds for the main conference topic too.

The host institution, *Bogazici University*, is one of the most distinguished universities in the whole Turkey with extended international networks and cooperation. The organizers provided everything necessary for the conference, pretty nice was a high number of visible (orange T-shirts) volunteers recruited from the university students in the fields of educational science.

The main focus of the congress was put into analyzing the processes going on in the globalized world of today and the huge social transformations which are relevant for the education. The key concept "border" opened a discussion form the very beginning not only about movement in terms of geopolitics but as well in terms of changes, problems and limits in education which are interrelated with social processes and new challenges for the future development of schooling for the 21st century. Topics like time and space relativity, overcoming of social, cultural and psychological boundaries as well as activating new ones which do influent personal and social identities on the local as well as global level were in the center of the discussions too. Problems of inclusion and exclusion in society in general and in education in particular as well as educational policy and its effects and influence in the fields of education in global context brings new opportunities and challenges which was the main "red line" going through the whole conference. Discrepancies between neo-liberal rhetoric combined with economic interests and political support on the one hand and widening inequalities in real education opportunities and access to high quality education for different social, cultural, ethnic and other social groups, were identified as a main problem calling for new solutions. Comparative education and international scientific community should contribute to its solution, in terms of theoretical analyses, empirical research projects as well as applied development programs focusing on real changes in the fields.

Conference program was divided into keynote lectures and into following 13 parallel thematic sessions:

Educational Governance, Policy Within and Across Borders

Comparative education: Rethinking Theory and Method

Education, Conflict and Transitions Within and Between Societies

Demystifying Quality in Education

Re-imagining Curriculum

Critical Perspective in Teachers Education and Development

Identity, Space and Diversity in Education

Education, Human and Social Development and Capabilities

New Technologies and Accessibility to Learning

Education and Children's Rights in a "Globalized" World

Education, Politics of Dominance, the Suppressed and Disappearing Languages

Privatization and Marketization in Education

Education, Migration, Citizenship and the State

Cross-Thematic Groups: Special Interest Groups, Workshops, Symposia and Round tables

Each thematic session was further divided into several dozen sub-sections which were going on in forty rooms in six modern buildings in two separated parts of the university campus. From this single fact, it is possible to see how extensive the conference program was (the conference program had 168 pages and the book of abstracts even 570 pages).

All keynote lectures were extraordinary and highly critical toward contemporary trends in educational policy on all levels, from global and transnational to national and local level, which influence education and deform its democratic mission.

Michael W. Apple, one of the greatest world comparativists from universities in Wisconsin and London who cooperate with a great number of educational institutions and international organizations, raised his thesis in a lecture named *Understanding and Interrupting Neoliberal and Neoconservative Policies in Education*. He focused on critical analyses of contemporary trends in educational policy which empower growing selectivity, uneven distribution of financial resources and is influenced by those of the interest groups that are powerful thanks to populism and erosion of public education sector. Michael Apple expects the solution from the grass root mobilization of civic society and teacher organizations, from the good job done by teachers and curriculum accommodation toward the needs of the community. He was highly critical toward standardization of educational outputs, measuring of performance and testing of pupils on all levels of education which leads to high competition among schools and suppressing different educational needs among marginal groups in risk. He as well noticed positive growing role of social movements at universities as an increasingly important education policy actor which should not be underestimated and should be an issue of research too. Other examples of relevant social movements are various immigrant groups which sometimes create its own "educational systems" as a mean of defense against

authoritarianism and management and market approach of more successful members of mainstram middle class (for example Afro-American schools in the United States, so called civic schools in Brazil). At the same time the speaker warned against exclusion, home education and those social movements that organize independent education which is growing especially in China and India. Michael Apple called for more elaborated research of positive examples of those teachers and schools which were able to make a change, promoted pupils integration toward public educational sector and made possible successful prolongation of their future studies at secondary and even tertiary education levels and stimulated their participation on wider society. The keynote lecture was in fact rooted in the last speaker book *Global Crises, Social Justice and Education* (2010) which is a piece of reference for those who are interested in learning more about the topics and issues raised in the keynote speech.

Suzan Robertson is a sociologist from Bristol University; she funded a Center for global, educational and social studies. Her keynote topic was *The New Spatial Politics of Rebordering and (Re) bordering the State - Education – Citizen Relation for the Global Economy* and she analyzed structural transformation which creates new borders for nation states, nations, citizens and educational domain. She drew on the writings of Basil Bernstein and called for a re-conceptualization of neo-liberal policy projects which are from their perspective unsustainable. She identified four broader trends (de-nationalization, de-etatization, de-sectorialization and de-politization) in the sphere of education which should strengthen contemporary discourses about life-long learning and knowledge society in public sector which should liberate human potential and support personal as well as social development.

Rather different in form, background and goals was a keynote addressed by Zübeyda Kilic who is a leader of one among several Turkish teachers unions. Her speech tended to be activist but at the same time very authentic from the European point of view. She focused first of all on the political context of teacher profession and union in Turkey which were illegal for most of the 20th century Turkish history. It went through difficult times during several military coups and heavy repressions by police special forces and military including torturing and imprisonment of leaders and protesters. She gave unionist point of view on contemporary issues and problems like marketization, privatization, cutting educational budget, teacher salaries, growing role of Islam in education, gender and language discrimination (for example Kurdish or Zaza language and schools were not legal for many decades of Turkish republic), selectivity and inequality in education which leads to greater class differences (one of the biggest and most controversial single problem in Turkish education is centralized state school-leaving exam which alters into a national drama each year).

During parallel sessions, panels, symposia and round tables discussions took their part renowned world scholars in the fields of comparative education, namely A. Welch, L. Tickly, M. Bray, M. Tatoo, A. Wiseman, J. Schriever, Gita Steiner-Khamsi among others. Strong attendance was visible from countries like the United States, Great Britain, Scandinavia and Western Europe, China, Japan, south-east Asia,

South Africa and other African countries. There were as well participants from Latin America. Great attention was paid to participant from countries like Afghanistan, Nepal, and Kazakhstan which do have in common the fact that the comparative education in pretty new field of research there. Unfortunately, the presents of speakers and participants from Central Europe and other post-communist countries was rather weak, only two participants came from the Czech Republic (both from the Institute for Research and Development of Education, Charles University, Prague).

Among them Eliška Walterová presented a paper *Crossing Borders into the Common European Educational Space*. It was based on international comparative research project among so called Visegrad countries within the frame of the Centre for Basic Research on Schooling. It is developing theoretical framework for analyzing educational change and covers a blind spot in contemporary comparative education. It promoted a discussion about specific ways of educational change and transformation after political regime change as well as about more general and often global contemporary trends in education, growing similarities and persistent differences in schooling among different countries.

Karel Černý made a "hot issue" presentation called *Feeling of Justice Inside and Outside School in Comparative Education: Mainstream and Muslim Immigrant Background Pupils in France, Italy, Belgium and England*. It was based on extensive international empirical survey funded by European Commission focusing on perception of justice among 14-years old pupils in four European countries (random sample with more than 12 thousands pupils). It compared feeling of justice inside as well as outside school among Muslim and mainstream society background pupils. The results were pretty surprising because the main hypothesis assuming significantly higher rates of frustrations related to feeling of injustice among young European Muslims wasn't confirmed at all (the only exception was the French case, but the differences were not that huge anyway). The research is an important evidence based contribution to contemporary debate about possibilities and limitation of European multiculturalism.

Book and journal presentation and display were part of the congress program too. English issues of the Czech journal *Orbis scholae* were promoted on behalf on it too. Pretty inspiring and fruitful was a panel of comparative education journal editors. Refreshing events were parallel documentary movies presentations focusing on educational problems in Turkey and other countries too.

Special occasion was a panel dedicated to the 40th WCCES anniversary. It focused on the most important milestones in the history of WCCES. Ex-presidents Mark Bray, Anne Hickling Hudson, Vandra Masemann nad Ervin Epstein gave their speech too and Eliška Walterová reminded everybody about the 8th congress held in Prague in 1992. The WCCES has got 38 members who are part of 29 national and sub-national societies, 7 regional associations (European, American, Asian, Mediterranean, Scandinavian, Australian and Arab Gulf as a new one) which fully covers all the world continents.

Karel Černý and Eliška Walterová

PREVIOUS ISSUES

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Orbis scholae 1/2007

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Orbis scholae 2/2007

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Guest editors: Eliška Walterová & David Greger

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