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Editorial: Open issue

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In this fifth volume of Confero we present four essays that in various ways relate to education, philosophy and politics, all imbued with social criticism and contributing to Confero's interdisciplinary focus and encouragement to essayistic writing. The four essays in this issue, although diverse in study subjects, methods, and theories, all share features related to the phenomenon of power asymmetries in differents educational settings and arenas. Dispite the diversity in terms of methology, scope and perspectives they all relate to Conferos areas of interest: education, philosophy and politics.

Factors such as class, migrant background, gender, etc. have an impact on pupils' school results. Today, segregation between schools, based on socio-economic, and ethnic background are increasing. Moreover, marginalized students are at high risk of remaining marginalized as adults. Citizenship education is often closely linked with a promise to remedy and compensate for earlier discriminatory arrangements, and also to create desirable citizens of the future. However, citizenship education does not always pay attention to, or coincide with, students' and teachers' views and personal experience. It is therefore important to research how schools pay attention to the intersectional ordering of citizens based on gender, class and ethnicity. This is precisely the focus of this Confero issue's first essay titled "What are the gender, class and ethnicity of citizenship? A study of upper secondary school students' views on Citizenship Education in England and Sweden". Based on interviews with teachers and students in upper secondary schools in England and Sweden,

Laila Nielsen and Ralph Leighton compare how conditions of citizenship regarding ethnicity, gender, and social class are understood. One important result of the essay is that while participants from both countries describe class (and ethnicity) as central to the enactments of citizenship, they do this in a very different way. The Swedish participants' experiences and opinions highlight how the combination of class and ethnicity interact and make it hard for marginalized societal groups to gain the full meaning of citizenship. The English participants also paid attention to how both ethnicity and class can contribute to unequal social conditions. However, the English participants stated that social class is not of any actual importance today - rather an aspect of the past. Another difference between participants from the two countries is that in Sweden it was mostly the female students and teachers who drew attention to the importance of gender for citizens' conditions, while the English students identified this irrespective of their own gender.

A significant similarity between particpants from both countries was the difference between the students' statements on different educational environments and home environments. Students from more resource-rich home environments and higher-level students demonstrated stronger identification and emotional connection to the goals and ideals that citizenship education represents than the resource-poor students who studied, for example, in vocational education. Among the Swedish vocational students some anti-immigrant ideas were expressed. The essay stresses the importance for citizenship and citizenship education in the light of the (neo)liberalization of schools and changes that depleted social citizenship and entailed greater demands and responsibilities for the individual in recent years. The study by Laila Nielsen and Ralph Leighton shows that educators and policy makers need to listen to what the students perceive as reality, to take into account their visions of the present and the future rather than introducing views of the past.

How unproblematized dwelling in the past hides and legitimizes asymmetric power relations is also central to the following essay in this issue. Rasoul Nejadmehr identifies "scientific education"

as the dominant educational paradigm of the present. Through a historical analysis, Nejadmehr shows how this paradigm is deeply embedded with racial, colonial, and Eurocentric biases. This essay demonstrates how Kant's educational theories were combined with thoughts of human perfection based on an imagination of educational ability along race and colonial divisions. The foundations of these assumptions have never really disappeared, but rather changed form, and still serve as part of the invisible assumptions about education. These assumptions rest on discriminatory classifications based on race, ethnicity, sex, and class. Thus, education is scientific, systematized, and linked to a purpose and a conformal idea of human perfection and happiness. Accordingly, the entire educational machine is run by economic rational rules such as computational ability, employability, and rational choice. Through the global expansion of neoliberalism, these values have spread throughout the world. Free market values become tangled with educational values, resulting in a limited concept of proper (scientific) education. Scientific education becomes a means of subordination and abolition of the will to be different. Scientific thought systematically works for a homogenization of the world's population in accordance with the imperative of the hegemonic European model, which in turn is centred around the idea of race in ways which preserve white supremacy.

However, this essay further seeks to find an alternative way of looking at this educational system. This is a great and important task all too often neglected in research that have criticism as their ultimate goal. The essay, on the contrary, sees genealogical critique as a diagnostic analysis and a first step. But as the author points out: "We cannot stop at this stage and blame modernity and its major thinkers like Kant for the educational problems of our time and free us from responsibility"(p.137). Thus, this great essay aims to find an alternative way to help resolve the problem of colonial, racial, and cultural subordinations in education.

After the first diagnostic step, a second step is needed in order to create change. The second step highlights designing discursive and practical tools with which we can remove obstacles standing

in the way of a better educational paradigm. If the first diagnostic step was to "philosophize with a hammer" in order to highlight the myths of neutrality and impartiality of education, the second step is to philosophize with a tuning fork, designing education and orchestrating a world where a number of voices, viewpoints and attentions creates education for all. Education based on these two steps and on the basis of opposition groups' own empowerment, results in their own voices being heard and education towards freedom can be created. Nejadmehr proposes a basic principle of education, which strives towards 'the common' (i.e what we all are part of and take part in), an approach towards education as art rather than science. In Raouls Nejadmehrs own words:

> Education for the common is an artistic education, since it is a work in progress, with no absolute beginning or end, but always in the middle of inventing and reinventing the human being at individual, collective, local, and global levels. (p.139)

Alternative questions of power and education are articulated in Marcus Samuelsson's essay "Real time movies versus frozen snapshots: Audits of everyday life in classrooms". The classroom is rarely seen by anyone else then the teacher and the pupils, thereby making the classroom, often referred to, a black box. But there are some exceptions. Occasionally officials from the The Swedish Schools Inspectorate (Skolinspektionen) conduct audits that are carried out by adults filling out forms and protocols. This is an official inspection that serves to control and evaluate schools, and the judgements made are of great importance for the notion of a school as successful or problematic. However, the pupils also carry out inspections that could be labeled as "unofficial". For example, pupils post videos on Youtube displaying angry teachers yelling at pupils. An intuitive understanding of these contrasting phenomena would result in labeling the first one (the official) as rational, and the latter (the unofficial) emotional. However, the pattern is more complex. A more systematic analysis of the differences makes clear that each perspective has its bias.

The essay highlights 16 differences between official and unofficial audits, relating to from which perspective the inspection is made, how it is done, and why. More surprisingly there are also similarities between these vast contrasting practices. A formalized protocol from an authority and a youtube clip both tell stories that "are adding something to our collective knowledge of what happens in an encounter between teachers and pupils"(p. 184). Many implications and reflections could be made from the essay, both from the perspective of teachers who sometimes testify about an increasing vulnarbility in relation to new technologies and media, and from pupils' experiences of school and a participatory culture. The essay show how an unexpected and somewhat unorthodox comparison can render very relevant results.

In the fourth essay in this issue,"The Paradox of Democratic Equality", Tomas Wedin discusses changes in the Swedish school during the period of 1946-2000. There is an ongoing debate in Sweden regarding the status of the teaching profession and what the teachers' assignment is. Frequently, problems in Swedish school are tied to the reforms launched around 1990. Wedin's essay offers a deeper understanding of these changes, furthermore he argues that the changes are founded further back in time. Wedin manifests that the changes can be traced back to the school commission of 1946 where a new direction for the Swedish school was set. Two main tasks for school were pointed out: to contribute to society's economic, social and cultural development and also promote for democracy. Wedin argue that these changes in pursuing a more democratic school have led to an increased adaption to the individual. Through the changes in the school, Wedin refers to an emerging paradox of democratic equality:

> "It consists in the fact that the intensified attempts to create a school inspired by a public-oriented logic, in relevant respects seem to have helped paving the way for the clearly private-oriented logic that has characterized school development since the 1990s. As stated above, the post-war school policy was characterized by an effort to create a more democratic school: first through the comprehensive school, and then on in reforming the inner work.

> However, a consequence of this impulse was that the common fabric in which the pupil was expected to be integrated, became more fragile as the importance of articulating/reproducing a common backdrop – in the name of democratic equality – was reduced."(p.238)

In Wedin's description of the shift in the teacher's assignment from the post-war period to recent time the teacher emerges as someone who passes knowledge from previous generations to the present, to becoming someone who functions as support for pupils. The teacher's role as a support-function for the pupils has contributed to the weakening of the teaching profession. This makes Wedin's essay an important addition to the current debate of the school of today. With this historical perspective back to 1946 the view of what happens today suddenly seem broader.

We hope these four thought-provoking essays create further discussion and debate. We therefore welcome and encourage readers to continue discussing educational issues in Confero by submitting essays that problematize, debate, and discuss the questions and topics these essays raise.

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What are the gender, class and ethnicity of citizenship? A study of upper secondary school students' views on Citizenship Education in England and Sweden

Laila Nielsen & Ralph Leighton

The purpose of this article is to examine and compare how the ethnicity, gender and social class conditions of citizenship influence, and are understood by, teachers and secondary school students in England and Sweden. The intention is also to compare how conditions of citizenship are dealt with in social studies for upper secondary school in England and Sweden. The relationship between students' education and real conditions for citizenship is complex and partly differs between, as well as within, the two countries. The present comparative examination and analysis aims to visualize both specific and common conditions of citizenship in England and Sweden. This is to draw attention to how the meaning of frequently used terminology and images in the field of Citizenship Education do not always coincide with teachers' and students' own opinions and perceived meanings. By doing this we hope to contribute some new knowledge regarding one of the most difficult challenges that citizenship education is struggling with, whether the provided knowledge and values prepare today's youth to defend and develop future democratic and just societies. To achieve this, we have conducted a number of interviews with teachers and secondary school students and asked them about their experiences and opinions regarding Citizenship Education and the nature of citizenship. The

following main questions were central to the interviews:

- What knowledge and skills does a citizen need in a democracy and how is the meaning of citizenship connected to gender, class and ethnicity?
- How are personal liberties affected by the citizen's gender, class and ethnicity according to the respondents?
- What are teachers' and students' experiences of Citizenship Education and how does school pay attention to citizens´ conditions based on gender, class and ethnicity?

In recent years, both public debate and published research[1] have shown that, in order to understand the real meanings of citizenship, it is necessary to understand and interpret formal citizenship rights and responsibilities from individuals' social and cultural conditions as characterised by gender, ethnicity and social class. During the 2000s, the Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket) presented recurrent reports that shows how socio-economic background, in combination with foreign background, are crucial for pupils' school results. The reports also show how segregation between schools and residential areas has increased on the basis of residents' socio-economic and ethnic background.[2] This group of students are a part of tomorrow's citizens, which are also likely to remain marginalized even as adults. The links between Swedish school policy, pupils' school results and the democratic development of society at large has been observed and analysed in contemporary Swedish research.[3]

In England, the picture is slightly different with the 7 per cent of

[1] For example: Leighton, 2012; Shafir, 1998; Sheldrick, 2015. The difference is illustrated by the perception of several respondents that men and women are *formal*ly entitled to equal pay but, in *real*ity, there is a pay imbalance.
[2] Swedish National Agency's (Skolverket) reports from the years 2004, 2012 and 2016.
[3] See for example: The Swedish Governments official investigations (SOU); 2005:112, Englund, 2000; Boström, 2001; Dahlstedt, 2009; Strandbrink and Åkerström, 2010; Larsson, 2013.

the population who experience private education being over-represented in positions of power and influence. In May 2012, the then Secretary of State for Education Michael Gove provided a list of leaders in the arts, sciences, politics, sports, journalism, entertainment and other fields who had all been to independent schools, concluding that

> "the sheer scale, the breadth and the depth, of private school dominance of our society points to a deep problem in our country . . . Those who are born poor are more likely to stay poor and those who inherit privilege are more likely to pass on privilege in England than in any comparable county." [4]

There is significant evidence that socio-economic background, in combination with ethnic background, continue to be highly influential on pupils' school results.[5] Links between national education policy, social class and pupils' school results appear to remain entrenched in England.

When we identify cultural and social conditions as in any way hindering the status of citizenship, we do so from a perspective which does not seek to blame the less powerful for holding particular cultural perceptions but which recognises the barriers a dominant culture sets against those with less power. The insight that tells us it is necessary to comprehend individuals' social and cultural conditions in order to understand and interpret their formal citizenship rights and responsibilities is not, however, particularly recent. Marx wrote over 160 years ago that, "if you assume a particular civil society . . . you will get particular political conditions"[6], from which it must follow that any society divided on the grounds of class, ethnicity and gender will present political conditions which reflect such divisions. It is also the case that there is likely to be a significant space between *what is* (the real) and *what is perceived* (the formal); just because there is inequality it does not follow that everyone is aware of that

[4] Gove, 2012.
[5] Gillborn, et al,2012; UK government, 2016.
[6] Marx and Engels, 1973, p. 660.

inequality.

A theoretical approach to citizenship and how it interacts with gender, class and ethnic background

In order to clarify the conditions necessary for citizenship in its real meaning (as opposed to the merely formal), we refer to the British sociologist T. H. Marshall's noted lecture in 1949. In Marshall's main thesis regarding Citizenship is that, in Western industrialized countries, it takes three forms:

i. *Civil Citizenship*, which is represented in equality before the law, freedom of speech and freedom of religion, and other personal liberties;
ii. *Political Citizenship*, typified by universal and equal suffrage
iii. *Social Citizenship*, including the right to education, health care, and other conditions for social welfare.[7]

These forms of citizenship share equality as a common principle, which must include social citizenship as a right that involves benefits for all citizens. Marshall defined citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community"[8], in accordance with his forms above. As Yuval-Davis points out, by linking citizenship to membership in a community, Marshall's definition makes it possible to discuss citizenship as potentially simultaneous membership of several collectives, such as neighbourhood, social class, ethnicity, nation or international community.[9] We regard the meanings of civil and political citizenship to be understandable in themselves, while social citizenship requires further definition and clarification. Social citizenship relates to the extent to which people of all socially constructed categories have sufficient conditions and capabilities to be considered as full citizens of any given society. This is not

[7] Marshall, 1950/1991.
[8] Ibid. p. 14.
[9] Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 6.

only in terms of their legal status but has to include their status and experiences in relation to those of other citizens and as seen by those other citizens. It is not enough, for example, to have legislation that grants equal rights with regard to pay or employment; social citizenship requires that people's daily experience is that they do have equality of payment and employment, and that their fellow citizens regard this as natural and proper. What is therefore more significant here is recognition by the 'ordinary person' of the attitudes, accepted practices, existing prejudices etc. which limit people's social citizenship, i.e. the *real* citizenship.

Feminist scholars have criticized Marshall's position for failing to discuss the issues of gender and racial hierarchies within society.[10] While this might be excused by some to be a reflection of Marshall's time and place, we consider that this nonetheless ignores the limitations which are placed on Marshall's position as an approach to be currently applied. We agree with the criticisms of the lack of awareness and consideration of gendered and ethnically imposed hierarchies, and believe that class, ethnic and gender perspectives must all be included in the real meaning of citizenship. [11] In this intersectional approach, sexuality and disability are also important aspects of and influenced by people's conditions, and are therefore also needed for a more complete understanding of the meaning of citizenship. These latter factors were not included in this study and we recognise this as a shortcoming and as aspects of real citizenship to be considered as our research continues to develop.

As we show below,[12] recent research and debate in both countries show how gender, class and ethnicity have great influence on students' conditions and results in school, which generally has

[10] Fraser and Gordon, 1992.

[11] The theoretical approach based on T. H. Marshall's theory of citizenship and Fraser and Gordon's critique of the same is also used in Nielsen, 2015, p. 103-104.

[12] Read the section on "The importance of ethnicity, gender and class for students' school results in a Swedish/English context" below.

shown to also have a significant impact on youngsters' future prospects as adult citizens. In this intersectional approach, we support the view of Yuval-Davis that these aspects in focus should not primarily be seen as perspectives of social differences in an additive way. Instead, we consider them as aspects that, depending on the specific empirical context, interact mutually to constitute the conditions that affect people differently.[13] As an example, a female student of Asian and middle class background in England might not share her experiences and conditions from school with an English middle class girl, nor with an Asian middle class girl in Sweden. In order to avoid getting lost in diffusely relativity reasoning we make use of Yuval-Davis' three analytical levels from which political and social belongings are constructed:

> "The first facet concerns social locations; the second relates to people's identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groupings and the third relates to ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belonging/s. These different facets are interrelated, but cannot be reduced to each other."[14]

As the present study focuses on students' conditions and values, citizenship education as a school's mission to educate and prepare the future citizens of society, knowledge is a key issue. A person's knowledge can be formed and influenced by social locations in several ways. For instance the formal school system, based on political decisions, represents in itself a set of values as well as objectives and guidelines for the schooling students are offered. In many Western countries, residential segregation has long been a growing problem both between urban and rural areas as well as between neighbourhoods in cities. The different geographical areas of people's belonging and origin are examples of how social locations have multiplied in pace with globalization. These, often multifaceted, experiences give people different types of knowledge that is more or less valued and

[13] Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 4.
[14] Ibid, p. 5.

useful in a certain context. The diverse contexts compose an essential part of the identity and emotional attachments a person has to different groups. For some young people, the school has a crucial importance for the opportunities or limitations they may have later in life. For others, the importance of social and cultural origin overshadows the importance of formal school education. As Yuval-Davis points out, 'not all belonging/s are as important to people in the same way and to the same extent and emotions, as perceptions, shift in different times and situations and are more or less reflective.'[15] For example, certain identities and affiliations tend to become more important to people the more threatened they become or believe they become. From this follows the third analytical level, that different social locations and belongings are also strongly affected by how these are assessed and valued by one self and by others. It may be a question of whether they are considered as good or bad for a group or person. This analytical level of ethical and political value systems is also related to how categorical boundaries should be drawn in the sense of attitudes and ideologies to be considered as inclusive or exclusive.[16]

The intersectional approach, based on Yuval-Davis research, represents a necessary development of Marshall's theory of citizenship, one which aims to visualise the complex picture of how citizenship and citizenship education interacts with gender, class and ethnic background in England and Sweden.

Citizenship Education provision in the two countries

Citizenship Education has been a statutory part of England's National Curriculum for secondary age pupils (12-16) since 2002. Public examination is not compulsory and it is frequently the case that schools do not observe the minimum statutory requirements[17]. It can also be noted that the National Curriculum

[15] Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 5.
[16] Ibid. p. 5-6.
[17] Keating et al, 2010; Leighton, 2012, 2013; Ofsted, 2006, 2010.

for Citizenship has gone through various iterations,[18] which has made it difficult for teachers, particularly non-specialists, to respond to statutory requirements.[19]

There are no compulsory subjects for the research age group (16-18 years) in England's National Curriculum, and Citizenship Education is no longer available for study by the research age-group, so it is as well to be aware of the background education that age-group should have had in the subject. At the time of conducting interviews there was no requirement for Citizenship Education in the primary phase (4-10 years). The National Curriculum for 11-14years provides detailed direction on the content to be taught, with the overarching principles being that

> Teaching should develop pupils' understanding of democracy, government and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Pupils should use and apply their knowledge and understanding while developing skills to research and interrogate evidence, debate and evaluate viewpoints, present reasoned arguments and take informed action. [20]

Some new content is required for 14-16 years, with the expectation that a spiral curriculum[21] will enable greater breadth of knowledge and depth of understanding. The instruction here is that:

> Teaching should build on the [above] programme of study to deepen pupils' understanding of democracy, government and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Pupils should develop their skills to be able to use a range of research strategies, weigh up evidence, make persuasive arguments and substantiate their conclusions. They should experience and evaluate different ways

[18] QCA, 2002, 2007, 2010; Department for Education, 2013a.
[19] Keating et al, 2010.
[20] National Curriculum in England, 2013.
[21] Bruner, 2009.

> that citizens can act together to solve problems and contribute to society.[22]

As Citizenship is no longer available as an examination subject for students aged 16-18, the sample in England were primarily students of Sociology and/or Politics and/or Psychology, with English Literature also widely studied.

Best practise in the teaching of Citizenship Education militates against the use of textbooks as many of the 'facts' and personalities central to the subject change at a pace which outstrips processes of publication. Specialist teachers of Citizenship Education are often encouraged during their pre-service education to ensure that learning is tailored to their pupils' interests and experiences. [23] The report which recommended the introduction of Citizenship Education into England's National Curriculum also offered advice on teaching strategies, advice which has been unevenly adopted.[24] The state school pupils in the sample all attended schools which complied with the statutory curriculum and were taught by specialist teachers. Neither situation was the case at the independent school.

The Swedish school is expected to equip students with the skills and knowledge they need as citizens in a democratic society, which may also be called civic competences. The national curriculum presents frameworks, conditions and goals for the school's mission to promote democracy, fundamental values and norms. In the Swedish school, and unlike the English school system, citizenship education is not represented as a separate school subject; instead it is the community-oriented school subjects[25] that, together with a set of norms and values, are responsible for citizenship education. In the Curriculum for upper secondary school it appears from the first paragraph that

[22] National Curriculum in England, 2013.
[23] Leighton, 2012.
[24] Keating et al. 2010.
[25] That is social studies, history, religion and geography.

"Education should impart and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based." [26] When it comes to societal rights and obligations the schools fundamental values regarding citizenship education are spelled out as:

> It is not in itself sufficient that education imparts knowledge of fundamental democratic values. It must also be carried out using democratic working methods and develop the students' ability and willingness to take personal responsibility and participate actively in societal life. Opportunities for students to exercise influence over their education and take responsibility for their studies requires that the school clarifies the goals of education, its contents and working forms, as well as the rights and obligations that students have.[27]

Among the community-oriented school subjects, with special responsibility for citizenship education, the contents of the subject Social studies distinguishes itself with the clearest focus on the mission to prepare and train future citizens. The subject is by its nature interdisciplinary and consists mainly from political science, sociology and humanities.[28] In the aim of the subject Social Studies it says for example; "[…] teaching should contribute to creating conditions for active participation in the life of society."[29] The overall subject content should give students the opportunities to develop the following:

> 1) Knowledge of democracy and human rights, both individual and collective rights, social issues, social conditions, as well as the function and organization of different societies from local to global levels based on different interpretations and perspectives.
>
> 2) Knowledge of the importance of historical

[26] Skolverket, *Curriculum for the upper secondary school*, 2013, p. 4.
[27] Ibid. p. 5.
[28] It also includes other disciplines from social sciences and humanities.
[29] Skolverket, Subject Plan in Social studies, 2011.

conditions and how different ideological, political, economic, social and environmental conditions affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures.

3) The ability to analyse social issues and identify causes and consequences using concepts, theories, models and methods from the social sciences.

4) The ability to search for, critically examine and interpret information from different sources and assess their relevance and credibility.

5) The ability to express their knowledge of social studies in various types of presentation.

These different knowledge and skills are taught in courses of three different levels. For all secondary school programmes - both vocational and university preparatory - the first level of 100 credits is compulsory, which means basic knowledge in the subject of social studies. The core content covers points 1-5 above and is for example about how democracy and political systems work at local and national level, and in the EU; human rights; the labour market; group and individual identity; personal finance and methods for critically processing information. [30] It is also compulsory for all programmes to study the first 100 credits in the courses of history and 50 credits of the subject religion. [31]

In addition to these fundamental compulsory courses, it is only the pre-university programmes that offer in-depth education in these subjects. Before the school reform GY2011, all secondary school programmes gave competence to higher education, but as a result of the reform, the (for citizenship education so

[30] Ibid.
[31] Skolverket, ”program structure and degree objectives”, 2016.

important) community-oriented compulsory courses at higher levels disappeared from the vocational programmes.[32]

The importance of ethnicity, gender and class for students' school results in a Swedish context

In the light of recent years' socio-economic and political changes in Sweden, research has shown that gender, class belonging and ethnic origin ***do*** have significant impact on the extent to which students succeed in school as well as for their future and general life conditions as adult citizens. Englund described in 1999 how one of the most obvious changes that have taken place in the Swedish school system happened in the 1980s' shift in approach from the 'public good' to the 'private good'. In short, the 'public good' approach derived from a tradition of education where post-war reforms aimed at providing an equal education and citizenship education that was available to all regardless of background. The shift to a 'private good' represented social and political changes with liberal overtones in the 1980' in Sweden as well as in other Western countries. Focus shifted from equality in its former meaning to the individual's/family's needs and freedom of choice for the children's future. According to 'private good' private school alternatives, school capitation allowance and a free choice of school have been reforms that in a fundamental way changed the conditions for school activities.[33] The Swedish school agency presented a report in 2006 in order to illuminate the development of equivalence in schools during the period 1998 – 2004. It appeared from the report that equivalence in Swedish schools has deteriorated during the period covered. One conclusion was that freedom of choice and decentralization reforms in the early 1990s in all probability contributed to this development, although other factors may also have played a

[32] Students in vocational programmes, however, may within each programme select courses that give general qualifications for higher education. But, unfortunately, this is not so common.

[33] Englund, 1999, pp. 30-32. Swedish school politics are discussed further in Nielsen, 2013 and 2015.

role.[34]

In 2012 a follow up to the 2006 report was presented which provided a longer time perspective. The 2012 report showed that results between schools had increased significantly which, from an international perspective, was a low level that more than doubled since the late 1990s.[35] During the same period of school reforms, which is the last two-three decades, Swedish society has also changed regarding socio-economic conditions shown as widening gaps between rich and poor. For example, the income gap has increased by 31 percent between 1991 and 2010.[36] In the 2012 report the School agency concluded that over the whole period, 1998-2011 there have been no major changes in the importance of the connections between socio-economic background and deteriorating school results. The student groups which have the greatest difficulties to achieve passing grades in school are especially students of immigrant background, combined with poor socio-economic conditions.[37] In the PISA report presented in 2013, it appears that Swedish 15-year-olds' knowledge of mathematics, reading and science continues to deteriorate. This trend appears as the worst of all OECD countries.[38]

In addition to class and ethnicity, school results also depend on gender. A summary of the Swedish school statistics shows that boys, on average, reach 90 % of the girls' achievements. There is also a larger proportion of boys who receive various types of special education. The statistics also show that the differences in results based on gender are not related to ethnicity or social background. Although the proportion among the most low achievers are boys, that does not explain the whole average difference of 90 %.[39]

[34] National Agency for Education, “Summary”, 2012.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Government's spring budget bill, 2012.
[37] National Agency for Education, 2012.
[38] PISA, 2012, Education's report.
[39] SOU, 2010:51, p. 12.

In summary, students' affiliation based on gender, class and ethnicity are of great importance to both the greater disparities and the total deterioration of the results in Swedish schools during the past decades. The causes of these correlations have been analysed and discussed in numerous reports and studies, and is not the primary focus here.

The importance of ethnicity, gender and class for students' school results in an English context

Recent research shows that, to some extent similar to Sweden, social and cultural conditions continue to have a significant impact on students' success in school in England, as well as on their future and general life conditions as adult citizens. However, it is very clear that the effects of gender and ethnicity on examination performance do not show success as a white male prerogative [40]as girls outperform boys in almost all subjects and, within social classes, there is little significant difference in achievement by ethnic groups other than that students of Chinese origin are more likely to gain higher grades.

Girls continue to outperform boys at the age of 16, when school pupils in England sit their public examinations prior to either leaving education for work or continuing in academic or vocation education for at least two further years. Other than in economics, mathematics, and physics, girls achieve higher grades than boys at 16 and 18.[41] Girls out-perform boys in every social class, although middle class boys out-perform working class girls. While it is possible to identify an overall higher level of achievement for girls, grades vary considerably between subjects and such data also have to be considered with regard to entry numbers.[42]

[40] UK Government, 2016.
[41] Joseph Rowntree Trust, 2012.
[42] Social Trends, 2014.

Ethnicity is perceived as having a more complex relationship with education than in Sweden. Pupils of Chinese origin achieved a pass rate of 78.2%, the highest for any ethnic group, and they are joined by Indian, Irish, Bangladeshi and black African pupils in outperforming their white British peers.[43]

Social class is less clearly definable than gender and ethnicity but it remains true that "[s]ocial class remains the strongest predictor of academic achievement",[44] a situation made more complex by other factors when we consider that "pupils eligible for free school meals, those whose first language is other than English, and pupils with SEN [Special Educational Needs] continue to perform less well than their peers".[45] In England 12 % of pupils do not have English as a first language and, across the country, over 300 languages are spoken in the homes of school-aged pupils.

While overall examination results in English schools have not shown deteriorated in recent years, it is clear that such results in areas of multiple deprivation continue to fall behind those in more affluent and otherwise less deprived regions.[46] The pupil group which has the greatest difficulties in achieving passing grades is working-class white males, with recent female migrants from the Indian sub-continent also faring particularly poorly. It has been demonstrated[47] that socio-economic deprivation is the single most important factor in educational attainment in England in this period, irrespective of gender or ethnicity. PISA (2015) confirms that immigrant status had no statistically significant impact on examination performance.

It is therefore beyond dispute that students' gender, class and ethnicity are of great importance to the disparities in results in recent decades, with social class being the significantly most

[43] UK Government, 2016
[44] Perry and Francis, 2015.
[45] UK Government, 2016.
[46] Office of National Statistics, 2014.
[47] Gilborn et al, 2012.

substantial factor.

Comparative summary

Based on the summary description of how previous research and reports have understood the importance of ethnicity, gender and class for students' school results in Sweden and England, there follow some reflections. A clear similarity is apparent from investigations in both countries is that girls generally perform better in school than boys. The Swedish school agency showed in a report that students' results had increased between schools in a period of at least thirteen years. The agency concluded that the student groups being over-represented among the declining school results had a combined background of immigrants and poor socio-economic condition.[48] This conclusion shows the importance of not looking at different social differences separately, but in combination, which is to visualise how different aspects mutually interact to constitute the conditions that prove to have great explanatory value in the Swedish school context. However, because this type of survey report is based on statistics, as well as on the questions submitted, it does not appear clearly whether school results differ between different ethnic groups or in combination with the students' gender. The report also raises new questions such as if the social location of the school context – or any other contexts – appears as the most important community to the students when it comes to their identity or valuation of different locations? Comparing the Swedish case to the English, it appears clearly that the English students' ethnic background shows a more complex relationship with school results. Current English research also shows that the student group having the greatest difficulties in achieving passing grades in school is the white male students of working-class background. Also these conclusions raise further questions; how do the students value the importance of their own social class or ethnic background? What other communities or groups do they identify themselves or others with, and, what ethical and political values, do they express? These are some of the questions we

[48] National Agency for Education, "Summary", 2012.

asked our respondents.

Methodology

We decided on focus group interviews of senior pupils and individual interviews of teachers, using opportunity samples of schools. As Griffiths demonstrates with her billiard ball analogy[49], it is extremely unlikely that another researcher (or, if we were to repeat the study, that we) would make the same inquiries of the same sample and get the same answers to be analysed in the same way to produce the same results. It is also highly improbable that, if we had interviewed each other's samples, we would have obtained the same results. Of greater importance than replicability was that there is validity, that what we have identified, analysed and discussed gave an insight into perceptions of 'the Citizen' in both Sweden and England. Focus groups allowed our pupil respondents to feed off each other in offering or challenging ideas and perceptions, while the individual interviews with teachers were directed more to an awareness of school provision and the realities of that professional context. The English students were interviewed in mixed groups and the Swedish students in separated groups according to gender.[50]

We recognise that differences in sample and differences in 'follow up' questions could be seen to create difficulties for consistency of analysis and comparison. However, we interpret those differences as, in themselves, data to be considered and analysed. That teachers and/or students in England and Sweden understand both ethnicity and social class in different ways tells us something

[49] Griffiths, 1998.

[50] The decision to split the Swedish students into different groups based on gender was a conscious choice by Nielsen. The decision was based on an assumption and from previous experiences that youngsters – and girls in particular – express themselves differently in gender separate groups. However, we do not believe that the various approaches have influenced the results in each country in any way that would have a significant impact on comparisons.

about the different ways in which citizenship identity is constructed in the two countries. As an example, since English is widely spoken internationally, language is seen as a more significant issue in Sweden than in England. Therefore, it makes sense for this to be pursued by the interviewer in one context more than the other. In summary, the variance of emphasis and in perception of what is important is, in itself, an indicator of differences in what constitutes being a citizen. What is perhaps more important for the study's results are some significant differences between the socio-economic contexts the respondents were from as well as their present school context. Students from the Swedish sample group who read vocational programmes were more clearly influenced by both social heritage and study direction than was the case among the English students from working class backgrounds. One possible reason for these differences was that the English students' studies were more theoretically oriented than the Swedish vocational programmes. These differences appeared from their answers and from how the students had acquired their knowledge and positions on various social issues.

In both countries the sub-samples were 26 learners and 4 teachers, not large enough to be representative but certainly large enough to be considered usefully indicative. Although identical in size, they were not identical in composition as all the English sub-sample were in their final two years of schooling, while the Swedish sample included four adult female students of Swedish as a second language. Three of the English schools were state schools with the other coming from the independent[51] sector, while the Swedish sample comprised two vocational oriented secondary schools, one university preparatory secondary school and one adult education school.

[51] 7% of school student in England attend schools which are wholly independent of the National Curriculum and other state strictures and which charge fees of up to £40,000 annually. State schools have been given increasing autonomy from local authority control but most remain answerable to the Secretary of State for Education; independent schools are not so answerable.

The class, gender and ethnic composition of the English sub-sample was:

Girls	Middle Class Black English = 1
Girls	Middle Class White English = 4
Girls	Working Class White English = 11
Boys	Working Class Asian/English = 1
Boys	Working Class White English = 9

Teachers: 2 male, 2 female. Two of the teachers were of students interviewed while two were not.

The class, gender and ethnic composition of the Swedish sub-sample was:

Girls	Middle Class Swedish = 4
Girls	Middle Class of immigrant background = 3
Girls	Working Class Swedish = 2 + 3 (small farmers)
Girls	Working Class of immigrant background = 3
Boys	Middle Class Swedish = 3
Boys	Middle Class of immigrant background = 2
Boys	Working Class Swedish = 5 + 1 (small farmers)
Female teachers	Middle Class Swedish = 1
Female teachers	Working Class Swedish = 2
Male teacher	Middle Class Swedish = 1

It was found that, when analysing data, definitions of ethnicity vary between the two countries. In England someone of Indian heritage who was born in the UK would be considered to be a British Asian (or, as described above, Asian English); in Sweden that person would be classified of immigrant background.[52]

We collaborated on the design of the interview schedule which addressed general areas regarding the required taught curriculum,

[52] The classification according to class, gender and ethnicity is based on the respondents' own information and identities. It is possible that official statistics or relevant research in the area had made a different classification. For the present study, we considered that the respondents' own identities constituted the most appropriate basis.

teachers' and students' experiences of citizenship teaching and learning and the experiences of being a citizen. We agreed in advance that the schedule should be a guide rather than a script, allowing respondents the freedom to address those issues they considered most important and allowing the interviewers scope in returning to themes raised in previous interviews.

Results

The presentation of results from our interviews is based on the themes that have been discussed with the respondents. After each theme there is a brief comparative summary, which is expanded upon in the concluding section of this article. Due to the different techniques used to record the interviews there are significantly fewer verbatim quotations in the presentation of results from England. This provides an unfortunately uneven impression but is unavoidable due to differences in technical support and does not reflect differences in degree of depth or accuracy of recorded responses.

What knowledge and skills does a citizen need in a democracy and how is the meaning of citizenship connected to gender, class and ethnicity?

England

The key factors identified by teachers were a need for citizens to be a) media savvy, and b) politically literate in the sense of both understanding the political system and in knowing how to access political processes. There was virtual unanimity amongst the school students that the greatest skill set required of citizens was that which enabled them to get involved, recognising that this had to be preceded by a desire to get involved. For them this was more than watching news or reading newspapers, and had to involve developing the skills required to understand how to interpret media content and how to articulate argument and discussion with others regarding that content and the motives behind its inclusion.

One male teacher expressed the opinion that social class appears to have disappeared from discussion, even though its influence clearly remains. This, he felt, could be most clearly seen in popular TV programmes such as 'Benefits Street' (where the lives of welfare claimants were under constant scrutiny); he believed that these were leading society inexorably towards a 'Hunger Games' mentality[53] reminiscent of Juvenal's 'panem et circenses', (bread and circuses). The media are not only distracting attention away from social inequality and social issues, they are creating entertainment from others' difficulties. This media exploitation of class voyeurism was perceived by him as much stronger than any possible comparable gender or ethnically-based distorting emphasis, in part because class is less openly discussed and because there is a prevailing opposition to – or at least diminution of – gender and ethnically based discrimination (both legally and culturally). None of the other teachers offered class as a significant focus for citizenship, nor was it an aspect raised by students even when explicitly asked. Those teachers and the students considered economic opportunity and cultural attitudes to be more significant than an undefined notion of 'social class'.

All the teachers raised issues of taxation and voting systems as being important for citizens. How taxes are raised and where the expenditure is were deemed useful ways to both politically and economically educate citizens, particularly in allowing teachers to address myths regarding benefit levels without being considered biased in their teaching. As well as the UK's general use of First Past The Post, it was considered important that citizens have some grasp of the principles of proportional representation, not least because various forms of this are used in Scottish Parliamentary, Welsh and Northern Irish Assembly, and European Union elections. All agreed that one regularly

[53] A popular USA film based on a series of books by Suzanne Collins. Two young people from each district in the fictional country of Panem are selected by lottery to participate in the annual Hunger Games where they try to eliminate their competitors while the citizens are required to watch the televised games.

successful strategy had been to run mock elections in school, exposing learners to Marshall's notions of both Civil and Political Citizenship.

The students were agreed that political involvement was key, and that this was a prerequisite of active citizenship. For the students at state schools [3 of the 4 sample schools] one of the most important pieces of information and understanding they had gleaned regarded the role of pressure groups, a category of activity, which their non-Citizenship peers had not thought of as political. At the independent school the students did not consider their active citizenship, which was – across the school – at a higher level of involvement than in any of the state schools, to be political so much as 'the right thing'; in this their activities were therefore closer to 'worthy acts'[54] than political activity. That none of the students identified issues of taxation to be important underlines the teachers' concern over this omission, while leading one to wonder why the teachers were not themselves addressing this as it has consistently featured in England's National Curriculum. We see here a deficit in regard to Marshall's classifications of Citizenship; Civil and Political in that pupils should be experiencing their rights/obligations and freedoms as citizens – to understand both why they pay tax and how it is spent - and Social, as they would appear not to be given the opportunity to learn about taxation and its social role.

There was little spoken of rights and responsibilities. This did not indicate a lack of perceived importance so much as teachers' belief that their pupils had a very secure, if not always wholly accurate, sense of their rights, and at least one teacher advocated that pupils would benefit from not only knowing about their responsibilities but also acting upon these. The student

[54] Truly active citizenship is engaging, and requires reflexivity and deliberation. It requires pupils to take action on problems and issues in order to achieve clearly identified outcomes in relation to them. Any event or activity which is planned and developed by teachers or other adults, which does not allow pupils to develop and to learn, is not an example of active citizenship but constitutes – at best – a worthy act, where a short-term good is met at the expense of long-term engagement. Leighton, 2010, 2012.

respondents considered that their rights and responsibilities needed to be made clearer. Despite the cynicism of at least one teacher who stated that students were only interested in exploiting their rights for selfish ends, the students said that they felt they needed to know more about rights as well as responsibilities as they considered that the word is often misused and misunderstood by their generation. One female student explained this with the example of having the right to own a mobile phone not being the same as a right to have it in school. With regard to responsibilities, state school students perceived a lack of opportunity to accept and act upon these in a school setting as they had little freedom to seek or accept responsibilities but had authoritarian expectations placed on them; this was not the perception of the independent school students, who considered that they were gradually given responsibilities in accordance with teachers' perceptions of their developing maturity and ability to accept such responsibilities as were deemed appropriate. What those responsibilities were did not clearly emerge from subsequent discussion.

For the teachers the meaning of citizenship connected to gender, class and ethnicity was unclear. The female teachers perceived gender issues more strongly than the males, with one extending this to consideration of sexuality and other determinants of social identity such as region and age. None suggested that there was a practical way of separating the social reality of any of these factors as people in all three categories simultaneously. For all the students, the meaning of citizenship connected to gender, class and ethnicity was dictated by an individual's sense of belonging to a society. One male student argued that, particularly in the post-Thatcher UK (since they were born) society has become all about individuals and self-motivation and that it was therefore how the individuals saw themselves that created that person's sense of citizenship. There was consensus that gender and ethnicity were issues of greater concern for people like the researcher (old, white, middle class, male) as the students considered themselves beyond categorisation or evaluation in terms of gender and ethnicity. With explicit regard to gender, for example, reference was made to not only Thatcher's political

success at the end of the 20th Century, but also that three significant political parties – the Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru and the Green Party were led by women. For them, class remained an issue but more with regard to 'chavs',[55] a widely used derogatory term for members of the underclass used to "distinguish the 'rough' from the 'respectable' working class"[56] and issues of income rather than social class. The interviewer did not offer a definition of class and, while students clearly held their own concepts, these were not aired and examined. The notion put forward that class mattered less than income, opportunity and culture, to which the students generally subscribed, is clearly problematic and begs the question, 'what is class, if not defined by income, opportunity and culture?'

Sweden

Starting with the open question of what it means to be a citizen, almost all the respondents answered that so-called civil and political citizenship is central. They mentioned, for example, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, the right to vote, etc. The majority of both teachers and students felt that these democratic rights and freedoms should also be considered as obligations; partly in the sense of actively exercise your rights and also the responsibility not to violate or impinge on another person's rights and freedoms. As one female teacher expressed it: "To live in a collective involves that my freedoms extend until they clash with the next person's freedoms. To have rights also include an obligation of how to manage them."

Teachers and the students with Swedish as a second language emphasized the importance of having sufficient knowledge to be able to exercise their rights. They underlined good language skills, and general civic-knowledge, as two important pre-conditions for active citizenship. Based on the experience that groups of citizens in society lack such knowledge, two male students objected to considering civil and political rights as obligations. One student asked: "How can you see it as an

[55] Nayak, 2006, p. 813.
[56] Ibid.

obligation? In some neighbourhoods, the number of voters is very few, like 50%. Should we despise them because they do not vote?" Both views regarding the importance of or the lack of sufficient knowledge are examples of, albeit indirectly, also paying attention to the importance of social citizenship, that is, the right to education, health care and other prerequisites for prosperity. However, it was only the female students that in a more direct way mentioned social rights as a vital aspect of citizenship. Finally, all the respondents felt that good behaviour and respect for their fellow citizens is an important feature and a responsibility for everyone. This is also connected to the importance of common basic values. One male student at the vocational programme expressed his view as:

> S (Student): I believe that everyone has the obligation not to be an asshole!
> L (Laila): What do you mean by not being an asshole?
> S: You should not be mean to other people.
> L: What are your thoughts regarding being a part of a democracy?
> S: Go and vote!
> L: Go and vote, is a right?
> S: It is an obligation.
> L: You mean that it is rather a duty than a right to go and vote?
> S: Yes! Otherwise you cannot complain. You must vote! It is not a right but an obligation. There are those who can't vote. Therefore, one must do it.

Teachers' and students' opinions were divided when discussing whether there is a norm for citizens based on gender. Two of the teachers, half of the female students and one male student answered clearly that there exists such a male norm, which for example become visible in that men generally have more power and better salaries than women. The remaining respondents' replied that there is no specific norm based on gender. However, several felt that there are specific male and female characteristics and areas of interests in society. When the question was asked whether boys or girls are most interested in social issues a number of respondents answered that it depends on the issues at stake. Some students believed that girls are more interested

because they have worse societal conditions and therefore more reasons to get involved.

There was more evident consistency among the respondents' opinions about the importance of class and ethnicity for the development of citizens' conditions and societal competence. The teachers saw a connection between students' capabilities to reach the necessary knowledge and their parents' level of education and ability to support their children. Necessary knowledge was again identified as language skills and general civic-knowledge, which both could be achieved through education, employment and integration. Most of the students argued in a similar way and identified migrants' difficulties as a lack of language, unemployment and alienation in Swedish society. These obstacles for integration into Swedish society are often class-related because they interact with low incomes, segregation and poor housing conditions. These relationships were made very clear when two male students from a pre-university programme discussed the question, "When is an immigrant perceived as a Swedish citizen?":

> S1: The language is of course important, that is, how to speak and write. (He turns to his buddy S2 who has non-Swedish origin): It's really not much difference between us, except that you have a little bit darker beard than me.
>
> S2: There are more differences. Name and such things are also very important. It should not be forgotten.
>
> S1: No, sure it is. He is called Emre and my name is Anton (fictitious names). I mean, you hear right away that there's a difference. I have the advantage of having a Swedish background.
>
> L: Beyond that, is Emre a good example of someone who has become Swedish?
>
> S1: I'm not acquaintance with Emre's family or so, but Emre is a perfect Swede based on the expectations that ... So yes, he is well integrated.
>
> S2: Why am I well integrated? What is it that makes it work for me? That's the problem: If I was born and raised in the suburbs. If I had not been middle class. If I had talked what is

called Rinkeby Swedish (a famous suburb of Stockholm). If I had not been good in school. If I had opinions that are a little more what you relate to the fundamentalists. Had I still been seen as Swedish? Even if I had been born in Sweden?

S1: No!

S2: Probably not! And I'm well aware of it. Therefore, I usually don't talk much about ... Many people who have a different ethnicity knows that people look differently at them, and accordingly, they develop a different behaviour. They do so because they want to fit into a special norm.

Without clearly separating the two aspects, there was a consensus among the respondents that the combination of social class and ethnicity has importance when it comes to whether one is perceived as a fully Swedish citizen or not. The only students who expressly said that class background has a negligible importance in Swedish society were the students who study Swedish as a second language. When they compared class conditions of the Swedish society with conditions in their former homelands, they perceived Sweden as an egalitarian society.

Comparative summary

Regarding the question of what knowledge and skills are considered necessary in a democracy, we found both differences and similarities in the respondents' answers. All respondents agreed on the importance of political knowledge in the sense of both understanding the system and knowing how to get involved and influence on politics. The meaning of these skills were for example such as to have sufficient knowledge to both receive and participate in public debate, the right to be heard and the obligation to vote and knowledge of their civil liberties. When it came to the importance of social rights as a precondition for citizens' knowledge and skills, it was above all the teachers in both countries and a few Swedish students who drew attention to this aspect. In the Swedish context, the importance of adequate language skills were discussed as a key issue both as an important

general question for the integration of immigrants, but also as a tool to be able to participate actively in society.

Respondents in both countries were aware of inequalities based on gender. Whether they explicitly pointed at the subordination of women, which mainly the female respondents did, or "only" pointed at the existence of different conditions between sexes, there was a consensus that men generally live under better conditions than women in society. Not surprisingly, it was foremost the female teachers and students who clearly identified with the gender issue. Despite women's relatively poorer social conditions, none of the respondents claimed that this affected the status of women as citizens, reflecting Yuval-Davis' observation that 'not all belonging/s are as important to people in the same way and to the same extent and emotions, as perceptions, shift in different times and situations and are more or less reflective'.[57] It is possible therefore to both acknowledge the existence of different social conditions and the limitations for female citizens and still judge this as not affecting women's status as citizens.

Among the English respondents, class was considered less significant than income and opportunity, while ethnicity was understood to be a barrier to social acceptance in some spheres but not a barrier to the legal status of citizen. As regards the students' knowledge of democratic rights and freedoms, English teachers have a greater belief in their students' awareness than was the case among the Swedish teachers. These differences could (as mentioned above) be attributed to the different socio-economic contexts that the students originated from. However, there was also a similarity between the English and Swedish students' answers, which can be associated with their self-image and self-confidence. In Sweden, the students in vocational programmes had a rather weak self-confidence, while the pre-university students had good self-confidence as future citizens. The English students seemed to be generally more aware of their rights and freedoms, but students of state schools did not feel

[57] Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 5.

that they had enough responsibility or freedom of action in school as was the case for students of independent schools.

It is interesting to notice how both teachers and students overlapped in England, putting less emphasis on the importance of class and ethnicity for the real conditions of citizenship than was the case among the Swedish respondents. One possible explanation for this may be that class distinctions in England have been evident for so long that the population has become inured, while Sweden used to be a welfare state with a comparatively small differences in socioeconomic conditions. However, as stated above, the Swedish situation drastically changed in the early 1990s as the income gap increased by 31 percent between 1991 and 2010 and Swedish schools have shown clearly deteriorating results in recent years. On the basis of these drastic changes the general Swedish consciousness is probably more aware of and pays much greater attention to these issues.

These differences in analysis and valuations between the English and Swedish respondents, to refer to Yuval-Davis, is also related to the definition of different categories based on attitudes to the social differences that should be considered to be inclusive or exclusive. Another concrete example is when the Swedish student Anton do not realize the importance of Emre's background in the middle class, but only looks at the importance of ethnic background when he explains why he believes that Emre is well integrated in Sweden. While Emre, with his non-Swedish origin, is able to identify with immigrants being treated differently based on their socio-economic conditions in the suburb, understand the importance of social class.

How is personal liberties affected by the citizen's gender, class and ethnicity, according to the respondents?

England

When asked whether gender affected a citizen's freedoms, teachers' responses were consistent that there were stereotypical

expectations not borne out by reality. They perceived a society which, by statute, clearly prohibited limitations on any group or individual freedoms under any of the three social conditions under consideration here. At the same time there was awareness that legislation and reality do not always coincide, and that women's mean income was lower than that of men and that there were fewer women in significant roles in society. It was clear that the students, across genders and social class, felt that gender equality was a fact of life. They were aware of the inequalities identified by the teachers and that such inequalities represented out-dated attitudes. One female student observed that, as old people die, old attitudes will also die away. Several males spoke of their gender attitudes having arisen from friendship groups including females rather than from school, home or mass media – all of which they considered to be less forward looking and egalitarian.

With regard to ethnicity, teacher perceptions were again consistent as well as similar to their perceptions regarding gender, that legislation prohibits discrimination or unequal treatment but there are none the less differences in income and status. These differences were considered to be more marked than with regard to gender, particularly with reference to recent immigrants, many of whom were not [yet] citizens and who were therefore subject to quite stringent limitations of movement and economic activity in particular. Limitations on more established immigrants were seen by most to derive from their language skills as well as institutional structures which resulted in many working in occupations considerably lower in status and income than those for which they were qualified.

Students' perceptions of a 'typical British person' are discussed below but, in terms of ethnicity, it was clear that they did not have a specific image themselves. All were clear that they considered the UK to be a multi-cultural society and that, while some members of some cultures were less likely to be actively involved in society than others, they were still non the less British. While the students demonstrated awareness of racism and disadvantage, they were both sensitive to it and considered

such conduct to be the behaviour of a minority. The stereotype of the racist Brit held no more truth for them than the racist stereotypes of ethnic minorities sometimes perpetrated by, for example, far right political parties.

Teachers were not aware of discriminatory practices or conduct amongst their students but those in the state schools were acutely aware of overt racism in their schools' localities. These schools were all in urban areas, with one in the parliamentary constituency considered nationally to be the most likely to return an anti-immigration party (UKIP) candidate during the election taking place on the day of the interviews. That the teachers did not live in the immediate area might have lessened their sensitivity to some students' day-to-day experiences.

Social class was considered still to make a difference in attitude and access to political and citizenship involvement, more due to cultural attitudes than to structural inequalities. The teacher at the independent school had not considered class as an issue, while the other teachers considered that perceived poverty was probably more significant than any externally determined hierarchical classification. In common with their teachers, students considered social class to matter in relation to class cultural attitudes as well as to notions of "speaking proper" [*sic*] and how they presented themselves for work and interviews. This, in turn, arose from aspirations for personal progress and, crucially for at least one male student, being able to afford to aspire; "It takes money to dress right, it takes money at home to mean you can go to university and not pay your way. That isn't class, it's income."

Sweden

Both teachers and students expressed that social class has a great importance for citizens' social commitment, which have to do with how confidence and attitudes differ appreciably between classes. A teacher from a vocational programme put it as:

> T (Teacher): Yes, I think so. It's important, it's all about self-confidence and ... If we're talking about the middle class, they

> realize their own worth: I have a right to know about this! They dare to question and ask questions. If you don't have the same self-esteem, you don't do it: it's not worth it ... It's so much related to your class background and your network.

Most of the respondents agreed that students have different conditions, such as practicing freedom of speech and freedom of religion, depending on their parents' education and socioeconomic status. Some students felt that, depending on class background, children also get different education and language from school, which have to do with housing and school segregation. Some girls from a vocational programme believed that people from lower social classes also have a lower self-confidence; one of the students continues the reasoning by saying of herself:

> S: I would never be able to study further. I'm not such a theoretical person. I am not able to do it! But then of course, I'm not gonna get the same education as those who are more theoretical. So, just because I'm more practical, I don't want to be valued lower. I just don't like to sit and read all the time!

All respondents agreed on the importance of gender, class and ethnicity regarding people in possession of power. The importance lies in that they represent certain issues and social groups, and that they are role models with which different groups of citizens might identify. Some males on a vocational programme thought that more people listen to a Swedish man in power than to a woman or a person with a foreign background. However, other students underlined that those in power from a working class background, with disabilities, being women or having a non-Swedish background are important for under-represented groups to voice their experiences and interests. Students of vocational programmes emphasized above all the importance of social class.

Some of the vocational students expressed xenophobic perceptions on marginalized immigrant groups. These students were convinced that immigrants are positively discriminated in

the social security system by receiving higher economic grants and other benefits than Swedes get. Two students discussed the issue:

> S1: For example, you may go to an employment service if you are Swedish. You are not entitled to get any training if you haven't been unemployed for at least six months. But a black person, excuse the expression, he will receive training within five minutes. This is the problem...
> S2: Do you have statistics on that?
> S1: Statistics and statistics ... I don't know. But I have a number of witnesses telling me that's how it is!

There was also a broad consensus that societal groups are not completely equal in reality before the law. This is particularly true on the basis of gender and ethnicity. Some argued that people with immigrant background often were judged harsher than Swedes, by the courts as well as by media and the public. Different attitudes were expressed from some students of a vocational programme. They felt that immigrants who commit crimes should be sent back to their original countries:

> S1: I do not think it is right that they end up in a Swedish prison and that we must pay taxes for them.
> S2: It is better to spend that money on schools and care for the elderly ... Otherwise, the state spends a lot of money on those who do wrong...

Girls on pre-university programmes believed that women are sentenced harder if they neglect their children and sometimes are judged on the basis of their behaviour when they've been raped. When we discussed civic rights and freedoms, one teacher believed that people with immigrant background often experience worse treatment in their everyday contact with the authorities than Swedes. Some students agreed that there exist an ethnic discrimination regarding immigrants' opportunities to get jobs and housing.

It was mainly females, both teachers and students, who believed that women were disadvantaged in various societal contexts. One student explains: "It has always been men who have the higher positions and it might be hard for them to understand the situation for women." The girls also believe that it is more equitable in their own generation and that it will be better in society when those over fifty years no longer possess the power. They were mostly upset concerning that there are still big differences in payment between men and women.

Comparative summary

There are significant similarities in the responses from England and Sweden, as well as a few notable differences. The disparity between legislation and reality is a common perception, that the law might claim to treat all the same but social reality does not present this as a lived experience. In both countries it is social class which appears to be considered the major obstacle to social mobility and full citizenship rights/participation. In both countries, income level and language are mentioned as significant class markers. However respondents' notion of class is not consistent across the national boundaries. The English students describe different cultures and attitudes on the basis of class, while the Swedish students mention importance of self-esteem and access to equal education. These differences may partially be explained by how the student groups in the two countries differ in their composition: Students from the Swedish vocational programmes respond partly based on their own experiences from a less educated background. The English students express themselves based on their experiences of encounters between different social classes. These differences in response based on the students' class background, rather than national background, constitute a clear example of how different social locations affect students' judgements of their own and others' perceptions and meanings of belonging.

The differences in the composition of response groups were also significant regarding the importance of ethnicity. Students in

both societies perceived ethnicity as a barrier but, in Sweden, some of the students themselves had anti-immigrant beliefs: For instance, they reported preferential treatment for migrants, usually presented anecdotally rather than on the basis of evidence. English students were aware that such perceptions are held in their locality and elsewhere in the country but did not hold such views themselves nor were they aware of evidence to support them.

Perceptions of women's citizenship experiences are common to both countries, although the English students identified and condemned this irrespective of gender whereas in Sweden it was of greater concern to female students. In both countries, the respondents considered that women generally earn less and are under-represented in influential positions in society in the same way as is the case for different minority groups.

What are teachers' and students' experiences of Citizenship Education and how does school pay attention to citizens´ conditions based on gender, class and ethnicity?

England

Non-specialist teachers were concerned that pupils gained some understanding of voting and processes of taxation and expenditure, and – while effort was spent ensuring an understanding of rights – that more could be done with regard to gaining an understanding of citizens' responsibilities. These are all elements of the required National Curriculum but the teachers concerned did not feel competent to address them; non-specialist teaching is a common occurrence in Citizenship Education in England.[58]

[58] Leighton, 2004, 2010; Keating et al, 2010.

The more experienced specialists considered it more important to identify and challenge social inequality and mobility barriers. Social class was perceived as still present but a less significant barrier than in the past; pupils were perceived as class aware, perhaps more sensitive to issues of poverty and income than to sociological definitions of employment class. One female teacher commented on the media exploitation of class voyeurism, particularly in relation to 'reality' TV shows such as Big Brother, while one male teacher expressed the view – subsequently reiterated by one of the female teachers – that parental ignorance or bias in relation to each of class, ethnicity and gender was a greater influence than could be countered by school.

Virtually all students mentioned the need for young people to become involved in society, to know how to listen to and understand news and current affairs rather than be passive recipients of one institutional version of events. They considered it important that schools enable knowledge and understanding of pressure groups, extending the notion of 'political' beyond party definitions and party activities. There was also general agreement that a full understanding of rights and responsibilities would be beneficial as this was an area considered to be confused and confusing, and that one of the reasons for young people's lack of political engagement was that they do not yet have responsibilities nor do many think about what those will be. There was also consensus that much more political education is needed, that the political parties do not engage with young voters who are often ignorant or disinterested.

The central concerns for teachers were not around issues of social differentiation but of the status and provision of their subject. One female teacher described how Citizenship Education was seen in her school as a subject for the less academically able, for example to replace the demanding assessment tasks in history, while a male teacher observed that the subject is not rated by colleagues. Another female teacher commented that there was particular concern rather than opposition in her school at the reintroduction of Citizenship Education as there were cuts elsewhere in the school budget and some of her colleagues felt

this was not the right time to spread expenditure so thinly. Disparity of support amongst parents/carers was also reported, with some very supportive and expressing regret that the Citizenship Education had not been available to them [it was introduced into England's National Curriculum in 2002] while others did not consider it to be 'a real subject'.

All teachers claimed that their schools had strong extra-curricular provision and clear value systems. Activities such as charity work and campaigns, fund-raising, links with schools in less economically developed countries were cited. The teachers in most schools saw their students as politically aware, which was considered not to be the case for those in the independent school. They also considered that gender and ethnicity held little significance for their students' perceptions or expectations, and that attitude rather than social class was a key determinant of civic involvement.

The teachers were unanimously of the opinion that textbooks were of limited value and that it was more helpful to develop resources, which related to students' own perspectives and experiences, referring in particular to images which were aspirational rather than realistic – particularly with reference to gender.

One group of students stressed the need for more substantial development of the individual's sense of and place in society. They were aware of Margret Thatcher's alleged dictum that "there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families" proposed during a speech in Bruges in 1988; this was an attack on a perceived entitlement culture but became popularly understood as an advocacy of absolute individuality, an advocacy of individualism and selfishness which the students did not interpret as representative of their local community but perhaps of the country at large. Two white working class female pupils made a point about which there was again general agreement:

F1 "Citizenship is active"

> F2 "Yeah. Citizen*ship* is the active part; a citizen is just someone who lives somewhere".

Paradoxically, this is very close to what Mrs Thatcher might have meant[59]. With regard to gender and Citizenship Education, it was stated that:

> S10 (male): elected representatives have generally always *[sic]* been male. Women might feel excluded. Plaid Cymru, SNP, Greens have women leaders and are left leaning parties. They have grown as outsiders in their gender, region, and politics. The media portrayal of them is minimal and vindictive.

One group of pupils who has experienced Citizenship Education in their earlier secondary schooling considered that their school provision of Citizenship Education was far better than in other schools as it was a compulsory subject throughout, with an optional course for the public examinations for pupils at the ages of 16. The impression they had of other schools was of weak provision and ignorant peers. One female in this group stated that "people at other schools just laugh at the subject." This view was reflected in the responses of those students who did not have compulsory Citizenship Education – a combination of uninformed opinion and disparaging remarks.

There was a consistent theme that teachers and academics are out of touch (ever thus and probably correct). This final point arose when one male student suggested that the fixation on social differences is a generational one – that the National Curriculum is decided upon "by people like you (middle-aged, white, male researcher). We don't worry about these things; we're not racist, we're not sexist." He and his fellow students argued that there were more important things to worry about than constructions such as class, ethnicity and gender, and that education should focus on what matters now rather than what used to matter.

[59] See Woman's Own magazine interview transcript at http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689.

Sweden

The teachers said that they adapt their teaching in different ways to each student group on the basis of what knowledge teachers believe that their students may need in the future. It was particularly evident among the teachers at the vocational programmes. Their teaching had focus on everyday-related and practical skills such as dealing with the authorities, to influence on working life and the local environment, strengthen the students' self-confidence and the right of everyone to express themselves and to be heard.

A teacher working on a vehicle technical programme believes that the objectives of the school policy documents are a bit too theoretical for his students. Instead he highlights the importance of linking citizenship education to the students' career choices and everyday life as young adults. The skills involved in writing a CV and how to contact authorities are important.

Another teacher from a pre-university programme underlined that since she had taught citizenship education to her students for three years, as in contrast to the vocational programme's one-year courses, it provides her a significant opportunity to teach both at the basic and at a more advanced level. She was also the only teacher who claimed to have sufficient time for her teaching. The other three teachers felt that lack of time is a decisive reason for their limitations in Citizenship Education. As it also has emerged earlier from the interviews, all the teachers stressed the importance of language skills for the students to orient themselves and get involved in the community. However, the meaning of language skills differed depending on which programme the students follow. Students who are newly arrived are trying to assimilate the basic Swedish language while students in an academic preparatory programme listens to radio programmes such as "philosophical room"[60] and discuss the meaning of various abstract concepts.

[60] A programme on Swedish radio where classical philosohical topics are discussed.

The students' experiences and views on Citizenship Education differed according to gender and on which programme they studied. The students at the vocational programmes felt that they were limited and only got a superficial knowledge of how society works. They described that they essentially got factual knowledge about Parliament, voting procedures and the EU. Some of the girls on a vocational programme expressed a wish to develop more in-depth knowledge for their future. Some of the guys on the same programme felt that such knowledge was unnecessary and that they instead would devote themselves to more useful everyday skills for adult life; such as social rights, contacts with authorities, insurance companies, etc. All the students wanted more education of the so-called everyday knowledge, however, vocational students also valued everyday knowledge higher than more general knowledge of society's various decision-making bodies, general politics, administrations and functions.

On the contrary, the students at the pre-university programme described how their knowledge gradually was deepened during the three years they have studied social studies. The girls also discussed the importance of language from a class perspective. One girl says that the less educated have a more childish way of expressing themselves, which means that you do not listen to them as much. Some male students in a vocational programme confirmed this in a way when they expressed an indifference towards whether the school should expand the teaching about citizens' rights and obligations:

> S1: An additional lesson on society ... Everyone had ... I do not know what. Not a joy exactly [...] If you want to be heard, you may have to learn how to do it.
> L: Don't you want to be heard?
> S1: I don't know. If no one listens, it doesn't matter after all.
> L: But you have told me some interesting things today.
> S2: Yes, but that is because you want to listen. One want to be heard by those who listen.

The female students of Swedish as a second language experienced Citizenship Education very differently depending on where they

had studied. Their experiences ranged from SFI (Basic language courses in Swedish for immigrants) to university courses on a more advanced level. All women with non-Swedish background shared the experience that they have received information and teaching that does not always match their needs. They felt that immigrants often are treated as a homogeneous group who all have the same needs. However, when they compared with teaching in their countries of origin they were quite happy with the Swedish education.

All of the interviewed teachers and most of the students shared the experience that Citizenship Education seldom paid attention to social conditions according to class, ethnicity and gender. Those who were most satisfied with the teaching of these issues were students at the university preparatory programme. However, the majority of respondents felt that education is inadequate and needed to be developed. According to some teachers and students the reason for this inadequacy was because class, ethnicity and gender are difficult and sometimes controversial issues to deal with in the classroom

In addition to reasons such as the lack of time and experience for dealing with these issues other reasons were mentioned. On the basis of sexes, the students expressed different attitudes against inadequate education. The girls at both programmes believed that this is important knowledge and should be made available to all, while some of the male students believed that the issues were important but doubted whether they needed to expand their own knowledge.

When I finally asked the students if there was something they would like to add, something we have not paid attention during the interview, they suggested some slightly different viewpoints. Some girls in a vocational programme felt that homosexuals were subjected to prejudices in a similar way as immigrants. A couple of male students at the pre-university programme said that some problems are forgotten: "We talk about social class, but there are also disabled who are mentally and physically ... It is the first time we learn about this in twelve years. We talk about their

difficulties and that society is not adapted for them." The girls at a university preparatory programme mentioned environmental issues as very important. Issues that is not given sufficient attention. A student clarified: "We do have a responsibility to future generations, you know."

Comparative summary

It has appeared from the interviews that the students and teachers had some similar experiences from Citizenship Education in general, but the differences seemed to be more between the two countries when it came to paying attention to conditions based on class, gender and ethnicity. An apparent similarity, however, was that virtually all respondents were keen to develop and expand Citizenship Education. Within the teacher groups of both countries they believed that inadequate teaching arose from the lack of time, resources, and that they did not feel fully competent for the task. Among the Swedish teachers this uncertainty was especially regarding issues of class, gender and ethnicity, which may be perceived as controversial to discuss in the classroom. Another similarity was that the more qualified teachers in England and the teachers on academic programmes in Sweden drew attention to issues of social inequality to a greater extent than the non-specialist and vocational teachers did.

Among the English teachers the central concerns were about the academic status and provision of the school subject 'Citizenship Education'. With cuts in education expenditure, Citizenship Education was not considered a priority. In Sweden - where Citizenship Education is not a separate subject - the content is vague and teachers' interpretations of the assignment differ distinctively between the different schools and programmes.

One similarity that emerged between the two countries' student groups was that the students who read Citizenship on academic programmes in Sweden and England valued the importance of citizenship education for their further studies and adult life significantly higher than what was the case for other student

groups. This was reflected even in that teachers in these programmes perceived their students as more politically aware than was the case for the Independent School in England and vocational programmes in Sweden.

When we asked students about the extent to which the school pays attention to citizens' conditions based on gender, class and ethnicity, the answers partly differed. The English students and students on the Swedish academic programme thought that the school challenged stereotypes – primarily regarding gender and ethnicity. Even if the importance of class was not as prominent, these students were aware of differences in income and that there were significant socioeconomic inequities in society. The Swedish students on vocational programmes highlighted the importance of social class more, both regarding their own identity and conditions as well as conditions of class society in general. It was also in these programmes that some of the students expressed xenophobic ideas. As it has appeared already from above, both the Swedish teachers and students considered social class as a more important aspect for citizens' conditions than what was the case among the English respondents. This interesting difference will be further discussed below.

Concluding analysis and discussion

One of the most interesting results of the study is how the respondents of the two countries answered on the importance of class for citizenship in its real meaning. In the Swedish context, attention was paid particularly to how the combination of class and ethnicity interact and make it difficult for exposed societal groups to gain the real meaning of citizenship. This was valid both concerning the necessary preconditions from school as well as citizenship conditions in general. The English respondents - both teachers and students - were well aware of how both ethnicity and income contribute to unequal social conditions. However, most of the English respondents claimed that social class is not of any particular importance today, but rather an aspect of the past.

These differences in attitudes and opinions about social class are quite remarkable given that Sweden in the post-war period has been well known for the Swedish welfare state, while the UK has continued to clearly be a class society. Even today, the student group, which has the greatest difficulties in achieving passing grades in English school, is white young men from the working class. We need to do a brief historical review and refer to previous research for a reasonable analysis. In the 1980s' social and political changes with liberal overtones in England and Sweden, as well as in other Western countries, brought a shift in focus from the 'public good' to the 'private good´.[61] As stated above, these societal changes were also reflected in the Swedish school policies over the past two-three decades. The curriculum prior to when this liberalization and individualization began was written in a leftist social climate with demands for greater equality. One of the primary school purposes was described as "to prepare all children and young people, regardless of their place of residence and other external conditions, real access to equal educational opportunities".[62] The curriculum was clearly problem-oriented and aimed to "encourage students to debate and question the prevailing conditions".[63] Swedish research has shown how the increased liberalization in the 1980s and 90s brought the needs of the individual and freedom of choice before everyone's right to an equal education. Based on this view, private school options, school voucher and free school choice have been reforms that have fundamentally changed the conditions for the Swedish school.[64] Boström expresses his concern over this development as: "Democracy will be equal to that citizens choose between different options (in various markets) as well as to think freely - but what is beyond that has

[61] Englund, 1999, McSmith, 2010.
[62] Lgr 69, p. 11. For an historical perspective on the Swedish school system, see Englund, 1986; Nielsen, 2015.
[63] Ibid. p. 14.
[64] Englund, 1999; Boström, 2001; Dahlstedt, 2009; Nielsen, 2015.

nothing to do with democracy. What kind of citizens will people become with such beliefs?"[65]

In the English school context, the development has been different due to an earlier and more dominant emergence of new right neo-liberalism. Until 1988 there was no national curriculum and the inspection regime for schools was largely advisory and encouraging. Since then the curriculum has become increasingly proscriptive and knowledge based[66] and the inspection process increasingly severe and homogenising, discouraging the creativity, innovation and teacher autonomy, which marked the 1960s and 1970s. There has also been a dismantling of local accountability of schools through legislation that has created 'academies' funded jointly by central government and 'sponsoring' private businesses, and 'free schools' established by parents and funded by central government. In questioning this policy, Miller observes that "The government is responsible for providing education, and passing responsibility of this to parents and private interests raises serious questions about the government's motives."[67]

Trying to understand the consequences of these developments for the school's various actors, empirical studies like this are useful. Based on respondents' experiences and opinions, the Swedish study has shown clear differences between university preparatory and vocational students' self-image - and the image of others - in terms of both conditions in school and the prospects for adult life as citizens. In revisiting Marshalls' ideas about the need of social citizenship, we are led to consider the last decades of liberalization of school as changes that depleted social citizenship and entailed greater demands and responsibilities for the individual. This kind of change always hits the resource-poor hardest, who in the Swedish school context have been identified as students with a combination of foreign and poorer socio-

[65] Boström, 2001, p. 42.
[66] What constitutes useful and appropriate knowledge being also strictly proscribed.
[67] Miller, 2011, p. 170.

economic backgrounds. While in England socio-economic background outweighs all other factors, although ethnicity – particularly amongst recent immigrant populations – remains important. However, it would be an oversimplification to identify students who experience difficulties in school as solely resource-weak groups of foreign origin. In this study, those pupils who identify themselves as working class in the Swedish context were students on vocational programmes. Although this group of students has relatively good socio-economic prospects,[68] they give expression for both lower self-confidence and interest regarding citizenship education and of societal engagement than was the case among the university preparatory students. Even the teachers at vocational programmes felt that their students find it difficult to receive social related theoretical education. Although the composition of the student groups we interviewed clearly differed in some respects,[69] we saw an interesting similarity between Sweden and England. In a similar way as the Swedish vocational students, the English students at the independent school also showed lower interest in citizenship education for adult life than was the case among the English (and Swedish) students who studied citizenship at a higher level. We may perceive the similarity regarding students' more negative attitudes to citizenship education as an expression of their social background - or social location to refer to Yuval-Davis - which have a relatively larger impact on how these students identify themselves and how they judge their own and others' belonging, than what school teaching may offer. Another way to put it is that students from more resource-rich home environments probably have a stronger identification and emotional attachment for the goals and ideals that citizenship education represents than is the case for more resource-poor pupils.

[68] The percentage of unemployed among foreign-born was in 2015 of 15.5 percent, which is 11 percentage points higher than for those born in Sweden (4.5 percent). Central Bureau of Statistics (SCB), 2015.

[69] As stated above, the Swedish student groups were more heterogeneous (based on pre-university or vocational programme) than the English student groups with a theoretical focus on their studies.

The interesting and important issue of students' identification with and understanding of social class is an area that we intend to continue working with in our future research.

It was clear from all respondents' answers how they referred to ethnicity as a social hierarchy; however, students' attitudes to the importance of ethnicity for Citizenship differed both between the two countries and within Sweden. All the English students and most of the Swedish students expressed great understanding and support for a multicultural society. They were aware that anti-immigrant views existed among political groupings and some social groups, but did not consider ethnicity as a barrier to citizenship in its real meaning. As stated above, the Swedish respondents claimed that ethnicity combined with social class clearly affects the conditions of citizenship. In addition, among the Swedish vocational students, some anti-immigrant ideas were expressed. That such xenophobic attitudes get strongholds amongst community groups with lower education is not exclusive to Sweden. According to Yuval-Davis, certain identities and affiliations tend to become stronger to people the more threatened they become or believe they become.[70] The Swedish sociologist Sernhede has studied the Swedish suburbs and marginalized groups. Based on international research he describes how the last decades of growing racism and xenophobia in many European countries can be understood in the light of the general uncertainty that the disintegration of the traditional forms of national identity entailed. Another factor, he points out, is the competitive situation that has arisen between the traditional working class and immigrant groups. The contradictions can partly be explained by that the two groups compete for similar low-skilled jobs.[71] Similar findings are offered by Tippett et al[72], with similar explanations, while there is a wealth of evidence of the growth of xenophobic youth conduct throughout Europe.[73]

[70] Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 5-6.
[71] Sernhede, 2007, p. 30-31.
[72] Tippett, Wolke and Platt, 2013.
[73] Licata and Klein, 2002; Ziebert and van der Tuin, 2008; Worger 2012.

These differences in how the students looked at the importance of ethnicity as a social hierarchy may probably also be explained historically. England has been established as a multicultural society for longer than the Swedish society. In Sweden, it was only in the 1990s, and to an even greater extent during the recent year's major refugee flows, as Swedish society has shown difficulties in receiving and integrating these groups.[74] Again, such difficulties are more related to socio-economic difficulties than to ethnicity. In the British context, different ethnic groups are more established and are not perceived as a homogenous group of refugees. It is rather the case that different ethnic identities more prominent and known as a part of English society. These differences between how the two countries have developed in relation to immigrant groups can of course also be explained by Britain's past as a colonial power. Britain's colonial contacts have enabled emigration to a greater extent than has been the case for a country like Sweden, where contacts with non-European cultures were relatively more limited in the past.

When we discussed how equal citizens are before the law, we also got quite similar answers. Most respondents - both students and teachers - felt that formally we are all equal before the law, but in reality, we are different doomed both in court and by the common man, which, inter alia, is based on ethnicity, class and gender. Some of the students in both countries assured the interviewers that gender equality would probably improve when generation 50+ has handed over power to the younger generations. However, it was pointed out that especially with regard to wages and important positions in society, it is still men who make the most money, and hold the greatest power.

In Sweden it was above all the female students and teachers who drew attention to the importance of gender for citizens' conditions, but the English students identified this irrespective of their own gender. These different attitudes towards gender between the two countries may possibly be explained by the different socio-economic context that the students originated

[74] Migrationsverket, 2016.

from. The political awareness and involvement in general appeared to be more evenly distributed among the English students, who were more homogeneous group and their studies theoretically oriented, than was the case among the Swedish respondents who were split between vocational and pre-university programmes. The result shows that female Swedish students seem to be less influenced by their social background when it comes to attitudes toward gender and citizenship education in general than was the case among male students. This is perhaps not surprising given that investigations in both countries shows that girls - regardless of class and ethnicity - generally performs better results in school than boys.[75] In a report from the Swedish National Agency for Education in 2006, it appears that in addition to that girls out-perform boys, girls tend to a greater extent to choose pre-university programs. The report also shows that the gender gap both in terms of school achievement and educational choice is greatest in the vocational programmes.[76]

However, these differences, based on gender are in not exclusive to Sweden. The tendency that girls show better school results and increase their participation in education is an international trend, including in England as noted above. Still, there is little research done on the reasons behind these gender-differences.[77] What questions raised in school research is obviously affected by factors such as the public debate and by internationalization. Sometimes the term "travelling discourses" is used, which refers to how e.g. discussion on boys' underachievement travelled from the Anglo-Saxon research and policies to the Nordic countries. The discourse presents boys failure as caused by inadequate pedagogical efforts and the feminization of school. Nyström indicate that the risk is that gender-stereotypes will be cemented and that more complex interpretations, of what is happening in the school, is ignored. Interpretations that could have been made possible from an intersectional perspective based on different

[75] SOU 2010:51, p. 12.; Joseph Rowntree Trust, 2012; Social Trends, 2014.
[76] Skolverket, 2006, p. 47-55.
[77] Nyström, 2010, p. 8-9.

social hierarchies and focusing on the specific context, time and place. What is further problematic is the implicit assumption that there are only two genders that exist, and that the normal order of society is heterosexual. We agree with Nyström's analysis and will deepen and develop our intersectional approach further in future studies.[78]

Based on the students' and teachers' experiences of the contents of Citizenship Education, the differences were greater in Sweden than was the case in England. This may be explained in that Citizenship Education has existed in England since 2002 and is relatively well established in comparison with Sweden where the school subject of Citizenship Education does not exist. In Sweden there is a shared responsibility for citizenship education and a special responsibility is on the community-oriented subjects. Furthermore, the policy documents, goals and guidelines are more clearly formulated in England, while in Sweden there is a greater space for interpretation.[79] The Swedish teachers use this space of interpretation to adapt their teaching to the current student groups, which have had the consequence that the contents of Citizenship Education in Sweden differ greatly between schools.[80]

When we asked about the extent to which the teaching recognizes the importance of social conditions based on class, gender and ethnicity the responses differed slightly. The students' experiences in England were that stereotypical notions of ethnicity and gender were challenged in school. Given the imagined limited importance of class, the aspect was not given any greater attention in their education. In the Swedish context the contents of education were more dependent on the access of time and the teachers' experience in the area. Actually, the teachers in both countries mentioned limited time and resources as main reasons to not being able to develop their teaching as they wished.

[78] Ibid. p. 22-23.
[79] School Inspection, 2011, p.. 1-2.
[80] National Agency for Education, “Summary”, 2012.

Finally, to return to our starting point of T.H. Marshall's (1950) classifications of Citizenship – Civil, Political and Social – our findings indicate some degree of consistency within and between the two countries. While in England students appear to want more depth of analysis and greater potential for social action, the students in Sweden differed more in their experiences according to the programme they studied. There is otherwise agreement that Civil and Political Citizenship appear to be present but that Social Citizenship is haphazard at best. As it has been stated in this article, with references to official statistics, investigations and a range of current research data, women and members of minority ethnic groups are perceived to be less enabled than men and members of the host community. While social class is also understood to be a factor in inequality, we have shown that this term is constructed differently in each country, as well as, in different contexts within the two countries. We have, through our intersectional approach, with the support of Yval-Davis' theories, wanted to show how the various social hierarchies - gender, class and ethnicity - cannot be considered in an additive way, but instead, depending on the empirical context as mutually interacting aspects that create conditions that affect people differently.

During the interviews, the respondents mentioned other areas - than class, gender and ethnicity - as important for citizens' real conditions. These were for example the importance of sexuality, (dis)ability, age, urban / rural and religion. These are examples of origins and identities that would be interesting to investigate in future studies. Also the relation between national, European and global identity are today important factors which influence people's lives. As has already been indicated from the results of this study, the countries' history and traditions of citizenship and Citizenship Education provide a significant impact on the state of affairs today. A more clearly historical perspective would certainly contribute to a deeper understanding of today's conditions. An historical perspective would also contribute to preparedness for the future. How teachers and students

understand and wish for the future would be an interesting subject for further research.

If our responses are considered reliable, it is now time to take stock of approaches to Citizenship Education in the two countries that form the focus of our study, and beyond. In particular, educators need to listen to what the pupils/students perceive to be reality, to take account of their visions of now and the future rather than imposing educators' views from the past. There appear to be significant benefits in the specialist teaching of citizenship throughout the secondary age-groups of a subject known as citizenship rather than leaving non-specialists to do their best with vague guidance and no curriculum time allocated. We do not argue that students should write their own curriculum but they should at least have an influence on it, in the spirit of Freire's[81] awareness that learners bring their own experiences to their learning. Nor do we argue that such approaches will remedy all social ills. At this juncture we feel we have only scratched the surface of young people's perceptions of being a citizen; with more understanding of those perceptions, educators and young learners can collaborate to produce a more fulfilling, relevant and effective curriculum.

[81] Freire, 2002

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The problem of scientific education

Rasoul Nejadmehr

In this essay, I term the dominant educational paradigm of our time as scientific education and subject it to historical analysis in order to bring its tacit racial, colonial and Eurocentric biases into view. I subsume this cluster of problems under the general heading of "the problem of scientific education", a problem simultaneously submerged deeply in the invisible background of current education and across its foreground inasmuch as it conditions daily educational practices beyond educators' awareness. The delicate question to be answered is: enclosed as we are within a scientific framing of our educational system, how can we find an alternative way of looking at this educational system that will help us resolve the problem of colonial, racial and cultural subordinations inherent in its scientific framing?

To investigate this complex question, I distinguish between the constituted surface of education or science education (e.g., planned daily educational actions like lectures, examinations, assessments, teaching methods) and the constitutive background of education or scientific education (the deep-seated presuppositions that condition any educational action beyond our awareness like "naturalised" racial and colonial legacies), and suggest a shift of focus from the former to the latter. At the heart of this distinction lie the asymmetrical relationships

between surface and background: the background (scientific education) and the foreground (science education) as historical conditions of possibility for our present way of conducting education without understanding how and why.

Using archaeology and genealogy as tools of inquiry, I trace the emergence of scientific education and the concomitant racial and colonial inequities in Western modernity, especially in the works of the defining figure of Western Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant. Inquiries into the conditions of the emergence of scientific education and its historical development are then coupled with a problematisation of its present state as the dominant educational paradigm in an age of neoliberalism. I problematise this paradigm in order to show what shape its transformation can take. Further, I suggest some basic ideas on how such a transformation can be accomplished.

Introduction

Based on the introductory chapter of a book I am currently working on, this essay investigates the problem of scientific education, an umbrella notion designed to cover the main problems of our time's education. It consists of four parts. The first part is an elaboration on the distinction I made earlier between science education and scientific education, that is between the constituted surface and the constitutive background of education [1]. The gist of this distinction is the historical groundedness of educational practices. Education presupposes a prior non-educational engagement with the historical world we live in. Our explicit daily educational practices, ideas and discourses receive meaning through a tacit and to a large extent unchosen, unassessed and unarticulated cultural, historical, linguistic, and social background of our being in a historical world. As this unassessed and pre-conceptual background conditions our articulated educational actions, understanding

[1] Nejadmehr, 2009.

daily educational actions demands critical inquiries into the background. Because of its historical nature, understanding the background of education demands archaeological and genealogical investigations into the conditions of its genesis and development. Therefore, the second part of this essay is dedicated to such investigations of the pre-reflective and unquestioned background of contemporary education (scientific education). These inquiries are aimed at shedding light on the Eurocentric and colonial ground of scientific education and its emergence from the "soil" of Western modernity, where racial and colonial structures of superiority and inferiority were taken for granted. Archaeological and genealogical investigations also reveal that of the colonial past is not limited to explicit colonial practices. More importantly, it informs well-intended educational practices beyond educators' awareness. I aim to investigate the question of why racist and colonial practices prevail in education despite a formal rhetoric of autonomy, equality and justice in liberal democracies' curricula. The third part of the essay problematises the current state of education in an age of neoliberalism. It highlights the close relationships between the standardising ethos of scientific education and neoliberal rationality on the one hand, and neoliberal reduction of human relationships to economic rationality and education to an economic investment on the other hand. Finally, the fourth part of the essay suggests a number of shifts in focus as preconditions for counteracting neoliberal educational hegemony and making education free from racism and colonial legacies. These shifts also make education dialogic and intercultural, not a specific discipline limited to ethnic groups of non-European origin but a general framing of education released from tacit racist, sexist and colonial presumptions. The main concern of these shifts is a transformation of the constitutive background of education instead of changes being limited to the surface, namely improving teaching methods for science education. Among other things, I suggest shifts in our understanding of notions of critique, freedom, creativity, truth, and humanity as interconnected elements of an intercultural, dialogic and free way of being in the world that is based on

human equality, not as an abstract right but as a practical starting point that changes the grammar of human relations with the self, the others and the world. Such relationships would herald the end of *homo economicus* and related discourses.

Having this starting point, I subsume the educational problems of our times under the general heading of *the problem of scientific education* and subject it to critical genealogical inquiries. This is because scientific education enframes different nuances of contemporary education (e.g., intercultural, inclusive, critical). Nowadays, there is no educational tendency that defines itself as not being scientific in a traditional sense. There is a form of intellectual blackmail of being against or for science. My attempts here are aimed at a nuanced approach to science, education and their relations. Rather than being against science, I am concerned with the purity of science, its rationalities, and the fact it is taken for granted when enframing education, alongside the asymmetrical relations between the surface and the background of education. I suggest a shift of focus from the foreground — science education — to the determining background —scientific education — as a necessary step to address the right kind of educational problems. This is to change the preconditions of educational investigation by revealing submerged problems, unexpected linkages, and asking different questions than those that have dominated philosophical reflection on education. This is also an attempt to ask questions that are crucial for education, but that have not been asked, in order to make visible linkages and relationships that have not been seen.

By asking different questions within a different frame of reference I hope to shed new light on contemporary educational problems. Some of these questions are: what are the historical connections between scientific education and the political hegemony of the West and concomitant colonial and racial oppressions? On what basis has science become the exclusive framing of education, and what are the harms and resources of this enframing? Are there ways of disconnecting scientific education from the epistemic

hegemony of the West and establishing a non-hegemonic notion of education? What kind of education is this and what are its characteristics and conditions? Is there any way to establish an education that is not scientific? These questions bring together the necessity for educational transformations that go far beyond teaching methods of science and curricular issues, where the educational hegemony of science is taken for granted. They bring together issues such as the implications of pedagogy being reduced to a science of teaching, as well as being enframed by science and the practical consequences of such an education for modern individuals as self-constituting beings. At issue, here is the idea that science is placing itself in a position of becoming the cognitive, regulative and organisational framing of education and life. Addressing these issues brings to the fore the inadequacy of educational reforms as being limited to improving teaching methods of science, and concerns basic principles of foundation of education. This reveals our need to subject scientific education to informed outsider criticisms and be responsive to aesthetical and philosophical critique, ultimately to look at scientific education from perspectives outside of science — those of history, art and philosophy on the one hand and non-Western perspectives on the other. This brings into picture the geopolitics of modern science and education. To investigate these questions is a basic step towards a non-alienating notion of education, where oppressed human beings enable themselves to overcome their subordination and become the agency of constituting their own humanity: acting, thinking and talking in accordance with a style of their own rather than performing them from an inherited Eurocentric perspective.

Given the complexity of the task at hand, the essay can be read as part of a larger work in progress, where I am trying to bring together several strands of thought: Western self-criticism (conducted by a large number of critics of modernity since Marx and Nietzsche to Foucault), postcolonial studies, the subaltern

project, and the decolonial camp.[2] My aim is to stimulate critical dialogues between critical voices questioning Western metaphysics, racism, colonialism, and Western cultural hegemony. As different modes of conceptualisation of the historical period called modernity, these styles of thought cover different aspects of this decisive epoch and its working in the present. Put together, they can create a multidimensional account of the issues I am concerned with and offer an intersectional toolkit for political interventions. They convincingly establish the intrinsic relationships between modernity and of objectifying humanity, subjecting humanity to capitalist, colonial and racist exploitation. To this set of ideas, I add the relationships between modernity and scientific education, the way in which the scientific style of thought pervaded education and tied it to the systematic concentration of power and accumulation of wealth in Europe, coupled with organisation of knowledge around the idea of the control of the other. As a result, a critique of modernity relates to a critique of scientific education, and contributes to the understanding of racism and colonialism in our time's educational regime. In this context, I see scientific education as an intersectional space of linkages, where legacies of colonialism, racism, sexism and Eurocentrism intersect and strengthen each other. They build a solid ground for the neoliberal mode of subjectification (different modes through which human beings are made and make themselves subjects) and governmentality (rationality according to which people are governed and govern themselves). In scientific education, the past intersects the present and unfolds towards the future. Further,

[2] A number of intellectuals addressing contemporary issues from the perspective of historical experiences of Latin America and Caribbean. In Walter D. Mignolo's wording: "The basic thesis [of the decolonial camp] is the following: 'modernity' is a European narrative that hides its darker side, 'coloniality'. Coloniality, in other words, is constitutive of modernity — there is no modernity without coloniality". http://www.macba.cat/PDFs/walter_mignolo_modernologies_eng.pdf. While colonialism is a historical period, coloniality is a logic behind colonialism or the colonial style of thought that exceeds colonialism.

these interactions are taking place invisibly. My aim is to reverse scientific education to an intersectional space where different modes of educational resistance can intersect and strengthen each other and offer alternative educational practices.

Worth mentioning is that instead of being concerned with an essentialist definition of scientific education and related conceptual apparatus, I am concerned with the ways they can be used as tools of transformation in educational struggles — tools that enable us to intervene, act and reshape inherited patterns of educational practices. These notions are thus determined by the variety of practical uses rather than natural essences to be discovered. In order to avoid relativism and distinguish dialogic, intercultural and inclusive practices from colonial and racist uses, I use Wittgenstein's notion of family resemblances, according to which a multitude of practices can be placed under categories such as intercultural or dialogue by virtue of their sharing a number of resemblances rather than sharing an eternal essence.

To be frank, in this limited space I can only offer brief analyses that will hopefully make amply clear both my criticism of the contemporary educational paradigm and my suggestions as to how to overcome its limitations. Instead of limiting my focus to teaching methods of schools' science and knowledge acquisition, I am trying to explore an intercultural understanding of education through a shift in its horizon of intelligibility by introducing the notion of scientific education. This means not only questioning the West's colonialisation of epistemology and education, but also its colonialisation of ontology, its creating the world in its own image, its ontologisation of racial, class and sex differences. This has been done not only through force and naked oppression, but also through consent and hegemony, where education has been equated with emulation of the Western canon of knowledge, education, aesthetic, taste, and what counts as human. Thus, the changes I am suggesting concern a much wider context than just educational institutions. One of my main premises is that such transformations are not a matter of merely

knowing the subordinating nature of racist and colonial norms (commonplace nowadays), but rather that they engage a will to change and demand deliberate enabling efforts from the side of the subordinated, ultimately their attaining the strength to practically delink from colonialism and racism, attaining a voice of their own and acting accordingly. The demand is also to collectively reshape the conditions that subject people to racism and colonialism rather than focusing on individual efforts.

Science education and scientific education

As the notion of scientific education is central to my understanding of education, it is useful for me to spell out at the outset how I use it. As I deploy it, scientific education signifies the general background of education in contemporary societies. Education is not the sum total of conscious educational assumptions and deliberate practices, but the interconnectedness of these practices and assumption, as well as the way they refer beyond themselves to a constitutive background, hidden from the critical gaze, that I call scientific education. This background embraces among other things tacit colonial inheritances, implicit biases, racial and cultural stereotypes, and common Eurocentric epistemic, ethical and ontological presumptions that give rise to and sustain racism, discrimination and inequalities between social groups and persistence of racial, ethnical and gender gaps in education. I bring this background into the picture in order to explain discrepancies between what educators explicitly believe and want to do and what they actually do. For instance, the majority of teachers in liberal democracies believe in egalitarian values. However, racial prejudices implicit in the constitutive background of education make them judge a black man or a migrant woman to be a less competent parent than their white counterparts, or to see the success of white students as normal, while the success of migrant students as exceptional. Most importantly, common implicit presumptions and biases about minoritarian social groups are not limited to those in a position of domination, but also affect members of oppressed groups and

people with no intention to oppress others[3]. Consequently, well-intended educators and members of the oppressed group may be part of the problem of scientific education.

Scientific education is assumed to be objective, unprejudiced and emancipatory of all human beings beyond racial, political, gender, and social divides. I aim to show that this is not the case. As the underlying foundation of contemporary education, scientific education frames widespread Eurocentric, gender and racists biases. By shedding light on these implicit assumptions and the mechanisms through which they work, I hope to bring them into view and thereby counteract their damaging effects. To use a Wittgensteinian analogy, scientific education names the wide range of tacit beliefs that individuals acquire as members of a community rather than learning them[4]. It is distinct from science education, which is a matter of conscious and controlled learning. An example will make this point clear. We acquire our mother tongue through an unconscious process, without being aware of its grammatical rules. We acquire the skills to naturally communicate and get a feel for what is right and what is wrong. Learning a new language, on the contrary, is a conscious process; it happens through training in grammatical rules of the new language. Language learners have not only conscious knowledge of the new language, but they can also talk about that knowledge. Analogically, scientific education refers to educational presumptions that educators acquire as members of contemporary communities, while science education refers to their controlled and conscious actions.

Considering the notion of utterance as the basic unit of language, Mikhael Bakhtin uses the notion of *chronotope* in order to signify the unspoken, shared spatial–temporal context against which any utterance takes on meaning [5]. Analogically, sporadic and fragmentary educational practices take on meaning, are

[3] Brownstein and Saul, 2016.
[4] Wittgenstein, 1991, pp. 208.
[5] Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 84.

explained and understood through a silent dialogue with a shared educational context or an educational *chronotope*, which are common background understandings and experiences that are conditions of possibility for science education in a particular time and place of contemporary societies. The point is to highlight the spatial and temporal embedding of educational actions in order to offer a better understanding of how educators act in contemporary societies. Scientific education is an analytical tool aimed at understanding how everyday educational actions take on meaning from a background that refers to historically rooted given values and our present time. Therefore, understanding explicit educational practices and discourses demands an understanding of the shared educational background and prejudices embedded in it. Put bluntly, scientific education is *the historical a priori* of contemporary education. This notion of a priori is different from the Kantian one. Instead of being formal and independent of experience, it is embedded in contingent conditions that have given rise to it. It is not imposed to history from the outside. It is "a priori" or "transcendental" inasmuch as it sets the conditions of possibility that are constitutive for the form education has taken in contemporary societies. It is the constitutive non-actions embedded in fundamental social structures beyond school boundaries. While science education is limited to teaching activities in classroom situations, professionally trained teachers perform it through activities like definitions, demonstration, assessment, and learning. Scientific education determines presuppositions, appropriate habits and beliefs necessary for education to work.

Further referencing Wittgenstein, the implicit constitutive role of scientific education is made explicit. He distinguishes between the riverbed and the movement of waters [6] in order to shed light on different levels of human commitment and action. In his view, commitment to riverbed beliefs and propositions is part of one's being a member of a community and not a matter of choice (§78).

[6] Wittgenstein, 1991, §94, §99.

Analogically, while science education is the movement of waters, scientific education signifies the riverbed of education. While science education "refers to methods and procedures according to which science is taught in schools"[7], scientific education is a frame of reference preceding and wider than science teaching and curriculum. It exceeds the confines of school boundaries and signifies the complex power structure that informs any educational event and policy. It is an educational ethos, a mode of educating people. It consists of shared educational commitments, which are taken for granted as part of modern life. The crux of my concern is that as time has gone by, colonial and racist ideas and procedures have become "natural" parts of the background presumptions of education. Scientific education has become the *tacit infrastructure of education*, a general sphere of knowledge that over more than two centuries has become "naturalised". The distinction at stake here is to render this naturalness strange, rethink the ground upon which relationships between science and education rest, and question our unquestioned reliance on presuppositions that tacitly infuse Eurocentric, racist and colonial legacies into the fabric of education. It is tacit because it is hidden from critical inquiry. Beneath what we know and control about our educational practices, there is something pre-given that we are not aware of. It is an infrastructure, since it underlies educational policies and ideas, and leads educational practices in predetermined directions beyond educators' awareness. To take an example from daily educational life, choosing free schooling happens at the level of science education. People can choose schools that show better results and teach science more effectively. However, they cannot make choices beyond scientific education, since any school they choose is based on and acts within boundaries of scientific education, as there are no other educational options available.

Nowadays, scientific education has become the dominant educational paradigm at a global level, consistent with the

[7] Nejadmehr, 2009, p. 6.

neoliberal matrix of power and its notion of managerial rationality. [8] Science education is the implicit ma of this educational ideology to the local circumstances of each school. The unprecedented global spread of scientific education provides for the first time in history a basic level of common educational practices and value orientation for the globe. Accordingly, while changes in science education are achievable at local levels, attempts to transform scientific education need global engagements. As scientific education is incorporated into the neoliberal power matrix, its changes presuppose changes in the wider context of neoliberal organisation of education, the labour market, the role of the state in education, and so on. It is to rearrange basic prerequisites of education. The gap between the educational rhetoric of interculturality and its practice of exclusion and racism can be explained by the rhetoric ongoing at the level of educational plans and practices being determined by the tacit background. To disrupt the working of this pre-reflective level of maintenance, production and reproduction of racist and colonial matrices of power paves the way for educational transformations that delink educational practices from colonial and racial hierarchies of power endemic to scientific education. Accordingly, any true transformation in the surface of education needs to start from changes in its implicit background, a precondition of possibility for such a transformation.

Why is the distinction between scientific education and science education needed?

Given my analysis of the two different but interconnected levels of education, the question is now: what use is this distinction? By making the distinction between science education and scientific education, my attempts in the first place are aimed at opening a

[8] Managerial rationality is a construct that assumes competing logics by different actors and in different disciplines. Managers and management practitioners view rationality as purposeful and goal directed, eventually leading to the maximisation of managerial goals.

new vista on education. This perspective is external to the dominant educational paradigm in order to address the problem of scientific education in a mode that goes beyond the confines of science and Eurocentrism on the one hand and is closer to educators' practical engagement with education on the other.

Critical analysis reveals that education has become enclosed within the limits of scientific knowledge, as it is enframed by and dedicated to dissemination of scientific knowledge. As scientific education has emerged and developed within the Western episteme or power/knowledge regime, its global spread has been a process of global Westernisation and uniformisation of education and its outcomes. My approach to these issues is practice- oriented, and aimed at recognising and removing obstacles that prevent education from becoming based on multiplicities of perspectives, voices and experiences, from becoming an education that enables people to reveal and overcome colonial and racial oppressions that stay in the way of cultural and epistemic equality, from becoming an education that embraces the concerns of Westerners and non-Westerners alike. With no comparable alternative perspective available, scientific education, by its totalising domination, eclipses other educational possibilities. It has become an impediment on the way to an education that is based on cultural, political and epistemic pluralities. One way of understanding this exclusionary function of scientific education and its hegemonic role is to refer to the fact that in contemporary societies, there are no or very few alternatives to scientific education. Young generations are born into and educated by it before they are able to doubt or criticise it. Belief of it comes prior to criticism. Educators acknowledge it by what they say, think and do on a daily basis, since it prevails in all educational institutions and policies, rather than just schools, and works beyond their conscious and planned educational practices. Accordingly, planned reforms are often

aimed at science education, as they are easier to achieve, while scientific education remains intact.[9]

Scientific education was developed in tandem with Eurocentrism. Thus, the problems that this causes scarcely allow themselves to be investigated and contested within a Eurocentric perspective. Without a perspective outside Eurocentrism, scientific education, by its global domination, leaves no educational outside. This is to say that the problem of scientific education is a problem of *perspective* (a matter of cultural and epistemic beliefs, which functions for the disadvantage of racialised and oppressed people) rather than a *professional* one (professional skills in teaching science). Accordingly, a solution to this problem demands shifts in the current educational paradigm and perspective rather than improving science teaching methods. Therefore, my concern here is not improving deliberate school practices like teaching, examinations or assessments. I am instead concerned with how we can make possible a shift in the constitutive background of education in order to reveal historical heritages, implicit racist and colonial biases embedded in the current educational foundation that have brought us to an impasse when it comes to equality between social groups, justice, fairness, and dialogic relations between cultures and knowledge perspectives. It is thus necessary to go beyond good intentions and ideologically correct tales surrounding current intercultural education, and conduct inquiries that go beyond counteracting explicit biases and include the part of well-intended educators in

[9] This is to distinguish between reforms concerning methods of teaching and motivating students within the established institution of schooling (reforms *within* education), and reforms in the prerequisites of education, scientific education and the general background of education, against which we can make all our decisions regarding educational policies, programmes, activities, and methods (reforms *of* education). Correspondingly, research can concern the foundation of education, scientific education (research *of* education) or science education that are taken for granted, ultimately the best conditions for learning various disciplines (research *in* education).

the educational oppressions: are they not themselves part of the problem? This is a multifaceted and "submerged" problem whose adequate understanding demands defamiliarisations of the familiar patterns of educational behaviour from ethical, epistemological and ontological vistas. Ethically, we need to go beyond an ethic of good and evil and subscribe to an ethic of collective action and transformation through dialogic processes (transformation of ourselves through transformation of educational structures and institutions). Epistemically, we need to go beyond science and bring in aesthetic and philosophical perspectives. We can then compare scientific education with other educational alternatives, like artistic ones, and investigate other educational possibilities from perspectives outside the Western episteme. Ontologically, I suggest a practical engagement with education instead of a cognitivist one; education needs to be practically delinked from racism and colonial legacies rather than our being theoretically aware of harms of racist and colonial discriminations. Without such a transformation, teachers will continue to enact the hegemonic educational ideas and educational reforms, which will lead to new versions of the current educational paradigm.

Historical and genealogical inquiries of scientific education

As was elaborated in previous section, to investigate scientific education through perspectives of art and philosophy on the one hand and from perspectives outside the Western episteme on the other offers us a vantage point from which we can shed light on submerged educational problems. Another advantage of making the distinction at issue here is to investigate scientific education from a historical–genealogical perspective and shed light on its historical nature. This is to break free of the one-dimensional and linear Eurocentric narrative of education. This narrative structures time and history around ideas of "progress" and "development" in a way that underwrites Eurocentrism. European modernity and its educational ideology then become

the inevitable destiny of the world. Historical time is linked back to ancient Greece as the origin of true knowledge and education. This time becomes then an exclusive Western chronology to the diachronic and synchronic exclusion of non-Europeans. Concerning the others, this "politics of time" is "the denial of coevalence"[10]. Europe progresses and develops ahead and the others lag behind along the same path of development. Time and space are related to skin colour and biology. As will be elaborated below, this chronological, geographical and racial holism has been functioning as the rationale of colonialism. The others have been defined as being in a crude stage of development and in need of being governed. Colonial rule and education (the political and the educational) have then become interconnected as means of capitalist accumulation of wealth in Europe as the prize for being first in the development race.

Generally, educational direction and aims change over time rather than education being an orderly progression towards a unified end state. Through perpetual contest one educational paradigm has been replaced by another[11]. The history of education can therefore not be understood as a linear progress towards scientific education as an ahistorical educational truth. A historical approach to scientific education is an attempt to highlight its provincial genealogy as the core European educational idea since the 18th century and question its privileged position as universal, to uncover the discursive, institutional and social practices from which it emerged, as well as those through which it developed to become the key educational practice. This is to emphasise that there is no fixed essence of education or fixed set of historical events as determinants of its historical transformations. Rather it is a process-based ontology signified by flux.

[10] Fabian, 1983.
[11] Nejadmehr, 2009.

Inspired by Foucault, I approach scientific education through a tripartite methodological tool: an archaeology of its context and conditions of possibility, a genealogy of its development throughout the course of history, and a problematisation of its current actuality. In its Foucauldian mode, archaeology is to "study the space in which thought unfolds, as well as the conditions of that thought, its mode of constitution"[1213]. Thus, the spatial–temporal context and the mode according to which educational ideas come together to shape current configuration of educational power become important. I seek to unearth the context in which scientific education was made possible and came to be seen as truly educational. This is the historical context in which educational practices were linked with the obligation of knowledge acquisition, and true knowledge came to be conceived as scientific knowledge. A further point is the mode in which education and its enframing came to be constituted scientifically, whereby education became a scientific discipline. More importantly, archaeological inquiries unearth that scientific education was made possible in the same context in which the world population was classified along a line of educable and uneducable based on geography and skin colour on the one hand

[12] Foucault, 2013, pp. 85–86.

[13] This account of archaeology differs from what Gabriel Rockhill (2014:16) dubs as "archaeological teleology", where the end point of history is projected back into its beginning as if education and science have always existed in the same shape as they are now. The point is rather that there has not been a natural relationship between science and education to be discovered once and for all. By using a multimodal and multidimensional methodological framework, I am trying to base my analysis on the diversity of relations between these two notions, as well as on their historical nature. They are then traced back to their geography or space of emergence, followed forward in their temporal development and related to human beings as acting agencies in their context of acting and interacting in the present. This is to map science and education as sociocultural regimes of practice and the ways in which they intersect with the each other. This is also to avoid ascribing to them eternal essences of fixed beings. All of these are necessary in order to conceptualise educational practices.

and the humanity of human beings becoming a function of being educable on the other. As will be explored later, the context of possibility of scientific education was an exemplary state of domination, where power relationships between the colonial masters and the colonialised were locked by colonial masters, enabling them to prescribe the racist and colonial content of any educational idea and practice, and without any dialogue with those subjected to these ideas and practices. While the archaeology of scientific education uncovers the context, mode and conditions of its possibility, genealogy interrogates its development through time and the way it became the dominant educational actuality of today. This is to shed light on the genealogical kinship between 18th-century Enlightenment as an educational project and current global domination of free market or neoliberal capitalism. For Foucault, genealogy is a form of practical critique. He uses this tool to investigate the emergence of social institutions, the practices and forms of knowledge that have shaped modern European culture. Considering genealogy as a "critical ontology of the present", he tries to diagnose "the present time" and "what we are now" in order to question "what is postulated as self-evident" and "what is familiar and accepted"[14]. Foucault regards genealogy as "a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc. without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout history"[15]. The main concern of genealogy is transformation of the self and power relations. It is "an analysis of the historical limits that are imposed on us" in order to investigate "the possibility of going beyond them"[16].

While archaeology and genealogy interrogate the discursive and sociocultural conditions of possibility for scientific education, problematisation critically investigates the present conditions of

[14] Foucault 1988, p. 265.
[15] Foucault, 1980, p. 149.
[16] Foucault, 1984, p. 50.

scientific education — its actuality — in order to transform it into something better. It is to problematise some of its riverbed presumptions like systematic standardisation of humanity in accordance with the general principle of competition, or primacy of rationally calculable individual interests at a price of undermining the common. This is to work backwards and forwards, as well as in the present and downwards. This complex whole of methodological endeavours is aimed at revealing the historical and cultural conditions that gave birth to scientific education in the first place, stripping the multiple layers of historical events away to find whether the established narrative of education continues in concord with its colonial origin or in discord, and to lift the veil and to see the foundation of education and thereby understand its problematic actuality. The problems we are dealing with here are not consensus-based or easily discernible. Rather they are, as Koopman [17] maintains, "submerged problems", hidden "below the surface"; they "condition us without our fully understanding why and how", they are "depth problems in that they are lodged deep inside of us all as the historical conditions of possibility of our present ways of doing, being, and thinking. Yet… these problems are also right at the surface insofar as they condition us in our every action…"[18]. However, we need to attain a critical grip on them through philosophical–historical interrogations, otherwise we easily lose sight of the kind of educational reforms desperately needed.

The kind of genealogy used here is subversive, inspired by Nietzsche, and reveals the "shameful" origins of scientific education. It reveals that an education supposed to be emancipatory, based on rational foundations and objective truths, is now shown to be based on colonialism, Eurocentrism, racism, and capitalism. Besides, Nietzsche used genealogy as a means to trace the emergence and development of human types

[17] 2013.
[18] Koopman, 2013, pp. 1–2.

like the ascetic ideal or free spirits. In this regard, scientific education can be related to fostering a neoliberal human type, *homo economicus* or the entrepreneur type, signified by competition and rational calculation of self-interests as guiding drives. Archaeology, genealogy and problematisation can then be used as critical tools to trace the conditions of possibility for this human type in a specific time-space and geographical location, its development, and its current practice, as well as its future development. This reveals its provincial character and contingency in order to pave the way for new modes of subjectivity. Such investigations bring into the picture a dehumanised or alienated human type, and relate it to oppressive social orders in order to suggest ways of de-alienating humanity through bringing in art as a liberating perspective on science. As a result, the aesthetic notion of *homo faber* (creative animal) as a being who creates its own life and is the agent of its own knowledge and practice becomes crucial. It is released from the domination of abstract principles like capital and rational choice and is practically engaged in the world. Worth mentioning is that I do not use the notion of *homo faber* as an essence of humanity, which has to be preserved in any event, but as a counter discourse to *homo economicus*, a metaphor for human creativity that opens new human possibilities beyond *homo economicus*. What is crucial is what human subjectivity has been, what it is now and what it might become — its history, its present and its future. This is to emphasise the contingency of our "selves", as well as the contingency of historical frameworks, their limits and our possibilities to think and act beyond them.

Scientific education: historical conditions of possibility

Previous sections were dedicated to identify multiple perspectives and design analytical tools that enable us to investigate scientific education philosophically, aesthetically, genealogically as well as from perspectives outside Western educational hegemony. In coming sections, I use these tools and perspectives to reveal colonial, racist and Eurocentric biases and norms endemic to

basic principles of scientific education. Historically, to think and introduce scientific education into the field of pedagogy was new and revolutionary. It was a historical event with distinct conditions of possibility and development. To see scientific education as a historical event is to question its current self-evidence. It is to establish that it was one among many competing educational alternatives rather than being necessary. In other words, there is no natural bond between science and education. Education can nevertheless be informed by other framing perspectives, like that of the aesthetic, as will be explained later.

I am primarily concerned with grasping the way in which education became scientific; not through a theory, but through analysis of how discursive structures, norms and technologies of knowledge/power have, since Descartes and Kant, become interwoven with and developed as an integrated part of Western modernity and, most importantly, how they positioned human beings as speaking, knowing, normalised, and disciplined subjects on the one hand and how they established patterns of racial and colonial domination and hierarchies on the other. In the coming section, my focus will be on the condition of possibility of such an education and its constituent elements.

The subject–object split

A basic precondition of scientific education was the subject–object split. Famously, Descartes introduced the dichotomy of subject–object, and a universal notion of the thinking subject as the primary source of certainty, into modern Western epistemology. This subject establishes its own existence unaffected by the context of its life on the one hand and nature reduced to "mere material" to be dominated by this rational subject on the other. This was a crucial step towards the West becoming the universal measure of humanity, since it brought in rational notions of thinking and knowing independent of space and time. Descartes believed in the power of reason "by nature being equal in all men". His concern was educational: educating

humanity to "apply", use and "conduct" this power well[19], since having a faculty does not automatically mean its proper use. Although Descartes' works were indexed as Prohibited Books, his legacy of epistemic egalitarianism was extremely influential for his time and for the Enlightenment as an educational movement. The same can be said of the dualism of mind–body and nature as mere material to be dominated through the power of reason[20]. Worth mentioning is Cartesianism's importance for establishing a secular view of education alongside education as a progression towards human perfection. Cartesianism introduced methodological and epistemological ideas that brought education close to modern science. Descartes' influence was decisive not only for Kant, but also for Enlightenment liberalism more broadly and for John Locke's educational ideas[21].

To be clear, I am concerned with general principles of education and the formation of education's constitutive background during the last two centuries, rather than its surface and detailed accounts of different philosophers' views on education. Accordingly, my account of different thinkers is selective and at the general level of outlining practical implications of historical ideas for current educational practices. For instance, a principle like that of the Cartesian epistemic egalitarianism, shared by John Locke, implies an epistemic atomism, since it sees reason as the shared property of all human beings. With this ability follows the responsibility of each individual to grasp ideas clearly and distinctly through use of analytical activities, since grasping such ideas in thought is crucial to knowledge. Becoming part and parcel of the tacit infrastructure of education, the implications of this principle for assessments of educational achievements is easy to discern. It also has implications for the current domination of rational choice theory in social sciences and education. There are of course several transformations, appropriations and modifications between Cartesianism and neoliberal rational

[19] Descartes, 1997, pp. 72:2.
[20] Horkheimer, 2013.
[21] Schmitter, Tarcov & Donner, 2007. p. 74.

choice theory prevalent in current educational practices. However, we can justifiably discern genealogical connections between the two.

The transcendental subject and transcendental subjectivity

Though Descartes' work was groundbreaking, it was Kant who gave the notion of the subject its modern educational and moral significance. He maintained the Cartesian notion of the knowing subject, but as "a transcendental subject of thought" and as a necessary precondition for thinking. The transcendental subject was the condition of possibility for all knowledge, and contained all the conceptions and qualities it ascribes to objects. A tension emerged between the transcendental subject (the constitutive subject) and the empirical notion of the subject (the constituted subject). Foucault sees this tension as the "polemic of contemporary philosophy"[22]. He suggests "the whole history of post-Kantian and contemporary philosophy will have to be envisaged from the point of view of the perpetuation of this confusion – a revised history which would start out by denouncing it"[23]. Instead of a subject always situated in linguistic, cultural, social, and political situations, the Kantian notion of the subject is constitutive of all knowledge; it is a constitutive subject instead of being constituted by historical conditions. It is given before any knowledge and at the start of all cognitive processes, prior to them and conditioning them. Placed at the heart of Kant's critical philosophy, this God-subject becomes the entire concern of philosophy, since it constructed the phenomenal world, the world of its own knowledge. This notion of the subject played an important role in connecting scientific education to European imperialism. As this subject functioned as the universal paradigm of all modern persons everywhere, it gave rise to some problematic assumptions about a universal human nature. Most problematic was that it became connected with the

[22] Foucault, 2008, p. 105.
[23] Foucault, 2008, p. 107.

Enlightenment's educational ideology. As the basic presumption was that this notion of the subject is transcendental, all selves were supposed to share the same structure. Education was then shaped around the idea of this notion of subject and its assumed need to progress towards perfection. Although established in the image of the white man, this subject was assumed to be any person in any corner of the globe, and its sectional needs valid for any and all everywhere at any time. These assumptions have since caused serious colonial-educational problems, as the white subject becomes the measure of education and humanity. Wording the assumption of a transcendental subject as "transcendental pretense", Robert C. Solomon astutely writes:

> The transcendental pretense is the unwarranted assumption that there is universality and necessity in the fundamental modes of human experience. It is not mere provincialism, that is, the ignorance or the lack of appreciation of alternative cultures and states of mind. It is an aggressive and sometimes arrogant effort to prove that there are no such (valid) possible alternatives. In its application the transcendental pretense becomes the priori assertion that the structures of one's own mind, culture, and personality are in some sense necessary and universal for all human kind, perhaps "for all rational creatures". [24]

Although "transcendental pretense" is a powerful metaphor, I prefer to term this problem as transcendental uniformity, since having the transcendental subject as the starting point in education is to impose a pre-given or an a priori form on any and all. Transcendental uniformity is at work in cultural and educational policies. In a sense, it is responsible for the radical form of individualism developed since modernity, where knowledge is considered a relationship between the autonomous subject and the phenomenal world, a world waiting to be discovered. Morality is also a relationship between the autonomous subject and the universal law of pure practical reason. In this theory social and cultural diversities have no role

[24] Solomon, 1988, p. 7.

to play. As will be explored later, in neoliberal societies this individualism has been developed to the individual's rational choice in relation to their self-interest. As mentioned earlier, the problem of the subject is a problem of tension between the subject as conditioned by empirical circumstances and the subject as transcendental condition of knowledge (tension between constituted subject and constitutive subject).

Homo criticus, a new human type

Although thinkers like Descartes, Locke, Rousseau, and others did ground-breaking work when it comes to the educational ideology of the Enlightenment, the works of Kant occupy a central place in the creation and dissemination of the perspective I refer to as scientific education. He can be established as its founding father as he offers a coherent account of science, education and their relationships with human development. Generally, the importance of Kant for Western thought cannot be overestimated. Like Descartes, Kant divides Western philosophy into before and after himself. In an introduction to Kant's *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, Foucault talks of the genesis of "*homo criticus*" through Kant's critical philosophy, an image of man "the structure of which" was "essentially different from the image of man that went before … Which is to say that, in addition to its particular role as a 'propaedeutics' to philosophy, the *Critique* would have also played a constitutive part in the birth and the development of the concrete forms of human existence"[25]. In his essay "What is Orientation in Thinking?" Kant argues for a shift of epistemic paradigm, where this modern subject is encouraged to shift from methods of rational theology to that of reason. As in Kant, the idea of such a human type was anterior to its concrete empirical existence; this image had to be realised through education. In his *Lectures on Pedagogy*, he is clear about his idea of education preceding experience. However, he suggests that this idea should

[25] Foucault, 2008, p. 19–20.

be taken as truth[26]. The Kantian notion of education is the uniting theme of his philosophy as a whole. Kant's philosophy, his image of the human and his notion of education were a break with the past. The core conception of this break was critical or scientific thought, as Kant saw them as synonymous.

Thus, it is not an exaggeration if we consider Kant not only as the paradigmatic Enlightenment philosopher and an educator, but also as a philosophical watershed and a turning point in Western thought on humanity, knowledge and education. Kant brought in epistemological and educational ideas that were new, enduring and adopted by other philosophers whose influence for our time is decisive.[27] They were at once linked backwards with

[26] Kant, LP, p. 444.

[27] Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841) and his students Tuiskon Ziller (1817–1882) and Wilhelm Rein (1847–1929) played an important role in the further elaboration, practical application and institutionalisation of Kant's educational ideas, and in forwarding them to new generations of educators in Europe and the US. Like any other paradigm the Kantian educational paradigm needed these proponents to articulate it practically and theoretically. Through Herbart these ideas became incorporated into the ongoing educational reform. Herbart's influence was such that he sometimes is seen as "the founder of scientific pedagogics" (Norbert Hilgenheger, 1993). Herbart was, however, a post-Kantian philosopher and pedagogue admittedly much influenced by Kant, a student of Kant. He had the Kant Chair of Philosophy at Königsberg University and received fame for his theory of systematic educational teaching. Kant's idea of making education a science predates Herbart. The latter's pedagogical theory can indeed be seen as elaborations of Kant's ideas of the systematicity of science and the application of scientific method to education, an innovation in the methodology of human sciences that outdated its context of emergence and had far-reaching influence. To his credit we can say that "Herbart was a brilliant clarifier and interpreter who sharpened several lines of thought in Kant" (Erik C. Banks, 2005: 209). To be clear, the true shift in paradigm happened with Kant's Copernican Revolution, bringing in its wake a clearer differentiation of various disciplines in social sciences like pedagogy, psychology and anthropology. In his first *Critique*, Kant made reason, understanding and judgement inner capacities of the

tradition and innovative enough to be conceived as revolutionary and a break with the past. His view of education can be conceived as representative of the Enlightenment's preoccupation with education, progress and emancipation. Kant's philosophy is a point of linkage bringing together different strands of thought (rationalism and empiricism), linking backwards to antiquity and the medieval period and forward to our time. To demonstrate the importance of Kant for our time, Manfred Kuehn writes: "the old adage that one may philosophize with Kant or against him, but that one cannot philosophize without him seems to be true as ever"[28].

To be clear, Kant was part of a widespread educational reform movement in the 18th century, engaging major philosophers and writers of the time.[29] The ambition was to reform the educational system. Historically, scientific pedagogy was a widespread debate in the 18th century[30], and the idea of pedagogy as science had strong advocates[31]. Indeed, during this era separation of the concepts of art and science took clearer contours and new disciplines emerged. Dilthey maintains that attempts to establish a science of pedagogy predate Kant[32]. Kant's *Lectures on Pedagogy*, where he advocates a shift from the art of pedagogy

human mind. Indeed, as elaborated in this essay, Kant would bring all human knowledge into the secure path of science. Critical philosophy should get the status of the paradigmatic science of physics. His influence was vast and encompassed disciplines as diverse as geography, history and ethics.

[28] Kuehn, 2012, p. 113

[29] John Locke: Some thoughts Concerning education (1683–1689), Rousseau: Émile or On Education (1795), J. M. R. Lenz: The Tutor, or Advantage of Private Education (1774), G. E. Lessing: The Education of the Human Race (1777), Schiller: On the Aesthetic Education of Man (1795), Goethe: Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre (1796), A. F. Knigge: On Human Social Intercourse (1796), Fichte: The Vocation of Man (1800) are among the literature on the topic.

[30] Lenhart, in Munzel, 2006.

[31] Kerstin, in Munzel, 2006.

[32] Dilthey, in Munzel, 2006.

to the science of pedagogy, is in line with theories of some educational pioneers like the Czech educator Comenius (1592–1670) and the Swiss educator Pestalozzi (1746–1827), who tried to make education scientific.[33] A friend of Newton, John Locke was also an advocate of natural sciences being included in the curriculum. There are five aspects that distinguish Kant. First is his idea that the desired educational transformations are not achievable by "a slow *reform* but a swift *revolution*"[34]. Secondly, he naturalised his educational theory through suggesting a radical shift from education slavishly "copied from old habit and unexperienced ages" to education "wisely derived from nature itself"[35]. Thus, he puts nature against traditional education, the latter being presented as "against nature". He also defends modern profane knowledge (science) or "the attentive eyes of expert" against inherited and sacral knowledge. In Kant's educational theory, obtaining a moral character is the ultimate result of education and "presupposes an already favourable natural predisposition"[36]. Third is the comprehensiveness and systematic unity of his educational theory and its incorporation in his philosophy as a whole. Fourth is his establishment of a teleological notion of history, where stages of human evolution corresponded to those of each individual's development. Kant makes humanity malleable; the humanness of the human being or human nature becomes a function of education: "we animal creatures are made into human beings only by education"[37]. The

[33] Kant was also inspired by the *philanthropinismus* movement in Germany, whose leading figures Basedow and Christian G. Salzmann were attempting to implement the educational theory of Rousseau's *Émile*. Attempts to make comprehensive learning and knowledge universally available, or write encyclopaedias, are also worth mentioning. Another political and educational event, which developed into a globally important happening, was the Prussian reform in education in 1794.

[34] Kant, ERP, 2:449.

[35] Kant, ERP, 2:449.

[36] Kant, APV, 7:39.

[37] Kant, LP, 9:444, also APV, 7:324

fifth aspect is universalising and systematising his notion of education. He speaks of "The education of the human race, taking its species as a *whole*, that is, *collectively (universorum),* not all of the individuals *(singulorum),* where the multitude does not yield a system but only an aggregate gathered together"[38]. Kant aims at an organically integrated notion of humanity, preceded by a unifying idea of the human being. Most importantly he plans for education to become scientific while connecting his idea of education to an overall plan for "human perfection". Kant's critical project is an educational one, where to foster the ability to use one's own reason publicly and make progress from sensible character towards intelligible, from evil to good, is central[39]. To achieve this aim education must become scientific[40], since it is "the secure path of science" that leads to human perfection and not the contingent path of art. Kant thus reformulates the aim of education, its problems and questions in a new conceptual framework, that of science as the paradigm of critical thinking; humanity, educability and scientificity become coextensive. Therefore, it is crucial to establish a critical dialogue with this context that made a science of pedagogy and a scientific enframing of it possible, and highlight its significance for our educational actuality rather than an anachronic reading of Kant's notions of education, science and the transcendental subject. Genealogical-critical dialogue may highlight continuities and discontinuities, and reveal different nuances of the concepts of science and education, their relationships and their historical development through time. However, there is continuity in some basic principles of science, like those of rationality, objectivity, systematicity, and the transcendental or constitutive subject (important for Kant's notion of science), despite disruptive paradigm shifts.

[38] Kant, APV, 7:328.
[39] Kant, APV, 7:324.
[40] Kant, LP, 9:447.

Kant's Copernican Revolution in philosophy

To argue for making education a science, as well as framed by science, and to establish a formal notion of the transcendental subject were important ingredients in the Kantian revolution. However, what makes Kant an educational and philosophical turning point is his "Copernican Revolution" in Western philosophy, through which the subject and object changed position when it comes to the basic conditions for possibility of knowledge (in the same manner that the sun and the moon changed position in the Copernican heliocentric model). Through this revolution, he introduces a new mode of knowledge of the objects of the world and established a new system of thought, critical thought. Referring to the revolution in natural science as exemplary, Kant writes:

> Let us, therefore, try to find out by experiment whether we shall not make better progress in the problem of metaphysics if we assume that objects must conform to our cognition. This assumption already agrees better with the demanded possibility of an a priori cognition of objects – i.e. cognition that that is to ascertain something about them before they are given to us. This situation there is the same as was that of *Copernicus*, when he first thought of explaining the motions of celestial bodies. Having found it difficult to make progress there when he assumed that entire host of stars revolved around the spectator, he tried to find out by experiment whether he might not be more successful if he had the spectator revolve and the stars remain at rest. [41]

This paradigm shift was, as Lee Braver puts it, a shift from passive knower to active knower, "the thesis that the mind actively organizes and constitutes experience" [42]. Instead of "humbly following after God's creation or passively recording the intrinsic structure of the world", such a knower "boldly forms phenomena" [43]. Establishing an active and autonomous knower had implication for its relation to the other and the

[41] Kant, CPR, B: xvii.
[42] Braver, 2007, p. 36.
[43] Braver, 2007, p. 37.

world. Through this reversal of positions, the transcendental subject became the creator of the phenomenal world, the rift between knowing subject and acting subject and between theory and practice became deeper and the knowing became prior to the acting one. The epistemological became prior to the ontological, since the priority of the knowing subject demands epistemological or theoretical engagement. Knowledge is the field of epistemology (thinking, reasoning, understanding, and remembering). Philosophy then became an epistemological inquiry into the conditions for the possibility of knowledge. The way the human mind is constituted and educated became extremely important, since in Kant the mind imposed structure and order on our experience with the objects of the world. Kant emphatically maintains that "reason has insight only into what it itself produces according to its own plan… and compels nature to answer reason's own questions"[44]. Hence, Kant's Copernican Revolution in philosophy was an anthropological turn in Western thought. As will be elaborated later, Kant made the question of "What is the human being?" the central one of philosophy. This was a paradigmatic or an epochal philosophical event in the sense that it has made European people what they are now. The Kantian style of thinking, the philosophical ethos he introduced and the related ideas have been generative of education as it is today and for its becoming scientific. He is the inaugurator of some significant intellectual events and ideas regarding the power and use of reason and the scientific form of education.

Before proceeding further, I would like to bring two methodological points to the fore. The first point is that rather than focusing on Kant's specific ideas, I consider the broader frame of his style of thought and its general relation to science, education and the relationships between the two. My attempts are more aimed at contextualising scientific education than line-by-line commentaries of Kant. My engagement with secondary

[44] Kant, CPR, B: xiii.

literature is to the extent that I have found it necessary and fruitful in order to clarify and develop various specific points in my understanding of scientific education. Thus, I have learned much more about topics dealt with here from many more authors than those cited here. The Kantian style of thought was an inaugurating event and a "revolution in the way of thinking" as he himself puts it[45]. Kant contributed largely to the modern understanding of humanity, and to freedom from the burden of oppressing traditions. However, as will be demonstrated in coming sections, his revolution was limited in scope; it favoured the white race and established oppressive prejudices against non-whites. It became intertwined with the colonial expansion that granted Europe supremacy over other continents. At stake here then is not an account of Kantian revolution, but the relationships between this revolution and colonial and racial oppression, and its relations with Eurocentrism in his own time as well as today. The question is whether Kantian philosophy, as the major representative of the Enlightenment, offers critical tools to counteract colonial oppression or sanctions it. Was the co-occurrence of Kant's idea of education and colonial expansion just an accident or were they basic parts of a comprehensive development and supported each other mutually? Is this mutual support a matter of the past or does it continue to affect our present? I am trying to demonstrate connections between colonial oppression and scientific education in Kant's explicit wordings, as well as an embedded element in his overall style of thought. The essential point to be made is that it is not important what Kant thinks. Equally important is how and through which perspective he thinks. I attempt to demonstrate that he philosophises from a racist perspective and from "the perspective of coloniality", as the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano would say. It is important to show how this is hidden in scientific education. The second point is that when I talk about Kant as the founding father of scientific education, I am aware of my investigating the genesis of the idea of scientific education from

[45] Kant, CPR, B: xi.

today's vantage point. Rather than a fully developed idea, Kant stands for a "proto-idea" of scientific education as Ludwik Fleck[46] would put it, a historical transformation traceable to the geographical, linguistic, historical, and social circumstances of the Enlightenment. As a heuristic notion, scientific education signifies a form of *metastatic* educational transformation allowing us to discern a condition of educational alternation, the scope of its influence and the pace of its expansion. It signifies struggles and resistances, tendencies and counter-tendencies related to education, without risking giving the precise date of its birth. Accordingly, when I term scientific education as the Kantian educational paradigm, it does not mean that it was exclusively Kant who created, completed and implemented it. Rather it is about movements, tendencies and styles of thought, and some thinkers becoming pioneers and paradigmatic figures, being examples of their time. They have an inaugurating role and are their own exemplars and educators for their contemporaries. They let ideas come forward clearly by using them in new contexts and in unprecedented ways.

Kant skilfully reversed traditional roles through introducing a powerful metaphor, that of Copernican Revolution, as well as transforming the Cartesian subject from being the source of certainty into being the transcendental precondition of all knowledge. To use an hourglass as a metaphor, Kant reversed the historical hourglass. Kant's Copernican Revolution was the hourglass's neck (the *middle point* of its two chambers) through which all historical material should flow towards the future. Gaining control over this narrow passage, he then decided the flow of material, the rate of its flow, its significance, and interpretation. He needed scientific education as a means of controlling the neck of the hourglass of history. To reverse the effects of such a revolution, we need a means as strong as Kant's revolution to turn over the hourglass again.

[46] Fleck, 1979.

The human being as an educable animal

In previous sections, I reported on the comprehensiveness of Kant's theory of education, his notions of transcendental subject and Copernican Revolution. This conceptual apparatus, I claimed, was a new way of looking at education, the subject, knowledge, and their relationships. This section is about the practical implications of these notions, as Kant himself accounts for. As a consequence of his philosophical revolution the notion of the subject became the main concern of philosophy: he posed the question of "What is the human being?" as the most fundamental question in philosophy[47]. According to Kant, this question is related to three other central questions of philosophy and can be answered by anthropology. Kant writes: "The field of philosophy in the cosmopolitan sense can be brought down to the following questions: What can I know? What ought I to do? What may I hope? What is the human being?[48] *Metaphysics* answers the first question, *morals* the second, *religion* the third, and *anthropology* the fourth. Fundamentally, however, we could reckon all of this to anthropology, because the first three questions refer to the last one"[49].

There are some difficulties attached to finding a straightforward answer to the question of what the human being is in Kant without seeing his oeuvre as a comprehensive attempt to answer this question from different points of view. Kant's *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* is, however, an important text. This work, as Foucault (2008) demonstrates, is based on and intimately connected to Kant's critical writings. Kant himself refers to one of the difficulties attached to a definition of the human being, that of self-preferentiality. He writes: "The problem of the character of the human species is absolutely insoluble"[50], since there is no perspective external to humanity

[47] Kant, OL, 9:25.
[48] Kant, CPR, A804-A805/B832-B833.
[49] Kant, LL, 9:25.
[50] Kant, APV, 7:321.

from which we can look at it. Rather the human being is the only "*terrestrial* rational being"[51], without there being "*non-terrestrial* rational beings that would enable us to indicate their characteristic property and so to characterize this terrestrial being among beings in general"[52]. Therefore, the human being himself (in Kant the human is always a he, thereby my reference to the human being as a he) determines what the character of the human being is, or what Kant wants him to be. What distinguishes the human being from all other animals is that "he has a character, which he himself creates insofar as he is capable of perfecting himself according to ends that he himself adopts"[53]. The human being is thus the transcendental subject and the object of knowledge at the same time. Therefore, we cannot come up with more than the claim that the human being is the creator of his own moral character[54]. Accordingly, Kant investigates the human being from the point of view of a pragmatic anthropology or "the investigation of what *he* as a free-acting being makes of himself, or can and should make of himself"[55]. This is to see the human being from an educational perspective, where the human being actively transforms "what *nature* makes" of him[56] and brings it under the pure idea of human perfection. Generally, Kant sees "all cultural progress" in the light of how "the human being advances his education"[57]. Education for Kant is wider than schooling alone, though his use of schooling is sometimes interchangeable with that of education. The aim of education is the formation (*bildung*) of human moral character, which is implanted in his nature. For Kant "the character of living being is that which allows its destiny to be cognized in advance"[58]. This is similar to Aristotle, where he writes that "the nature of a thing

[51] Kant, APV, 7:321.
[52] Kant, APV, 7:321.
[53] Kant, APV, 7:321.
[54] Kant, APV, 7:321.
[55] Kant, APV, 7:119.
[56] Kant, APV, 7:119.
[57] Kant, APV, 7:119.
[58] Kant, AVP, 7:329.

is its end. For what each thing is when fully developed, we call its nature…"[59]. The human being is the starting point and the end result of education.

For Kant, the human being is an amphibian capable of two modes of being and corresponding to two parts of his nature: a passive or sensible and an active or intelligible part. Partly, the human being is "an animal endowed with the *capacity of reason* (*animal rationabile*)"[60]. This "animal part of human nature" (natural predispositions, aptitude and temperament or sensibility) is what nature passively makes of the human being. According to Kant, this part is "most inimical to education that would fit us for our higher vocation… to make way for the development of our humanity"[61]. Partly, the human being is identified with what he actively "can make out of himself a *rational animal* (*animal rationale*)"[62]. This part is his moral or pure character (the human being's way of thinking). It refers to what the human being actively through education makes of himself[63]. Kant is clear about the relationships between the human being as sensible and the human being as intelligible being. He writes: "According to his sensible character the human being must also be judged as evil (by nature), while seen from his "intelligible character … the human being is good according to his innate predispositions (good by nature)"[64]. Thus, there is an inborn tension between an evil part and a good part in the human being. The important point is that education is a transformative force that brings about goodness out of evil. Kant insists that "The human being must therefore be educated to the good"[65]. Education is thus a progression from evil to goodness, from sensibility to intangibility. Since "nature has planted in it the seed of *discord*,

[59] Aristotle, 2001, p. 30.
[60] Kant, APV, 7:322.
[61] Kant, CJ, 20: 233.
[62] Kant, APV, 7:322.
[63] Kant, APV, 7:285.
[64] Kant, APV, 7:324.
[65] Kant, APV, 7:325.

and has willed that its own reason bring *concord* out of this"[66], the human being is "in need of education". Education is thus an active mode of being related to human capability to achieve perfection. An educated human being is a human being with moral character, "a rational being endowed with freedom", "from whom one knows what to expect", while an uneducated or evil human being is driven by his animal part and is without intelligible character, since evil carries within itself conflict with itself and permits no lasting principle in itself[67]. To elaborate more on this rather complicated issue that has challenged philosophers ever since antiquity, let me explain it through a detour. In *Politics,* Aristotle establishes a qualitative distinction between "bare needs of life" (*zoe*) and "a good life" (*bios*), and dubs the human as "a political animal" by nature in order to define the function of the city-state: "the state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life"[68]. Bare life is a means to and material on which good life can be established. In her political writings, Arendt elaborates much on this Aristotelian distinction between *zoe* and *bios*, as well as the notion of the political animal, most notably in *The Human Condition*. In her work, the political life consists not only of speech and action but most importantly of the condition of human plurality[69]. The point I am trying to make is that in a developmentalist account of humanity, so characteristic of Western culture, the hierarchical order between the animal and the intelligible parts of the human being is used as a distinguishing line between different human groups and races. Europe has identified itself as rational and its others as identical with the natural or the animal part of the human being.

In sum, Kant identifies the human being as an educable animal, strongly emphasising the exclusive relations between education and humanity: "The human being is the only creature that must

[66] Kant, APV, 7:322.
[67] Kant, APV, 7:329.
[68] Aristoteles, *Politics,* 1252b, 30.
[69] Arendt, 1958, p. 7.

be educated"[70], while other animals behave safely out of their natural predispositions. The answer to the question of what the human being is encompasses the answers to what we can know, what we ought to do and what we may hope. Yet, human beings become humans only through education. Accordingly, knowledge (what I can know), morality (what I ought to do) and happiness (what I can hope) are achievable only through education. In this context, this idea is crucial since it brings together the "what" and the "how" of humanity; its theoretical and its experiential aspects. Kant's starting point is, however, theoretical or the "what", which is the idea of humanity and not the "how" or its experiential reality, as his principles and ideas come before practice. In sum, Kant, following Aristotle, will transform the first or raw nature of humanity into an educated second or moralised nature.

By inventing a natural connection between the ideas of humanity and education, Kant played a central role in the construction of the modern European notion of humanity and its educational, moral, epistemological, and ontological status. Accordingly, my main focus will be on Kant and his role in establishing Europe, and the white "race", a minor part of humanity, as the educational points of reference for the globe and humanity, and his role in the classification of humanity across colonial and racial lines and the concomitant division of epistemic labour. He constituted a normative notion of the white race as the paradigm of educated humanity, the embodiment of progress through education and morally superior to the rest of the world. This is what I term as transcendental uniformity.

Kant, scientific education and transcendental uniformity

The previous section explored Kant's view on the role of education in human development. It established that in Kant's account, the human being, through actively educating himself,

[70] Kant, LP, 9:441.

can reach their destiny, human perfection or freedom under the moral law. It also demonstrated that Kant considers education as an active approach to one's life, through which the crudity of one's natural dispositions and animal tendencies can be transformed to moral character. The human being can develop good out of evil[71]. Through struggling and overcoming obstacles that one's animal inclinations erect on the way to practical education (education for freedom), one can make oneself worthy of happiness[72]. As the life of individuals is finite in relation to human perfection, the human perfection is a matter of progression through countless generations. This progress is an integration of humanity under the same set of laws, that of pure practical reason. Education was a moralisation process. Besides, Kant writes of "The education of human race, taking its species as a whole, that is, collectively (*universorum*), not all of the individuals (*singulorum*), where the multitude does not yield a system but only an aggregate gathered together"[73]. This is to step by step establish a "civil constitution". In Kant, the human being as a rational animal first preserves himself as individual and as spices (cultivates himself), second educates himself for domestic society (civilises himself), and third governs himself (moralises himself) in accordance with principles of reason[74]. These phases correspond to the human being's three natural predispositions: technical (the ability to produce objects), pragmatic (to establish relationships with other human beings and use them for his own purpose), and moral predisposition (to treat himself and others according to freedom under law)[75]. In order to progress in this predetermined way — and for one generation not to destroy the previous generation's achievements (though regressions are unavoidable) — education should become a systematic discipline based on a plan and principles or a science (Erziehungswissenschaft) that contributes to develop human

[71] Kant, APV, 7:329.
[72] Kant, APV, 7:328.
[73] Kant, APV 7:328.
[74] Kant, APV, 7:322.
[75] Kant, APV, 322.

nature in such a way that the human vocation or destiny is realised. This notion of progress became however a mission for the white race and thus racist and Eurocentric.

As G. F. Munzel rightly suggests, Kant's notion of education demands "several approaches"[76]. In this section, I am concerned with Kant's idea of making education a science and his interest in the formation of humanity through scientific education, which is a mode of subjectification (the way people are made and make themselves subjects) modelled through science. As we have seen, it was imperative for Kant that the art of education should be transformed to a science of education, to a systematic unity of manifold human empirical states of being under a single idea (the idea of human perfection). This peremptory idea is a leitmotif in his work. Generally, Kant's attempt is aimed at bringing all human affairs into the "secure path of science" or making them scientific in order to secure their pre-planned end results. As the human being can only become human through education, it is crucial for education to "follow the secure path of science"[77]. Therefore, "the art of education must be transformed into science"[78]in order to secure its predetermined end result, namely a scientific or rational type of human being who acts in accordance with the pure or practical reason's imperatives. Kant pays the same amount of attention, if not more, to bringing anthropology (the inner knowledge of subjectivities) and geography (the outer knowledge through observation of the human being's place in nature) into the critical path of science that was "introduced by Newton into natural science". The question is: why did he pay such an attention to science? Is it "providing a potentially secure scientific basis for metaphysical reflection"[79], as Harvey says? It probably is. Through making them scientific, Kant not only links three compatible dimensions of the human being but also views him from three perspectives:

[76] Munzel, 2006, p. 122.
[77] Kant, CPR, B/vii.
[78] Kant, LP, 9:447.
[79] Harvey, 2009, p. 21.

what he *is* (geography), what he *can make* of himself (anthropology), and the *means* (education) through which he can transform what he is into what nature has planned for him. These three *pragmatic* perspectives are compatible with and a basis for Kant's critical project, where he deploys logic and transcendental subjectivity. What is most distinctive of my approach is the central place I give to education within these three perspectives. I am convinced that it is not possible to comprehend critical philosophy as such, and Kant's *Geography* and *Anthropology* in particular, without paying attention to his engagement with education as a science. His scholars pay increasing attention to his *Anthropology* and *Geography,* but his *Pedagogy* is still waiting for this attention. My aim is to bring these three perspectives together as significant for how Kant wants us to guide our moral and practical life, and for organising knowledge. They are interconnected parts of the knowledge of the world, which "serves to procure the *pragmatic* element for all otherwise acquired sciences and skills, by means of which they become useful not only for the *school* but rather for *life* and through which the accomplished apprentice is introduced to the stage of his destiny, namely, the *world*"[80]. This is as Foucault maintains to make room for "a cosmopolitical perspective with a programmatic value, in which the world is envisaged more as a republic to be built than a cosmos given in advance" (Foucault, 2008: 33). Therefore, we need to connect geography (object of external sense), anthropology (object of inner sense) and pedagogy (the way to humanity) to a fourth grounding: the temporal or narrative dimension of human development as Kant sees it — a *teleological* notion of history. This because, in a Kantian perspective, we need to examine how the human being has been and how he now is, as well as what he can become by virtue of his vocation. As the human being is not simply what he is, but what he makes of himself through education (by which he learns to use his reason publicly), his need for education offers a grounding for anthropology and geography, which can be

[80] Kant, DRHB; 2:443.

conceived as educational means. The human being's destiny can be understood by studying his evolution through education and through time. To bring these educational issues forward is the merit of critical philosophy. However, the problem is Kant's pragmatic answers to these issues, which are given from a racist, Eurocentric and colonial perspective. This perspective makes it all too easy for Western imperial powers to present themselves as advocates of universal education, democracy, freedom, and goodness, while in reality oppressing others judged as uneducable. Western imperialism started ongoing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in the name of universal goodness against evil.

In sum, as Friedman[81] maintains, Kant was struggling "to adjust" notions of nature, pedagogy and the human being to "the profound intellectual and spiritual upheavals of the scientific revolution and its aftermath"[82]. He indeed alienates the human being from nature and the world of everyday experiences by sharply distinguishing it from the world and scientific experience. He then gave primacy to pedagogy, the human being and the world, as they are defined by Newton's scientific systems as an outcome of the regulative use of reason outlined in the transcendental dialectic. In my view, this was a turning point in Western educational thought, a paradigmatic revolution in education. This turning point is still decisive for the conditions of the possibility for education to be intercultural, antiracism, decolonial or otherwise.

In Kant, education is connected to science in two ways: 1) in a narrow sense, he wanted to make pedagogy a scientific discipline among other disciplines like anthropology, geography and history; and 2) in a broader sense, he wanted to shift the total framework of education from ecclesiastical education or rational theology to a scientific one. In the first sense, education is a

[81] 2013.
[82] Friedman, 2013, p. X.

science of teaching (science education) within curricula and a school framework. In the second sense, it transgresses the school boundaries and becomes the frame of the Kantian cosmopolitan society, a mode of subjectivity through which the "accomplished apprentice is introduced to the stage of his destiny, namely, the *world*"[83]. In his second *Critique*, Kant emphasises the importance of science for teacher education, commissioned to function as guides for everyone towards wisdom through science:

> Science (critically sought and methodically directed) is the narrow gate that leads to the *doctrine of wisdom*, if this is understood not merely what one ought *to do* but what ought to serve *teachers* as a guide to prepare well and clearly the path to wisdom which everyone should travel, and to secure others against taking the wrong way; philosophy must always remain the guardian of this science, and though the public need take no interest in the subtle investigation, it has to take an interest in the *doctrines* which, after being worked up in this way, can first be quite clear to it.[84]

The emergence of scientific education was a historical paradigm shift away from knowledge based on revelation towards profane knowledge. Kant asserts that his critical philosophy is "a perfectly new science, of which no one has ever even thought, the very idea of which was unknown"[85]. Putnam, Pippin and Solomon[86] are among the major philosophers who emphasise the revolutionary nature of Kant's philosophy. Some scholars suggest Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* as the starting point of modern philosophy and his time as the starting point of modernity proper[87]. Such a revolution was the result of changed circumstances that shifted from ecclesiastic education (the dominant educational paradigm of the Middle Ages) to a modern secular education. Indeed, scientific education appropriated some principles of humanism, namely the educational ideology of the Renaissance. As generally happens, this paradigm shift did not

[83] Kant, DRHB, 2:443.
[84] Kant, CpPR, 5:163.
[85] Kant, PFM, 7:262.
[86] Putnam, 1978, Pippin, 1997 and Solomon, 1988.
[87] Braver, 2007.

happen overnight. Rather it was preceded by long-standing struggles between competing educational ideals, where the new ideals challenged the old ones before the shift became inevitable. Furthermore, there was an appropriation process after the shift, where many elements of the old paradigm were appropriated and used in new forms. The main shift was that of sacral knowledge to profane knowledge and to reason as a self-legislative source of knowledge and judgement. This was also a rediscovery of antiquity as a source of knowledge and inspiration worthy of being imitated. The important point in this regard is that the kinship between the modern age and antiquity was reported as a linear and monochronic route of development, to the exclusion of non-European sources of knowledge and inspiration. This discovery was common between humanism, the educational ideology of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The notion of *Humanitas* was the central theme of humanism, the highest cultivation of humanity in accordance with ancient Greek and Roman ideals. And this was possible through education, a common concern of humanism and the Enlightenment. Europe was then constituted as self-sufficient geopolitically, and in perpetual strife to conquer the rest of the world in the name of faith, humanity, truth, and knowledge. In retrospect, this style of thought not only led to the dehumanisation of others but also to the dehumanisation of Europe as a global oppressor.

As it was Kant who established the idea of education as a scientific discipline, as well as framed by a scientific style of thought, understanding scientific education demands a proper understanding of his conception of science. The Kantian notion of science links backwards to the classical and medieval eras, as well as referring forwards to the prevalent notion of science presently, while his own context was that of emerging disciplines like anthropology, to which he contributed substantially. As such he was working in a situation that has had great importance for the modern project. Therefore, his views of science and education, and their relationship, have far-reaching implications. As Kant's influence prevails in analytic (with emphasis on his idea

of the universal) and continental (with a view to his hermetical views) traditions of thought, his standpoint can rightly be conceived as representative of the ways in which Western modernity might be complicit with or offer means for overcoming colonial and racist oppressions.

Postulating a scientific idea of education, Kant tries to bring clarity and distinctness to this idea, its aims and means. He also tries to make it applicable in experiential reality. This is done as a part of a wider enlightening mission by critical philosophy or science. In order to achieve all of these things, he brings education into "the secure path of science" as distinct from that of art. This is indeed a paradigm shift. For Kant, art was related to human skills, the ability to perform universal principles or make things in contingent empirical situations (what we actually do or know how)[88], while science was related to universal principles or "theoretical employment" of reason to the formal or objective principles (what we ought to do). Aesthetic satisfaction is related to inclination, and while the intellectual belongs to the realm of freedom or acting in accordance with the rules of reason, the former signifies the lack of freedom related to the sensible realm[89]. Gaining freedom means to bring the diversity of sensible life under predetermined rational forms or principles. This is to put conformity above and prior to diversity, since for Kant universality or objectivity is identical to formality (maxims, what we ought to do). At the same time, this is a mechanism for establishing hierarchies of superiority and inferiority — a mechanism of classification and systematisation — subordinating the diversity of empirical cognition to a single clear and distinct idea and making this rational idea valid for everyone regardless of contexts of life. As will be elaborated later, on this basis Kant classified peoples and cultures and made some superior to others.

[88] Kant, CJ, 20:304.
[89] Kant, CpPR, 5:117–118.

The idea of a scientific education becomes clearer when we read it against the background of Kant's idea of science as systematic unity. He maintains "systematic unity is what first turns common cognition into science"[90]. According to Kant, a system is "the unity of the manifold cognitions under an idea. The idea is reason's concept of the form of whole insofar as this concept determines *a priori* both the range of the manifold and the relative position that the parts have among one another"[91]. Systematic unity is his solution to the diversity of cognition, contingency of art and manifold nature of human conditions. It is the starting point and the end product of his normative endeavour to establish universally valid principles, laws and rules for everyone. This conformity of ideas and flight from diversity towards conformity becomes much more problematic when it comes to the relationship between different peoples and continents.

Before we discuss the practical and educational implications of this view of science, it is necessary to revisit Kant's view of methodology of science, as it has implications for education. Kant writes: "what we call science cannot arise technically, i.e., not because of the similarity of the manifold [parts in it] or because of the contingent use of cognition in *concreto* for all sorts of optional external purposes; but it can arise only architectonically, on account of the affinity [of its parts] and the derivation [of these parts] from a single supreme and internal purpose that makes the whole possible in the first place"[92]. Decisive for the Kantian overall project, this view of science partly indicates a methodology, elaborating that this method should be based on principles of reason: "science" requires "a *method*, i.e., a procedure in *accordance with principles* of reason, by which alone the manifold of a cognition can become a *system*"[93]. It is an architectonic method as opposed to a method of analogy (or

[90] Kant, CPR, A832/B860.
[91] Kant, CPR, A832/B860.
[92] Kant, CPR, 834/B862.
[93] Kant, CpPR, 5:151.

induction). It is not the similarity of parts that creates unity, coherence and systematicity. The need is rather an intrinsic purpose, a unifying idea and a rational style of thought consistent with it, since unity is crucial. Most importantly, in an educational context, the manifold's unity is seen in the light of the internal purposefulness of the future of humanity embedded in human destiny. It is related to the Kantian overall story of human progress from its past and present states of diversity towards perfection and conformity under moral laws, the *telos* of which is predetermined by nature and reason as the highest good and governance due to "civil constitution"[94]. To make education scientific means to subordinate it to such a predetermined guiding idea, an inner purpose and a style of thought, ultimately to make it part and parcel of an overall story. The starting point is epistemic, as for Kant the knowing subject is at the centre of cognition and prior to the acting subject. Further, this subject is transcendental and independent of context of life. Scientific education becomes the way to emancipation and science becomes the emancipatory form of knowledge.

The unifying, guiding and regulative idea was that of human perfection. The rational idea of human perfection or the form of the whole integrates education into the overall Kantian critical project for emancipation of humanity on the one hand, and determines *a priori* its position within this project on the other. It also brings systematic unity into education and makes it scientific in order to use it as means for the moralisation of human beings. Moreover, Kant does all of these in the light of a universal purpose, which is valid for everyone regardless of contexts of life. The problem with this style of thinking is that it works through exclusion and subordination rather than through equality, inclusion, dialogue, and affirmation of the diversity of perspectives and peoples. By rendering his own position of a system of ideas as all-encompassing and self-sufficient, Kant renders the others superfluous and in need of assimilation into

[94] Kant, APV, 7:327.

this system. This magnificent overarching project of classification, standardisation and subordination to abstract ideas and principles had a price.

Education, the way to "our" happiness: a colonial dividing line

In the previous section, the historic basis of the idea of scientific education in Kant's epistemology was explicated. This section will explore practical implications of this notion of education. Consistent with his overall style of thought and in accordance with his architectonical methodology, Kant's project first starts from a totalising idea of education and afterwards tries to apply it to the diversity of people and contexts. In *What Does It Mean to Orientate Oneself in Thinking?* from 1786, he elaborates on the suitable use of ideas "in the experiential world" in order "to give objective reality" to their unifying function[95]. Otherwise they will remain merely ideals without any relevance for educational practice. It is a concern of theoretical (conditioned or applied consciousness) and practical (unconditioned or pure logical consciousness) use of reason. In accordance with the Kantian style of thought, a unifying idea of education is scientific. It is worth repeating that the idea of education always precedes its practice. "An idea", Kant maintains, "is nothing other than the concept of a perfection which is not yet to be found in experience"[96]. Thus, the idea of education sets boundaries within which one makes oneself worthy of happiness and realises the hope of happiness so central for Kant's teleological historiography. The idea of educated human beings fully reaches the purpose of their existence, which is freedom or living in accordance with universal rational principles. However, there is a problem: the diversity of ways of life and rationalities. Kant maintains: "For how differently do people live! There can only be uniformity among them if they act according to the same

[95] Kant, WMOT, 8:139.
[96] Kant, LP, 9: 444.

principles, and these principles would have to become their second nature"[97]. The task is then to bring humanity under the same principles and educate within the boundaries of the same pure reason. The question is who the subject of this rational undertaking is and who is subjected to it? What criteria determine the dividing line between the two?

Faithful to his overall methodology, Kant assumes a normative idea of "we" steadily progressing towards perfection. We can then ask, as Robert Louden suggests, "Who is the 'we' that is progressing toward perfection?"[98]Most importantly, we can ask, what kind of relationships are there between this "we" and its others? What is its relation to colonial classification of peoples into conquerors and conquered, oppressors and oppressed? We also need to bring to the fore the implications of such a "we" for capitalism and the neoliberal market economy.

In Kant, human perfection is predestined and universal. It is achievable by the human species rather than by individuals. Generally, Kant operates with the unifying idea of humanity (related to rational imperatives or laws of freedom) and not with that of the individual with its empirical diversity. For him, humanity is a universal idea based on formal principles and acting accordingly. Education becomes a form, bringing unity to the manifold peoples and diversity of ways of life rather than affirming them. This is done at the price of extinguishing some of the undeveloped manifestations of human life. Kant is aware of the price of his educational project in terms of human suffering, wars and the damage they cause. However, he sees war and cruelties as the cunning of nature in achieving its purpose[99]. Some have to pay the price for human perfection — those who are at the lower levels of development. Kant clearly states that "Humanity is at its greatest perfection in the race of the whites. The yellow Indians do not have a meagre talent. The Negroes are

[97] Kant, LP, 9: 445.
[98] Louden, 2014a: 102.
[99] Kant, IUH, 8:24–25.

far below them and at the lowest point are a part of the American peoples"[100]. Accordingly, Kant departs from the notion of a white rational "we" as the starting point and end product of education. Geopolitically, he assigns a leading position to Europe by virtue of it being the pinnacle of development. Kant repeats what Aristotle once, citing the poets, said of non-Greeks: "It is meet that Hellens should rule over barbarians"[101], and maintains, in a modern vein, the idea that Europe or "our part of the world" will "give laws to all the others"[102]. As Simmons[103] maintains, Kant offers no legitimate basis or plausible account of how European colonial powers might legitimately legislate for populations and territories outside Europe, govern them, seize their natural resources, and control their territories. Even if we agree that the Western colonial powers were just, it gives them no right to impose their legislation on others, against their will and without any dialogue with them. Kantian cosmopolitanism then becomes colonial and his notion of universality becomes confused with imposing uniformity on the world. Kant tried to make a Eurocentric image of humanity globally valid, as if rational thinking was an exclusive European ability and granted Europe legitimate domination. As Allen [104] observes, this is the complicated question of the relationship between enlightenment rationality and domination. It seems that Kant sees natural bonds between colonial domination and rational thinking. However, there is no natural bond between these two phenomena. Colonial domination was a result of a contingent notion of rationality as it emerged in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, ultimately specific historical and social conditions intertwined with bourgeois power and the wish to dominate inner and outer nature. Consistent with Kant's architectonical method, in this notion of rationality, the idea of reason is the legislative power within any rational individual and it brings unity to their

[100] Kant in Eze, 1997: 63.
[101] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1252b.
[102] Kant, IUH, 8:30.
[103] Simmons, 2016.
[104] Allen, 2016.

faculties. The white man, in the same manner, is the legislative power among different races, cultures and continents, and subdues them to a systematic unity by his own colonial law. While for the white man it is moral law that signifies freedom, for colonialised people it is subordination to colonial law.[105]

Using the idea of a white "we" as the unifying idea of human diversity, Kant equates human perfection with whiteness and subordinates other races to this race. The diversity and heterogeneity of peoples is reduced to one homogenised notion of humanity and identified as Europeans. He creates humanity after an image of white people; his cognitive racism takes on biological and ontological dimensions.

Kant and educational colonialism: the uneducable other

As was mentioned, Kant sees humanity as an integrated whole under the law of pure reason and freedom to use one's reason publicly, achievable through a universally valid notion of education. Education for Kant is cosmopolitan, as the human being is destined to this end. Reflecting on the diversity of humanity race, he writes:

> It is a multitude of persons… who cannot *do without* being together peacefully and yet cannot avoid constantly being objectionable to one another. Consequently, they feel destined by

[105] Some scholars of Kant like Lea Ypi and Paul Kleingeld (2015) try to purge Kant's later works from colonialism and racism, and make it valid that in the later phase of his philosophical life, Kant abandoned his early hierarchical understanding of races and colonialism. Faithful to Kantian style of thought, one can, however, argue that his philosophy is a systematic "whole" from the beginning to the end, consistent with his view of the highest good, as something that fulfils pure or practical reason's quest for human perfection through education as a science. Generally, in Kant, the legislative power of reason, predetermined freedom through moral law, and what human beings make of themselves as rational beings, are distributed unequally between races.

> nature to [develop], through mutual compulsion under laws that come from themselves, into *cosmopolitan society (cosmopolitismus)* that is constantly threatened by dissolution but generally progresses toward a coalition.[106]

However, anthropological and geographical groundings stand in the way of such an education, as they reveal local diversities that challenge a globally uniform education. Kant saw the solution to the problem of local diversity of different peoples and homogenising imperatives of pure reason through a pedagogical perspective linked with history. In other words, diversity of peoples and perspective can be subordinated to unified principles through education. Kant was interested in educability in accordance with the principles of a Eurocentric notion of rationality and developmental temporality. To embrace Eurocentric values was considered the predetermined aim of nature; that is, Kant classified humanity through a Eurocentric perspective as the very paradigm of universality. Achieving cognitive capacities and becoming cosmopolitan were related to skin colour and geography.[107] Kant makes education equivalent

[106] Kant, APV, 7:331.

[107] Justin E. H. Smith (2015) sees crucial connections between rationalisation of racial exploitation and the scientific desire to classify in the early modern period. According to him, ontologisation of human difference is related to the scientific style of thought, where the human becomes subject to natural laws like other things such as trees and minerals. Human types became "natural kinds" in scientific taxonomy; the human as part of nature. In the modern age, "Ethno-prospecting" was linked to "bio-prospecting" of colonial exploration (2015; 11–12). Smith highlights Eurocentric structuring of the notion of philosophy, as well as the contingent emergence of taxonomies. Smith regrets the destruction of an age-old universalism about human nature, as was defended by thinkers such as Augustine, based on a belief in the transcendent essence of the human soul. Such a view of humanity, Smith believes, did not conceptualise human beings as natural beings. Consequently, humans were not subjected to classification in terms of a naturalistic taxonomy, as became common in the modern age. In my understanding, this account of racism seems itself Eurocentric. On the other hand, in Kant it was not the collapse of universalism about human

to the assimilation of the others into the European way of life, explaining:

> It is also observable in savage nations that, though they may be in the service of Europeans for a long time, they can never grow accustomed to the European way of life. But with them this is not a noble propensity toward freedom, as Rousseau and others believe; rather it is a certain raw state in that animal in this case has so to speak not yet developed the humanity inside itself.[108]

In this passage, like in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, the starting point is the distinction between nature (everything that is in accordance with the natural law) and freedom (what should be and according to the moral law), corresponding to "savages" and "the European way of life", respectively. Non-Europeans are defined as being part of nature, rude, ignoble, uneducated, and savage. These two domains must, however, come together in a single notion of humanity: the European way of life. As in Kant, the animal or passive part of humanity can legitimately be dominated by its rational or active part, and the domination of native populations becomes both legitimate and a noble mission[109]. Humanity is classified through a dividing line between educable and uneducable peoples. As a scientific discipline, education became connected to the colonial rules and power, where the colonialised were obliged to recognise themselves as the subject of this uneducability. As natives of other continents were deemed uneducable in accordance with the "European way of life", they could not govern themselves. Colonial masters had to educate and govern them. Imperial and expansionist notions of education and governance were sanctioned, through which non-Europeans could make themselves worthy of autonomy. A

nature that was the problem, rather the other way around. Further, in Kant, the animality of humans belonging to nature was not a problem; nature had a noble purpose for humanity – human perfection. Indeed, education was to become consistent with nature. The problem was rather educability or the lack of this capacity.

[108] Kant, LP, 9:442.

[109] Harvey, 2009, p. 39.

chronological gap emerged between the West and the rest of the world. Some historical time of development under colonial rule had to pass before the colonialised could be considered prepared for autonomy. As Quijano observes, "All non-Europeans" are "considered as pre-European and at the same time displaced on a certain chain from the primitive to the civilized, from the rational to irrational, from traditional to modern, from the magical-mythical to the scientific. In other words, from the non-European/pre-European to something that in time will be Europeanized or modernized"[110]. Here, history functions as an ideological justification for ongoing colonialism and rationalisation of gradual assimilation of other cultures into European culture. This narrative veil the fact that Europe has been the source of colonialism, systematic slavery, scientific racism, the holocaust, and neocolonial injustices. In this view of progress, the West has taken on an educational mission instead of an outmoded civilising mission in a way that underwrites neocolonialism and imperialism.

This is a logic of coloniality, where the right to be divergent or different in equality is denied. Emancipation or development from animality to humanity is considered equivalent to Europeanisation. Another aspect of this same problem is autonomy and heteronomy, or freedom (under moral laws) and dependency (under the diversity of nature). Uneducable humans were not worthy of autonomy but disposed to be dependent and heteronomous. Europe became not only the measure of cognition and truth but also of freedom and autonomy, and the inferiority of the other was justified by reference to their not being educable. In order to uphold this divide, military, political, religious, and economic forms of violence were coupled with cognitive violence. There was a shift of modes of oppression as they became more and more sophisticated and hidden. Kant pioneered colonialisation of education, knowledge and culture by making Europe the territory of education and the others uneducable. He

[110] Quijano in Allen, 2016, p. 21.

made educable people superior to uneducable ones. Cognitive colonialisation of humanity was naturalised.

Kant gives expression for a shift in the colonial mindset, where it is not just conversion to Christianity or economic exploration that is the main colonial concern as in the earlier stages of colonialism. At stake is also conversion to scientific values. Colonialism gains a scientific dimension. [111] From this perspective, the cognitive capabilities of the other are denied and their knowledge perspective is disqualified. This was to introduce new techniques of racist and colonial subordination, articulated in epistemic terms. These techniques were, however, based on the same matrix of classification of humanity of colonial conquerors and conquered. People who were not ready to submit to the Western notion of rationality were considered uneducable beings. The otherness of the other was dehumanised and made inferior to Europeans, and object to their colonial and racist exploitation. The others should become like the Europeans in order to become human. As being human equated to being educable, the uneducable were excluded from being human. Kant rendered the others as not educable by nature, which could mean that they could never reach the stage of human perfection. Scientific knowledge and the concomitant educational paradigm became

[111] For instance, in *Two Treatises of Government*, John Locke departs from the creation of property and its preservation as central to England's colonial settlements in America. Locke uses the discourse of natural law rather than that of science to answer the questions raised by colonisers' right to colonialised soil. Kant brought together discourses of science, reason and nature, and considered them as striving after the same purpose: human perfection. In the scientific stage of colonialism, colonial scientists showed a new pattern of behaviour. The British colonial explorer James Cook (1728–1779) was, for instance, equipped with questionnaires for scientific studies of other peoples and cultures (Urs Bitterli, 1989). The hierarchical notion of educability was formed with the white Western Christian culture as the pinnacle of human development and destiny. Emancipation was a move away from empirical diversity towards an abstract universality.

mechanisms of colonial control and organisation of labour, a means for racist oppression.

Kant and scientific racism

Up to now the focal point of my investigation has mainly been Kant's division of humanity along colonial lines. In this section, my attempts are aimed at shedding light on his hierarchical division of humanity along skin colour. The body of literature on Kant and racism is growing. This literature unveils a colonial, racist and Eurocentric view of humanity beneath the established view of Kant as enlightened, egalitarian and cosmopolitan. He believed in insurmountable differences between races and corresponding differences in their ability to become autonomous or reach human perfection. The shift from earlier views of human diversity to that of Kant was a shift from a pre-scientific understanding to a scientific one, where systematic classification of humanity along racial lines became crucial.[112]

[112] Justin E. H. Smith (2015) sees crucial connections between rationalisation of racial exploitation and the scientific desire to classify in the early modern period. According to him, ontologisation of human difference is related to the scientific style of thought, where the human becomes subject to natural laws like other things such as trees and minerals. Human types became "natural kinds" in scientific taxonomy; the human as part of nature. In the modern age, "Ethno-prospecting" was linked to "bio-prospecting" of colonial exploration (2015; 11–12). Smith highlights Eurocentric structuring of the notion of philosophy, as well as the contingent emergence of taxonomies. Smith regrets the destruction of an age-old universalism about human nature, as was defended by thinkers such as Augustine, based on a belief in the transcendent essence of the human soul. Such a view of humanity, Smith believes, did not conceptualise human beings as natural beings. Consequently, humans were not subjected to classification in terms of a naturalistic taxonomy, as became common in the modern age. In my understanding, this account of racism seems itself Eurocentric. On the other hand, in Kant it was not the collapse of universalism about human nature that was the problem, rather the other way around. Further, in Kant, the animality of humans belonging to nature was not a problem;

Robert Bernasconi maintains that "Kant can legitimately be said to have invented the scientific concept of race insofar as he gave the first scientific definition of it"[113]. By inventing the scientific notion of race and establishing a scientific framework for human diversity, Kant created a new racial paradigm. Bernasconi writes, "Kant opened up a new space for thinking: he took it into new territory", where "those who came after him worked in the space he opened up"[114]. Bernasconi contends that the fact that Kant was a racist is relevant to Kantian themes like cosmopolitanism. Harvey endorses this approach and maintains that Kant initiated the idea (which later had a very unfortunate history) that the question of race should be put upon a purely scientific footing[115]. John Gray also shares this view, wherein he sees Kant as a philosopher "who more than any other thinker gave intellectual legitimacy to the concept of race. Kant was at the forefront of the science of anthropology that was emerging in Europe and maintained that there are innate differences between the races. While he judged whites to have all the attributes required for progress towards perfection, he represents Africans as being predisposed to slavery"[116].[117] Gray quotes Kant's *Observations on the Feelings of the Beautiful and the Sublime*[118], where he writes, "The Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the ridiculous". Kant joins Hume for asserting the view that:

nature had a noble purpose for humanity – human perfection. Indeed, education was to become consistent with nature. The problem was rather educability or the lack of this capacity.

[113] Bernasconi, 2001, pp. 146–47.

[114] Bernasconi, 2001, pp. 146–47.

[115] Harvey, 2009, p. 25.

[116] Gray, 2007, p. 61.

[117] As Adorno and Horkheimer observe, cosmopolitanism is compatible with colonialism and racism.

[118] Kant, 1764.

> Mr. Hume[119] challenges anyone to adduce a single example where a Negro has demonstrated talents, and asserts that among the hundreds of thousands of blacks who are transported elsewhere from their countries, although very many of them have even been set free, nevertheless not a single one was ever been found who has accomplished something great in art or science or shown any other praiseworthy quality, while among the whites there are always those who rise up from the lowest rabble and through extraordinary gifts earn respect in the world. So fundamental is the difference between these two human kinds …[120]

The asymmetrical power relations between cultures and the structure of superiority /inferiority between races received scientific legitimacy through Kant. The classification applied in Kant's anthropology was not separated from his major critiques, because his oeuvre built up a systematic unity under a unifying idea, an internal purpose and a single architectonic method. What makes Kant relevant to such a degree is the contradictory nature of his notions of cosmopolitanism, freedom and autonomy, his talking of universally valid principles and imperatives on the one hand and limiting them to the provincial interests of white Europe on the other hand. Kant contributed hugely to a racist and colonial style of thought (coloniality)[121] and to the logic behind racism that has become decisive in our times. The Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano [122] maintains that the modern classification of humanity along the racial axis became linked to another axis of classification, namely waged and

[119] Kant refers to Hume's earlier claim that "I am apt to suspect the Negroes, and in general all other species of men to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was any civilised nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent in action or speculation".
[120] Kant, OFBS, 2:235.
[121] Coloniality is distinct from colonialism. Colonialism signifies a historical period, when Western powers directly administrated colonialised parts of the world. Coloniality is the logic behind colonialism, which has been and is much more persistent than colonialism. It has become part and parcel of the tacit infrastructure of culture, education and functions beyond colonialism in the present day.
[122] Quijano, 2000.

unwaged labour, as well as control of labour, its resources and products. Racial divides thus received economic significance, and racism and capitalism became interconnected. Therefore, Kantian ideas did not remain limited to an anthropological classification of humanity, but gained economic significance and became parts of the capitalist arsenal. Kant's cosmopolitanism was a part of his overall project of universalising white, capitalist and colonial Europe. He advocated for provincial interests of white Europe as the starting point of his universalism as though they were the interests of humanity. Freedom from colonial hierarchies of power requires a critical engagement with Kant, and "provincialising" him alongside Europe.

Problematisation of scientific education's actuality

Up to now the focal point of this essay has been to unveil the colonial, racial, Eurocentric and capitalist features of the generative context of scientific education. I have attempted to show that the aims that scientific education set itself, the kind of problems it tried to solve, and discourses underpinning it were possible and made sense in a context of colonialism and Eurocentrism. However, the critical task this essay sets itself relates education's past and present to its future aims. The difficult task is to focus on the contingency and complexity of our educational present, to discern continuities and discontinuities between assumptions of educational thought in the generative context of scientific education and that of its actuality in order to impact its future development. The need is to carefully identify those educational ideas, postulates and practices that are to be problematised, re-examined, reconstructed, and transformed. Questions to be asked are: are colonial postulates and racist constitutive elements of scientific education disrupted or can they continue to work invisibly? How can we release the future of education from the burden of the past? To begin with, one of the main assumptions for outlining answers to these questions is that colonialism as a historical period is now over. There are very few colonies. Former colonies are now governed by nation states,

mostly bleak copies of the Western democracies, governed by a Westernised educated elite, faithful to Western cultural and educational hegemony (Kantian in this sense). However, colonialism was not just a period of time, but most importantly it was a configuration of colonial power and practices, an ethos and a way of thinking, acting and talking. It had its own style of thought, patterns of behaviour and language. While the epoch is over, the logic behind colonialism or coloniality of domination, colonial ethos and postulates of its educational thought are still at work. The unequal political, economic and cultural relationships between former colonial masters and former colonies, as well as the division of labour along racial and colonial lines, are still the rule (Wallerstein & Quijano, 1992). Free market capitalism and its rationality has become more global as the only mode of production and distribution of goods in a worldwide market. Eurocentrism has become more sophisticated and hidden in figurative and discursive regimes of knowledge/power and practice. The same can be said of racism, as racial differences have become ontologised as racialised bodies have become disposable and unworthy of being mourned. As Butler[123] puts it: world populations have been divided into "grieveable and ungrieveable lives" along racial and geopolitical lines. These phenomena form basic aspects of the neoliberal world system. Scientific education is now a part of these global systems and works in tandem with global epistemic division of labour. The questions above can be investigated through a movement back and forth between the Enlightenment and neoliberalism as the main points of reference.

Archaeological and genealogical investigations of scientific education lead us back to the Enlightenment, especially to its Kantian versions, and its idea of emancipation through the power of reason. Acquisition of scientific knowledge becomes the main educational task. These investigations also reveal the emergence of scientific education from the same cultural and social context

[123] Butler, 2009.

as that of slavery, colonialism, Eurocentrism, and capitalism. In fact, these intellectual, social, historical, and economic practices shaped modern Western subjectivity and its relationships with itself (its ethics), with the world (its knowledge and truth), and with the other (its power relations). However, this constitutive role has not been acknowledged in mainstream narratives of education. Genealogical analysis is a matter of shedding light on the gap between the colonial way of conducting knowledge production and transference and established discourses of emancipation through education and rational knowledge. As Western subjectivities emerged from a world of visible and invisible colonial, capitalist and racist practices, these practices could not but become natural as time passed; they become implicit parts of daily educational procedures. My attempts in the remaining part of this essay are aimed at reconceptualisation of knowledge, education and emancipation through questioning this naturalness from a position outside the colonial field of experience. The following pages briefly outline the basic principle of such reconceptualisations.

I connect these analyses with how we through different educational strategies might demolish structures of domination and set ourselves free of racial and colonial dominations. From this perspective, the educational practices I am arguing for can be conceived as a counter-education. This is an attempt to reveal the ways in which the processes whereby colonial oppressors disciplined and governed the colonised have been closely connected to procedures and processes of identity constitution and knowledge production and transfer. Through these processes, the colonised and racialised have become objectified, pacified and made the object of colonial knowledge production. [124] Worth mentioning is that as critics of the

[124] "The darker side" of European modernity has already been subject to extensive studies by intellectuals from the decolonial camp. Here, I am focused on the darker side of modern education: the interconnectedness of science, education and the colonial mode of subjectification and governmentality. The critical task is to shed light on

Enlightenment, we need to have the ability to not surrender to what Foucault calls "intellectual blackmail of being for or against the Enlightenment"[125]. The most interesting approach to this multidimensional notion lies somewhere in between: seeing its virtues and vices. The same can be said of Kant. Rather than a wholesale acceptance or refusal of the inherited educational background inspired by the Enlightenment, we need to establish a playful relationship between transforming and recognising it. This is to discriminate between resources it handed down from harms it caused. Through contextualising, historicising and critically examining scientific education, we reveal its transitory and temporal nature and activate creative and critical forces that will transform it for the better.

Scientific education and neoliberalism

As mentioned earlier, scientific education emerged and developed as an integrated part of the Western modernity, underpinned by an abstract notion of the transcendental subject as the presupposition of all knowledge and experience and the notion of progress towards human perfection. It was invented as the best way towards human freedom and happiness, considered as an autonomous life constrained by moral imperatives of pure reason. However, these ideas were contradictory, since distribution of educability and recognition of capabilities to achieve human perfection, autonomy and happiness took place along racial and colonial divides. Scientific education became a means for subordination and abolishing the will to be different. Scientific thought worked systematically for the homogenisation of the world's population in accordance with imperatives of hegemonic European reason. It contributed to the suppression of

this layer of the system of education in order to free ourselves from its dehumanising effects. Such a freedom presupposes that the colonialised become the subject and agent of their deeds, thoughts, discourses, knowledge, and being.

[125] Foucault, 1984.

manifold ways of life through the global spread of the Western way of life. Nowadays, scientific education enjoys global domination alongside the neoliberal unjust division of epistemic labour between the global South and North. There are continuities and discontinuities between the generative context of scientific education and its neoliberal actuality.

The Kantian educational theory was unified under the guiding idea of human perfection, informed by transcendental uniformity and the discriminatory principle of educability along racial and colonial divides. Being part and parcel of Enlightenment heritage, these ideas of humanity have not disappeared overnight. They have instead changed shape and continue to work as part of invisible presumptions of education. Here, I choose to trace genealogical ties between three interrelated traits of the Kantian educational paradigm and the actuality of education in our time, since they have become part and parcel of the tacit infrastructure of education. First is Kant's understanding of freedom as rational choice. Second is his emphasis on the transcendental knowing subject instead of acting subject, on the universal principles of reason as the starting point of cognition and education (cognitivism) instead of specific contexts of knowledge production and dissemination. Third is his obsession with systematic classification as the basis of true knowledge or science. Currently, these discourses have changed form and function, and we need to trace them in new ways and in unexpected places. Rather than being abandoned, colonial and racist ideas are now intertwined with notions such as *homo economicus* (a rationally calculative animal), rational choice theory, human capital, and entrepreneurship as discursive tools of the neoliberal regimes of practice. Most obviously they are at work in racial, ethnical, sexist, and class discrimination, and in systematisation, bureaucratisation and institutionalisation of education for the benefit of hegemonic Western culture, and moreover in uncritical, systematic and mass initiation into scientific knowledge as the authoritative source of cognition, as well as in

expansion of market rationality into education and into all spheres of life.

Generally, nowadays economics and the economic man occupy centre stage and oppress the others in the name of global values. The Kantian idea of educability for human perfection is now transposed to education for employability, and education has become an investment in human capital. However, the paradigmatic rational and employable subject continues to be white. Racism, racial and colonial division of labour continue to be endemic to a neoliberal world system, since societies are organised on the basis of social classification of the world's population around the idea of race in ways that white supremacy is preserved. As an element of human capital, skin colour is still limiting for non-whites and to overcome it is an investment. As Foucault observes, these limits are to be overcome through technological interventions like plastic surgery or genetic engineering that make it possible to transform one's initial investment. The neoliberal system is not limited to organisational principles of the production and distribution of commodities. It has a guiding idea of humanity and tries to shape humanity in accordance with this idea of human perfection — that of *homo economicus*. To realise this idea in the first place, neoliberalism homogenises human relationships by quantifying them. It reduces the diversity of the lifeworld to the single perspective of economic rationality and tries to control life through universal principles of the free market, like money. Economic self-interest and competition replace the richness of human relationships and the diversity of practices. It totalises the manifold human potentialities in terms of economic competition and aims to foster the human being as a competing animal.[126]

[126] A reference to Foucault makes the neoliberal image of humanity easier to grasp. He sees neoliberalism as a shift from exchange as the basis of society (as classical liberals like Adam Smith considered) to competition (Foucault, 2008: 12). Consequently, "The model neoliberal citizen is one who strategises for her or himself among various social, political, and economic options, not one who strives with others to alter

Guided by principles of rational choice and market-based principles of cost-benefit calculation, the neoliberal subject is supposed to be an individual with free will and the site of moral responsibility for orientating to the exclusion of all other social interests. Consequently, neoliberal subjects are no more a political force for change, since they are focused on their own self-interests rather than being interested in organised collective endeavours.

We should justifiably worry about the instrumental use of education by consumerism and free market capitalism, as human happiness has been distorted to consumption. Neoliberalism has colonised science, education and lifeworld as different sectors for investment. As Dewey already stated, "the main directions of science during the past hundred years, increasingly so in the last century, have been set, indirectly of directly, by the requirement of industry carried on for private profit"[127]. Neoliberalism also imposed itself as the global paradigm of rationality. Through conflation of education with employability and consumption with human happiness, education has become subordinated to the immediate needs of the market and consumption. It is now a means for fostering *animal laborans*, making employable beings of human beings. According to Hannah Arendt, *animal laborans* signifies humans being reduced to the lowest grade of humanity, concerned just with maintenance of biological life, through the production of goods consumed immediately (Arendt, 1958).[128]

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or organise these options" (Foucault, 1978: 101). This shift means a basic change in the mode through which human beings are made and make themselves subjects.

[127] Dewey, 1993, pp. 49–50.

[128]For how employability has become the keyword for higher education at a global level see:
https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/system/files/pedagogy_for_employability_update_2012.pdf
https://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/global-university-employability-ranking-2016

The alienating effects of neoliberalism are not limited to racialised and colonialised people; it dehumanises the white supremacist as well, since its basic principles like that of competition are dehumanising. As Harvey puts it, neoliberalism "has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world"[129].

Neoliberalism is pushing to the extreme some basic principles of Western modernity and its notion of progress (both in its scientific–technological and moral senses). Although applied in a different context and with different aims, the logic of imposing predetermined formal rules on everyone is the same as Kant proposed, but it is now converted to a managerial rationality. Like the Kantian/cognitivist approach to the world, neoliberalism sees rational choice as a cognitive norm and unquestioned choice of any and all rational beings. In the neoliberal world system, rational choice is reduced to the calculation of the costs and benefits of actions. The principle of transcendental uniformity is at work in neoliberalism, though it is now based on the uniformity of production of commodities rather than formal logic's a priori principles. Like cognitivism, neoliberalism starts from an abstract and predetermined notion of the individual (a transcendental subject) rather than individuals in their contingent and actual engagements with the world and with others. It emphasises free will and the ability to rationally calculate different options regardless of social circumstances and the diversity of human conditions. Given these principles, all individuals are equally responsible for the outcome of their rational choices regardless of inequalities in all other aspects like class limits, limits imposed on some individuals by power structures, lack of information, poor education, position within social hierarchies, and access to resources. The individuals' misfortunes or successes are seen as a functions of their own

http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/165EN_HI.pdf

[129] Harvey, 2007: 3.

choices not a function of structural social inequalities, while in reality, given the inequalities in opportunities, the ground is prepared for oppressors to win the competition. They have access to the resources necessary for winning such an unequal race, while oppressed groups are deprived of access to resources. All of these are brought under the general heading of rational choice. Rational choice theory is the neoliberal instrumental rationality, despite its claims to objectivity. Its hegemonic position in the social sciences and education clearly shows the hegemony of the neoliberal way of life in contemporary societies and in education.

In retrospect, without reading end products of historical processes in their beginnings we can discern genealogical similarities and contextual dissimilarities between notions of humanity and education as inaugurated by Kant and as they are used presently. Education is now scientific, systematised and unified by a purpose and a conformist idea of human perfection and happiness. The whole machinery of education is driven by economic rational rules like calculability, employability and rational choice. Through the global expansion of neoliberalism, these values have disseminated worldwide. Free market values have become naturalised educational values as the only educational good.

A way out of our educational predicament: basic principles

Making the constitutive role of the colonial past in education clear and problematising its actuality in the present are necessary steps, but not sufficient. We cannot stop at this stage and blame modernity and its major thinkers like Kant for the educational problems of our time and free us from responsibility. This would be a passive or reactive nihilism. In order to make something meaningful of genealogical criticism, we need to take a step further and come up with educational alternatives and a new educational heading. This is to step into an active or positive

nihilism. This approach is enabling and moves beyond slavish repetition of the past or subordination to limits of the present. It sees possibilities embedded in the present and becomes future-oriented. This is, as Nietzsche suggests, to philosophise with a hammer as a tuning fork in his "great declaration of war" against all idols. Genealogical critique is a diagnostic analysis. It needs to be linked with forward-looking solutions, which demand deliberate collective efforts instead of happening by themselves. Briefly, the diagnostic analysis was a first step. It revealed the exclusive, authoritative and non-dialogic character of scientific education and identified it as an impediment to an education proper. It also challenged the dominant narrative of education that covers racist and colonial heritages endemic to scientific education. Taking this diagnostic step, we now need to take a second step and go beyond this negative or deconstructive stage by designing discursive and practical tools through which we can remove impediments in the way of a better educational paradigm. If the diagnostic step was to philosophise with a hammer in order to demonstrate the hollowness of educational myths of neutrality and impartiality, the second step is to philosophise with a tuning fork, to tune education and orchestrate it to a world where a plurality of voices, perspectives and interest are trying to participate in education and making it an education for the common interest of humanity. This is a step through which tools are linked to the problems and problems are solved. As result of these two steps oppressed groups empower themselves, attain a voice of their own and make education a way towards freedom.

The notion of scientific education was an analytic-diagnostic tool. It revealed a structure of Eurocentric domination in education due to persistence of the colonial past coupled with global domination of neoliberalism in the present, as colonial heritages have intersected neoliberal values and underpin the current hegemonic education paradigm. It masks the manipulative violence embedded in neoliberal discourses. To break this educational impasse, we must design new tools and connect them to the problem of scientific education in order to

resolve this problem. We must construct an alternative notion of education that frames an educational mode of resistance and inaugurates a new educational orientation. In the coming sections, I will outline basic principles of education as an art rather than a science.

Basically, the orientation of such an education should be towards "the common" as the space of participation and solidarity rather than transcendental uniformity. François Julien defines the common as "what we are part of or in which we take part, which is shared out and in which we participate"[130]. He distinguishes the common from the universal (formal and a priori imperatives as we saw in Kant) and the uniform (perverted universalism into neoliberal imperative of conformity in production of human capital). This new orientation in education is participatory and thus resists global uniformity staged by neoliberalism and liberates itself from pre-given, abstract and formal Eurocentric imperatives and instead focuses on global solidarity and justice. It challenges the neoliberal competitive mode of subjectivity by appealing to values such as the diversity of human relationships, openness, creativity, participation, peace, love, and divergence. To this end intercultural dialogue is a useful tool. It makes different cultures and divergent knowledge perspectives translatable to each other and can create common spheres of co-orientation and collective action. This is a transformation of basic principles of scientific education from conformity to diversity and challenges the exclusive domination of science in education. Education for the common is an artistic education, since it is a work in progress, with no absolute beginning or end, but always in the middle of inventing and reinventing the human being at individual, collective, local, and global levels. Before furthering the basic shifts of focus I am suggesting, let me say something on the design of the dialogic mode of resistance that I am outlining as a problem-solving tool.

[130] Julien, 2014:16.

I started this essay by suggesting a method of transfertilising different traditions beyond boundaries of west and east, north and south, not in order to compromise with oppressors, but to truly and on a broad front challenge them and become subversive towards technologies of colonial and neocolonial oppression. We need a polyphonic notion of resistance to overcome centuries of oppression. Generally, who conducts criticism is important, as different bodies are the loci of different histories, experiences and knowledge. This, however, does not mean that ideas are true or untrue by virtue of their origin. Here, I aim to bring together Western and non-Western modes of resistance, resistance from within and from the outside the West, and establish an intersectional mode of resistance in order to prepare the ground for a new kind of resistance beyond the two, one that is dialogic and embraces the best aspects of both. It will be participatory, dialogic, translational, transgressive in nature, and orientated towards the notion of the common. Through such a synthetic notion of resistance we can make scientific education the site of criticism. Western internal struggle can be connected to non-Western struggles and made translatable to each other. We can work with connecting and disconnecting, excluding and including, where we challenge the imperialistic universalism through establishing a translational universalism based on participation and membership in communities of thought and action. This means a critical approach to the self and the other. The others and the self are not insulated from each other, but rather they together establish the ground of the common, which frames an inclusive and participatory notion of universalism. This is, as Julien[131] maintains, a rebellion against the imperial universalism in which the singularity "of the Other of other cultures… is defended"[132]. If Kant brought in the knowing and transcendental subject against limits of an oppressive tradition, the paradigm shift I suggest brings into dialogue a divergent multiplicity of concrete subjects, both in the West and elsewhere

[131] 2014.
[132] 2014, p. 8.

in the world, subjects constituted by their linguistic, cultural, social, and political contexts. However, they are capable of changing these contexts. In such a rebellion, the individual subjects held their own singular position against the oppressive universalism and the imperialism of culture underpinning it.

In order to make thinkers from the West open, transparent, equal, and responsive interlocutors to non-Western voices, it is necessary to put some basic demands on them. American pragmatism generally and the American educator Dewey specifically, and following him Rorty, have suggested a new Copernican Revolution, where the knowing subject is replaced by the acting subject. It is to put Kant on his feet and reverse the relationships between theory and practice.[133] However, Kant does not easily relax his hold on Western minds. Colin Koopman, for instance, claims that "we need our Kantian inheritance"[134]. Although he adds that "we need it differently than did Kant in his day"[135], his notions of "we" and "our inheritance" are characteristically Eurocentric and thus limited in scope — they are provincial rather than being universal or common. Koopman[136] and Allen[137] show that a "transformation from within" of Kantian tradition has already been performed by Foucault's "continuation-through-transformation of Kantian critical thought[138]. Foucault pseudonymously writes of himself: "If Foucault is perfectly at home in the philosophical tradition, it

[133] Nietzsche's attempt to make art a perspective on science, pragmatism's (Dewey's) attempts to put the acting subject at centre stage, and Foucault's attempt to reinterpret Kant's idea of criticism are all attempts to reverse Kant. However, they have been limited in scope, since they have not taken colonial and racial aspects of Kant into consideration. My suggestion is to stimulate critical dialogues between Western internal critical voices and those of postcolonial, decolonial project and subaltern studies.
[134] Koopman, 2013, p. 16.
[135] Koopman, 2013, p. 16.
[136] Koopman, 2013.
[137] Allen, 2008.
[138] Allen, 2008, p. 44.

is within the *critical* tradition of Kant"[139]. This transformation of Kant from within Western tradition is necessary but not sufficient. It is unable to delink from the colonial past, white supremacy and the imperialism of culture underlying it. The Foucauldian reconceptualisation of the notions of critique and of the transcendental subject has been shown to be useful. This reconceptualisation has not concerned itself with a de-colonisation of the Kantian inheritance. In this regard, the concern of the Foucauldian empirical subject is still a Western one and limited in scope. This internal detranscendentalisation must be linked with decolonialisation efforts from outside of the Western tradition.

To take just another example, inspired by Edward Said, Allen[140] challenges critical theory of the Frankfurt School (Kantian in essence) from within to decolonise itself through coming to terms with its notion of progress. Allen questions the modern notion of progress (introduced by Kant and connected to his question of what may I hope?). Underpinning critical theory, this notion of progress was considered "as necessary, inevitable, and unified process". Allen abandons the notion of progress but reconceptualises it as a notion, which is contingent, disaggregated and postmetaphysical[141]. This is a strategy of reinterpreting modern culture that goes back to Nietzsche and following him to Heidegger. The concern here is to dismantle metaphysics. Starting from such intentions, Heidegger talks of the end of philosophy as the queen of sciences. There are also strategies inspired by Levinas, where the other is recognised and included. These strategies often start from the West as norm and demand to be recognised by the West. They measure the others by the Western yardstick. The leading metaphor is unification of Athens and Jerusalem, an attempt to come to terms with western metaphysical heritage. A transformation from a perspective outside the West is also needed.

[139] Foucault in Koopman, 2013, p. 13.
[140] Allen, 2016.
[141] Allen, 2016, p. 8–9.

The pragmatist shift from the knowing subject to the acting subject and the shift from necessary notion of progress to a contingent one are necessary, but not sufficient. Actions can be as colonial and racist as theories. The same can be said of the contingent notion of progress. The shift should be much more radical and change racist and colonial preconditions of knowledge and action. Such discussions show, however, that there is an auto-critique occurring in the West. Yet, it is a monologue, a conversation by the West with the West and about the others. Such an approach is itself an exercise in power and silencing the others by speaking for them. The West still places itself in the driving seat of progress. These auto-critical discourses must be investigated sufficiently and made responsive to the call of the oppressed others. The Western subject can certainly, as Allen [142] maintains, create a critical distance to its own constitutive power structures and heritages. The question is whether it is responsive enough to the interests and perspectives outside the West. For instance, Foucault demystified the notion of transcendental subject and replaced it with a contextual and constituted subject. However, these efforts remain attached to the norms, skills and practices valued by the West and are formed in the context of Western imperialism. A dialogic state of mind is needed that brings western auto-critique into dialogue with non-Western struggles against imperialism, racism and neocolonialism, and builds up a community of strugglers. Such a dialogue would transcend the purity of the West and its notions of normality, rationality, autonomy, and identity, as well as the notion of the other and make education intercultural. Emancipation is then "co-authored" in a way that sets free oppressors and oppressed alike. This is a process of universalisation, where education, knowledge, struggles, and freedom become universal through their being adapted by the other and translated into their own contexts. I have termed this process as translational universalisation as opposed to imperial

[142] Allen, 2008, 2016.

universalism[143]. This notion of the universal is open, a process of perpetually ongoing reciprocal translations, negotiations and re-negotiations instead of being a priori or necessary in virtue of its form or being dogmatic concepts of reason, as in Kant.

The decolonial camp will frame non-Eurocentric or alternative notions of modernity. Enrique Dussel terms this strategy "transmodernity"[144]. My idea of dialogic relationships (negation and affirmation) between the West and its cultural "others" instead of pure negation is based on the impossibility of a decolonial zero point, one unaffected by the burden of European modernity and colonialism. We always start in the middle of ongoing historical events and processes and have to disrupt, reinterpret and reshape them, while we ourselves are part of their flux and reshaped by them. There is no pure or absolute beginning. It can never be created. Revolutions and paradigm shifts appropriate and reinterpret history instead of nullifying it. Nowadays, the globe has become a single arena for knowledge, theories and other commodities; our time is signified by transnational cultural streams. Academe has become part of this marketplace. The majority of decolonial intellectuals are themselves educated and employed by the modern university system. Thus, at stake is self-transformation as part of the change of the world through the transformation of colonial heritage.

From a postcolonial position, Depish Chakrabarty[145] suggests provincialising Europe: making the provincial perspective of Europe manifest its universal claims notwithstanding. To provincialise Kant and the Enlightenment is to see them as one alternative among many, and to affirm diversity in ways of life, happiness, rationality, and humanity (in this point Dussel and Chakrabarty are close to each other). Another interesting strategy is to "ab-use" the Enlightenment and affirmatively deconstruct

[143] Nejadmehr, 2009.
[144] Dussel, 2012.
[145] Chakrabarty, 2000.

or sabotage it as a tool of the colonial masters, as Spivak[146] suggests. This is to encourage the oppressed to use the tools of the masters for their own ends. In my mind, these strategies can be brought together and strengthen each other as critical voices based on experiences of colonialised people attempting to release themselves from the hegemony of the West. To challenge the Western imperial notion of universalism is the intersectional point between these strategies. Said[147] sees this "blithe universalism" as the basis for philosophical justification of European imperialism and the link between European culture and European imperialism. According to him the assumption of "the inequality of races" and "the subordination of inferior cultures" are incorporated in this universalism. It thus needs to be renegotiated, reconstructed and reconceptualised. Generally, Said[148] defined Orientalism by illuminating its function as a technology of domination, where through strategies of knowledge/power the other was created in the image of the West. This brings in another line of resistance.

A common insight of these strategies of resistance is their awareness of Europe not being a construction of Europeans alone. Colonialism has worked through force, as well as hegemony and consent. Education, knowledge production and dissemination in a colonial perspective have been powerful means for establishing a hegemonic notion of Europe. An increasing part of the world population is already educated by scientific education. This process works through cultural hegemony, movement of knowledge/power and by consent. Defying the colonial notion of Europe must also be a common endeavour and polyphonic. To emphasise once again, as the voice of Kant is that of provincial Europe, we need to bring in voices from other parts of the world in order to establish a common humanity, a global collective of thought and action. We have a lot to do in relation to the West, as it must get rid of its ignorance of taking itself for

[146] Spivak, 2012.
[147] Said, 1993, p. 277.
[148] Said, 1979.

the whole humanity. It needs to become provincialised, purged from metaphysical residues, de-colonialised, de-racialised, and detranscendentalised in order to regain its humanity. Other parts of the world need to participate in these processes, empower themselves on an equal basis and on all levels, attain a voice of themselves, and make their stories valid in their own terms. For the periphery to provincialise and decolonise the centre, it has to achieve the strength, courage, skills, and competencies to question it in qualified ways. My main concern is to find points of intersection, where these transformative forces can join, strengthen each other, and overcome the hegemonic West and decolonial education. Such an intersectional approach enables us to take into consideration both colonial differences and internal diversities within each camp. As the notion of Europe has been the starting site and the end result of modern culture, I have things to say about the educational, cultural and political state of affairs in the European Union (EU). However, the limit on space here does not permit such a discussion.

Delinking from Kant's Copernican Revolution — a way forward

In the previous sections, I suggested some basic principles on which we can construct useful tools needed for making changes in the constitutive background of education possible. The distinction between scientific education and science education was an attempt to connect adequate tools to relevant problems and address them at the right level. The problem of scientific education was introduced as an umbrella conception for a cluster of problems, and a multifunctional methodological framework was used to shed light on these problems. We now also need a multifunctional toolkit if we are to remove hindrances in the way of a proper education. In this concluding section, I suggest some basic shifts of focus in how we address educational problems. All

of these are practical steps towards an education that sets us free from limits imposed upon us by racism and colonialism.

To be clear, the notion of education I am suggesting does not abolish the constitutive role of the background altogether; rather it creates a critical distance to it in order to reveal its oppressive concealment. This is to become aware that the invisible background does not exist independently of the foreground. Indeed, it comes into existence and starts to work in and by educational actions at the foreground level. The constitutive role of the background becomes manifest through the constituted foreground, while at the same time they remain different levels of education. It is an immanent critique that makes it clear that education consists of both foreground and background. The relationships between these two interconnected dimensions are signified by unity in tension, where foreground actions manifest the invisible background, the effects of which in many cases go unrecognised. The critical distance to these relationships consists of bringing to awareness the harms of these effects and manifesting them as mechanisms of domination. I am suggesting transforming them into a mechanism of freedom through the shifts in focus.

Before detailing descriptions of these shifts, it is worth mentioning that a basic presumption is that to start from educational actions as the site of freedom rather than formal principles is to bring education closer to art. Although art is not per definition free from racism, colonialism and sexism, it is more apt to steadily keep a critical gaze on the paradoxical relationships between foreground and background, since it is practice-oriented rather than being limited to formal principles. While science tends to become institutionalised, routinised and automatised, art can disrupt these processes through defamiliarising the familiar.

As a first shift, following Foucault, I suggest an alteration from the Kantian notion of criticism to a practical and transgressive

one as a precondition for a shift from uniformity and purity to diversity. As we have seen, the Kantian notion of critique is white, theoretical, scientific, Eurocentric, and concerned with the limits of the male reason. It educates to recognise boundaries and limits as the very transcendental conditions for the possibility of knowledge. This mode of critique is not of much help when it comes to transformation of the basic preconditions of the current paradigm of education, making it intercultural and intersectional, since it safeguards limits, borders and boundaries. It educates within the boundaries of the Western pure reason. We need a practical, multidimensional and multimodal criticism as recognition of the mutually translatable notions of reason. We need to delink from Kant and see him as a provincial thinker informed by experiences of living in colonial Europe.

Foucault has reappropriated the Kantian notion of criticism in a manner that makes it a useful tool for our purpose. Foucault writes: "The point in brief is to transform the critique conducted in the form of necessary limitation into a practical critique that takes the form of a possible transgression"[149]. In his essay "What is Enlightenment?", which takes its inspiration and title from Kant, Foucault makes it clear that the main concern of such a notion of critique is not the limits of ahistorical formal principles of pure reason, but opening the field of critical thought for plurality of contextual reasons. It is a transformative force aimed at critically responding to one's own historical situation, as well as critically working on oneself. In an educational context, the focal point is issues such as "what the subject must be, to what condition he is subject, what status he must have, what position he must occupy in reality or in the imaginary, in order to become a legitimate subject of this or that form of knowledge"[150]. It reveals mechanisms that lead to exclusion of the "other" from the "same". Basically, transgressive critique is exercised along three axes: knowledge (truth), power relations and ethics. More

[149] Foucault 1984, p. 46.
[150] Foucault, 2003, p. 1.

precisely it is about how the subject is constituted as the subject of its own knowledge (truth), how it is constituted as the subject that exercises power (is subject *of* power) and is submitted to power relations (is subject *to* power), and finally how the subject is constituted as the subject of its own actions. This is to become engaged with a diagnostic of the present and "what today is" in order to investigate the critical capacities of the self for freedom. According to Foucault, transgressive critique is concerned with "the permanent reactivation of an attitude – that is, of a philosophical ethos that could be described as a permanent critique of our historical era" [151]. Such a critical attitude investigates and counteracts forms of rationality underpinning domination, as well as knowledge used as techniques of power. The aim of genealogical critique is not only to identify heritages that are functioning as techniques of domination, but to critically exercise "a historico-practical test of the limits that we may go beyond, and thus as work carried out by ourselves upon ourselves as free beings"[152].

Generally, criticism from a single perspective can never cover all aspects of oppressions. I argue for a notion of criticism that is polyphonic. Through bringing together multiple perspectives of European self-criticism and non-Western anti-imperialist struggles, such a notion of critique challenges Western cultural hegemony, racial classification of humanity, sexual oppression, capitalist division of labour, colonial differences, and epistemic inequalities. For Foucault, transgressive critique is a multifunctional tool for struggles against forms of domination (ethnic, social and religious), against forms of exploitation (that separate individuals from what they produce), and forms of subjection and submission (that ties the individual to himself and submits him to others). Depending on the context of the struggle one or another form of struggle can become important[153]. Such a notion of critique is then intersectional; it can be used in anti-

[151] Foucault, 1984, p. 42.
[152] Foucault, 1984, p. 47.
[153] Foucault, 2003, p. 130.

racist and anti-colonial struggles and be conducted from a variety of perspectives. Further, rather than being focused on racial and cultural differences, this critique focuses on colonial, racist, sexist, and capitalist understanding of these differences and counteracts colonial power hierarchies. Recognition of intersectional differences can be used as a means of resistance against domination and oppressive differences in power relations. Such recognition counteracts the colonial homogenisation of world population and minorities.

We need this mode of practical cross-cultural critique to counteract the domination, closeness and totalising tendencies of scientific education, as well as those of neoliberalism. This critique is enabling and leads to redistribution of epistemic authority, power and resources. This notion of critique is also necessary for overcoming the limits of different traditions and cultures;[154] it stimulates dialogues between them and makes them translatable to each other. Transgressive critique is transcultural and creates spaces of common meaning. It recognises differences, while at the same time transgressing boundaries. It puts forward a translational notion of universalism as an alternative to colonial universalism and its oppressive border-crossing. As mentioned earlier, colonial or Kantian universalism postulates a transcendental subject (a white, male and European reason, and a "global subject" who speaks, thinks and acts for humanity and conducts criticism from a Eurocentric perspective). His notion of universality is in other words monophonic and false, since it silences the others in the name of truth. A translational notion of universality is participatory, a never-ending conversation across different cultures, contexts and texts, where different perspectives are in perpetual interchange. It signifies never-ending works in

[154] As Wittgenstein makes clear, borders are not natural; they are drawn. He asks, "Can you give a boundary?" and answers, "No", since he believes that "You can *draw"* them (*Philosophical Investigations*; 33). Borders are immanent in discourses and ways of life, rather than being given by nature. This is true of discourses themselves, since "A word has the meaning someone has given to it" (*The Blue and Brown Books,* 28).

progress, instead of being closed and determined once and for all. It brings together critical perspectives of oppressed peoples. It pushes aside the veil of illusion and reveals the narrow-mindedness of Eurocentrism and its true identity as a minority perspective that has imposed itself as the majoritarian perspective.

A second shift of focus concerns one from a cognitivist to an ontological view of education. If the first shift enables human beings to transcend boundaries of oppressive contexts and become engaged with the different other, this shift paves the way for equal participation in cognitive and educational processes. The cognitivist approach occludes and oppresses human participation in cognitive processes (or makes it a privilege of white people) by pretending to be a contemplative and neutral standpoint, where theory goes before action. People should behave in accordance with formal principles instead of recognising the diversity of actions and lifeworlds and their impact on cognition and knowledge. It confines education to acquisition of propositional knowledge as absolutely true. Education for participation, freedom and truth is then marginalised. The epistemological approach transfers a world reduced to propositional knowledge and truth as correspondence between propositions and objects of the world. As a general epistemic framework of scientific education, science is entangled in a subject–object dichotomy and focuses on knowledge through neutral relationships with and detached observation of the world. In reality, taking the detached standpoint of the neutral observer is just an aspiration or an illusion. Knowledge as detached contemplation, independent of modes of human practical involvement in the world, is absolute knowledge and leads to epistemic tyranny and asceticism, since it is enclosed in the mode of the actual rather than being open to potentialities and possibilities endemic to different human situations. To strive for a detached knowledge position is to work for an illusion, as there is no unembodied knowledge. Detached positions are forgotten attached positions; they are attached beyond the knowers'

awareness (this is one sense of ideology). It is to conceal human participation by pretending or believing that they may know themselves as neutral. From a cognitivist point of view, formal principles are the starting point for epistemic and ethical actions. As the theoretical is prior to the empirical, the epistemic subject becomes prior to the acting subject. The formal principles are, however, determined from a Eurocentric perspective and applied in empirical situations by empirical subjects.

Science has colonialised education, while science itself has been colonialised by Eurocentrism as a means of racial classification of humanity and objectifying oppressed bodies as objects of exploitation and scientific studies. These colonialisations have developed in tandem with the expansion of oppressive power of the colonial West and of the epistemic authority of science. Colonial expansion has been an epistemic expansion and colonial violence has been an epistemic violence. They have disqualified and oppressed the diversity of perspectives and homogenised dispersed peoples and perspectives, and brought them all under totalising ideas such as "coloured people" and "blacks". Science has then been part of the hegemonic power of the West. A gap between the Eurocentric knowledge and lived experiences of the colonialised world has emerged. This disparity is essential and can be overcome through delinking science from the epistemic hegemony of the colonial West. Such a delinking would be a decolonialisation of science and education, a move away from imperial science as a totalising perspective, where knowledge perspectives of marginalised people and those of art are marginalised. The end result of this process will be decolonialisation of knowledge, being and society. The rifts between humanity caused by white Europeans will be healed.

This shift of focus means that our basic experience of the world is primarily through our practical participation in it together with others. Consciousness, detached observation and conceptual ordering are secondary. Instead of cognitive grasping, we practically participate in activities and relate to the world through

our bodies. As Marcuse puts it: "praxis" is our "decisive attitude" [155]. Work and action is the fundamental practical relation between the subject and the world related to the conditions of human survival.

One consequence of this shift of perspective is a reinterpretation of the notion of freedom, the central notion of the Enlightenment. This is a shift from the metaphysical notion of freedom to contextual (immanent) or ontological freedom. The Kantian and neoliberal or metaphysical notion of freedom is confined to rational choice, where the subject, as an act of free will, admits or rejects alternatives (existing principles), which are there at a distance (the acting subject is detached from its own actions). The task is to establish a rational relation to them and find ways of appropriating or rejecting them. This choice occurs in accordance with uniform or universal principles. The manifold nature of human situations is ignored. To achieve this, Kant established principles to be communicated by virtue of their unified, pure form or identity. Consequently, the universal, the pure and the uniform are identical and related to the self, while the other are dehumanised as impure, heterogeneous and embodied.

Contrary to this, the ontological notion of freedom is contextual and sensitive to the diversity of human relations to the world. It is not a characteristic to be attached or detached from the subject, but rather a way of being in the world endemic to the subject. This notion of freedom not only recognises freedom of the others — the otherness of the others — by recognising them and letting them be the beings they are in their own terms, but also invites them to common action aimed at common interests. Neoliberalism has destroyed the oppositional subject by objectifying human beings as competitors in accordance with a single global form, that of *homo economicus*. Consequently, human beings are made alien from themselves, their world and each other.

[155] Marcuse, 1987, p. 33.

As a style of being in the world, ontological freedom can be conceived in opposition to alienation. It is based on ontological and epistemological indeterminacy as opposed to dogmatism. Based on the mode of potentiality immanent in each moment and each individual, it is a basis for becoming, change and transformation. Neither the world nor knowledge of it is fixed; they always can be otherwise. Kant connected education with moral freedom. The Kantian freedom is, however, just an assumption, a teleological and metaphysical freedom related to a predetermined purpose of nature. Human beings are actual beings and practically engaged in the field of their daily life. The process of historical changes occurs, contrary to Kant, through practical engagement of human beings in concrete historical conditions. The acting and knowing subjects are constituted subjects rather than transcendental. They change societies while at the same time producing and reproducing themselves. It is through processes of subjectification that educational and other social institutions are reproduced in the individuals. Through these ongoing processes subjects act upon themselves, others and their social environment. This is a process of construction, reconstruction, adoption, and transformation in order to highlight the temporal horizon of knowledge and historical ontology of the self, as well as the temporality of cultivation and knowledge acquisition. Contrary to Kant, such approaches have diversity of action and praxis as their starting point rather than abstract ideas and principle.

In light of ontological shift, we can reinterpret the notion of the universal. This transformation moves from imperial universalism to the participatory. It grows out of free and common action of the selves and the others. Whereas the Kantian universality works through imposition of uniform imperatives, ontological universalism works through participation in the shared world of collective actions. Unlike logical prescriptions, participation is based on decisions: one decides to encounter the other in a dialogical relationship. To engage in a dialogic encounter with the others and be receptive to it brings in several possibilities for

the self and the other. It offers possibilities of participating or not, or of withdrawing from participations already established. It is thus contingent and entangled with specific strategies of power. It is not imposed on the individual from outside and by formal principles, but rather it is a matter of exercising power relations within specific communities. The notion of the universal suggested here is based on practical memberships in the common that can go beyond boundaries of cultures, gender, race, and geography.

As more and more people decide to become members of a community, participate in it and share perspective and practice with other members, the boundaries of the common extend. People also decide to share points of view beyond familiar contexts of their lifeworld, and these points of view become common or universal since many people share them. This universalism emerges by virtue of contingent necessities like coexistence of cultures and countries in a global world and migration and movement across borders, rather than formal logical principles. Global communities like those of the UN and PEN International are good examples.[156] These communities are the basis of universal human rights in virtue of membership of states and writers, respectively, rather than being transcendental-logical. The same can be said of organisations related to women's, workers' and children's rights.

A reference to Aristotle sheds light on this rather ambiguous point. He begins his *Politics* with a discussion on the notion of community. For him, family and tribe cannot be the loci of the universal but the city can, since the city is a community. He related the notion the city-state to notions of the "good life", "faculty of speech in man" and human natural tendency "toward political association"[157]. Briefly stated, these notions can be understood as a result of contingent human decisions and daily

[156] Julien, 2014.
[157] Aristotle, 2001.

necessities to come together in communities rather than being logically concluded. I bring together notions of the human being as a political being capable of speech and desirous of a good life to underpin the claim that the universal is a matter of politics and desire, conditioned by language, history and memberships in communities. It is negotiable and subject to dialogue within cultures and across them. Thus, we need a dialogic notion of education to foster dialogic states of mind, solidarity and togetherness in thinking, talking and acting. The notion of dialogue is not limited to school situations but is a renegotiation of basic principles of education. These cannot be achieved through implementing prescriptive principles of pure reason, but by collective efforts to remake the constitutive background of education in a way that more and more people endorse and share its basic rules. The possibilities to make the constitutive background of education universal are immanent in the very context of life and education in our global age. As a first step, we need a counter-education that resists and subverts neoliberal domination in education, since it is the main impediment to an inclusive universal education.

As result of taking part in these processes, the oppressed become political agents of transformation and redistribution of power and authority. The local and the global become aspects of the same process of becoming, where people open themselves to be changed and change. The transgressive notion of critique, the practical approach to education and the translative/dialogic universalism suggested here facilitate such a participatory state of mind. They are based on multiplicity of reason and logic, and open up venues for dialogue and interaction. They transgress through universalising and universalise through transgression, thereby dismantling the logic of colonial universality. For instance, through practical and ontological criticism we can question Orientalism and Occidentalism and established cognitive hierarchies between the West and the East as geocultural structures of superiority and subordination, and focus on the common and radical actions against racist,

neocolonial and neoliberal power structures. This approach creates intersectional alliances beyond traditional divides, since it is about liberation of both the oppressed and oppressors. In order to accomplish this task, we need an education that empowers people with no voice or who are struggling to make their voice valid in the current educational discourse. This is necessary in order to create qualified knowledge perspectives and educational alternatives, qualified external critics to the West, informed interlocutors and adversaries who challenge the Western hegemonic perspective, and thereby establish an intercultural participatory togetherness in the world.

Ontological/practical approaches can be used as tools to rearrange power relations for the benefit of the oppressed. Power relations are to be distinguished from domination. Whereas power relations are transversal, fluid, changeable, open, and allow for social mobility, domination refers to power relations being locked by an individual or groups of individuals. Domination blocks social mobility (Foucault, 1984). To my mind, scientific education stands for educational domination, as it has gained global validity through oppressing local singularities. It has locked educational power relations for the benefit of a Eurocentric frame of mind and an imperial notion of the universal. Thus, it blocks epistemic, social and cultural mobility at a global scale. Further, it is oriented towards theoretical knowledge about racialised and colonialised others, rather than towards a dialogic knowledge paradigm shared by them. It is not an accident that Brexit, Donald Trump and far-right tendencies in Europe use such an objectifying view with regard to regulation of education, media, labour market, and public spheres in order to conceptually and physically exclude migrants. We need then an education that enables the individuals to collectively surpass mechanisms of domination and inequality and constitute a global educational common of equals, and to collectively exercise a transgressive genealogical critique and reach beyond neoliberal, neocolonial and racist compliance with market rationalism. Such individuals act in concert with public–

political settings and conduct dialogue across cultural boundaries (intercultural dialogue). They not only attain a voice and make valid their own narratives, but also do it in dialogue with the others. This will prepare the ground for a notion of universality based on participation, political decisions and shared experiences within communities of thought and action. Centuries of slavery, colonialism, Eurocentrism, sexism and capitalism have blocked linguistic and cognitive development of enslaved, colonialised and exploited people. Non-Western ways of life have been discredited by colonial discourses and practices. These discrepancies in power relations place the colonial way of life, colonial languages and knowledge perspective above diversity of human conditions. Oppressors are not going to accept voluntarily a counter-education that will end their domination. It should be the outcome of educational struggles on a broad front. This process is a move away from current white and colonial ignorance to education as *paideia* as a tool to overcome racism and neocolonialism. Education becomes then truly enlightening, a means for the oppressed to emerge from their position as oppressed and regain the self-confidence to stand up for themselves, inscribe themselves in history in their own terms, and challenge colonial differences by delinking from the logic of colonialism. This is a way to overcome residues of colonialism by critically and creatively examining and re-examining established views of humanity and education.

The shifts in the frame of mind discussed above bring us to a third shift, related to the relationships between art and science and the notion of truth underpinned by each. This is needed in order to establish an adequate notion of the truth that corresponds to the transgressive notion of critique, experience-based notion of the universal, and practical approach to the world. If the Kantian educational paradigm was a shift from the art of education to the science of education, in order to move away from the concrete reality of the sensible world and subordinate it to the abstract principles of reason, this shift will make education artistic and bring it closer to the practical way people are engaged in their

everyday world. It considers art as a perspective on the world rather than a profession. It is a style of doing things closer to the practical way we connect to the world. Colonial conquerors oppressed colonialised parts of the world in the name of knowledge, truth and faith. They totalised the world population under the Western maxims as the epitome of truth. The shift at stake here is a move away from this imposed uniformity by propositional notion of truth towards recognition of the equal value of different forms of life and practical notions of truth as a way of being in the world. It is also "provincialising Europe", since imperial universal maxims are the provincial interests of white Europe. This is also a shift from science as detached observation of the world to art as diversity of action and the joy of creativity. Art becomes a perspective on science and brings into it a participatory style of creating, thinking and acting. Science can then become detached from the colonial notion of reason and imperative conformity. It also becomes de-territorialised since the West is no longer the exclusive territory of truth. Such a notion of truth is artful and nomadic, related to human creation in concrete contexts. Seeing life as a work of art, Foucault asks, "Why should the lamp or house be an art object but not our life?"[158] As one's life is one's own work, the self is not alienated from its life. While science is seen from the perspective of art, art in turn is seen from the perspective of life, as Nietzsche has taught us. This is a move away from anthropocentrism and humanism towards seeing life as the ultimate perspective on our knowledge, deeds and discourses. Nature is not conceived as something that should be dominated or tamed by culture, and the traditional dichotomies of the object and the subject, the sensible and the intelligible, nature and reason become obsolete. The same can be said of the relationships between the imperial West and the rest of the world.

Our perspectives and descriptions are always partial and can never cover all aspects of objects and phenomena of the world.

[158] Foucault, 1997, p. 261.

To be objective is to see things from as many perspectives as possible, instead of from a single dominant perspective, be it that of science, philosophy, art, the West or the East. Against this background, it is liberating to equate truth with freedom and see freedom ontologically, as Foucault, following Heidegger, does, as a mode of participating in the world and a philosophical ethos. It is the freedom to take part in the common and share perceptives and practices with the others. It is the mode of possibility, meaning knowledge of the world is contextual and can always be otherwise. Truth is to reveal potentialities as the very basis for knowledge. Freedom in turn becomes a manner of living that lets potentiality come forward through possibilities embedded in one's participation in worldly activities, together with the others. Truth and freedom are to demonstrate how possibilities of being different exist within everyday participation in and questioning of the world, a world of possibilities that is impeded by racial and colonial domination. To live in truth and freedom is a mode of being open to diversity. It is a transformative force when it comes to scientific education. The focal point is the specific educational conditions of today as a common concern, rather than abstract views of human perfection. In other words, an education inspired by the arts is an attempt to grasp material conditions of doing things in neoliberal environments and an attempt to counteract the neoliberal set of values such as competition and entrepreneurship. As a result, human beings become one with their "species being" and express themselves through their action and speech. It is an education away from the colonial mode of being, an education from within as well as from the outside of the specific condition of neoliberalism aimed at freedom from its oppressive constraints.

Given the above-mentioned shifts of focus, we need to question the relationships between philosophy, education and science as hegemonic forms of knowledge. Kant's Copernican Revolution has extensively impacted the relationship between science and philosophy for the worse, as the Kantian turn made philosophy

scientific.[159] According to Habermas, "Since Kant, science has no longer been seriously comprehended by philosophy"[160]. Yet, due to Kant's influence, acquisition of scientific knowledge and its method of inquiry have been the main function of scientific education. At the same time, as Nietzsche observed, philosophy became a profession (professorship), limited to academe and resigned its critical position, while science developed an excessive faith in its truth as the exclusive way of knowledge of the world. Echoing Nietzsche, Dewey points to a fundamental trait of modern epistemology: it is becoming its own judge in the hands of 18th-century Enlightenment intellectuals. He writes, "When I say that the only way out is to place the whole modern industry of epistemology in relation to the conditions which gave it birth and the function it has to fulfil, I mean that the unsatisfactory character of the entire Neo-Kantian movement is in its assumption that knowledge gives birth to itself and is capable of affording its own justification"[161]. While, due to Kant's influence, philosophy has become a scientific discipline, it has had no or a very weak critical impact on science and scientists. Science has not only become its own judge but also the underlying ground and judge of education. This is a pernicious and closed system of domination, its claims to objectivity notwithstanding, since education, as Kant maintains, is the way to humanity.

As mentioned, the Enlightenment made a universal notion of progress valid based on an epistemological and a moral–political aspect. Reinhart Kosseleck highlights these two aspects of the modern or Kantian notion of progress: "Progress (der Fortschritt), a term first put by Kant, was now a word that neatly and deftly brought the manifold of scientific, technological, and industrial meaning of progress, and finally also those meanings involving morality and even totality of history under a common

[159] Richard Rorty (2009: 132) sees Kant's influence as deleterious to philosophy. According to him, in Kant's hands philosophy became a scientific discipline, though "the most basic discipline".
[160] Habermas, 1972, p. 4.
[161] Dewey 1963, pp. 19–20.

concept"[162]. In its epistemological sense, progress was considered as epistemic superiority in later generations of the white West, since progress was assumed to lead to accumulation of knowledge for the benefit of these generations. Besides, education also brings these generations closer to perfection. Kuhn [163] demonstrated, however, that a cumulative notion of knowledge was wrong. Science's development was rather characterised by disruptive paradigm shifts. Yet, the colonial aspect of epistemic superiority of the West did not concern him. Another assumption of the progressivist sense of cognition is its being independent of the cultural and linguistic context. Bringing together science and technology studies and postcolonial studies, Sandra Harding[164] reveals that this is also wrong. She shows that that knowledge is inevitably historically and culturally situated, and that there are different scientific traditions in Europe and other places in the world. Ludwik Fleck [165] is also a pioneer in arguing for the diversity of scientific traditions in European culture. Helen Longino[166] has argued for a science that is less androcentric and Eurocentric. To make science responsive to feminist, postcolonial and decolonial calls, we need to bring in critical perspectives of art and philosophy and cognitive resources that the knowledge perspectives of oppressed people offer. This is in order to delink sciences from colonialism as a scientific–technological project and link it to visions of epistemic equality that are so widely voiced in the contemporary world. This will be a new orientation in scientific thinking in tune with the educational demands of today.

The colonial view of science and its continuation in neoliberal circumstances has not only been alien to colonialised people, it has also alienated science from the knower in the West. The rift between knowledge and knower is becoming deeper and deeper

[162] Koselleck, in Allen, 2016, p. 8.
[163] Kuhn, 1970.
[164] Harding, 1998.
[165] Fleck, 1979.
[166] Longino, 1998.

as science is defined in terms of capital. The new orientation in science puts it in relation to the notion of the universal, truth, objectivity, and critique, as they were discussed above. As such this new orientation is dealienating and decolonialising since it stimulates science and scientists to bring to consciousness what they are thinking. It paves the way for their thinking that is in tune with the demands of our time.

The transgressive notion of critique, the practical mode of being in the world, translative universalism, and education based on art are interconnected elements of a shift of focus away from an educational heritage based on abstract and imperial principles of rationality towards an education in tune with the practical mode of the human being in the world. Consistent with these notions, a last shift of focus is needed. This shift deals with human types. Education is about the type of human beings that each epoch will foster, their main characteristics, and style of being and behaving. The Kantian educational paradigm aims at moral perfection in accordance with authoritarian universal rational principles. Kant stood at the very beginning of modernity and established a notion of humanity as rational being. The historical outcome of such an idea is *homo economicus* (a competing being), organising its life according to rational calculation and choices. It is an abstraction and reification of humanity. As a non-alienated notion of humanity, *homo faber* (a creating animal) can replace the notion of *homo economicus*. Or more comprehensively, we can see humanity as different potentialities: *homo sapiens*, *homo politicus*, *homo laborans*, *homo faber*, and so on (a *polytropos* being), since humanity is a potentiality rather than being an actuality determined, herein the importance of education. Contrary to the *homo economicus,* the *homo polytropos'* way of being in the world is aesthetic or artistic. Consequently, it is not limited to a single image of humanity but is based on manifold ways of being and acting. Art is here conceived of not as a profession but as a perspective. Further, *homo faber* or better, *homo polytropos,* can be conceived as an acting and participating being, rather than an ascetic being or a neutral observer of the

world. Such a view of humanity is enabling and moves away from alienation of human beings from their work, action and themselves. An education inspired by this understanding of the human being lets the innermost talents of humanity thrive instead of imposing abstract principles of economics on it. Creativity is here considered in the broad sense of creating oneself, one's world, one's work, and being at one with them, ultimately to meaningfully contribute to the common world one dwells in. Such a view of humanity can function as the basis for a new, dialogic and inclusive educational paradigm, where reflection (critique), creativity and systematicity interact with each other. Not being alienated from oneself, one's creativity, one's world, and the other, such a creature is eligible to promise, as Nietzsche[167] would say. Contrary to the distorted picture of detached observational status, it is signified by practical participation in the world. Education for truth is thus education for freedom, as the essence of both is coextensive with a way of being in the world and with the other in which we care about the world and the other. This way of being in the world is free and delinked from colonial and racial violence. Educated in such a mode of education, we stand in a free relation to ourselves, the others and our world. This notion of freedom is concrete, freedom of particular human beings in their particular worlds related to art-science and to the field of practical involvement. It is practical and a latent potentiality within worldly activities. We are free if we belong and are open to a world that offers a range of accessible possibilities. We then have to give up total control of the world and the other and become open to the diversity of world. Our openness is then a condition of the world's openness to us.

Correspondingly, to the poly-dimensional mode of being in the world, I suggest that the mode of struggle is intersectional, inclusive and active rather than being reactive and exclusionist. The oppressed overcome their position of powerlessness and

[167] Nietzsche, 1992, II §1–7.

empower themselves through combats on different fronts (class, sex, race, etc.). They refuse to be oppressed or to be inferior in any sense. In such a mode of struggle the oppressed affirm their own inclusive way of being in the world instead of just negating oppressors. Rather than being motivated by revenge or react to what oppressors do, they distance themselves from oppression by refusing to be oppressed. They distance themselves from oppression instead of aspiring to take over the position of oppressors. Such a struggle also liberates oppressors, as the aim is a human type beyond the divides of oppressed and oppressor. What is negated is oppression. This style of action is free from vengeance and from what Nietzsche calls *presentiment*. In such a state of mind the constitutive background and the constituted foreground of education converge towards truth, justice and freedom and let the uniqueness of any human being become manifest in her/his action and speech.

Kant abbreviations

Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View
APV
Critique of Pure Reason
CPR
Critique of Practical Reason
CpPR
Critique of Judgment
CJ
Lectures on Logic
LL
Lectures on Pedagogy
LP
On Physical Geography
PG
What is Orientate Oneself in Thinking?
WOT
Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime
OFBS

Essay Regarding the Philanthropinum
ERP
Idea for a Universal History
IUH
An Answer to the Question of What is Enlightenment?
WE
Of the Different Races of Human Beings
DRHB
Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics
PFM

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Real time movies versus frozen snapshots: Audits of everyday life in classrooms

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This essay aims to analyse two different forms of contemporary stories: pupils' and adults' audits of what goes on in classroom life. This was done by making a distinction between unofficial and official inspections. In the essay, I show that unofficial inspections are carried out by pupils, most likely with the aim of providing those of us outside the classrooms with real time movies to inform us about what takes place during life in classrooms. I go on to show that pupils highlight aspects of the complex everyday life in classrooms in a different way than the official inspections, which are performed by adult officials from agencies such as the Swedish Schools Inspectorate and are more likely to be understood as frozen snapshots. In analysing this issue, the stories of everyday classroom life, this essay highlights sixteen differences between unofficial and official inspections. These differences relate to who is carrying out the inspection, how the inspection was conducted, what the inspection focused on, when the inspection took place, and why. The analysis also highlight eight similarities between unofficial and official inspections. These relate to what was being observed, the benefit of the inspections and the motives behind the observation. The essay concludes with arguments regarding observations by unofficial audits supplementing and adding other qualities than the official

one, by indicating secondary and tertiary qualities of a different intentional depth.

> (…) we must not fail to ponder, as we watch, the significance of things that come and go in a twinkling – things like a student's yawn or a teacher's frown. Such transitory events may contain more information about classroom life than might appear at first glance[1].

Introduction

Over the last decade, what happens in the everyday arena of the school – the classroom – has once again become the subject of an increasingly comprehensive debate. A phenomenon that has provided material for debate (amongst public actors, researchers, teachers, politicians, and so-called literature natives) is how pupils, so-called digital natives[2] or Internet natives[3] who have grown up with the Internet and share digital literacy[4], use mobile phones to register and expose not only their own leisure time outside the classroom life, but their teachers' classroom management as well.[5] Part of that debate concerns the law against offensive photography.[6] The law states that taking photos or recording movies of someone in private areas (in schools referring to places such as locker rooms and lavatories) is forbidden, however using technical support to take photos of someone as part of official activities (such as teaching in the classroom) is allowed. Another part of this discussion concerns the online disinhibition effect[7] arguing that we might generally become less inhibited or limited by online communication. The main reason for online disinhibition is disassociative anonymity, meaning that our online actions are less connected to our

[1] Jackson, 1968, p. 177.
[2] Prensky, 2001.
[3] Dunkels, 2005.
[4] Lange, 2014.
[5] Samuelsson, 2011.
[6] Swedish Parliament: Brottsbalken, 2013.
[7] Suler, 2004.

persona[8] than interactions in real life. A second part of that phenomenon concerns what we know and what we would like to know, for example, things going on during lessons in school. This focuses on known certainties[9]. These are things that we know we know, also about life in classrooms, yet find difficult when discussing them. A third phenomenon more recently discussed is the need for and benefit of evidence[10] in achieving a change in the school system. One aspect that unites these three seemingly different phenomena is that they all illustrate divergent results that have been generated by some form of audit or observation[11]. For a long time adults, parents and teachers – digital immigrants [12] – had the sole right to spread stories from the classrooms. Such stories were, for example, inspection reports, research or biographies,[13] parts of a consumer culture. Since the advent of the Internet and YouTube, places for viewing, sharing, hosting, and the basic editing of online video[14] have become everyone's property and adults' sole right has been challenged by pupils' use of new technology and social media as contributors and producers to a participatory culture[15]. In light of this development it appears reasonable to think that one form of contemporary story about life in classrooms does not exclude another, provided that we want to gain as great an insight as possible into what happens in the contact between teachers and pupils in classrooms. The aim of this essay was to contribute to a deeper discussion regarding the concept of an inspection, the contemporary stories as results of audits conducted about life in classrooms, and the observer concept. This leads us to the purpose of this essay, which was to describe, analyse and discuss differences, similarities and qualities from unofficial and official audits of classroom life.

[8] Suler, 2004.
[9] Žižek, 2004.
[10] Hattie, 2009; Bohlin, 2010; Håkansson and Sundberg, 2012; Eriksson Barajas, Forsberg and Wengström, 2013; Enkvist, 2017.
[11] Swedish National Agency for Education, 2016.
[12] Prensky, 2001.
[13] Tranströmer, 1993; Ullman, 2016.
[14] Snelson, 2015.
[15] Burgess and Green, 2009.

In order to contribute to such discussion, a stipulative distinction is made between unofficial inspections (actions registered and exposed by the pupils, Internet natives[16]) and official inspections (actions carried out by employees, literature natives, and published by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate). In this essay, these two forms of audits, unofficial and official observations or inspections are analysed. This analysis entails highlighting sixteen differences, eight similarities, and three different qualities of each form of audit by using a constant comparative process.[17]

Resistance – a concept for change

A function of resistance or protest could be described as drawing someone's attention to the fact of existing shortcomings[18] in, for example an organization such as a school or in acts such as classroom management. Such action(s) could be described as intentional or planned resistance that are often separated from spontaneous resistance.[19] The latter is often attributed to children, youngsters, and pupils when their thoughts and/or actions are recognized as unwanted or an expression of deviation[20] from what is expected of them by adults or teachers. One philosopher who has had a great influence on thinking and reasoning about resistance in educational settings is Michel Foucault. One of his most discussed citations is "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet or rather consequently this position is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power."[21] He argued that resistance is one of the most important parts of a dynamic power process where change is the goal. This also means that power does not work without resistance.[22] Foucault's thinking about resistance could be linked to a criticism

[16] Dunkels, 2005.
[17] Bogdan and Biklen, 2007; Bryman, 2015.
[18] Hirschman, 2008.
[19] Øksnes and Samuelsson, 2017.
[20] Giroux, 2001.
[21] Foucault, 1990, p. 95.
[22] Caygill, 2013.

of certain perceptions of subjectivity as well. Those who resist reserve the right to be different.[23] This way of thinking is reminiscent of progressive educators' [24] understanding of resistance as a critical moment, a pupil's call to investigate whether it is possible to think and act in a different way from what is expected. This can be understood as a necessary test of personal and institutional boundaries. Another theorist who has had great influence on thinking and reasoning about resistance in educational settings is Henry Giroux, who undertook the task to understand actions often perceived as abnormal in a different way, where he thought resistance could be useful. Giroux thinks of resistance as hope for a radical transformation of an unfair practice that reveals or functions as social criticism.[25] In that sense Giroux understands resistance as a form or level of intentionality aiming for change and, like other researchers in critical theory, focuses on the potential of resistance expressed in the field of micro-political actions in schools and classrooms.

Unofficial and Official Audits

The unofficial and official audits differ from each other in several respects, these differences will be shown later on in the essay. They also differ amongst themselves. Earlier research [26] found differences in the intentionality behind unofficial audits, made by competent youths[27], exposed as YouTube movies. They could be categorised according to two principles, entertainment and enlightenment, with three different reasons for uploading movies on YouTube.se as shown in Table.1.

Table 1. Exposing logics for YouTube movies

Entertainment	Enlightenment

[23] Øksnes and Samuelsson, 2017.
[24] Abowitz, 2000.
[25] Giroux, 2001.
[26] Samuelsson, 2011.
[27] Brembeck and Johansson and Kampmann, 2004; James and Prout, 1990.

Disadvantages of others	Give publicity to unfairness
Irony	Illustrations of role models
Self-exposing	Protecting oneself

A search of youtube.se (conducted 31/07/2017 at 11:44), delimited to the search words "pupil," "teacher," and "teaching" yielded 2,270 hits. This is not to be understood as 2,270 unique movies. The same movie, in full or edited format, may appear in one or several of these 2,270 movies. However, for the purpose of this analysis, I selected movies from youtube.se featuring teachers. As shown in earlier research[28] there are movies on youtube.se depicting (a) angry teachers or (b) playful teachers. According to previous research, the perceived motivation for exposing teachers in movies was to inform the world of injustices in the classroom and to show role models, that is to say teachers whose classroom management was carried out in a desirable manner. The movies categorised as "angry teachers" show teachers who for example lose their tempers, are provoked, raise their voices and escalate conflicts with one or more pupils. The movies categorised as "playful teachers" show teachers who for example dance, sing or have fun with their pupils.

The example below, a 47-second movie called "Arg kille bråkar med lärare" (Angry boy argues with teacher) with 796,996 views (31/07/2017 at 11:43), shows the interaction between a pupil and a teacher regarding the pupil's mobile phone, which he is not allowed to use during the lesson. The movie starts with a shot of the teacher in front of a whiteboard. The teacher is talking to someone who at first cannot be seen in the shot.

> 0:01 Teacher: you know what, it doesn't matter, just because you're from Kiruna, you're not bloody getting any preferential treatment, we're reading now.
> 0:07 Pupil: I'm reading text messages.
> 0:09 Teacher: Yeah, but you're not allowed to do that, this is reading time.
> 0:10 Pupil: Yeah, but I...
> 0:11 Teacher: WE'RE DOING READING NOW!

[28] Samuelsson, 2011.

0:12 Pupil: Should I read this OUT LOUD then?
0:14 Teacher: Please do.
0:16 Pupil: Yeah, well...
0:17 Pupil: No.
0:17 Teacher: No, you won't, will you? [laughs]
0:19 Pupil: It's my private life.
0:20 Teacher: You know what, you know what, if you can't take it, then just leave the classroom.
0:22 Pupil: Oh, come on.
0:23 Teacher: You're well aware of the rules.
0:26 Pupil: Fine, I'll go outside.
0:27 Teacher: So much for the reading lesson
0:28 Pupil: Then that's better, that's for the better, then I can read what I want, can't I?
0:29 Teacher: No.
0:30 Pupil: Yes, I can.
0:31 Teacher: No, you certainly will not.
0:32 Pupil: I will.
0:33 Teacher: You will not read what you want, you will read the book that you have over there.
0:34 Pupil: No, I will go outside and read, and I can make a phone call, that's better than reading.
0:37 Teacher: This is ridiculous!
0:39 Pupil: Hey...
0:40 Teacher: I'll be talking to your mentor about this.
0:42 Pupil: Hey, hey, I'll report you!
0:44 Teacher: Hey...
0:45 Pupil: I'LL REPORT YOU!
0:46 Teacher: Fine, just get lost!

The movie ends with the pupil leaving the classroom, slamming the door hard behind him. The teacher observes the pupil and then returns to his desk.

The reason behind this movie could be compared with Snelson (2015) research which revealed that school-related vlogging was done for several different reasons such as: (a) because friends were doing so, (b) to connect with others, (c) a desire to alleviate boredom, (d) to document their experience, (e) for fun, (f) to build confidence or improve their speaking skills, or (g) share information.[29] She observed few examples of students vlogging during lessons without teachers knowing it. She also found

[29] Snelson, 2015.

examples of students vlogging as a way to feel or attain personal safety and privacy at school.

The Swedish Schools Inspectorate, which is a government agency, differentiates between (a) regular supervision, (b) targeted supervision, (c) initial inspections and (d) flying inspections. The analysis in this essay was based on inspections conducted by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. I therefore argue that the mentioned inspections from The Swedish Schools Inspectorate have so much in common that they can be described as official inspections.

Table 2 is an example of an official inspection, more specifically the latest report published by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate after inspecting an upper secondary school for pupils with learning disabilities in central Sweden[30]. The contents of the activities were compared to official regulatory documents[31], and the Swedish Schools Inspectorate found the following:

Table 2. Overview of noted shortcomings in the activities, Swedish Schools Inspectorate invention

Area	**Type of intervention**	**Reporting deadline**
1. Teaching and learning	No shortcomings noted	
2. Particular adaptations and special support	No shortcomings noted	
3. Work placements	No shortcomings noted	
4. Assessment and grading	No shortcomings noted	
5. Security, a peaceful study environment and measures against offensive treatment	Reprimand	
6. Conditions for	Injunction	22/01/2016

[30] The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2015.
[31] Swedish Parliament: The Education Act, 2010:800; the Upper Secondary School Ordinance, 2010:2039.

learning and security		
7. Steering and development of the activities	No shortcomings noted	

A reprimand means that the Swedish Schools Inspectorate has found shortcomings; in this case the school's activities does not meet the corresponding provisions of the regulatory documents. The injunction means that the Swedish Schools Inspectorate set a deadline for when the observed shortcoming was to be corrected[32].

Based on these two examples, I will now describe differences and similarities between unofficial and official inspections.

Differences Between Unofficial and Official Audits

Let us start by considering who carries out the inspection. In table 3, 16 differences between unofficial and official audits are summarized, and described further in subsequent sections.

Table 3. The 16 differences between unofficial and official audits

	Official	Unofficial
1. The investigator	Literature natives	Digital natives
2. Tools	Pen and paper	Mobile phones
3. Focus	Processes and procedures	Critical events
4. When	Pre-inspection information	Continuously
5. Kind of inspection	Overt registrations	More or less hidden
6. Core values	Explicitly stated	Missing (open to interpretation)
7. Training	Formally trained observers	Non-trained observers
8. Experience	Outgroup/outsiders	Ingroup/insiders

[32] The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2015.

9. Approach	Top-down	Bottom-up
10. Influence possibility	Possible	Limited
11. Distance	Independent	Dependent
12. Anonymity observer	Non-anonymous	anonymous
13. Publication of inspection	Mass media	Social media
14. Purpose of inspection	Monitoring	Inform and change
15. Responsibility	Named	Anonymous
16. Responding possibility	Post-responding	Immediate

By looking at movies on social media – in the case of this essay, movies from youtube.se – it is possible to say that the majority of these unofficial inspections are carried out by pupils, digital natives[33] who have grown up with the existence of the Internet[34]. They were brought up during a culturally deconstructed everyday life, an era of preference-regulation[35]. During this era youth react to and compensate for insecurity with countermeasures.[36] By reading inspection reports and having discussions with school inspectors, it is possible, in the same way, to say that the official inspections are conducted by adults, literature natives, who were born before the emergence of the Internet, brought up during a culturally overly structured everyday life - an era of norm-regulation[37]. During that era youth responded and reacted against duty and adaptation standards[38]. The youths from this era are now adults employed by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. This can be described as a *first* difference.

A *second* difference can be said to be the fact that the unofficial inspections are carried out using modern technology, such as

[33] Prensky, 2001.
[34] Dunkels, 2005.
[35] Ziehe, 2010; 2012.
[36] Ziehe, 2000.
[37] Ziehe, 2010, 2012.
[38] Ziehe, 2000.

mobile phones. Mobile phones are used to register what takes place during lessons and in school, unlike in the official inspections, which are mainly conducted using pen and paper. A *third* difference lies in what is being made public through the inspections. While the pupils' unofficial inspections focus on critical incidents and/or different happenings that depict the teacher's classroom management as playful or angry, the official inspections focus on procedures and processes.

A *fourth* difference originates in when the inspections are performed. The teachers are often informed prior to the sporadic official inspections conducted by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, while both schools and teachers can be said in a way to always be subjected to the continuous unofficial inspections performed by the pupils. A *fifth* aspect that separate the inspections includes the fact that the unofficial inspections in many cases are carried out in the form of hidden recordings, against more or less unspoken criteria, unlike the official inspections which are performed as overt registrations, measured against criteria that have been more or less overtly specified to those being observed or inspected.

Furthermore, the *sixth* difference, which for outside parties concerns how to decide whether a set of core values has been used in the inspections, and if so, which core values. This is most often clearly and explicitly stated to us readers in official inspections. This reader service is most often missing from the unofficial inspections, in which the reader has to make their own interpretation of which core value(s) are applicable to understand the unofficial inspection. Another missing aspect constitutes the *seventh* difference. While the unofficial recordings are conducted by less formally trained observers such as children and youths, the official inspections are carried out by adults usually formally trained observers and auditors.

Another difference, the *eighth* one, concerns the perception and experience of the activities being inspected. The unofficial observers and auditors can be said to be insiders with extensive experience of participating in the practice depicted, unlike the

official observers and auditors who can be said to be outsiders with no deeper experience of participating in the practice. This can also be described as the unofficial observers taking a bottom-up perspective, while the official observers have a top-down perspective. This is the *ninth* difference.

In close connection to this, there is a *tenth* difference in regard to the teachers' possibilities of influencing what is exposed. This difference becomes clear in studies of youtube.se, for example where we can find teachers categorized as angry or playful, while a so-called "ordinary" teacher is not found at youtube.se and therefore gets no exposure at all. The teachers' possibilities to rectify the image presented of them are very limited when it comes to unofficial inspections, and somewhat greater when it comes to official inspections; this is without taking into account the complexity of the situation[39]. The *eleventh* difference concerns the distance to the activities that are observed, where the unofficial reviewers can be described as being in a position of dependency in relation to the inspected object, unlike the official reviewers who are very much independent of the people and the objects being recorded. In the latter case, the dependency relationship can instead be said to be the reverse. This means that when it comes to official inspections, it is easier to determine who the observer is than in the unofficial inspection where a person within the activity, a friend inside the group, can be the one who is more or less openly recording[40]. This is the *twelfth* difference.

The *thirteenth* difference concerns the dissemination of the results. The official reviewers publish their results in mass media and they thereby become recognisable, relatable and possible to respond to. The reverse applies to the unofficial reviewer, who shares the information on social media such as YouTube or Facebook, in many cases using an alias that is anonymous to the viewer, but which can be used to communicate by signing up for an account on the social media platform in question. There is

[39] Goffman, 2009; Cochran-Smith, 2015.
[40] Granström, 2004.

consequently a *fourteenth* difference, in that the purpose of the inspection can be said to differ. The unofficial inspection can be understood as a disclosure intended to inform and hopefully elicit a change, unlike the official inspection, which explicitly intends to monitor the adherence to applicable laws and regulations, with high claims regarding future improvements.

The unofficial recordings are quite often shared as movies between mobile phones, which means that it is not always the observer and recorder who is responsible for the exposure on social media. This can be compared to the official inspections, where the people involved are occasionally named, next to the signature of the Swedish Schools Inspectorate's Director General. In other cases, the report will at least name the person who is responsible for its content, either by commission or on behalf of the agency. This is the *fifteenth* difference in terms of publication. Another aspect of publication can be said to be the *sixteenth* difference, namely the possibility of responding to the inspection. In the case that the unofficial inspections are disseminated via social media, the viewer can respond immediately, by liking or disliking it, which others can see. This cannot be done in the same way for the official inspections, even if these too are noted in social media via bloggers. The comment function is also there, but more often has to do with the poster's interpretation of or message regarding the official inspection, rather than the contents of the inspection as such.

Similarities Between Unofficial and Official Audits

Let us start by considering what is being inspected. The *first* aspect concerns the fact that the object of study is teachers and the everyday work they carry out in classrooms. The teachers' work will be inspected and evaluated regardless of whether these inspections are unofficial or official.

Secondly, the inspections are carried out by exposing sequences or moments of a complex[41] and multifaceted practice without allowing teachers or pupils concerned an opportunity to comment or censor what is published. This second similarity applies regardless of whether the inspection has been unofficial or official. Another similarity, the *third*, is that the inspections, show aspects of life in classrooms that many people can relate to, which is why the recipients of the message often come to the conclusion that the school has remained as it always has been[42], as the result of everything being better in "the good old days."

The benefit of the inspection, whether unofficial or official, is that it constitutes a formative and summary description of what happens when teachers encounter pupils in the school or the classroom, which is the *fourth* similarity. The formative aspect can be understood as an opportunity for self-regulation as the result of anticipating an upcoming inspection, both for individual teachers and for entire schools, while the summary aspect can be seen as the result of what emerges through the inspections, regardless of whether they are unofficial or official.

Herein also lies a limitation, a *fifth* similarity, namely that results only become available after they have been published, and can therefore only be related to and discussed as psot-events, regardless of whether the inspections were unofficial or official. This also means that we are, more or less, still lacking real-time accounts of what takes place during the lessons in school. The latter remains true regardless of the benefit of these inspections. In unofficial and official inspections alike, it appears reasonable to assume that the respective reviewer feels that they are adding something to our collective knowledge of what happens in an encounter between teachers and pupils in school and in the classroom. This can be said to be a *sixth* similarity.
The results, whether they come from unofficial or official inspections, consequently often form the basis of mass medial and political debates, which could be argued to be a *seventh*

[41] Goffman, 2009; Cochran-Smith, 2015.
[42] Jackson, 1968.

similarity. The inspections, whether they are unofficial or official, will thus constitute a part of a constantly ongoing democratic process. Another similarity, the *eighth* one, is that the teachers, pupils, or anyone else for that matter can access and comment on both unofficial and official inspections through blogs, on Twitter and other forms of social media, or through essays and other printed material.

Based on the above analysis of differences and similarities it seems reasonable to consider the qualities of various inspection formats. Such considerations are made below, in the conclusion of this essay.

Qualities of Various Audits Formats

The above analysis has indicated sixteen differences and eight similarities between unofficial and official audits or observations. It appears reasonable to say that one form of audit does not exclude another, provided that we want to gain as great an insight as possible into what happens when teachers carry out classroom management in schools. Or, put differently, provided that we wish to have a basis as broad and deep as possible for discussion and decision-making in regard to life in classrooms and its contents. All is well as long as we are not saying that either of the groups are disqualified from expressing their opinion or sharing their audits on these complex and important activities, nor arguing that the inspections, descriptions and perspectives of one group are more accurate than those of the other.

In my understanding, by virtue of being different, the unofficial audits made by digital natives[43] or Internet natives[44] complement the official audits made by literature natives. By virtue of being different, the unofficial audits display aspects of everyday classroom life, which, other than as verbal accounts, we would

[43] Prensky, 2001.
[44] Dunkels, 2005; 2012.

not otherwise be privy to beyond the everyday school arena. These verbal accounts have traditionally been described in memoires or tall tales, but can now be shared on social media, such as the blogosphere. By virtue of their differences, both the unofficial and the official inspections contribute a basis for evaluation and discussion regarding pupils, teachers, and life in classrooms. They also contribute a basis for a qualified discussion on the results of the audits and their specific qualities.

These are qualities that, in this instance, regarding the contents of the inspections can be discussed from a historical perspective. In the 17th century, the distinction between primary, secondary, and tertiary qualities or properties became generally accepted.[45] Primary qualities referred to geometrical/mathematical properties such as shapes and movement, which could be weighed, measured or calculated. These qualities were considered objective and independent of the observer. Secondary qualities referred to sensations and feelings, for example of pleasure or discomfort, based on a perception of the world. Secondary qualities were considered subjective and dependent on the sensory apparatus of the observer. While the primary qualities were seen as inherent attributes of the object, the secondary ones were considered to exist only in the mind of the observer. Tertiary qualities referred to conceptually complex or spiritual qualities of a more or less markedly complex figurative nature[46], which were also dependent on the sensory apparatus of the observer. According to Naess' reasoning regarding experiences, these tertiary qualities could be things like melancholy, kindness and magnificence, which were not accepted as qualities of nature or the environment, as they are placed within the human being. Naess furthermore asserts that there are differences in terms of intentional depth between primary, secondary and tertiary qualities. This is based on the sensations or feelings being projected onto the objects by a human subject. Via the unofficial audits that are published and disseminated through social media, we again have an opportunity

[45] Locke, 1975.
[46] Naess, 1981.

to share something that was previously less visible, something with a greater intentional depth.[47]

In light of that the unofficial audits can be said to contain primary, secondary and tertiary qualities, unlike the official inspections, which continue to be based to a greater extent on primary qualities, the unofficial inspections can be said to have a different and perhaps deeper impact on us, as we are given an opportunity to use more of our senses to interpret what is happening in the meeting between an individual teacher and a pupil or class. They can also be said to affect us differently as they depict visually what we would otherwise need to read or extract from textual descriptions[48]. This also provides us with a broader base for considering matters that were previously only communicated verbally. Depending upon how we understand the world, we can determine what we think about the value of either one or both these forms of inspection.

Qualities, in this instance, regarding the contents of the audits can also be discussed from a contemporary perspective.[49] To start with unofficial audits, sharing information and documenting their experience[50] can be understood as resistance[51] towards things happening as part of everyday life in classrooms and the way a teacher carries out classroom management. In line with this, it can also be understood as enlightenment,[52] aiming for a change of which "giving publicity to unfairness" and "illustration of role models" are two examples. Enlightenment draws attention to existing shortcomings[53] in the everyday life that goes on in classrooms. Reaction to unofficial audits will teach pupils in what way their observations and movies are

[47] Naess, 1981.
[48] Tranströmer, 1993; Ullman, 2016.
[49] Ziehe, 2000; 2010; 2012.
[50] Snelson, 2015.
[51] Foucault, 1990; Giroux, 2001.
[52] Samuelsson, 2011.
[53] Hirschman, 2008.

perceived as different from what was expected, even though they contain known certainties[54].

To sum up I would argue that unofficial and official audits, by virtue of their similarities and differences, are intended to provide us information outside of everyday classroom life by depicting somewhat different aspects of complex activities[55] such as the everyday life that goes on in classrooms. Real time movies in line with the law against offensive photography[56] could perhaps arouse reactions and be harder to absorb, even if they show known certainties[57] of power and resistance[58], than frozen snapshots. I would therefore argue that unofficial audits complement and provide additional qualities to the official inspections. The unofficial audits contribute with new aspects, indicate secondary and tertiary qualities, and have a different intentional depth[59] than the official audits. This intentional depth is necessary to create a qualified basis for a continued discussion of audits, classroom management, inspections, life in classrooms, qualities, teachers, as well as social media such as YouTube movies. And it is also a reminder that transitory events captured in YouTube movies by competent youth with digital literacy[60] contain valuable information about everyday life in the classroom than may appear at first glance.[61]

[54] Žižek, 2004.
[55] Goffman, 2009; Cochran-Smith, 2015
[56] Brottsbalken, 2013.
[57] Žižek, 2004.
[58] Foucault, 1990.
[59] Giroux, 2001.
[60] Lange, 2014.
[61] Jackson, 1968.

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The paradox of democratic equality: on the modified teacher role in post-war Sweden

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In the last decade, a number of studies have been published relating the in media highlighted problems of the Swedish school to the cluster of reforms launched around 1990. It has been pointed out that, e.g., the municipalization of the school, the introduction of a management by objectives as well as an educational system structured by a voucher model, all carried out in the years around 1990, substantially have contributed to the current problems in Swedish schools.[1] As has been shown in a number of studies, the ideas permeating the reforms are not specific to the school sector, but can be related to other societal reforms aiming at increasing decentralization as well as a further market orientation.[2]

A change intimately related to these transmutations is the deterioration of the status of teaching profession during the period, by some researchers described as a process of increasing

[1] SOU 2014:15, p. 308ff; Gustavsson, Sörlin and Vlachos, 2016, p. 127ff; Stenlås, 2009.

[2] Östberg and Andersson, 2013; Ringarp, 2011.

deprofessionalization.[3] A hereto related phenomenon are the shifts that have taken place concerning the perception of the teacher's task; as historian Niklas Stenlås has pointed out, this is expressed in the more general questioning of the teacher as an authority. In its place, an ideal has been developed where the advocates have "sought to replace transmission of knowledge with applicability and care".[4] It is against this backdrop that I here wish to highlight a number of some crucial aspects of the modifications that the teachers assignment underwent during the period 1945-2000. By dint of mobilizing the from Alasdair MacIntyre borrowed concept of "character", as well as the concept of "the social" by Hannah Arendt, I will attempt to narrow down previously overlooked aspects on these changes. I argue that the strong pupil-centered education, of which the introduction of the voucher system was a manifestation, can be related to a successively modified definition of the teachers task since the school commission of 1946.

The problem will be assessed by answering (i) how the idea of what teachers are expected to do has changed, and (ii) how different organizational changes can be understood as implicit shifts in the teachers task. The purpose hereof is to illustrate how the perception of reproduction of society through pre-university education (which henceforth interchangeably bluntly will be

[3] Broady, Börjesson, Bertilsson, 2009, p. 7–18; Stenlås, 2009; Stenlås, 2011; Hasselberg, 2009; Albäck Öberg, Bull, Hasselberg, Stenlås, 2016.

[4] "[…] strävat efter att ersätta kunskapsförmedling med tillämplighet och omsorg", Stenlås, 2009, p. 93. Compare also: SOU 2014:15, p. 349, 352. Regarding the school's changes in a "therapeutic" direction, there is today a vast amount of studies. Historically, this tradition can be traced to the 1960s in North America with psychoanalytically-inspired thinkers like sociologist Philip Rieff and later, psychologist Christopher Lasch, see above all: Rieff, 1966; Lasch, 1979. Among the more salient contemporary representatives we find: Ecclestone, 2007; Ecclestone and Hayes, 2009; Furedi, 2004; Furedi, 2009; Smeyers, Smith and Standish, 2010. For a more general social approach, inspired by the Marxist tradition, see also: Illouz, 2007. For studies especially about Sweden, see: Landahl, 2015; Irisdotter Aldenmyr, 2012.

referred to as "school") has changed.[5] School will here be understood as the bridge intertwining the past of a given society together with its future. The diachronic analysis of the changed role of teachers therefore aims primarily at shedding light on how school qua institution has changed. In relation to previous research, I maintain that organizational as well as content-related shifts in a mutually undergirding fashion successively have sapped the teaching profession throughout the post-war period.[6] By implication, the theoretical concepts that I activate serve primarily to elucidate school as a political-philosophical problem out of an historical perspective.

In order to address these questions, I will use governmental reports [*Statens Offentliga Utredningar*] and bills related to teacher training reforms in the post-war era.[7] The former can, according to Finnish educational sociologist Hannu Simola, be characterized as authoritative texts. Their aim is to clarify and, sometimes, to influence the object of the investigation in a certain direction. Since they are usually the product of mutual adjustments between the different persons summoned to examine the problem – be they politicians or specialists – it is reasonable to assume that the most startling idiosyncrasies have been washed out. Bills on the other hand are directly governing policy texts, designed to be transformed into laws.[8] These differences will here be of subordinated relevance; I shall rather read them, inspired by Arendt, as "frozen thoughts", which we can thaw up in order to track social impulses in a diachronic perspective.[9] Read as such, I understand them as the upshot of societal changes: as effects rather than causes.

[5] As John Dewey reminds, the social fabric is not woven by itself; a society that does not work "on a massive transmission" of the core components of its culture can, regardless of how civilized it has been, "return to barbarity and cruelty", see: Dewey, 1916, p. 3.

[6] Ringarp, 2011; Stenlås, 2009.

[7] More precisely six investigations and three bills.

[8] Semola, 2000.

[9] Arendt, 1971, p. 431.

This reading in combination with the relatively long time span does not allow stronger empirical claims. Hence, rather than ascertaining how to think of school historiography in the post-war period, my undertaking should be understood as an attempt to articulate new theoretical perspectives which, if convincing, could serve as sources of inspiration for further empirical studies. The decisive advantage of engaging with the topic in a slightly longer time perspective, is that it opens up for a more historically dynamic understanding of the changes around 1990 as well the current problems of the school.

I have chosen to fix my temporal limitation backwards to the school commission of 1946. This was the first time that the commissioners were instructed to query the issue of a specific teachers training program. [10] Although the 1940s school commission was extensive and spurred the school policy debate, it was first as a consequence of the 1946 commission that the ideas of a profound democratization were widely announced, not at least due to the totalitarian experiences. [11] The line of demarcation of the study frontwards in time is the new teachers training bill of 1999/2000, which has been chosen due to lack of space.[12]

A crucial shift that I narrow down is that teachers decreasingly was expected to *prepare* pupils for life in democratic society, and instead, to a growing extent, were expected to incorporate the latter into the democratic practices *in* school. This displacement

[10] 1948: 27, p. xi. Although the extensive investigation that preceded the 1946 commission will not be left completely untouched but serve as a relief.

[11] Östling, 2008.

[12] Notwithstanding the manifest changes in the latest wave of reforms between 2008-2011, I argue in an upcoming article that we, as to what concerns the issues here addressed, have good reasons consider these as a – in relevant respects – furthering of the dynamic here outlined, see: Wedin, 2017a.

can be understood as a partial expansion of *demos*, in which children and youths have been assigned a greater role. For the teaching assignment, this has meant that transmission of knowledge has been down-played and partly replaced by an individually adapted coaching, where pupils increasingly have been expected to learn *how to* learn (as in contrast to learning the propositional knowledge x).[13] This change, I contend, is congenial with what in institutional research is described as a general weakening of institutions in society.[14]

Character

In order to clarify this shift, , I activate the MacIntyrian concept of *character*. In *After Virtue*, he extricates what he considers to be the dominant trait of modern society: a normative-practical dead end because of its inability to represent itself in teleological terms.[15] One of the analytical instruments that he activates to highlight this shift is the concept of *character*.[16] The character differs from social roles, such as occupational roles, family roles, sports roles, etc., by dint of letting personality traits and role fuse. We can thus, with our different personalities, play roles in different ways: that which defines the role is determined by the institutional context. That is not the case with the character. The latter is expected to incarnate both a certain role and a personality; the "social and the psychological type" thus coincides with the individual who embodies the character.[17] The

[13] Which can be compared to what Thomas Ziehe describes as a general shift of the role of teachers in late modern society towards what he calls a "relationship worker". See: Ziehe, 1993, p. 128.

[14] Zijderveld, 2000.

[15] A criticism that, clearly, he is not only one to have advanced. The reason for which I have chosen MacIntyre is rather the analytical concept that he mobilizes in his argumentation. The first edition was published in 1981.

[16] MacIntyre, 2016, p. 32ff. When discussing MacIntyre, it is on these pages that I draw.

[17] MacIntyre, 2016, p. 34.

character can hence be comprehended as a "mask" through which the central principles of a society are mediated.[18] A character can in this sense be understood as a kind of ostentatious definition of dominant ideals in a given cultural sphere; similarly to how we define red by giving examples of red objects, MacIntyre argues that different communities are distinguished by their culture-specific characters.[19]

Constitutive features of different societies during distinct epochs can thus be concentrated by analysing which roles that in a given society can be described as characters. As an example of characters in different societies, MacIntyre maintains that Victorian England not at least is characterized by the Public School Director, the Discoverer and the Engineer.[20] Another example is Germany during the time of Wilhelm II, which was embodied by characters such as the Prussian officer, the professor and the Social Democrat. Typical characters for late modern Western society are, MacIntyre argues, the aesthetic, the manager and the therapist. Specific for these latter characters is that they all consider the goals as externally given, and hence always focus on the means.[21] Where the manager always sets the effectiveness of the business – regardless of what is to be done effectively – in the first place, the goal of the therapist is to turn maladjusted individuals into well-functioning.

Now, to this catalogue of characters, I would like to add the teaching ideal that emerged in the policy documents during the post-war era. The ideal teacher that appears in and between the lines of the school policy documents shares several characteristics

[18] MacIntyre, 2016, p. 33.

[19] Of which does not follow that they would express the only standards, but the dominant ones.

[20] A Public School is a private boarding school with a high or very high (depending on which one applies for) status. Some of the most renowned are Eton, Winchester and Rugby.

[21] Since the two latter clearly can be related to the school world, I have chosen to focus on these.

with what in Sweden today in an anglicized form is called a *coach*:[22]

> A coaching communication at all stages will enable pupils and employees to grow and increase their commitment and motivation in school. As a consequence, the joy of work will also increase. Coaching is always based on the current situation and looks forward. It is also assumed that it is the individual self who is in possession of the answers and solutions. Coaching attracts the best of you, raises awareness, detects inherent potentials, develops strengths, and enhances self-esteem. Focus is shifted from problems to opportunities and school is better equipped to handle challenges.[23]

As we will see underneath, the teaching assignment was gradually redefined in course of the period towards the ideal outlined for school coaches above. I argue, moreover, that these transmutations of the expected task of teachers should be comprehended as an expression of a growing skepticism against institutions in general. Analyzing the teaching ideal as a character is particularly well suited since their task – qua incarnation of, speaking with Louis Althusser, the primary ideological state apparatus of society – clearly reflects the way society both *establishes*, by dint of hereby pointing out a direction, and *reproduce* itself.[24]

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[22] The definition is taken from the enterprise Skolcoacherna, which offers coaches to public activities, private companies and private individuals.

[23] "En coachande kommunikation i alla led får elever och medarbetare att växa och ökar engagemanget och motivationen i skolan. Då ökar också arbetsglädjen. Coachning utgår alltid från dagens situation och blickar framåt. Man utgår också från att det är människan själv som sitter inne med svaren och lösningarna. Coachning lockar fram det bästa hos dig, ökar medvetenheten, upptäcker inneboende potential, utvecklar styrkor och stärker självkänslan. Fokus flyttas från problem till möjligheter och skolan blir bättre rustad att hantera utmaningar." http://www.skolcoacherna.se/index.php/coachande-kommunikation.html.

[24] Althusser, 1970. The distinction is inspired by the for Cornelius Castoriadis' thinking central concept pair *institué/instituant* and the

School as institution

The term institution is attributed, depending on context, different meanings. In the leading Swedish encyclopedia *Nationalencyklopedin*, the term is defined as "the name of norms and rules that structure human actions" and therefore "nearly synonymous with established convention", regulated in form of laws as well as in form of informal practices and traditions.[25] Examples of such institutions are family, science and health care – each and one traversed by their specific logics and goals. Thus, within health care the overarching aim is to nurture and heal, whereas the family is expected to furnish a first micro community for the individual to orient, and in science it is instead quest for truth that is expected to orchestrate the activity.

For the problem that I am trying narrow down, there are two other institutions that will be of particular interest: state and market.[26] Since the emergence of democratic society, these both have, ideally, been associated to two different logics. The state should be permeated by, and pursue a logic where the common good is put in the forefront. This is what I shall call the public logic. The market, on the other hand, is characterized by a privately-oriented logic where people – of flesh and blood or in legal form – meet to satisfy their particular interests. As a hybrid between on the one hand the public and on the other hand the private, a third analytical category, inspired by Arendt, is the social.[27] What characterizes the social is that that which is pursued in private becomes a public affair.[28]

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dialectics between these two, see, for example, 'Pouvoir, politique, autonomie' in: Castoriadis, 1990.

[25] Nationalencyklopedin online, NE.se/institution (2016-10-10). In addition to this overall dimension of the term, it can of course be used in other ways, but I will use this definition as my point of departure.

[26] For a clarifying discussion about how both of these have characterized the school debate, see: Englund, 1993).

[27] Which should not be confused with the very general definition of "social institutions" above. When writing "inspired", I want to emphasise that Arendt's own definition and application of the term is

However, from the fact that different institutions operate according to different rules, it would be invalid to infer that they would act independently of each other; that, for example, the market, both in theory and in practice, has its logic and science has its own, does naturally not prevent them from impinging on each other.[29] In recent decades, this has been manifested in Sweden as well as in all other Western countries by the fact that the market logic in a conspicuous fashion has rubbed off on other areas, not at least the scientific community and the health sector.[30] These distinctions are rough, but their purpose is primarily heuristic: by separating them in this artificial way we can – or so I contend – improve our understand of school policy changes over time.

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not coherent: her usages of the term in 'Reflections on Little Rock" (Arendt, 2005), Arendt, 1997, and, e.g. 'Crisis in Education' (Arendt, 2006), point in different directions.

[28] Arendt, 1997, p. 68ff. The two spheres that Arendt writes about is public and private. As the market is penetrated by an institutional logic according to which the actors are expected to look after their private interests, I have, in order to render Arendt's analytical distinction applicable, chosen to equate the market as an institutional logic with the logic applying in the private sphere. Historically, Arendt believes that this new form of publicity was developed in parallel with the rise of territorial states in the Late Middle Ages. In full, however, this new logic blossoms in connection with the emergence of modern society during the 19th century. In order to highlight certain relevant school policy displacements during the post-war period, I will use social and public as relative concepts, i.e. as two ends on a scale, which can help us unveil new perspectives on dislocations in the educational policy.

[29] This should not be considered as a standpoint for either a stronger distinction of the spheres, such as the one described by Daniel Bell, or the Hegelian/Marxist totality idea. For two clarifying examples of this, both focusing on the current period, see: Bell, 1976; Jameson, 1992. For another, besides Jameson, and more recent vindication of an integrative approach, see: Fraser, 2014.

[30] Ivarsson, Waldemarsson and Östberg, 2014; Andersson and Östberg, 2013; Albäck Öberg et al., 2016. On school in particular, see: Lundahl, 2002; Baggesen Klitgaard, 2007; Bunar, 2010.

The institution at center of this paper is the undergraduate educational system. In a very general sense, the school aims at introducing children and young people into the world they are born into. With the expansion of the establishment of the public school in 1842, more and more tasks have successively been shifted from the family, the private teacher, the church, etc. to the school. As a typically modern institution, it has since the beginning been characterized by various institutional arrangements with their respective logics. Where the school is exactly placed between the private and the public sphere is therefore an open question. Parallel with preparing students for a life among equals in a shared public sphere, it is not fully part of this sphere, as it inevitably is structured by the unequal relationship between those expected to be introduc*ed* and those who introduc*e*.[31] It therefore constitutes a specific space between the two other spheres.[32] By showing how the difference between teachers and apprentices during the post-war period shrank, and how this change could be rendered less abstract by way of engaging the analytical 'the social', I will expose how this room "in-between" changed during the period.

The teacher in the emerging comprehensive school

The 1946 School Committee was appointed to prepare a thorough reform of the Swedish educational system up to the upper secondary level. Although the 1940s school inquiry had hardly completed the approximately 4,000 pages of material, broken down into not less than 20 reports, the newly-elected Social Democratic Government under Per Albin Hansson chose to summon a new commission. The reason was that:

[31] This uneven relationship is justified by the fact that it is just a limited time it is existing, see: Arendt, 2006, p. 191f. For the sake of clarity, it should be added that this unequal relationship holds whichever pedagogic regime that happens dominate, since it will always be planned and thought out i*n advance* by the adults. For a recent attempt to revitalize Arendt's approach to this theme, see: Bergdahl and Langmann, 2017.

[32] Arendt, 2006, p. 185.

> [...] a comprehensive planning work for coming reforms in other areas of society has been implemented and that it seems desirable to evaluate the demands, that school will encumber on state finances. In addition, there is a strong increase in nativity, which necessitates extensive measures regarding teacher training, school building, etc., which should be integrated into a defined plan for the continued development of the school system.[33]

In addition to these practical reasons, the importance of elucidating the forthcoming school reform "in more general terms" was stressed.[34] This directive should be read in light of the forces who, in particular within the Social Democratic Party, wanted to replace the actual parallel school system – "a class society in miniature" - with *one* school enrollment for all.[35] With the democratization of society, the educational system should also be democratized; and here, the school fell short, as it "not

[33] "[…] ett omfattande planläggningsarbete för kommande reformer på andra samhällsområden verkställts och att det synes önskligt att i ett sammanhang få pröva jämväl de krav, vilka skolväsendet kommer att ställa på statsfinanserna. Härtill kommer den starkt ökade nativiteten vilken nödvändiggör omfattande åtgärder beträffande lärarutbildning, skolbyggande etc., som böra inpassas i en uppgjord plan för skolväsendets fortsatta utbyggande." SOU 1948:27, p. x.

[34] "[…] ur mera allmänna synpunkter", Marklund, 1974, p. 44.

[35] "[…] ett klassamhälle i miniatyr", Erlander, 1973, p. 233. However, as Petter Sandgren has emphasized, the statement needs qualifying. As the importance of the secondary grammar school in 19th century has diminished in conjunction with the emergence of the unitary school, Sandgren convincingly argues that the economic haute bourgeoisie has succeeded in maintaining a unsurpassable – *consecrated* to use Sandgren's Bourdieu-inspired conceptual apparatus – educational privilege in form of private boarding schools with their for the vast majority of families unaffordable annual fees, see: Sandgren, 2015, p. 131-132. In addition, the efficiency-based arguments for a better functioning meritocratic system should be highlighted, according to which the one best suited to a given position really ends up there rather than anyone else just because the school's selection system does not work optimally, see also: Lindensjö and Lundgren, 2014, p. 57.

entirely had managed to keep up with the societal development".[36]

In addition to reviewing the forms of school, the Commission was also assigned to examine the methods of education and training. The investigators were thus instructed to overview what kind of education forthcoming teachers should be given. Bearing witness of the importance ascribed to the education of teachers, is the commissioning of a specific delegation aiming at "investigating issues in connection with the establishment of a first institute of education" (whereby those aspects that already had been announced by the 1946 Commission were further developed).[37] As part of the upbringing and transmission of knowledge, the commissioners also emphasized the importance of having teachers "developing the ability of disciples to work on their own and to plan their work".[38] This new, progressive approach was considered a sharp contrast to the still prevailing methodology, which featured "a burdensome legacy of the school of the Middle Ages and the former bureaucratic state school".[39] As long as this "question-and-answer" method governs pupils activities, it tends to create "lack of independence, belief in authority, passivity"; the method, they claimed, is "to its internal purpose […] authoritarian".[40] It is therefore now, they continue,

[36] '[...] inte helt kunnat hålla jämna steg med den samhälleliga utvecklingen'. SOU 1948:27, p. 1. In his memoirs, Tage Erlander argues in the same way, see: Erlander, 1973, p. 237. The employment of a new commission should be understood in light of the deep split within the previous committee, especially regarding issues related to cohesion and differentiation in a reformed school system, see: Lindensjö and Lundgren, 2014, p. 49.

[37] "[…] utredning av frågor i samband med inrättandet av en första lärarhögskola". SOU 1952:33, p. vii.

[38] "[…] utveckla[r] lärjungarnas förmåga att arbeta på egen hand och planlägga sitt arbete". SOU 1948:27, p. 352.

[39] "[…] ett betungande arv från medeltidens och den gamla ämbetsmannastatens skola". SOU 1948:27, p. 5.

time to replace the "school of authority" with the "school of activity".[41]

As the educational historian Gunnar Richardson writes, the practical prescription ordained was a working school and group work; the modern teacher should hereafter be formed into a kind of supervisor, a "*primus* in the class work community".[42] The description of school as a working community should be understood as the school serving as a kind of workplace. The idea is that pupils should be able to do a job in school that coincides with their interests, where he or she participates in the configuration of the tasks themselves. In this regard, it was considered crucial that teachers can see each individual disciple in her unique situation. These new, non-authoritarian, more democratic and individualized methods were desirable because they were thought to best be able to develop the democratic landscape that successively was taking shape.

Parallel to these requests, the investigators also emphasize the importance of teachers themselves having the qualities they want to inculcate among pupils; that an aesthetic sensitivity has a "refining effect on the personality's formulation is generally" recognized.[43] It is therefore of importance, the investigators go on, that school take this into account to a greater extent than hitherto. However, although the importance of new methods applied in school was emphasised, there still seem to be some fairly clear boundaries implicated for what, according to at the time prevailing standards, was considered to be good taste and not.[44] The dichotomy between the school of authority (the

[40] "[…] fråga och svar […] osjälvständighet, auktoritetstro, passivitet […] till sin inre syftning […] auktoritär". SOU 1948:27, p. 5.

[41] "[…] auktoritetsskolan […] aktivitetsskolan". SOU 1948:27, p. 5, 354.

[42] Richardson, 1983, p. 87.

[43] […] förädlande verkan på personlighetens daning är allmänt". SOU 1948:27, p. 352.

[44] SOU 1948:27, p. 30f.

ancient and undemocratic) versus the activity school (the democratic and progressive) accommodated several dimensions. "Already Plato pronounced", the commissioners write, "that education and teaching is the spiritual contact between two personalities, not just the transfer of information from a teacher to a disciple."[45] In this passage another picture emerges of how the commissioners argued in their criticism of a (imagined) sterile mediating teacher.

The transmitting dimension is, as in the "traditional" school, prevalent here as well: "the teacher makes him familiar with modes of thinking".[46] It is rather the attitude and view of what is

[45] "Redan Platon uttalade, att uppfostran och undervisning är själslig kontakt mellan två personligheter, ej blott ett överbringande av upplysningar från en lärare till en lärjunge." SOU 1948:27, p. 355. The chosen quote opens up for several possible interpretations. An association that it arouses, of which there are more in the investigation, are the clear traces of idealistic thinking that emerged at this time, but disappeared from the end of the 1940s onwards. Another possible link is Plato's own ideas about teaching, which in the form of the Maieutian method have been cherished also after Plato, in virtue of symbolising The Tradition, had been cleared out of educational policy documents. These are, however, not traces that I will pursue here. For a discussion about how German idealism crumbled away in Swedish educational policies after World War II, see: Östling, 2008.

[46] "[…] traditionella […] läraren gör honom förtrogen med tankegångar". SOU 1948:27, p. 27, 355. It is worth noting in parentheses how this emotionally charged way of talking about the teaching situation differs from the criticisms of emotional and / or therapeutically stressed teaching which several researchers think they can distinguish in educational systems in different states. As the idea historian Thomas Karlsohn points out, it is very doubtful how fruitful it is to put emotions *against* the never-decreasing rigor of reason in the educational context. The relevant question instead, as Karlsohn points out, concerns the question of what *kind* of emotions we want to penetrate all those active in teaching (at all levels). What emotions do we want, differently expressed, to awake and encourage in those who are to be taught as well as those who shall teach? See: Karlsohn, 2016. For further discussions about emotions and education and the criticism of what some refer to as a therapeutic turn, see note 4 above.

happening that is being emphasized. Teacher's influence over pupils thus occur as much in the dynamics in relation to the pupil that the teacher as a *human being* can mobilise, as via his'/her's *knowledge* of the subject. Therefore, the teacher's need for at depth knowledge as well as interest in cultural issues seem to be interdependent in the report; the teacher must not, "to use Plato's words […], feel like a retail seller of those goods, of which the soul is nourished."[47]

The idea of the teacher as a supervisor in an increasingly individualized education (where pupils interests are given a greater importance) should also be understood as a strategically important part of the argumentation for the comprehensive school.[48] Without the promotion of an individualized teaching, it would have been even more difficult to convince the opponents of the comprehensive school about its practical feasibility, in particular regarding the purported risk of levelling that several, especially secondary grammar school teachers, warned for. Therefore, the individualized teaching was, in order to borrow Richardson's wording, a sine qua non for the introduction of the

[47] "[…] för att använda Platons ord […] känna sig som en minuthandlare i de varor, av vilka själen har sin näring". SOU 1948:27, p. 357. Based on these carefully chosen quote, the reader can get the impression that Plato was the commissioner's main source of inspiration. However, the importance of Plato should not be exaggerated; in total, he is mentioned four times in the investigation, which all in all is 561 pages long.

[48] The comprehensive school gradually replaced the former parallel school system, where the peasants and workers' children tended to go to the seven-year primary school while the children from better-educated environments went to the secondary grammar schools (most of them were placed in the more important cities). The secondary grammar school was divided into two separate stages after the 1905 Statute of Secondary Grammar School [*Läroverksstadga*]. The lower form of junior secondary school [*Realskola*] was created for the first six years, which later, at the 1927 secondary grammar school reform, was transformed into a 4- respectively 5-year-programe. The second and higher stage was called upper secondary school [*gymnasium*] and was four years long.

comprehensive school.[49] Individualization was therefore expected to be pursued with the aim of allowing each pupil to work in accordance with the particular pace that her's or his' capacities allow for.[50] As part of the endeavour to individualize teaching, the commissioners also suggested a coherent class teacher education far up in the ages (meaning until they had reached the age of 13), as this "enables better individual care of the pupils".[51]

Regarding the differences between the different categories of teachers, the commission wanted the "actual vocational training to be largely shared by all categories of teachers".[52] In addition to purely practical adjustments, i.e. through the increased opportunities for teachers to retrain, I maintain that this effort should also be understood as a desire to not only formally, but also as to what regards the *content*, abolish the parallel school system. On another ideological level, this should, furthermore, be understood as a desire to create an institutional framework for the cultivation of progressive pedagogics that school reformers wanted to achieve; the teachers' training college should, as the investigators express it, be "hearths for progressive education".[53]

[49] Richardson, 1983, p. 154. See also: SOU 2014:15, p. 327f.

[50] SOU 1948:23, p. 353.

[51] "[…] möjliggör en bättre individuell omvårdnad om eleverna". SOU 1948:27, p. 8.

[52] "[…] egentliga yrkesutbildningen i stor utsträckning bör göras gemensam för alla lärarkategorier". SOU 1948:27, p. 363. Compare also with the text that follows under the heading "Principle of Sharedness in the Actual Vocational Education" in the Teachers Training Commission, SOU 1952:33, p. 7ff.

[53] "[…] vara härdar för progressiv pedagogik". SOU 1948:27, p. 410. The formulation is then cited again in the investigation of the establishment of the country's first teachers training college, 1952:32, p. 24. The desire to integrate teachers at all levels of the comprehensive school in one single school should also be related to a more general endeavour to dissolve boundaries, or isolation as the investigators formulate it, between different professional groups in society. To this subject, the commissioners return in the investigation. The endeavour to improve practical knowledge vis-à-vis theoretical is an aspect that

However, when the bill in which guidelines for the comprehensive school was presented, the tone was far more unobtrusive than in the investigation.[54] In stark contrast to the investigators' expectations, the right-wing politician Georg Andrén described it as a "progressive gliding from a dogmatic utopia to experience".[55] The new democratic methods advocated in the investigation came to play a much more modest role in the bill. As explanation for this displacement, Richardson points to criticism of the proposal from various evaluation instances and media as well as the increasingly acute shortage of facilities and teachers.[56]

As we shall see, the lack of teachers was a reality that would characterize the school policy debates in other respects as well during the first decades after the war. But where the actual reforms became more modest than the visions, the gap between visions and reforms – regarding the desire to democratize the school – would attenuate from the 1970s onwards.

Towards a further democratization of the school

In 1965, the 1960 teachers training experts presented their report. Concerning the questions addressed here, the tone does not deviate considerably from the findings of the 1948

characterizes post-war education policy. Among the more pronounced expressions, the 1977 college reform can be mentioned as well as the theory of so-called socio-cultural learning, which since the 1990s has had a huge impact on teacher education all over Sweden. For examples hereof in this investigation, see: SOU 1948:27, p. 362f. Similar arguments are also presented in the Teachers Training Commission presented shortly thereafter: see SOU 1952:32, p. 19f.

[54] Bill 1950:70.

[55] "[…] fortskridande glidflykt från en dogmatisk utopi till erfarenheten". Georg Andrén's contribution in the first chamber of 1950, no. 23, 14, quoted in Richardson, 1983, p. 174.

[56] Richardson, 1983, p. 171ff.

commission (nor to the hereto related Teachers Training Commission of 1953). As the report was presented, it had already been agreed upon that a comprehensive school would be established. The decision was taken in unison by the parliament in 1962. The commissioners task was to "carry out investigations concerning the organization of the subject- and class teacher's education, etc."[57]

In line with the 1948 report, the commissioners demanded that "measures were taken to bring teachers closer together".[58] The distinctions introduced between different departments in conjunction with establishing comprehensive school, the junior-; intermediate; and senior level, were considered far too closely related to the previous structure. Not at least was this considered so with regard to the clear boundaries between class teachers (1-6) and specialist subject teachers (7th grade and upwards); "by and large", the investigators argued, "do the current forms of school rest on a specialization ideology, which belongs more to the older than the new school system".[59]

The comprehensive school rests on other foundations. In the limelight is the upbringing of individual pupils. This ideal, the investigators stress, rests on three fundamental principles. The first is that the development and needs of the "individual" must be the point of departure for teachers.[60] The second principle is that the latter should "consider the pupil in all overall perspective".[61] The essential is thus the whole, and not how

[57] […] verkställa utredning rörande ämnes- och klasslärarutbildningens organisation m.m.". SOU 1965:29, p. 3.

[58] […] åtgärder vidtas för att föra även lärarna närmare varandra". SOU 1965:29, p. 180.

[59] " [I] stora stycken vilar nuvarande utbildningsformer på en specialiseringsideologi, som mera tillhör det äldre än det nya skolsystemet". SOU 1965:29, p. 175.

[60] SOU 1965:29, p. 170.

[61] "[…] beakta *hela* eleven". SOU 1965:29, p. 170.

pupils perform in individual subjects or parts of subjects. The third principle that should guide the teacher's assignment is that pupil's "development is continuous and not at intervals with forms and stages like artificial positions of states of rest."[62] Together, these three principles narrow down two significant educational policy changes during the post-war era.

The first is the increased emphasis of the individual as obvious starting point of education.[63] The second is a movement towards a disintegration of borders appearing in three different forms: a dissolving of borders between practical and theoretical work, between different departments (of which the distinction between class- and – subject specialist teacher is one relevant aspect), as well as the approaching between pupils and teachers. It is on the latter two that I will focus here.

The more uniform teachers training education that was sought for was an expression of the more extensive tendency to create a more democratic school. In addition to the pursuit of having class teachers approaching subject specialist teachers, this would also be reflected in the ambition to downplay differences between manual and intellectual work:

> In the era of automatization, it is not as before possible to distinguish between manual and intellectual work. Likewise, it is becoming impossible to see academic disciplines and job training subjects as mutual exclusives. The job training subjects contains subject-theoretical moments, and academic subjects focus on needs of labour market, etc. Besides the above-mentioned cleavage between class teacher and subject teacher in the traditional teachers training, further cleavages must be considered, which strikes a discordant note with school's ambition of an all-round education of the personality, namely the dualism between theoretical and non-theoretical paths, as well as an artificial

[62] "[…] utveckling är *kontinuerlig* och inte språngvis med årskurser och stadier som konstlade vilolägen". SOU 1965:29, p. 170.

[63] For studies of the individualization process, see: Giota, 2013, Vinterek, 2006; Wedin, 2017b.

> division of content and teachers in theoretical subjects, practical subjects and job-training subjects.[64]

The tone is on the lines of the reforms that later on were carried out also at universities with the 1977 colleges reform.[65] But, as indicated by the quote, this desire was clearly not exclusively motivated by an equality-inspired willingness to downplay differences between workers and academically educated persons: out on the labour market there are no artificial divisions between practice and theory.

Beyond the needs of the external interests and efforts made to advance equality, we glimpse the needs that the rapidly expanding educational system itself generated: "Almost all over the world, the teacher problem is one and the same: the teachers are too few and the teachers in existence have an inadequate education."[66] This is why, as Department Director Ragnar Edenman (Social Democratic Party, henceforth just "S") writes, it is of importance that the commissioners examine the question of how teachers training could be designed, so that teachers gain competence to teach in more subjects than they currently are.[67] In regard to the role of teachers in classrooms, it did not deviate noticeably from the commission of 1946: the teacher was

[64] "Det är i automationens tidevarv inte heller möjligt att som förr särhålla kroppsarbete och tankearbete. På samma sätt blir det omöjligt att se läroämnen och yrkesämnen som helt sidoordnade. Yrkesämnena innehåller ämnesteoretiska moment, läroämnena inriktas på speciella avnämarbehov o. s. v. Till den ovan påtalade klyvningen klasslärare-ämneslärare i den traditionella lärarutbildningen kommer sålunda andra former av kluvenhet, som inte rimmar med skolans mål om allsidig personlighetsfostran, nämligen dualismen mellan teoretiska och icke-teoretiska studievägar och en konstlad uppspaltning av lärostoff och lärare på läroämnen-övningsämnen-yrkesämnen." SOU 1965:29, p. 17.

[65] Richardson, 2010, p. 249.

[66] "Över praktiskt taget hela världen är lärarproblemet ett och detsamma: lärarna är för få och de lärare som finns har en inadekvat utbildning." SOU 1965:29, p. 15.

[67] SOU 1965:29.

expected to assume the role of a supervisor as well as leaving more room for pupils to follow their interests at the same time.

Another central aspect concerned how the nature of knowledge was considered, as well as the transmission of the same. We can here discern some relevant changes of nuances between the two investigations. In the 1946 commission, the importance of inculcating a respect for "the highest values of culture" and, ultimately, "love for the studies" were emphasized.[68] At the same time, the commissioners underline, it is the responsibility of teachers to rouse an understanding for:

> [...] that the cultural heritage is alive, that it is constantly developing and that they themselves have a task of contributing to the furthering of culture. This means, among other things, an insight into the relativity of school skills: as research progresses, the recognized scientific truths might eventually get in need of adjustment.[69]

When the Teachers Training Commission of 1960 presented their report, the tone was somewhat different. Under the heading of "knowledge and skills" (*kunskaper och färdigheter)*, the commissioners call to mind that in the new curriculum for elementary schools, *Läroplan för grundskolan 1962* (Lgr 62), it is stated that teaching shall promote pupils' development and "thereby communicate knowledge".[70] The acquisition of knowledge thus appears to have become an instrument for the development of the individual. In order for the teachers to succeed in their work, it is crucial that the student "should feel"

[68] "[…] kulturens högsta värden […] kärlek till studier". SOU 1948:27, p. 27.

[69] "[…] kulturarv är levande, att det ständigt utvecklas och att de själva har en uppgift att fylla i arbetet på kulturens vidareutveckling. Detta innebär bl. a. en insikt i skolkunskapernas relativitet: i och med att forskningen går vidare blir de en gång erkända vetenskapliga sanningarna så småningom i behov av justering. SOU 1948:27, p. 27.

[70] "[…] *därvid* meddela kunskaper". Lgr 62 citerad i SOU 1965:29, p. 82.

that she constantly advances and develops; "the outlook of the content of teaching has thus been relativized".[71] It is now more important that students learn to orient themselves among all new things with which they are constantly confronted in their lives than to acquire a specific content, since the latter may anyhow have "become peripheral and obsolete tomorrow".[72] Teaching learning techniques is therefore of "increasing importance"; something which, the commissioners add, in turn further strengthens the dissolving borders between theoretical and vocational subjects: "learning actual knowledge shall primarily aim at providing a capacity to orient".[73]

At the same time, immediately afterwards, there is a plea for teachers to awaken a deeper understanding for the role of aesthetics in life and to "stimulate taste and a sense of beauty" among pupils.[74] In this regard, the similarities between this and the commission of 1946 should be clear. As stated above, we can nevertheless discern certain relevant displacements towards a relativization of the content, implying a shift of emphasis where the forms of teaching increasingly were stressed at the expense of the expected impartation of a given content. This is a shift that, as we shall see, would be further undergird over the years.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that we find similar relativizing impulses (albeit less emphasised) already in the report of 1940. Here as well, the commissioners claimed that school was undergoing a development "which in its entirety means nothing less than a revolution"; a revolution in which the older "cram school" was replaced by the elaborative so-called

[71] "[…] kunna känna [...] synen på undervisningens innehåll har alltså relativiserats". SOU 1965:29, p. 83.

[72] "[…] blivit perifert och föråldrat". SOU 1965:29, p. 83.

[73] "[…] ökad betydelse […] inlärandet av aktuella kunskaper skall främst syfta till att ge färdighet i att orientera sig […]. SOU 1965:29, p. 84.

[74] "[…] uppöva smak och skönhetssinne". SOU 1965:29, p. 84 and 88.

working-school methods.[75] In this respect, we have good reasons to give Gösta Bagge, the former ecclesiastical minister of the Högerpartiet (the at the time Conservative Party), and the other commissioners right; given the changes regarding how reproduction of society and the allowance of some form of continuity over time that during this period was realised throughout the school system, it does not seem unjustified to speak of a veritable revolution.

The criticism of the "cram school", which was articulated already by the commission in 1940, is by now a commonplace: there one does not learn for life but to pass your degree. The commissioners then haste to add that parts of this criticism are clearly excessive and sometimes based upon an inadequate knowledge of the work in school. It does, nevertheless, "usually represent experiences which, in the event of a general review of the school system, should not be left unattended".[76] It is the replacement of this school with a new, where the laboratory working methods are at heart of the activity, that the commissioners recognize as the revolutionary element.[77]

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[75] "[…] som i sin helhet innebär ingenting mindre än en revolution [...] pluggskolan". SOU 1944:20, p. 51, 55. Cram school [*pluggskolan*] is put in quotation marks in the actual report as well.

[76] "[…] representera de dock i regel erfarenheter, som vid en allmän översyn av skolväsendet icke böra lämnas obeaktade". SOU 1944:20, p. 52.

[77] As I write above, the commission's approach to the method in question seems to have been limited to be precisely a method. The commissioners write on the same page that even "tests and exams are, if they are naturally inserted in a well-planned and balanced education, not harmful; in the continuing education of different courses of life, such tests often play a crucial role, and similar situations are often met out in life. School should let children be children and allow youths to enjoy their youth, but it cannot be school's task to keep youngsters from the seriousness, troubles and dangers of life. That would indeed to intentionally teach young people to bury their heads in the sand as soon as something unpleasant is imminent; if occasionally such a tendency can be traced also out in life, it is in any case not the task of school to promote the development of youngsters in this direction" (prov och

However, the truly subversive dimension was not, I would argue, *that* a new method was gaining ground in the public educational system; various ideas about this have come, disappeared and, in some cases, been reintroduced at least since Plato outlined his ideal in *Republic*. The revolutionary aspect of these transmutations was rather how confidence in new methods over time contributed to what, with a somewhat incisive wording, could be defined as an inversion from content to form. Leaving the question of cause and effect aside, this should also be understood as a remarkable transformation of the ability and *willingness* of school, and thus also of the society at large, to articulate itself, where this act is to be thought of as one where reproduction and foundation are inseparable instances of one and the same act, the one not graspable without the other. This should, I maintain, be understood as a gradually growing collective unwillingness to *explicitly* articulate a direction of the current generation for the upcoming to, when their time is in and they become members of the public sphere, orient against.[78] During the 1970s, two aspects emerge, which, as I shall argue further down, add to the fact that the "working-school method"

examina äro, om de på ett naturligt sätt infoga sig i en väl planlagd och avvägd undervisning, i och för sig intet ont; vid den fortsatta utbildningen för olika levnadsbanor spela sådana prov ofta en avgörande roll, och situationer av liknande slag möta ofta ute i livet. Skolan skall låta barnet vara barn och låta ungdomen njuta av sin ungdom, men det kan icke vara skolans uppgift att för de ungas blickar liksom gömma undan livets allvar, mödor och faror. Det vore ju att planmässigt lära de unga att sticka huvudet i busken, så snart något obehagligt hotar; om understundom en sådan benägenhet kan spåras även ute i livet, så är det i varje fall icke skolans uppgift att främja de ungas utveckling i denna riktning)". SOU 1944:20, p. 55.

[78] This can be compared to what Marie Demker and Ulf Bjereld called an ultramodern state, where the goals towards which the progress strives is rather "formulated in the process of change itself", see: Demker and Bjereld, 2005, p. 20f. *Implicitly* this happens, of course, in spite of how the elderly choose to introduce the younger to the existing world; like the norm of free choice the idea of a more student-driven work is also a control strategy, a way to interpellate the recipients in question.

was truly ground-breaking. The teaching paradigm that in parallel hereby took form, in virtue of its increasingly strong emphasis on forms of *learning*, adopted a structure that gradually more resembled the initially outlined coaching ideal; a shift away from the idea of student's development *through* the past, to the symbolically charged idea of individual's "inherent" potential, where the pupil's development is increasingly related to her own self-determination.

Reproduction of Class Society

A central change in the 1970s was that the previously mentioned references to cultural heritage, cultivation of taste and suchlike, suggesting a continuing faith in the importance of introducing students to a particular content, disappeared in the 1970s.[79] As a consequence, a symbolic counterweight to the idea of the relativity of knowledge thus disappeared. This suggests a shift towards a further relativization of the content taught, based on an even more solid belief in the importance of the teaching forms; shifts that, as Richardson has pointed out, should be understood in light of the overall aim of better preparing students for a life in democratic society.[80]

The second aspect implies that the pupil's *right* as a democratic subject is now increasingly evident in the school policy documents – both in reports and bills. It is for example a clearly

[79] Wedin, 2017b.

[80] Richardson, 1983, p. 87. Even Ringarp emphasizes how the SIA investigation was an expression of a focus shift towards a decentralization and an increased influence for students and parents, see: Ringarp, 2011, p. 48-49. Moreover, in order to better grasp what the dynamics at play here, we have good reasons to distinguish between at least to different meanings of the adjective "democratic" in this sentence: on the one hand as political regime, and on the other hand as a culturally structuring ideal of modernity in the way of which Tocqueville defines it in the second volume of *De la démocratie en Amérique*. For an analysis of his relevance for understanding the educational policy changes in the Western world in general and Sweden in particular during the post war period, see: Wedin, 2017a.

present idea in the report over "The inner work of school" (SOU 1974: 53).[81] The aspiration to create a more democratic and equal school that permeates this investigation should be read in light of the admonitions to dedicate a particular focus on the pupils with greatest problems in school.[82]

[81] SOU 1974:53, commonly known as SIA.

[82] The investigators write: "We have reasons to expect that a significant proportion of the pupils who end up in such a difficult school situation belong to the socially and culturally disadvantaged group. How these students can experience a sense of alienation in school has been described in an illustrative way by the English sociologist Bernstein (1970). As the school is unable to relate to the experiences of such pupils, they find that perceptions and values that were previously essential in life no longer are valid. A wedge is increasingly driven in between the student as a member of the family community and students as a member of the school community. While entering the school, he is therefore faced with the requirement to abandon his social identity. Even parents may feel inadequate when the education and experiences which pupils have accumulated at home is not beneficial in the school environment or even creates problems. This does not imply favourable conditions for the student's development and for the parents' involvement in the own child's education. In order to achieve the parent's active participation in the education process, Bernstein believes that they must be able to fully participate in their own ability to the extent that they are able to participate. This can, amongst other things, be achieved by retaining the students' experiences from home and the society outside school. "(Det finns anledning att räkna med att en betydande del av de elever som på detta sätt hamnar i en besvärligare skolsituation tillhör gruppen socialt och kulturellt missgynnade. Hur dessa elever kan uppleva en känsla av främlingskap i skolan har på ett belysande sätt beskrivits av den engelske sociologen Bernstein (1970). Genom att skolan inte förmår anknyta till sådana elevers erfarenhetsvärld, finner dessa att uppfattningar och värderingar som tidigare varit väsentliga i tillvaron inte längre äger giltighet. En kil drivs alltmer in mellan eleven som medlem i familjen-samhället och elever som medlem i skolans gemenskap. Vid inträdet i skolan ställs han med andra ord inför kravet att överge sin sociala identitet. Även föräldrarna kan känna otillräcklighet när den fostran och de erfarenheter eleven erhållit i hemmet inte är till gagn i skolmiljön eller rent av skapar problem. Detta innebär inga gynnsamma förutsättningar för elevens utveckling och för föräldrarnas engagemang i det egna barnets utbildning. För att få föräldrarna aktivt deltagande i utbildningsprocessen måste de enligt

In the directives we read that:

> Among the tasks of school is not only the transmission of knowledge but also, and equally important, to give pupils an opportunity to evolve into an independent citizen with personal involvement in the surrounding world. These opportunities must not be divested from a pupil because he has difficulties in school. School has, on the contrary, a particular responsibility for these pupils, as these years is a perhaps never-repeated opportunity to give them the opportunities for personal and social development that society is responsible to offer its citizens.83

By adapting teaching to the varying horizons of reality of different pupils, school could become better at receiving children from environments where other things than those which are traditionally ascribed the greatest importance in school has been encouraged. Reforms in this direction would make school more equal, by dint of hereby to a lesser degree rewarding experiences with which children from better of backgrounds tend to come to school with.

Shortly after the 1974 report presented its conclusions, the idea was repeated in a bill based on the report, "about the internal work of the school, etc.",[84] by the then Social Democratic government with Olof Palme as prime minister and Lena Hjelm-Wallén as Minister of Education:

Bernstein mening ges möjlighet att med full tillit till den egna förmågan medverka i den omfattning de mäktar. Detta kan bl.a. ske genom att undervisningen bättre tillvaratar elevernas erfarenheter från hemmet och samhället utanför skolan."). SOU 1974:53, p. 304f.

[83] "I skolans uppgifter ingår inte bara att förmedla kunskaper utan i lika hög grad ge eleven tillfälle att utvecklas till en självständig samhällsmedborgare med personligt engagemang i omvärlden. Dessa möjligheter får inte undandras någon elev, därför att han har svårigheter med skolarbetet. Skolan har tvärtom ett särskilt ansvar för dessa elever, då skoltiden är ett kanske aldrig återkommande tillfälle att ge dem de möjligheter till personlig och social utveckling, samhället är skyldigt att erbjuda sina medborgare." SOU 1974:53, p. 64.

[84] "[…] om skolans inre arbete m.m.".

> The point of departure for the proposals is that municipalities and school units in the municipalities should be given opportunities to adapt teaching according to individual pupils or groups of pupils' needs. [...] School should more than what is presently the case strive for a way of working that relates to pupil's reality.[85]

What implications did this have for teacher assignment? And how can this be understood in light of the institutional perspective that structures this paper? As emphasized above, the truly subversive aspect of the changes was the emphasis on forms at expense of content, as this meant such a radically new view on – and perception of – reproduction of society. To the three more specific forms of dissolution that impinged on school (see page 26), an additional, previously identifiable but now even more stressed is furthered; teachers should now, to a greater extent than earlier, approach the horizon of experiences of individual pupils.[86]

This was asked for in order to especially reach those who tend to have most difficulties at school. As is evident from the quote, this idea was further strengthened by stressing the fact that teachers is to offer students better opportunities for personal and social development. This, I maintain, is an expression of a change in which the private, in terms of pupil's personal experiences and interests, increasingly was expected to characterize the school as an institutional form. In combination with the calls from the 1970s and onwards, admonishing teachers to gradually include pupils *in* the ongoing democratic process, this bears witness of an expansion of what Arendt calls the social – and this in a fashion which seems indissoluble interlaced with the parallel dissolving of the lines of demarcation of *demos*.

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[85] "Utgångspunkten för förslagen är att kommuner och skolenheterna i kommunen bör ges möjlighet att anpassa undervisningen efter enskilda elevers eller grupp av elevers behov [...] Skolan bör i högre än f.n. sträva efter ett arbetssätt som knyter an till elevernas verklighet." Bill 1975/76:39, p. 1.

[86] Which is in line with the changes that Joakim Landahl has described, see: Landahl, 2006, p. 152ff.

This endeavor we also find on the first page of the goals and guidelines of 1980 curriculum: "The school is obliged to give pupils increased responsibility and influence concurrently with their rising age and maturity."[87] Intimately associated with this admonition was a change of emphasis of the concept of equality.[88] This came, among others, to the fore in a clear criticism against school for its continued contribution to the reproduction of class society (which the calls for a greater consideration of pupils private experiences and interests should be understood as a retort *to*).[89] Further manifestations of this were, I contend, the downgrading of the importance of content as well as the difference between practical and theoretical work in light of the desire to create a more equal school; a school where teachers assume an increasingly supportive role for the individual rather than working for the imparting/introduction – and hence also the articulation/explication – of the currently existing society as well as its emergence.

A supportive and stimulating teacher role

In the commission "Teachers in School for Development" (SOU 1978: 86), which underlay Teachers Training reform of 1988 and was strongly dominated by parliamentary representatives, the investigators took as their point of departure the assumption that school is developing towards:

- a broadened area of responsibility: the teacher's co-responsibility for student's overall personality development increases;

[87] "Skolan har skyldighet att ge eleverna ökat ansvar och medinflytande i takt med deras stigande ålder och mognad." Lgr 80, p. 15.

[88] A change which also implies a shift of the implicit time horizon in school policy, see: Wedin, 2017b.

[89] Boman, 2002; Englund 2005, p. 268-272; Richardson 2010, p. 14, 138-140; Wahlström, 2002, p. 53; Börjesson, 2016; Ringarp, 2011, p. 39f., 46.

- a changing student role: teacher's role becomes more supportive and stimulating than directly knowledge-mediating;
- a changing learning process: increased emphasis on those aspects of education that prepare the student to seek knowledge, to analyze, to consider and to make decisions, to influence and to change;
- a "more open" school: increased co-operation over class- and subject boundaries as well as over student and staff boundaries in school; widened contact areas with the own community and with other countries.[90]

The characteristic trait, as to what regards our interest here, of the teacher assignment implicated in the investigation, is the downgrading of imparting knowledge. The teacher is depicted rather as a deliverer of the concealed energies that the child harbors. Based on the assumption of the active and creative child, a more supervising teacher role is advocated, where teachers, as stated in the above citation, supports and stimulates rather than transmit knowledge. The teachers' education should thus from now on be characterized, among other things, by a "significant influence for pupils over the content and form of education".[91]

Intimately intertwined with this further democratized teachers ideal is, I believe, the endeavor to bring different teacher categories closer to each other. Manifestations hereof are not only to be found in the teachers education reforms of 1988 and 2001, which both contributed to a nearing of teachers from different departments of school, but also in the bill on schools internal work already in the 1970s. On the first page of bill 1975/76:39, the Social Democratic Government representatives suggest that "primary school should more than what is currently the case apply working methods and forms of work that more

[90] SOU 1978:86, p. 24.

[91] "[…] avsevärt inflytande för de studerande över utbildningens innehåll och utformning". SOU 1978:86, p. 24.

closely connect to preschool education".[92] This call should be understood in light of the emphasis of the SIA investigation of a "soft school start", where commissioners stress that no tests of readiness for school attendance may occur.[93] However, on an overall level, these admonitions should also be understood as an endeavor to create a more equal and inclusive school: a "truly equivalent education" as the phrase goes in the directives of the SIA-report.[94]

As mentioned above (see p. 26), the attempts to bring different teacher categories closer to each other were not new; already twenty years earlier, the Teacher Training Specialist Committee had argued against the distinction class teacher/subject teacher. Strongly contributing to this strive was the desire to not only change the forms of the parallel school system, but to also dissolve the remaining implicit inner structures that continued to reproduce the now formally replaced school system.[95] To this ambition should now also be added the already discussed further downplaying since the 1970s.[96] A consequence of the clearly expressed aim of having pupils learning how to learn rather than learning a particular content, was that critics of the distinction

[92] "[…] att grundskolan i högre grad än f.n. skall tillämpa arbetssätt och arbetsformer som mer knyter ant (*sic*) till förskolepedagogiken". Bill 1975/76:39, p. 1.

[93] Bill 1975/76:39, p. 1.

[94]"[…] reellt likvärdig utbildning". Protokoll 1970-05-27, Utbildningsdepartement, quoted in: Lindensjö and Lundgren, 2014, p. 77.

[95] Which is in line with what historian Johanna Ringarp writes in her study on the teaching profession's municipalization. This reform should, she concludes her dissertation, be considered "[...] as another step towards balancing the working conditions, wages and status of the previously historically distinguished groups of teachers" ([…] som ytterligare ett steg mot att utjämna arbetsvillkoren, lönerna och statusen mellan de tidigare historiskt skilda lärargrupperna"), Ringarp, 2011, p. 190.

[96] SOU 1978:86, p. 78f.

class/subject teacher were offered yet a further argument for their cause.

In bill 1984/85:122, once again with Hjelm-Wallén as responsible Minister, (but now as Minister of Education), the government wanted – through the teachers training – to take further steps in this direction. In the introduction, they mention how the 1980 curriculum represented important steps towards dissolving the boundary between the role of class teachers and that of specialist subject teachers. The bill further mentions that, e.g., the introduction of thematic studies, new syllabuses, and an emphasis of the basic skills (reading, writing and counting) more distinctly shall permeate all three stages of school.[97]

In the wake of the 1980 curriculum, a merging of the orientation topics in two different blocks was also decided: social-studies as well as nature-oriented subjects. From now on, teaching should not only be based on "a subject matter", but rather "on questions and issues which the students are confronted with outside school".[98] With the teacher education reform of 1988, elementary school teachers training gained a more homogenous form as well: everyone who intended to work at elementary school would from now on go through a primary school education. This education was in turn divided into two directions: one aiming at form 1-6 and one at 3-9. For those who aimed at 3-9, the opportunity was offered to choose either nature-orientated subjects or social-studies oriented subjects. A special significance in the attempt to create a more student-centered school was attributed to didactics, which in the bill is described as the ability to make content "comprehensible for the

[97] Bill 1984/85:122, p. 4.

[98] "[…] undervisningen på problem och frågeställningar såsom eleverna möter dem utanför skolan". Bill 1984/85:122, 5. An idea that, in the form of the theme work, would strongly reflect the teaching ideal in the 1990s and beyond, see: Linderoth, 2016, p. 21f.

student and put it into a context that the student understands *and has experience of*" [my italics].[99]

To which *extent* it is reasonable to read this attempt in light of the admonishment to have primary school methods approaching preschool education (see bill 1975/76: 39), is not inferable from the empirical material underlying this study. However, if we to the bills of 1975/76: 39 and 1984/85: 122 add the teacher education reform from 2001, where a common general educational program for all teachers – from pre-school teachers to high school teachers – a pattern seems to emerge.[100] Common to the three bills from 1975, 1985 and 2000 is that they all point towards a homogenization of the teaching profession.[101] Another common feature is that they all emphasize the importance of other "competencies" (conception borrowed from the Teachers Training bill of 2000) than the traditional transmission of a content.[102]

[99] "[…] begripligt för eleven och sätts in i ett sammanhang som eleven förstår *och har erfarenhet av*". Bill 1984/85:122, p. 11.

[100] Which is on the lines of how the Italian sociologist Piero Colla argues in his analysis of the impoverishment of the subject of history in educational politics throughout the Post-war period, see: Colla, 2017, p. 871.

[101] Which is in line with the homogenization of the teaching body that education sociologist Emil Bertilsson shows in his dissertation: Bertilsson, 2014.

[102] Another reason for this was that in the 1988 reform, additional steps were taken, in line with the 1980 curriculum, towards clearer goal management, and gave municipalities a significantly greater influence over the decisions on how these goals could be achieved. As the education historian Agneta Linné has pointed out, this helped to change the teacher's assignment towards the ability of "local curriculum work, teamwork, follow-up and evaluation", see: http://www.lararnashistoria.se/sites/www.lararnashistoria.se/files/artiklar/Lärarutbildningen%20i%20historisk%20belysning_0.pdf. As Stenlås emphasises, there is reason to consider the injunctions of more teacher work as a possible contributing factor to the movement, ideally from the teacher as a knowledge broker. Because the teachers according to the new ideals should share space with other tutors (who teach the same

This is something that they share with today's remarkably severe economistic tone in school policy issues.[103] As Ylva Hasselberg writes, they both – the post-war's increasing focus on methods and pedagogy, as well as the strong market-oriented school policy of the past nine years – shift the "emphasis from the goals of the activity to the means that should be subordinated the goals: [economic] efficiency and pedagogy".[104] Thus, following Hasselberg's argumentation, rather than petering out as the left wing impulses towards the end of the 1970s had begun to abate, these form- and technology oriented changes continued to structure school policies all the way up to the last wave of reforms between 2008-2011.

A democratic authority

In line with what has been said, the Social Democratic Government behind the new teachers training bill *En förnyad lärarutbildning* (1999/2000:135), re-emphasize that it is becoming increasingly difficult to predict which knowledge that will be required in the future. Simultaneously, new concepts have now been added that seem to reflect certain shift of nuances:

> The role of the teacher will therefore increasingly be attached to the ability to create personal meetings. Professional tasks become

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students), the centre of gravity shifted from time to in-depth studies within one subject or deepening subject-related discussions with colleagues from the same subject to more general discussions about pupils rather than subjects, see: Stenlås, 2009, p. 67.

[103] Because it is an education policy that strives to allow "entrepreneurship ... to penetrate the entire education system", see: "Strategi för entreprenörskap inom utbildningsområdet", Regeringskansliet (Näringsdepartementet & Utbildningsdepartementet), 2009. For analysis of the entrepreneurship concept's growth and location in today's school, see: Ringarp, 2013; Leffler, 2006; Wedin, 2015.

[104] "[…] betoningen från målen med verksamheten till de medel som borde vara underordnade målen: [ekonomisk] effektivitet och pedagogik". Hasselberg, 2009, p. 78.

> more personal than role-determined. Rather than taking over a role, or a tradition, each teacher must conquer and earn her/his own role – and hence her/his authority. Authority is something gained in a democratic process.[105]

Of particular interest here is that teachers should have the ability to create personal meetings, that tasks now are becoming increasingly personal. The invitation should be read in light of the equality-promoting admonishment that teachers should meet, and thus acknowledge, the individual student and her experiences. The idea of the deserved authority can be clearly related to the desire to create a more equal relationship between pupil and teacher, and hereby democratizing the school. Moreover, between the lines we can also glimpse a strong confidence in the performative dimension of knowledge. In line with the extenuation of the content, the contours take form of a teacher that in "personal meetings" with her students performatively *creates* knowledge.[106] A further illustration of this is that teachers are asked to take greater responsibility for "orchestrating an activity implying that pupils and teachers develop mutual respect".[107]

The idea of staging leads thoughts to the ideas of knowledge and learning that Swedish professor in pedagogics Jonas Linderoth refers to as "constructivist-inspired teaching" in his recently published book *Lärarens återkomst*.[108] An expression of this, but as previously mentioned with roots far back in post-war educational school policies, are the since the 1990s very

[105] Bill 1999/2000:135, p. 8. The fact that some teachers have experienced that the teacher's authority in the classroom has decreased is, on the other hand, a perception that goes far back in time, see: Landahl, 2006, p. 130f.

[106] Which can be compared to what Gert Biesta describes as a shift from education to learning: Biesta, 2012, p. 23.

[107] "[…] iscensätta en verksamhet som innebär att elever och lärare utvecklar ömsesidig respekt". Bill 1999/2000:135, p. 8.

[108] Linderoth, 2016.

influential ideas about socio-cultural learning. In policy documents, this is, e.g., expressed in a discussion regarding the concept of knowledge in the report *School for* Bildung (SOU 1992:94), which was commissioned to provide a basis for the upcoming curriculum reform (which in turn formed part of the major educational reforms around 1990).[109] In "knowledg*ing*," writes Ingrid Carlgren, the author behind the section on knowledge, there is no right or wrong: it is "work that is the goal".[110] According to the socio-cultural learning, which she advocates, knowledge is described as:

> [...] neither external nor inner, outside human, or any inner, inside the individual, but rather something that lies between the individual and the environment. An important part of this environment are other humans, the social context in which knowledge is communicated through language.[111]

Read against this background, the idea of staging not only appears more comprehensible, but does also render it more

[109] *Skola för bildning* (1992:94). The Swedish theorist who is primarily associated with this perspective is Roger Säljö, which Ingrid Carlgren also refers to in her reasoning about the knowledge concept in the investigation. The ideas that the socio-cultural tradition rests on hark back to the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934).

[110] "kunskapandet […] arbetet som är målet". SOU 1992:94, p. 67. Compare with Linderoth's reasoning regarding the constructivist epistemological theory of knowledge in: Linderoth, 2016, p. 38ff.

[111] "I ett sociokulturellt perspektiv är kunskaper inte något som individen har i form av färdigförpackade enheter som är lagrade i ett förråd. I varje fall är detta ingen lyckad bild. All den information som finns lagrad i böcker, och som individen kan ha tagit till sig, är exempelvis inte kunskap i sig.", SOU 1992:94, p. 73. Compare also, for example Roger Säljö's description of an earlier textbook for the teacher program: "In a socio-cultural perspective, knowledge is not something that the individual has in form of pre-packaged devices that are stored in a storehouse. In any case, this is not a good picture. For example, all the information stored in books, which the individual may have acquired, is not knowledge in itself.", see: Säljö, 2000, p. 125.

harmonious with the image of school that comes to the fore in bill 1999/2000: 135. As in previously analysed documents, it is in the same bill also emphasized that pupils should be involved in planning the work as well as, together with teachers, to "determine how the goals are to be achieved".[112] The teacher's task is thus, with new information technology, to primarily supervise pupils as well as to provide them with "conditions for evaluating, critically reviewing and process gained information to useful knowledge".[113] In addition to the changes around 1990, the government emphasizes that one of the central motives behind the reform is that it should be seen as a rejoinder to the criticism that education had not given students "the opportunity to develop the skills related to social and pupil-related tasks of teacher profession".[114]

The imperative that teacher's task should be more personal rather than role-determined is, I think, symptomatic. It clearly narrows down the changing conception of the teacher that I have tried to discern here, and by extension school as an institutional form in its entirety, where the teacher's *way of being*, her character, is attributed an increasingly emphasized importance. In relation to the above outlined backdrop, this shift of emphasis should not be considered a deviation; with the downplaying of transmission of knowledge and clear requests that teachers rather should serve as a support for pupils to learn how to learn as well as parting from personal experiences of pupils, the emphasis of

[112] "[…] avgöra hur verksamhetsmålen ska nås". Bill 1999/2000:135, p. 10.

[113] "[…] förutsättningar att utvärdera, kritiskt granska och bearbeta inhämtad information till användbar kunskap". Bill 1999/2000:135, p. 9.

[114] "[…] möjlighet att utveckla de kompetenser som hänger samman med läraryrkets sociala och elevvårdande uppgifter". In addition, it could not in a sufficiently big extent place the school in a broader context ("i ett större sammanhang"). Bill 1999/2000:135, p. 10. The competences in question are: cognitive, communicative, cultural, creative, critical, social and didactic skills.

the personal seems congenial. A yet further expression of this shift from school as a mediating institution, aiming at introducing emerging generations to the political sphere, was the catalog of individual-based values introduced in the new curricula of 1994, LPO 94 and LPF 1994 (for mandatory school and high school respectively). In virtue of being articulated without any substantively anchored backdrop that could give them direction, they appear primarily – in light of the focus of this paper – as a symptom of a decreasingly mediating institution, progressively more based on an abstract, atomistic idea of the individual.[115] As French philosopher Marcel Gauchet wrote already in 1980 regarding the reappearance of human rights in political debates:

> It has formulated a demand, it has revealed a powerlessness. Of imagination, we are strangely deprived [...][116]

Conclusion

From having been expected to pass on a selection of previous generations' knowledge to the new, the teacher's ideal throughout the post-war period shifted towards being a stimulating support for pupils, which in turn were expected to increasingly fill out the content themselves based on their preferences.[117] Since today's content may at any rate be dated

[115] What is a change that has been discussed from different starting points and along different lines, among other things, by: Villey, 2014; Milbank, 2012; Gauchet, 2017; MacIntyre, 2016.

[116] "Il a formulé une exigence, il a révélé une impuissance. D'imagination, nous sommes étrangements privés [...], Gauchet, 2002, p. 13.

[117] In a recently published (2015) sociological study of how an elite is reproduced in Djursholm, Swedish economist Mikael Holmqvist describes a similar development and argues that it contributes to replacing a meritocracy with what he calls a consecration, see: Holmqvist, 2015. Regarding the Bourdieu-inspired idea of consecration, see also Sandgren's study regarding the growth of boarding schools in Sweden (and in the rest of the world), Sandgren, 2015.

tomorrow, the supporting form becomes the primary teachers task. *That* this has contributed to a weakening of the teaching profession has been mentioned earlier.[118] What I have tried to draw attention to here is (i) how we can track several of the long-term changes behind this shift back to the foundational ideas behind the comprehensive school, as well as (ii) some hitherto insufficiently examined political-philosophical problems that these shifts have actualized.

In the preceding parallel school system, it was clear how different pupils (generally from different classes of society), were prepared for different occupations (which *tended* to be within the same social stratum as that of the parents). When the comprehensive school replaced the parallel school system, this was something that reformers hoped to do away with. However, as school critics emphasized already in the 1970's, it didn't take long before critique amassed in this regard against the new comprehensive school as well.[119] *One* crucial policy retort to this criticism was to change the forms of school's internal work.[120] Hereby, an intensification was initiated of the widely shared conviction that school needs to be further democratized. The desire to create a more equal school thus goes hand in hand with the explicit endeavors towards a democratization; a consequence of this was that the boundary between pupils and teachers became increasingly diffuse. This is the first border-dissolving tendency that I disengage. A second change in the same vein was the desire to dissolve differences between what was originally class and subject teachers. The third border-annulling impulse that I highlight was the criticism of the dichotomy practical-theoretical work. These shifts should, I maintain, be understood as materializations of a changed notion of school as an institution,

[118] Hasselberg, 2009; Stenlås, 2009; Stenlås, 2011.

[119] Boman, 2002; Englund, 2005, p. 268-272; Richardson, 2010, p. 14, 138-140; Wahlström, 2002, p. 53; Börjesson, 2016; Ringarp 2011, p. 39f., 46.

[120] Englund, 2005, p. 213.

which increasingly was becoming regarded as *part of* the (democratic) public sphere.[121]

Another change is the from the 1970s and onwards stronger emphasis on teachers to further approach the shifting experiences with which pupils come to school; a request that goes hand in hand with the overarching aim to have school in general approaching pupil's horizons of experience. By dint of so arguing, the reformers also in parallel brought about a furthering of the private sphere within this peculiar space "in-between"; as such, it was an over-time drawn out shift that we have good reasons to consider an expansion of what we with inspiration from Arendt could call the social. It is a manifestation of that which the Dutch sociologist Anton C. Zijderveld describes as a growing anti-institutional modus, where common institutions are increasingly regarded as limitations of each individual's *subjective* identity.[122]

A further expression of this institutional dilution, are the transmutations that the teacher role has undergone, in particular as a consequence of the strive to counteract that the parallel school structures survived *within* the comprehensive school (which in itself should be understood as an expression of equality

[121] The contradictory, inner equality dynamics that I highlight here may - and should - be supplemented with studies which for example examine how the changes can be related to the ever-present economic framework; as Linderoth points out, it is for example also more cost-effective to allow students to work more independently, Linderoth, 2016, p. 95. Due to the article-format of this text, with the considerations of space that this entails, such external causes have here been left aside.

[122] Zijderveld, 2000, p. 13. The author here differs between normative subjektivism (the idea of self-creating and independent self) and the descriptive assertion that the individual has a central position in modern society (such as the bearer of rights, etc.). Zijderveld makes no secret that he is inspired by Émile Durkheim, see for example: Durkheim, 2014, p. 1-39.

impulse).[123] By downplaying the content-oriented, imparting aspect of education, school's practices approached the surrounding community, thus undermining it as a specific for the public *preparing* institution, and the teachers position within it. It is in this light, by virtue of representing the primary common institution, that I maintain that the late modern teacher ideal should be regarded as a *character*.[124]

Out of these shifts emerges what I would like to call the paradox of democratic equality. It consists in the fact, that the intensified attempts to create a school inspired by a public-oriented logic, in relevant respects seem to have helped paving the way for the clearly private-oriented logic that has characterized school development since the 1990s. As stated above, the post-war school policy was characterized by an effort to create a more democratic school: first through the comprehensive school, and then on in reforming the inner work.[125] However, a consequence of this impulse was that the common fabric in which the pupil was expected to be integrated became more fragile as the importance of articulating/reproducing a common backdrop – in the name of democratic equality – was reduced.[126] The catalog of

[123] Like the recently named tendencies, these can also be related to the desire to create a more democratic and equal school. As stated above, however, this must also be understood in the light of the teacher shortage that the explosive development of the education system was a consequence of.

[124] Regarding school politics, see: Englund, 2005; Börjesson, 2016. For studies in which the more comprehensive social changes are in focus: Boréus, 1994; Antman et al., 1993; Österberg et al., 2014.

[125] However, the basic structure of the problem has been extensively discussed for over 200 years. As the French philosopher Frédéric Brahami writes: "[…] society is in a strict sense democratic tot he extent that it falls upon the individual to judge it; nevertheless, if each individual expresses its personal opinion, it appears deemed to crumble away.", Brahami, 2016, p. 222.

[126] As I show above and others have shown before me, this does not mean that, for example, labour market adaptations have also – and perhaps even substantially – contributed to the changes depicted here.

individual-addressing values introduced in the 1994 curriculum is in this regard telling.

As a consequence of the pursuit of creating a more democratic school, various measures have been taken that have weakened school's special position as an institution whose primordial aim it is to *prepare* pupils for a life in the common sphere. The increasingly radical attempts of creating a more democratic and equal school have thus fomented an increased adaptation to the individual. In parallel, it has contributed to a furthering of "the social" in a way that has undermined school as public project, paradoxically thus indirectly paving the way for the *explicit* privatization that occurred in the 1990s. Against this backdrop does, in order to mention the most conspicuous example of this, the introduction of a voucher system, which explicitly appeals to the private interest, no longer appears as such a sharp rupture.[127] It seems rather as a – in terms of the tension between private and public – shift of nuances of an impulse that stretches all the way back to the discussions about the introduction of the comprehensive school. In this way, the here presented conclusions also nuance the many studies emphasizing how the reforms around 1990 broke with the previously pursued politics.

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As already mentioned, in note 29, the question of how different spheres of society relate to each other falls outside the scope of this paper.

[127] Compare with, for example, Englund, 1994.

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Offentligt tryck

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