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Open issue: Introduction

Anders Hallqvist and *Fredrik Sandberg*

I n the third issue of Confero we received contributions in re-sponse to an open call for papers. This issue included essays on the topics of liberal education and *bildung*, the teaching profession and its current conditions and political mobilization in adult education. In line with the interdisciplinary focus, essay-istic scope and social critical position of Confero, we present in this issue a variety of papers contributing to such subjects. Two contributions engage with the concept of bildung, but in quite different ways.

Ronny Ambjörnsson attempts to characterize Ellen Key's educa-tional vision and, more precisely, the concept of bildung as it was understood and presented by Key. Ambjörnsson places Key in the European intellectual tradition. She was, Ambjörnsson argues, a European intellectual in the best meaning of the word, and one of the last people in Swedish cultural history for whom the whole European tradition of ideas was real. Key often associated her-self, where education was concerned, with traditions that had roots in other times. Thus in order to properly understand Ellen Key we must learn to understand the writers and philosophical traditions of the age in which she lived, as well as thinkers of earlier times, such as Goethe, Rousseau and Montaigne. How-ever, as the idea traditions in which Key believed are central in the history of ideas in the Western world, we must also learn to understand these traditions in order to understand our own time.

While Ambjörnsson's main effort looks backward, Bernt Gustavsson's mission is to look forward, attempting to trace the recent changes and developments of the bildung concept. Gustavsson argues that a more inclusive concept of bildung is about to emerge, as its classical form has been criticised for being too exclusive. Above all, Gustavsson wants to point out a tendency or movement towards a global concept of bildung. The author calls attention to similarities between postcolonial thought and the various interpreters of the bildung concept, aiming at synthesizing a variety of contributions including both ancient and modern philosophers and "world literature" writers.

In tracing the intellectual history of the concept, Gustavsson not only reviews different interpretations aiming at convergence, but takes a stand and makes suggestions regarding the proper one (using value statements such as "wise" and "fruitful"). Thus, there should be a "balance" between on the one hand bildung as a free, endless process and on the other bildung as the ideally educated man. However, the main idea of the paper concerns another balance, that between universalism and particularism. Using the balance, or rather the tension between the two, Gustavsson tries to widen the concept of bildung: "Read in a hermeneutic tradition of transposing the particular to the universal, the understanding of bildung can be widened if it is related to other parts of the world".

Marcela Milana analyses UNESCO as a global actor through a global polity perspective. The focus is on political mobilisation. From her adopted perspective she argues for three modes of mobilization in adult education: landmarking, brokering and framing. Her paper stands out in its recognition that UNESCO, she argues, has both intellectually and conceptually contributed to the production of an explicit adult educational ontology. Such processes, however, overshadow processes where UNESCO has mobilized political will across a broad set of actors, when it comes to pursuing a global agenda in adult education. It is with an eye on these processes that she suggests that three modes of mobilization can be elicited. Such an analysis draws attention to the ways a shared past in adult education can be co-constructed

(landmarking) and how a viable future can be envisioned (bro-kering) through interactions between UNESCO and other polit-ical actors. This led to the creation of specific standard setting and monitoring instruments, in an attempt to produce material changes (framing) in adult education. She concludes that such an analysis calls for further investigations that, by incorporating multisite and multi-actor perspectives, can extend our knowl-edge about these processes as well as about the materiality of the changes they are (or are not) able to produce.

Kane Xavier Faucher analyses how public universities are under pressure to adopt more neoliberal practices. He argues that this has led to a variety of challenging consequences for contract fac-ulty. He argues that the enduring plight of contract academics must be addressed, and action cannot be deferred until there is an enforced policy for suitable data collection, as this may never ma-terialize. Although it is essential that data be collected, the com-plex and differentiated nature of the Canadian university sector presents several major obstacles that may not be overcome with-out a strong national strategy. He argues that union participation that is inclusive and representative of all faculty rank interests not only promotes solidarity, but also may work to diminish the more subjective feelings of alienation among a credentialed, pro-fessional, and arguably essential labour force. It cannot be stated that the current political and economic conditions have caused the "adjunct crisis," but that university administration respons-es are to blame. The preliminary solutions tendered in his piece are an attempt to reframe the discussion of academic labour that values the human inputs as primary over the economic concerns. Dispelling myths and misperceptions about contract academics, and among them, may serve to be an initial step toward eliminat-ing one of the most significant obstacles to the improvement of working conditions, which is alienation.

Ott and Mirjam Puumeister are concerned with the changing role of the teacher in the Estonian society. They do not concentrate on the educational system as a whole, but on one specific and crucial element in this apparatus, i.e. the teacher. Their concern is to understand the teacher as an actor in power relations. In

the analysis they make use of the concepts of surveillance and sousveillance practices. They conclude that the position of the teacher in Estonian society is far from that of a political agent, or, in other terms, a socially influential subject. Instead, the teacher is a public servant who is obligated to produce individuals capable of economic innovation. If, indeed, the teacher's position and reputation is to 'improve', it cannot be done through these established practices that fix his or her position. It would, instead, be necessary to dismantle and reconfigure the social practices of power that constitute the currently dominant position of truthful knowledge.

We hope these papers will promote further discussion and we invite you as readers to take part in this deliberation in coming issues of Confero. We encourage readers to contribute to the ongoing debate concerning education and social criticism, and in doing so take up new interesting themes and challenges that are in need of scrutiny.

The figure of the teacher in Estonian school discourse

Ott Puumeister and *Mirjam Puumeister*

The article concerns itself with the figure of the teacher in Estonian society. We do not concentrate on the educational system as a whole, but on one specific and crucial element in this apparatus – the teacher. We begin by offering a brief historical overview of the conditions of pedagogues in the 20th century before moving on to describe the adoption of neo-liberal free market policies since the 1990s and the effects these policies had and still have on education. Our main concern is to understand the teacher as an actor in power relations; to achieve this understanding we have selected as our examples 1) surveillance techniques in school environment that have direct relations to the state and the market; and 2) the 2012 educational workers' strike that made it quite clear that the teachers have been fixed to a position of wage workers. The overall and more abstract aim of the paper is to think about the social role of the teacher in Estonia.

Keywords: neo-liberal school; sousveillance-surveillance; educational policy; power relations

Introduction

The educational system – as one subsystem in culture and society as a whole – is regarded as one of the most important systems of production and reproduction of cultural, social and economic values. It is, at one and the same time, a site of (future) innovation and preservation. The word future ought to be taken out of

brackets, in fact, because the subjects that are being formed in and that emerge from the educational system are, literally, "our future" – those who will give shape to a world that we will inhabit in a few decades. In what follows, we will not deal directly with the process of this production of the future (through constant reproduction of current values). Instead, we will concentrate on one specific and crucial figure in the operation of this apparatus – the teacher.

However, formal education does not simply mean the complex of schools-teachers-students. We can see this clearly from Estonian state budget of 2014: the amount of funds assigned to education is 205.9 million Euros which must also be used to support 1) the training of pre-school teachers; 2) student homes; 3) prison and hospital education; 4) the integration of new immigrants; 5) the augmentation of wages in language immersion classes; and 6) the teaching of Estonian in Russian language schools.[1] The educational system, then, is far broader than simply schooling. We, however, limit our analysis strictly to what we may call "school discourse"; we will not deal with the educational system as a whole but with statements situated in a specific discourse. This means also that we will not engage in any kind of ethnography, we will not concentrate on individual subjects; instead, we will concern ourselves with meaning-making surrounding and, in a way, constructing the figure of the teacher. A *figure* is, precisely, a meaningful unit present in socio-cultural space and time; the figure is an existent multiplicity of meaning-processes and elements. We can say that our approach is semiotic.

We are interested in a discursive formation that places the teacher in the service of the neo-liberal market as a service provider who is responsible of fulfilling the needs of 1) the students, 2) the market, and 3) the state. Although *needs* are the basic and fundamental concept here, we will not concentrate on what exactly those needs are (although we cannot avoid touching upon them); instead, we are interested in the mechanisms that are designed

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[1] Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia. http://www.fin.ee/ hariduskulude-toetuse-jaotuspohimotted [Retrieved 7 May 2014]

to insure the fulfillment of those needs. In other words, we will consider the surveillance mechanisms concerning the figure of the teacher. Our main concern, then, is not the (re)production of values nor the creation of needs but the teacher who is seen as a social and cultural actor who must achieve 1) the (re)production of values in a culture and 2) the fulfillment of needs in a society by shaping and responding to the students.

For these purposes we shall 1) give a brief overview of the principles of schooling in Estonia over time and see how they relate to the principles of neo-liberal governance; 2) turn to (decentralized) surveillance techniques that position the teacher in a space of constant visibility; and 3) consider the figure of the teacher in Estonian society on the basis of the educational workers' strike in 2012. This movement from general principles to specific events helps us see the (potential) influence of the teacher in our society and culture and ask if the teacher could, under current conditions, be anything other than a service provider for the students and the market. During the text the reader should thus bear in mind the problem that arose rather sharply during the above-mentioned strike: is the teacher capable of attaining a position that would be something other than a wage worker? Is the current figure of the teacher capable of politics; is the figure of the teacher capable of becoming a political subject? 'Politics' and 'political subject' should here be taken in the sense given to them by Jacques Rancière: the first signifies the production of new relations and subjectivities in a society while the latter signifies an actor capable of producing this new that has the power to transform social relations.[2] The further and more abstract aim of the paper, then, is to consider the paradigm of governance or management against the action of politics as described by Jacques Rancière. In this way, we will introduce to each other a specifically Estonian context and the theoretical writings of current critical political philosophy.

But first, in order to create some context for our analysis, let us give a brief overview of the situation of pedagogues since 1918.

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[2] Rancière, 1995

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A brief overview of the history of Estonian general education (1918–1991)

We will take as our point of departure the time of the first Republic of Estonia, from 1918 to 1940. This was the period that saw the development of Estonian educational system as such, that is, the emergence of an educational system specific to the independent nation state. People involved in setting up the system were also active in the National Awakening and so it was to be expected that schooling was built on national and patriotic values. High school teachers were mostly, during the first years of independence, young males (aged 20–32).[3] The teachers had extremely various backgrounds: Russian army, Baltic German clergymen, etc.[4] The main thing to note here is that teachers were not strictly confined to the school but were active participants in and organizers of social life. In 1933, for example, during the 11th Teachers' Congress, the teachers demanded that the government obey strictly democratic laws and rules.[5] Thus they were also politically *engaged*. In the Soviet period, however, we can see that the teachers will become politically *used*.

In the beginning of the 1940s Estonia experienced occupation from both Germany and Soviet Union. This meant an extreme upset for the educational system, as both the Germans and Russians restructured the collective of teachers according to their own needs. For example, in 1940, during the first Soviet occupation, the most dangerous groups of society were considered to be officers and teachers; 10–13% of the latter were deported, arrested or killed, and a considerable amount escaped to the West.[6] In consequence of these repressions, the percentage of non-qualified and female teachers increased.[7]

With the second Soviet occupation which lasted until 1991 Estonian teachers experienced increasing ideological pressure: their

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[3] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2001:71
[4] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2001:77
[5] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2001:100
[6] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2007:305
[7] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2007:79

political convictions were placed on the foreground and they were not allowed to be politically indifferent or passive.[8] In addition to this, data of the teachers and their relatives' activity during the period of independence and of war were placed under scrutiny. In a letter written in 1950 to Iosif Stalin it was confirmed that during the last three years 1022 teachers were let go on political grounds.[9] In addition to the release, relocation and arrest, the Communist Party strove to gain foothold amongst educational workers: if in 1946 there was only 82 communists among the teachers, then in 1952 we can already count 482.[10] In other words, the teacher became responsible for political and ideological upbringing.[11] The first resistance to this political usage can be noticed during the Khrushchev Thaw when repression and political pressure gave a little way, and teachers were able to express that they were no longer content with the role of "state functionary".[12]

During the 1980s, the period of the weakening of the Soviet Union, the teachers became one of the first organized professional unions of intelligentsia to act against the state and for the liberation or independence of Estonia. To take some concrete examples, they resisted the importing of Soviet teachers, and acted towards the unification of educational programs between Russian and Estonian language schools.[13] Despite constant political pressure, then, the teachers were able to organize and form at least some kind of localized resistance to Soviet ideological expansions and intensifications.

The liberation from the Soviet Union involved also the 'liberalization' of Estonian society as a whole – a process to which we shall

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[8] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2007:304
[9] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2007:310
[10] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2007:311
[11] We cannot possibly go into detail here, so we hope that our schematic remarks will give the reader at least some picture of state of affairs during the Soviet era.
[12] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2007:337–338
[13] Karjahärm and Sirk, 2007:340

turn next in order to approach more thoroughly the conditions under which the teacher finds itself.

Liberalism, neo-liberalism and the Estonian educational system

The collapse of the Soviet Union brought about significant changes in Estonian society in general: the development of democratic institutions, the adoption of free-market economy, extensive privatization. The principles of governance imported from Western Europe were seen as liberating in themselves just because they enabled to oppose to and get rid of the Soviet institutions and practices. A liberal 'economic utopia' was born that aimed to govern the economy without intervention.[14] The liberalization of economy was seen as correlative to the independence of the state itself; the emergence from the regime of socialist intervention equaled the liberation of social relations. "Being a liberal meant that one was an anti-communist and anti-communists were (and still are) the only true Estonians."[15]

When the goal was to reach the economic level of Western and Northern Europe, one had to give free reign to the market that according to Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant signifies freedom, openness, flexibility, self-transformation, novelty, growth, individualism, diversity, and democracy.[16] Estonia had to open itself up to the global market. Of course, as Chantal Mouffe has pointed out, there is "no necessary relation between" the distinct traditions of liberalism and democracy, the first being constituted by "the rule of law, the defense of human rights and the respect of individual liberty," and the latter "whose main ideas are those of equality, identity between governing and governed and popular sovereignty."[17] The principal tension, then, can be found between the interplay of liberty and equality. In democratic liberalism, equality is supposed to be guaranteed by liberty, or, more exactly,

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[14] Kattel, 2013:390
[15] Saarts, 2007
[16] Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001:5
[17] Mouffe, 2000:3

by the freedom of the market. Democracy is achievable through non-governance.

And this was exactly the strategy adopted by Estonian government in the early 1990s. This period in Estonian society and education has even been called classical liberalist[18] in that it presupposed a strict withdrawal of state institutions.[19] The dismantling of socialist intervention was seen as possible only through unlimited freedom. But we have to keep in mind here, as Michel Foucault reminds us, that already for the physiocrats, this 'freedom' did not mean individual freedom: government is limited "by the evidence of economic analysis which it knows has to be respected."[20]

Liberal freedom does *not* equal individual freedom, it is the liberty of the market, this quasi-natural subject-object within which we must live in today's world, because, as Deleuze and Guattari tell us, there are no exterior limits to capitalism, it is itself the exterior limit to society.[21] Market economy is the limit to social equality and not its presupposition. We can see this clearly in newly independent Estonia, where education became the principal means to compete successfully on the job market; education became one of the most important means in a fight against unemployment that was increasing rapidly.[22] Thus, education and the market economy were placed in an interdependent relationship. When in the Soviet era schooling served mostly ideological pur-

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[18] Thorsen and Lie, 2006:5: "Whereas "classical" or "economic" liberals favor *laissez-faire* economic policies because it is thought that they lead to more freedom and real democracy, modern liberals tend to claim that this analysis is inadequate and misleading, and that the state must play a significant role in the economy, if the most basic liberal goals and purposes are to be made into reality."

[19] EHDR, 2011:97

[20] Foucault, 2008:61–62

[21] Deleuze and Guattari, 2000:230–231: "If capitalism is the exterior limit of all societies, this is because capitalism for its part has no exterior limit, but only an interior limit that is capital itself and that it does not encounter, but reproduces by always displacing it." We can think here of the global effect of the market economy from which no subject in the world can be thrown out; excluded, yes, but then left with no possibility of economic activity.

[22] Jõgi *et al.*, 2008:14

poses, the 1990s started to accentuate strictly economic principles.[23]

Characteristic of what is called the second period (from the mid-1990s) of independent Estonia's educational system is exactly this realization, and thus the "return of the state": "This was the period when compulsory state exams for secondary school graduates were introduced, the Examination and Qualification Centre and the Qualification Authority were established [...] Financing tools, as well as quality control measures, were utilized more decisively [...]"[24] This regulation of curricula and financing should not, however, be understood as the regulation *of* the market, but, instead, regulation *for* the market.

The revitalization of liberal ideas in the 20th century entailed a kind of reversal in which the state acquired a positive role in relation to the market:

> [F]or neo-liberal perspectives, the end goals of freedom, choice, consumer sovereignty, competition and individual initiative, as well as those of compliance and obedience, must be constructions of the state acting now in its positive role through the development of the techniques of *auditing, accounting* and *management.*[25]

Characteristic of (especially American) neo-liberalism is thus the (re)structuration or redefinition of "the social sphere altogether, so that the economy was no longer one domain among others but rather embraced all areas of human action [...]"[26] This grip by the economic sphere can also be seen in the case of education, which is understood as the fundamental basis of our contemporary economy, the 'knowledge-based economy'. The knowledge-based economy presupposes the openness of the educational system in

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[23] Of course, we are not talking about a non-ideological system here. It is clear that the first years of independence were strictly anti-Soviet in nature, and the school system promoted strictly Western values. This can be seen in the fact that Russian was no longer compulsory, but were pushed to the position of second language behind English and on the same position as German.

[24] EHDR, 2011:97

[25] Olssen and Michaels, 2005:315

[26] Vestergaard, 2009:206

that it should be intertwined with the economic sphere; and, in fact, every subsystem must be flexible and limited only by the flow of capital. As Gilles Deleuze says, "one is never finished with anything – the corporation, the educational system, the armed services being metastable states coexisting in one and the same modulation, like a universal system of deformation."[27]

Contemporary societies are experiencing the dissolution of institutional boundaries. OECD economies have experienced a rapid transformation from industrial to 'knowledge-based systems' in which lifelong learning and innovation are central. They are asking questions how to ensure high quality, efficient, equitable and innovative education. We can say that, in some sense, OECD is hijacking John Dewey's notion of lifelong learning (*education is development – is life – is growing*). Dewey, of course, was concentrating on individual development and his treatment of lifelong learning was somewhat tautological: the educational process has no end beyond itself.[28] OECD channels, however, this individual development "for itself" into the dynamics of the job market (as Europe's population is ageing, the job market needs *everyone's* involvement). Dewey's notion of individual development is transformed into perpetual training that is a key pillar of a strong knowledge economy.

The concept of 'knowledge-based economy' is central to the third period of Estonian educational institutions which arrived when Estonia joined the European Union in 2004 and can be called "networking with Europe".[29] Knowledge production was – and still is – subjected to constant surveillance in the form of tests, international comparisons, quality control, etc. Again, when we talk about knowledge-based economy, we should not think that economic activity is guided or directed by educational institutions; exactly the opposite is the case: the success of educational institutions is measured by their (potential) profit and produced (human) capital. Educational institutions must contribute to the

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[27] Deleuze, 1992:5
[28] Dewey, 2004
[29] EHDR, 2011:98

production of valuable knowledge through which the economic field must innovate itself. A good education is the basis of state competitiveness and the key to its economic sustainability.[30]

The question we should ask here is: what form should the educational system acquire, and what is the role of the teacher in this system and its institutions? It has, quite often enough, been suggested that the teacher has become a public servant in an institution resembling more and more a business corporation.[31] The student-teacher relationship has evolved into one of between the customer and the service provider, the latter being responsible for fulfilling the former's needs and complying with his or her interests.

One of the techniques of power where this relationship finds its expression is that of surveillance. The techniques and practices of surveillance used to measure the success or failure of educational institutions are mostly directed at measuring the performance of teachers (especially how they manage to prepare students for national and international exams).[32] Surveillance techniques are one of the most important manifestations of that which Michel Foucault has called productive power, as opposed to repressive or prohibitive.[33] Surveillance techniques and technologies, then, insure the production of the correct behaviour for the market and the state; in other words, they are formative of social subjects and their conduct. And this is why they offer an excellent example on how the figure of the teacher is positioned and formed in relation to the market and the state. Concentrating on surveillance, we can see what kind of conduct is expected of the figure named teacher – how it fits into the larger social field.

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[30] EHDR, 2013:27

[31] Pener, 2010. http://www.ekspress.ee/news/arvamus/arvamus/ramo-pener-opetaja-klienditeenindaja-ariettevottes.d?id=35356325 [Retrieved 31 October 2013]

[32] One could, of course, make an objection here that the measurement of exam results are directed to the performance of the students; but, it is, in fact, the teacher who will get the credit or the blame for these results; it is the teacher's performance that will have to be *modified* according to these results if necessary.

[33] Foucault, 1978

Surveillance in the school environment

Surveillance has mostly to do with 'scientific' analysis of the behavior of a population. This is exactly the point that Michel Foucault wished to make in his famous book *Discipline and Punish* where he showed that behind the apparent rationale of punishment lie the dreams of a well-ordered, scientifically managed, and transparent – and thus, just – society.[34] 'Panopticism' refers to a rationality of government that is based on methods of observation which aim to reveal the truth of the human being – render him or her transparent and unearth his or her inner mechanisms.

Bureaucracy – the accumulation of documents, the documentation of every action – should be understood within the framework of scientific management which aims to make everything not only visible but *accountable*. Every action must be taken into account in order to predict the patterns of behavior, in order to analyze, break down actions into smaller elements and reassemble them in a more efficient system. We already said that economic activity of a population is viewed in scientific terms and that any kind of social behavior can be (and often, is) viewed in the context of economic behavior.

Schooling is, of course, a privileged site for the analysis of efficiency. The school is supposed to be the production line of future producers-consumers, and most importantly, innovators. The school is the future of the knowledge-based economy. So, how to ensure the impeccable operation of this factory of knowledge and knowledgeable individuals all eager to pump some fresh blood into our crisis ridden society? Of course, one needs to implement more and more meticulous measurement tools, observation. We have already mentioned the integration of Estonian educational system in the European Union's measurement programs (most

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[34] Foucault, 1991

prominent of them is PISA);[35] but within Estonia the comparison of schools' exam results[36] is shaping the *market* of schooling.[37]

In 2013, the new Middle and High School Law[38] was adopted in Estonia which gives teachers more freedom, but what does this freedom entail? It obligates teachers to devise a concrete curriculum for each class they are teaching and thus, indirectly, they are made accountable for the results the students are able to achieve. The new catchword used in this case is 'formative assessment' which means that teachers will have to integrate their subject within the entire educational process (languages have to be integrated with geography, etc.). Teachers are given more 'creative freedom' in order to give each child the best education possible. But this creativity is contradictory to the external measurement techniques used to evaluate the teachers success in educating his or her students: external evaluation techniques rely extensively on quantitative tools.

From the viewpoint of the student, then, the teacher is evaluated *qualitatively* (schools and ministry of education uses student feedback as official observation methods); but from the viewpoint of the economic field the teacher's activity is measured *quantitatively* in the form of concrete numbers. To satisfy the needs of every client, but, in a way that is compatible with the interests dominating in the market. That is: the teacher must transform market interests into the needs of the students, while operating

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[35] The PISA test assesses the students' knowledge in three categories: functional reading, natural sciences and mathematics (Estonia has participated since 2006). Bertrand Russell's statement that "without analysis there can be no development" characterizes the ethos of the PISA test rather accurately: everything must be submitted to meticulous analysis in order to enhance its capacities for growth.

[36] Eesti koolide pingerida 2013. http://www.postimees.ee/export/ riigieksamid/2012/ [Retrieved 31 October 2013]

[37] The school market is a concept used to refer to the competition between schools. In Estonia schools get, for each student, a concrete sum of money, and the publication and prioritization of exam results shapes signifcantly which schools get the "brightest" students.

[38] Riigi Teataja, https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/102072012014 [Retrieved 8 May 2014]

under strict observation.[39] The teacher is at a crossing-point of different institutions: ministry, the media, the students, but also the school officials and parents. Vision as a fundamental form of the exercise of power in modern societies has become synonymous with domination.[40] The visibility of the teacher and his or her activities from various viewpoints subjugates him or her to institutionalized techniques of power.

But there is more to observation and visibility than simply institutionalized techniques of surveillance. We also have to account for a relatively new phenomenon that has been labeled 'sousveillance', that is, 'inverse surveillance', a "counter measure to organizational surveillance."[41] Gabriel Ganascia has described the coinage of the term:

> The word sousveillance is a neologism built on the model of "surveillance", the latter from French *sur*, meaning "over" and *veiller*, to "watch", and which literally means "watching from above". By analogy, sousveillance has been built to designate the act of watching (*veiller*) from below (*sous*). In the case of sousveillance, the *watchers* are socially below those who are watched, while in the case of surveillance it is the opposite, they are above.[42]

In the context of school environment, the term has commonly been used to describe student activity, but we would counter this statement by saying that we need to understand sousveillance rather as *non-institutional techniques and practices of observation* (that are mostly made possible by the development of portable technology). That is, sousveillance practices would mean a *decentralization* of surveillance networks, a destabilizing force contesting institutionalized forms of surveillance. It is our suggestion, then, that we do not understand sousveillance in a vertical

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[39] We will not deal here with the paradoxical simultaneous production of individuality and cultural homogeneity this conjunction of qualitative and quantitative values – which must always lead the qualitative to success in quantitative terms – brings about, since we are limiting our analysis to the figure of the teacher.

[40] Yar, 2003:260

[41] Mann; Nolan and Wellman, 2003:331

[42] Ganascia, 2010:5

manner (from bottom up) but in a horizontal one (observation of one's peers). One main characteristic of sousveillance is that it does not follow a strict rationality (as the panoptic surveillance) of ordering and structuring: when one student is recording the actions of another, s/he is not attempting to organize his or her environment in a more efficient manner.[43]

The practices of sousveillance acquire meaning, significance, and purpose only in relation to the institutionalized practices of surveillance. What do the acts of sousveillance *tell us about* the institutional order; how should the institution *react* to these acts; what kind of significance should non-institutional practices acquire in a highly institutionalized environment (for example, should they always be viewed as illegitimate)? In short, sousveillance is, for the institutional authority "a form of "reflectionism"" and a "philosophy and procedures of using technology to mirror and confront bureaucratic organizations."[44] It is not dependent on specific subjects but on the specific relationship to institutional authority.

Again, we must detach the notion of institutional authority from that of specific subjects: an institutionalized structure offers spaces to practice a concrete authority, to enact a concrete power relation. It is not the case that the teacher is always in the position of power in the school. As we have tried to argue, the teacher has here become rather a service provider. We could speak here of the *empowerment* of the students who have the institutional *obligation* to subject the teacher under observation.[45] The observation and measurement of teachers by the students is thus an institutionally authorized practice which emerged with the liberalization of schools.

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[43] This juxtaposition also indicates to a central characteristic of institutionalized actions: they always serve a certain purpose, which, however, does not refer back to the subject's will or consciousness, but to the mechanisms of institutional structuration activity (government).

[44] Mann; Nolan and Wellman, 2003:333

[45] We stress obligation because in many school, for example, the student feedback forms are made "voluntarily obligatory".

Ganascia, however, has suggested that contemporary societies allow much broader scope of non-institutional and decentralized practices of observation and that non-authorized groups are becoming more and more influential.[46] The authority of centralized knowledge is disappearing (for example, students have the possibility to search the Internet for answers and correct the teacher). The development of portable technology has significantly transformed the (potential) distribution of knowledge-based authority.[47] Since the logic of school authority is based on the legitimation of centralized knowledge and authority, the exploratory, border-crossing, and experimental activity of the students has revealed the school's authority as more fragile than we have imagined. We propose that the school is developing beyond the disciplinary logic of power.

This shift in power relations is most radically revealed, precisely, in the practices of sousveillance where students observe and record the actions of other students. The students' attitude towards the teacher as someone who is put in front of the class to serve them is expressed in an extreme manner in a video clip recorded at Tõstamaa high school which shows teenage boys taunting and even physically attacking a teacher.[48] We are not, of course, saying that this kind of behavior finds its *cause* in neo-liberal economic and social policies; it is, in any case, rather dubious to speak of cause-effect relationships in social analysis. We wish to stress, however, that what we are witnessing in this case is the extreme form of a power relation, a form that borders on violence, that is, in the passive subordination of one party to the other. We can see in the video that the teacher has no means available to confront the boys, he tries talking to them, but this can hardly

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[46] Ganascia, 2010:8

[47] The institutional use of observation technology (for example, CCTV) assumes an objective position and vision that operates on a rationality of disicplinarisation and prevention, the students' use of technology, however, is regarded as subjective, it results in a subjective gaze in the sense that it is not *rationalized* by institutional practices.

[48] The video was uploaded on 29.01.2013: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fd7iMwQOG9U

work at this point. As the principal of Tõstamaa high school also noted: "Everything we can do is talk, talk, and talk."[49]

The teachers' authority depends upon the students' believing in his or her authority. But the question here is not, of course, that teachers should be authorized to use violence against their students; it is a question, to use Chantal Mouffe's formulation, of maintaining the *agonistic* nature of power relations and keeping them from developing into *antagonistic* relations (those of war and violence).[50] In Michel Foucault's words, every power relation presupposes free subjects whose actions cannot be predicted with total certainty; subjects who are presumed to have certain agency.[51] In the present case the teacher is stripped of agency: he is reduced to passivity. And it is our argument that this passivity of the teacher is already produced on the symbolic or significational level: the teacher is excluded from the political community; s/he is stripped of his or her voice, the ability to speak. By subjugating the teacher to an immense amount of observational practices, s/he is given "more freedom" only formally: s/he still has to fulfill the needs of the market and its future actors (that in many cases reduces one to teach the students how to pass exams).

In Henry Giroux's words (already published in 1985), the teacher is seen as "a dedicated public servant reproducing the dominant culture in the interest of the common good."[52] And his or her role is to implement the policies of efficient management. And, if the teacher has as his or her goal to insure the production of already

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[49] Eesti Päevaleht, 2013. http://www.epl.ee/news/eesti/tostamaa-koolijuht-saame-ainult-raakida-muud-pole-meil-teha.d?id=65600514 [Retrieved 31 October 2013]

[50] Mouffe, 2000:13: "[...] I propose to distinguish between two forms of antagonism, antagonism proper – which takes place between enemies, that is, persons who have no common symbolic space – and what I call 'agonism', which is a different mode of manifestation of antagonism because it involves a relation not between enemies but between 'adversaries, adversaries being defined in a paradoxical way as 'friendly enemies, that is, persons who are friends because they share a common symbolic space but also enemies because they want to organize this common symbolic space in a different way."

[51] Foucault, 1982

[52] Giroux, 1985:22

defined needs, s/he is placed within a very specific framework of conduct from which s/he cannot step outside. This kind of framing of the goals and conduct of the teacher weighs heavily on his or her social and cultural position, to which we will turn in the next section, and ask: is there a possibility that the teacher would be able to step outside this framework of the service provider? In other words, is s/he capable of acting politically under current conditions?

The figure of the teacher and political potentiality

One of the goals set in the *Estonian Human Development Report 2013* was to "improve the reputation of the teacher."[53] But how is this reputation going to improve in the eyes of government and of teachers themselves? In Estonian public discourse, the question of the role and importance of the teacher has revolved mainly around strictly managerial problems. It is, however, important, to raise this problem as a political one.[54]

It has been stated quite often that neo-liberal education is de-politicizing in its nature, as it operates by "reframing political issues in economic terms through processes of commodification and by assuming and promoting a broad consensus in relation to this economizing agenda – in each case, backgrounding the struggle over values central to both policy and politics."[55] That is, the only *value* relevant to these policies is the economic output of the education system, a value that forces out of sight the question of "political subjectification", the "promotion of a kind of citizenship that is not merely about the reproduction of a predefined template but takes political agency seriously."[56] Here we are talking about the possibility of political agency on the part of teachers. But what does it mean to be a political agent?

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[53] EHDR, 2013
[54] We borrow the term 'political' from Jacques Rancière who conceives of it as the possibility of reworking and reconfiguring the currently dominant and fixed social relations. In this view, governance is not political but simply a practice of power.
[55] Clarke, 2012:298
[56] Biesta, 2009:42

Contemporary political philosopher Jacques Rancière has critically revived the Aristotelian idea that a political subject is the one who is able to speak, that is, whose speech is recognized as *intelligible* speech, and not just the expression of pain and pleasure. Rancière's critique, however, is targeted against this very distinction between the ones who can speak and the ones who can only produce unintelligible noise. While Aristotle equates political animals with humans, saying that man is "fit for politics to a fuller extent than any bee" insofar as he possesses *logos*.[57] The divide between animals and humans are made on the same grounds as that between political and non-political. Rancière tells us that this understanding enables us to regard some subjects in the social field as *inherently* incapable of political agency (less than humans proper). Politics, according to Rancière, has to be directed at this division and the exclusion based on this division. Politics, then, is "the struggle over the question of speech as such."[58]

In the case of education, we can say that those who possess *logos* are precisely those who conduct management and surveillance: policies are formed and decisions made on the basis of those *experts*, that is, those who can find more cost-effective modes of management. It is curious that the teacher is excluded from this field of experts: s/he is only given control on how to guide his or her class to *proper* results. We can see this exclusion clearly in the case of the 2012 strike of educational workers in Estonia. Strike has, in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, been one of the most fundamental activities of political protest and subjectification. But in this case it failed to make any significant impact on the public figure of the teacher. Our question is simply why? Why did the teachers not achieve the ability to speak as political agents?

The national strike of educational workers took place 7–9 March 2012 and the main demand of The Estonian Educational Personnel Union was that the wages of the teachers would be raised

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[57] Aristotle, 1995:3
[58] Rancière, 1995:43

20 per cent and that the wage of the junior teacher would rise to the minimum of 729, 82 EUR, that of the teacher to 772, 85 EUR, that of the senior teacher to 883, 28 EUR, and that of the teacher-supervisor to 1066, 66 EUR.[59] Of course, the Ministry of Education said immediately that these demands surpass the budget possibilities by a huge amount. At the same time the Ministry stated that "teachers must receive a fair wage."[60] But this "fair wage" must be in accordance with the state budget, with how much money the state has, which means simply that the demands cannot be met on purely *objective* grounds.

Objective grounds that have been established *based on knowledge*; that is, based on the efforts of financial experts (those who possess the *logos* of management). And these grounds can only be disputed, called into question by the *same* expert language. As the minister of finance at the time of the strike, Juhan Parts, stated, the way the teachers solve these kinds of problems "seems to me naïve."[61] These sorts of statements were common among members of government, statements that can be summed up in one single phrase: the teachers do not know what they are talking about.

And this was indeed the biggest problem: they did *not* know. Simply because, from the start, they adopted the language of numbers, a language that has been established as *the* language of neo-liberal policies. But it is a discourse occupied by very specific experts who indeed know what they are talking about. In short, grounding the strike mainly on the question of wages did not allow the teachers to contest this very discourse. As Jacques Rancière says, a strike can not be political if it demands solely the augmentation of wages; the strike as a political act must construct "a relation between things that have no relation."[62] The problem of the Estonian teachers strike was thus that it equated

[59] "Õpetajate streik", Delfi, http://www.delfi.ee/teemalehed/opetajate-streik [Retrieved 31 October 2013]
[60] Postimees, 2012. http://www.postimees.ee/748414/ministeerium-opetajate-noudmised-uletavad-kaugelt-eelarvevoimalusi [Retrieved 31 October 2013]
[61] ERR, 2012. http://uudised.err.ee/?06247808 [Retrieved 31 October 2013]
[62] Rancière, 1995:65

the role of the teacher in society with wages of the teacher: better wages equal a better position (and this is a relation already well established in our society). If the figure of the teacher would be transformed, it would not be possible *in the classroom* – the privileged space of speaking for the teacher. And this is especially important when we consider that the institutional and non-institutional authorities are making their way in the classroom and thus putting into doubt the teacher's capability to produce authoritative knowledge even inside these walls.

If, as the project for the Estonian Educational Strategy 2012–2020 states, one of the main goals in the development of education is to improve the reputation of the role of the teacher,[63] it cannot be based on giving the teacher more freedom in the space s/he is already recognized as the holder of *logos*. There is, we argue, no point in "rethinking the teacher as an intellectual" if his or her speech outside the classroom is not recognized as speech. Giving the teachers an increase in wages cannot, indeed, be regarded as the *problematization* of the role of the teacher who is regarded as a public servant. But the reaction of members of government to the strike was surprising in that it did not even consider the strike as a *legitimate* form of expression. Again, the minister of finance stated that his mother, also a teacher, "would never have gone on strike,"[64] implying that the social role of the teacher should *not* be problematized, that is, not turned into a political question. Indeed, the improvement of reputation is seen from a purely managerial viewpoint: if we increase wages, more people will want to become teachers, and thus people will find the job more "attractive".

The question, then, is how to break down the (virtual) walls of the classroom that limit the discourse the teacher has access, and the task is to understand that the teacher are not simply an actor within the confined space of the school but also in society as a whole. That is, how to interrupt the discourse of numbers, budgets and managerial policies, and make them listen, admit

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[63] Eesti hariduse, 2012
[64] ERR, 2012. http://uudised.err.ee/?06247808 [Retrieved 31 October 2013]

that there are other actors in the social world that can speak *politically*. How to barge in to the governmental experts "feast of rationality" and make them admit: "Upon my word and honor, I do not know any longer what I did say!"[65]

Concluding remarks

We have tried to trace out the figure of the teacher in the ways it is formed in (neo)liberal democratic governance. For this purpose we used the examples of surveillance and sousveillance practices that relate to and derive from this form of government. In addition, we utilized the public discourse surrounding the Estonian teachers' strike in 2012. We have come to the conclusion that the position of the teacher in Estonian society is far from that of a political agent, or, in other terms, a socially influential subject; instead, the teacher is a public servant who is obligated to produce individuals capable of economic innovation. If, indeed, the teacher's position and reputation should 'improve', it cannot be done through these established practices that fix his or her position. It would, instead, be necessary to dismantle and reconfigure the social practices of power that constitute the currently dominant position of truthful knowledge.

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[65] Plato, 2008:147

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Alienation and Precarious Contract Academic Staff in the Age of Neoliberalism

Kane Xavier Faucher

"They's a big son-of-a-bitch of a peach orchard I worked in. Takes nine men all the year roun'…Takes three thousan' men for two weeks when them peaches is ripe. Got to have 'em or them peaches'll rot. So what do they do? They send out han'bills all over hell. They need three thousan', an' they get six thousan'. They get them men for what they wanta pay. If ya don't wanta take what they pay, goddamn it, they's a thousan' men waitin' for your job." (Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* 218).

"There are no bad jobs"
– Canadian Finance Minister Jim Flaherty

Precarious academic labour is victim to forces of neoliberalization of the institution that naturalizes "competitiveness" and "efficiency" according to an almost mystic or transcendent understanding of economy that is self-actualizing and axiomatic in nature. This article will attempt to provide a brief survey of the precarious academic labour from in the Canadian context, subsequently assess this on the basis of alienation, and furnish a few possible solutions.

As public universities are under pressure to adopt more neoliberal practices with respect to operations and labour relations, the increase of the casual labour force (marketed as "flexible employment") has led to a variety of challenging consequences for contract faculty (hereafter named CAS, or "contract academ-

ic staff"). Internally these include: a divide and rule strategy by administration at the level of collective bargaining that becomes a source of division within union constituencies that pit the interests of tenure-track and tenured faculty against contract faculty where both bargaining units are combined rather than separate, a larger burden of teaching responsibilities placed upon contract faculty to absorb enrollment expansion policies, and the peripheralization of contract labour to insulate academic units from budgetary shocks. Externally these include: the tendency to characterize in the public press the concerns of academic labour in general as one indexed on unearned entitlement, or otherwise employing artful concealment of the real numbers of contract faculty currently relied upon by Canadian universities. What may further exacerbate these consequences of labour precariousness may partially be indexed on the possibly outdated policies associated with the hiring process, and possibly in some cases an institutionalized bias against contract faculty to achieve higher visibility and representation due to chronic and potentially harmful misperceptions that contract faculty are second-rate academics – a perception that lacks any empirical study to grant it validity.

The optics are dissonant: insofar as it is simple to write off CAS as second-rate and not worthy of fair pay, departmental governance participation, and so forth, they are entrusted with large number of students – ostensibly the "customers" of the commodified university. There is no empirical evidence to support the assertion that CAS as a whole are less qualified to teach and do research at a level and quality commensurate with their tenured colleagues. In many cases, the limitations are institutionally structural and circumstantial: CAS may not be eligible to apply for major research grants that might improve their professional status, and research output may generally be lower (not in all cases) on account of heavier teaching duties and issues associated with access to appropriate resources for carrying out research. Pecuniary pressures may prompt CAS to take up more teaching duties at the expense of time devoted to research, the latter generally being of more weight in being considered for more secure positions. However, research output is not a guarantee of progression from precarious to secure employment. Some longer-serving

CAS may have impressive research CVs, but are ritually denied secure employment for a multitude of reasons that may be strictly economic in nature. In addition, the level of competitiveness has arguably also increased: as one colleague said to this author, "the hiring committee did not care that I had published a book with a reputable academic press, and instead told me I should reapply once I've had a second one published." Whereas the hiring waves of the 1960s and 70s were a response to an acute shortage of faculty to meet the demand of a post-war population, a shortage of tenure track lines and an oversupply of qualified candidates will mean more competition.

The lack of adequate, nation-wide statistical data further exacerbates the issue by concealing the marginalization of an academic labour force by omission, which thus strengthens the hand of those who trivialize or dismiss the heavy reliance on part-time labour, if not abiding by a program of willful blindness to the issue. With the discontinuation of the Statistics Canada's UCASS system, the victim of budgetary constraint signals an end to the collection of data pertaining to the labour health of university full-time faculty. Although said numbers are still collected by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), which is distributed as part of their annual almanac, there is still a dearth of specific data on contract faculty. Those wishing to obtain a reliable picture of the socioeconomic realities facing full-time faculty would only have recourse to do so by obtaining these statistics via universities individually, and then go about the process of combining, collating, and interpreting the data provided – if each university complies or makes these data available. However, one of the weaknesses in the UCASS system was in not acquiring and compiling statistics for part-time faculty, also known as contract academic staff (CAS). The last comprehensive study on the issue of CAS in Canada was conducted by Indhu Rajagopal in 2001-2 in the book, *Hidden Academics*. Rajagopal's study had to rely in part on some statistical data, but also the goodwill of deans to volunteer said information if available. Since then, collection and distribution of statistics pertaining to CAS receives a failing grade. By contrast, in the US there are mechanisms and instruments in place that track these data. We now know that the

labour situation facing contingent faculty is particularly dire, if not more pronounced than that faced by their Canadian counterparts. We know, for example, that 75.5% (1.3 million out of 1.8 million) of the instructional workforce are non-tenure track academics sometimes earning a median of $2,700 per course, with a significant number of them teaching at multiple institutions (otherwise known as "freeway flyers" or "roads scholars"), and some of whom have no other recourse than to supplement their income using social assistance programs, with nearly 75% of contingent faculty respondents reporting that their labour for the university was the primary source of income, with over half reporting a personal income of under $45,000 per annum.[1]

By not collecting these data on contract faculty appointments, what we are left with is a black box scenario. Without reliable data, the legitimacy of the issue is impeded by a fundamental lack of evidential support, thus having to rely on more subjective criticism based on individual testimonies, anecdotes, and perceptions. [2]Without reliable statistical data available, this proves challenging in making the case to senior administrations and the public that CAS may be an exploitable industrial reserve army. Tenbrinke makes the case thus:

> The higher education sector in Ontario lacks shared, comparable, and publicly available data – data that is needed in order to make well-informed, evidence-based policy decisions. Obtaining better data on contract and part-time faculty in universities is an important first step in addressing the data gap. While we know that institutions rely increasingly on large numbers of contract and part-time faculty, we do not have sector-wide data that

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[1] Coalition on the Academic Workforce, 2013. According to the American Association of University Professors, since 1975, the number of tenured faculty dropped from 29.0% to 16.8% in 2009, while part-time faculty increased during this time from 24.0% to 41.1%. Cf. the AAUP chart here: http://www.aaup.org/NR/rdonlyres/7C3039DD-EF79-4E75-A20D-6F75BA01BE84/0/Trends.pdf

[2] This data gap has been addressed several times in the Canadian context, and occasionally in the US. One article of note that addresses this would be Linda Muzzin (2009) "Equity, Ethics, Academic Freedom and the Employment of Contingent Academics" in *Academic Matters*, May 2009, pp. 19–22.

would provide accurate numbers and allow for more complex analyses.[3]

The plight of the contract academic is all too familiar for those who have spent up to a decade or more effectively on the fringes of an institution that refuses to commit to them in any long-term way. In pursuit of professional credentials, the subsequent struggle to secure a full-time position rather than a series of precarious contracts can prove particularly demoralizing. Generally with but a few exceptions in Canada, contract academics face these grim realities:

1) Their teaching labour is compensated at a fraction of the comparable rate of their full-time, tenured colleagues. This may range from approximately $8,000 to $15,000 for full course equivalent pending institution, compared to up to $20,000 or more for tenured faculty, some of whom may have *less* teaching experience than CAS.

2) They are largely ineligible for benefits such as health and dental, and in some isolated instances can voluntary contribute to a pension fund. A chronic lack of access to health-based benefits among CAS who do not have partners with an appropriate benefits plan may arguably diminish the health and wellness of CAS members, which may in turn have a deleterious impact on work performance.

3) They may lack adequate access to resources such as office supplies or even office space; or, office space may be shared accommodations. This points to minimal institutional support.

4) The designation of "part-time" may be a misnomer when considering the full range of duties CAS perform, some of it entirely voluntary.

5) They generally lack access to competitive research grants and opportunities which thus continues the cycle of not being able to distinguish themselves as researchers.

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[3] Tenbrinke, 2013, n.p.

6) Hiring may be largely based on the quantitative scores de-
rived from student evaluations. This is problematic insofar as
no peer evaluation is performed, and that some CAS may be
inclined to inflate grades to appease students who now may
expect higher grades on account of a confluence of secondary
school grade inflation and higher tuition fees. Although this
may erode educational quality, some CAS feel it is the only
way to protect what little security they may possess as their
contracts may depend on maintaining a high evaluation score.[4]

Despite the grim outlook for CAS both in Canada and abroad, the
one advantage Canada may have over the US and other countries
is the fact that Canadian universities are among the most union-
ized sectors.[5] This places CAS in a unique position of potential
advantage. Although there are no statistics that tell the story of
CAS participation in faculty associations, one can infer that there
is some evidence of strong activity according to the creation of
part-time bargaining units at some institutions, or the creation
of separate unions entirely. Although this article will not address
the issue of advantages or disadvantages in having a separate
bargaining unit or one that is inclusive of all faculty ranks in sol-
idarity, it does remain a controversial issue, and it may actually
be preferable for CAS to make their concerns known and thus
represented in a faculty association that can be inclusive of all
ranks to prevent administrations from playing one side against
the other. What can be retained, however, is that Canadian uni-
versities may have the labour power to exert specific changes in

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[4] "Part-time professors do not fill out these forms. No one asks us what we
have done during the past year, nor what we plan to do in the future. This
may be because it is taken for granted that we do not do anything that
matters during the year, or that no one cares whether we do or not. The
university gets the benefit and credit for our professional activities, while
we get no credit or benefit at all." (Diane Huberman Arnold, http://www.
cautbulletin.ca/en_article.asp?articleid=2185). Such performance metrics
were steadily introduced under the guise of quality enhancement and New
Managerialism, but threaten to inject private sector values in public sector
environments that may not be suitably compatible unless universities
abdicate its critical and transformative roles and adopt a complete
commodification model whereby students are clients and faculty members
are operationalized as service delivery personnel.

[5] Dobbie and Robinson, 2008

working conditions as they have in the past, specifically in terms of workload, compensation, and promotion and tenure articles through the collective bargaining process.

Adoption of neoliberal practices has a direct impact on job precariousness and in exposing labour to market shocks,[6] with the inevitable outcome that already marginalized groups such as contract faculty find themselves increasingly vulnerable to budget-based reasons for non-renewal or a dearth of secure positions being created. As the ambient and trickle-down effects of provincial government fiscal restraint creates the conditions for unpredictable university funding, there is little incentive for cash-strapped universities to replace retiring faculty with the exception of hiring more contract employees to fill course gaps and meet program capacities. Generally speaking, most Canadian universities have adopted the "grow or die" diktat so that individual faculties and departments are intimidated by budgetary changes that earmark any funding to a performance metric that is entirely consumer-based; i.e., program expansion to increase student enrollment capacities so that an increased number of students function as a revenue driver in the form of tuition. Other budgetary levers are used to make up a shortfall in government subsidies, such as annual increases in tuition, a push toward "internationalization" to attract students from abroad, and a shift in what "counts" as research whereby full-time faculty members who do not obtain large-scale funding among a narrowing field of funding options (with decreased funding available among these agencies) may be "punished" with more teaching responsibilities. Moreover, there has been a considerably conspicuous absence of discussion surrounding succession planning to create more secure junior faculty positions to replace retiring faculty, thus presenting a major gap in the professoriate.

One of the perils of pressuring universities to adopt less reliance on contract academic staff would be the prospect of using productivity models that would attempt to maximize existing tenured resources by increasing workload. This is particularly of

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[6] Peck and Tickell, 2003; Fanelli and Thomas, 2011

issue where faculty associations are not as strong to resist an administration's push to radically alter the workload articles in a collective agreement. The new trend among some university administrations has been in promoting large team-based research, and such research programs favour the STEM disciplines over the humanities. Pressure "from above" at the federal and provincial levels of government also plays a strong role in steering the mission of universities, which has an appreciable impact on hiring practices.

The jobs-skills mismatch trope has been championed by the current Canadian government, and this plays to the broader context of the perceived value of postsecondary education. That is, a pervasive belief has been that too many students are graduating from "soft" programs such as those taught in the humanities who then cannot find employment. Currently, youth employment (defined as those aged 15–24 in Statistics Canada documents) is nearly twice the national average, hovering near 14%. The chorus from the public, some politicians, and business leaders has been that young people are not being specifically trained for what the labour market requires. Steadily, universities have been under pressure to provide more vocational and skills-training in curricula, thus taking on more of the roles once played by colleges and businesses that would provide this training. Governments at both the federal and provincial level continue to trumpet the need to steer students into programs that will lead to better employability in fields where there is perceived acute labour shortages. However, as past attempts by governments to manipulate or stream educational choices using a variety of levers indicate, such interventions are based on what the labour market may need now, and this is not always particularly useful as a predictive instrument as to what the labour market may require in four years' time once the cohort has graduated. Labour demand in key areas are always subject to change, thus making interventions potentially

parlous, if not also diminishing the autonomy of both students and universities.[7]

Entrenched Labour, Intensification, and False Solutions

The deepening and widening of global capital and the instruments of assuming a global market price in what can be seen as a commodification of academic delivery services forms part of the broader frame for labour entrenchment. The proletarianization of academic labour as a function of changes in industrial relations was initially recognized by Tom Wilson.[8] Coupled to this is the transformation of perceptions of labour from asset to liability, and the overall intensification of academic labour in general which has enabled the conditions of overload. The specific working conditions of the CAS can be understood in the discrete rather than continuous nature of their contingent employment, one that can be characterized as serialized or episodic labour. This is opposed to more secure forms of employment in academia where there is some continuity. This is of an integral piece to the academic mission in both structural and interactive terms: a dearth of continuous and secure positions poses challenges to curricular planning in a program (despite the counter-argument that ad hoc staffing's flexible options might be said to resolve this), and in developing and sustaining student-teacher interaction over a longer period. For CAS, much of their teaching can be considered serial insofar as they are "one-off" events that accumulate over time without sufficient institutional recognition. What instead accumulates is possibly a growing stigmatization of being a perpetual part-timer, as though this demonstrates a

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[7] This remains one of the enduring paradoxes associated with neoliberalism, something this author classifies as "selectively modified neoliberalism": inasmuch as the orthodox neoliberal ideological motive includes freer markets and less government intervention, it has been noted that in Canada especially governments at various levels have increased their intervention. At the provincial level, by using funding levers to compel universities under the guise of accountability and performance that align with fiscal restraint and the shift to jobs training; at the federal level, the pressures put on major research granting bodies to award grants to those whose research has some connection with commercializability.

[8] Wilson, 1991.

deficiency in the individual and not in the structural apparatus of the academic job market itself.

CAS are a highly detachable, disposable, segmented workforce – what Marx would call the industrial reserve army. They are "nomadic" in a non-romanticist sense; that is, they are not nomads in the eccentric and self-determining sense of Deleuze and Guattari's formulation of the nomad as having resisted the State's apparatus of capture.[9] Instead, they are "fugitives" within the system, attempting to find a reliable pathway to become part of a system that dismisses or rejects them. The very means by which CAS can accumulate academic capital is simply not available to those whose contracts limit them to teaching duties alone. Although working conditions for the general contract academic are not as severe as Marx reported with respect to the itinerant working population that were set up in ad hoc fashion in ramshackle cottages, there is still the sense that the academic reserve army is in effect a "mass of human material always ready for exploitation."[10] In the academic context, the institutions themselves are naturally disposed to the function of alienation. As Castoriadis says, this is achieved in two ways: the institutions sanction class division and rank, but also their own inertia binds classes into roles that serve these institutions and not the other way around.[11]

One of the enduring issues pertaining to academic labour at all ranks is an increased intensification of workloads:

> A punishing intensification of work has become an endemic feature of academic life. Again, serious discussion of this is hard to find either within or outside universities, yet it is impossible to spend any significant amount of time with academics without quickly gaining an impression of a profession overloaded to breaking point, as a consequence of the underfunded expansion of universities over the last two decades, combined with hyperinflation of what is demanded of academics, and an audit culture that, if it was once treated with scepticism, has now been almost perfectly internalized.[12]

[9] Deleuze and Guattari, 1987.
[10] Marx, 1967, p. 632.
[11] Castoriadis, 1987, p. 110.
[12] Gill, 2009, n.p.

Morale is doubtless jeopardized by work intensification without proportional compensation or any other means of recognition and acknowledgement. This is not restricted solely to contract academics, but has now spread to all faculty ranks as more university administrations are seeking to optimize efficiencies and, in some cases, implement private sector inspired performance metrics as an instrument of control or punishment in the name of accountability. Work intensification and lack of security are effectively partial causes to diminishing morale.

As a further systemic problem that weakens the contract faculty's bargaining power is the issue of labour oversupply; with more universities embracing expanded graduate school enrollments, graduate students in the completion phase of their degree may be tasked with sessional teaching duties. The existence of this ready-to-hand labour pool does not provide incentive for university administrations to create sustainable and secure faculty positions, let alone commit to contracts of longer duration, preferring to adopt "short-termism" as a flexible solution to ad hoc staffing issues, rotating this reserve labour force into courses when convenient. Generally, when corporations defend their use of contract labour (including variants of the zero-hours contracts used in England's National Health System, or more classical models of contract labour where the appointment already comes pre-loaded with the termination notice), they highlight only the most optimistic benefits of such arrangements, such as providing flexibility for both employer and employee. Zero-hour contracts commit the employee to be perpetually "on call" to deliver services with no obligation from an employer to provide work, and this is particularly patent in the assignment of courses where an academic worker may be given as little as a day's notice to prepare a course

for immediate delivery, or may find a course suddenly cancelled.[13] This is arguably a form of idealization of the labourer as someone who merely "steps in" en route to something different on a perpetually shifting landscape of serial mini-careers, and who does not want to be "fixed" to one position which would limit their future job prospects. Trumpeting the issue of flexibility as a global good (or, as the new reality of the global marketplace) serves the interests of the idealized labourer only, not those who seek a measure of security and stability in their employment, and who wish to be compensated at a rate commensurate with their training and experience. It also does not speak toward the development of reciprocal loyalty between employer and employee.

One of the chief battlegrounds with respect to the casualization and exploitation of CAS is language; that is, the rhetoric that divides the two terms of *flexible* and *contingent*. As Gullì notes, the economic value of relying on CAS is marketed as flexible is seen as a healthy financial and operational model by senior administrations, whereas the dehumanizing and alienating aspects of casualized academic labour is felt by CAS as pejoratively indexed on contingency whereby it is internalized as a descriptor of one's human labour value: "the way in which *contingent* is used with respect to contingent labour hides the fact that is labour is most of the time, if not always, not contingent at all" and is instead "a permanent feature of a given workplace."[14] From a basic premise of human dignity, it should be noted that CAS are more than just components that can be plugged in or removed at will. Senior administrations would need to acknowledge that relying on ad hoc contingency measures has quickly become the norm. So, inasmuch as administrations view flexibility positively and may provide anecdotes that some CAS see it in this way in

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[13] It should be noted that most collective agreements do have in place a "course cancellation stipend" which compensates an academic worker for course cancellations occurring either from the point of contract to before the course is scheduled, or during the course itself. These stipends may not be adequate in reflecting the actual labour time involved in course preparation, nor may it be sufficient if the course is cancelled at the last minute given that the academic worker would have already committed to the school and thus having already declined other offers.

[14] Gullì, 2009, pp. 9.

offering some degree of casual freedom, for a growing number of CAS who rely almost primarily on this form of employment with aspirations to gain secure employment as a full member of the professoriate, the term flexibility is synonymous with uncertainty, anxiety, and alienation.

Anecdotally, the number of courses taught by contract faculty may have reached the tipping point of fifty per cent in Canada; however, the difficulty in obtaining reliable statistical data from university administrations is a pernicious problem in order to transform anecdote into statistical fact. One cannot politically act on anecdotes alone. This lack of record-keeping or access ensures that contract faculty do not have stable data from which to launch arguments against the inequities of the system. Without these vital statistics being collected or accessible, CAS members cannot raise their visible profile in criticizing administration with the backing of statistical proof. The frequent invocation of *invisibility* as it pertains to CAS as a real condition of their experience is nested in the plain fact that CAS are becoming a majority on campus, and so their continued invisibility is not on the basis of numerical considerations, but due to institutional structures that engage passively or actively in willful blindness to the working conditions of CAS. The heavy reliance on CAS also presents a safety mechanism for full-time tenured faculty: "it could be argued that the stability of tenured faculty positions is functionally dependent on the existence of a sufficient number of flexible sessional and adjunct faculty. Without this flexible academic labour force, the stability of a segment of tenured professors would be threatened."[15] As stated above, it is this massive peripheral contingent of CAS that exist as a budget buffer, whereby it is the labour periphery that presupposes the centre.

Visibility for CAS can only be achieved through strong awareness campaigns and collective engagement to exert pressure on the institution. It is unlikely that any university advertising would boast of its heavy reliance on contract workers. There exist a plethora of institutionalized mechanisms that inhibit the full vis-

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[15] Bauder, 2006, p. 231.

ible realization of contract faculty. Inhibitory factors that may prevent the realization of full "class consciousness" among members of this constituency may fairly be indexed on fear or indifference, and that any gesture to agitate for better working conditions may result in passive punitive action such as non-renewal of contract. However, with a few isolated exceptions, mobilizing this constituency proves difficult for a variety of reasons that are endemic to the labour situation CAS find themselves in. The most toxic might be the perception of fear in being associated with a politically active CAS movement, for it may be believed that the employer takes notice of the activity and punishes accordingly. Equally toxic for a different reason would be apathy borne of resignation and a feeling of marginalization: the situation may be perceived as being so intransigent that there is little that the individual can do. From a more circumstantial standpoint, another issue is the nature of the contracts themselves that may limit the CAS member's available time on campus, or limits on being informed of any CAS-led movements for labour improvements. If one works in an environment that is alienating, where deeper involvement in university affairs is not encouraged, then the CAS member may simply stay in a withdrawn, resigned, or silent state. We must also acknowledge that CAS constitutes a very diverse membership,[16] including those who are professionals in established careers who teach a few courses on occasion, but this constituency – despite the convenience for administrations to believe are the majority of CAS – are not in fact the majority at all outside of the disciplines of law, medicine, or engineering.

At issue would be developing strategies to delegitimize the neoliberalization of the academic environment and harmonizing the vision of both management and labour with respect to constructing a conciliatory plan to ensure the security and sustainability of academic labour, but in such a way that such planning can move beyond merely formal rules that honour equality and potentiality. This would necessarily require collective buy-in to exert a counter-pressure that resists the further commodification of higher education. The failure of university administrators to find

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[16] Tuckman and Tuckman, 1981.

a satisfactory solution to what can be classified as systemic and chronic underemployment of its academic labour force is commonly attributed to external market pressures that have a considerable impact on budgetary resources. However, it may be noted that the call for "shared restraint" under the rubric of neoliberalist policies is not necessarily reflected by means of *equal* shared restraint, and thus under the aegis of providing "competitive salaries" to top administrators, a certain proportion of revenue is earmarked exclusively in the attraction and retention policies of universities for upper echelon administrative positions.[17] However, there is little to no attempt to apply retention policies with respect to casualized academic labour, nor are there any truly effective incentives to recognize long-standing employment and loyalty to the institution. In a service-centred economic model, academic labour is routinely devalued, and the "product" takes full precedence over the "producer." Although considered an entirely reasonable shift according to neoliberal advocates who believe the university should not be some special preserve insulated from the reality of economic oscillation and accountability, this does expose the university to the hostile climate of competitiveness which is indexed on market performance, which may not be in alignment with the initial mission of university education itself. In its place are new forms of top-down organizational power that extracts surplus value from both students and faculty who assume risk and responsibility, while upper administrations profit financially and by increased managerial power.

Willmott states that the organizational model has moved toward finding new ways of regulating academic production according to marketization pressures, and that funding sources are the last buffer to protect against full commodification.[18] The changes in

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[17] Succinctly expressed by Culum Cannally: "This process is often termed the "neoliberalization" of higher education by its critics and has resulted in universities taking on the feel and function of large for-profit corporations complete with highly-paid senior administrators who demand economic rather than humanistic justification for the actions of faculty." in Antipode, March 30, http://antipodefoundation.org/2012/03/30/intervention-wheres-our-agency-the-role-of-grading-in-the-neoliberalization-of-public-universities/

[18] Willmott, 1995.

the funding environment has empowered administrations and not faculty members.[19] There has also been growing concern that administrations, bowing to the pressures of accountability, have been pursuing new managerial tactics for imposing performance metrics on teaching and research without proper consultation with faculty.

Competitiveness, as naturalized rhetoric in the neoliberal discourse, splits two ways: on the upper end, this justifies paying higher salaries to administrators as a means of obtaining "top talent", whereas it means pitting a large pool of itinerant labour to compete for low paying jobs without the guarantee of security. As administrative and managerialist positions increase, and gainful jobs for faculty stay frozen or suffer retrenchment in new policies that shutter entire programs due to lack of marketability, one wonders where this logic will lead. One possible outcome will be an expanded pool of contract faculty labour performing the tasks of teaching in the push for higher enrollment. Once the current generation of tenured faculty (especially in disciplines that are not considered as economically viable) retire, the hope that new replacement full-time probationary and tenure-track positions will be created might prove unrealistic given that this may not align with the university's pursuit of "efficiencies" and reduction of "liabilities" as university administrations continue to pursue cost containment strategies according to a manufactured budgetary crisis that preaches austerity. It is precisely this "sea change" in perception that underlines neoliberal economic theory: the viewing of labour as liability and not an asset.

Two "solutions" have been advanced by cash-strapped universities and technological optimists. The first has been the welter of literature in praise of teaching-only streams, and the second "magic bullet" takes the form of a push to adopt more virtual teaching resources (such as MOOCs), which thereby reduce reliance on physical infrastructure building-starts or improvements,

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[19] An argument also made by Parker and Jary. "The McUniversity: Organization, Management and Academic Subjectivity." *Organization* 2.2 (1995): 319–338

this "virtualization" of academic teaching labour is seen as a viable cost containment strategy which may in itself remain blind to expensive up-front costs in the necessary computing infrastructure to support adequate course delivery. Yet, at the same time, many universities have not kept pace with the mounting concerns over intellectual property in terms of authoring and licensing agreements. The massive push toward digital solutions (such as MOOCs, blended learning, and flipped classrooms) may result in a radical reconfiguration of the professoriate, if not contributing to a shrinking of faculty labour. Although it is premature to make any solid predictions as to what the academic labour workforce will look like should an aggressively expanded digital curriculum is established outside of online-only institutions, faculty of all ranks would do well to be exceptionally leery about the motivations for adopting these methods (again, under the neoliberal umbrella of "choice" and "flexibility"), and the potential consequences of such a drastic change. We must here acknowledge that digital learning is not in itself culpable for any shifts in faculty complement or labour conditions per se, but in how top-down management chooses to roll out such policies. As digital learning options may be inevitably here to stay with plans to enhance digital course offerings in the future, any such implementation must ensure full faculty consultation and buy-in, ensuring that any changes positively impact the conditions of academic labour. For example, any move toward offering a few core, popular courses taught by celebrity academics should not be a justification for the effective demotion and de-skilling of less popular academics who might then find themselves hired simply as online discussion facilitators or assignment graders.

As for the teaching-only streams, this runs the very real risk of creating a two-tier system where only the very few and select will be granted the opportunity to perform research, while a preponderance of new academic labour will become entrenched in teaching-only positions among those of the CAS who may wish to pursue both avenues of activity. While this may be entirely suited for those disciplines that have a more vocational aspect, such "teaching-stream" positions might be complemented by paid time for pursuing analogous professional activities, such as

maintaining a professional credential or attending workshops and seminars in the faculty member's teaching area. However, if applied uniformly to all disciplines, this may imperil the academic mission on the basis of proper integration of teaching and research, as it neglects to acknowledge the generative dynamics of necessary interplay between the roles of teaching and research.[20] Although some CAS groups have advocated for the creation of stable and secure teaching-stream positions, this caters to one constituency of CAS who would prefer teaching duties instead of pursuing an active research practice. Should these positions be created at the exclusion of research-based positions, as is being considered at several Canadian universities and already in place at universities such as York, members of the CAS who would choose to pursue a more traditional appointment with the 40-40-20 formula (teaching, research, and service) may find no opportunities to pursue this. Teaching-only streams may create secure employment for a number of CAS, but it should be considered as complementary to a broader hiring initiative that facilitates broader CAS inclusion.

Alienation

Expansion of any business or corporatized institution generally requires drawing ever more from a labour market to provide the labour-power required to match the capacity of the indus-

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[20] see Farr, M. (November 3, 2008). "For teaching-only faculty, a controversial role." University Affairs http://www.universityaffairs.ca/those-who-can-teach.aspx. [Retrieved 10 September 2013]. In addition, those CAS with research aspirations are presented with the challenging pressures of juggling a heavy teaching load while simultaneously attempting to develop their research profiles through consistent high quality publications. Such demands, though not impossible, are not realistic.

try, while at the same time keeping costs low.[21] As Marx notes, this creates the need for a vast "reserve army" of wage-labour that can be employed or unemployed on an ad hoc basis.[22] When there is high demand, a proliferation of wage-labourers may be required, just as a reduction in demand will facilitate a discharge of this group. Yet, in the case of Canadian universities, enrollments have steadily inclined as an after-effect of both the baby boom and the baby boom echo, if not also on account of government initiatives to make university more "accessible" to more potential students. This is usually packaged as a "public good" as provincial governments strive toward meeting global benchmarks for highest proportion of an educated population. Others more cynically point out that increased access has devalued the university degree, making it the "new high school diploma," and thus a base requirement for the labour market. Despite a steady increase in student enrollment, secure and full-time faculty jobs have not kept pace. Instead, from a cost containment standpoint, governments, and the university administrations who generally comply with the former, have incentivized the "doing more with less," which may include decreasing labour liabilities by increasing class sizes or pursuing digital learning options that can be delivered to a broader student base.

Debord notes that any economic expansion is synonymous with the manufacturing of alienation.[23] So, too, does expansion in universities contribute to the alienation of labour in terms of production. The labour of CAS is entirely abstracted as commodi-

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[21] Expansion among university ranks appears to mirror that of the trends in broader class structure. Just as there has been an increase in managers and administrators in the private sector, the same can be said of Canadian universities as a whole. The increased reliance on under-waged part-time and contract workers in precarious employment situations holds equally true in both the private and public sector. In addition, the shrinking of the tenured professoriate due to retirements without replacement mirrors that of a shrinking middle class. This parallelism may demonstrate the fuller integration of the universities' financial situation and that of the national economic fate. The university thus becomes a reflective microcosm of the broader labour situation in Canada.

[22] Marx, 1967, p. 316.

[23] Debord, 2000, aph 32, n.p.

ty labour. Thus, too, when CAS cannot precisely identify what is alienating, or attempt to use the instruments of the system's alienation to combat alienation itself, this produces a false revolutionary instrument that achieves nothing. The "trick" would be in acquiring the means for development to fairly compete within the system *without* contributing to the continued alienation of contingent workers.

For a large proportion of contract faculty, there may be no viable and equitable access to the instruments of academic development. In addition, for those whose contract is restricted to solely teaching duties, research output (possibly diminished due to heavily compressed teaching loads) may not be in a position of marketability to apply for more secure academic positions. Issues of visibility may also be a problem among the precarious labour pool as they may lack access to sufficient office space, library privileges, and a lack of "hallway rapport" enjoyed by full-time faculty. Moreover, they may be blocked from participating in the academic life of the unit in not being able to sit on program committees or, if they are permitted, this is done on a voluntary basis without compensation. At the root of alienation is a perceived loss of identity. In occupying the role of CAS, there is a strong propensity to feel particularly contingent and thus dehumanized as little more than a teaching factotum.[24]

In contributing their labour power to the institution, CAS inadvertently empower the very apparatus that sustains the over-reliance on CAS. However, for many CAS just "quitting" is not a viable option, and any such measure would have to be collective in scope to have any effect. For, it might be noted that condition of precariousness may not be limited to the CAS member's status at a particular institution, but may extend to a generalized precariousness in relation to the broader labour market. As Guy Standing argues, increased emphasis on globalization has been the root cause of cementing this precarious social class as one of the fast-

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[24] It should be noted that there is a fundamental disagreement as to whether alienation is an objective and material construct (Marxism) or a subjective and psychological one.

est growing labour segments, and the perils of not addressing this growth may result in social disruption and violence.[25]

Addressing the aspects of alienation from a more subjective and thus psychological approach, Ylijoki[26] provides a useful typology for understanding CAS according to three predominant types that are aligned with perceptions of time:

1) Instant Living: focusing on the present task and ignoring the uncertain future, a form of capsularization which is easier to embrace when contracted tasks such as teaching load may be particularly heavy. This may encourage passivity in longer-term planning.

2) Multiple Futures: Bet-hedging on a variety of possible alternatives both inside and outside the university system. Their connection to the present is tentative. Wanderlust, always open to new opportunities. Thompson and McHugh attribute this to one of the four potential responses to identity loss in the workplace.[27]

3) Scheduled Future: a belief that by disciplined effort and strategic choices with respect to time use, the prospect of a career is something that can be planned for. Agency and autonomy over one's choices.

In all three "types" there is the stain of attendant alienation given that identity is subordinated to varying degrees of connectivity and belonging in the academic institution. Instant living is to separate oneself from the any considerations of past performance as identity-forming, and ignoring an orientation toward the future where potentialities may be capitalized because of an almost Stoic fear of disappointment. Multiple futures caters to the individualistic premise that one is a contingent, almost mercenary, worker who responds to a lack of commitment from an institution by reciprocation. And perhaps the most alienating of all would be the scheduled future type that labours under the illusion that the

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[25] Standing, 2011, p. 20.
[26] Ylijoki, 2010.
[27] Thompson and McHugh, 2002.

coveted positions are entirely attainable if proper planning is involved – and the sundry members of the CAS who have followed the perceived traditional path are testament to the plain fact that no amount of personal planning will change the academic labour market as a whole.

In all three types, there is the alienation that relates to multiple time registers. For example, the full realization of "adult" benchmarks may be deferred indefinitely due to a lack of secure employment, such as starting a family or home ownership. The broader societal narrative that holds these benchmarks as valued may exert a certain pressure on the CAS member, thus resulting in feelings of failure and deficiency whereby the broader sector's failures are internalized as personal failure. It is useful to understand the working conditions of CAS in terms of the triple register of alienation whereby contingent faculty may feel alienated from their own professional selves as "contingent" or "part-time" has the demoralizing effect of internalizing a feeling of deficiency, alienated from others of higher rank who may not see them as colleagues, and alienated from the department and/or university at large on account of having little to no means for significant participation in the life of said department and/or university. They may further feel alienation due to a prevailing cultural narrative that repeats the meritocratic mantra that diligent work, perseverance, and demonstrated excellence in performed tasks as a professional is a clear path to recognition and security. It can prove challenging and thus alienating for long-serving CAS to reconcile their strong efforts with a lack of advancement; as many CAS have opted for a longer educational apprenticeship during peak earning years, and possibly a long probationary period of performing instructional duties, lack of upward mobility into more secure academic positions can make the prospect of ever attaining them illusory and Sisyphean.

Assuming consistent high performance, at what defined point should a contingent and thus probationary member of the faculty be considered "good enough" for being granted a secure position? As this is not precisely defined, although the goal is fairly clear, the means by which to attain it remain ambiguous.

Instead, what CAS face is a form of perpetual entry-level position with no clear indicators for progression or promotion beyond, at some institutions, a modest salary grid based on accumulating seniority points based on experience. Long-serving CAS are also perpetually eligible to apply for tenure-track positions, yet may find themselves equally perpetually declined. This precipitates a kind of arresting function that further alienates the CAS through an act of deferred career gratification and retains the status quo of labour entrenchment with only the illusion of real progression and mobility. And, instead of upward mobility, the transformative aspect of modern labour sees ever more lateral mobility that is effectively segmented and short-term in nature. The "meaningful striving" that characterizes the activity of the non-alienated worker is not technically denied the CAS. Instead, where the objective of entering the secure professoriate resides is in an enclosure of *ideal potentiality*: the desired position and its privileges is out *there*, somewhere, and doing "the right things" despite the chronic adversity and challenges CAS face will somehow secure this through the usual adherence to the shibboleths of determination, discipline, and diligence. However, in reality, for many CAS it is a receding horizon if not a complete mirage. Unless clear provisions for transitioning CAS to more secure positions becomes institutionalized practice, selective interpretations of the economic situation will continue to dictate the alleged necessity of contingency hiring.

Following from a Post-Marxist standpoint, alienation is the result of a social relation, governed in part by both class and power structures. Alienation becomes a properly social *problem*. The social problem of alienation in the continued industrialization and proletarianization of education consigns the contract worker to a position of detachability. Furthermore, and perhaps more troubling, given that several contract academics possess the proper credentials on par with their tenured colleagues, their marginalization in teaching-only duties at a rate not commensurate with equity represents a squandering of potential resources, skills, and talents among this constituency. From the Marxist standpoint, the contract academic is alienated from the product of his or her labour (in this case, the educational "product"), and is unlike-

ly to have any control or say on the very processes involved in how they carry out their labour, when the labour is to take place (course scheduling), and in some cases the very tools they employ are dictated from above. The classrooms and the in-class technologies represent the physical tools that the contract academic does not own, and the more abstract tools such as curriculum (in some cases the course content itself), teaching materials, and so forth may also not technically belong to the contract academic. Moreover, the contract academic's labour functions as a benefit to budgetary constraints while still delivering much-needed courses that add to the revenue stream, and these savings assist in maintaining a department's commitment to its existing full-time faculty salary and benefits, if not also freeing up full-time faculty from teaching in order to pursue their research or the additional burdens of administrative work.

The contract academic is also thrust into alienating competition with others at their rank. Competition for these lower-waged and short-term positions can be quite fierce. This separation, alloyed with desperation to secure even short-term employment, can prove challenging in building solidarity.

Since any change in the mode and ownership of production must, in Marxist terms, precipitate a change in the social division of labour and the relationship between the worker and the product, the increasing "McDonaldization" of university education cannot do anything other than follow its economic course of alienating academic labour by treating it as a commodity. When decisions to shift the bulk of lecturing duties to contract academics takes place, and although this may be euphemistically packaged as a kind of probationary or apprenticeship method for accumulating experience, this is done according to the abstract quality of money; i.e., it is the budgetary situation that dictates the preferential reliance on precarious academic labour to answer contingencies. When the euphemisms of accumulated experience do not apply in cases when the contract academic has put in several years of lecturing duties, the rhetoric changes to characterize the CAS as somehow failing to distinguish themselves.

It should be noted that CAS labour differs from simple Marxist reification insofar as the performed function is not always repetitive as one might expect on an assembly line: a lecturer may have the autonomy to deliver a course in innovative ways. The problem is that such performative and/or content innovations remain invisible in most cases to all but the students. Quantitative performance metrics, such as student-supplied course evaluations, are collected by the employer and take the place of peer evaluation. The employer, deans, or hiring committee may intervene if the evaluations are low by simply not renewing the CAS worker. Strong student course evaluations are a necessary but not sufficient condition for future employment. If there are no meaningful mechanisms in place to recognize distinction in teaching, the CAS are effectively dehumanized. The analogy might be between a functioning machine and a CAS worker who maintains consistently strong teaching evaluations: notice is only paid when there is a drop in functionality.

Between the Church and the Factory

Reconciling two opposing views of the university and the context in which academics inhabit, proves challenging. On the one hand, the more classical model of universities is closer to that of a church with its ecclesiastical divisions of rank, whereby its academic labour force follows their "calling" in pursuing a life of teaching and research. On the other hand, built out of various pressures of the Post-Fordist economy, the university runs like a factory insofar as academic labour power is leveraged to one of the university's most essential products of delivering teaching services to its many "customers." In the factory context, contract academic labour is in many respects akin to Castells' idea of "re-programmable" labour insofar as this fragmented and mobile reserve army can be placed and replaced at will.

The welter of public opinion will continue to traffic in mythologies. Whenever the issue of university funding emerges in the public print, there is an overwhelming assumption that is based on the absolute claim of all faculty making large salaries for little work. As much as this is insulting to hard-working tenured

and tenure-track faculty who continue to be saddled with more administrative duties which erode their mission to teach and research, this also obfuscates the reality in the "trenches" of undergraduate teaching especially when nearly half the courses are taught by itinerant professionals with no security, inadequate compensation, lack of access to benefits, and no clear ladder mechanisms for career mobility. And, without reliable data on hand to make the case that contract faculty are being exploited by a university-as-corporation, there is little press coverage and thus little sympathy from the general public. Moreover, when administrations do not factor the considerations of its precarious and proletarianized academic labour class, this sets continuing precedent to conceal the concerns of this constituency from public view.

When a society is geared toward the belief that the only pursuits of value are those that are indexed on economic growth and development (narrowly construed), then the mission of academia itself is imperiled, dismissed as either a frivolous luxury or tacking to the current trend of broader public accountability in euphemistic language on the order of "innovation" and so forth that are generally indexed on transforming universities into job-preparation institutions. Aggrandized entitlement with respect to the turn in pandering to taxpayers as victims of "wasteful practices" can thus be appealed to by populist politicians eager to locate scapegoats and employ fear-mongering tactics that only distract from actual wasteful practices in the form of administrative bonuses. Anti-intellectualism, resistance to cultural and community empowerment practices, and the marketization of education as having value only according to extrinsic factors, all contribute to the policy initiatives of the day. The real losers in this scheme are the contract faculty, but so too are the tenured faculty who will be put upon by central administration by degrees to shift towards a vocational model for education that will no longer honour knowledge for knowledge's sake, nor grant value to intellectual and cultural pursuits with more affective and thus less tangible economic benefits. However, in a political climate that falsely dichotomizes academic freedom against economic concerns, academic freedom is denigrated as anti-freedom, this

freedom sanctified by a self-actualizing belief in a transcendent notion of economy and market logics.

Stratification and academic underclass

The massive restructuration of higher education institutions also functions in terms of restructuring the very relations within those institutions, employing an endocolonization of neoliberal rhetoric and policy. The spectacularity of power has its engine in the images that are produced that represent the goals and values of the institution itself, adapted in part to the perceived demands of the public and those who create public policy. In Debordian terms, we know that images dominate social relations, and so the nested image of the CAS as social relation preconditions their identity as a group. There is, for many CAS, the haunting image of a previous arrangement – the romantic illusions associated with meritocratic scholarship in being treated with respect and fairness, being rewarded for good work, and forms of recognition that may lead to career advancement – is at odds with the new image whereby commitment of CAS to the institution is unilateral yet expected; that is, commitment by any and all means through rigorous exertion and voluntary work is presented as the pathway to advancement, but there is rarely any reciprocity. Moving in one direction, emerging from the labour of CAS is a modified version of a gift economy, but in the opposite direction it is purely the instruments of neoliberal capitalism that dictate the labour relations.

Solutions

The nature of the problem of contingent academic workers as a function of alienation and commodification of labour is easily answered from a Marxist perspective: resolve the core sources of alienation, reject reifying influences and structures, and reverse the atomization of the contingent academic working class that alienates them from one another so as to seize the collective opportunity for re-humanization of their labour. Or, as Gullì's solution to exploitation as continuing practice would be to simply

eliminate the corporatization of the university.[28] Such structural overhauls may be too imposingly large to tackle individually, and would take a concerted, collective effort with a clear array of viable strategies and tactics.

Inasmuch as some university administrators may point to the negatives of tenure as protecting complacent workers who have a job for life, there is much to be said about employers committing to their employees in a fair and reasonable way in the spirit of reciprocity. An enfranchised faculty to whom the employer shows reasonable commitment will be more likely to commit in turn by good performance and loyalty. The *bellum omnium contra omnes* that adheres to promoting arch-individualism also carries the secondary effect of mistrust and fear that separates and alienates all academic workers. Moreover, initiatives such as Canadian Association of University Teachers' push for pro-rated pay for contract faculty (thus honouring the principle of equal pay for equal work) and Fair Employment Week are indicative that there are preliminary solutions at hand to raise awareness about the chronic issue of alienated and precarious academic labour. However, the obstacle is the disappointing record of university administrations in their failure to adopt these principles or in showing a collaborative willingness to address an issue that is arguably eroding the quality of educational institutions. A growing faculty complement of contract workers may, in fact, be a morale sink. At present, the University of Victoria currently has the best policies regarding labour equity and compensation for its CAS, yet it still falls just short of a more equitable system of treatment.

University administrations will be quick to point out the economic challenges and pressures in maintaining high quality education during a time of decreasing funds and expanding enrollments. It is under these conditions that they will seek cost-containment or cost-cutting strategies to reign in budgets, and the most convenient and most vulnerable target would be non-tenured and non-tenure track faculty. However, it can be argued that educa-

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[28] Gullì, 2009.

tional quality will be undermined by the continued practice of relying too heavily on CAS. Despite how neoliberalization has opened the way for universities to emulate private sector methods in its employment and retention practices, it does so selectively. Whereas in the private sector there are generally clearly defined performance benchmarks for career progression, these are all but lacking for CAS in the university context. As some have commented, the idea that CAS positions are entry-level would suggest a probationary period, not an indefinite purgatory.

A modest and practical proposal that might meet the needs of both administrations and CAS would be a similar practice found in the private sector: a clearly marked career progression whereby CAS can enjoy the security and benefits as appropriate to their career stage, and that continued employment need not take the form of having to reapply for the same or similar position every year or semester, but continuing for as long as they continue to perform to the professional standards expected of faculty. Such a mechanism already exists in several Canadian universities, taking the form of multi-year contracts that vary in length from one to five years. Other Canadian universities have also bargained for a clear program of accruing seniority points that can be the basis of transitioning to full-time employment. The danger of the latter policy, however well intentioned, is in ensuring that there are adequate provisions to "backstop" security so that these CAS are not priced out of the market just prior to obtaining better compensation and security.

Academics, as a whole, value their autonomy and may be said to resist regulatory pressures to conform to policies in which they have not been consulted. Moreover, not all faculty view the current issue of contract academic staff as a distinctly class-based issue. Policies at several universities are in place that govern the workplace culture to some extent in terms of discrimination, harassment, and respect. These policies may receive additional legal support from legislation on human and labour rights. However, the less tangible aspects of workplace culture cannot be institutionalized. While CAS might have leverage in participating in unionized activities that have a bearing on collective agreements

in order to fight for fair employment standards, no university-wide policy or collective agreement can legislate the intricacies of departmental culture whereby all faculty members would have to abide by a model of ideal, non-rank based equity, or in at least a more equitable distribution of power so that CAS would be made to feel welcome as stakeholders in academic decision-making at departmental, faculty, and university-wide levels.

Feelings of alienation and the evidence of precarious labour entrenchment can lead some CAS to adopt a more militant stance – especially when the perception of hopelessness in inaction is stronger than fear of reprisals. In this author's view, waging militant campaigns that target full-time and tenured faculty are not only flawed insofar as it risks generalizing the attitudes of full-time and tenured faculty as being of one mind on the matter, but it also may indicate a lack of full awareness of the intricacies of the power structure of which full-time and tenured faculty are but one component. Although there may be several cases where members of full-time and tenured faculty demonstrate class prejudice, developing a constructive way forward might better involve engagement rather than simply adopting tactics that attempt to reverse ill-feeling and alienation. To tar all tenured faculty with the same brush in terms of perceived attitudes is as unhelpful in constructing dialogue as is viewing CAS as a class of deficient underachievers or amateurs. Merely reversing perceived hostility and alienation will be highly unlikely to achieve meaningful gains for CAS. It is for this reason that both full-time and part-time faculty should seek collaboration and solidarity to collectively address their respective issues, seek compromise, and target the employer using the mechanisms of contract negotiations and bargaining.

Inasmuch as it may be considered essential for tenure-track and tenured faculty to be made aware of the labour conditions of CAS, and the composite challenges they face, equal accord must be paid to the established professoriate and the distinct challenges they also face in the continued neoliberalization of the institution. This not only shows reciprocity of concern, but also informs

CAS of the very challenges they also might face should they be granted a position among the tenure-track and tenured ranks.

What follows are some modest potential solutions to the ongoing issues of CAS labour conditions:

1) CONTINUITY: Faculty continuity is a cornerstone in developing and sustaining faculty community and a healthy workplace environment, and this continuity can be strengthened by means of a more proactive retention policy. Continuity also enables consistent course delivery and harmonization with departmental cohesion in curriculum. Predictable rather than ad hoc staffing can also reduce administrative burden (less job postings, smoother course time-tabling, and other similar efficiencies). Faculties should strive to retain its longer-serving CAS who show demonstrable consistency and performance in course delivery, and this should be concomitant with tangible recognition (security, compensation, etc.).

2) SECURITY: There must be action toward tenure-eligibility requirements extended to contract faculty, thus putting an end to termination via non-renewal practices. Depending on the strength or weakness of a university's collective agreement, termination or non-renewal empowers the employer not the employee, and arguably fosters curricular instabilities. If job security is considered a privilege and not a right, there must be policy that allows and not restricts contract faculty from *earning* credit for research and service. By keeping in place glass ceilings in preventing contract faculty from full enfranchisment in these pursuits, hiring practices would need to be adjusted to keep this in consideration. Some Canadian universities have negotiated for a process of automatic short-listing of longer serving CAS when full time positions are posted. This practice ought to be made universal, and the progression requirements clearly indicated.

3) COMPENSATION: To echo the call of James Turk of CAUT and several before him, equal work for equal pay necessitates a policy for pro rata. Although this may place additional strain on budgets, and may not smooth over all class-based divisions

within the university, it may achieve compensation parity and respect in the area of teaching. This proposal is liable to be contentious since it does seem to court a Marxist conception of the labour theory of value, and attempts to reverse the conditions whereby academic labour's commodity production increases (more students per class, more courses taught at part-time rates) proportionately impoverishes the academic labourer. If class sizes must increase in the short term, other mechanisms that compensate additional workload can be implemented. For example, at Queen's University and McMaster University, there are enrollment supplements for courses where number of students that exceed previously stipulated capacity is calculated. It would be hoped that such provisions would provide a disincentive to the employer in increasing class sizes and thus harming the educational quality through increases of student-to-faculty ratios.

4) RECOGNITION and REPRESENTATION: Departments must recognize the valued service of their contract faculty, and must do so by aiding in the enfranchisement and visibility of these precarious members. Access to internal research grants earmarked solely for contract faculty, proportional representation on all councils and program committees (where appropriate), voluntary mentorship programs linking tenured and contract faculty, showcasing or profiling high-achieving contract faculty in departmental promotional materials, and creating committees that deal specifically with part-time issues as part of a department's governance structure are a few ways by which any department can acknowledge its debt to a labour pool that is diligent and reliable. This may potentially foster community and promote dialogue on working conditions.

5) EVALUATION: Modifying existing evaluation procedures by valuing CAS on more than simply student evaluations to honour the institution's commitment to peer evaluation. Basing contract renewals solely on the basis of student evaluations may be considered a flawed instrument that potentially can erode educational quality due to the pressures to inflate grades, liable to "sour grapes" student feedback if grading is

rigorous, and is insufficient to evaluate the effectiveness of instruction overall.

6) PROMOTION: Where there is demonstrable teaching, research, and service contributions (whether or not these were part of the contract), these must be factored into any tenure review. All work must be "clock-able" and not a non-event. This is especially true for tenure-track faculty who may have soldiered through more than a decade of contract employment. If we are to abide by the apprenticeship model, then all experience in the field is valid and should be counted.

7) DIVERSIFICATION: Teaching-only positions are, at best, a temporary solution for a particular subgroup of CAS. It not only risks the creation of a two-tier faculty system, but also disregards the important role research plays in the teaching and research dynamic. Although teaching-only positions may alleviate acute enrollment pressures where there is limited full-time faculty, these can quickly become an instrument of labour entrenchment and should only be relied upon in times of acute emergency, with a clear plan from the outset to resolve the emergency instead of creating the conditions of dependence.

8) SOLIDARITY: Although it may seem a plausibly good idea for CAS to certify as an individual union or bargaining group, continued sustained attacks on unions as part of the federal government's, and some provincial governments', agenda might suggest that it is easier to wage an assault against smaller unions given the ability to employ divide and rule strategies. Although some CAS may perceive that, rightly or not, full-time faculty do not have any vested interest in protecting or improving CAS working conditions, involvement in a faculty association is key to representation. Assuming that CAS alone possess the leverage necessary to compel the employer to provide fairer working conditions on the basis of a large volume of courses taught by this constituency fails to realize that labour oversupply provides the employer with a vast source of new labour that can be cycled into existing positions.

Conclusion

The enduring plight of contract academics must be addressed, and any action cannot be deferred until there is an enforced policy for suitable data collection as this may never materialize. Although it is essential that data be collected, the complex and differentiated nature of the Canadian university sector presents several major obstacles that may not be overcome without a strong national strategy. The alternative to relying on data prior to action is to take note of the testimony of current CAS and develop home-grown solutions that may be circulated as possible resources for CAS at other institutions. Identifying the problems that are both global and local, political and economic, is the foundation for devising a workable strategy. Moreover, union participation that is inclusive and representative of all faculty rank interests not only promotes solidarity, but may work to diminish the more subjective feelings of alienation among a credentialed, professional, and arguably essential labour force. Emphasizing areas of common concern rather than fixating on divisive differences may help build solidarity, for ostensibly faculty members of all ranks are concerned with educational quality and the mission of the university as a place of free inquiry, discovery, and the transmission of knowledge, and not simply as a consumer-based credentialing body.

Ultimately, it cannot be stated that the current political and economic conditions have caused the "adjunct crisis," but that university administration responses are to blame. The preliminary solutions tendered in this piece are an attempt to reframe the discussion of academic labour that values the human inputs as primary over the economic concerns and austerity narrative promulgated by university administrations. Dispelling myths and misperceptions about CAS, and among them, may serve to be an initial step to one of the most significant obstacles to the improvement of working conditions: alienation.

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UNESCO, Adult education and political mobilization

Marcella Milana

Since World War II, the work done by inter-state organizations has created a shift in social imaginaries with regard to the relation between education, work, and the socio-economic development of nation-states[1]. These imaginaries materialized in a 'global polity'[2], namely the mobilization of a set of social actors toward the governance of a common object. This object (here adult education) is made the explicit subject of political action based on de-territorialized norms. An exemplary case is the *Belèm Framework for Action,*[3] the consolidated version of which was adopted by the VI International Conference on Adult Education (hereafter CONFINTEA VI), held in 2009 in Belèm (Brazil), under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The *Belèm Framework for Action*[4] lays out prescriptive activities to be implemented at either national or international level within five areas: adult literacy, learners' participation, quality of provision, governmental policy and global governance. In so doing, it focuses attention on the development of comparable statistical indicators, benchmarks and monitoring mechanisms for member states, developmental and aid agencies, and UNESCO with

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[1] Milana, 2012.
[2] Corry, 2010.
[3] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2009.
[4] UNESCO, 2009.

a view to examining systematic progress. In particular, member states commit to establish regular monitoring mechanisms, including data collection, and the production of a triennial report on national progress; while UNESCO receives a mandate to coordinate the monitoring of progress at global level, and to produce a monitoring report, the *Global Report on Adult Learning and Education,*[5] on a triennial basis.

The *Belèm Framework for Action*[6] is the result of mobilization processes that have slowly but steadily occurred over time under the auspices of UNESCO, also thanks to the International Conferences on Adult Education, which have been organized every 12 years since 1949. These conferences, funded by member states, gather representatives from governments, academia, and other national and international entities, including non-governmental organizations, and represent a second level of political decision making within UNESCO (the first level being the annual executive board and general conference sessions), at least at the level of intentions, as no international legal instrument exists that binds states to undertake specific action in the field of adult education within the territories under their exclusive sovereignty.

At the level of intentions, these conferences have provided a forum over the years for the setting of international norms for adult education policy and practices, norms whose appeal has varied from one national context to the next, but which have contributed to the transformation of adult education from a national policy matter into an issue of global governance, as testified by the *Belèm Framework for Action.*[7]

It is the scope of this paper to increase our understanding of the working of global governance in adult education by examining the type of mobilization processes that occur via interactions between UNESCO and other political actors, and how these processes have led to the creation of standard-setting and monitor-

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[5] UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL) 2009, 2012.

[6] UNESCO, 2009.

[7] Ibid.

ing instruments, like the *Belèm Framework for Action*[8] and the *Global Report on Adult Learning and Education.*[9]

In what follows, I introduce UNESCO as a state-led actor with a capacity for norm-making at a global level, but with a limited mandate for concrete implementation, and contend that its role, methods and channels for mobilizing political will toward a global agenda in adult education have been under-researched. Then I present the theoretical and methodological framing for this study, before presenting its findings. By adopting a global polity perspective, the findings point at three concurrent processes or modes of mobilization in adult education, which I have termed: *landmarking, brokering* and *framing. Landmarking* refers to the process of co-constructing a shared past for a broad set of actors with an interest in shaping policy in adult education; *brokering* captures the process of supporting the transaction of values, ideas and information to envision a viable future for adult education; and finally *framing* addresses the structuring of information and intentions to produce material changes at governmental level in the field of adult education. Drawing on different data sources, I present and discuss a few of the incidences and visible marks of each mode.

UNESCO as a global actor

Scholarly attention to global governance, as Wise and Wilkinson[10] note, has given primacy to core institutions for economic and social development, like the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the European Union (EU), or the World Bank, just to mention a few, rather than institutions dealing with "some of the 'softest' issues normally classified under the rubric of 'low politics'"[11] like UNESCO.

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[8] Ibid., 2009.
[9] UIL 2003, 2013.
[10] Wise and Wilkinson, 2011.
[11] Ibid., p. xvii.

Established in 1946 to promote peace and security based on international understanding and human welfare via education, science and culture, "in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms, which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion", as stated in article I, paragraph 1 of its constitution, UNESCO represents today 195 states and 8 associate members distributed over five world regions. A shared concern for education by national ministries informed its very foundation, and education made up 1/3 of its regular budget in 2011. Still, as Singh[12] claims, while "[it] comes before anything else at UNESCO... Education also remains the Achilles heel of the organization", not least due to its organization and mode of working. A specialized agency of the United Nations (UN), with budgetary autonomy, UNESCO is a state-led organization similar, for instance, to the OECD, as its regular budget derives from states' dues. However, these dues have been progressively rivaled by extra budgetary resources from multilateral development donors, and more recently also private organizations.[13] Besides a general conference, deliberating and voting, and an executive board guiding its agenda, both comprised of member state representatives, UNESCO has a secretariat or international civil service implementing the organization's mandate, and draws on intellectuals, experts and academics to provide inputs to its reports. However, unlike other state-led organizations, under its constitution UNESCO maintains strong links with non-governmental organizations that are crucial for the implementation of its programs.

Thanks to its broad constitutional mission and encompassing agenda, grounded in a humanist philosophy, and its strong links to civil society, UNESCO is generally perceived (and conceives itself) as an intellectual and philosophical think-tank. But its large area of specialization when compared to other UN specialized agencies, coupled with limited strength in its legal instruments

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[12] Singh, 2011, p. 46.
[13] Ibid.

and generally inadequate resources, hampers the accomplishment of its mandate. Thus Singh argues

> As an important global institution, UNESCO has enormous intellectual capacities to deliberate the most complex of global problems related to constructing the defenses of peace in the minds of human beings.[14]

However, such "enduring strength" is diluted in practice by "pressure from its constituencies".[15] Such pressure revolves around external restrictions by donors via monitoring and evaluation procedures, national and regional politics that often hit UNESCO's agenda, internal bureaucracy, and sectorial competition for economic resources. Responsibilities in adult education, for instance, are a prerogative of UNESCO's Institute for Education (UIE). But the headquarters coordinates activities under the United Nations Literacy Decade, UNLD, UNESCO's Institute for Statistics deals with the Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme (LAMP), while the International Bureau of Education and UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning coordinate Education for All (EFA), which may cause in-house rivalry for resources across these institutions.

Established in 1951 as a foundation under German civil law, the UIE used to be heavily financed by the German government until it turned into a fully-fledged UNESCO institute in 2007, changing its legal name to the UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning (UIL). Such a change in status has resulted in an internal restructuring and adjustment of the institute's overall strategy, with dramatic budgetary variations in terms of line of financing, overall revenues and expenditure, and a consequent stronger dependency on UNESCO headquarters in economic, administrative, and ideational terms.

Acknowledgment of the influence of inter-state organizations on the conceptualizations and policy development of adult education has led to a proliferation of studies that look at the work-

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[14] Ibid., p. 134.
[15] Ibid., p. 19.

ings of these organizations, their efforts in legitimizing specific interests and shaping international agendas,[16] through the adoption of new governance mechanisms,[17] and the promotion of a monitoring culture.[18] Such studies have often drawn on literature on globalization, governance and education emphasizing Europeanization,[19] and 'governance by numbers';[20] but tend to give primacy to the EU or the OECD rather than UNESCO.

UNESCO is studied instead for its conceptual contribution to the forming of a radical education project based on a humanistic approach,[21] a forerunner of more modern conceptions of lifelong learning;[22] and it is analyzed in terms of its ideological drives and shifts,[23] or the characterization of its policy discourse, when compared to those put forward by other organizations.[24] Accordingly, UNESCO's policy strategy has been put under scrutiny;[25] as have the debates under its auspices and whether they have resulted in concrete change over time.[26] But the process through which mobilization occurs via interactions between UNESCO and other political actors (especially from civil society) remains under-explored.

A global polity stand

Despite evidence of increasing global governance in adult education, and acknowledgement of governance mechanisms that include but are not reducible to political action by national governments, how are we to comprehend the process through which

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[16] Milana and Holford, 2014; Panitsidou, 2013, forthcoming; Rubenson, 2006, 2009, forthcoming.
[17] Jacobi, 2009; Ioannidou, 2007.
[18] Hamilton, 2014; Tett, 2014.
[19] Nóvoa and Lawn, 2002; Lawn and Grek 2012.
[20] Martens and Niemann, 2010; Grek, Lawn, Lindgard and Varjo, 2009.
[21] Wain, 2001.
[22] Mohorčič Špolar and Holford, 2014.
[23] Moosung and Friedrich, 2011.
[24] Milana, 2013.
[25] Lima and Guimarães, 2011.
[26] Preece, 2013.

mobilization around adult education as a policy matter occurs via interactions between UNESCO and other political actors?

There is no doubt that turning adult education into a joint matter that mobilizes differential policy is a delicate process of authoritative allocation of values,[27] which is no longer constrained within national or geographical borders, but is rather embedded in complex dynamics. Dynamics that are characterized by asymmetry and unevenness, and that occur via 'nodes of interactions' among diverse actors with policy volition, across time and space, on multiple levels and scales.[28] Capturing these dynamics requires full recognition of a global dimension in adult education policy work or "'meta-narrative' that needs to be picked apart to see the work that it does in any one context".[29] Such a meta-narrative incorporates ontological changes influenced by ideational and discursive practices that gain legitimacy on different scales.

UNESCO's intellectual and philosophical capacities have succeeded in creating a meta-narrative about the universalization of human rights. The 1945 UN Charter laid the foundations for "the regime of international legal instruments that today prescribe what this [human rights] means in terms of specific rights across a wide array of circumstances".[30] Article 26 states that "Everybody has the right to education... Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms". It is this kind of meta-narrative that influences a new ontology (i.e. education is what makes human human), informing ideational and discursive practices about adult education, as evidenced in the *Recommendation on the development of adult education*,[31] where adult education is conceived as "a fundamental aspect of the right to education". Ideational and discursive practices about adult education within UNESCO have

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[27] Easton, 1953.
[28] Cerny, 2001; Robertson, 2012.
[29] Robertson, 2012, p. 5.
[30] Kinsley, 2009, p. 12.
[31] UNESCO, 1976, p. 1.

changed over time,[32] in parallel with overall shifts in focus about education more broadly conceived (i.e. fundamental education, measures against discrimination, functional literacy, lifelong education, technical and vocational education, global education targets). But in order to show how these gain legitimacy on different scales, it is necessary to identify the concreteness of mobilization processes through multi-actor interactions.

Socio-political and ethnographic contributions have exposed, for instance, how policy work occurs through material and ideational sites to form global imaginaries that homogenize values, beliefs and ideas about education,[33] yet also create niches for re-imagining local specificities.[34] In particular, socio-political studies shed light on how a social concern turns into a political issue via the mobilities of people, ideas and economic resources on a global level,[35] thus pointing at the reach of policy processes that impinge not only on a 'global education' agenda,[36] but also on diverse sites of political power.[37] This confirms that global interconnectivity in education produces a 'policyscape', which synthesizes flows ideas across and beyond national contexts. However, resistance to, and contestation of, such ideas also open new spaces for local re-imaginations.[38]

Adult education as "a fundamental aspect of the right to education", for instance, may be equated to a global imaginary that tends toward the homogenization of values, beliefs and ideas about adult education. However, when we look at official accounts in response to specific calls by UNESCO, summarized in recent *Global Reports on Adult Learning and Education*,[39] what emerges are examples of national re-imaginations. In some parts of the world adult education is mostly equated with the oppor-

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[32] Wain, 2001; Milana, 2013; Elfert, 2013; Ireland and Spezia, 2012.
[33] Rizvi and Lingard, 2010.
[34] Carney, 2009, 2011.
[35] Rizvi, 2009.
[36] Rizvi and Lingard, 2010.
[37] Ozga, 2000; Ball 2012.
[38] Carney, 2009, 2011.
[39] UIL, 2009, 2013.

tunities for underserved groups of citizens to increase their literacy, for instance in countries that have experienced socio-political turmoil for most of their history as independent nations in Africa or the Arab region. In other parts of the world, Northern America and Europe for instance, adult education is mainly technical in nature and involves vocational training for young people and adults who are experiencing difficulties in getting or retaining work, resulting from either low personal educational achievement or major changes in the labour markets. Adult education is also used to integrate immigrants. Finally, even though the primary aim of adult education in some parts of the world is to boost levels of literacy, other understandings of its purpose are also being incorporated gradually (technical and vocational training, for instance) in line with the development of democratic processes or economic expansion – in Latin America, Asia and elsewhere.[40] However, these accounts primarily reflect governmental views and understandings.

Anthropological studies, instead, have brought to the foreground the policy will of a multiplicity of actors beyond the purview of governments. They did so by giving voice to human beings situated across levels and spaces, thus negotiate global understandings and ideas in specific localities.[41] But rather than focusing specifically on the human materiality by which a policy is enacted, these studies also question how it is conceived via global processes. To this end, some suggest looking at policies not only as tools of government but also as tools for studying the very systems of governance they create,[42] which theoretically assigns agency to a policy while expanding the 'field' of study beyond physical sites, thus including sociological and political issues that constitute such a policy matter. Accordingly, the interactions of agents, concepts and technologies that occur across sites reveal 'policy worlds' that produce, reinforce or resist governance mechanisms.[43]

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[40] Milana, fortcoming.
[41] Levinson, Sutton and Winstead, 2009.
[42] Shore and Wright, 1997.
[43] Shore, Wright and Però, 1997.

When we scratch the surface of official accounts and familiarize ourselves with public adult education policy in different countries, talking with bureaucrats, academics, and activists in international non-governmental organizations and grassroots organizations that have connections to UNESCO, we get hints of the local negotiations of the global understandings and ideas around adult education as a fundamental aspect of the right to education. For instance, in Argentina adult education is legally defined as a teaching modality which is equal to other forms of teaching with a view to guaranteeing the 'right to education' asserted by national law; but bureaucrats as well as academics criticize the *Belèm Framework for Action*[44] for representing a hegemonic position that does not reflect local realities and needs. In North America, by federal law, adult education is a program or service offered to people but not a right that people have; and bureaucrats refuse to acknowledge the idea of education as a human right. Even so, the demonstrations organized by adult educators against the governor's decision to cut California's state funds for adult education were held under the slogan: "Education is a Human Right!"

So how do we integrate and explain mobilities and smooth transitions of ideas that de-territorialize but also trigger opposite processes of fixity and re-bordering of values, beliefs and ideas? And how do we articulate non-human 'agency', as well as its interactions with people, in ways that can be empirically grasped?

Methodological suggestions can be found in multi-sited ethnographies that pay simultaneous attention to both horizontal and vertical interactions[45] and unbound fieldwork from a single place and time to delve into external forces that are either resisted or accommodated by people,[46] as well as in an 'actor-network sensibility',[47] with a view to articulating artifacts not as simple carriers

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44 UNESCO, 2009.
45 Vavrus and Bartlett, 2009.
46 Burawoy, Blum, George, Gille, Gowan, Haney, Klawiter, Lopez, Ó Ríain and Thaye, 2000.
47 Fenwick and Edwards, 2010.

of 'symbolic projection', but also as participants in a course of action.[48]

This article has presented an extremely simplified account of the different understandings that a multi-site and multi-actor focus can open up for, when considering, for instance, UNESCO's core assumption of adult education as a human right.

In this line of argument, drawing on the literature, a global polity stand allows us to think afresh about adult education as a matter of public policy concern, neither within nor outside, but across geo-political borders and professional interests. Such a proposal builds on two basic assumptions. First, a global polity[49] happens in adult education just as much as in other areas of public concern and governance. However, it is distinct because its intention is to govern the education of adults (and young people who were unsuccessful at school) rather than governing primary, secondary or tertiary education. Second, while the term 'global polity' encompasses the *gestalt* of a social phenomenon, its empirical investigation is dependent on observations of the 'global polity structure', or the organization of and relations between the elements that compose such a *gestalt*.

In short, a global polity structure exists when a given set of actors shares a basic understanding of one world that incorporates both global and local horizons of political action which expand vertically and horizontally.[50] Its orientation results from the interactions between agents, concepts and technologies that happen in local, national, regional and international environments, and is often objectified in events such as conferences, official meetings, or artifacts such as written texts, videos or still images.[51] A global polity structure is kept alive by interactions between human and non-human agencies that are not bound to either vertical

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[48] Latour 2005, p. 10.
[49] Corry, 2010.
[50] Carney, 2011; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Robertson, 2012; Vavrus and Bartlett, 2009.
[51] Shore, Wright and Però, 1997.

or horizontal perspectives or single or multiple environments.[52]
It should be noted, however, that human agents may have obligations, capacities, or preferences to interact primarily in single or multiple environments, with either vertical or horizontal perspectives; while events and artifacts may simply carry crystallized meanings or rather contribute to their transformation, distortion or modification.[53] Consistently with the above perspective, UNESCO represents a nodal point in such a global polity structure, and so does the UIE, the core UNESCO institute when it comes to adult education. For instance, the UIL's primary obligation is strongly tied, horizontally, to UNESCO headquarters, member states and associate members, including international non-governmental organizations like the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) since 2012. However, the UIL can potentially reach out, vertically, to local and national relevant actors via UNESCO's national commissions. These are agencies for consultation and coordination which facilitate communication between UNESCO and its member states; but these relations are filtered by national governments, which set up these commissions. Accordingly, by its very nature, interaction between the UIL and other political bodies toward which it has formal obligations, inasmuch as additional interactions with consultative bodies, and individual experts, tends toward the homogenization of beliefs, guiding norms, values and ideas. But in doing so it also creates heterogeneity, for instance when the UIL contests alternative world-views promoted under the auspices of other inter-state organizations,[54] or the UIL's own view is ignored or resisted at either international, national or local scales.[55] It is this perspective that informed the data gathering and analysis carried out in this project.

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[52] Burawoy et al., 2000; Latour, 2005.
[53] Latour, 2005.
[54] Milana, 2012; 2013.
[55] Nesbit and Welton, 2013.

Data sources and analysis

The analysis draws on data gathered within an ongoing project (GLOBE-A) that investigates the politics of adult education at the intersection between international, national and local scales Although the project adopts a multi-sited and multi-actor approach, this contribution is informed primarily by data gathered during a four-week stay at the UIL (January 2013), where I observed a staff meeting and video conference with UNESCO headquarters and had informal interactions with staff members. An additional data source consists of interviews held with six UIL staff members. Both sources provided rich data on the functioning of the institute, its historical development and current policy and advocacy work on adult education. But they contain highly sensitive information, so no explicit reference to this data source is included, in order to protect the identities and views of those concerned. A third source of data is scientific and professional literature on policy and advocacy work in the field of adult education. This data source led to the identification of journals, institutions and individuals that dealt with policy-relevant events, activities and publications under the auspices of UNESCO. A fourth data source is official webpages, policy documents and publications by UNESCO, the UIL and the European Union, which served different functions. On the one hand this data reports about official decisions, budget allocations and institutional strategies; on the other hand it reflects discursive elements that promote institutional values, beliefs and ideas about adult education. All the data was analyzed using heuristic tools developed by second-generation grounded theory, and using situational analysis, which makes use of word-by-word or sentence-by-sentence open coding, labeling, constant comparisons for categorizations, but also visual synthesis of both coded and 'somewhat digest data' to prompt further analytical insights and interpretations.[56]

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[56] Clarke, 2005.

Modes of mobilizing political will

As already mentioned, in this paper I focus my attention on the means by which the mobilization of political will (at both horizontal and vertical levels) occurs via UNESCO and the UIL, and how these processes lead to the creation of standard-setting and monitoring instruments that support global governance in adult education. Three modes of mobilization emerged from the data:

1. *Landmarking*: This is the process of co-constructing a common past in adult education, which is recognizable by diverse political actors. Its incidence can be found in a limited number of events and publications that are used to mark stages of development or turning points in the promotion of adult education as a public and global concern. Visible marks of broadly acknowledged landmarks include the reports by UNESCO, *Learning to be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow*,[57] and *Learning: The Treasure Within*,[58] and the V International Conference on Adult Education (Hamburg, 1997 – hereafter CONFINTEA V) with its outcome documents: the *Hamburg declaration* and the *Agenda for the future*.[59]

2. *Brokering*: This is the process of supporting the transfer of values, ideas and information between individual and collective agents that makes it possible to envision a viable future for adult education. Its incidence can be identified in specific technologies that facilitate exchanging and diffusing meanings, the visible marks of which include the International Conferences on Adult Education, and the extensive activities that occur before and after these conferences, like preparatory and follow-up meetings, the manufacturing and circulation of background and working documents, and post-conference publications. This process has

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[57] Fauré and International Commission on the Development of Education, 1972.
[58] Delors Delors, J. and International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century 1996.
[59] UNESCO, 1997.

received a boost since the mid-90s thanks to a progressively stronger involvement of non-governmental organizations.

3. *Framing:* This is the process of structuring information and political intentions in an attempt to produce material changes at governmental level. Its incidence involves governance mechanisms that set standards and institutional responsibilities and describe processes and practices. Visible marks are the 1976 UNESCO *Recommendation on the development of adult education*,[60] the *Belèm Framework for Action*,[61] and related monitoring tools such as the *Global Report on Adult Learning and Education*.[62]

These modes of mobilization are illustrated in further detail and discussed in the proceedings.

Landmarking: Co-constructing a unifying past

One of the intellectual and philosophical contributions broadly credited to UNESCO is the report of the International Commission on the Development of Education entitled *Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow*,[63] headed by former French Prime Minister and Minister of Education Edgar Fauré. The report epitomizes the work that had been carried out with regard to the concept of 'lifelong education' under the auspices of the UIE at a time of active leadership in setting the organizing principle for educational development.[64] It is acknowledged as an 'important planning document' in UNESCO's history.[65]

> Four basic assumptions underlay our work from the start... The first... is the existence of an international community which... is reflected in common aspirations, problems and trends, and in its movement towards one and the same destiny... The second is belief in democracy, conceived of as implying each man's right

[60] UNESCO, 1976.
[61] UNESCO, 2009,
[62] UIL, 2009, 2012.
[63] Fauré et al. 1972.
[64] Tuijnman and Boström, 2002.
[65] Singh, 2011, p. 56.

> to realize his own potential and to share in the building of his own future... The third... is that the aim of development is the complete fulfillment of man... Our last assumption is that only an overall, lifelong education can produce the kind of complete man...[66]

Fauré and his colleagues believed in a renewed approach to education 'beyond the reform of educational systems'; [67] so they were advocating for education as a community project. While such a radical approach was not universally accepted, as Wain[68] notes, it did fit with de-schooling and de-institutionalization stands of the time,[69] and it was broadly embraced by adult educators, not least because, as Schuetze[70] observes, it "formulated the philosophical-political concept of a humanistic, democratic and emancipatory system of learning opportunities for everybody, independent of class, race or financial means, and independent of the age of the learner". Thirty years later the Fauré report is still referred as 'the canonical text of the lifelong education movement',[71] and although its radical message has lost UNESCO's backing over time, the report did form the platform for the III International Conference on Adult Education (Tokyo, 1972). By promoting the expansion of adult education and the innovation of its methods in support of democratization processes, this conference turned adult education into a serious worldwide policy matter; which set the scene for UNESCO's directorate general to be authorized to do policy work in support of its member states; leading to the *Recommendation on the development of adult education,*[72] adopted by the UNESCO general conference, to which I will return.

At a two-decade distance from the publication of the Fauré report, UNESCO convened a Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century chaired by the former president of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, so the organization could

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[66] Fauré et al. 1972, p. v–vi.
[67] Ibid, p. 9.
[68] Wain, 2001.
[69] Moosung and Friedrich, 2011.
[70] Schuetze, 2006, p. 290.
[71] Wain, 2001, p. 184.
[72] UNESCO, 1976.

regain its international visibility within the educational policy arena.[73] This kind of new intellectual and philosophical effort resulted in *Learning: The Treasure Within*.[74] The report addressed a few tensions of the time which could be overcome through education (i.e. local vs. global, universal vs. individual, tradition vs. modernity, long-term vs. short-term action, competition vs. opportunities for learning, expanding vs. assimilating knowledge, spiritual vs. material aspects).[75] The core vision of Delors and his colleagues was spelled out as the 'four pillars of education':

- Learning to live together, by understandings of others and of interdependence;
- Learning to know, by combining general and in-depth/specific education;
- Learning to do, by acquiring competence in dealing with a variety of situations;
- Learning to be, by unleashing personal talents or the 'treasure in every person' to exert interdependence and judgment, combined with personal responsibility. [76]

The last pillar explicitly refers back to and reaffirms the core message in the Fauré report. Critical readings point at inner tensions within the Delors report between the infiltration of neoliberal ideas (i.e. skills updating), and its attempt to preserve a social-democratic liberal approach that reconciles economic growth with equity issues, respect for the human condition and the environment, and reaffirms the central role of the welfare state, at a time when this was being questioned by the expansion of neoliberal thinking in education, for instance within the OECD.[77] In short, the report constituted a 'philosophical treatise' rather than a practical document to deal with concrete educational issues such as low literacy rates worldwide.[78] It is precisely

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[73] Jones, 2005.
[74] Delors et al., 1996.
[75] Ibid., pp. 15–16.
[76] Ibid., pp. 20–21.
[77] Milana, 2012; Moosung and Friedrich, 2011; Rubenson, 2009.
[78] Sing, 2011.

for its intellectual potentials, however, and despite its ideological contradictions, that the report offered a rich basis for adult education policy debates on which CONFINTEA V took off.

CONFINTEA V, held in Hamburg in 1997, occurred at a time when industrial expansion and economic development had been followed by a major economic crisis that had hit much of the world in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Accordingly, as noted elsewhere, the conference

> ... concentrated its attention on sustainable development – a form of development that would be not only ecologically sustainable, but also scientifically and socially sustainable, thus promoting social justice and gender equity.[79]

This is echoed in its outcome document, the *Hamburg declaration on adult learning*, [80] by stating that

> Adult education thus becomes more than a right; it is a key to the twenty-first century. It is both a consequence of active citizenship and a condition for full participation in society. It is a powerful concept for fostering ecologically sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice, gender equity, and scientific, social and economic development, and for building a world in which violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture of peace based on justice. Adult learning can shape identity and give meaning to life. Learning throughout life implies a rethinking of content to reflect such factors as age, gender equality, disability, language, culture and economic disparities.[81]

In line with this thinking, the annexed *Agenda for the future* puts special emphasis on democratic participation, access, literacy skills, the right to work and health and environmental care as core areas in which adult learning can play a vital role,[82] and devotes an entire paragraph to reaffirming the validity of the intellectual and philosophical elaborations put forward in *Learn-*

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[79] Milana, 2012, p. 112.
[80] UNESCO, 1997.
[81] Ibid.,1997, p. 1.
[82] Ibid., 1997, p. 9.

ing to be[83] and *Learning: The Treasure Within*,[84] namely a conception of learning throughout life that goes beyond traditional distinctions between initial and continuing education, as key for the fulfilling of one's potential, and the importance of the four pillars for its full achievement.

It is my first claim here that *Learning to be*, *Learning: The Treasure Within* and *CONFINTEA V* (with its outcome documents) represent key visible marks of how events and publications under the auspices of UNESCO and/or the UIL have come to represent ideational landmarks for the co-construction of a shared past among actors with policy will in adult education; and specifically the civil service at the UIL, academics and activists in grassroots and international non-governmental organizations that have links with the UIL and/or advocate a 'maximalist', humanistic approach to adult education (and lifelong learning) in contrast to more pragmatic, economic perspectives identified with the work of distinctive global actors in education like the OECD[85] or the EU.[86]

Such a claim is grounded in the observation that ample references to these landmarks, despite the fact that they have different drives and serve diverse purposes, as I will pinpoint, are found all the way through the cluster sources examined. Here I provide just three examples.

In order to reaffirm UNESCO's global positioning as a worldwide leader in conceptual advancement toward a lifelong learning approach, which also privileges adult education within and outside school under the auspices of the UIL, several references are made to *Learning to be*[87] in a celebratory publication, *Towards an Open Learning World*.[88] *Learning to be* is visually represented

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[83] Fauré et al., 1972.
[84] Delors et al., 1996.
[85] Rubenson, 2009, forthcoming.
[86] Borg and Mayo, 2005.
[87] Fauré et al., 1972.
[88] UIL, 2002.

within the publication[89] and on its cover through a picture of the original report by Fauré and his colleagues. Further, within the text a number of people differently connected to the UIE / UIL testify to its worldwide significance and impact.

> I remember the major shifts in direction at the UIE … These have concerned reform in the education systems of developed and developing countries, the co-ordination of research projects under the broad umbrella 'learning to be', schools as integral parts of lifelong learning and so on. [Irène Alenfeld, German, ex-UIE interpreter][90]

> It should be remembered that the report of the commission chaired by E. Fauré… more or less marked the start of the debate about lifelong learning. [Joachim Knoll, German, ex-member adult education committee, UNESCO National Commission for Germany][91]

> These activities by the UIE [the study 'Foundation of Lifelong Learning' coordinated by the speaker, whose results have been published in English by the UIE and Pergamon Press, translated into Spanish and distributed worldwide, n/a] became an important part of UNESCO's follow-up to its 1972 international report entitled 'Learning to be' [Ravindra H. Dave, Indian, ex-UIE Director, 1979–1989][92]

Referencing can sometimes be ambiguous in its scope, as in the case of the editorial for the special issue of the *International Review of Education* on CONFINTEA VI follow-up, co-signed by the current UIL Deputy Director and two academics who worked on the preparation of the conference. The editorial anchors a critique of the neoliberal obsession for evidence-based policies and governing by numbers approach by referring to *Learning to be*[93] and *Learning: The Treasure Within*[94] as

> authoritative for their adherence to common and shared values such as helping to build a substantive world with just societies

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[89] Ibid., p. 9.
[90] Ibid., p. 11.
[91] Ibid., p. 15.
[92] Ibid., p. 68.
[93] Fauré et al., 1972.
[94] Delors et al., 1996.

that value knowledge, promote peace, celebrate diversity and defend human rights.[95]

However, these claims live side by side (in the editorial) with prescriptive claims that adult education scholarships can also be used to support evidence-based policy.

A different case is that of renewing a collective consensus at the cross-roads of professional organizations and among their members, such as adult education practitioners, academics, and activists, through reproduction of entire speeches held at CONFINTEA VI, its outcome document, preparatory documents and follow-up commentaries by people with close links to the UIL in special issues of professional journals (e.g., *Adult Education and Development,* see below).

To summarize, the ideational creation of a 'shared past' may have different drives and serve diverse purposes such as reaffirming an institutional positioning within competing discourses, anchoring a critique to shifts in global views and perspectives, or gaining consensus to advocate for alternatives to mainstream discourses on adult education. Nonetheless, it creates a sense of 'collective memory' to which individuals, social groups and/or institutions can relate. A collective memory is the result of a telling and re-telling of the same stories about a shared past. Through these process the events become stereotyped (when not selectively distorted), but their significance lies not so much in what happened actually but in the events themselves. So recalling these events is by definition a process of signification that further mobilizes political will.

Brokering: Envisioning a viable future

One distinctive characteristic of UNESCO, as already mentioned, is its strong links to non-governmental and grassroots organizations. Since CONFINTEA V, non-governmental organizations have not only had their own delegations, but also actively partic-

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[95] Medel-Añonuevo, Torres and Desjardins, 2011, p. 5.

ipated in the preparation and running of these conferences, for instance by proposing and organizing workshops, or advocating for a higher level of governmental participation in international conferences and regional preparatory and follow-up meetings. Some of these collective entities have been created soon after or just before the international conferences on adult education, like the ICAE (see above) or the Action Platform for Adult Education, born in 2008, during the preparation of CONFINTEA VI.

So although they were foreseen in UNESCO's constitution, these links have been strengthened over time, and are of special significance when it comes to understanding how the co-construction of a common past through landmarking connects to the process of envisioning a possible future for adult education. A future informed by UNESCO's ontology (i.e. education is what makes a human being human) requires the brokering of certain values, ideas and information. While accounts of the ideational results and/or practical implications of UNESCO's links to non-governmental and grassroots organizations can be found in the literature,[96] what is in focus here are the technologies, or methods of organization that facilitate the exchanging and diffusing of meanings.

One such technology, rather obviously, is the organization of world and international conferences on adult education under the auspices of UNESCO, together with the paramount preparatory and follow-up activities, including the preparation of background and working documents taking place before, during and after international conferences and regional meetings.[97]

The point I want to make here, however, is that a different technology has developed over time through the growing structuration of relations between a limited number of people and institutions that act as 'historians' – as they have either actively contributed to the landmarking process or had at least a privileged access to its visible marks, and ownership of (or visibility

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[96] Ireland and Spezia, 2012; Nesbit and Welton 2013.
[97] Milana, 2013.

within) a limited number of scientific and professional journals. This combination helps to broker values, ideas and information between a somewhat restricted circle and a broader audience. Non-governmental organizations play an important role in the structuration of these relations, as we shall see.

While different examples emerged from the data sources under consideration, I here restrict my attention to a few collective entities that act as historians *and* own (or gain visibility through) three scientific and professional journals: *International Review of Education, Adult Education and Development* and *Convergence*.

The *International Review of Education,* founded in 1931 by a German educationalist, originally published by the University of Cologne, has been published under the auspices of the UIE / UIL since 1955.[98] It is a peer-reviewed journal that (thanks to its distribution by Springer) is included in citation tracking and bibliographic databases worldwide. Originally intended to support scholarship in comparative education, it has had longstanding relations with the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES), whose triennial congresses have served as a platform for the publication of guest-edited issues. While doing so, the journal has also had an important role in fostering lifelong learning,[99] and in brokering values, ideas and information specific to the field of adult education, such as the special issue of CONFINTEA VI follow-up already mentioned. Shifts in the institutional legal status and directorship of the UIE / UIL, coupled with the appointment of a new journal's executive director, have recently led to an explicit redirection of the journal to better support the UIL's overall strategy and commitments to lifelong learning, specifically adult education, thus strengthening the journal's brokering potential in these matters.

Adult Education and Development has been published since 1973 by the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (DVV International). Available

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[98] UNESCO, 2002.
[99] Tuijnman and Boström, 2002.

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in three languages, English, Spanish and French, the journal is widely distributed to libraries specializing in education world-wide, and since 2000 it has also been available for free download via the internet. The international conferences on adult education, as well as preparatory and follow-up activities, have been covered by the journal since its foundation with "A short review of the most important decisions of the Third World Conference on Adult Education, Tokyo 1973".[100] Over the years an increased number of issues have been devoted, at least partly if not exclusively, to the international conferences on adult education and related events,[101] paralleling a growing commitment of DVV International and its director to the organization of such events. These issues, for instance, make available to a broader audience background and output documents prepared before or after CONFINTEA V and CONFINTEA VI, the mid-term review conference of CONFINTEA V (Bangkok, 2003), and the II Bonn Conference on Adult Education (2009) run in collaboration between the DVV, the ICAE, the European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA), and the Asian South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education, with the support of the UIL and the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. Originally planned as a follow-up to CONFINTEA VI, due to a change of dates the II Bonn Conference came first; hence the work done at the conference fed into the International Civil Society Forum, convened by non-governmental organizations back-to-back with CONFINTEA VI, and into the workshops organized by DVV International at such conferences.

Convergence, an international peer-reviewed journal published since 1968, became the official journal of the ICAE, which was discontinued in 2011. Over the last eight years of its life it has been published by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE), a national non-governmental organization based in the United Kingdom. The journal accepted and published manuscripts in French, Spanish, and to a major extent En-

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[100] See *Adult Education and Development* Vol. 1/1972.
[101] See *Adult Education and Development* Vol. 62/2004, Vol. 69/2007, Vol. 72/2009, Vol. 73/2009, Vol. 75/2010, Vol. 77/2011, Vol. 78/2012.

glish, and was (and still is) indexed and abstracted by online digital libraries such as ERIC, EBSCO, and ProQuest. *Convergence* is one of the few internationally recognized journals specializing in adult education with a focus on issues of concern for comparative and international adult education.[102] Since 2001, at least one issue per year has covered articles that make explicit reference to the international conferences on adult education.[103]

In sum, 'envisioning' a future may result in various evocations by individuals, social groups and/or institutions interacting with UNESCO. However, it is the viability issue that calls for shared action in one direction. This necessitates broadening the political ground in support of such a direction through debate, but also via agreements across groups and countries, which occurs by gathering at meetings and conferences, but also via the sharing of results among a broader audience. Yet for concrete changes to happen and guarantee the 'right' of education to the millions of adults entitled to such a right, governmental commitment (i.e. public spending) is crucial.

Framing: Structuring material changes

UNESCO's area of political action, as mentioned, is often perceived as 'low politics'[104] and the organization has a limited normative capacity in the strict sense of the term; its only normative or standard setting instrument that is legally binding is the convention, but besides the *Convention against the discrimination in education* (1960) or those dealing with the recognition of studies, diplomas, degrees and qualifications (1976, 1979, 1981, 1993), no convention has been signed to support adult education. And yet when we consider UNESCO's normative action, in the sense of prescribing behavior, its political influence increases. But for such normative prescriptions to produce material changes at national level in the field of adult education, neither reference to a

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[102] Mulenga, Al-Harthi and Carr-Chellman, 2006.
[103] See *Convergence* Vol. 34/4 2001, Vol. 35:4/2002, Vol. 35:2–3/2002, Vol. 36:1/2003, Vol. 37:3/2004, Vol. 38:3/2005, Vol. 38:4/2005, Vol. 39: 2–3/2006, Vol. 39: 4/2006, Vol. 41:2–3/2008, Vol. 42: 2–4/2009.
[104] Wise and Wilkinson, 2011.

common past nor the envisioning of a viable future beyond national sovereignty is sufficient. Accordingly, the structuring of information and political intentions via specific governance mechanisms is necessary to put pressure on national governments.

One such governance mechanism is the *Recommendation on the development of adult education*.[105] However, this is a 'soft' mechanism because it is neither morally nor legally binding. As a normative action, the *Recommendation* crystallizes common beliefs, guiding norms, values and ideas about adult education around three core elements, one of which concerns its *characterization* in relation to national education systems, one its *governance* within and across nations, and one the *values and orientations* that inform both. In extreme synthesis, adult education is conceived as neither an entity in itself nor a sub-division of national education systems, but one of its components, with no theoretical boundaries and no limitation to knowledge with short-term applicability (*characterization*); adult education requires both policy and system coordination to ensure that its objectives and goals are defined in relation to the overall national development plans, taking into consideration the general objectives of education as well as social, cultural and economic policies (*governance*). And adult education is informed by values such as critical understanding and judgment, democracy, freedom, human progress, equity and social justice and living together, just to mention a few aspects. However, it also has a collective and community orientation, coupled with holistic and life orientations, among others.[106] And yet its relative 'ignorance' within national contexts is evidenced by the fact that progress on its implementation has been only loosely and sporadically monitored over a long period of time. A first monitoring report was produced in 1993, on the recommendation of CONFINTEA IV (1985), on the basis of a purposeful questionnaire compiled by approximately 1/3 of the UNESCO member states. Yet in 2007, UNESCO adopted a resolution to monitor the implementation of its 'standard-setting instruments', giving priority to 11 out of its 31 recommendations, including

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[105] UNESCO, 1976.
[106] Milana, 2013.

the 1976 *Recommendation*, and specific monitoring procedures were established. Accordingly, a second monitoring report on the 1976 *Recommendation* was produced in 2011. Both monitoring reports shed some light on specific national instances in terms of heterogeneous visions, values and organizational principles in adult education. However, these reports are filtered by different agencies, such as the UIL personnel and external consultants that define the data collection instrument in question and present a summary based on country reports. Further, it is not always clear who provides information on national implementations in response to the requests by the UIL. But these responses are mostly representative of public bodies, which in some member states silences alternative agencies.

However, the 2011 monitoring process was made possible thanks to the development of new mechanisms that go in the direction of structuring information and intentions, and that arose in more recent times in association with CONFINTEA VI, like the *Global Report on Adult Learning and Education* prepared by the UIL for the above conference, and which draws on national reports compiled by 154 member states in response to a purposeful questionnaire.[107] The high response rate by governments is considered by many, including the UIL's staff, to be the result of increased lobbying and pressure exerted by (among others) international non-governmental and grassroots organizations on national governments in the preparatory stage of CONFINTEA VI. It should be noted here that CONFINTEA VI was the first international conference on adult education under the auspices of UNESCO to be hosted by a Latin American country, or as one interviewee put it: in "the southern hemisphere". Here, and especially in those countries that have returned to a democratic model, organized civil society is very active in the field of adult education, and in some cases has close relations to local and national governments, not least as intellectuals and activists are sometimes called to join the civil service, even if this is only for limited periods of time, under more leftist governments (e.g., Lula in Brazil, Kirchner in Argentina).

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[107] UIL, 2009.

It is my claim here that the *Recommendation on the development of adult education*, the *Belèm Framework for Action*, and the *Global Report on Adult Learning and Education* constitute three visible marks of how governance mechanisms that set standards and institutional responsibilities as well as describing processes and practices for adult education are slowly but steadily taking form. The process through which this occurs has provoked a mobilization that brought to the forefront UNESCO's commitment to policy making (involving increased governance of its member states), the UIL (mediating between the interests of UNESCO headquarters, the member states it represents, and civil society broadly conceived), and civil society organizations (advocating adult education via international pressure on governments).

The questionnaire prepared by the UIL to gather information for the first *Global Report*[108] still followed the structure of the 1976 *Recommendation*; but since the *Global Report* was entered as a regular monitoring mechanism into the *Belém Framework for Action*,[109] its revision and an update of the 1976 *Recommendation* have been put into motion. As a result, the questionnaire prepared by the UIL for the second *Global Report*,[110] for instance, restructured the type and quality of information to be gathered, based on the *Belém Framework for Action*;[111] while an action plan for the revision of the 1976 *Recommendation* was approved by UNESCO in 2012, under the responsibility of the UIL.

In brief, UNESCO, the UIL and civil society seem to have created a 'compact' for exerting pressure and/or advocating for governments to concretely implement UNESCO's agenda on adult education on a global scale through different governance mechanisms than those traditionally foreseen by UNESCO's constitution; thus calling for new emphasis on international benchmarking in adult education.

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[108] UIL, 2009.
[109] UNESCO, 2009.
[110] UIL, 2013.
[111] UNESCO, 2009.

Concluding remarks

This paper took its point of departure in the recognition that UNESCO is a global actor, whose intellectual and conceptual contributions have produced a specific ontology of adult education. However, scholarly emphasis on its ideational contribution and normative capacity seems to have overshadowed the processes through which UNESCO has mobilized political will across a broad set of actors when it comes to pursuing a global agenda in adult education. By looking closely at these processes, I have suggested that at least three modes of mobilization could be distinguished. Although such a distinction is delicate, as it only serves to dissect a complex phenomenon for analytical purposes, it helps to draw attention to the ways a shared past in adult education can be co-constructed (*landmarking*) and how a viable future can be envisioned (*brokering*) through interactions between UNESCO and other political actors. This led to the creation of specific standard-setting and monitoring instruments, in an attempt to produce material changes (*framing*) in adult education. This calls for further investigations that, by incorporating multisite and multi-actor perspectives, can deepen knowledge about these processes as well as the materiality of the changes they are (or are not) able to produce.

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Acknowledgments

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Bildung and the road from a classical into a global and postcolonial concept

Bernt Gustavsson

I n this article I want to show how a European classical form of bildung has developed in our time into something we can call a postcolonial, or a new global form of bildung. Bildung is a contested concept; different parts of it are used for the purpose at hand. The very aim and meaning of bildung is to humanize what is often considered to be an instrumental education and society, governed by goal-rationality or goal-means efficiency. When searching for meaning in educating people and for the purposes of our activities, bildung is often the answer, both in history and in our time. The intensity of using the concept come and go, and there are always different interpretations of what we can mean by the very concept. *Bildung* is originally a German word which really cannot be properly translated into English. If it could be, it would be something like liberal education or liberal arts, one of the traditions that adopt this European concept. Today there are at least three different versions of the concept that are described and discussed in books, articles, and at conferences. One is the classical German tradition that has Vilhelm von Humboldt and Berlin University as its most common name. A second is liberal education, today mostly known in the way Martha C. Nussbaum has developed this Anglo-Saxon classical tradition. A third is the concept taken from the hermeneutic tradition, where H.G. Ga-damer writes about interpretation and understanding in terms of excursion and return, or bildung as a journey. What is common for these three versions is that different attempts are made to relate this Western or European tradition to other cultures and

horizons of interpretation. This presents the opportunity to start a discussion about a global form of bildung, beyond the Western tradition. With the classical German tradition as a point of departure, there is an idea from Goethe's concept of world literature, a postcolonial thought of different particular traditions, or literature genres, reflected in each other. In liberal education there is Nussbaum, still with motivations in Western tradition. She is open to studying other cultures, being critical of one's own, and developing narrative imagination. The hermeneutic tradition is open to the foreign, even in its conception of interpretation. Here there is a relationship between the acquainted and unacquainted, or seeing one's own in that which is foreign and the foreign in that which is one's own. In this third understanding of bildung, attempts are made to formulate what schooling of world citizens can mean[1].

In these three versions of bildung there are certain attempts to take the concept out of a limited national or Western tradition and search for an understanding of what we might mean by a global form of bildung. In this broad discussion the postcolonial field makes many contributions to the ambition of including all parts of the globe. Bildung is in its original form a part of the Western Enlightenment. The reverse of this tradition is colonialism and subordination of other people in the name of the white man.

First I will describe the main components of the concept of bildung – what we can mean by this manifold and contested concept. Secondly I will describe what we can mean by the postcolonial. Thirdly I show how we can understand the core problem, the relationship between the universal and the particular. Fourthly I discuss what we can mean by a global concept of bildung including "the other", or other cultures and parts of the world.

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[1] Gustavsson, 2013

What is the meaning of bildung?

From the start bildung referred to the formation of a human be-
ing, expressed in the metaphor of the sculptor carving out a form
from raw material. This "forming" became in the Latin world
formatio, and was taken into the French language as *formation*.
Bildung is in this sense the formation and self-formation of the
human being. From the Renaissance and up to about 1800, bil-
dung was informed by two key elements – *a free, endless process
which originated from the Greeks,* and *a picture of the ideal,
Imago Dei borrowed from Christian mysticism*[2]. As a free pro-
cess it means that it starts from where we are and what we are,
and involves a potentially endless personal process of develop-
ment. In the classical tradition the ultimate ideal is what the pro-
cess leads to. This is transformed from the ideal image of God,
into a certain type of human being, the ideally educated man,
such as Leonardo da Vinci or Wolfgang Goethe. In popular ed-
ucation this goal is transformed into common social goals for
popular movements about democratic society, justice, and equal-
ity. These two elements, the free process and the ideal picture, or
a goal, can be followed throughout history in different versions.
They are also a key to analyzing the transformations of bildung
in space and time.

The main idea in the humanism of the Renaissance is that human
nature is free to be anything, an angel or a beast, and as such is
distinctly different from other species in nature, which are limit-
ed by their instincts. In neo-humanism from 1760 onwards, the
formation of human nature takes its influence from the classical
Greeks, the ideal picture of human culture, in philosophy, in arts,
in politics, and as an ideal of living in harmony with oneself and
society. In most periods and places one of these elements of bil-
dung, a free endless process or a goal, has been dominant. In the
Romantic era the free genius was considered to have created him-
/herself in a totally free process. When bildung was institutional-
ized, it was mostly transformed into the ideal of the true educated
man, limited to a certain content, for example one who read the

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[2] Gustavsson, 1991

right kind of books, mostly the classics. From here we still have today the tradition of speaking of bildung as a special canon of works. In some historical moments, the two parts of the concept have been wisely balanced, and these have been the most fruitful periods in the history of bildung. This was the case in Germany, in the time of Vilhelm von Humboldt, and when the tradition of Swedish popular education was created a hundred years later, from 1880 and for a few decades thereafter. The creators of the ideas of popular education had the ambition to combine the free search for knowledge and human development with the ideals and goals of popular movements. Everyone had a right to participate, in order to create democracy and a just society [3].

There are many writers and philosophers within this neohumanistic tradition. They wrote about bildung in different ways. Gottfried Herder, one of the first, saw bildung as a common people with a common language and cultural heritage, expressed in folktales and peoples' culture. This nationalist, or essentialist, understanding was taken over by N.F.S. Grundtvig in Denmark, in the liberation from German oppression. Friedrich Hegel took bildung out of this national limited understanding of bildung and presented bildung in his *Phenomenology of Spirit* as a journey, starting in Greek antiquity, through a phase of fragmentation and alienation, and ending in a new era when the state and society was in harmony. The individual and humanity develop in the same phases, but humanity is limited here to the Western culture.

This is an example of how an idea can be expressed in a certain time, perhaps for us too limited and marginalizing, but carrying the seeds of something new later in history. Hegel formulated the first idea of recognition of the other in the same work, and I shall return to this.

Today we find the descriptions and discussions about bildung, as mentioned, in at least three different versions. The first and most dominant is the *classical*, with roots in the German idealistic tradition, mostly connected to Vilhelm von Humboldt and

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[3] Gustavsson, 1991, 1996

Berlin University. The main aim of a university here is to research, because most of all knowledge is unknown and research has to be free, both from the market and the State. This is called *lehr- und lernfreiheit*, students' and teachers' freedom to form their own studies. When attempts are made in our time to humanize an instrumental education this tradition from Humboldt is the one usually used. A second version is *liberal education*, mostly institutionalized in the English and American colleges and some universities, with great books and general knowledge as the main features. Recurrent attempts are made to give a rebirth to these dimensions of education. The best-known example is an attempt made by Martha C. Nussbaum to include studies of other cultures and school critical minds. A third version formulated in recent times is bildung connected to the hermeneutic tradition, bildung as a journey, an excursion and return. We start from an already known and familiar home, and travel out into the foreign and the unknown, coming back with broader horizons, or a richer interpretation and understanding of the world [4]. This is developed by the Danish philosopher Peter Kemp, with the intention of schooling world citizens [5].

What is the meaning of "postcolonial"?

In 1940, a time of ongoing decolonization, many countries in Africa, Asia, and South America fought themselves free from colonial political powers. This was a long-term course of events both before and up to South Africa's liberation from apartheid, one of the last emancipations. One of the first writers of postcolonial tradition was Franz Fanon, who was born in Martinique and studied in France. At that time there was a renaissance of Hegel's doctrines, and especially of his dialectics of Master and Bondage. Fanon's book *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (1952) takes this into a dialectic of the colonizer and the colonized. It is a study of a black man's experience of colonialism and Europe, where he formulated the so-called postcolonial paradox: either I demand that others do not notice my skin color, or I want them to notice

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[4] Gustavsson 1996, 2007
[5] Kemp, 2010

it. The problems he formulated are still timely; how are identities created in a global society? How are racist stereotypes created and maintained? The ideas and texts of the postcolonial period have their background in liberation movements from colonialism. Decolonization did not mean that the colonial ideas, subordination, and oppression left either the colonial powers or the colonized countries.

A next step in the development of the postcolonial ideas is the influence from Foucault and poststructuralist philosophy. Edward Said wrote about how "The Orient" was created by intellectuals in the West, and in the same way Valentin Mudimbe wrote about how the picture of Africa as primitive was created as justifying colonialism[6]. They both show how East and West were constructed as dichotomies in relation to each other. Language as social practice is used by Spivak and Bhabha with the intention to show how discourses shape how we consider the differences between races and groups of people.

There are different forms of ideas produced in the postcolonial field, expressed from different parts of the globe. The most dominant writers and philosophers, such as Spivak and Bhabha, come from India. Mudimbe comes from Africa, and Mignolo from South America. It is a common problem to describe colonized people in essential terms. This has been a tendency in the early movements of Negritude in Africa and in the Indian movement in the Andes[7]. There is a need to formulate one's own identity against the colonizer, the dominant European. Essentialism has been criticized by many postcolonial writers, who consider it to be a tool to describe the subordinated in stereotypes or as having special natures. Spivak has called this *strategic essentialism*[8]. On the other hand, though, it expresses a need to formulate a clear identity against the colonizer.

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[6] Said, 1978; Mudimbe, 1994
[7] Aman, 2014
[8] Spivak, 1993

The critical point for many is the question of knowledge. There are different modes and formulations of knowledge in terms of indigenous knowledge directed to the Western monopole on the definition of knowledge [9].

Homi Bhabha identifies two different discourses of the multicultural. Onein particular says that we live in a society consisting of homogenous groups that are different and separated from each other. South Africa was and still is such a society. Another discourse is universal and defines the differences in relation to a normative center, like the melting pot society. There are also differences within a group, without a center, and similarities between groups. Groups of people are constantly changing and the society is more and more described as a hybrid society. *Hybridity* means that identities are changing and a process of translation is taking place between differences. What traditionally is considered to be fixed identities is changing in a world of migration and diaspora. In the process a *third space* is activated, showing the differences in change. In the spaces between differences both in groups and between groups, something new and unforeseeable emerges [10].

For most of the writers in the field it is not a question of either uncritically agreeing or adherence to the Western values, or rejecting values such as democracy or human rights. Instead it is to criticize the selective applications, or powers of interpretation of these values.

The universal and the particular

There is, as we have seen, both in the concept of bildung and in the postcolonial field, a play or a problem on the relationship between what we generally can call the universal and the particular, or sometimes the local and the global. The universal is expressed here in terms of human rights, criteria for social justice, or certain values, and the particular is expressed in terms of diversity and differences. This problem is treated in many ways

[9] Mignolo
[10] Bhabha, 1994

in the social sciences. One way to formulate the need for both is to say that the global without the local is empty, and the local without the global is blind[11]. This is the central point in contemporary research and discussion about what is called globalization, cosmopolitanism, or a multi- or intercultural society. If we look expansively at the field of social sciences and philosophy, we can identify some representations for the universal. The universal is then described in another way than the traditional European concept of universalism from the Enlightenment, formulated after the critique of the power over other cultures, and the reverse of this tradition in colonialism[12]. The criticized form of universalism was and is the universalization of the European. He calls it "universal universalism" – or a universalism including all people on the globe. But there are representations of the particular as traditions, differences, and diversity. It can be in terms of communalism, identities, or defense from different minorities in relation to the Western power or norm.

Representations of the universal

Universalism has been understood for a long time as the Western Enlightenment's values spread over the world. This has been a part of the colonization of other peoples and cultures, represented as civilizing efforts. But in social sciences today, after a hard critique of the form of universalism, other forms which include all people have been created. Different traditions, however, use different vocabularies to express what is meant by the universal and the particular. One common usage is to say moral universalism and ethical particularism. Here the moral refers to Kant's universal form of moral thinking, formulated in universals.

In the fields of social sciences and philosophy there are some representatives of the universal rights and values, in terms of democracy. Jürgen Habermas has a universal criterion for democracy – that those people affected by a decision should have been participants in making that decision. This means that neither tradi-

[11] Beck, 2004
[12] Wallerstein 2006, Fanon, 1971

tion nor authority should be decisive for the result, but rather the rational arguments. This form of communicative democracy has been posited as an alternative for those who wish to democratize parliamentary democracy. It is rational; rational conversations are the way to solve common problems [13].

Within this tradition, Seyla Benhabib is one of those who has formulated the relationship between the universal and the particular:

> I will insist *on the necessary disjunction as well as the necessary mediation between the moral and the ethical, the moral and the political*. The task is one of mediations, not reductions. How can one mediate moral universalism with ethical particularism.......
> The tension between universal human rights claims and particularistic cultural and national identities is constitutive of democratic legacy. Modern democracies act in the name of universal principles, which are then circumscribed within a particular civic society [14].

For Benhabib, people's narratives are important for communicating a wider meaning than rational arguments alone.

Another representation of the universal is what has been called the *capability approach*. The economist Amartya Sen and philosopher Martha C. Nussbaum have formulated a precondition for democratic development. It is not enough to have the right to participate; one must also have the capability to participate in society. This is an argument for education and schooling, also transformed in practice around the world. For Sen, parliamentary democracy is the basis for development, but it has to be extended to include people's potential to develop their capabilities. For Nussbaum, ethical values are formulated in lists of what every human being needs to live a good life [15]. This precondition for democracy is based on an Aristotelian understanding of human potential and human flourishing. I have used it myself with the intention of defending Swedish popular education against neo-

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[13] Habermas, 1992
[14] Benhabib, 2006, pp. 19f32
[15] Nussbaum, 2000

liberal arguments for utility and human capital. It entails a wider understanding of what utility this activity has for society.

Cosmopolitanism has for a long time been a response to the fact that we as humans are living on one common globe, in one universe, in a single cosmos. The very idea of being a citizen of the world and not of the local area has long been linked to the Cynics and Stoics in the West, and to many other modes of thought in other parts of the world. The problem is that many representatives of cosmopolitanism project their own local or particular ideas and identities onto the whole globe, and onto others. In the educational field the Danish philosopher Peter Kemp gives an historical view of the idea of citizens of the world. The core definition is produced with the help of mimesis in three steps – Mimesis 1 is the prenarrated, or preunderstood life, Mimesis 2 is our narrative or understanding here and now, and Mimesis 3 is the new understanding we gain when we have taken part in other stories, creations, or forms of life. The ambition here is to take educational understanding out of the narrow national or local space for the education of world citizens [16].

Another more general cosmopolitan solution is suggested by Kwame Appiah in *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2006). Appiah was born in Ghana and educated in England, and is now a professor of philosophy in the U.S. As a philosopher he is unusual in the way that he explains his thoughts with stories, many from the double experience of Ghana and the U.S. He uses cosmopolitanism instead of globalization and multiculturalism, the first being too much of a market strategy, and the other too much of a disease which has to be cured. The main answer for Appiah is conversation over different borders, to be open to new experiences. Having obligations to others includes taking seriously the value of individual human lives. Universal concern for others and respect for legitimate differences can often clash, so cosmopolitanism can be the name not of a solution but of the challenge. Some values are universal and others local. We are different but the lesson is that we can learn from each other's

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[16] Kemp, 2010

differences. We live as in a shattered mirror and this means that we can find parts of the truth everywhere and the whole truth nowhere. No little piece of the mirror can reflect the whole. But to think that my little piece is my truth and your little piece is an equal truth – that is to say, relativism – is the same as saying that we live in different worlds. The meaning of conversation is to learn from each other, otherwise there could be silence. There are overlaps in our vocabulary of values which make conversation possible, but that does not mean that we can always come to an agreement. Thin universal values become thick when they apply to local contexts. The particular is in the universal. The answer is contamination between differences. Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* is a good example of hybridity, impurity, and intermingling. The main ingredients of cosmopolitanism are pluralism and fallibilism. The first is to realize that there are many values worth living by, to hope that there are different values to live by, and to know that we cannot live by all of them. The second is to realize that our knowledge is imperfect, provisional, and subject to revision in the face of new evidence.

The particular

In an attempt to analyze two particular concepts, European bildung and African Ubuntu, both in terms of difference and unity, I can recognize similarities and differences. Read in a hermeneutic tradition of transposing the particular to the universal, the understanding of bildung can be widened if it is related to other parts of the world. In searching for points of transition and dialogue between traditions, established borders can be disrupted in the act of conjoining, and both bildung and Ubuntu allow a reconsideration. It is in the space between the familiar and the unfamiliar, the particular and the universal, that possibilities for new understanding emerge.

In the field of democracy there are critiques of universalism, especially of Habermas's universalism, formulated clearly by Chantal Mouffe and her concept of agonistic democracy, taking place in a decentralized society. The idea is that conflict and passion are

important features of a democracy [17]. This represents an under-standing of democracy against a view of the citizen as an egoistic individual and society as a result of the different views involved coming together in consensus. In the same way, we can find certain representatives for the particular in social sciences and philosophy. The main characteristic here is giving priority to communalities or identities, often defined in opposition to modern traits of Western universalism. The point of departure here is that all parts of the world, including Europe, represent the particular in a way, or that no part has any license to represent humanity, or the universal [18]. Habermas criticizes traditional hermeneutics for its ethical particularism, in contrast to what he calls the moral, expressed in Kantian terms. The particular in hermeneutics consists of communalities for interpretation. This can be used politically in many different ways. It can be used as a defense of traditional hierarchical values. It can be a defense of the province, the nation, the tribe, or the religious group. It can be a defense of the right to develop one's own particular identity against what can be considered to be the norm, for instance the white, middle-class, heterosexual man.

The communitarians formulate these group-specific ideas, forgetting the common human identity and describing certain groups of people in essential terms. This essentialism has been criticized for its tendency to culturalize human behavior or qualities. Translated into postcolonial thought, it has been a useful tool for investigating the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. The very word diversity, understood as describing a multicultural society consisting of different homogenous groups, is replaced here by difference. Difference leads to hybridity and a third space, where it is impossible to group people and attribute characteristics and behavior to a specific group [19]

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[17] Jezierska, 2011
[18] Chakrabarty, 2008
[19] Bhabha, 1994

The other

There is a common source of bildung and the other – Hegel's *The Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1807). Hegel was totally caught up in a Western tradition, for instance heignored Africa in the development of the world spirit. But on the other hand he created the concept of the other, which serves as a theme throughout history to give voice to the oppressed. The other is formulated by Hegel in terms of lordship and bondage. The context is the creation of our self-consciousness, which is created when it is being acknowledged by another. When a

> …self-consciousness is faced by another self-consciousness; it has come out of itself. This has a two-fold significance: first, it has lost itself, for it finds itself as another being; secondly, in doing so it has superseded the other, for it does not see the other as an essential being, but in the other sees its own self[20].

This is the point of departure for the whole story of recognition. This relationship is necessary both for the lord and the bondsman; they hold each other in chains, both in a struggle to death, and mediated in recognition. This idea is continued in the Marxist relationship between the capitalist and the worker, in the feminist relationship between man and woman[21], and in the postcolonial relationship between the colonizer and the colonized[22] . The common solutions to the problem of oppression, emancipation, or liberation are, as we know, revolution, or eternal historical struggle. Hegel regarded the possibility of liberation as being the bondsman realizing him-or herself in the material world, through work with physical exertion. The master is dependent on that, and is for this reason more dependent on the bondsman than vice versa. Paris in the 1930s- and 40s is said to have experienced the first postcolonial wave. Through Kojevé's re-interpretation of Hegel, both Beauvoir (*Le Deuxième Sex)*, and Fanon create their versions of the reason for, and the liberation from, oppression. This is the first time Africa is recognized from a postcolonial perspective in Europe. Fanon writes in his *Peau Noir, Masques*

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[20] Hegel, p.111
[21] Beauvoir
[22] Fanon

Blancs that he believes in a new form of humanism, beyond the categories put forward by colonial powers. At the same moment as the colonizer sees himself as the owner of the true humanism he is denying it, because to be true it has to apply to every human being. At the same moment as the colonizer demands "Western" universal values, he has revealed them as particular. Fanon believes in a true humanism and a new form of universalism. The way to achieve it is not to deny the other, but to recreate the inter-subjective relations. To deny the humanness of the colonizer is to deny oneself. The means of achieving this is by using dialogue and diplomacy, the re-codification of established values, and as Spivak later formulated, by using "a never-ending critique of what you cannot deny human rights".

Bildung in transformation

Bildung has become a central concept in modernity, mostly used in the neo-humanistic tradition to widen and develop what is known as the *hard Enlightenment*[23] with a wider understanding of reason than instrumental reason, including values, personal development, and ethics. It is in this version that we find an individualistic concept the bildung of the personality. Today the classical concept of bildung is used in many ways in the educational system, mostly as a means of widening the understanding of knowledge and education. *The classical* is rooted in the humanistic tradition with the development of the personality as the aim, i.e. relating knowledge to personal and human growth. Vilhelm von Humboldt used it as a tool in the development of universities into research institutions, from having previously been mainly career-oriented institutions. Free search for knowledge had free institutions as a prerequisite, free from the market and the state. In the development it became elitist and in the school system had a strong emphasis on classical and cultural heritage, originating from the classical Greek and Western traditions. Today it is expressed in the canon tradition, with great works here again focusing on Western classics[24]. The opposite is expressed in terms

[23] Liedman
[24] Bloom, 1991

of identity politics in terms of class, gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality. Expressed in Foucauldian terms it is the white, middle-class, heterosexual male who carries the power while marginalizing other identities. In a book I published in 2007 there were contributions which transformed bildung in both high tech-cultural and postcolonial terms. Here, the humanistic subject does not exist; cyberspace, cyborg, and the internet stand are in focus. The postcolonial interpretation of Goethe's concept of world literature is formulated in terms of different literature from different parts of the world mirroring each other [25].

The basis of understanding bildung as a journey, or interpretation and understanding is what Gadamer expresses with a quote from Hegel: "To find your own in the foreign and the foreign in your own" [26]. The idea of bildung in the version I use has the same source, in the *Phenomenology of Spirit,* which can be interpreted as a journey, an excursion, and return. Humanity (limited to the West for him) makes an excursion from its origins in Athens in 400 BCE, however it becomes alienated in its relationship with bildung, and in the search for its return home in the reconciliation between the individual, the civil society and the state. It has to do with alienation, how we from our own interpretations, the acquainted, open ourselves up to the unknown and foreign. In terms of experience we leave our familiar "home", go out into the world and meet new experiences, and then come back to a new home, making new interpretations because we have encountered something new out there. This relation between the known and the unknown is a crucial question. From an ordinary hermeneutic point of view we widen our horizons when we assimilate the foreign and unknown into what is already understood. The too often misunderstood metaphor Gadamer uses for opening, to set the former interpretation in play, is simply play (spiel). To take a step further, we have to *make the already acquainted foreign to us* in order to take in a new interpretation. Here lies the transformation of the hermeneutics which opens up the postcolonial horizon. It is in *the space between* where a new interpreta-

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[25] Lövlie & Jonsson in Gustavsson, 2007
[26] Gadamer, 1985

tion is made, in the translation, where creativity and imagination opens for new possibilities. The German and Swedish words for experience are *erfahrung*, and *erfarenhet*, the root being "fahr"/ "far", which means to go out, to travel. The story of excursion and return can be multi-faceted and rich. In the Western tradition we have them in the Odyssey and in the Bible. The Odyssey can today be interpreted critically, in terms of gender and in postcolonial transformations. It is a story told and retold. The lost son in the Bible can refer to gaining understanding of oneself by initially losing oneself. The classical story from the last century, James Joyce's *Ulysses*, is a story of an antihero, losing himself during a day in Dublin in colonized Ireland. In postcolonial literature the stories are other stories, treating the problem of belonging to an unstable, ambivalent world, the enigma of the arrival, to be hybridized. This double experience adds richness to these narratives. We can find the story of excursion and return in stories from the Andes, from African legends, and from India. Is it a universal way to tell the story of the human being.

A classical notion of bildung is to travel to other countries and cultures in order to widen horizons, experience, and understanding. Bildung as a journey has developed today into a concept where travel is a metaphor for human interpretation of the world, for understanding and personal development. There is a hidden concept in the works of Hans Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, which describe bildung as travel, or an excursion and return, and into a concept of education for a world citizen. Gadamer's work *Truth and Method* (1960; 1989) takes its point of departure from a few humanistic, classical concepts, and names bildung as the most important, the most productive and influential concept of the 18th century. His ambition is to give the humanities a new framework, and he develops the tradition of hermeneutics in its modern shape. The key words to understanding bildung as a journey are the known and the unknown, *the acquainted and the unacquainted*. The individual travels, metaphorically speaking, from the already known, and from there we make an excursion and open ourselves to experience the unknown and foreign. We return and what we come back to is a new home, because of the new experiences we have made in opening ourselves to new

interpretations. This is linked to central concepts in the tradition of bildung, where dialogue, understanding – to be open to something new, to relate ourselves to the world we live in are important. This concept of bildung I have introduced in the Nordic countries [27]. The Danish philosopher Peter Kemp, also partly inspired by Grundtvig, took this concept of bildung as a point of departure for forming the idea of the world citizen. I had built this concept of bildung on Hans Georg Gadamer myself and on the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur. Here, the connection between the individual and the social is re-established; a good life with and for others, in just institutions, are the code words here.

Literary representations of the postcolonial

World literature has most often been seen as an established body of classics, or masterpieces, or multiple windows on the world. Goethe is one of the classical authors in the classical tradition of bildung, and he holds these concepts together. One of his most famous and discussed concepts is world literature, and what he could mean by that. It is in his conversations with his disciple Eckerman that he most clearly expresses what he means. He said that:

> …poetry is the universal possession of mankind, revealing itself everywhere and at all times in hundreds and hundreds of men…. I therefore like to look about me in foreign nations, and advise everyone to do the same. National literature is now a rather unmeaning term; the epoch of world literature is at hand and everyone must strive to hasten its approach… from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature. [28]

This can be transformed into today's discussion of bildung and the understanding of world literature. Damrosch takes "world literature to encompass all literary works that circulate beyond the culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language". It is in this sense not so much a canon of works, but rather "a mode of circulation and reading".

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[27] Gustavsson, 1996
[28] Damrosch, 2003, p.

It is in literature that we find the core and complexity of both bildung and the postcolonial. The traditional understanding is that Goethe meant the spreading of the great classical books out to other parts of the world, whereas a postcolonial interpretation says that world literature is where *different forms of literature from different parts of the world are reflected in each other*[29]. This means that all literature is particular, but when works are mirrored in each other we can talk of world literature. Bildung here is widened to encompass the whole world. This new interpretation opens possibilities to transform the concept of bildung into a true global concept. The literature, philosophy, and social science produced in this field open up new understandings both of the other and of ourselves. The universal is not immediately related to the West or Europe; indeed a new understanding of the universal in relation to differences and diversity, is opened up There are exemplary literary works which can be labeled as postcolonial. Hybridity is illustrated in Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*, where the main persons are transformed in the space between London and Bombay. The novel creates transformations and discusses the interpretation of the holy Koran, both in Bombay and in London, and over time. A good example is Tayeb Salih, who in *The Season of Migration to the North* turns Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* upside down. The story starts in a village in Sudan and goes via Cairo to London, where the conqueror uses his talents to seduce woman, and back to Sudan. The story ends with the same horror, as in Heart of Darkness. This focus of literature has resulted in research and discussions about reinterpretations of what can be called world literature and how we can treat them generally, even Western classics, or literature generally in relation to different backgrounds.

Reflections and connections

In the concept of bildung there is a main idea, that the human being can develop his or her humanity when relating to other human beings, or to the human creations in humankind. From the founding and in the historical development of bildung, there are

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[29] Jonsson, 2007

categories of human beings excluded from the field of bildung – woman, slaves, workers, immigrants. For a long time bildung was reserved for middle-class men. But in the development of popular education in the Nordic countries we can see how first the working class, then the women, and last the immigrants fight for their right to gain entrance into the institutions of popular education. This is taking place in popular movements, and is expressed in terms of justice, equality, and democracy. The classical concept is still an elitist thing, an activity for the well-educated few.

Bildung as an excursion and return opens itself for generalizing the possibility for every human being to go, or be in such a process of richer interpretations and wider understanding. Human growth can take place everywhere, with different experiences and activities. So if we hold on to the main idea of bildung, every human being relates to what is human. Let's consider the human to be a narrative creature. We understand ourselves and the world we live in with narratives. We each have our own story to understand our own life. We widen the understanding in taking part of others. We are in this sense *oneself as another*. Self-esteem has connections to sociality and friendship, which in turn have a relation to considering every human being as such.

In what is called world literature as it was understood by Goethe and nowadays renewed by postcolonial writers, we see how the horizon widens to the global. Bildung is then taken out of a limitation to the West or the European. When particular forms of literature are reflected in each other there is a growing understanding of the whole. The connection between a hermeneutic and a postcolonial understanding of bildung can be found in the space between the acquainted and the unacquainted, in the "nothingness" rising when we open ourselves for a new interpretation. The term for this in classical hermeneutics is play; we set ourselves in play when leaving an interpretation, such we do in a true dialogue. It is related to the third space as it is formulated by Bhabha:

> It is in the inter – the cutting edge of translation and negation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of meaning of culture. It makes it possible to begin envisaging national, antinationalist

> histories of the "people". And by exploring this Third space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves"[30]

When this is transformed into mimesis, the prenarrative, the narrative and the renarrative, we have the connection to educating world citizens, but still in a Western framework. No one who has written about bildung or liberal education has connected the Western tradition to non European or postcolonial.

It is most curious that the founder of both bildung as a relation between the foreign and our own and the other, Friedrich Hegel, considered Europe to be the norm for historical development. Still, the generation of the hermeneutic creators, Gadamer and Ricoeur, are in the framework of Western narratives and philosophy. But in the same way as Goethe can be understood in a new way about world literature, Hegel's concepts are used in order to widen the understanding of bildung and the conditions for making it global.

The contribution of the postcolonial to the discussion and conception of bildung is primarily to show how a particular tradition has power to make itself universal, and how a reflection between differences can widen our understanding of the world we live in.

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[30] Bhabha, 1994

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Ellen Key and the concept of *Bildung*

Ronny Ambjörnsson

Who remembers Ellen Key today? Certainly some have heard her name somewhere. But what she did and what she stood for are probably not known by many. Around the turn of the century in 1900 her name was on many lips, not just in Sweden but also in major parts of Western Europe. Alongside Selma Lagerlöf and August Strindberg, she was the Swedish author best-known abroad. Her book *Barnets århundrade* [The Century of the Child] had come out in more than twenty editions just in Germany at the beginning of the 1920s, and she made many long lecture tours there in the early 1900s. When she died in 1926, the entire first page of the major Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* was devoted to her death; the text's implacable announcement "Ellen Key dies" almost gave the impression that the entire country was in compulsory national mourning.

Ellen Key belongs to Sweden's intellectual and cultural history, and in fact not only its history. Hardly a day passes without a mention of the problems she thought about turning up in the public debate. This is especially so concerning her ideas about education, schools, and teaching. It also concerns the ideas that the school should stimulate students to do their own knowledge-seeking, that education is not just intellectual and knowledge-oriented but also has its emotional sides, and especially that education involves a commitment to public affairs. The goal of the school is citizenship, a citizenship that includes all, regardless of gender or social class.

Ellen Key was not a particularly original thinker. But she was very well-read, and was influenced not just by the age in which she lived but also by thinkers of earlier times, such as Goethe, Rousseau and Montaigne. She was in the best meaning of the word a European intellectual, and one of the last people in Swedish cultural history for whom the whole European tradition of ideas was real. She often associated herself, where education was concerned, with traditions that had roots in other times. In order to properly understand Ellen Key, we must learn to understand these traditions. But we also need to use them to understand ourselves, because the idea traditions that Key believed in are central in the history of ideas in the Western world.

My intention in this article is to present Key's educational concept, as well as to show her place in the radical educational tradition of which she is a part. Ellen Key believed that she participated in a discourse that has continued throughout the history of thinking, in which one reply gives rise to another. This makes it important not to just emphasise the points by which she may have been influenced, but also – within reasonable limits – to try to describe the entire long discourse. In other words, I intend to be quite detailed in my review of the early ideas to which Ellen Key connects.

Knowledge, education, class

Ellen Key saw a distinct difference between knowledge and education. She wrote in her eighth journal, dated May 1873:

> In a person's development the soul is either a space that is filled with knowledge, or a God-image that is created through education. The former is the material for the latter; there can be knowledge without education; it is the lower foundation which is built upon or not built upon.

The statement is a little complicated, but what Key thought is that knowledge is ethically neutral; it can be filled with both good and bad contents. Education is like that, it always makes us slightly better people, more like God (Key's world of ideas was still quite Christianity-based at this point).

Education is connected, said Ellen Key, to opinions, which in turn are based on different perspectives. Opinions cannot fill a space because they are not constant; they grow from the perspective shifts with which life presents us. We are thus forced to use an organic imagery in discussing opinions; they "root themselves", "mature", and give birth to new "seeds of thought". Knowledge can be accumulated, amassed. But education cannot, as it does not emanate only from knowledge, but also from opinions about that knowledge. It is important to remain open to new opinions, although only to a certain limit. Opinions must be based on knowledge and have its origins in our personalities. Ellen Key argued thus – the quote comes from her third journal, February 1870:

> Persons who never change their opinions have opinions that are stone fruits from which no life can sprout. Those who change their views every day, their views are weeds that a summer night's rain brings forth, but which just as quickly are torn up or dried out, they are never fully developed nor do they generate anything lasting, hardly even the seeds of new weeds. Only those who have opinions that can be likened to slowly maturing, healthy fruits, which eventually in the natural order die after they have given life to new noble, vigorous seeds – only these opinions benefit others as well as the persons who possess them.

With this approach, from an early stage Ellen Key was critical of the school, not just of the state secondary grammar school, but also of the primary school. The school builds on the concept that there is a general education which should be made available to all pupils. But such a general education is, said Key, an abstraction, as education always proceeds from individual experience and personal needs. The latter also applies to learning basic skills like writing and reading. The child must understand that writing fills a personal need.

> For each proficiency a goal should be set that the child herself can understand to require this proficiency. In the case of writing, it is not like getting blood from a stone, but rather having the pleasure of being able to write a letter ...every reward should grow out of the work, and not grow beside the work...

It is thus important that the child study the subject that interests her just then. There must be a possibility to choose the field of study; the choice itself has an educational function. It should also be pointed out at this early stage that the strong individualism that characterized almost all of Ellen Keys' texts was not a goal in itself. It was rather the great number of individual voices that together create the good society.

Education is also a matter of understanding the context. Here, said Key, narratives play a major role, especially for the small child. The narrative indicates a basic chronological, and often also a geographical order. For that reason one should not jump here and there in history or geography but rather bring together details into larger units in which the internal connections are apparent. The best upbringing small children can receive, according to Key, is in the home. It is there that it is most natural to combine theory and practice, the worlds of the book and the kitchen. It is also in the home that the best narratives are born, ones that often take on the forms of fairy tales or nursery rhymes.

The home appears as the central socialising milieu even in the early letters Ellen Key wrote to various family members. Frequently recurring in her pedagogical ideas is the idea that the first instruction a child receives should be in the home, which in her descriptions appeared to be very much like her own childhood home, but with the eradication of the dissension that occurred there. The school should give knowledge, but it is the job of the home to create an atmosphere in which knowledge appears naturally.

It is also in the home that the child obtains the morals that are required of her as an adult. Ellen Key was a firm believer in the consequentialism that was first expressed in *Émile,* Rousseau's *bildungsroman* (to which we shall return later). Someone who commits a wrong should feel the consequences of that wrong. Key wrote in her fourth journal (1869):

> I have through my observations of myself and Hedda come to
> the great truth that all the advice, learning, and veracities one

uses in education do not bear fruit until one has been able to *experience* their truth.

For the same reason Ellen Key was very critical of corporal punishment. One should never beat a child. Beating seldom makes the child realize what error she has made; it only awakens feelings of revenge. And furthermore, bodily punishment appeals primarily to the "beast in man", the beast that one otherwise strives so hard to obliterate in the child.

These thoughts appeared in a more developed form in the essays she wrote in the 1880s and 1890s, as well as in the book *The Century of the Child*. But it was as a teenager that she first had these thoughts, no doubt as a result of the unique position she occupied in the Keys' home. A schematic description of her conception of knowledge could look like this: knowledge is a prerequisite for education, which in turn is based on various perspectives that one has acquired through reading or through meeting people with varying opinions. Education is a prerequisite for insight, a word that Key now and then used (to indicate a deeper understanding).

In her essay *Bildning* [Education], Key first discussed various definitions of the concept. Some see education, she wrote, as primarily a matter of comprehension, and think that the educated person is distinguished by a certain measure of knowledge in various subjects. Such a definition is however, claimed Key, too narrow. She also rejected the idea that education first and foremost refers to an educated manner or an educated taste, which of course is nothing more than an "unoriginal imitation" of certain modes of a temporary nature. Nor did the expression "education by the heart", often used in Sweden, find favour with Ellen Key, in the sense that it just refers to benevolence. The very kind-hearted parent can often, for example, not understand that a daughter is more interested in studies than in household work. Here one can suspect that the author was talking from her own experience (even though Ellen Key's mother accepted the fact that her daughter had little interest in kitchen matters).

Each one of these definitions has, confessed Key, a great deal going for it. But it isn't until they are collected into a whole that we can talk about education.

> The less we can distinguish the heart's, the brain's or the sense of beauty's expressions, the more completely each educational material is incorporated and implemented by the *whole* personality, and the richer and more real the education is (p. 6).

The basis of Ellen Key's education concept is what she called "the fundamental soul capacities" which include memory, imagination, intelligence and feeling. True education lies in a "lively interaction" between these capacities. With the help of the soul's capacities, images are formed in the soul that contribute to intensifying and refining the character. Key saw the soul as a kind of bank for such images. "The soul should be filled with images, idea associations, personal experiences from knowledge's various areas." (p 12) The images are transformed the whole time, entering into new combinations, loaded with new feelings, and acquire other contents; education is a process that is continuously activated. This means that the educational work has no end; a school cannot issue a certificate for a completed educational passage.

However Ellen Key was painfully conscious that there are class barriers to break down here; she was in fact lecturing to a Social Democratic association made up mostly of women workers, but it was given in the Royal Swedish Academy of Science's auditorium, which not all might dare to enter. She also said in the lecture that "differences in levels of education make up the deepest of all class marks", an opinion that she often voiced, and which was an important background for her long labour for general education. In her lectures at Stockholm's Workers Institute, it was precisely the value of literature that, aside from history, was a recurrent theme. She wanted to convey a message about literature's great men and women, not to create respect for them, but rather to establish a sort of "dead poets society" and let Shakespeare, Dante, Sophocles and Goethe become "friends and acquaintances" of the lone reader in his "attic room" (p 19). There was a strong civic element in Ellen Key's educational view. She also expressed the basic humanistic idea that the individual human being is de-

veloped by studying humanity's historical and collective experiences. And finally, there was in Ellen Key's educational view an increasingly apparent aesthetic dimension.

The influence of Herbert Spencer

Ellen Key's pedagogy was strongly centred on the individual. She criticised the concept of "general education" and would like to have replaced it with an education shaped around the needs and temperament of the individual. She also stated that real education requires personal involvement and individual knowledge acquisition. One thinker whose message she was influenced by early on was Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), one of individualism's first interpreters. Spencer, in turn, is often connected with Charles Darwin (1809–1882), the great pioneer of the doctrine of evolution. There is also an evolutionary concept in Spencer's work, and in Ellen Key's time Spencer was probably quoted as often as Darwin, at least among authors. While Darwin's argument concerned primarily biological circumstances, Spencer developed the evolutionary theory into a model for all areas of life – both human and other biological species – of slow, ongoing change. This process was characterized, said Spencer, by three simultaneous phases: a transition from the simple to the complex, from the indefinite to the definite, and from the loosely conjoined to the increasingly connected. Even in the most subtle areas of human existence, such as ethics and psychology, Spencer believed that an evolutionary process could be discerned, in which a later stage was more valuable than an earlier one. The independent individual functions as a well-integrated and coherent personality, capable of definite and well thought-out decisions.

Spencer also believed that the habits that people developed grow into qualities, a condition that is vital to understanding Spencer's evolutionism, which is based on the assumption that acquired qualities are hereditary. Qualities that the educator seeks to develop in the child thus become an investment for the future; they are inherited by the next generation and will later, if education is made general, become a part of the culture.

Spencer's book on education, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, was published in 1861, which was early in his career. But even by that time he had developed the main theories of his philosophical system. The evolution that Spencer saw everywhere in life also applies to education. The child's education must be designed so that it connects with this development – that is the meaning in what Spencer called "natural education".

The most important element of a natural education is that the instruction takes place step by step. The educator must be cognizant of the fact that there is "a universal order" according to which the child develops. "The development of the soul is, like all other development, a progression from the indefinite to the definite".[1] The little child sees the world as adults in the Stone Age saw it. The ever-present nature gave the prehistoric man a firm reality to struggle with, and the child must repeat this, though in a much shorter time span – and when possible, under the supervision of an educator/advisor. The child is, according to Spencer, a primitive creature:

> In her early years every civilized person goes through the same character development as the barbaric species from which she is descended. Just as the child's facial features – the flat nose, the nostrils that open forwards, the thick lips, the widely-spaced eyes, the undeveloped forehead, and so on – for a time resemble those of the savage, so do its instincts. Hence the child's inclination for cruelty, thievery, and lies... (p. 167).

The child should be civilized with the help of its education, or in other words go though the same civilizing process that humanity has gone through during its development from "barbarism" to civilization. Spencer's description of the child is simultaneously a description of primitive people, especially Africans as they were described in the rapidly increasing numbers of travel books appearing at the time by travellers like Stanley, Burton, Speke and others. The description stresses the comparison of "the primitive human" to a child who cannot care for itself, but must be

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[1] p. 83. The quote is from Herbert Spencer, *Uppfostran i intellektuellt, moraliskt och fysiskt afseende* [Education in an Intellectual, Ethical and Physical Reference] (Stockholm, 1883), p. 90

led by the hand, so to speak, into the civilized world. Spencer's evolutionism furnished in this way an argument for colonialism, while it also guided parents, teachers and staff at institutions for juveniles.

This concurrence should however not hinder us from seeing the emancipatory elements in Spencer's educational theories. The blind discipline which at that time was dominant in most schools and certainly in most homes in both Sweden and England, was severely questioned by Spencer, who was a spokesman for milder methods, and allowed space for the child's self-activity. Educating the new generation, writes Spencer as he expressed himself in terms that Ellen Key would repeat later, must be an art that that was embraced by everyone. It is certainly high time to educate the future educators now.

Ellen Key read Herbert Spencer's *Education* in a Danish translation in 1879, which can be seen in her journal of the books she read.[2] During the 1880s she studied several of Spencer's works, including *The Data of Ethics* and *The Study of Sociology*. In reading Spencer, Key entered into the philosophy of progressive education and its traditions. Spencer was certainly not very generous in referring to precursors, but we know that he was influenced by the Swiss educator Johan Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827).[3] Spencer of course also knew about Pestalozzi's source of inspiration, Rousseau's *Emile, ou de l'Education* [Emile, Or About Education] (1762), and he also refers to John Locke (1632–1704) and his *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693).

But what especially attracted Ellen Key to Spencer was the theory of evolution, the accomplished perspective on development. Our way of thinking and feeling is not a given for all time. It has gone through a series of basic changes, and can be changed in the same way in the future. This gives us freedom, but it also makes demands. If acquired characteristics are inherited, which

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[2] "Lästa böcker [Books read] 1878-79-80" L 41 2:2.
[3] Herbert Spencer, *Critical Assessments*, - vol., ed. John Offer (London & New York, 2000), vol. IV, p. 290ff.

Key argues along with Spencer, then education has a strategic role in society. The character-forming at which education aims then becomes not just a matter for our own time. The qualities that education forms in an individual are inherited by that person's descendents. The educator must therefore always have the future in mind. For Ellen Key, education had, like so much else in her philosophy, a utopian dimension. The children and young people we educate today will make possible another, better society tomorrow.

This utopian dimension separated her thinking from the naturalism that was so popular in the literature of the end of the 1800s, and that stressed the inevitable role of biological heritage. Milieu and education could only have a surface influence on the character we have inherited from our forefathers. Especially the French literature came to isolate the problem; heritage was often placed against milieu. This provoked the question of which of these factors were the most meaningful, and which had the decisive influence on the character of the individual. Here the French naturalism came to put the emphasis on heritage. In Sweden it was especially Strindberg who took up the French naturalism's speculations on the significance of heritage, and in Norway it was Ibsen and Björnson.

Björnson differed, however, from Strindberg in questioning the determinism that characterized the French naturalism. Here Ellen Key stood closest to Björnson, as she did in so many other contexts. In a long review in the journal *Verdandi* of Björnson's novel *Det flager i Byen og paa Havnen* [Flags are Flying in Town and Port], which was published in 1884, Key discussed heritage and milieu. The novel is about how a man, Tomas Rendalen, who from his entire heritage was predestined to become a man of dissolute habits, is transformed by his mother's upbringing, and attains, as Key put it, "ethical purity". The book's main principle can, according to Key, be expressed in Björnson's words as "Heritage is only a condition, not a determination". Björnson's main effort lay, writes Key, in that he so forcibly underlined that "education can modify the heredity factors". What Björnson hoped to achieve, wrote Key, is "transformed heredity factors", espe-

cially regarding the species' relation to ethics and responsibility. This shall be achieved through changed education, especially for women, "the mothers and first educators of the species".

Spencer's evolutionism was, in many ways, a constructive idea in Ellen Key's philosophy. It determined, as we shall see, her position in a number of areas that concern not just upbringing and education, but also gender power balance, outlook on life and the big question of war and peace. Evolutionism gave Key a scientific basis for the opinions she maintained. But it should be noted that Key's interpretation of evolutionism did not exclude the biological necessity that often characterizes the evolutionary philosophy. We are not steered by any unavoidable fate. Will and choice still have decisive roles in our lives.

Montaigne

Montaigne is, Key pointed out, the first to require realism, the key concept in upbringing and education in the 1880s; "Montaigne always prescribes reality for the children".[4] In Montaigne's realism, said Key, not only does the adult demonstrate or lecture, but he also lets the child himself try out whatever it is he/she is to learn. The boy – and of course it was a boy in Montaigne's time – should not only repeat a lesson orally, but also "repeat it in his actions".[5] Montaigne introduced the tradition of the activity method, which would come to play an important role in the development of the modern progressive education.

Key had also been caught up in what Montaigne stated about the significance of independence in one's studies. She cited with delight Montaigne's advice that the teacher/educator should sometimes allow the students to "trot ahead of himself" in order to get to know him/her better .[6] The child should "taste things for him-/

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[4] *Barnets århundrade II* [The Century of the Child II], p. 198.

[5] Michel de Montaigne, *Essäer* [Essays], I–III, Swedish translator Jan Stolpe (Stockholm, 1986–92), part I, 213.

[6] *Barnets århundrade II*, [The Century of the Child II], p. 191; Montaigne, a.a., 190. When horses were to be broken for riding, the first step was to let the horse trot in front while the trainer held it on long reins.

herself"; Montaigne understood "dedication's" decisive role. The teacher should not be frightened of losing the respect of the students or being seen as an "impossible" teacher in reference to discipline – here Key pleaded her own cause – it is necessary to allow the students to think and speak themselves.[7]

In Montaigne Key found someone who shared her views, someone to whom she often returned and cited in various contexts. It could be about the meaning of realism in instruction, the importance of independence, criticism of beating, and especially the strategic role that Montaigne gave to education. Education is, wrote Montaigne (anticipating Spencer), one of the most important of all human activities. But we don't care how it is done. In fact education is a very difficult art – "the greatest and most meaningful difficulty in human knowledge seems to lie in the area that includes children's physical and moral training."[8]

Montaigne was not an unknown personage in educational circles at that time. He had received a detailed presentation in the journal *Verdandi* by its editor, Anna Sandström, who saw in him a pioneer for realistic education.[9] Sandström claimed that Montaigne understood that important knowledge arises in meetings between people, not only the ones who are alive now, but also the ones "who only live in books". The latter thought was one that Key also expressed.

Ellen Key does not seem to have read Montaigne until the middle of the 1890s, when she borrowed his *Essais* from the Royal Swedish Library.[10] But she of course knew of him much earlier. In a notebook that she began in February 1883 (and ended in October 1884), she mentions Montaigne in an argument on French literature.[11] In a later notebook, dated 1896–97, she wrote a long

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[7] *Barnets århundrade II* [The Century of the Child II]; Montaigne, a.a., p. 190.

[8] Montaigne, a.a., 188.

[9] Uffe, "Historiska auktoriteter för den realistiska pedagogiken" [Historical Authorities for Realistic Pedagogy]. *Verdandi 1884:4*.

[10] Lengborn, *En studie i Ellen Keys pedagogiska tänkande…,* [A Study in Ellen Key's Educational Thinking] p. 65.

[11] L 41 2:5.

account of Montaigne's life and ideas; this apparently was a draft for a talk in a lecture series that she called "The French moralists".[12] The description of Montaigne is very long, 154 pages, and it is probable that it functioned more as a collection of material than as a proper manuscript. This can be deduced from the fact that Key often did not bother to translate the quotes, or translated only half of them. As a sort of preamble she has jotted down a few sentences that are repeated in the continuing text, and make up a kind of leitmotif: "Self-searching – a modern trait: free from authority and tradition... See oneself to follow oneself!"

It was the classical picture of Montaigne that Key adopted, the quiet thinker who had penetrated the world's strivings and now viewed life from the tower of his little castle outside of Bordeaux – "everything's uncertainty, the pleasures of the now, mankind's fleeting existence". Key believed that Montaigne does not actually want to stand out as learned, but rather as a layman who embraced literature because it pleased him. "Indefinite meditations, in which he never takes sides, judges neither himself nor others, and seeks the reasons for weakness, but doesn't judge it." As a comprehensive estimation of Montaigne, Key uses a phrase of her own invention: "a feeling for humanity". All that Montaigne achieved is conveyed in his "hatred of lies and the the strongest sense of humanity".

In *Century of the Child* we meet Montaigne's ideas about upbringing – mostly concentrated to a passage (no. 26) in the first book. Like Anna Sandström, Ellen Key made a big point of Montaigne's "realism", his striving to always proceed from the tangible example. If one can choose between "painted figs" and real ones, one should choose the real ones. Books are important, but reality is most important. Like Key's other pedagogical heroes and heroines, Montaigne is said to have "hated school". He hated "pedants", a word that Key sometimes uses to characterize teachers. Key gave a very bright picture of Montaigne's educational ideals. A good education need never be boring. "The way

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[12] L 41 2:16. The manuscript about Montaigne is not paginated.

to wisdom and virtue is shady, pleasant, and flower-strewn…" The child should learn the art of life, not the "niceties" of philosophy.

But for all that the child need not be afraid of philosophy: "*il n'est rien plus gai, plus gaillant, plus enjoué et à peu que je ne dis folâtre*" – (Key often reproduced long bits of text without translating them). The above reads in translation: "There's nothing happier, more exhilarating – more devilishly, I might even say".[13] But one should not "dumb down" the child with abstract knowledge. Our daily lives give us more than enough examples in which to find learning. Key referred to and quoted:

> The table and the garden, the bedroom and the society, morning and evening, everything gives material for study – that is, to philosophy that creates meaning and [illegible word], physical exercises, music, dancing, hunting, riding, martial arts – it is all education; the means should be merged with the soul. *Ce n'est pas une âme, et n'est pas un corps, c'est un homme: il ne faut pas faire à deux* but rather care for both as a pair of horses and rather give the body more time, for the soul learns via the body instead of the other way around.

The French quote above can be translated thus: "It is not a soul, and not a body, it is a person, and one may not divide [it] into two…". This is a key statement for understanding Ellen Key's concept of the world. The church, religion and established moral is wrong; our world is not divided into two, or dualistic, instead body and soul make up a unit, as material and soul. Ellen Key called herself at this time a "monist", a word constructed from the Greek *monos,* which means one.

John Locke

Montaigne, the sixteenth-century thinker, exerted a great influence on later thinking and literature, primarily the French thinking, of course, but also the English. In England he was often (to a certain degree rightly) perceived as English in his manner of thinking and writing. One English philosopher who was influ-

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[13] Montaigne, a.a., 203.

enced by Montaigne was John Locke, who was introduced to Montaigne's *Essais* during a stay in Holland in the 1680s. Montaigne's frequently-quoted formulation about the body's and soul's essential oneness appealed especially strongly to Locke.[14] He was presumably also attracted to the educational ideal that permeated Locke's little publication – that acquisition of knowledge is not its own goal, but instead primarily a means in the education for wisdom and ethical judgement. Ellen Key referred, not surprisingly, to Locke in her article "A review and survey" in *The Century of the Child II*. It is not possible to find any information on in what context Key was introduced to Locke, but she may have read Locke in *Skrifter af uppfostringskonstens stormän* [Writings of the Great Men in the Art of Education], a series published by Otto Salomon in 1886–97, in other words comparatively late.[15]

Like Montaigne's pedagogical thoughts that formally have the character of a letter, Locke's paper was also a long letter to a friend and benefactor. The advice on education that Locke gave in his "letter" is to a father, and deals primarily with sons who will be educated to be "gentlemen". The education is the same as character-shaping, and in that context he touched upon beating. Physical punishment creates quite simply, says Locke, bad characters.[16] Either it breaks down the boy's self-esteem, or else it makes him into a hypocrite. The goal of education is not to crush the boy's spirit, but on the contrary to strengthen it and give it a direction that in the long term will encourage the boy's character. The boy must learn to "take command of his inclinations". It is important to be able to resist the moment's temptations in order to instead follow the path that reason points out. The goal is self-control, the civilized man's – the gentleman's – foremost characteristic.

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[14] Axel Herlin in the foreword to John Locke, *Tankar om uppfostran* [Thoughts on Education] (Stockholm, 1926); the quotations from Locke are from this edition.

[15] Lengborn, *En studie i Ellen Keys pedagogiska tänkande…,* [A Study in Ellen Key's Educational Thinking] p. 64.

[16] Locke, a.a., 44f.

Locke was influenced by the puritan currents of his time, and there he differed from Montaigne. Locke believed also that a father who beats his son (and he talks only of a father, never of a mother or of both parents) is a bad example for the boy, in the sense that the father in his beating often loses his head and gives an impression of not being able to control himself. If beating is necessary, which may sometimes be the case when other methods prove insufficient, then it should not be given in connection with the offence itself, but preferably a while afterward "so that anger is not mixed into it"[17]. The educator should always appear balanced and the punishment necessary, an educational ideal that the 19th-century middle class embraced (and which was expressed in the 1900s in both literature and in Ingmar Bergman's film *Fanny and Alexander*).

Rousseau

Between Montaigne and Locke on one side and Spencer on the other stood a figure that Ellen Key came to embrace: Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The line from Montaigne, to Locke, Rousseau and Spencer appears to be the most meaningful in her pedagogical philosophy. She also saw, as she wrote in *The Century of the Child*, a likeness between Montaigne and Rousseau. Rousseau's education novel *Emile* (1762) originates, she says, in a "direct line" from Montaigne. However, she doesn't seem to have read *Emile* until about the middle of the 1880s, when the work is mentioned in the list of books she had read. Nonetheless she must certainly have heard about his ideas; both her father and her paternal grandfather were named after the book – both were called Emil. By 1874 she had read *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloise* [Julie, or the New Heloise], Rousseau's epistolary novel from 1761; this is documented in a letter to Julia Kjellberg (28.9; the book can be found in the library at Strand, in an 1843 edition from Paris). Although it was the depiction of love that interested her – *La nouvelle Héloise* was one of modern love's earliest and most-read erotic portrayals – the novel also contains a great deal of thinking about education. Julie's beloved Saint-Preux takes in

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[17] Locke, a.a., 89

the latter part of the story, after the lovers have been separated for a long time, a job as a teacher of Julie's children. In a long letter to his friend and benefactor, Saint-Preux describes the education that Julie and her husband, de Wolmar, give their children.[18] The basic principles of that upbringing are strongly reminiscent of Montaigne's ideas; Montaigne is also one of the authors to whom Rousseau often referred. They have the same shining belief in the child's own curiosity and capability. Julie describes her "educational art" as "that of a gardener"; she allows the plant to grow with its own energy and just sees to it that it has a good soil to grow in.

Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloise was published in 1761, and one year later came *Émile, ou de L'education* [Emile, or About Education] a book whose main theme was education. *Émile* is a kind of intermediary form between novel and thesis. It is about a teacher who devoted his life to educating the orphaned Emile until he marries and has a family. *Émile* exercised a strong influence on pedagogical debate from the end of the 18th century and well into modern times. Its indirect significance was also great via the effect it had on influential philosophers like Kant, Goethe and Spencer.

Although women had no prominent places in the story of *Émile* itself – to the extent that we can talk about story here – they nevertheless are given a great deal of mention in the discussions that were carried on, especially where the development of very small children is concerned. The earliest upbringing of children devolves without a doubt on women, writes Rousseau in a prefato-

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[18] I quote from David Sprengel's translation, *Julie eller den nya Héloise* [Julie or the New Heloise] book 2, part 5, letter 3 (Stockholm 1999). Sprengel's translation was done in the 1930s, but has remained unpublished at Bonnier publishing company, which had originally ordered it. This edition is revised by Jan Stolpe. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloise* (Paris, 1843).

ry note.[19] Nature itself has given a broad hint of this relationship by giving only women the capacity to breastfeed. Thus whoever gives advice about upbringing – here Rousseau refers of course to himself – must primarily address the women. It is also true that women, as a rule, are more attached to the children than are the fathers. He writes in an agitated tone about the "fathers' ambitions and greed...their negligence and harshness" (p 4). In reality he even turns on himself here, even though he might not agree with that. He took his own children to an orphanage, no doubt to have a quieter atmosphere in which to write (about them). Ellen Key noted this situation in a memorandum in 1893.[20] Rousseau's ideas were so intense, Key wrote here, that he had difficulty living up to them in real life.

> If he had raised his own five children, he would not have written *Emile*; if he had been happily in love, he would not have written *La Nouvelle Héloise* – the absence of venting his feelings in action made the *feeling of the ideal* so passionately intense.

The books became Rousseau's children. One could probably say the same of Ellen Key.

Of course there was no family described in *Emile*, but the whole account leads eventually to the family that Emile himself will form; the novel ends as Emile stands on the threshold of marriage. This book is one of the first in the tradition of "difference feminism". According to this doctrine men and women are fundamentally different; the man's strength lies in the area of rational reasoning, and the woman's strength lies in that of intuition and empathetic capabilities. The married woman thus has a key role in the family that for Rousseau (and later for Key) appears

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[19] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile eller om uppfostran* [Emile, or About Education] Swedish translator C. A. Fahlstedt, revised by Inga-Britta Hansson. Göteborg, 1977. *Emile* can be found in the Norwegian national library at Strand in a French edition from Paris, undated. It is underlined, but it is not known by whom. I quote the Swedish translation from 1977, and compare it with *Èmile, ou de l'education*, Paris 1966.

[20] "Litteraturhistorieanteckningar 1893 J. Jacques Rousseau" [Notes on the History of Literature 1893 J. Jacques Rousseau] L741:2:11. The notes are not paginated.

as the ideal. The family depends on the woman, who is, according to Rousseau a much more important person in the family than is the husband. The woman who neglects her family causes havoc in the family life, and the natural bonds are dissolved: Cthere will no longer be fathers and mothers, children, or siblings because the one hardly recognizes the other, and how can they love each other then? People think only of themselves" (p 16). And as if to lay a further burden of guilt on the woman he added threateningly: "The home becomes a dreary wasteland, and a man must seek his pleasures elsewhere" (the reader can almost hear a door slam there.)

If the woman decides against her role as a mother she also makes it impossible for the child to develop; roles in the family define each other and create expectations that the partners try to live up to in order to gain acknowledgement. There is a special family dynamic that forms the characters around which the family life revolves. But it is on the wife and mother that the greatest responsibility lies. This is true especially for the children's upbringing and development. Rousseau expressed this in his laconic way: "If the mother is no longer a mother, then the child will no longer be a child" (p 17).

This discussion actually undermines, as Ellen Key pointed out, the whole pedagogical project that *Émile* was to make up. Rousseau's "I" character, the one who expresses Rousseau's ideas, must simultaneously be father, mother, friend, and teacher – a relationship that underlines the project's experimental character. The novel as a whole acquires the character of a construction. When Emile's wife-to-be, Sophie, appears in the fourth part of the book, she fulfils completely the ideal picture of a woman, as the educator has described it to Emile. *Émile* contains a strongly manipulative character, which is a consequence of the educator being always a step ahead of his pupil, arranging circumstances so that the result is the one he wants.

We are all born, claimed Rousseau, with the capacity to learn. All education is based on that capacity. There are no evil children, only children who have been brought up in the wrong way.

Wet-nurses and mothers grow attached to the children by caring for them, a care that awakens the child's love of other people. Emotion precedes intellect, said Rousseau: "we had feelings before we had concepts".[21] Feelings are therefore completely crucial in education. Emotions can be developed and made richer."Someone who has lived the longest is not the one who has counted the most years of living, but rather the one who feels that he has lived" (p 12). This lesson is varied throughout the whole book. The important thing is not, it is said at one point, to keep the child from dying, but rather to "teach it to live". For Ellen Key this idea became the most central in her whole pedagogical project and the nucleus of the ethics she tried to teach in publications like *Lifslinjer* [Lifelines] and *The Century of the Child*.

Feeling is also the keystone in what Rousseau called the natural education. Books are not, at least at the beginning, a necessary part of education; it is sufficient that the child assimilates the contents of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. The school finds no mercy with Rousseau. It concentrates far too much on book learning. Those who want to learn anything must try it themselves. Rousseau pursued the concept of the activity method from Montaigne. Rousseau's example of the gardener is well-known. Emile is to plant a bean in a certain place in the garden. He must water it and care for it, and after a while he feels that it is *his* plant and plot of ground. The educator explains that he, through his work, has made it his own. There is, says Emile's educator to him, a bit of himself in the plant and the soil. One day, however, the whole garden has been dug up and the plant is gone. It turns out that it was the gardener's plot that Emile mistakenly took for his own. He had planted his bean in a plot that the gardener had reserved for growing melons. Emile received a tangible lesson. "In this example of a way to convey to the children the earliest concepts, one can see how the concept of property goes naturally to the right of whoever, through his work, laid claim to something" (p 92). The controversy is solved by Emile being allowed to lease a bit of the garden. He has thus not just learned a concept, but

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[21] *Emile, eller om uppfostran II*, 47; *Èmile ou de l'education,* [Emile, or About Education] p. 377.

has also received an insight into the difference between renting and owning. And above all, the incident has made him reflect on where ownership actually has its basis – Rousseau's perception was built upon the classical financial labour theory of value which he had learned from John Locke.

Yet another ethical gain is that Emile learns to appreciate manual labour. He also must learn a craft, and he is trained in carpentry. The reader has of course understood at an early stage that Emile is wealthy and does not need to work. But riches can disappear overnight, while the skill that he has developed in his hands can never be lost. The craftsman is, according to Rousseau, the freest of all people. He is not bound to the turf as the farmer is, nor to a family and a name as the nobleman is. He carries his knowledge with him in his hands and his body. Rousseau saw the craftsman as the authentic human being. I want, says the educator of his pupil, "to raise him to the rank of human being".[22] The idea of the authentic human being, a person who fulfils him-/herself by free choice and one's own capacity, is met in all of Key's later works – it became there a theme with many variations.

In her notes on Rousseau in 1893 Ellen Key compared him with Nietzsche; both express protests against their times. In Rousseau's case it was the democrat's protest against the monopoly of the nobility, and Nietzsche's case it was the educational aristocrat's protest against his times' reduction to a uniform level. Key talked about "the principle of the personality" that she claimed Rousseau represents, saying that there is a difference between egoism and what she calls "personalité". Egoism is self-preservation, an aptitude of which Rousseau doesn't have much. However, he does have "personalité", or "self-assertion". He wants to assert his personality's individuality, and therein lies his importance, Key believed. She appears at that point to have read Rousseau's *Les Confessions* [Confessions], which she called "the Iliad of the personality".[23]

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[22] p. 233; "je veus l'élever à l'état d'homme"*Émile, ou de l'éducation,* [Emile, or About Education], p. 254.
[23] An underlined copy of *Les Confessions* can be found in the Norwegian national library at Strand, in an edition from Paris, 1894.

Goethe

In the radical educational tradition that Ellen Key professed herself an advocate of, it was individualism that she accentuated – criticism of the force of habit and the culture's artificial influence on education and teaching. She also bore in mind the line from Rousseau when she approached German pedagogues such as Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723–90) and Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827). In *The Century of the Child* she recommended the work of the latter, *Huru Gertrud undervisar sina barn* [How Gertrud Instructs her Children], which was included in the series of education's classical works published by educator Otto Salomon (1849–1907).[24] In both Basedow and Pestalozzi it is the emphasis on "attitudes" that she accentuated. Instead of "talking" the teacher should "show".

She found examples of such instruction in Goethe's life. John Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) became one of the authors that Key most frequently quoted in the 1890s. But it was just as much his life as his poetry that she focussed her interest on. Goethe did not have to go to school, she writes in "Från Goethes värld" [From Goethe's World], an extensive essay about Goethe and his authorship, published in *Människor* [People] in 1899.[25] Goethe was educated by his mother. She perceived that a child needs love in order to be able to develop. She taught her son to hate "all empty pretence....all hollow phrases". And especially, she understood his special individuality, his exceptional character. Such a being could not adapt to a school without being harmed. The young Goethe found instruction in reality instead. "At the goldsmith's he learned the value of precious stones, at the painter's the mixing of colours, at the copperplate engraver's

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[24] Henrik Pestalozzi, *Huru Gertrud undervisar sina barn. Ett försök att gifva mödrarna ledning att själfva undervisa sina barn.* [How Gertrud Teaches her Children. An Attempt to Give Mothers Guidance in Educating Their Own Children. Writings of Great Men in the Art of Education] by Otto Salomon VIII (Göteborg, 1896).

[25] Ellen Key, *Människor* [People](Stockholm, 1899), p. 186; the essay was originally in a considerably shorter form, but with the same title, published in *Ord och Bild* 1895.

he learned how to wield the etching needle." (p.191) In Goethe's education Ellen Key saw her pedagogical ideal carried into effect. Here she found the realism that was missing in the schools of the day. "This whole education – through realities for realism, in the midst of life for life – was the diametric opposite of today's".

She had already found realism in Montaigne and Rousseau. But in Goethe an ideal is added, neo-humanism's education ideal. For German neo-humanists like Johann Winckelmann, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Goethe, fiction was the educational subject above all others, especially the fiction of classical antiquity. Classical antiquity's literature as well as the art and architecture of that period sent Goethe into raptures, wrote Key. "It was in Italy that Goethe became completely Goethe". (p 279)

Here lies an idea that was to become more and more prominent in Key's work. Personality is a work of art. This idea is already latent in Rousseau's *Émile*. Emile is brought up, of course, to be the perfect person. But it is not Emile himself who designs this education, but rather his teacher/friend. In *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Goethe's *bildungsroman,* it is, states Key, the individual who educates him/herself; Goethe is, as she formulated it, "permeated by the significance of self-education" (s 211). Wilhelm Meister's big project is to form his person into a "harmonious, consummate person". We also meet this thought in Friedrich Schiller, a close friend of Goethe. Schiller especially emphasises the role of aesthetics in educational activities, an idea that he presents in *Briefe über die Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795), [Letters About Man's Aesthetic Upbringing]. In looking at beautiful things we free ourselves from the physical, material conditions of our existence. Human beings have a unique inclination towards shaping and embellishing their existence, not just living it. Therein lies our freedom, a freedom that has its beginning in play.

A European intellectual

With *The Century of the Child,* Ellen Key's name became known in Europe. John Landquist, a philosopher and later educator

who published a little paper about Ellen Key in 1909 in Bonnier's series "Svenskar" [Swedes], mentions that *The Century of the Child* had by then been translated into nine languages – Danish, German, Dutch, Italian, French, English, Russian, Polish, and Latvian.[26] Her name was on many lips, as she was seen to be a significant author in pedagogy. Outside of Sweden, it was mostly in German progressive education circles that Ellen Key's ideas were accepted. In some cases her ideas actually had an influence in the German school sector. Progressive education work attracted attention and was also an inspiration in a generally new approach to schools on a larger scale.[27] During the following years there was a renewed interest in Key's ideas; radical German and Austrian teachers that came to Sweden in the 1930s brought with them new ideas that were based on Ellen Key's concepts. Progressive educational ideas also characterized the final report of the 1945 school commission in Sweden, and after that the radical education methods also gained a footing in the Swedish schools. However the institutional environment by then was of course a different one from that in which Ellen Key had been involved.[28] The issues of power and the relationship between teacher and student to which Key gave so much importance were long gone from the picture.

The school reform today that most consciously follows Ellen Key's pedagogy is the anthroposophical Waldorf School. One of the two Waldorf schools in the Stockholm area bears her name – the Ellen Key School in Spånga, a Stockholm suburb. There are many similarities in the outlooks on humanity held by Ellen Key och Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), the founder of anthroposophism. Key read Steiner's work *Philosophie der Freiheit* [Freedom's philosophy] (1894) in the middle of the 1890s. Steiner was not yet an anthroposophist; that was a doctrine that he developed in the very early 1900s. He was however in the process of publishing Goethe's collected scientific works, and it is not impossible that Goethe's ideas came to act as a bridge between them. Nor

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[26] John Landquist, *Ellen Key* (1909), p. 77.
[27] Ellen Key, *Barnets århundrade* [The Century of the Child] (1996), p. 168 (Stafseng's comments).
[28] Ibid., p. 9.

is it impossible that Steiner heard Key speak at one of her lecture tours in Germany. Key met Steiner in Paris, according to an undated newspaper clipping from the beginning of the 1900s.[29] They had evidently visited a museum of medieval statuary together. Steiner was in Paris to hold a series of lectures on theosophy; since 1902 he had been the general secretary of the German section of the Theosophical Society. As he left that society and started the Anthroposophical Society in 1912, the meeting must have taken place between 1902 and 1912, possibly in the spring of 1906, when Key spent some time in Paris.

Hans Möller, also an anthroposophist, pointed out in an article in the society journal *Anthropos*[30] that there are a number of concordances between Key's pedagogy and that of the Waldorf school. In both, the traditional school's division of subjects was criticised for what they saw as breaking the material up into small snippets. The Waldorf school recommended block study, in which the same subject is in focus for a longer defined period, usually several weeks. The pupils also create work notebooks, in which their own activity is encouraged as far as possible. Like Key, the anthroposophists criticised the traditional schoolbooks, which they wanted to replace with ordinary books. They were also critical of marks. Instead each teacher gives a judgement on each individual pupil.

Another similarity between the two is the role one attaches to aesthetics. It is important that the pupils are surrounded by beauty, as it contributes to the harmony that is necessary for learning. Even the anthroposophical pre-school education shows similarities to that which Key recommends. Free play dominates, and the pre-school staff should stay in the background, intervening only in exceptional situations in the children's activities. The imagination is hampered, say the anthroposophists, by too much lecturing. Imagination is a necessary part of personality development;

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[29] K.B. L41: p. 31

[30] *Anthropos: tidskrift för antroposofi* [Anthropos: Journal for Anthroposophy](2001:1–2).

this was an opinion that united Ellen Key with Steiner and with the philosophical tradition from Goethe and Schiller.[31]

Aside from Rudolf Steiner, another of the great educators of the 1900s, Maria Montessori (1870–1952), may also have been influenced by Ellen Key. The connection has been pointed out by both Kerstin Signert, pedagogue, and Christine Quarfood, researcher in the history of ideas.[32] Montessori herself mentioned Ellen Key and *The Century of the Child* in her own book *Il segreto dell'infanzia* (1936) [The Secret of Childhood]. Several of Montessori's books can be found the Norwegian national library in Strand. Key and Montessori had met at a women's conference in Milan in 1908, and they moved in the same social circles in Rome during the time that Key was there.[33]

At first glance their philosophies may seem different. Montessori's ideas are based on care of the disabled and are designed to train and develop the rational capacities. They had an unmistakably cognitive goal. Under scrutiny, though, similarities emerge in the educational ideals emerge, as Christine Quarfood points out in a paper. She emphasises especially that both forms of pedagogy have forward-looking visionary dimensions. Both Key and Montessori wanted to create a new, more self-reliant person. It was also important to Montessori to give the children an atmosphere that was as free as possible from adult domination. Quarfood believes that in this respect Montessori can have been influenced by Key – not an unreasonable conjecture. But of course it was not

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[31] On the tradition of philosophy of self, Steiner and Key, see *På väg att bli människa: om jagfilosofins och personlighetsfilosofins utveckling.* [On the Way to Becoming a Human: About the Development of the Philosophy of Self and the Philosophy of Personality].

[32] Kerstin Signert, *Maria Montessori: anteckningar ur ett liv* [Maria Montessori; Notes from a Life] (Lund, 2000), p. 78; Christine Quarfood, "Den nygamla förskoledebatten: Fröbel, Key och Montessori" [The New-Old Preschool Debate: Fröbel, Key and Montessori] in *I skuggan av framtiden. En vänbok till Sven-Eric Liedman och Amanda Peralta* [In the Shadow of the Future. A Companion Book to Sven-Eric Liedman and Amanda Peralta] (ed. Johan Kärnfelt), p. 367ff

[33] Maria Montessori, *Barndomens gåta* [The Secret of Childhood] (Stockholm, 1986), p. 7.

necessarily so. The libertarian ideals that characterized the new progressive education probably are evidence of a more general turn of the tide in the methods and ideals in education. Montessori's pedagogy also had a didactic direction that was alien to Key. Key's education was instead, as we have seen, an element in her criticism of civilisation. Ellen Key's new human being had of course been developed from the child's free play, the world of fantasy and creation that was guaranteed by the child's being allowed to remain a child as long as it was psychologically possible.

Outside of Europe Key's educational authorship received considerable attention, especially in Japan and the USA. In 1916 *The Century of the Child* was translated to Japanese, and by 1970 the book had been published in Japan in no less than 12 editions.[34] In the USA Key played a fairly important role in progressive education, especially as her teachings were associated with the ideas put forth by John Dewey (1859–1952), who was often depicted as "the father of American pedagogy". Like Key, Dewey emphasises the connection between school and society – that democracy rises and falls with the school form. The school should give everyone equal opportunities to develop, and should also allow space for independent work. Dewey's book *The School and Society* is mentioned in the second edition of *The Century of the Child*, but it is not certain whether Key had read it. It is probably more reasonable to see Key and Dewey as branches on the same tree, that of the European progressive education which had its roots in the Renaissance (Montaigne) and the Enlightenment (Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi).

In conclusion: did the 1900s become the century of the child, as Ellen Key dreamed it would? That depends on how we understand the question. Certainly child labour is rare today in Europe and North America – the affluent parts of the world. But in many less affluent parts of the world children continue to labour under about the same conditions as the children in the more affluent

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[34] Lengborn, *En studie i Ellen Keys pedagogiska tänkande…*, [A Study in Ellen Key's Educational Thinking], p. 135.

world did about a hundred years ago. We can only hope that this century will be a century of the child for them too.

However the question is really a little more complicated. How do we define children in the century of the child and in the 21st century? In the affluent world the concept of childhood, with today's longer school attendance, has lengthened to apply to older and older people. In that context we can ask ourselves if the century of the child has not instead become a century of the young people. The young people have great spending power, and today set the trends and lifestyle – a lifestyle to which more and more age groups strive to conform. Perhaps this is good; perhaps this is how we want to live, with greater freedom and less responsibility. But how is it going to be for the children who come into this world – children of children, as they are in a way?

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