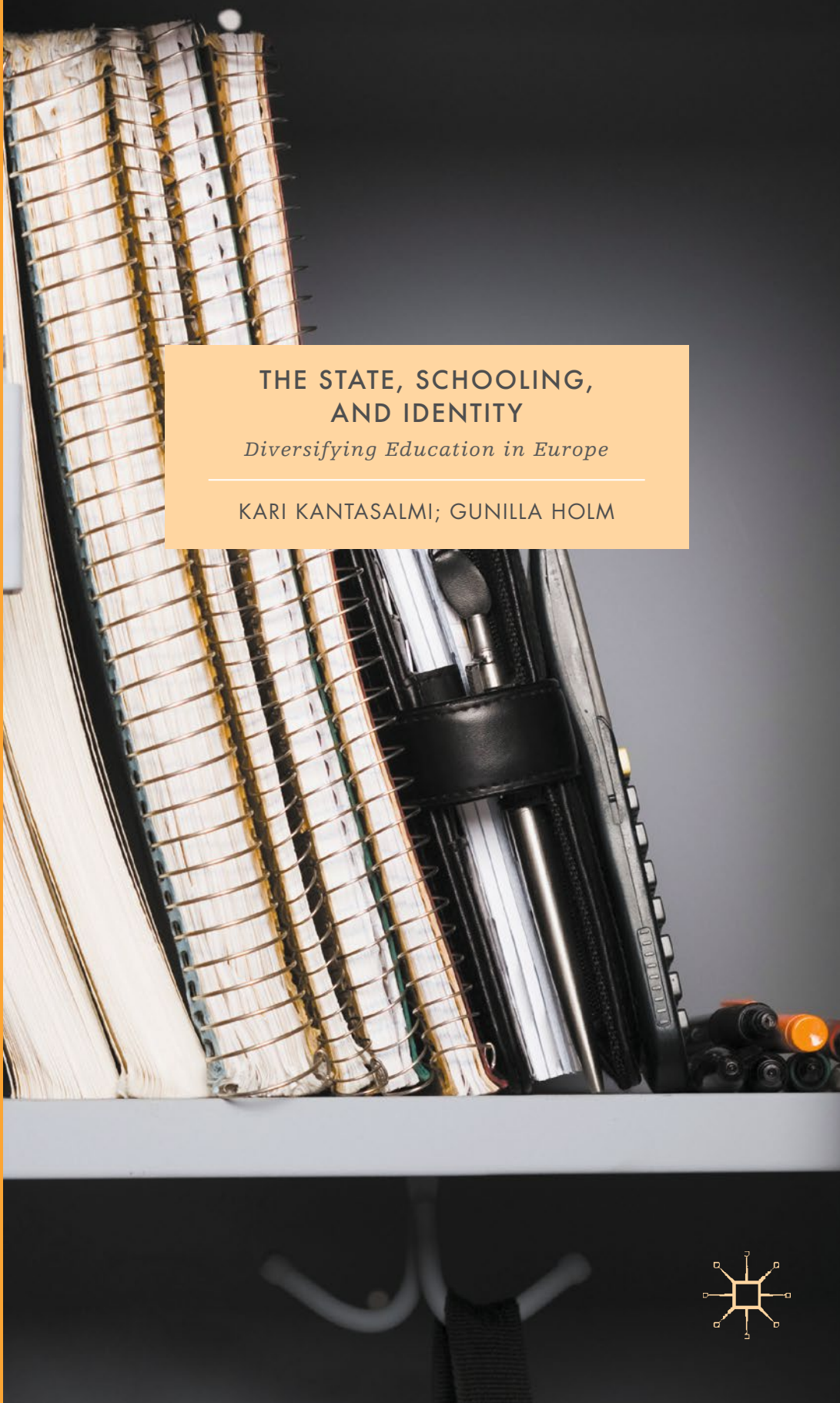

THE STATE, SCHOOLING, AND IDENTITY

Diversifying Education in Europe

KARI KANTASALMI; GUNILLA HOLM

Education Dialogues with/in the Global South

Education Dialogues with/in the Global South

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Kari Kantasalmi • Gunilla Holm
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The State, Schooling, and Identity

Diversifying Education in Europe

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Introducing the Complexity of Educational Diversification

Kari Kantasalmi and Gunilla Holm

The title of this book "The State, Schooling and Identity: Diversifying Education in Europe" cuts into the complexities of current educational endeavors. It does so by concentrating on European experiences in a series of three volumes, titled "Education Dialogues with/in the global south" edited by Carol Reid and Jae Major. Seen from the perspective of the "global south", Europe is part of the global north. More so, in terms of power issues related to school systems, Europe has been the constitutive context for the underlying model of modern schooling, which from the viewpoint of the "global south" is seen through critical perspectives. Of course, the issue at stake is not merely a geographical one. European minorities are also influenced by the southern theorizing (Connell 2007), pointing out instances of social marginalization or inequality related to dominant forms of schooling. Even in the welfare states of the Nordic countries, culturally responsive educational diversifications can appear as means for challenging forms of subjugation through school systems. As editors, we have not imposed any particular theoretical frame for the contributors. Instead, we asked for reflections from settings we thought would be of interest to those following the global education discourse with regard to cultural identities and social inequalities.

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Why Schooling and Education?

Currently, we live in and observe a globally extant "schooled society" (Baker 2014), meaning that in societal systems of education, emphasis has been put on credentialing aspects of the education process as organized through modern school systems. The expansion of school careers and the spectacular worldwide growth in the number of schools, enrollments and obtained degrees can be easily observed. Such development has been founded on European constituents of schooling and its Euro-American elaborations. This organizational form has narrowed down educational communication to the mediation of exams, credentials and degrees, and thus, in organizational terms, homogenized the educational process out of its wider cultural meanings, which nevertheless continue to offer social inspiration for diversity within modern schooling. In short, schooling has been an essential part of the Western path to modernity, but it is still only one aspect of global education, whether viewed through its practices or communications.

Education in the wider cultural sense offers more institutional connections than its modern organized form of schooling, with certain societal advantages that can explain its successful expansion. There is a tension to be observed between these two aspects. The European accounts presented in this book indicate, above all, a persistent institutional endurance of schooling despite the apparent intensified complexity in pedagogical arrangements of the school systems in responding to the social expectations for education in diverse cultural settings. The present selection of reflections is due to the editors' twofold focus on educational diversity: First, we have selected contexts where nation-states are problematized through educational developments or vice versa; second, we have chosen well-known Nordic welfare state contexts which are problematized through their assumed equality and equity with regard to diversifying education. Both lines of concern point to the complexity of identities in Europe as related to developments in education. Identity is, of course, a multilayered issue and this book approaches it by focusing on current national and regional controversies as well as egalitarian issues related to school internal identities with educational significance, such as teachers' professional identities and students' gender and ethnicities.

The title of the book relates schooling to the fundamental structural coupling of education with the political power concentrations in the forms of the modern state and citizenship. In contrast to schooling, education in its wider cultural meaning opens a plethora of diversification possibilities beyond obligations and rights related to the citizenry. Consequently, a person's inclusion in schooling is globally seen as still less likely than one's exclusion from all forms of education. Clarity in terms of inclusion or exclusion might also

require observers of education to reconsider the epistemic value gained by the common distinction between formal and informal education. It is hardly possible to observe educational communication or practice entirely free of socially meaningful forms. It is, however, possible to yield better understanding of the effective forms in modern schooling. Steps toward better understanding would allow acknowledging that in its wider meanings, education remains open to diversifications related to cultural construction of identities; commonly referring to ethnicity and language, both often associated with the nation. Currently, identities are, however, constructed on many bases, even on choices of life styles with rather limited societal stability. The more fluid we view modernity, the more sensitively we need to observe the instances where communication assumes pedagogically responsible social forms instead of advertising, propaganda or some other source of meaningfulness. Schooling is not a guarantee for neutrality although, in its state-controlled form, it is expected to manifest public accountability. Education in wider cultural terms often insists on more particular responsibilities.

This book, however, does not consider entanglements of education with consumer identities in the "liquid modern setting" (Bauman 2009), but instead, observes more deeply institutionalized societal interfaces that persistently inspire European educational diversity within the limits of the flexibility of modern schooling. Thus, modern schooling is assumed to be a societally stabile institution which can embrace education in culturally diverse forms. This is also to question the limits of schooling by raising issues of equity from the viewpoint of the cultural responsiveness of education. Furthermore, the contributions in this book question the capability of school systems to recognize the ways they maintain social inequalities. With the increasing reflexivity of modernity (Giddens 1990), we are moving toward something like "reflexive citizenry" (Giddens 1994). As far as this is the case, we should inquire about the leeway for more complex identity claims within the structural coupling produced between citizenry and schooling. Recognition of multiple cultural sources of educational diversification is of importance from the egalitarian viewpoint manifested in European conceptions of democracy.

Before offering the overview of the chapters, we first outline the historical constituents for modern schooling to show why it would be important for observers of the world's educational endeavor to resist equating schooling with education. We will then proceed to introduce some general conceptual avenues to foster reflexive gains in grasping the increasing concerns for diversifying education in its connections to credentialing schooling, which is characterized by homogenizing and standardizing procedures. This offers a common ground for the various disciplinary approaches and theories used in the chapters of this book. After introducing the historical constituents of the problems concerned,

we explicate the wider topics that appear as sources for these chapters dealing with educational diversity: cultural belonging in terms of nations, regions or ethnicity and egalitarian concerns for social justice. Both topics were present in the constitutive phase of modern schooling and they still are.

Sociological discourse on modernity has, however, turned more reflexive along with experiences gained in discussing globalization. Above all, the Eurocentrism hosted in earlier modernization views has been relinquished, while pointing beyond European modernity, to other "actually existing historical trajectories" or "routes to modernity" through them (Therborn 1995, 5–7).[1] In his twentieth-century comparison of the value patterns of European modernity, after the Second World War, Göran Therborn (1995) could still summarize on the basis of three contentious long-term dilemmas—secularization and Christianity, nation-state and citizenry, individualism and classes. All these are, in some meaning, present in this book's viewing of the educational diversification demands in Europe. The contributors, however, chose not to discuss the particular challenges posed by religious communities to current secular states in Europe. Demands for multi/inter-cultural education are currently widely discussed elsewhere as educators are trying to work with the intensified complexity of classrooms caused by recent migratory processes. Some might have thought, for a while at least, that nationalism and social ascension had already found rather stable educational resolutions in state-coordinated modern schooling. Some might have even assumed that if there is something like a "European identity"—deeper than the political narrative to foster legitimacy for the European Union governance (Immerfall et al. 2010)—it would be found in the northwestern heartlands of European modernity. Yet, some chapters in this book deal with resurgent ideology of "nationalism" in Western Europe, which Therborn (1995, 282) viewed as having developed to be the "least nationalist part of the world".

Historical Constituents of Modern Schooling

The constitutive ideas for modern schooling stemmed from a more or less clearly demarcated geopolitical area of early modern (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) Europe. After the final collapse of the Byzantine Empire (1453)

[1] Therborn distinguished four patterns of modernization: (1) European; (2) New World pattern (primarily Americas); (3) Colonial Zone stretching from Northwestern Africa to Papua New Guinea and South Pacific, as well as those parts of the New world were indigenous populations managed to survive; (4) Externally induced modernization (Japan and Russia from the eighteenth century onward) challenged by new imperial powers of Europe and America.

and along with the victorious "Reconquista" against the Muslim occupation in the Iberian Peninsula, followed by Columbus' sailing to the Caribbean in (1492), the inner connectedness of Europe increased in ways not seen before, and European life faced a profound transformation (Tilly 1993, 21–51). This meant, among other things, the emergence of two organizational dimensions to be observed in modernity (Giddens 1990)—namely, systematic capitalist production and the nation-state. In view of globalization, the institutional clusters in these latter dimensions are of European origin (Giddens 1990, 174), and in this originality, their developments also conditioned the emergence of state-coordinated public schooling in Europe. To understand better the powerful social force of modern schooling, we need to look back to its societal constituents in Europe, and above all, rethink the ways in which we observe and describe current tensions between schooling and educational diversification. Such a more reflexive view requires unfolding the connections of modern schooling in its societal environment and reconsideration of the conceptualities that are drawn upon in a variety of disciplinary views and substantive theories used in describing them. To appreciate the multidisciplinary approach of this book in exploring the relationship between education and nationalism, we need to reflect more deeply on the distinction between schooling and education in the book's title. This will lead us to ask for a sufficiently abstract notion of society, which could serve for grasping the societal environment of schooling and education as well as the attempts of school research in education science to come in terms with a maze of differentiation terminology in current descriptions of educational diversification.

A universal notion of education was present at the dawn of humanity. Schools were known to exist before medieval times and mostly outside Europe. For European constituents of schooling, there is, however, an inspiring etymology for "school" from the Greek distinction between "ascholia" and "schole" via the Latin word "schola" to denote the organization type of today. At least, for Marcus Tullius, alias Cicero (106–43 BC), the "schola" meant, among other things, the school (Mikkola 1958). In medieval Europe, this word and its derivatives, however, came to entertain meanings quite opposite to its Greek origins, connoting the creative freedom of "schole" (Hansen 2010). The meanings later became even more distant from the idea of contemplative peacefulness, long conserved, in distinguishing "vita activa" and "vita contemplativa" (Arendt 1998). Immanuel Kant in his (1803) pedagogical reflections might have had the remembrance of the Greek origins of the word in mind when he acknowledged the necessarily compulsive culture (zwangmässige Kultur) of the school, but did not want it to mean slavish education. As we know, state-coordinated compulsory public schooling had

become first established in 1770s in the absolutist state of Prussia. While moving toward the more autonomous discipline of pedagogy, Kant's successor to the Chair of Philosophy at Königsberg, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), introduced an elaborated hybrid notion of "educative teaching" (erziehender Unterricht). Niklas Luhmann observed this latter semantic move as conflating the old distinction between (educatio) and (institutio), thus corresponding, at the level of pedagogical semantics with the ongoing functional out differentiation (Ausdifferenzierung), not only the school-like teaching, but also, education as societal system (Luhmann 2002, 102 and 116; Luhmann and Schorr 2000). Herbart's pedagogy envisioned the professional identity of school teachers, but he still wrote, somewhat ambiguously, to the twofold audience of home tutors and public school teachers. The latter were increasingly expected to assume the educative tasks previously attached to the intimacy of the family or to the parochial environment Christianizing local communities. Such societal differentiation was an outcome of complex processes which took place in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, and in complex entanglement with preceding developments in early modern politics, religion and economics (Vanderstraeten 2004 and 2006). Foucault (2000) would add that the primacy of family as a source of education became challenged not only by the growing interest in pedagogical knowledge but also in medical knowledge. Thus, parents in eighteenth-century France and Germany demanded more attention for infant health care while also expected to hand over their child's later education to normalizing institutions.

To understand the firm structural coupling between state and schooling, we refer to Giddens' (1990, 59) view of the four interconnected dimensions of modernity.[2] He criticized much of sociology for assuming a mono-dimensional emphasis, and consequently, claims for the centrality of one or another structural nexus in modernity. Historically seen, Europe produced a structural cluster which connected often violently constructed political orders of states with culturally constructed social orders of nations, thus providing a model of effective "bordered power-container" (Giddens 1985, 120). These power containers proved to have considerable potential for worldwide expansion (Giddens 1990, 71), most likely because of the possibilities they offered for legitimating the external use of military force and internal surveillance, meaning control of information and social supervision of the ruled (Giddens 1985; Giddens 1990,

[2] Those being: (1) surveillance, meaning control of information and social supervision, commonly associated with in global terms nation-states, especially when connected to other dimensions, namely (2) military power, meaning control of the means of violence in the context of the industrialization of the war, (3) industrialism, meaning transformation of nature and the development of artificial environments, (4) capitalism, with focus on capital accumulation in the context of competitive markets.

59 & 71). However, sociologically informed reflexive historians, such as Charles Tilly (1993 and 1994), would view European state formation more cautiously and in less generalizing terms than the inspiring shorthand of the sociological discourse of modernity. Tilly (1993, 35) himself had been in pains to find a proper name for European state formations before 1800, but decided to call "consolidated state" the type that started to prevail from the eighteenth century onward, and in its appearance, made almost all preceding states of the world look "puny in comparison".

The consolidated states of Europe formed the context for emerging public schooling, but these state formations were actually ruling heterogeneous territories and aimed to impose unitary and unifying measures in many societal branches that concerned the lives of the ruled. Thus, we might say that schooling became an important institution for further consolidation of states. Tilly, however, abandoned his previous characterization of European states as national states for the simple reason that he thought it as misleading as the nation-state, both corresponding poorly to the reality; there were no examples of states with homogenous citizenry drawn from a single homogenous nation. It was rather that European state formation from the eighteenth century onward brought about the nation-state as ideology (Tilly 1993, 35; 1994, 5). This ideology was geared toward a variety of practices relevant for cultural identities, but relying, above all, on performance of schooling as an effective means of setting limits to imagining national cultural orders (Anderson 1991), only to find out that education finds ways to feed imagination to contest established national limits. This is still the case as we can see in this book. In light of Chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 in this book, we can see how tension between state schooling and culturally responsive education currently is entangled with state formation in Europe. Such processes are not indifferent to the emergence of supranational polities such as the European Union (e.g. Kantasalmi 1995).

Seen in very broad terms, the European foundations for the close connection of state and education as it became modeled in public schooling were, of course, a common heritage of literate developments of human civilization, but particular conditions of Western Europe favored the "lexicographic revolution in Europe" (Anderson 1991, 84), and of creating a particular way to modernity. In this respect, Luhmann (2012, 174–177) stressed the distinguished European way in market-driven and thus decentralized dissemination of information that followed the invention of the printing press, and its connection to the spread of vernacular languages. From the sixteenth century onward, religious and political market control by means of framing censorship policies were not successful in Europe. The spread of vernacular languages along with the expanding market of the print challenged the position

of Latin in the transmission of knowledge and fostered political nationalization. Developments leading to the emergence of public schooling were related to these constitutive processes in nation-making and state formation. There were in Europe regionally differing paths in the latter process which led a variety of segmented units to form consolidated states (see; Tilly 1993). In this respect, one significant unit of great importance to the parallel development of scholarly culture was the city (Tilly 1994). However, to understand the process that finally in the nineteenth century turned states into organizations with multiple purposes, including the coordination and financing of public education, we clearly need to acknowledge the role of the university as an important element in what Tilly (1994) observed as the long "entanglement of European cities and states" from medieval times to the end of the eighteenth century.

In European cities, there were schools around cathedrals, but when universities started to be established at the end of the twelfth century, they gradually succeeded in developing a rather privileged societal position as guild corporations in a space between the control of the pope and the emperor.[3] Their corporate jurisdiction was created in order to adjust to the orders of medieval cities and to achieve certain autonomy in theological matters (e.g. Durkheim 1977; Stichweh 1991 and Wei 2012). Later, in the early modern period, a considerable increase in the number of universities in Europe was experienced along with the rise of the "confessional states" (Brockliss 2000). This expansion contributed to the forming of the university as the first form of publicly organized education (Stichweh 1991) and later offered structural support for the differentiation of public education in eighteenth-century Europe (Vanderstraeten 2006). The entanglement of the confessional variety with the rise of public education was of paramount importance for the construction of cultural identities in Europe, as seen in the accounts of this book. This was so, above all, in the Nordic countries, where the reformation was not a protest

[3] European university probably drew also upon preceding learned experiences around the Mediterranean, and in contacts between the surrounding literary civilizations. The medieval university, however, was original in ways it became related to societal development. From the point of view of Christian–Muslim dialogue, Islamic influences for European university have been argued by pointing to organizational affinities across the historical forms in educational arrangements (e.g. Alatas 2006). Byzantine history would point to the year 425, when Theodosius II reorganized the imperial traditions in promoting higher learning, the name "pandidakterion" (Παν‌διδακτήριον) points to ample areas of knowledge and teaching in this institution, which developed for centuries as linked with the imperial court and channeled access to offices of importance (Garsoian 1985; Markopoulos 2008). With the decline of the Byzantine Empire, the latter institution lost significance. Observing the Eastern frontier of Western Europe, we should, however, credit the learned center of Constantinople as it, after A.D. 860, with the help of missionary students Cyril and Methodius seeded the Cyrillic alphabet and translation of the liturgy to Slavic peoples.

from below but a process fostered by the state, and therefore, no rivalry nor contractual relations between the state and the church existed (Stenius 1997). In consequence, a rather homogenizing Lutheran view prevailed also in forms of popular education developed along the parallel avenue for scholarly education. John Boli (1989) has described the making of the Swedish "mass schooling" as primarily an ideological project from the seventeenth century onward. Swedish developments concerned also Finland as part of the kingdom, and thereafter as well, when Finland was lost to Imperial Russia and thus gained the status of an autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland (1809–1917), with its own Estate Diet which was replaced by parliamentary reform of 1907. The homogenizing Lutheran tradition prevailed in educational evolution and connected to the Finnish nationalism since the second half of the nineteenth-century Finland, and reached beyond the Civil War of 1918 (Kantasalmi and Hake 1997; Kantasalmi 2010). Yet in Northern Scandinavia and Finland, the state has never entirely drawn its citizenry from one homogeneous nation; as described in Chap. 6 of this book, there was always a significant presence of Saami people crossing the borders of what are the independent states of Sweden, Norway (1905) and Finland (1917).

Another important diversification in forms of higher learning related to fostering the practical applications of knowledge in skills and craft technologies needed in expanding long-distance trade and in the forming of sea born empires. Thus, for instance, Gresham College, teaching both in Latin and English, was established in London, according to its statutes of 1579, not as a third university beside the universities in Oxford and Cambridge, but for the benefit of the inhabitants of London, which then was a step for founding the Royal Society (Kelly 1970, 26–27; Bernal 1981, 418–20). Sir Thomas Gresham (1519–1579) himself has been viewed as "personifying the union between merchant capital and the new science" (Bernal 1981, 419). Early modern European universities developed as an important source for control of the knowledge applied through professional identities, to the extent that in 1605, Francis Bacon assessed as strange that "they are all [great foundations of colleges in Europe] dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large" (Bacon 1952, 30). However, from the nineteenth century onward, universities were increasingly viewed not only through the form of school for traditional professions, but also, from the viewpoint of increasing differentiation of science.

Historical viewpoint justifies resisting the conflation of the notions of schooling and education. In addition, by keeping the distinction epistemically active, there is a possibility for better grasping the political entanglements between modern schooling and the regional or local variation of educational

diversity embraced in it. This appears as necessary even for European modernity when it returns to itself, not directly, but enriched with global viewpoints that question Eurocentric universalism and aspire for "universal universalism" (Wallerstein 2006). A truly global analysis of education would observe education organized in the form of a school without reproducing the presumptions related to schooling as a necessarily positive social force called progress—a notion that the world could live without before the French revolution. As global connections were intensified, the expansion and extension of modern schooling was, however, coined with progress as depicted after the North American "Civil War"[4] in John Gast's 1872 painting "The American Progress", where such a semantic figure in white gown carries a school book under her arm and a telegraph wire in her hand, while land is taken over to be cultivated, and natives—uncultivated Indians as they were seen—were fleeing seemingly horrified. Later, the early twentieth-century sociological understanding of modernization smuggled in the viewpoint of Euro-American methodological nationalism to strengthen the image of progressive social development related to expansion of schooling. The powerful image in Gast's painting, described above, could very well be the emblem of Euro-American globalization of schooling. The story began in Europe, and sociologists of "mass schooling" would contribute to its conflating with education by stating that education has "been reduced largely to formal schooling, despite the lip service given to such notions as 'all life is education'" (Boli and Ramirez 1986, 67).

As far as the world today is a "schooled society" (Baker 2014) and the modern state the central element of the global political structure, we can be sure that citizens of nation-states are more or less habituated to observe and discuss education as experienced in massive coursing of several years in school systems, monitored by professionals in teaching and as statistics produced in authorization of these same states. Yet, the state is not to be equated with society, and interstate relations are only a part of what we currently conceive through theories of "world society" (see; Holzer 2015). From the viewpoint of diversity in global system of education, we question the limits of schooling as an "abstract system" which deploys "symbolic tokens" (Giddens 1990), such as certifications and degrees, to the end of hollowing out the situationally embedded complexity of educational interaction in order to carry out credentialing procedures, which allow more or less trustworthy guarantees for career

[4] See Benedict Anderson's (1991, 201) comment on the nationalist significance of the "pedagogical industry" in the USA, in purporting remembrance of the conflict of 1861–1865 as civil war and forgetting it as war between two sovereign nation-states, which they briefly were. Had the war ended in maintaining the independence of Confederacy, schooling would have most likely contributed to the forgetting of the conflict as civil war.

decisions to be taken worldwide. We suggest looking critically at the big picture of the world expansion of schooling, which in the last half of the century or so has brought about important transformations and an increasing number of evaluations of school performance, such as Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). The evaluations are not only to legitimate further credential raise and managerialism through schooling, a powerful modern institution of governance as it is, but also, to evoke second-order views and switches of perspectives on schooling. Evaluation emphasis on learning achievements instead of statistics of degree expansion (e.g. Pritchett 2013) starts to question the logic in schooling. Another challenging perspective is arising from the theorizing of the knowledge society. Such visioning leads to policy-driven operationalization (Rohrbach 2007; Kantasalmi 2015), but so far, we know little about how the knowledge society relates to the schooled society (Baker 2014). In this book, Chap. 4 points to the shortcomings of our understanding of knowledge society and offers detailed contemporary analysis of the development in distribution of school credentials in the context of complex regional issues of Belgium. Further elaborations of the issue might lead to looking beyond credentialing schooling to consider the wider cultural meanings of knowledge-mediated education and the different ways of knowing. As Chap. 6 shows, the latter epistemic concerns are increasingly raised also from the position of indigenous peoples.

The Complexity of National Education in School Systems of Europe

The issues of national education were raised in eighteenth-century Europe. In some parts of Europe, these claims were directed also against the educationally active Jesuits, who were not seen as protagonists of national cultural orders (Vanderstraeten 2006). Inquiry into educational diversification is often connected with political struggles or conflicts tied to nations as "particular cultural artefacts" that, once created (late eighteenth century), "became 'modular'" and thus capable of serving as ideologies with "profound emotional legitimacy" (Anderson 1991, 4) in a variety of contexts. Although the constitutive context for public schooling was driven by the ideology of the nation-state, it was not nationalist in the meaning of the ideological tenor of the nineteenth century or in the meaning of nationalist overtones reached in the educational content of twentieth-century Europe. The consequences of the latter are also experienced in this book, especially in Chap. 3, where the memory of "national catholic" education in Franco's Spain is still present.

At the other end of the European nation state ideology, there was a negation of the politicized nation in the form of manifest internationalism. Consequently, Chap. 5 reflects on the possibilities to entertain nationalism in "citizenship education" in post-Soviet Ukraine.

Chapters 2, 4, and 6 also discuss the current national complexities in state school systems which were increasingly brought forth from the nineteenth century onward. These school systems provided the basis for not only territorially demarcated normalizing effects on nineteenth-century citizenry, but also for further development of the school systems' internal organizational morphology and homogenizing procedures. The latter development urged comparing different state educational systems and thus enhanced the modeling of modern schooling. There were, however, different historical paths into what Margaret Archer described as the endogenous emergence of the "state educational systems", which she (1979, 54) defined as a "nationwide and differentiated collection of institutions devoted to formal education, whose overall control and supervision is at least partly governmental, and whose component parts and processes are related to one another". Knowing more about the variety of emergent paths could offer insights also into the current similarities and differences in educational arrangements of European school systems (see e.g. Müller and Kogan 2010).

By means of distinguishing state and society Archer (1979) reflected on the structural changes common to all "state educational systems" (unification and systematization) as a consequence of education being related to the state, while (differentiation and specialization) would result from relations between education and society. The social origins of each system matter, according to Archer, with regard to whether it has had a restrictive or substitutive struggle over educational control preceding the emergence of state educational systems, which then became multiply integrated to various societal institutions, but in combinations of structural change. Restrictive strategy was seen by Archer as likely to lead to strong unification and systematization as well as to weak differentiation and specialization, while a substitute strategy was seen as likely to produce converse structural changes with regard to these two sets of patterns. Archer (1979) assumed a certain path dependency for subsequent development of these different outcomes. The important point for further consideration, however, is that such a differentiated system of state-coordinated mass schooling assumes its autonomous logic in its further global development.[5] The distinction between state and society was of importance for Archer's comparative account, but in historical descriptions, she,

[5] For a compact overview of Archer's (1979) scheme, see Andy Green (1990, 67–75) and the Marxian inspired critique of her theorizing the state (Green, ibid, 76–110).

nevertheless, allowed the nation-state to take the place of society. On these bases, she even treated nineteenth-century autonomous Finland as part of the Russian Empire, which it was, but not in its scholarly heritage which came from Swedish settlers in Finland, and is still present in the educational developments of Finland, and thus in the background of the discussions in Chaps. 6, 7, and 11 of this book.

As the model of the nation-state has expanded globally after the Second World War, sociology has often equated the concept of the society with it, and empirically operationalized society as a collection of the independent states of the world.[6] To better understand diversifying education in contemporary Europe, it would be necessary to construct an epistemic distance to the latter cognitive limitation by means of deploying sufficiently abstract theory of society, which allows recognizing societal connections of education beyond state-coordinated schooling. In order to grasp descriptions related to a variety of educational diversification attempts, we appear to need a sociologically and pedagogically significant distinction between education and schooling as well as a theory of society that would allow for critical distance to be taken to methodological nationalism typical of school research and educational sciences connected to nation-state-centered sociology. As the school organization has achieved an important, if not leading, role in the evolution of the societal system of education (Luhmann 2002), research in educational sciences also tends to operate empirically on the offerings of the state's school statistics and occasionally on national reform-based motives. The methodological nationalism can take many forms in social research (see, e.g. Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002; Burton 1997). Thus, sociology has become a victim of its comparative methodology (Luhmann 2012, 92) and school research, even more so. In school research, it is common to refer to the national systems of education, which are monitored as standardized according to their rather isomorphic organizational form (primary, secondary, tertiary) in levels. Such reductions of educational complexity, in the form of standardizing national data classification, is based on presumed statistical comparability (Raivola 1985) while it ignores local variation which, however, remains to be observed comparatively, meaning indications of similarity or difference with significance according to the "cultural belonging" (Therborn 1991) of the observer. Thus, the modern

[6] In July 2015, US State department listed 195 independent states in the world. http://www.state.gov/s/inr/rls/4250.htm

After the update in 2011, the organization of United Nations had 193 members. http://www.un.org/en/members/growth.shtml

European Union has 28 member states after accession of Croatia in 2013.

http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/member-countries/

system of schooling as modeled on a Euro-American basis has been expanded worldwide, not only due to the long-term imposition of the Western school organization, but also due to its standardizing global monitoring and consequent fostering of isomorphism implying homogenizing reductions of educational diversity and eventual losses in local cultural pertinence.

The triumph of mass schooling since the Second World War can be depicted in the light of the global school enrollment data, as demonstrated since the 1970s by the world cultural approach of researchers, associated with John W. Meyer and his colleagues at Stanford University, who later started to identify themselves through neo-institutional organization theories while drawing upon, among other sources, Anthony Giddens' structuration theory and Pierre Bourdieu's theorizing of social fields. Thus, in the rear mirror view, Baker (2014) coins the approach, which is also his, as neo-institutionalism. Roger Dale (2000) labeled the group as world institutionalists while pointing to their long-term undertaking as a demonstration of hypothesized common world educational culture which propels the global spread of schooling almost by osmosis. The globally institutionalized nation-state organization, however, was seen to be of importance in their view of the spread of the world educational culture (Meyer et al. 1997) and the eventual making of the schooled society (Baker 2014). There are, however, alternatives to viewing world society with an emphasis on an interstate political structure (see, Holzer 2015) where primacy would be given to the theory of functional differentiation of global systems of communication, and consequently to theorizing society as a special social system which encloses all other social systems, and thus, logically, leads to viewing a one-world society (see; Luhmann 1997, 2012 and 2013). For the purpose of clarifying the many uses of diversification terminology in current school research, Chap. 7 explores the possibilities in Luhmann's societal theory. A system's theoretical reading of Luhmann's theory of society, however, might offer more possibilities for further elaborations on inner differentiations of the function system of education as observed through national schools systems.

Challenges of Educational Diversity in the Welfare State

The image of the ideal citizenry is intrinsic for the nation-state ideology, and thus offers legitimation for viewing education as the task of the state. Membership of the nation-state, marked in citizenship, implies rights which have been viewed as evolving. For instance, as described in the British context,

Marshall (1950) viewed rights as expanding from civil rights via political rights to finally social rights. Richard Münch (2001, 94) even viewed in such development a possible "embodiment of the modern ethics". In Marshall's classical account, citizenship meant a drive toward equality and the social class meant inequality, while education played a two-way role between these two organization principles. On the one hand, class was anchored in education, and on the other hand, education offered ways of lifting the anchor and striving for social mobility toward equalizing the citizenry, especially when social or "welfare rights" started to expand during the twentieth century, and gradually turned the whole issue of citizenship rights far too complex to be observed through the presumed centrality of class (see Held 1989). The need for a more differentiated view of reflexive citizenship and welfare rights has become acknowledged (e.g. Giddens 1994, 132).

While recognizing the achievements in the reduction of economic inequality in the Nordic welfare states, Giddens' focus was turned to redistribution in terms of sharing risk, which led him to distinguish between external risks and manufactured risks. In his view, the former kinds of risks have prevailed in welfare states due to their origins being incalculable social security provisions. The manufactured risks, instead, due to their reflexive engagement to amaze of life political issues avoid the simple bookkeeper logic and call for generative political programs designed in cooperation with expert systems (Giddens 1994, 152–157; see also Luhmann 1993 for elaborate analysis on the concept of risk). However, we still tend to consider the welfare state very much from the view of its origins in social security. Above all, the electoral behavior in politics tends to economize the welfare state in reference to the scarcity of public funding. Thus, when the state assumes more extensive tasks than its mere compensatory social security role, it faces a dilemma which Luhmann (2000, 215; 1990) viewed as intensifying considerations between variation and redundancy. That is to say, some tend to increase the tasks of the state, while others would refer to the redundancy of these tasks. Both viewpoints, if only in electoral terms, claim as accountable for the economic policy which aims to secure employment and public revenues via taxation (see; Giddens 1994, 153). Such forms of political communication about public tasks within the frame of national economies is still very much the essence of what we have been used to calling the welfare state, especially, since the second half of the twentieth century. In reconstruction contexts following the Second World War, the economic policy was more nation-state determined than it is at the beginning of the twenty-first century, which has brought about increasing competitive elements and pressure for deconstruction of the welfare state programs, but not much novelty in their rethinking. In a way, the welfare state is

still a political form for compensating or capturing inclusion problems, which are typically left to organizational decision-making among the citizenry with social rights framed within national laws and economies. As a consequence, the welfare state programs have difficulties with the world societal development (Stichweh 2005), such as intensified migratory processes. That is to say, passports matter and stateless individuals, in particular, are in danger of accumulated exclusions of different function systems.

We believe that the welfare state is being rethought in the twenty-first century, not only because this political form has been exposed to the so-called neoliberal attack in the past few decades, but also based on the structural issues mentioned above. We therefore asked for recent reflections from two Nordic welfare states. Sweden has often been mentioned as one of the most developed in this sense, but appears to be recently contested with regard to its former guiding principles of its school system (Francia 2014). Finland's PISA fame in school attainment has been firmly connected to the egalitarian welfare state ideology in its long-term development (Antikainen and Pitkänen 2014), which can be questioned, as in Chap. 8, through theorizing the "cultural capital" in terms of discussing Pierre Bourdieu's heritage. In addition, the increasing cultural diversity and teachers' capability of working with it in egalitarian ways, as manifested in welfare state ideology, is examined critically (Chap. 11) at the school level in Finland. It appears that modern schooling can bring about strong professional identity among teachers, which in practice, however, assumes homogeneity among students and reproduces the image of normality as ethnically Finnish.

In short, there has been a strong egalitarian tone in Nordic welfare state thinking about educational rights. The basic education reforms started from Sweden, and were finalized subsequently in a unified nine-year comprehensive school system in Sweden 1962, Norway 1969, Finland 1970, and Denmark 1975. In these schools free of tuition and other costs, the key idea was to keep the whole cohort together without significant differentiations or segregation, and special education arrangements were intended to be integrated. Thus a switch of viewpoint from equality to equity has been seen behind these reforms (Langfeldt 2011). Gender equity has been one of the major concerns in the past few decades, particularly in Swedish schooling. According to the recent gender inequality index of the UNDP, Sweden stands out as the most egalitarian context in the world (Therborn 2013, 106). Therefore, empirical considerations of gender equity in Swedish secondary schools (Chap. 9) can inspire further reflections on persistent operation modes of modern schooling. Furthermore, the ethnic diversification of the student populations in national school systems seem to be raising questions concerning inequalities

of a North–South character also in the Nordic countries. Such experiences as in Chaps. 6 and 11 can lead to rethinking educational responsiveness in the welfare state in more reflexive terms. Intensified immigration and transnationalism can cause challenges to the welfare state-based thinking of the national school system (Antikainen/Pitkänen 2014), while new ways of looking at this political form bound to the membership of the nation-states can be wished for. Citizenship rights are still an important issue with regard to ethnicity and the domain of capitalist production. We therefore believe that it is also important to foster theoretical reflections on the current state of affairs with regard to schooling and education in the Nordic welfare states. Thus, Chap. 10 looks for theoretical perspectives of recognition from the class-based conceptuality, while Chap. 7 seeks inspiration from the recent societal theory of Niklas Luhmann in order to make sense of the terminology used in educational science to observe recent diversifications in education. This is why in this introductory chapter, we have offered some theoretical references to schooling and education viewed from the perspective of theorizing social systems based on communication rather than action.

Overview of the Book

The chapters are organized according to two major topics. The first part of the book consists of five chapters and is focused on nationalism in education in four different states. In this part, Europe's internal North–South issues are examined through struggles for independence in connection to educational issues, but language issues are also brought up as a key issue in nation-building.

In Chap. 2, *Education and Nationalism in Scotland*: *Nationalism as a Governing Resource*, Jenny Ozga explores how nationalism and the creation of a national identity are played out in the educational domain of Scotland and its quest for independence. She examines how the Scottish National Party has used educational policies, such as a comprehensive school and higher education without tuition fees, to distinguish Scotland from the UK and develop as well as strengthen national identity. The Scottish government is strongly relying on education for building the nation and obtaining independence.

In Chap. 3, *Language*, *National Identity and School*: *The Role of the Catalan Language Immersion Program in Catalonian Nationalism*, Montserrat Clua i Fainé connects in many ways to the same issue of the importance of education in a nation's fight for independence. In the case of Catalonia, it is the Catalan language and related language policies that form the backbone of the political struggle. Clua i Fainé focuses in particular on the role of public schools in

Catalan language immersion and how it is part of building Catalan nationalism. Schools are a battlefield between the Catalan and Spanish language but also between Catalan and Spanish nationalisms.

In Chap. 4, *Geographical Divergences of Educational Credentials in the Modern Nation-State*: *A Case-Study of Belgium*, *1961–2011*, Raf Vanderstraeten and Frederik Van der Gucht discuss the structural description of the society in terms of knowledge society as it is currently often seen, through investments in human capital. The latter is customarily conceived in the development and distribution of educational credentials of populations in certain territorial demarcations and time spans. They offer a brief historical background for regionalized educational development and then focus on geographical divergences with attention to top and bottom ends in the regional distribution of human capital. As European regions currently search for knowledge-intensive openings in the economy, their empirical findings suggest that in the case of Belgium, the success of a region relates to the abundance of a highly schooled labor force as well as to the region's ability to avoid relatively large shares of less schooled labor.

In Chap. 5, *Nationalism as a Positive Value*?, Tetyana Koshmanova and Tetyana Ravchyna discuss a project where nationalism is used as a resource for national identity formation in a teacher education program in the Ukrainian crisis situation. They use a diverse group of pre-service teachers' beliefs and values as the basis for exploring Ukrainian nationalism using a democratic teaching approach. The goal of the project is to explore whether in an extreme social crisis situation, nationalism and national identity development can be used to further peace.

In Chap. 6, *Saami Educational and Knowledge Claims in School Systems of the Nordic Countries*, Irja Seurujärvi-Kari and Kari Kantasalmi connect to the national identity and language issues as well as to equality and equity issues in the Nordic countries. The focus of the chapter is on the Saami as an indigenous people in the transnational region across Finland, Norway and Sweden, and their struggles for linguistic and educational rights. The equity issues within schooling in this context also resonate with epistemic concerns of education, inspiring second thoughts on what is meant by knowledge society.

The second part of the book puts the spotlight on the Nordic countries which are generally known for providing high-quality and fair education for all. Many of the national curricula in the Nordic countries have equality and equity as founding pillars for their educational systems. The Nordic states have always been diverse with regard to social class, national minorities, religion and gender, but they have over the last few decades become increasingly diverse with regard to ethnicity due to increased migration. The diversification

of the student populations in the educational systems is raising questions and leading to inequalities of a North–South character even in Nordic schools with persistent inequalities in relation to, for example, gender, ethnicity, class and cultural capital.

In Chap. 7, *Differentiation and Diversification in Compulsory Education*: *A Conceptual Analysis*, Lauri Ojalehto, Mira Kalalahti, Janne Varjo and Sonja Kosunen delve into the meanings and challenges of the concepts of differentiation and diversification as they play out in research on comprehensive schooling. What does school differentiation mean from the perspective of, for example, diverse student populations? What are some of the tools available for understanding the processes through which differentiation develops in our schools? The authors also connect the two main concepts discussed to related concepts such as stratification.

In Chap. 8, *Cultural Capital*, *Equality and Diversifying Education*, Anna-Kaisa Berisha, Risto Rinne, Tero Järvinen and Heikki Kinnari discuss how equality in education has been reconceptualized over time in Finland and how the mechanisms of educational selection have actually maintained inequality at all levels of schooling in a situation of diversifying education. They focus on the importance of institutionalized cultural capital in the social reproduction and social inheritance of education.

In Chap. 9, *Discourses on Gender and Achievement in Lower Secondary Education*, Elisabet Öhrn, Lisa Asp-Onsjö and Ann-Sofie Holm examine gender differences in school achievement in Sweden and the communication processes contributing to the differences. The research is based on a study of nine schools in both rural and urban contexts. The study confirms previous studies showing that valued masculinities are related to non-school work, but this study also shows that high achieving boys can obtain a high status among peers and teachers. For both boys and girls, being high achieving due to being talented is more appreciated and recognized than being high achieving due to hard work.

In Chap. 10, *Justice in Education in the Nordic countries*: *Perspectives*, *Challenges and Possibilities*, Dennis Beach discusses how the core values of equal opportunities and social justice form the foundation of the educational systems in the Nordic countries. He questions whether school systems in the Nordic countries are as successful in working for a socially just education as they are claimed to be. He does this both at a theoretical level using Nancy Fraser's concept of recognition as well as some neo-Marxian concepts with regard to educational practices and outcomes.

In Chap. 11, *Not All Students Are Equally Equal*: *Normality as Finnishness*, Ina Juva and Gunilla Holm go in-depth with how equality is played out in

daily life in two lower secondary schools in Finland. They explore the processes of exclusion and marginalization migrant students encounter in school despite the claims of school being equal for all. Many teachers have different expectations of migrant students and make distinctions between normal Finnish students and "less normal" or too different migrant students because the migrant students are not considered Finnish enough.

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Education and Nationalism in Scotland: Nationalism as a Governing Resource

Jenny Ozga

Introduction

The argument advanced in this chapter is that nationalism is a key resource in the governing of Scotland, and a particular narrative of 'modernised' or civic nationalism has contributed to the rise of the Scottish National Party (SNP) and its success in forming a government in Scotland (first as a minority, and since 2011, as a majority government in the devolved Scottish Parliament at Holyrood). It is important to stress that we are dealing here with *civic* nationalism, defined by Ignatieff (1993) 'as a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in attachment to a shared set of practices and values'. Ignatieff contrasts civic nationalism with ethnic nationalism, pointing out that ethnic nationalism suggests that 'an individual's deepest attachments are inherited, not chosen' as it is 'the nationalist community that defines the individual; not the individual who defines the national community' (Ignatieff 1993, pp. 7–8).

The presentation is based on these research projects: Governing by Inspection: School Inspection and Education Governance in Scotland, England and Sweden (ESRC RES 062 23 2241A); Governing by Numbers: Data and Education Governance in Europe (ESRC RES 00-23-1385) and 'Education and Nationalism: The Discourse of Education Policy in Scotland' (RES-000-22-289) (PI Margaret Arnott)].

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The SNP's opponents (e.g. the major UK political parties) have made much of nationalism's traditional, exclusionary forms and the conflicts they promote (Özkirimli 2005), and have drawn on hostility to ethnic nationalism and its backward-looking, aggressive and damaging ideology to attack the SNP's fundamental aim of independence for Scotland, arguing that an independent Scottish state would be xenophobic and reactionary. This argument was especially marked during the independence referendum campaign in 2014, when anti-independence campaigners (including the UK government) stressed the dangers of Scotland breaking away from the UK, with an emphasis on the political, economic and social risks involved, among which they identified the rise of exclusionary, anti-English ethnic nationalism. This preoccupation with ethnic nationalism has, perhaps, concealed the SNP's strategy of de-toxifying nationalism, through their alignment with social democratic policies and social democratic states, and their avoidance of any 'blood and soil' nationalist rhetoric—for example, reference is always made in SNP policy texts and speeches to 'people in Scotland' and not to the Scottish people and the right to vote in the referendum on independence, for example, was extended to all those living in Scotland aged 16 and over who registered to vote, whatever their origins.

The SNP's fundamental mission is independence for Scotland, and although the referendum held in 2014 on that issue did not win a majority in favour, a significant minority (45 per cent) supported Scotland's exit from the UK. Despite losing that referendum, the SNP in 2015 achieved the third largest membership of any UK political party, although the party is confined to Scotland. Moreover, in the May 2015 general election to the UK Parliament at Westminster, the SNP won 56 out of the 59 Scottish constituencies represented there. This suggests a considerable level of public support for the SNP's stance against the austerity policies of the major UK political parties, and a degree of engagement with civic nationalism, if not yet overwhelming support for independence.

This chapter draws on research funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) (i), along with continuing enquiry, to explore the form that civic nationalism takes in the Scottish context, with particular attention to the education policy as an arena in which political nationalism (the pursuit of independence), along with social and cultural forms, are shaped and propagated by the SNP government, through referencing 'inwards' to shared myths and traditions that stress the public nature of schooling and further and higher education provision and the role of all these publically funded forms of education provision in construction of a shared community; and also referencing 'outwards', especially to selected Nordic comparators, to

education's role in progress, social solidarity and collective development, as well as in economic growth. These two forms of referencing of nationalism are combined in an overarching narrative of *collective learning* in which a 'learning government' is enabled to lead a 'learning nation' towards greater autonomy and self-reliance, within a Northern European frame of reference. The importance of narrative in governing is underestimated: narrative approaches to governing pay attention to the stories people doing governing work tell in order to mobilise values and create coherence in the governing 'project' (Bevir 2013, p. 9). Here, the focus is on the forms of nationalism that are referenced through education in developing the SNP's governing narrative.

In the remainder of the chapter, I first set out the approach taken to understanding governing, and then offer a brief guide to the complex political arrangements in the UK, in order that the context in which the SNP government is working may be better understood. I then briefly review the governing narratives in play in the UK and Scottish governments, before looking at the SNP's education policy, analysing how they craft a national narrative that draws on collective myths, while also connecting to contemporary developments.

Changes in Governing

This chapter draws on research that is itself framed by a set of ideas about the governing of education (and governing more generally) in current conditions of the increased global influence of transnational actors, the rise of standardised policy agendas and the spread of performance management, with its repertoire of benchmarks, indicators and competitive testing regimes (Steiner-Khamsi 2004: Czarniawska and Sevón 2005). The argument about nationalism as a governing resource in the context of Scotland follows from this broader research agenda that has been developed since the early 2000s in a number of European contexts. That research is directly concerned with the relationship between nation states and the European Commission in promoting coherence across education policy in pursuit of economic growth while recognizing the principle of subsidiarity. The work draws on ideas from political science and political and policy sociology to address the shifting place of the nation state in policy for education and lifelong learning in a variety of European contexts (see, e.g. Ozga et al. 2011; Grek and Lindgren 2015).

A key finding of this work is the replacement of traditional, bureaucratically organised, command and control systems by networks of relationships in which cooperation and coordination must be constantly negotiated and managed (Kohler-Koch and Eising 1999; Ball 2007), and which rely on a

mix of particular policy technologies, and on constant work by policy actors to maintain connections and coherence in respatialised governing relations. These policy technologies (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2007, p. 6) include data systems that construct policy problems and frame policy solutions beyond and across the national scale (Nóvoa and Yariv-Marshal 2003; Ozga et al. 2011; Lawn and Grek 2012). Governing, we suggest, is now being done in new policy spaces through a more dynamic and changing set of relationships that are multidimensional, overlapping and fluid (Clarke 2009, p. 2). We see evidence of transnational organisations (e.g. the OECD and the EU) working across and within borders, setting up relationships directly with individuals and organisations, rather than working through hierarchical government 'levels'.

In such a context, the question of the absence of a unifying narrative of government arises—especially as the decentring of the nation-state produces problems, in terms of regulation and control, within a globalised context in which transnational agencies such as OECD, the World Bank and the European Commission are increasingly seeking to use policy in education and lifelong learning to produce standardisation in pursuit of economic competitiveness. Governing, then, becomes a continuous process of managing tensions between centralised and decentralised levels of governance, deregulation and existing or new (re-) regulatory instruments of governance within nation states and between the pressures for European and global convergence and embedded national practices and priorities. In these conditions, an overarching governing narrative may have a vital role to play in promoting coherence (Jacobsson 2006) and in resisting externally imposed change and allowing identification with the national governing 'project'. In our research, we found that nation states with a strong narrative about their collective identity (i.e. a strong civic nationalism) and about what education should contribute to this and their societies more generally were more successful in translating and mediating global and transnational pressures (Ozga, Segerholm, Simola and Dahler-Larsen 2011).

Indeed, the policy field of education has traditionally contributed to the creation of a common space of meaning, around identification with the nation, as Novoa puts it: 'education is, by definition, the space for the construction of national identity' (Nóvoa 2000, p. 46). This association of education with the national has historical roots. In Europe, most national systems providing education and vocational training developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as negotiated settlements between nation-building states, and increasingly, organised and unionised teachers who advanced agendas driven by enlightenment commitments to individual equality and collective progress. These agendas were framed by nation-building activities and this framing

of education systems oriented education provision towards 'problem solving' in relation to what Dale (2007) calls 'persistent problems' within capitalism: preparation of the workforce, disciplining identities to ensure social order and cohesion, and legitimising social ordering despite the continued existence of inequalities. Education policy and politics, along with the capability of national education systems, exercised through the teaching workforce, mediated contradictory imperatives without ever solving—or, indeed, directly recognizing—the problems and tensions they created (e.g. between meritocracy and equality, or between targeted and inclusive provision).

National narratives were often devised to help manage the tensions between these imperatives, and these tensions may be seen, for example, in the divergent national narratives of education to be found in the past and in the contemporary context in England and Scotland within the UK (Arnott and Ozga 2010). Education provision, as well as strengthening national economies, addressing social problems and influencing the distribution of individual life chances, sought to 'define, replicate and ensure their national distinctiveness' (Dale 2007, p. 28). Education played a more or less central role in the shaping and support of national identity, depending on the political history of the nation state—again, looking at the UK, it was and is a key factor in sustaining the identity of the 'stateless nation' of Scotland (McCrone 1992).

To sum up, on the basis of recent and current research, we see a transformation of the governing of education in Europe. That transformation seeks to 'fabricate' Europe through new regulation tools such as benchmarking, statistical indicators or global evaluation procedures. These technologies construct a new space of comparison and new relations of comparison across and within European nation-states. They operate within and between schools as well as within and between governments. Policy actors move through this space of comparison doing the work of fabrication, but it is work of translation as well as transmission, where national interests, with varying resources, are also in play.

These new governing relations may diminish the integrity of the nation-states in the policy field of education, while the emphasis on improving performance and the introduction of various technologies to achieve this have had many consequences, but central to the discussion here is what Laidi (1998) calls the 'loss of meaning' in contemporary globalised conditions. Laidi suggests that the combined imperatives of individualisation and competition in the global market, inherent in the dominant knowledge economy discourse that drives policy in education, fail to create a coherent and persuasive collective narrative of belonging, identity or purpose. Education, rather than acting as a resource in shaping a 'collective narrative' of shared interest in a national project, becomes a source of competitive self-interest, insecurely located in a shifting policy space.

Advocates of the 'modernisation' of education and the use of Big Data to drive programmes of improvement (see e.g. Barber 2014; Barton et al. 2013) are impatient with any attempt to contextualise education reform policies; on the contrary, they tend to judge the efficacy of an intervention in relation to its capacity to travel and transfer easily from one location to another (Grundmann and Stehr 2012; Shiroma 2014). National identity and nationalism are only referenced as an energising force in the competition for 'world class' status and high scores in international league tables. By extension, nationalism that seeks to promote or defend specific characteristics or qualities in education (other than employability) is judged to be at best irrelevant, and at worst, an obstacle to change. Yet, ironically, the rise of nationalism in parts of Europe and elsewhere may indicate the strength of Laidi's argument, as sentiments that draw on collective endorsement of specific cultural, political and social resources are mobilised. This, I suggest, is part of the explanation for the rise of the SNP in Scotland, though there are many other contributory factors. The rise of civic nationalism as expressed in support for the SNP can be read as an instance of the continuing importance of culturally specific narratives in making and understanding education (and indeed wider social) policy, in the context of global pressures for policy convergence, especially in pursuit of the improved performance of education systems. The next section looks at the national narrative, as promoted by the SNP in the policy field of education.

Nationalism and the Governing Narrative

A national narrative was important in the past because it helped to manage the tensions between enlightenment aims and ordering and selection processes intrinsic to education (more properly schooling) systems as they became massified. Scotland, despite its membership of the UK from the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, retained a distinctive narrative of education provision (Arnott 2008) that marked it off from its larger, more powerful neighbour. In the absence of a Scottish state, the key Scottish institutions (the law, the church and education) maintained a Scottish identity: education provision in Scotland contributed to the assertion of continued distinctiveness from England, and played a particularly strong role historically in the shaping and support of national identity (McCrone 1992). This provides resources in established myths and traditions that reference the public nature of schooling in Scotland and promote its contemporary role in both the construction of community and driving economic progress. The social democratic elements of this discourse refer to historically embedded themes in twentieth-century

Scottish education policy, especially in the period of post-1945 social democracy (McPherson and Raab 1988). Key elements of this narrative, which was historically shaped around the need to emphasise difference from England, include relative uniformity in school provision (through a comprehensive school system), greater social mobility, meritocracy, especially the recognition of talent and its fostering regardless of social class, a broad curriculum uniting sciences, arts and humanities and public support for teachers and for education more generally. These elements together came to form what has been termed the 'Democratic Intellect' (Davie 1961). They can certainly be interrogated empirically: my point here is that they create a mythology of Scottish education that offers powerful resources for the construction of a nationalist narrative. People in Scotland are offered the opportunity to identify as inheritors of a tradition that values fairness and inclusivity, while also achieving academic excellence.

The centrality of education in Scottish cultural and political life is illustrated below with a quotation from a speech by the then First Minister of Scotland to the SNP conference, where he confirms the SNP's opposition to charging tuition fees for university education (which apply in England but not in Scotland) by referencing inwards to a set of key elements in the national narrative of education. The text is given added force through the use of a well-known quotation (the rocks will melt wi' the sun) from the National Poet, Robert Burns. Note also the reference to a 'social contract'—a key term in SNP policy texts and speeches.

And this nation pioneered free education for all, which resulted in Scots inventing and explaining much of the modern world. We called this the Scottish Enlightenment. And out of educational access came social mobility as we reached all the talents of a nation to change the world for the better.

> We can do so again: "the rocks will melt wi' the sun" before I allow tuition fees to be imposed on Scottish students—upfront or backdoor— … this is part of the Scottish Settlement, our social contract with the people.
> (First Minister Alec Salmond, Speech to SNP Conference March 2011)

This governing narrative has, of course, developed against the backdrop of major change in the governance of the UK. The UK's devolved political systems are quite complex, and there is not sufficient space to discuss them here (see Keating 2009, Keating et al. 2012). Perhaps the key point is that the UK government which established the various assemblies and parliaments in Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland saw this development as a settlement, while outside England, it came to be understood as a process—or, at least, the

creation of a space for debate. The settlement is unstable (Jeffrey 2009) and has become more so—the reasons for this are summarised below in relation to Scotland.

First, devolution of powers to a Scottish parliament in 1999 'reserved' some areas of social and public policy to UK government control: these do not include education but do include pensions, benefits, employment law, immigration and defence, all areas of increasing divergence in policy between the UK and the Scottish governments, as austerity policies and privatisation have become more entrenched in UK policy agendas. Second, as indicated above, the SNP has formed the Scottish Government since 2007, with a stronger electoral mandate since 2011, and its core political project is independence for Scotland. The constraints of the devolution settlement, as well as the SNP's emphasis on building an independent, confident polity, have constructed a narrative of good governing as one of partnership with local authorities and the third sector in Scotland, and this offers a challenge to the dominant UK discourse of marketisation and privatisation. In addition, the SNP's governing project is in tension with that of the UK government not only on the fundamental issue of independence but also in their projection of an independent Scotland as a social democracy, close to European models such as Norway and Denmark, which in turn, produces direct conflict with the UK government over such issues as the SNP's support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, progressive personal taxation, investment of public funds to address poverty, free state education including support grants for school, further and higher education students, opposition to privatisation of education or health provision and increased pay and employment protection for public sector workers.

Political differences were sharpened with the formation of a UK coalition government of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats in 2010, coinciding with deepening financial recession, and by that coalition's commitment to accelerated deficit reduction borne by reduced spending, rather than increased taxes. It is likely that differences will be further sharpened now that the Conservatives have formed a majority UK government, while, as stated earlier, SNP representation at Westminster has increased very substantially. Moreover, along with reducing public spending, the UK government's social policy agenda, including in education, reflects a resurgence of neo-liberal principles, enabling greater scope for private, commercial involvement in providing and running services, in charging for services, in increased deregulation, reduction in government or quasi-governmental agencies and in the abandonment of universalist principles of provision of services, in favour of residual provision at a level that is intended to reduce dependency on the state.

In distancing itself from this agenda, and seeking support from people in Scotland (especially those who would not describe themselves as nationalist or who voted against independence in the recent referendum), the SNP seeks to construct a particular version of nationalism, a modernised and civic nationalism, which defines nationalism in ways that stress its fluid, contingent and processual elements, and its emphasis on a shared political agenda that is negotiated and re-negotiated and whereby people continue to commit to living together in a democratic polity. This focus on process links nationalism to the SNP's agenda of collective learning—from individuals through to governments—and thence to a greater (interconnected) autonomy of the person and the state. This version of nationalism is quite different from that traditionally embedded in state institutions or in the major political parties, or its contemporary definition and use by politicians other than the SNP government (see Mitchell 1996, for the definitive analysis of the history of Scottish nationalism).

The narrative of collective learning as a path to greater autonomy is very significant for the SNP, and since coming to power, the SNP administration has been highly focused on 'crafting the narrative'—a phrase used repeatedly by senior Scottish government members. This narrative of governance stresses their competence and the limits of the current devolution 'settlement':

"I think there is a reasonable understanding in Scotland generally not just in the political classes or in the media … A constant of the SNP government narrative is we can do what we can with the powers we have got but we could do more with more powers … I think we already see the country go into that phase of the debate so what we are seeing now is significant policy debates open up around economic powers, around borrowing powers, around the ability or the inability of a Scottish government to properly respond when they have their hands tied behind their back." (Senior policy-maker, interview 2009, cited in Arnott and Ozga 2010). SNP policy texts mark a shift in governing mode from the close central regulation practised by their predecessors (including in education) to the setting of a direction through reference to a shared 'project' that is constructed discursively. The shared meaning is highly dependent on a narrative that is (implicitly) nationalist in its references to a shared 'project' that is social democratic with a Scottish accent. The implicit narrative is one that understands the necessity of combining fairness in conjunction with wealth creation, and the prioritisation of certain 'wicked issues' endemic in Scotland and associated with poverty, such as poor health. There is a move away from governing practices that marked previous administrations, and the combined mobilisation of new governing forms (networked and collaborative) with re-definitions of nationalism (as flexible, responsible and achievable—as

indicated earlier, identification with the governing project is open to everyone living in Scotland, not based on ethnic nationalism) and linked to new policyscapes (in small states with predominantly social democratic characters or self-descriptions). Referencing 'outward' re-positions Scotland as close to the small Nordic states and other small social democracies, arguing that they are better placed than more market-exposed systems to survive in times of economic crisis.

Thus, a key factor in the construction of the discourse is comparison, and the focus on selected small, strong nation states as a way of building a particular kind of identity (economically strong and social democratic). The frequent references to selected states serve to create an image of Scotland among them, looking like them, initially with references to aspirations to the same levels of prosperity, more recently with an emphasis on stronger social cohesion. These references create an imaginary (Anderson 1991) of Scotland that has a particular character, but they may also serve to displace the historical 'other' of England, that has been the reference point for so long either in terms of 'difference', or as a dominant, inescapable influence. This positioning of Scotland through selective comparison serves to open up questions about national identity without engaging with complex and volatile references to the past (Gellner 2006), but rather depicts an 'imagined community' of the future.

Crafting the Narrative in Education

Education, as we have seen, provides resources that can be mobilised in this new nationalist project. Divergence in education policy between Scotland and England is present from the late 1970s onwards, when the Conservative-controlled UK administrations re-made education in line with market principles. However, where England introduced a National Curriculum with National Testing and a strong focus on hard performance indicators, these approaches were successfully resisted in Scotland (Jones 2003). Similarly, competition between schools was not promoted as strongly in Scotland (Croxford and Raffe 2007). This helps to support and sustain the idea of education in Scotland as fairer and more inclusive than in England. Since 2007, the discourse around education becomes more complex and more tightly aligned with governing, as education policy becomes a resource in the Scottish government's 'project' of modernised nationalism, and it then emerges and develops as a mixture of conventional and globalised, economistic and individualising policy (to develop skills and personalise learning, e.g.) but inflected by nationalism and national identity that promote a distinctive positioning. In the field of education, ideas of the 'nation' that were already implicit in much

education discourse are now deployed in a simultaneous and self-conscious process of 'inward' referencing of ideas of fairness and equality, combined with 'outward referencing' which places Scotland in alignment with small social democratic states.

Indeed, the SNP government has been very active in the education policy field, establishing Education Scotland (a body that combines inspection with curriculum support and development), pursuing curriculum reform, restructuring provision from early years through to the college sector, and remodelling the relations between local authorities, schools and the inspectorate (Ozga et al. 2013). Learning is a key element of this project: the promotion of learning from evidence and data, along with the contribution thus made to accountability and transparency, are deployed as resources in building consensus that enable a 'learning government' to lead a 'learning nation' (Grek 2014). The Scottish government has attempted to 'craft a narrative' of learning that connects to growing national capacity and independence through education. Thus, although there is an emphasis on economic growth in their statement of National Priorities for Education as the creation of 'successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens', it is aligned with references to selected aspects of national myth or tradition that connect to education's role as a key institution in maintaining and developing national identity. There is, then, a narrative that seeks to establish Scotland in a global competitive environment, but it is inflected with a sense of capacity and national resources and priorities. The economic drivers of policy are linked to the idea of a 'flourishing' Scotland and an emphasis on community, fairness and inclusiveness. This is seen, for example, in an extract from the National Performance Framework, setting out key objectives:

> Our young people are successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens. Our children have the best start in life and are ready to succeed. We live longer, healthier lives.
> We have tackled the significant inequalities in Scottish society. We have improved the life chances for children, young people and families at risk. We have strong, resilient and supportive communities where people take responsibility for their own actions and how they affect others. We take pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity. Our public services are high quality, continually improving, efficient and responsive to local people's needs. (TSG 2007, p. 12)

Analysis of Scottish Government policy texts from 2007 to 2014 reveals a shift over time from early statements dominated by economic imperatives towards a more complex mix. For example, early statements by the then Cabinet Secretary for Education, Fiona Hyslop, stress the need to tie education to the

promotion of sustained economic growth, but this changes to an emphasis on incorporating education's capacity to address problems of poverty. Policy interventions are harnessed explicitly to the 'fairer' agenda: the Scottish government discursively references an education system that was successful and worked well for most, thereby underlining Scotland's tradition of meritocratic egalitarianism (Grek and Ozga 2010), while simultaneously underlining the obligation to help particular groups overcome their material disadvantages, and making links to knowledge economy priorities. The particular character of performance management in Scotland also illustrates the strength of this narrative through the development of self-evaluation in education. New performance management arrangements require service providers to manage services and account for performance (Crerar 2007, p. 16). These developments reference the reduction of bureaucracy through drawing on expert judgement, making more use of evidence, building trust and committing to constant learning from self-evaluation, not only in relation to education/learning policy and institutions, but more broadly as a key characteristic of good governing.

More recently, the focus has shifted to the Scottish universities, as the SNP government seeks to draw them into this governing project. The public character of Scotland's universities stems not only from their public funding, but from their historical role as 'harvesters of talent' whatever its social origins. A direct connection to democracy is promoted through the idea of the 'democratic intellect' (Davie 1961) which expressed the principle that the pursuit of learning and scholarship is one in which 'society as a whole has an interest' (von Prondzynski et al. 2012). A recent review of university governance (von Prondzynski et al. 2012) at the same time as the introduction of University Sector Outcome Agreements in 2012–2013 could be interpreted as attempts to draw the higher education sector into a debate on its public role and responsibilities, and to make a public demonstration of the universities' acceptance of the forms of accountability they are required to meet. Considerable discursive resources have been mobilised by the Scottish government around the 'public' nature of university governance (including the idea of the 'democratic intellect') stressing the need of society 'to protect its broader investment in education, knowledge and intellectual innovation in a way that makes the most of a long Scottish tradition adapted to the needs of the twenty first century world' (von Prondzynski et al. 2012). SNP policy for higher education uses *inward referencing* to embedded and shared ideas of the public nature of universities in Scotland and their democratic and intellectual traditions to help in 'steering' of the universities towards their identification with a national 'project'. 'The Learning Nation' has been employed as a discursive strategy within this 'project' (Russell 2012). The attempted steering of the sector is revealed in the new

funding arrangements that tie increased investment in teaching and research to 'working with us' [i.e. the government] and assessment of that work through the National Performance Framework, while the Scottish Funding Council, that allocates funds to the universities, is also calling for closer collaboration between universities in order to deliver TSG's agenda.

Conclusion

In the case of Scotland, discussed above, the form of civic nationalism being constructed and mobilised by the SNP government is explored through examination of the narrative of modernised and civic nationalism as it is mobilised and promoted in policy for education. This narrative references key historically embedded assumptions about Scottish society, while also promoting essential elements of civic nationalism in pursuit of political independence. Education is a space in which national identity may be promoted or re-imagined (Arnott and Ozga 2010), though this has often been attempted in pursuit of ethnic nationalism, and using curriculum change to promote a narrative of difference and definition of the 'other'.

The SNP's agenda takes a different form, and this was clearly understood by SNP political actors who saw education as contributing to the building of a distinctive polity: referencing the past, but also building commitment to collective and reciprocal learning. This stress on learning and collective discussion was also marked in relation to their working with EU— and European-wide actors (Grek 2014, Lawn and Grek 2012). According to Scottish actors' interpretations, this European approach to education, to a degree, contains and constructs a political and cultural 'project' of cooperation, integration and cultural exchange in education offering them critical resources, as a way of marking a difference from what they regard as market-driven, competitive and increasingly privatised education provision in England. Importantly, this is discursively constructed as a 'learning' project, in which politicians, professionals and publics may be constructively engaged.

Modernised civic nationalism as it appears in education policy in Scotland provides resources that fulfil governing objectives that seek to have effects beyond that field because, as I have attempted to show, the SNP government draws on inward referencing to embedded myths about education in Scotland along with outward referencing to the small states that it seeks to emulate, and this narrative is given coherence through the emphasis on collective learning, through which a 'learning government' is enabled to lead a 'learning nation' towards greater—personal and political—independence:

"so for decades you have had this top down approach in education which has been civil servants telling ministers, ministers then tell local government, local government then tell directors of education and directors of education tell head teachers and then head teachers tell teachers … There is this suffocation by direction … so we are changing the education system, we hope, from one of dependence to one of independence and again that is quite a challenge … you can't be confident individuals if you think other people will do things for you … whether it is on a personal basis or a national …" (Interview with Cabinet Secretary SNP Government 2009 cited in Arnott M and Ozga J 2010)

References inward discursively promote the nation to itself as social democratic, while references outward reinforce this distinctive version of nationalism and reduce the dangers of invoking nationalist sentiment of a more traditional, exclusionary nature (Ozkirimli 2005). In the construction of this narrative, the SNP government is doing political work that 'both discursively and interactively seeks to change or reproduce institutions by mobilising values' (Smith 2009, p. 13). At the same time, that political work is de-toxifying nationalism, embedding it in ideas of civic identity and partnership, and stressing the need for a redefinition of nationalism in Scotland as open, inclusive and reflexive. This is an ambitious project, undertaken in increasingly difficult times as the austerity measures of the UK government begin to have substantial effects, and as its rhetoric of separation from Europe, and of labelling and exclusion of migrants, becomes more strident. These developments may, indeed, be re-toxifying nationalism in England, and suppressing the mobilisation of civic nationalism, to counteract this harsh and exclusionary governing narrative.

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Language, National Identity and School: The Role of the Catalan-Language Immersion Program in Contemporary Catalan Nationalism

Montserrat Clua i Fainé

'There is nothing like a neutral educational process'
P. Freire, *Pedagogía del oprimido*

Introduction

In this chapter, we shall briefly describe the educational model in Catalonia and show how it reflects the expression of a historical national identity opposed to the Spanish state using Catalan language. The school is a crucial space for the construction of a nation and its citizens (Gellner 1983, Anderson 1996, Billig 1995) and it is an object of political dispute and control in contexts of contrasted nationalisms, as in the case of Spain and Catalonia. In this Spanish territory, Catalan language is one of the mainstays of Catalan ethnic-national identity, indeed perhaps the most important one (Llobera 2004, Barrera 1997,

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Woolard 1989). In this circumstance, the role of school in teaching of and in Catalan is a nuclear and sensitive political issue that goes far beyond ordinary considerations about linguistic competencies. Catalan nationalism placed the defense of Catalan language at the core of their struggle and thus, puts the school at the eye of the hurricane. Any action that pretends to change or question the use of Catalan at the school is regarded as 'an attack' against Catalan identity and immediately sparks all kinds of protesting reactions—both political and social—in Catalonia.

As Guimerà and Fernandez (2014, p. 48) argued, 'The significance given to the Catalan language is no accident. For many Catalan nationalists, the continuity of Catalonia as a nation depends on the preservation of Catalan. Since the Franco dictatorship, when the public use of the Catalan language was prohibited and persecuted, there has been a wide social and political agreement (especially between political parties of Catalan origin) on the importance of language as a basic component of Catalonia's national identity and the need for its promotion'. For this reason, one of the crowning achievements of the Catalan nationalists during the Spanish Transition from dictatorship to democracy (1975–1979) was to secure that the Catalan autonomous government had full powers in the management of the use of Catalan in education.

The Spanish Constitution of 1978 established the contemporary political organization of Spain: a sort of decentralized or semi-federalist State divided in 17 regional Autonomous Communities (*Comunidades Autónomas*) with different levels of self-government between them and the central Spanish government. In this context, Catalonia regained its political self-government with the restoration of the *Generalitat de Catalunya*—the autonomous regional Catalan government—in 1979. The Constitution also recognizes that Spain's minority languages are co-official with Spanish in the territories where they are spoken, as in the Catalan case. With this explicit constitutional recognition, the *Generalitat* government implemented in 1983 a linguistic policy in public Catalan schools to promote the Catalan language, the 'linguistic immersion': the use of Catalan as the language of instruction in all public primary and secondary schools in Catalonia. This current educational model was designed to protect the minority language in the region where it was recognized as the own local language, in a context of bilingualism, where Spanish was primarily present in the public sphere and the media after the Franco dictatorship (Woolard 1989).

Given the crucial role that Catalan plays in Catalan identity—and the symbolic and social capital entailed in using it— to know and use the Catalan language became a fundamental factor in the social ascent of non-Catalan-speakers (primarily workers who had immigrated from the rest of Spain in the

1950s to 1970s). It is important to bear in mind that in the early 1980s, 38 % of the people living in Catalonia had not been born there. This percentage was 61 % in the province of Barcelona (where 75 % of the population of Catalonia lived), 61 % of whom did not speak Catalan; only 15 % spoke, understood and wrote it. In this context, the majority of lower- and middle-class Spanish-speaking families were in favor of the immersion system as a guarantee that their children would end up knowing both languages; this would help their integration and ascent in Catalan society. And it seems that the system worked: according to the VIII Report on the situation of the Catalan Language (CRUSCAT 2015), which contains data from 2014, currently the number of people in Catalonia who identify with Catalan (2,275,100 people) is higher than the number of people for whom Catalan is their first language (1,939,500 people). Up to 94.3 % of the population claims to understand Catalan and 80.4 % claim to speak it (5,027,200 people). So, the language immersion system at schools was implemented with a fairly broad political, media and social consensus in Catalonia regarding its benefits in terms of fostering equal opportunity.

This consensus on the benefits of the model even reached Europe, where representatives of the European Parliament at different moments have cited it as an example of how to handle bilingualism without social segregation for language. The European Commission also praised Catalonia's educational model and suggested extending it to other EU countries as an example of a 'good practice' (http://www.publico.es/espana/aval-europa-al-sistema-educativo.html). This European reconnaissance also has had a boosting role in Catalan regional cultural empowering (Crameri 2000). However, not all parents have agreed with this system. Until quite recently, this was a small minority and was considered not very representative in a hegemonic discourse that defended the Catalan-language immersion model. Yet recently, with the rise of the pro-independence movement in Catalonia and the polarization of political and identity positions, some parents have begun to claim their linguistic right for their children to be educated in Spanish in public schools. Even though there are still just a handful of cases within the educational community as a whole, the number of lawsuits in the courts is on the rise. The Catalan government's response has been to counter the lawsuits with appeals in the higher courts, keeping the debate in the legal arena. In this way, the years have gone by without any changes in the educational model.

However, this strategy has apparently come to an end with the new framework of political confrontation, and with the legal support provided to the parents filing these lawsuits by the 2010 Constitutional Court ruling against the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia and the new Spanish Education Law

approved in 2013 (abbreviated the LOMCE). The confrontation between Spanish and Catalan is not new (Balcells 1996), but it has become radicalized in recent years with the increased support for independence in Catalonia (Muñoz and Termos 2014; Clua 2014). To date, the response of the Spanish government to this political challenge has primarily been judicial, requiring compliance with the laws (especially the Spanish Constitution). It does not leave room for debate and political agreement; rather, on the contrary, frames the conflict as purely judicial. In this strategy, it should be interpreted the approval of the LOMCE and its consequences. The new law required all administrations of the autonomous communities with an own language to offer Spanish in a 'reasonable proportion' alongside the co-official regional language. This requirement has supported a ruling by the Supreme Court of Justice of Catalonia (TSJC), which forced ten schools to change the Catalan-language immersion model, implemented in Catalonia from 1983 to date. The ruling orders 25 % of the class hours to be taught in Spanish to the entire group that shares the classroom with a student who has requested instruction in Spanish. The measure is based on a hierarchy between the two languages, because it requires all the students in the classroom to change their linguistic system even if just one student requests to do it in Spanish, thus prioritizing this student's rights over those of their other classmates. This change in the linguistic Catalan model has generated intense public and political debate in Catalan media. The order of the court was rejected with acts of protest and demonstrations in the streets against what was considered a Spanish offensive against the Catalan language. This situation increased the tensions inside the schools affected by the requirement.

In this chapter, we shall explain when, how and why the Catalan-language immersion model currently on debate was introduced. We shall examine what is happening today with these legal rulings that are shaking up the educational model and causing conflicts in schools and among families. The purpose of the chapter is to show not only how the bilingual education system works in Catalonia, but also the different interpretations being supported by both governments (Catalan regional/Spanish central) on the status of bilingualism and how it is handled. This situation could be interpreted within the framework of the debate on the protection of individual rights versus collective rights in a context of institutionalized bilingualism—that is, about the legal and political limits of the recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity in a democratic society and the difficulties of multiculturalism (Taylor 1994). However, what is being debated is not simply a problem of legal rights among administrations, but the underlying issue of the concept of nation and the centrality (or underestimation) of language in the two clashing nationalisms. It is part of an ideological and political debate that pits the Spanish national model—which does not recognize the linguistic–cultural plurality (much less

the pluri-nationality) within its borders— against a model of Catalan nation that places language at the core of its existence. Therefore, as soon as the pro-independence movement came to the fore in Catalonia, the issue of language at school became one of the arenas where the struggle for national legitimacy has been playing out.

The Catalan Education System: From Franco-era Repression to the Spain of the Autonomous Communities

The educational model applied today in Catalonia—as the emergence of Catalan nationalism—cannot be understood without examining its recent political history. It is rooted in an educational tradition of pedagogical modernization of late nineteenth century, with proposals for an innovative education such as those postulated by Francisco Giner de los Ríos at the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. This model led to the Spanish republican schools of the 1930s, an educative proposal that reflected the previous complex ideological debates (as Catholicism vs. anticlericalism; monarchism vs. republicanism; bourgeois modernization vs. proletarian movements) and that lead to the Civil War of 1936–1939 and to Franco's era until 1975, when the republican school was abolished.

The recollection of this republican experience (which in Catalonia also entailed the possibility of speaking and teaching in Catalan at school), and especially, the repression against Catalan language during the Franco dictatorship are very present in today's educational model in Catalonia.

Although it is not exceptional, the process of linking education and nationalism found its utmost exponent during the Franco regime. Schools became vital instruments in the 'Spanishisation' of students and in their training in the values of fascist national-Catholicism. So republican instructors, or those who did not concur sufficiently with the regime, were purged (Morente Valero 1997: pp.399–417). The Falangist model of highly hierarchized schools was applied, with single-sex education, where corporal punishment was the rule, and students were required to assemble daily in the playground and pay homage to the Spanish national flag by singing the Falangist anthem *Cara al Sol*.

In Catalonia, during the dictatorship, not only were the local political institutions nullified, but Catalan language and culture were also persecuted. The use of Catalan was banned in administrative organizations and the public sphere, relegating it to the private sphere: personal names were translated into Spanish in the public registries, as were place names, the names of streets,

posters and advertisements, and even gravestones in cemeteries. Publishing books in Catalan was banned, and the use of Spanish was imposed among civil servants, at the university, at school, in cinemas, in the press, on the radio and even among prisoners in jail (Ferrer i Gironès 1985). In the sphere of education, the names of schools were changed, a calendar of holidays that glorified the fascist regime was imposed and the 1945 *Nueva Ley de Educación Primaria* (New Law on Primary Education) only allowed classes to be taught in Spanish. Within this context, innovative options in education and instruction in Catalan were relegated to the underground, the same way that the Catalan language and identity were transmitted in homes and in family domestic education for the 40 years that the dictatorship lasted.

The Catalan cultural resistance to the Franco regime's repression emerged with the death of Franco in 1975. Catalans took action to revive their political institutions and achieve a high degree of political autonomy within democratic Spain. Barrera (2004, p. 17) claims that in the period prior to the 1978 approval of the Spanish Constitution, the language issue in Catalonia revolved around two clearly defined avenues. First was the restitution of the Catalan language to the place it deserved in the regions where it is the own local language, through the so-called linguistic normalization. Second, the cultural–linguistic integration or assimilation of the Spanish-speaking immigrants who had come in droves to Catalonia from the 1950s to 1970s (mainly from the rural areas of Andalusia, Extremadura and Aragon to work in Catalan developed industry).This spurred the possibility that those two ethno-linguistically distinct and clashing communities would coalesce. This period witnessed a huge demonstration on 11 September 1977, which demanded political recognition of Catalonia. As Barrera (2004, p. 17) claims, it "signaled a loud knock on Spain's doors: Catalonia exists, it is showing itself with all its political might, and it is expressing itself in Catalan. These events also aroused sympathy and admiration in many other parts of Spain. However, these sentiments easily switch to a lack of understanding and mistrust, especially when political consequences are demanded, and when specific claims for restitution, amends and self-governance come".

Regardless, the system of Spanish Autonomous Communities was established in 1979, and in it, Catalonia enjoys a high degree of regional autonomy with full powers in education, healthcare, regional police and prison management. The first autonomous Catalan government, led by the conservative Catalan nationalist Jordi Pujol (president of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* from 1980 to 2003), emphasized strengthening Catalonia's identity and autonomy within Spain. The efforts to reinforce the national Catalan identity revolved around promoting the culture, and even more importantly, reviving the use

of the Catalan language. This was accomplished by developing language policies and promoting the use of Catalan at school, in the public administration and in the media (Crameri 2000; Guimerà and Fernández 2014). With these policies, the institutions promoted by the *Generalitat* made swift progress in re-Catalanizing the life of its citizens culturally and politically. This system was cited as an example or model for other stateless nations like Scotland (Crameri 2000). It also led to a "banal nationalism" (Billig 1995) which, as Crameri argues, "can undermine political efforts to keep nationalist movements 'hot' in order to mobilize the population into supporting demands for greater independence" (Crameri 2000, p. 145). This approach worked until 2010. The economic and political crises lived in Catalonia (with the sentence of the Constitutional Court against the Statute of Autonomy approved by referendum by Catalan people, and with the harsh economic restrictions caused by failure to comply with the financing by the Spanish government) crudely showed the limitations of self-government of Catalonia within Spain (Clua 2014).

One of the cornerstones of this institutionalized strengthening of the national identity by the Catalan government was securing exclusive powers in education in Catalonia. Among the many initiatives, in 1978, the SEDEC (*Servei d'Ensenyament del Català*: Catalan Education Service) was created, which was the prime driving force behind the language immersion program that was applied by the Catalan Parliament in Catalan public schools in 1983.

However, the Catalan education system had to adjust to the common basic law on education set by the Spanish government and which is applied in all territories. The Spanish basic education law is the Organic Law on the General Educational System (LOGSE), which began to be experimentally implemented in the early 1980s, even though it did not enter into force until 1990, and its implementation took several years throughout the 1990s (compulsory secondary education, for example, began to be implemented in 1996–1997). The LOGSE stipulated 55 % of the curricular areas and their contents as the general reference framework for all of Spain. The autonomous communities organized the rest of the curriculum and contents (45 %) according to their interests. In the case of Catalonia, some of the approaches from the republican model of the Catalan school from the early twentieth century were revived, and the contents were determined with a stress on Catalan cultural and 'national' diversity (by learning the language but also taking a 'local' look at other disciplines, like history or geography). Nevertheless, regardless of the distribution of the curricular quotas, the Catalan education system is characterized by the application of a linguistic model—the language immersion—which is prior to the approval of the LOGSE and that still works.

The Language Immersion System

As mentioned above, once democracy was restored in Spain and the Autonomous Communities were established in 1978, the Catalan government of the *Generalitat* made a major effort to revive the cultural and language policies with the goal of promoting the normalization of the Catalan language. In this context, the introduction of Catalan in schools was a top-priority action as a way of increasing the social use of a language that had been restricted to the private sphere of Catalan-speaking families during the dictatorship.

This process is defined legally by the Catalan Statute of Autonomy and the respective laws enacted by the government of the *Generalitat* to promote linguistic normalization. As Barrera (2004) claims, the pooled result of these laws (and of the Spanish Constitution that serves as their underpinning) is that Spanish and the local language are co-official in the autonomous regions where this status is recognized: In 1998, the Parliament of Catalonia recognized a new 'Language Policy Law' which largely revolved around the somewhat ambiguous concept of "local language", which serves to expand the role assigned to Catalan to the limits allowed by the constitution framework, through the "overflow" of the concept of "official language", whose legal definition is clearer. All of this is possible because of the existence of a steadfast political will, because of the way the citizenry legitimized the *Generalitat*'s policies through the channels of the democratic process, and because of the solid, widespread consensus in Catalonia around the language issue (Barrera 2004, p. 19).

The school model based on language immersion was introduced by the psycholinguist Miguel Siguan, who was familiar with the experiments conducted with French in Quebec, and promoted the idea of educating students in the minority language as the most valid model to ensure the normalization of the minority language (Strubell et al. 2011, p. 9). The model was put into place by the SEDEC leaders upon the approval of Law 7/1983 on Language Normalization passed by the Catalan Parliament, which enshrined Catalan as the "own local language of Catalonia and of education at all levels". The purpose of the language normalization plan was to ensure that Catalan was used in all spheres equal to Spanish, that is, to achieve bilingualism with both languages. In Catalonia, all Catalan speakers are bilingual in Spanish, but many Spanish speakers did not know Catalan, nor had they had any chances to learn it during the dictatorship (just as many Catalan speakers who had been educated in Spanish at Franco-era schools barely knew how to read and write in Catalan).

From then on, Catalan gradually carved a niche for itself at school until the Language Immersion Program was implemented for the first time in public schools in academic year 1983–1984. The idea was that the most important thing was to devise an educational pattern that did not exclude children because of their language or segregate them into two different kinds of schooling. Thus, immersion was posited as a learning technique which would include both languages: Catalan was the language of instruction, and at least one class was required in Spanish (besides the Spanish Language class), along with the possibility of students' receiving early personalized schooling in Spanish (Strubell et al. 2011).

The language immersion system is implemented in public schools and publicly subsidized private schools, but it cannot be forcibly implemented in private schools if they have other linguistic and educational purposes (such as the French or American schools, which teach in French and English, respectively). All the public schools and publicly subsidized private schools provide preschool education in Catalan and teach students how to read and write in Catalan. Spanish is gradually introduced (first orally and later in written texts) throughout the period ranging from ages five to eight. During primary and secondary school, Spanish and Catalan language and literature classes are taught for an equal amount of time. In this way, Catalan is the language of instruction in the vast majority of classes within the school curriculum, with the exception of Spanish and foreign language classes (usually English or French).

The model was implemented for the first time in Santa Coloma de Gramanet, a town within the Barcelona metropolitan area with a student population that was primarily Spanish-speaking. Since it was a pilot plan, it was handled through the decisions of an assembly in order to generate consensus, giving a voice and vote to all the members of the educational community involved: including students, parents and the school. The purpose of the plan was not only to hold all classes in Catalan, but also to adopt the language for the entire school environment: on the playground, in the hallways, in the cafeteria, and so on. To do so, the school renewed their teaching guidelines, while the *Generalitat* promoted Catalan re-training plans targeted at the teachers, who also showed weaknesses in their use of Catalan language.

The model received support not only from the Catalan Department of Education and the teachers, but also from the Town Hall and the families. Since it allowed some students from Spanish-speaking families—who usually lived in a fully Spanish-speaking environment—to begin to use Catalan outside the classrooms. Many parents saw learning Catalan as an opportunity to improve their children's future professional and social prospects. The way the initiative in Santa Coloma was embraced enthusiastically overall encouraged its spread to the other public schools in Catalonia.

After academic year 1992–1993, schooling in Catalan became the instructional model all over Catalonia, for students from both Catalan- and Spanish-speaking families, and for immigrant families from outside of Spain (mainly non-EU citizens). These immigrants and their children find themselves in a bilingual region where schooling is primarily provided in Catalan. For this reason, orientation classrooms were created in academic year 2004–2005, where more than 170,000 children and teens have been served.

Even though the Catalan government stated that the voices against the model in Catalan society were marginal, already in 1985, one father who was a lawyer filed a grievance in the courts. He argued that when he reached Catalonia from another region of Spain, he had to send his son to a secondary school where the instruction was in Catalan. Therefore, the judicialization of the language immersion system occurred almost simultaneously with the implementation of the model. It has continued with further grievances filed by other families over time. However, in 1994, the Constitutional Court of Spain responded to this grievance with a ruling in favor of language immersion, thus definitively instating the model in the classrooms of Catalonia. Over the course of these years, the model has operated without any major questioning from the public. Nevertheless, there has been a rise in the criticisms and legal grievances from entities and families (which Catalanists identify as pro-Spain) in the past two years, which have been supported by a shift within the Spanish judicial system in favor of their grievances.

The Judicialization of the Language Debate

The increase in the number of grievances filed against the language immersion model witnessed a turning point in 2010. In July 2010, the Spanish Constitutional Court declared unconstitutional much of the new Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (approved in 2006). This ruling is one of the causes of the rise in pro-independence sentiment in Catalonia (Clua 2014), and its implications include a shift in the judicial criteria applied to the issue of language immersion until then. While the same court had endorsed Catalan as the language normally used in classrooms in the 1990s, starting in 2010, it was deemed that Spanish had to be equally important: both languages were established as the languages of instruction. This ruling generated a reaction in Catalan civil society, which in 2010 also created a citizen platform called *Som escola* (We Are School), which has undertaken important demonstrations and acts of protest against what is viewed as an (another) attack against the Catalan school.

Paradoxically, the Constitutional Court ruling does not declare (either the whole or any of its particular articles) the Catalan Educational Law (LEC) unconstitutional, so, in fact, the legal framework still in place is the LEC. It does not question the principles upon which the linguistic immersion model is built. The principles are: (1) that Catalan is the language normally used as the language of communication, instruction and learning in the school; (2) that students cannot be segregated in schools or in groups in different classrooms because of the language they habitually use; and (3) that by the end of their schooling, they should have full mastery of both languages. These principles are still endorsed by the Constitutional Court (especially in rulings 337/1994 and 31/2010). Both rulings explicitly say that: 'given the goal of language normalization in Catalonia, it is perfectly legitimate that Catalan should be the center of gravity of this model of bilingualism, albeit always with the caveat that this does not lead to the exclusion of Spanish as an instructional language, so that its knowledge and use are guaranteed within the Autonomous Community' (Xarxa CRUSCAT 2015, p. 148).

The shift in the judicial criteria, thus, is the consideration that Spanish has to be equally important as language of instruction for the individual who wishes to be educated in Spanish. It frames the issue in terms of the individual rights of the citizens who are calling for a greater presence of Spanish in their children's education. The judicial decisions promoted by individuals only affect these individuals, not involving a change in the overall system. Nevertheless, it has supported parents opposed to language immersion, who have begun to win the grievances they have filed.

We should frame the approval of the LOMCE (Organic Law 8/2013 dated 9 December 2013 to Improve Educational Quality) in this Constitutional Court's shift in position. This law is popularly known as the 'Wert Law' because it was proposed and promoted by the Spanish Minister of Education, Culture and Sports, Mr. José Ignacio Wert (one of the ministers with the lowest citizen ratings in Spain). With the LOMCE, he clashed with the majority of opposition political groups, parents' associations, teachers' unions and student organizations around Spain. Since it was approved definitively in 2013 (only with the votes of the Partido Popular, which is currently governing with an absolute majority), it has been highly contested. It is viewed as controversial by some Spanish social and political sectors because of its catholic, conservative and re-centralizing proposals. In addition to the educational law, Mr. Wert has also promoted other changes, such as a tightening in the academic requirements to gain access to and keep scholarships.

From a Catalan perspective, the LOMCE has two important effects. In this new education law, the original percentage of the LOGSE (of 55 % of

common part of curriculum and contents for all of Spain) rose to 65 %, reducing only to 35 % the capacity of the autonomous communities to organize the rest. Regarding language immersion in Catalonia, the new law stipulates Catalan public schools' obligation to offer schooling in Spanish to families that request it, to ensure, thus, the defense of citizens' exercise of individual right to be educated in Spanish and to guarantee their freedoms.

The procedure provided for in the LOMCE requires the Spanish government to use public funds to finance a place in a private school—which is quantified at more than 6000 euros per academic year—if the Catalan Department of Education does not guarantee education in Spanish for students requesting it in a public or publicly subsidized private school. Thus, the state must pay the family the money, and later, the Spanish Ministry of the Treasury recovers this amount from the money earmarked to the *Generalitat*. The Ministry of Education had set aside a fund of five million euros to cover the 1000 requests that it was expected to receive during academic year 2013–2014. Even though the system helps the families to send their children to a private school at the expense of the administration, far fewer were actually received. Both administrations differ considerably regarding the number of requests received during the first year in which the LOMCE was in effect. While the Spanish Ministry of Education claimed that it had received 362 requests from families who wanted their children to be schooled in Spanish, the *Generalitat* stated that it only had records of 60 requests. Both administrations concur that none of these requests has been granted because they did not fulfill the criteria (in some cases, the children already went to private schools, so they could not be financed by public resources).

However, this new law encouraged around 20 parents to request this measure in the courts, and in January 2013, the TSJC required four primary schools and one secondary school to teach 25 % of the core courses in Spanish, as it deemed this a 'reasonable' percentage (the families were asking for 50 %). The ruling orders 25 % of the class hours to be taught in Spanish to the entire group that shares the classroom with a student who has requested instruction in Spanish. To date, the *Generalitat*'s response has been to refuse to accept the law and to only implement it in a very limited fashion (just in some courses and in purely administrative matters). In September 2014, 25 % of the classes were taught in Spanish in only two schools all over the region. However, after the trickle of interlocutory judgments throughout the academic year, in June 2015, nine schools were applying this measure. Ultimately, even though it does not agree, the *Generalitat* can merely obey the rulings of the TSJC and recommend that schools implement them. The legal penalties for noncompliance are leveled not at the Catalan government but at the schools, and specifically, at the school headmasters personally. In practice, therefore, *Wert*

Law implies changing the language immersion system, which—in theory—is still in force and has been recognized by the courts as valid.

In any event, this situation has prompted tension in schools and protests from other parents whose language rights are also being denied just because one student has requested to be taught in Spanish. This situation turns the families who have made the requirement into the target of the other families' indignation. In some cases, they can be easily identified, especially in little schools or if they have children of different ages because their classrooms are the only ones where the 25 % is applied.

The reactions by the Catalan school community veer off in two directions: some are calling for disobedience toward the Spanish laws, while some are arguing that in reality, it would be a good idea to guarantee that only 25 % of the classes are taught in Spanish. In the latter case, they are revealing the fact that in reality, more classes are taught in Spanish than the system recognizes. The language immersion model is today more a myth than a reality, given that the schools and teachers adapt to their students' language needs. The figures on Catalan students' level of Spanish compared to other Spanish students seem to corroborate the fact that this is more a political than a linguistic debate. The latest results of the Program for International Student Assessment (the PISA tests) show that the academic level of Catalan students is higher than the average in Spain as a whole. These values include knowledge of Spanish, which is higher among these students than among their counterparts from other monolingual autonomous communities, where all the instruction is delivered in Spanish (Strubell et al. 2011, p. 9–10).

Therefore, this is more a political than a linguistic problem, and this is how much of Catalan society has interpreted it. It is a highly sensitive topic, given that it has to do with one of the hallmarks of Catalan identity: the language. Any questioning of the language immersion system is interpreted as an attack on the schools, which play an almost sacred role as the guarantors of the national language and identity. The debate revolves around a narrative that stresses the idea of aggression, of a Spanish desire to eliminate the Catalan identity through an offensive against its language and against the social cohesion attained through the implementation of language immersion. Wert Law and the rulings that change the school model are added to the list of aggressions that Catalan nationalists attribute to Spain, and it has been one of the catalysts behind the current pro-independence demands of some of my informants. It has sparked all sorts of public actions in favor of the Catalan school and against Minister Wert and his law, which range from huge demonstrations in defense of the 'Catalan school' to angry reactions in the social media and other media, along with protest songs, jokes and critical caricatures in Mardi Gras parades.

The political interpretation does not seem to be so far from reality if we bear in mind the words of Minister Wert who, in a plenary of the Congress of Deputies in Madrid in defense of the LOMCE, admitted that "our interest is to Spanishise Catalan children". This utterance did not go unnoticed in Catalonia; in fact, quite the contrary: it is one of the most often cited and evoked by those in favor of Independence. Wert not only confirmed this intention but also explained that his educational policy in Catalonia was aimed at "ensuring that Catalan children feel as proud of being Catalan as they do of being Spanish". In this way, the students would have "a balanced experience of both identities"—Spanish and Catalan—because "they both enrich and strengthen each other" (http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2012/10/10/espana/1349858437.html).

Thus, we have reached the crux of the matter. In a context of an accentuation of the political and identity conflict in Catalonia, schools have become the arena in which the struggle for control of the national identity is being fought, and where the different visions of the nation and recognition (or not) of the multicultural and multilingual reality of Spain is being played out.

Recognition of Bilingualism in Spain

The instatement of democracy in Spain meant dealing head-on with what was called the 'language question'. The Spanish Constitution approved in 1978 recognizes Spain's linguistic plurality and it established Spanish as the "official state language" which "all Spaniards have the duty to know and the right to use" (Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution). Catalan, Basque and Galician are co-official, albeit only in the territories where these languages are local 'own language'. This recognition was the outcome of the debates that got underway in some media and literary circles in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in the intellectual and political hubs of the bilingual regions. But it was viewed quite differently by many monolingual Spaniards. As Barrera (2004) exemplifies, in these debates, two positions were pitted against each other, which he illustrates with the reflections of two authors: the 'liberal Spain-centered' view represented by the sociologist and political scientist Juan Linz, and the 'social democratic-peripheral' view represented by the Valencian sociolinguist Rafael Ninyoles. These positions reflect two fundamental dilemmas in a different way: What prevails more: individual personal rights or collective personal rights? Should a principle of territoriality or a principle of individual choice be applied?

From the monolingual 'liberal Spain-centered' perspective, the 'language question' was interpreted as a question of individual rights. Bilingualism was not interpreted as a richness for Spain, but as a 'problem' which was circumscribed to the regions that had a local language. Assuming a hierarchy among languages, Spanish starts from a privileged position since it is the official language of the entire state; the only one that all Spaniards have the duty to know and the right to use. This greater importance of Spanish compared to the regional languages makes it impossible to require, and even to effectively promote, a substantial proportion of the Spanish population becoming bilingual (and even less quadrilingual): "Spanish-speaking (monolingual) Spaniards are not completely aware and generally refuse to be aware of the multilingual nature of the country (on its periphery). The use of the peripheral languages is essentially disturbing to the Spanish-speaking Spaniards". (Linz 1975, p. 374, cited in Barrera 2004).

This explains why the use of the four languages in public life has to remain highly territorially restricted and limited, and why language policies that aim to achieve differing degrees of bilingualism have to be developed and implemented only in the regions with local languages. The 'problem of bilingualism' becomes as an 'internal conflict' in these linguistic regions, where the priority from the Spanish-centered standpoint is to guarantee the rights of the Spanish-speaking minority (both locals and immigrants) in these regions. This principle is precisely what is guiding the recent rulings on language immersion discussed above.

On the other hand, from the peripheral viewpoint, the issue of bilingualism is essential. A defense of Catalan has been applied because Spain's official bilingualism is actually considered a situation of structural diglossia (Ninyoles 1977, p. 218, cited in Barrera 2004). The reality of the territories where there are languages other than Spanish is that there is not a balanced, harmonious coexistence between those languages and Spanish, but conflict and tension between a dominant language (Spanish), and subordinated and marginalized languages (the local own). There are two possible alternatives in such situations of linguistic conflict: 'normalization' (elevating the status of the subordinate language to become equal to the dominant one) or 'replacement' (assimilation of the subordinate language by the dominant one). Hence, the defense of the normalization policies implemented in Catalonia, as discussed above.

As Barrera (2004, p. 15) recognizes: "The analysis performed by Ninyoles (1977) and the proposals stemming from it are clearly in contrast to those of Linz (1975). And there we remain in terms of the crux of the intellectual and political debate, 30 years later!" This is because the political–academic debate on multilingualism in Spain has been built upon an idea of 'languages

of competence', which is toxic to the development of the debate and the political process itself. "Underlying the debates on 'linguistic normalization' is an absurd and irrational yet persistent conception of a 'limited commodity' or 'zero-sum game': the advances of the minority languages are perceived as threatening to push back or marginalize Spanish. And conversely we have the prevalent notion that maintaining Spanish in 'bilingual' communities runs in detriment to the 'local language", and that it even poses a permanent threat of death or replacement of the minority language". (Barrera 2004, p. 18)

As the culmination of the transfers of educational and cultural powers to the regional autonomous governments, the 'language war' was shifted to the sphere of education and families. Yet the issue of how to deal with the fundamental rights of individuals when they come into conflict with the principles of 'collective rights' or 'public commodity' is still unresolved, especially if this entail positive discrimination against the minority language and the rights of its speakers. As we have seen, Spanish nationalism stresses the individual rights of Spanish speakers because underlying this is a monolingual idea of the state, while Catalan nationalism stresses the individual and collective rights of Catalan speakers because Catalonia is interpreted as a stateless nation. However, it is important to bear in mind Barrera's reflection: "with this accentuation and extension of the 'debate', public opinion in monolingual Spain is expressing a certain exhaustion and irritated perplexity which stems from the aforementioned difficulty in understanding the realities and feelings involved in the language issue" (Barrera 2004, p. 19). The 'Catalan problem' was already present in the Spanish Second Republic and is still present today. However, the exhaustion about this apparent endless debate is not only in the Spanish side.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have striven to show how the issue of the use of Catalan language at school has been—and continues to be—an essential question in Catalonia's nation-building. One of the strong points of Catalanism has most surely been the fact that even though Catalan is a minority language, it has not been internally affected by the negative conceptualizations which, as May (2001) claims, minority languages tend to have in a nation-state. This may be because the majority of the upper classes in Catalonia remained Catalan speakers (Woolard 1989), and this has prompted what Woolard calls a linguistic ideology. This may explain the widespread acceptance that the language

policies and the implementation of the language immersion model have had in Catalonia throughout this entire period. It is clear that the actions aimed at effecting a language revival (or reversing language shift in Fishman's terms) which have taken place in Catalonia since the 1980s were spearheaded by the Catalan nationalist government, which developed the policies that are usually implemented to achieve this goal (Fishman 1972). However, these government policies were upheld on broad social acceptance, and they were not alone. Indeed, another important factor in Catalonia is the defense and conservation of the language by civil society through social and cultural movements, which worked underground during the dictatorship, and through the cultural and linguistic associations that were the heirs of the Franco regime, which continued operating during democracy. These entities and associations strove to change attitudes, values and cultural meanings. They also helped to create the linguistic ideology that has summoned this consensus around the defense of Catalan as an intrinsic part of Catalan national identity. Today, they remain very active and are a crucial actor in the current ascent of the pro-independence movement in Catalonia today.

Within this context, schools, as venues where national values are constructed and transmitted, have become an arena where this political dispute is being played out. In the case of Catalan, the dispute revolves around the defense of the language and its consolidation through the language immersion system. The debate in Catalan schools is not only a singular example of the global problem of language rights, multiculturalism and the right to difference in the contemporary world; rather it is also a space where the political, judicial and ideological struggle between two contrasting nationalisms is being played out.

It is true that Spanish nationalism has the power of the state to impose its model, but it is being challenged by a 'hot' Catalan nationalism with a strong political force, which has enjoyed a high degree of autonomy that has allowed it to develop a banal nationalism that is in competition with the banal nationalism of Spanish state. If, as Crameri claimed in 2000, the existence of a banal Catalan alongside the banal Spanish nationalism might be behind the clash of Catalanism for almost 40 years of its autonomous accommodation inside Spain, it is also the foundation upon which today's independence movement in Catalonia is sustained. Only time will tell in which direction this process will lead, but what is certain is that schools will remain at the core of the debate.

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Geographical Divergences of Educational Credentials in the Modern Nation-State: A Case-Study of Belgium, 1961–2011

Raf Vanderstraeten and Frederik Van der Gucht

Introduction

Belgium is clearly divided into a French-speaking and a Dutch-speaking part. This division is not an entirely linguistic one. In present-day Belgium, economic differences between the richer north (Flanders) and the poorer south (Wallonia) play an equally important role. Yet, in political debates and on the public scene, even the economic divide is commonly construed along linguistic lines: it is the relative poverty of the French-speaking part which is contrasted with the relative prosperity of the Dutch-speaking part—notwithstanding the fact that there are significant economic differences within and Wallonia as well. For sociological analyses of this divide, it is important to pay close attention to the role of education in this complex process of divergence. Especially since the last decades of the twentieth century, congruent with the expansion of higher education and the rise of the 'knowledge economy' and 'knowledge society', the social relevance of education seems to increase. Education seems to have become a dominant system within the modern-day social world.

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The current tensions between the French-speaking and Dutch-speaking part of Belgium are the result of a historical situation. In the nineteenth century, when the modern nation-state developed, territorial claims could be legitimated on the basis of the idea of 'one state, one nation, one language'. By that time, the idea had started to gain ground that language and territory had to be inextricably linked. One more or less standardized and unified language was seen as an identifying marker for a particular state, while knowledge of 'its' language also came to constitute an essential requirement for social mobility in the state. In various parts of Europe, however, linguistic diversity also gained ground. Several 'other' languages used, or formerly used, within the territory of the state could gradually also be revived. Examples include the Frisian, Norwegian, Finnish or Flemish movements.

In 1830, the Belgian Revolution had led to the secession of the southern provinces from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. The new Belgian Constitution guaranteed freedom of language. In practice, however, French became by far the more prestigious language. French was not only the language of enlightenment, progress and modernity; above all, it also was a symbol for the national struggle for independence from the Dutch-speaking Kingdom of the Netherlands. Gradually, however, the Flemish movement was also able to create its 'imagined community' (Anderson 2006). It built on the same, nineteenth-century principle of 'one state, one nation, one language'. In the second half of the last century, the pursuit of a linguistically homogeneous Flemish state became part of Flemish mainstream politics.

As a result of a series of conflicts, the Belgian state was subdivided into separate language territories in the latter part of the twentieth century. This divide led to the regionalization of several political responsibilities, including education. Education is now also believed to have become of increasing social and economic relevance—as knowledge and expertise are viewed as key economic resources in the knowledge economy and knowledge society. Against this background, we will analyse the complexities of the knowledge society in Belgium and its regions. We will particularly look at geographical divergences in educational credentials in the era since the early 1960s, when the division of the nation-state was initiated.

In line with the existing literature, we first focus on the expansion of university education and the increasing share of university graduates. We will present detailed empirical analyses of changing forms of geographical segregation and clustering of highly skilled human capital within the Belgian nation-state. However, we do not only look at these human capital levels within Belgium. In the second part of the paper, we devote attention to the other face of the rapid post-war expansion of education. When it becomes normal or natural to participate in higher education, *not* participating becomes a

problem. When educational credentials are increasingly being used to regulate entry to employment, early school-leavers also become defined and identified as dropouts, as failures. In the second part of this chapter, we therefore focus on the changing spatial distribution of the populations of early school-leavers. In our view, our detailed empirical analyses of geographical divergences of educational credentials also shed new light on the complexities of nation-building processes.

Our empirical analyses rely on data from the Belgian Population Censuses. Only in the course of the twentieth century, the Belgian 'state-isticians' started to develop an interest in the level of educational development within the state. Detailed data about education and human capital levels were collected in the censuses of 1961, 1970, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011. To present the spatial distribution of educational credentials, we use MapInfo Geographical Information Software (GIS). Given space limitations, we only present maps for the censuses of 1961 and 2011. The tables, however, also contain data for the intermediate period, so that the transitions during the past 50 years can be elucidated in more detail.

University Graduates

Especially in the sociological and economic literature, one finds much empirical evidence, which supports the claim that education has become, in recent decades, and in a historically unprecedented way, of direct social and economic relevance. Human capital is nowadays often seen as a means of production, similar to physical means of production, such as machines, into which additional investments yield additional economic output. Expenses for education are commonly perceived as investments in human capital; people with more schooling generally hold better jobs and earn higher incomes than those with less. More-schooled nations are also wealthier nations. For generations of social policymakers, the role of human capital in economic development, productivity growth, and innovation has also provided a justification for government subsidies for, and interventions in, education.

Stated in sociological terms: the organisation of society and of its economy have increasingly become dependent upon education. Educational credentials are able to define the conditions of success. Society has become organized in such a way that it offers specific benefits to those who are in possession of educational credentials, especially university degrees (Schofer and Meyer 2005; Vanderstraeten 2007).

In this section of our chapter, we pay attention to the process of educational upgrading in Belgium. This process has not developed evenly for all popula-

tion groups or in all parts of the nation-state. As we will show, divergences in the geographical distribution of educational credentials also shed light on the dynamics within nation-states. Hereafter, we particularly focus attention upon the university graduates—as the expansion of university education is generally connected with the rise of the expert or knowledge society.[1]

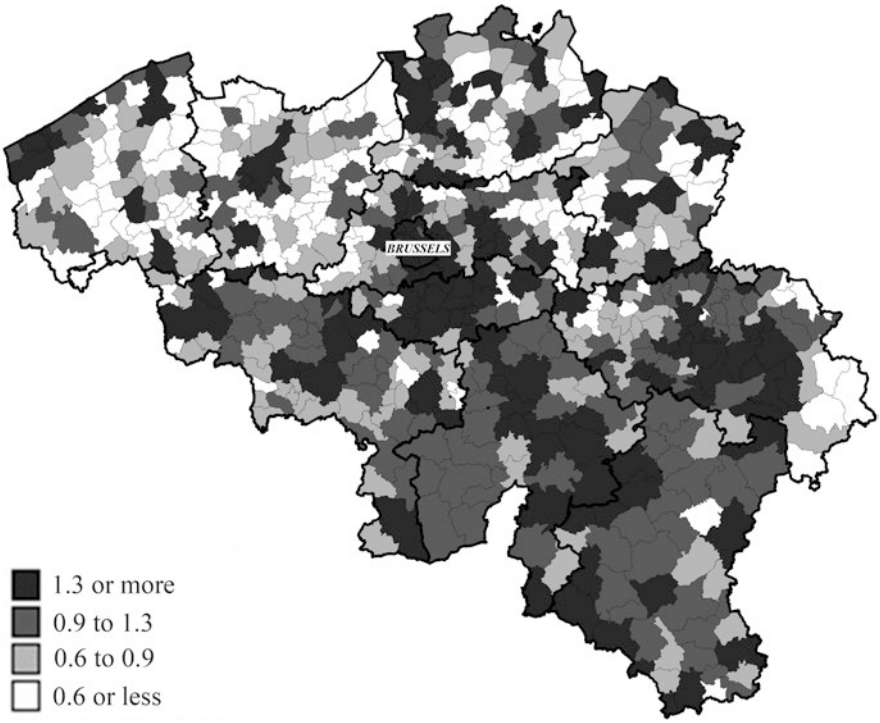
Historical Evolution (1961–2011)

As point of departure for the analysis, Map 1 presents an overview of the share of the adult population in Belgium with a university degree in 1961. The municipalities are our units of observation. To make the data comparable, they are broken down according to the present-day municipal classification; the total number of municipalities in Belgium is 589 since the 1980s. In the maps, these local units are divided into four equal groups. The darker the colour, the higher the share of adults with university degrees. The black or dark grey communities score above the median, the light grey or white ones are situated below the median.

Over half a century ago, the share of the adult population with a university degree was 1.6 per cent. Thus only one in 63 adults (defined as individuals who are no longer enrolled as full-time students) held a university degree in Belgium in 1961. The median at the municipality level was 0.9 per cent; there was also a standard deviation of 0.88. Geographical inequalities with regard to university degrees were thus very high in 1961.

At first sight, Map 1 looks like a patchwork without any clear structure. The black-coloured municipalities, characterized by a high share of adults with a university degree, do not cluster together. They are scattered throughout the entire nation; many of them are surrounded by light grey or white-coloured municipalities. But there existed notable regional differences in Belgium in 1961, especially between Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels (Flanders is located in the northern part of Belgium, Wallonia in the south, and Brussels in the very middle). The share of adults with university degrees in the Dutch-speaking region of Flanders was less than that in Wallonia and Brussels (in Wallonia

[1] In 1961, there existed four universities in Belgium: a Catholic university in Leuven (founded in 1425), state universities in Ghent and Liège (founded by the Dutch king in 1817), and a 'free' university in Brussels (founded in 1834, i.e. shortly after Belgium's independence). As of 1965, University Expansion Acts allowed for the expansion of these universities, as well as the creation of new ones. By the 1970s, new universities had emerged in Antwerp, Brussels, Hasselt, Louvain-la-Neuve, Mons, and Namur. Some geographical balances were thereby taken into account. But, as we will see, there emerged considerable geographical divergences of human capital levels and university credentials among the adult population in Belgium.



Map 1 The spatial distribution of the percentage of the adult population with a university degree in Belgium in 1961

it was 17.3 per cent and in Brussels even 200 per cent higher than Flanders). On closer inspection, Map 1 shows that the differences were quite large: 120 of the 308 Flemish local communities fall into the white-coloured group in Map 1, with less than 0.6 per cent of university graduates in their adult populations. By contrast, only 27 of the 235 communities in Wallonia are part of this group.

These regional differences illustrate some historical frictions within Belgium. In 1830, after the establishment of independence, French became the language of government. This leading role was reinforced by the economic domination of the industrial south. In higher education, too, French was *the* official language until well into the twentieth century. After the end of the First World War, the Flemish nationalists who agitated for the equality of their language with French achieved some success, and in the 1920s and 1930s, a series of laws made Dutch the official language in the northern part of the country, with Brussels becoming a bilingual national capital. The official division of Belgium into different language areas, however, only took place in the 1960s. At the university level, the dominance of the French language

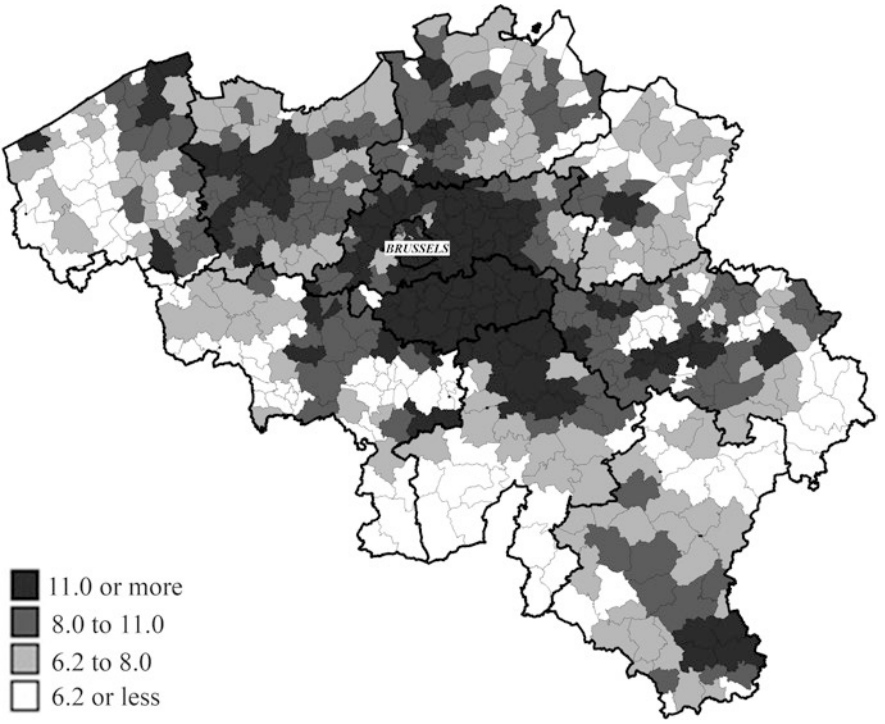
also lasted until that era. The data presented in Map 1 show that language constituted a handicap for the Dutch-speaking population in the northern part of the country. As supply creates demand, it should be no surprise that participation in university education in Flanders remained relatively low until the 1960s (see also Vanderstraeten 1997, 1999).

It may, however, also be added that the economic strengths of Wallonia in the era before the 1961 Census did not depend on the presence of relatively large shares of highly skilled workers. Part of the region was very prosperous, but its leading industries (coal and steel), which were situated in the so-called industrial valley (which extends from Mons and Charleroi in the west to Liège in the east), relied heavily on semi- and unskilled workers. With the exception of the cities, which offered more employment in the tertiary sector of the economy, the share of adults with university degrees was not high throughout the industrial heart of the region. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the economy hardly relied on educational credentials or on specialized human capital. However, the impact of human capital has significantly increased in Belgium and its regions since the 1960s.

Since the 1960s, separate political regions have been created based on the country's linguistic divisions. Following the constitutional partition of 1962–1963, political jurisdiction over education has gradually also been transferred to the regional level. Very few matters related to education have remained at the national or federal level. In the 1980s, the function of a national minister for education also disappeared from the central government. In Belgium, the post-war expansion of higher education has thus been organized in a regionalized context. Map 2 presents the most recent census data about the geographical distribution of university graduates. It depicts the distribution of the share of all the adults with a university degree in 2011.

Overall, there has been an impressive expansion of university education. In 2011, the average share of university graduates among the adult population was about eight times as high as in 1961, increasing to 9.2 per cent. However the standard deviation also increased to 4.8. The strong growth of university graduates thus has not been accompanied by homogenization: the standard deviation in 2011 was still 52 per cent of the average. In 2011, university graduates remained unevenly spread throughout the country's population.

In comparison with the 1961 data presented in Map 1, a number of shifts can also be pointed out. First, there is the clearly visible difference between the centre and the periphery of the country. Overall, the share of university graduates among the adult population is lowest in the peripheral communities. Half of all the communities in the dark-coloured group are situated in the centre of the country.



Map 2 The spatial distribution of the percentage of the adult population with a university degree in Belgium in 2011

Next to the difference(s) between , there are further differences between Belgium's major political regions (especially Flanders in the northern half and Wallonia in the southern part of the country). In 2011, Flanders had a higher share of university graduates than Wallonia: 8.5 per cent of the Walloon adult population, compared to 10.0 per cent of the Flemish adult population, had a university degree. Given the situation in 1961, this is a remarkable shift, which may illustrate the 'dialectics' of progress. As historians have repeatedly observed, success or progress may, in fact, create the conditions for future setback or failure. The invention or application of particular technologies may privilege certain industries and certain stakeholders, but the interest groups who benefit from control over the technologies will be prone to block competitors and competitive developments. Specialization in one area may yield brief success; eventually, however, the area may fade, and the comparative advantage may decay. Wallonia was one of Europe's main industrial powers during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but its coal and steel industries relied strongly on less-skilled workers. There were few vested inter-

ests in such traditional industries and their labour markets in the northern, industrially less developed part of the country. In this setting, Flanders could more easily invest in higher education and the production of human capital. However, it also needs to be underlined that the divergences of human capital levels between Wallonia and Flanders remain modest. One should not overlook the fact that the differences *within* the regions are much larger than those *between* them.

Geographical Distribution

In this section, we document in more quantitative detail the geographical distribution of university graduates from 1961 onwards. Specifically, we first make use of a standard measure from the segregation literature, namely, the dissimilarity index, to assess the degree to which university graduates are segregated across local communities. In the formula given below, x_i refers to the number of adults in local community i with university degrees, whereas y_i refers to the number of adults in local community i without university degrees. X and Y refer to the total number of adults with and without university degree in Belgium. In other words, this D-index compares the geographical distribution of university graduates to that of the remainder of Belgium's population.

$$D = \frac{1}{2}\sum_i \left| \frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{y_i}{Y} \right|$$

To complement this index, we also calculated Moran's I, which is often used as a measure of spatial clustering or concentration (Moran 1950; Massey and Denton 1988). This index is calculated as:

$$I = \left(\frac{\Sigma_i \Sigma_j w_{ij} * \left\{ (x_i - \bar{X}) * (x_j - \bar{X}) \right\}}{\Sigma (x_i - \bar{X})^2} \right) * \frac{n}{S_0}$$

where: x_i and x_j are the percentages of the adult population of local communities i and j in Belgium with a university degree; $\bar{X}$ is the mean of x; w_{ij} is the spatial proximity weight for the communities i and j, here defined as $1/(d^2)$ whereby d is the distance between the geographical centres of the local communities; n is the total number of local communities (589 in the case of Belgium); and S_0 is the sum of all w_{ij} across Belgium.

By means of these two indexes, we calculated the geographical distribution of university graduates in Belgium and its major political regions for each of the population censuses held from 1961 to 2011. The time path of both indexes is shown in Table 1. The dissimilarity index D is bounded between 0 and 1: the higher the value, the stronger the segregation. The value for Moran's I is bounded between −1 and 1 (similar to Pearson's correlation coefficient). When values higher than average tend to be located close to other high values, the index will be positive; when high values tend to be closer to low values, the index will be negative; when there is no spatial concentration, the value for Moran's I will be close to 0.

Table 1 Segregation by educational credentials: D_U-values (and I_U-values between brackets) for adults with a university diploma in Belgium and its regions

	1961	1970	1981	1991	2001	2011
Belgium	0.277	0.265	0.239	0.217	0.230	0.210
	(0.358)	*(0.380)*	*(0.363)*	*(0.389)*	*(0.465)*	*(0.430)*
Flanders	0.243	0.237	0.213	0.184	0.184	0.178
	(0.151)	*(0.198)*	*(0.233)*	*(0.257)*	*(0.302)*	*(0.318)*
Wallonia	0.216	0.224	0.239	0.225	0.236	0.238
	(0.072)	*(0.145)*	*(0.217)*	*(0.240)*	*(0.269)*	*(0.280)*
Brussels	0.224	0.268	0.270	0.244	0.234	0.228
	(0.206)	*(0.224)*	*(0.257)*	*(0.290)*	*(0.307)*	*(0.316)*

For 1961, the value of the D_U for Belgium is 0.277. This can be interpreted as the share of people with a university degree who would have to move for there to be a completely even or uniform distribution of people with university degrees across all local communities. In 2011, the value of this index for Belgium has decreased to 0.210, but the decrease has not been regularly. All in all, the time path of this dissimilarity index shows that the geographical distribution of university graduates in Belgium has remained rather unequal and that the segregation of highly educated human capital has remained relatively high.

In addition to the values for Belgium, it is interesting to point out that there exist remarkable differences between the major political regions within Belgium. Of the different regions, the segregation was highest in Flanders in 1961. The index value was 0.243 for Flanders in 1961, but decreased to 0.178 in 2011. However, the decrease mainly took place during the 1970s and 1980s. Since the last decade of the twentieth century the level of segregation did not change significantly for Flanders. By contrast, the time path of the dissimilarity index for Wallonia is somewhat more capricious. Between 1961 and 2011, dissimilarity rose from 0.216 to 0.238. The D_U was highest in the Walloon region in 1981 (0.239). For the Capital-Region of Brussels, which counts only 19 communities, we see similar fluctuations. Over the entire period examined here, there is a slight increase in the D_U from 0.224 to 0.228.

The time path of the I_U index points to an increased geographical concentration or clustering of university graduates. For Belgium, its value is 0.358 in 1961 but 0.430 in 2011. For Belgium's major political regions, the evolution of the Moran's I value is even more remarkable: for each of the regions, the value grows strongly and continuously over the period under study. The I_U-value has doubled for Flanders and tripled for Wallonia. In other words, the spatial clustering of university graduates has clearly increased during the last 50 years.

This can be seen on the maps. As Map 1 shows, clustering was not very outspoken in 1961: most communities with high human capital levels were surrounded by communities with low human capital levels. There existed, however, large differences between the major cities and their hinterlands. Especially in and around the Brussels region, there was a strong concentration of university graduates. This degree of difference explains the relatively high I_U-value for 1961. In comparison, Map 2 shows quite different spatial configurations. In the second half of the twentieth century, there emerged more clusters of communities with both relatively high and relatively low shares of university graduates.

All in all, the geographical distribution of university graduates became more uneven. The D_U-values reported in Table 1 do not reveal increases of inequality. But the time path of the I_U-values points to increased clustering of university graduates—despite the fact that Belgium is a small country with well-developed transport possibilities. In order to provide a better picture of these developments, we will look in the next part of this chapter at the other side of the spectrum, namely, the geographical diffusion of those who quit school before graduation.

Early School Leavers

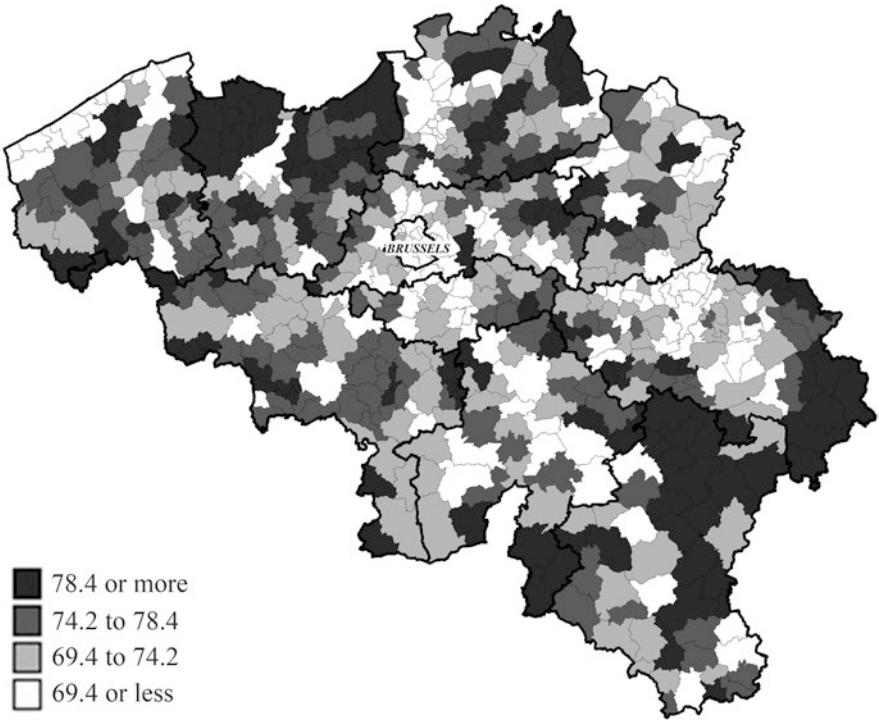
Highly skilled human capital is today often considered to be a (if not *the*) crucial factor in determining economic success. Most of the literature in the field of economics of education focuses on investments in human capital. In the social–geographical literature, the focus is on the rise of the skilled city. From a sociological point of view, however, it is also relevant to consider the evolution and distribution of early school leavers in the schooled society. Thus, we next look at the historical and geographical evolution of the shares of school dropouts among the adult population in Belgium. Our specific focus will be on concentration forces among people who quit school as soon as was legally possible.

The school dropout constitutes the inverse of the university graduate. School dropout is now generally perceived to be a form of educational failure—just as university graduation now equalizes success. In Europe, dropping out came onto the public scene in the latter part of the twentieth century, exactly at the time when school participation was on the ascent. It thus became a problem at precisely the time when the number of people dropping out of school was declining sharply. In other words, dropping out is not really a problem of numbers, it is an identification of deviant behaviour, of not living up to the changing norms (Dorn 1996). The identification of this problem shows how people have come to think about themselves and others in our society. This problem shows how large segments of the population have come to think about themselves relative to schooling and its value in life. The school dropout problem thus is a consequence of the growing pressure to finish school and graduate. On the following pages, we show some of the consequences of this social construction of reality. An analysis of the historical evolution and geographical distribution of early school leavers sheds light on the dynamics of our 'schooled society' (Vanderstraeten 2007; Baker 2014).

We again use data from the population censuses to sketch the evolution of the shares of early school leavers in Belgium between 1961 and 2011. For presentation purposes, we once more divide the local municipalities into four equal groups, plotting them on the map of Belgium. The provincial capitals are indicated by means of black dots. We show maps for 1961 and 2011, while the tables contain data of all the censuses taken in the intermediate period, so that the geographical divergences of school dropouts in Belgium during the past 50 years can be elucidated in much more detail.

Historical Evolution (1961–2011)

Map 3 gives an overview of the geographical distribution of the share of the adult population with only primary schooling in 1961. In Belgium, (school) education was compulsory until the age of 14 for most of the twentieth century. The first Belgian compulsory schooling law was passed in 1914, while the 1983 Education Act prolonged compulsory schooling to the age of 18. In 1961, primary education was divided into 'degrees' of two years each, after the third of which pupils could move on to secondary (and higher) education or continue to the fourth degree of primary school (for 13- and 14-year-olds). The 1961 census data make it clear that at that time a very large part of the population still opted for this extended primary schooling instead of moving on to secondary education. In 1961, more than two-thirds of the Belgian adult population (68.7 per cent) had only completed primary education. In most local communities, the share was still higher. The median was 74.4 per cent.



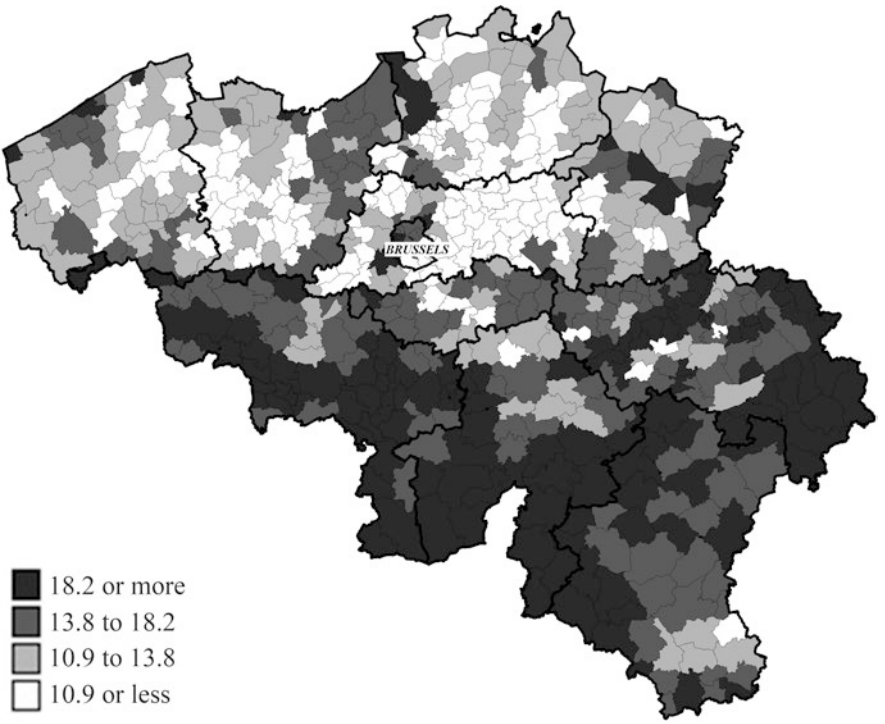
Map 3 The spatial distribution of the percentage of the adult population with only primary schooling in Belgium in 1961

Map 3 provides more or less a mirror image of Map 1. The correlation between both data series is −0.74. Thus, the higher the share of early school leavers, the lower the share of university graduates (and the other way round). This strong inverse relationship is not trivial. It is a relationship between the two ends of the spectrum; the middle part (among whom all those with 'only' a secondary education qualification) is not taken into account. It suggests that different, if not opposing, concentration forces are at work at both ends of the spectrum.

Another structural inequality in the distribution of educational credentials in Belgium needs to be highlighted. In 1961, there was a structural difference between centre and periphery at the national level. The distance to Brussels (the capital is located in the very middle of the country) had a clear impact on the 'school-mindedness' of the populations in the different local communities. The shares of early school leavers were generally lowest in the country's centre and highest in the less urbanized parts and geographically furthermost communities of Belgium. In a centralized country, such as Belgium, the kind of expertise monopolized by the university was especially valued in

and around the country's capital (and regional capitals). These centres offered more employment in the human capital-intensive service sector, making higher education a good option to pursue there, but less so elsewhere.

Map 4 offers an overview of the geographical distribution of the share of early school leavers in Belgium as registered by the 2011 Census. Although the map is constructed in a similar way as the preceding ones, we changed our categorizations in two regards. In order to take into account the prolongation of the period of compulsory education, we have here focused on adults who have only completed primary or lower-secondary education. We have, in other words, focused on adults who have completed at most nine years of schooling. In order to take into account the impact of the increase of average life expectancy and the demographic ageing of the Belgian population in the latter part of the twentieth century, we have also focused on the patterns of educational exclusion among the members of the youngest adult generations. As Map 3 illustrates, it has long been common to leave school as early as legally possible. But many adults with only a primary or lower-secondary



Map 4 The spatial distribution of the percentage of 25 to 34 years old with only primary or lower-secondary education in Belgium in 2011

educational qualification were by 2011 no longer economically active. Map 4 therefore plots the spatial distribution of the shares of young adults who did not live up to common expectations regarding schooling.[2]

Map 4 is characterized by the divergence between the Flemish and the Walloon regions. Most local communities with the highest share of less-educated young adults (136 of the 147) are situated in Wallonia, while most municipalities with the lowest share (129 of the 147) are part of Flanders. The share of early school-leavers in the population of adults between 25 and 34 years of age in 2011 was 20.2 per cent in Wallonia, and only 13.2 per cent in Flanders. While the evolution of the shares of university graduates only diverges slightly in the political regions of Flanders and Wallonia (see above, Maps 1 and 2), Flanders, more than Wallonia, has been able to avoid relatively high shares of early school leavers or dropouts in its local labour markets (see Maps 3 and 4).

Stated in more general terms, the societal expectations vis-à-vis schooling remained modest until well into the twentieth century. In the economies of the post-war welfare states, not many firms employed large numbers of trained or skilled workers. On the labour market, primary schooling mostly sufficed. Even high-skilled employers tended to employ large numbers of unskilled. Only gradually has the importance of high-skilled human capital increased. These shifting economic expectations regarding education can be illustrated by iconic figures such as Henry Ford and Bill Gates. Both individuals were themselves skilled, but Ford's assembly production system involved vast numbers of unskilled workers. Using the management principles of F.W. Taylor, Ford's managers could organize and divide work so that it could be carried out by large groups of low- and unskilled workers. Gates' company, on the contrary, primarily employs university educated workers. At present, skilled people seem increasingly likely to start firms that hire other skilled people. Skilled people also increasingly organize the production process in ways that lead to more employment for other credentialed people (Berry and Glaeser 2005; Nye 2013, pp. 217–239; Glaeser 2011; Baker 2014). As a consequence, educational credentials are, or have become, of increasing relevance in the knowledge-based economy and the contemporary knowledge society.

[2] It might be added that we drafted a similar map of the spatial distribution of the percentage of 25- to 34-years-olds with a university degree in Belgium in 2011. There exists little systematic incongruity between the spatial distribution of the shares of university graduates among the entire adult population (presented in map 2) and that of the shares of university graduates among the youngest generations in the labour market. But there are clear incongruities between the spatial distribution of the percentage of the entire adult population with only nine years of schooling and those of the youngest members of this population group. While the difference between the nation's centre and its periphery is still clearly visible for the entire adult population, the spatial structure of map 4 is dominated by the difference between the north (Flanders) and the south (Wallonia).

We have seen that the rise of the knowledge economy and knowledge society elicits various divergent effects, and brings about specific spatial distributions of chances and problems, of successes and failures. The findings presented here point to important structural differences within Belgium and its regions. In economic terms, it can be stated that its local economies are negatively affected by the presence of a proportionally high share of low-educated or less-skilled workers (particularly among the newcomers to the labour market).[3] To gain a better sociological understanding of this historical evolution, we next discuss the time path of the dissimilarity indexes for the less-educated adult populations in Belgium and its major political regions between the population censuses of 1961 and 2011.

Geographical Distribution

The D_L is calculated analogously to the D_U, and the results are presented in Table 2. The D_L displays the share of less-schooled adults who would have to move to another local community in order to obtain a completely uniform mix with the other, more-schooled parts of the adult population. Between brackets, we also provide the values for the I_L, which are calculated analogously to the I_U. The time path of these indexes indicates the evolution in the degree of geographical clustering of the less-schooled adult population in Belgium and its major political regions.

Table 2 Segregation of early dropouts: D_L- values (and I_L-values between brackets) for adults with only primary or lower-secondary schooling in Belgium and its regions

	1961	1970	1981	1991	2001	2011
Belgium	0.191	0.188	0.141	0.116	0.103	0.107
	(0.365)	*(0.388)*	*(0.349)*	*(0.350)*	*(0.360)*	*(0.409)*
Flanders	0.175	0.152	0.116	0.098	0.082	0.079
	(0.175)	*(0.201)*	*(0.216)*	*(0.227)*	*(0.310)*	*(0.344)*
Wallonia	0.175	0.144	0.125	0.085	0.088	0.111
	(0.090)	*(0.132)*	*(0.202)*	*(0.190)*	*(0.216)*	*(0.220)*
Brussels	0.145	0.139	0.123	0.109	0.136	0.162
	(0.217)	*(0.126)*	*(0.183)*	*(0.262)*	*(0.276)*	*(0.285)*

The D-values presented in Table 2 document the decrease in the segregation of the less-schooled in the second half of the twentieth century, followed by a

[3] In 1961 the average unemployment rate was 3.0 per cent in Flanders and only 2.0 per cent in Wallonia. In 2001 the average unemployment rate had increased to 7.7 per cent in Flanders and no less than 15.1 per cent in Wallonia. In Wallonia, only the communities near the border with Germany and the area close to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg had relatively low unemployment rates in 2011, while many of their inhabitants found jobs at the other side of the border (see Verhetsel et al. 2007).

slight increase in the early twenty-first century. This kind of homogenization manifests itself in Belgium as a whole, as well as in Wallonia and Flanders. Only in Brussels is there evidence of a somewhat different trend (probably mainly as a result of the influx of many semi- and unskilled migrants during the last decades, attracted by the benefits of the capital city).

On the other hand, the increase of the I-values is remarkable. For Belgium, these values remain relatively constant throughout the second half of the twentieth century—mainly as a consequence of the decreasing level of difference between Brussels and the rest of the country. But the small fluctuations are followed by a strong increase in the early twenty-first century. For the different regions within Belgium (especially Wallonia), the I-values clearly point to increased clustering or concentration of school dropouts. In short, the decrease in the average share of adults with only primary or lower-secondary education has gone hand in hand with the decrease in geographical heterogeneity at the local level, but this decrease in heterogeneity has been accompanied by increasing divergence between Flanders and Wallonia and increasing clustering of school dropouts within each of these regions.

Conclusion

In most Western nation-states, universal elementary education was largely realized at the start of the twentieth century. Around the middle of the twentieth century, a marked increase in the proportions beginning secondary education was under way. The latter part of the twentieth century saw a swift upsurge in participation in higher education, which has continued until the present day. The proportion of the age cohort going on from secondary school graduation to some kind of higher education now is often more than 50 per cent—a situation historically unprecedented. As mentioned before, this educational upgrading of large populations is often seen to be constitutive of the rise of the contemporary knowledge economy. But we have also pointed out that the rising expectations with regard to participation in (higher) education are changing the relationship between education and the nation-state.

Focusing on Belgium, we have demonstrated that the process of educational upgrading has led to an uneven geographical distribution of educational credentials. In spite of the enormous post-war expansion of higher education, and in spite of the broad range of policy initiatives aimed at achieving (or improving) equality of opportunity in the course of this expansion, the spatial segregation of university graduates has remained relatively high in Belgium and its major political regions. In this sense, the post-war rise of the knowledge society

is characterized by the genesis of new geographical divergences of human capital levels.

Concomitant with the educational upgrading of large populations, the share of early school leavers decreased markedly. In the second part of this paper, however, we have shown that this decrease goes hand in hand with increasing divergences between Flanders and Wallonia, as well as increasing clustering within these regions. Large parts of the Walloon region are currently confronted with both economic problems and a relatively high percentage of school dropouts. In comparison with Flanders, the economy and labour markets of Wallonia now suffer from the presence of a relatively high share of low-educated youngsters. As the different evolutions in the Flemish labour market show, the prevention of early school dropout might well be among the most important factors in future economic success in the region as a whole and in its major agglomerations. Success in a knowledge-based economy not only depends on an abundance of highly skilled human capital; a local economy may also succeed by avoiding having large numbers of less-skilled or low-educated workers in its local labour market (see also Glaeser and Saiz 2004, p. 58; Moretti 2012).

Stated in more general terms, present-day society has embraced the idea of schooling as both a personal and a common good. Perhaps the main transformation of youth over the twentieth and early twenty-first century was one of increasingly delayed entry into the labour market, because school was attended for longer periods of their lives (Ballas et al. 2012). It seems evident that the role of higher education has been reinforced by the now legions of university-trained experts who make up so much of the contemporary world, and who in turn, perpetuate the legitimacy of the university and its models of knowledge. In this context, participation in education has become ever more legitimate. But the swift expansion of higher education has also led to the marginalization of people who quit school before graduating.

With empirical data and statistical analyses, we have shown how changes in education during the past 50 years have brought about significant geographical divergences at both the upper and the lower end of the schooling spectrum. The youngest generations are confronted with a growing normative pressure to finish school. Expectations have changed with regard to what is normal regarding who goes to school and for how long. But these shifting expectations also lead to new forms of geographical segregation and clustering of both the high- and the low-skilled. In the multilingual and multicultural setting of present-day Belgium, a range of socio-economic divergences now depend on educational divergences.

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Nationalism as a Positive Value?

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Introduction

The collapse of communism and the transition toward democracy in the nations formerly belonging to the Soviet Union has been one of the more significant events in recent history. The newly found independence in these states has promoted a type of nationalism aimed at building new nations within new political borders. Nationalist ideologies and movements usually promoted through educational and cultural policies are commonly understood as a necessary condition for the formation of states. These countries often need a new distinctive shared national identity, and in this case, often a positive connection between nationalism and civil society can be observed (Kuzio 1998). In other words, in the initial processes of building new centralized sovereign states, nationalism promotes political and cultural integration of the people into the nation (Smith 2010; Hutchinson and Smith 1994).

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Researchers believe that in the integrative social construction process, national identity becomes a product of ethnic history, culture, and mythic narratives, as well as of a dominant new state ideology and symbolism (Korostelina 2014). The collaborative construction of the national identity by major ethnic communities includes the creation of shared elements. However, this "nationalizing," nation-building nationalism is not simply based on uniting educational policies of national integration, it also faces inevitable challenges of molding a new citizen from a heterogeneous ethnic, cultural, political, and religious population which opposes assimilation and protects its ethnic identities (Brubaker 1996). In addition, if the national identity is continuously changing, or imposed by others, it can lead to social conflict, where ethnic and regional rivals solidify their competing views over the prevailing concepts of national identity and representation of the nation (Anderson 2006; Kelman 1997).

Ukraine is a country where national identity conflicts have been continuous since the very first attempts to independence in early 1900s. After disintegration of Austrian-Hungarian Empire in 1918, Ukrainian political leaders formed a state called Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) consisting of eastern Galicia, western Wolhynia and northern Bukovina. In 1919, an act of Union of Western and Eastern Ukrainian states was proclaimed. It lasted until Russian occupation in May 1920. At that short-lived Russian occupation moment, the Galician Soviet Republic was proclaimed, but soon Poles gained control over the whole Galicia until the Soviet Union occupation in 1939. Though independence from the Soviet Union was enthusiastically achieved in 1991, the absence of a mutual vision on national identity and social development accepted by the whole population has led to a controversial process of political and cultural struggle resulting in an open military conflict between its western and eastern parts.

The study discussed here analyzes educational dynamics of the evolution of Ukrainian nationalism as a tool of national identity formation to show that under the influence of extreme social situations and a threat to the nation, nationalism can transform into a positive value of uniting the divided society. We analyzed the dynamics of Ukrainian nationalism by connecting pre-service teacher beliefs with teaching practice via the political construct of "citizenship education" which would allow this somewhat sensitive dynamic to be openly explored and discussed within the evolving and unstable political environments of Ukraine.

The overall goal of the research was to explore whether it was possible to develop democratic citizenship dispositions of pre-service teachers who have different beliefs and values. Specifically, we studied these pre-service teachers'

attitudes, values, and experiences in regard to democratic citizenship before and after their exposure to the impact of democratic education.

The structure of the chapter consists of three steps. We start with our review of the issues and dilemmas of Ukrainian education in the context of ethnic conflict. Thereafter, we review the literature on peace education, discuss research tools and pre-service teachers' views on democracy impacted by the Revolution of Dignity. To study pre-service teachers' views on democracy, we conducted a narrative analysis of pre-service teachers' responses to the crisis. We also describe a pedagogical intervention where pre-service teachers were exposed to education on democratic citizenship. Changes in pre-service teachers' beliefs while being exposed to education on democratic citizenship were explored in their exit narratives.

Issues and Dilemmas of Cultural Heritage in Ukrainian Education

Ethnic intolerance and ethnic nationalism became major obstacles to the development of a truly democratic society in many of the post-communist countries. The numerous ethnic conflicts that have occurred in various regions of the former Soviet Union—in Ukraine, Transnistria, Georgia, Aphasia, and Russia attest to the seriousness of this problem. The ongoing military conflict in Ukraine became the bloodiest one since the Balkan wars.

Since its independence (1991), the Ukrainian educational and cultural policy has been controlled by the Western "national-democrats," or groups espousing a nationalist ideology. Nationalist leaders in post-Soviet Ukraine argued that since they agitated for a Ukrainian state on the basis of the internationally recognized right for national self-determination, a top priority for the new state was to protect the collective right and cultural heritage of the nation. This was the rationale for launching a "nationalizing" project, an effort to convert a nationalist ideology into an institutionalized culture, so as to incorporate this heterogeneous Ukrainian population where more than half the population spoke Russian into a newly defined Ukrainian nation. By targeting education for reform, political leaders capitalized on the potential of schools to articulate and instill new norms of cultural and social behavior. The vast state-sponsored effort to Ukrainianize public education aimed to define nationality as based not solely on residency and citizenship but on cultural factors as well.

In case of Ukraine, this interpretation of the state-formation process is very misleading, and, as Batt (1998, p. 57) anticipated 20 years ago, if the process of Ukrainian nation-building is "pursued to its logical conclusion by

the new political elites in charge, it is likely to have counterproductive if not catastrophic results." Researchers believe that Ukraine is not and cannot be a "nation-state" not only because it contains a sizable minority of Russians with deep historical roots in the territory, but also because Ukrainians themselves are far from constituting a coherent and unified nation (Kuzio 1998). The most obvious sign of this is the fact that a large proportion of Ukrainians use Russian rather than Ukrainian as their first language. There are three major linguistic groups in Ukraine: Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians (west), Russian-speaking Ukrainians (east), and Russians (mainly north, east, and south). But it is also important to note that a majority of Ukrainians and Russians are bilingual, so borders between these two groups are fluid and changeable. Besides Russians and Ukrainians, there are distinctive groups of Polish, Tatar, Bulgarian, Romanian, Hungarian, German, Jewish, and Armenian people who also have historical roots in Ukraine and compose a considerable part of its population.

The effort to create a new Ukrainian citizen has fostered an aggressive assimilation of people of other identities who have inhabited the country for centuries along with ethnic Ukrainians. By its mechanisms, linguistic Ukrainization was reminiscent of the former Soviet Union's efforts of peoples' Russification and creation of an ideal new kind of human being—*homo sovetikus*. This assimilationist policy and low level of democratic culture created many challenges to the goal of solidifying peace in the Ukrainian post-communist setting; it generated bloody religious conflicts between the Ukrainian Greek Catholics and Ukrainian/Russian Orthodox, and created ethnic, political, and social intolerance and instability among multicultural populations. Disturbingly, these state-sanctioned efforts quickly evolved into a common belief about the uniqueness of Ukrainian nation along with its unquestionable superiority over other cultures (Verbitskaya 2003). As Tolochko (2001, p. 3) wrote: "There are forces in Ukraine that feed inter-ethnic conflicts. The laws against chauvinism that were adopted in the country are almost not used in the courts, and government agencies that are responsible for controlling the fulfillment of these laws are too tolerant of the chauvinists."

To redefine Ukrainian nationality, new ideologists counted in 1991 on the pre-service education and training of teachers as a main tool to convert the nationalist ideology into an institutionalized culture, and a meaningful mainstream national identity through the worshipping of nationalistic idols (Fisher 2002). The notion that Ukrainian universities and secondary schools are responsible for molding pre-service teachers' personalities into those of ethnic Ukrainians has become a cornerstone of teacher education and has contributed to an aggressive assimilation of different minorities historically

rooted in the territory. As teacher educators, we also are faced with the sense that many teachers have nationalistic beliefs about the state they are going to live in (Koshmanova and Ravchyna 2008), and there is a growing recognition that other educators seem to think this way as well (Sukhomlynska 2004). In our study of ethnic stereotypes of western Ukrainian pre-service teachers using a psycho-semantic method, we found that all the participants [N = 120] underestimated all the ethnicities living in the countries bordering Ukraine. We found that all research participants had negative beliefs about the nations bordering Ukraine; they viewed themselves as smart, industrial, affable, and active, as well as beautiful, spiritual, and lyrical, while others were seen as complex, confusing, aggressive, and tempered (Koshmanova and Hapon 2007).

In societies with a legacy of ethno-political conflict, education systems can also be segregated along ethno-political lines. When educators in the west of Ukraine are promoting Ukrainian culture, and educators in the east of Ukraine are promoting Russian culture in classrooms using similar methods and approaches; these two identities make the process of Ukrainian national identity formation extremely complex, controversial, and painful.

The state interpretation of nationalism became even stronger after the Orange Revolution (2004) and the Revolution of Dignity (2013–14). Both events took place on Maidan, and increased the democratic mood in the nation, as well as caused great political instability and became a strong testimony of conflict between the Russian-speaking East and the Ukrainian-speaking West of the country. This was not only a linguistic division, but also cultural, religious, historical, and social. However, the nature of their nationalism was different. Through revisiting history in schools, the Orange Revolution's leaders and their activities in the 1990s somewhat denied the evil nature of the fascist ideology, obfuscated atrocities and rehabilitated perpetrators of mass ethnic violence against national minorities during the Second World War. The most crushing disappointment of the Orange period was the lack of will expressed by its authorities to seriously tackle issues of justice and corruption, this disappointment was steadily growing.

The Dignity Maidan was ultimately about social justice, the desire to live in a "normal" state in which officials respect rather than abuse the individual. In the imagination of protesters, it is this "normality" that is "European." United by a common desire to live better, about 500 thousand protesters each day during the winter of 2013–14 lived in tents on Maidan discussing the processes of nation building, the future of Ukraine, and its inclusive politics, as well as also cooking and sharing food, warm clothes, caring for each other, and spontaneously building dispositions of civil society. There is no doubt that today the majority of Ukrainians want peace and defend their threatened

identities, and that their universalizing nationalism carries a positive value for them. A smaller part of Ukrainians in the east of the country connects themselves with the Russian culture, but the majority of Ukrainians identify themselves with an independent democratic state.

Peace Education

We and many other researchers responded to increases of global intercultural conflicts, some of which had become extreme social situations (Koshmanova et al. 2007). Culture reflects and molds attitudes, and becomes a medium through which values and behavioral patterns grow; it gets reflected in language and is passed on from one group to another. Well-established in cultural beliefs, deeply rooted stereotypes and behavioral patterns guide people's choices, leading to violence. The processes of peace education involve development of intercultural acceptance and acknowledgment of cultural commonalities through active listening, dialogue, reflection, discussion, and learning. It is crucial to recognize the conflicts as an inevitable part of life because they can become extreme situations in school if they are ignored. In teacher education, instruction for peace includes making peaceful contexts, supportive learning communities, and using methods of changing pre-service teachers' dispositions to embrace their diversity and view conflict from multiple perspectives before or in a social crisis (Koshmanova and Hapon 2007).

To make a transition from a culture of violence to a culture of peace, nonviolent conflict resolution is an essential skill teachers must learn and teach their pre-service teachers. Among conflict resolution strategies, especially effective is peer mediation aimed at peaceful conflict resolution and grounded in interest-based approaches (Koshmanova and Ravchyna 2010).

Developing student capacities for building peace can be successfully accomplished through behavioral patterning, analysis, and understanding social situations (Carter 2004). Reflective writing about extreme social events also showed its great effectiveness in formative peace education (Koshmanova, Carter and Hapon 2003). Integrated education can be seen as one way forward to reduce conflict and promote peace, although implementation of such pedagogical strategy can be challenging.

Narrative analysis and discussion has pedagogical value, which is relevant to teacher education. Reflections and narratives are valuable methods that develop student plural visions and thinking (Hoover 1994). As a social construct, this method displays social learning, which illustrates the content of the studied event. When changes in sociocultural circumstances lead to the

formation of different narratives about a studied phenomenon, transformative learning can occur through analysis of narrative data (Koshmanova et al. 2003). According to Vygotsky (1978), learning represents an active process of constructing meaning through interaction with the environment and gaining personal experiences. In other words, meanings are not imposed on learners; rather they construct their own meanings in response to new information and experiences, which transforms pre-service teachers' active engagement in dialogues and discussions among them and with researchers into transformative learning.

Transformative learning is a pedagogical method, which is an effective part of peace education in divided societies, especially in those with a young democracy and a legacy of ethno-political conflict. Among such peace education strategies that are practiced, for example, in Ukraine, one qualitative study suggests the effectiveness of participatory approaches to teacher preparation, such as academic service learning, modeling a democratic classroom, and developing pre-service teachers' critical thinking and caring (Koshmanova and Holm 2007).

Research Setting and Tools

We construct the analytical framework for this study from a variety of sources. Based on the supposition that socio-cognitive conflict is an effective tool for pre-service teachers developing sociocultural beliefs, the study is grounded in the premises of cultural-historical theory of understanding the social situation as a source of human development (Vygotsky 1978). We also employed the principles of cultural-historical theory of activity elaborated by the Ukrainian School of Psychology created by L. Vygotsky and his followers in the beginning of the 1930s, in Kharkiv, Ukraine (Leontiev 1977; Davydov 1990; Rubtsov 2008). Specifically, we followed the principle of interiorization, based on the premise that any psychological function of human beings is formed initially in the external, social aspect, and then it transforms into the inner psychological function of a person; in other words, internal psychological structures of people are formed through interaction with other people and the environment they are connected to. Another premise of this school which informed our thinking was the principle of exteriorization, which means the transition of inner, internal personal ideas, actions, feelings, attitudes toward the outer ones, to external reality, to the outward expression of personal ideas. We also followed the principles of experiential and transformative learning.

Based on this theory, we also created the following conditions for teacher education classrooms where pre-service teachers were writing their narratives and later were discussing democratic citizenship concepts: (1) developing a supportive learning environment; (2) changing the social role of the instructor who became a facilitator of student learning; (3) changing the essence of learning which became the process of knowledge construction; (4) organizing developmental learning through problem solving and critical thinking; and (5)learning to care for each other.

Our study also builds on our previous research of using cultural-historical theory in order to teach for democratic citizenship in post-conflict contexts (Koshmanova 2007, 2006a, 2006b; Koshmanova and Ravchyna 2010; Koshmanova and Holm 2007).

The study examined the psychological processes of pre-service teachers evident in their narratives while in teacher training at a Ukrainian university. The pre-service teachers' narratives were responses to the series of extreme social crises, which was going on in Ukraine in 2013–15. The crisis was first identified as Revolution of Dignity on Maidan. It was followed by the annexation of the Crimea, and also by the violent military conflict between the east and the west of Ukraine (2014–15), which was the bloodiest military conflict in Eastern Europe since the Balkan wars.

Our study occurred at one of the largest and oldest national Ukrainian universities that prepares teachers for their future practice. The university is located in the west of the country. The constructivist program of pre-service teacher education offered in this university was an undergraduate level program that allowed pre-service teachers to earn a Bachelor's degree and K-12 certification. The constructivist approach, in contrast to approaches that view the purpose of the teacher as merely transmitting knowledge, requires pre-service teachers to be active participants in the formation of their intellectual development and to evaluate their performance in terms of its effect upon children, school, and society (Koshmanova 2005).

The participants [N = 57] were predominantly of middle class, with ethnic and regional differences. There were also other kinds of diversity represented in this study. The participants had different experiences of their involvement with the Revolution of Dignity. Among them, there were migrants/refugees, war veterans, Maidan protestors, and volunteers. The majority of the participants were from western Ukraine [N = 45], and almost all of them, except for two pre-service teachers, took part in the Maidan protests during the Revolution of Dignity in 2013–14. Two of those pre-service teachers were the East versus West war veterans. Among the participants, there were also pre-service teachers who were migrants of war from the war zone

in eastern Ukraine. Among them, there were four female pre-service teachers from Donetsk, seven female pre-service teachers from Luhansk, and one male student from the Crimea. The participants ranged in age from 22 to 25 with 32 females and 25 males. All student participants were undergraduates enrolled in the integrated teacher education program.

The pre-service teachers agreed to participate in the study in April 2015. To explore the impact of extreme social crises on the participants' development of democratic citizenship dispositions, pre-service teachers present in class were invited to write narratives answering the following open-ended questions: What changes have occurred to you in connection with the Revolution of Dignity, as well as subsequent events in Ukraine (the annexation of the Crimea, military operations in the east of Ukraine)? How, in your opinion, should the Ukrainian state develop? What contribution do you want to make to the development of your country? The narratives were analyzed individually and collectively.

The Narrative Analysis of Pre-service Teachers' Responses to the Revolution of Dignity

Pre-service teachers' narratives revealed a variation in their psychological processes used for understanding and explaining an extreme social situation. Although the pre-service teachers were expected to give short answers, an overwhelming majority of them chose to write narratives in which they provided complete answers to express their personal opinions, emotions, feelings describing the details of the real-life situations and tragedies.

Evident from their narratives, the majority of the participants [N = 43] experienced a sudden surge of nationalism, which they described as a positive value, as "national awakening," and a struggle for national independence. United by nation-building nationalism in the wider sense, which sometimes they described under the name of "patriotism," the pre-service teachers valued civic community and loyalty to state, and in contrast to traditional nationalism, they centered on ethnic-cultural communities and human dignity of every citizen of Ukraine, despite different ethnicities and political views. Below there are some statements shared by the participants:

> "The death of hundreds of people on Independence Square, the annexation of the Crimea made the citizens of Ukraine nationalists. The Revolution of Dignity strengthened democratic values of our citizens; no one was left indifferent."

> "I, too, became a nationalist and understand the role and importance of the heroes of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) in the struggle for Ukraine is national independence. The numerous deaths of our Ukrainian citizens really brought people together, regardless of the language they speak, religion or political views."

In their narratives, all pre-service teachers noted that the events in Ukraine, since 2013, have affected everyone, "shaken them," forced them to reflect on the value of the state for themselves, their place in society, and their responsibilities, as well as contributed to the development of their civic awareness and social activism.

However, the nature of changes in some pre-service teachers' views was very personal. Some pre-service teachers (44 %) expressed opinions that these extreme social events helped them to understand themselves better, realize their own social potential, and develop new civic dispositions. According to these participants' judgments, the revolutionary events in Ukraine have facilitated their visions of themselves as citizens of Ukraine; they felt their own genuine social activism and their role in the development of the state, as well as their inseparability from it. These pre-service teachers included three groups of the participants: (1) pre-service teachers with at least one parent from eastern or central Ukraine; (2) pre-service teachers who had made a trip to central or eastern Ukraine; and (3) pre-service teachers who had different ethnic roots but by virtue of certain circumstances lived in the western Ukraine. Below there are typical examples of some participants' statements reflecting in general the views of many pre-service teachers of this group:

> "The Revolution of Dignity helped me realize that I am a citizen of Ukraine, and that I care about my country."
>
> "During the Maidan, I realized that everyone must defend the interests of the state, to fight for it."
>
> "When there is a war in Luhansk and Donetsk for the preservation of the unity of Ukraine, and our soldiers are fighting to protect our country, I better understand what duty to my homeland and to my fellow citizens means."

The analysis also showed a variation in pre-service teachers' understanding of and explanation for the same crisis because they had not participated in the revolutionary events that were initiated in the western and central part of Ukraine. A student from Donetsk wrote:

> "When people heard about the shooting in Kyiv on the Maidan, they began to believe that this is extremist, fascist action, the seizure of power. Many were scared that the new government, which treats Russian-speaking people badly, will begin to infringe on the rights of the people from Donbass."

> "I never thought that I am a citizen of Ukraine. The main thing for everyone and me—it's a better life … I confess that military action here in the East, as well as studying at the University in western Ukraine really influenced my views."

Statements of pre-service teachers from Luhansk were not much different; they embraced the revolution at Maidan as the people's struggle for democratic government, independent Ukraine, which has helped them to understand their role in the development of the state.

Judgments of one of the pre-service teachers that reflect the views of her friends from Luhansk are as follows:

> "The participation of young people in the revolutionary actions in Kiev, and then across Ukraine really impressed me. I realized that I need to be an active participant in various public actions, which are crucial for the development of the state. Large numbers of people in Luhansk do not perceive themselves as citizens of Ukraine. For them, Ukraine—are nationalists. They are afraid of the national ideas, and of the Ukrainian language. I think that it is necessary for us to identify ourselves with the state."
>
> "The fight for a free and democratic Ukraine—is not nationalism, but it is civil liability … There are so many people who are willing to give their lives for the freedom and independence of Ukraine, it has really affected me."

A student from Crimea expressed her opinion as follows:

> "I, as a representative of the entire Tatar people, with understanding and joy greeted the evolutionary action for an independent, free Ukraine. We know how important it is to develop their culture, language and traditions. I think the Maidan, which brought together different people, courageously fighting men from different parts of our country, has proved that the Ukrainian patriot can be anyone who, regardless of nationality, accepts his culture, history, traditions, and contributes to its development."

A majority of the pre-service teachers from the west (56 %) said that the Revolution of Dignity helped them realize the dream of grandparents, parents, and their desire to live in a free, independent, national Ukraine. According to this group of pre-service teachers, the revolutionary events have given them the opportunity to express their social activism and consciously take part in defending the ideas of a democratic state and the protection of its national interests.

On the basis of the judgments of this group of pre-service teachers, it can be concluded that their national consciousness was formed since childhood and the revolutionary transformation confirmed their confidence about the possibility of building a new Ukraine and developing a national culture and identity. The most characteristic statement of this group is the following one:

> "The Ukrainians came to the square to protest against the power that oppresses the national interests of the people, to defend the right of the people to choose their own path of social development: independent and democratic. Today Ukrainian soldiers are defending their nation and its choice. When I took part in revolutionary events in Kyiv, I remembered my grandfather's stories about his father—a fighter for independent Ukraine. At that moment, when we were in Kyiv, on Institutska Street, snipers were shooting at us and killing my friends … I also felt like a fighter, a hero for my country. Maidan and participation of Ukrainian soldiers in the area of anti-terrorist operation helped me understand that all Ukrainian citizens and I personally, are responsible for the fate of our state."

When asked what the Ukrainian state should look like, all pre-service teachers participating in the study said the same—a united nation. In their narratives, they described the importance for all the Ukrainians, no matter what region they live in, to be united into one nation that will enable Ukraine to become a strong, prosperous European state. A typical response written by a participant from the Crimea is as follows:

> "The revolution in our county has affected many people, especially ordinary citizens. People, who really believed in changes, have received them because the change started with them. Now, when we lost the Crimea, the people from the East of Ukraine (from Donetsk and Luhansk) should become more polite toward the people of other ethnicities. Everyone in today's society wants peace and the unity of the Ukrainian state. And I think it all will come true for almost everyone because this revolution changed almost everyone from inside. As an example, I can describe this situation: I am from the Crimea. During the referendum, I was forced to stay there. When I was returning to western Ukraine, there were different people traveling with me to this city on the same train: Ukrainian nationalists (the so-called terrible Bandera supporters), Russians, Crimean Tatars, who had been running away from the Crimea. And the same Ukrainian nationalists, with all their hearts, were helping the refugees: someone was giving food, some people were giving money, and, as a result of it, many people found shelter. I believe that this act is a democratic society where the people, whatever nationality or political views they are, help each other."

Only a small number of the pre-service teachers expressed ambivalent views, saying that Ukraine should become a good society, but they did not explain what "good society" means for them and did not specify its specific characteristics. Also, several pre-service teachers noted that Ukraine could above all, become a national state when the national interests, traditions, and culture are given the preference.

As the narrative analysis showed, teacher candidates thinking about their answers to the following question "How are you going to contribute to the development of your state?," have encountered certain challenges. Their judgments turned out to be short, vague, and abstract. For example, one student stated as follows:

> "I believe that my main contribution to the development of a European Ukraine—is my hard work, achievement of professional competence, and diligent performance of professional activities. Everyone is obliged to carry out his public duty – which is to work for the benefit of the state."

In summary, the pre-service teachers' answers to the first question ("How, in your opinion, should Ukrainian state develop?") were rather vague. Some pre-service teachers defended the idea of Ukraine's self-determination without its connection to democratic citizenship, and another group of pre-service teachers believed that democratic citizenship is possible without Ukraine's self-determination. The participants' responses showed that the content of the revolutionary transformation, the military conflict, and political situation in Ukraine had a huge impact on them, especially on their feelings. The majority of pre-service teachers (43 %) felt united by a sudden surge of nationalism, which they connected with "national awakening."

However, the nature of changes in some pre-service teachers' views was ambiguous. Some pre-service teachers (44 %) felt that the Revolution of Dignity helped them understand themselves better and made them want to be socially active and to engage in dialogue with others who belong to different ethnicities or have different points of view. The analysis of narratives showed variation in pre-service teachers' understandings of the same crisis and a need for reflective metacognition that can reveal factors that influence their thinking about social crisis.

The analysis of pre-service teachers' answers to the second question ("How, in your opinion, should Ukrainian state develop?") revealed that almost all the research participants believed that it should be a united nation. The participants were also identifying challenges on the nation's social development, but they did not describe possible solutions and did not see themselves as subjects of change implementation.

The analysis of pre-service teachers' responses to the third question ("What contribution do you want to make for the development of your state?") showed that they experienced certain challenges in writing their narratives. The narrative analysis revealed a low level of pre-service teachers' social responsibility and civic activism. Pre-service teachers were confined to generalities, and they demonstrated rather limited knowledge of democracy.

Pedagogical Intervention: Educating Pre-service Teachers on Democratic Citizenship

The analysis of pre-service teachers' narratives showed that the Ukrainian crisis has opened pre-service teachers' minds for social learning and democratic citizenship change. Living through their social crisis experiences during the Revolution of Dignity, the pre-service teachers were learning practices of social justice, equality, dignity, tolerance, reconciliation, volunteering, and helping others. The source of their social learning was socio-cognitive conflict, which they had to overcome while experiencing strong personal emotions trying to defend their prior values and beliefs. This helped them to seek compromising solutions beneficial for both parties. In socio-cognitive conflict, it is important to understand the opposite points of view and agree with their right for existence (Rubtsov 2008). Based on the premises of cultural-historical theory (Vygotsky 1978), the solution of socio-cognitive conflict might help our teacher candidates to become more accepting of other social backgrounds of those who are different by reviewing and developing existing personal values. As an example—the participants were thinking about the unity of their nation—a concept about which they had never thought before.

We started our pedagogical intervention with a dialogue among the participants who worked in pairs during the introductory pedagogy classes. The goal was to promote their comprehension of their own civic position and level of development of civic dispositions. Before conducting the dialogue, pre-service teachers in collaboration with their instructor defined the rules for the organization of this exercise, which included the following actions: (1) free expression of personal opinion on the issue; (2) avoiding personal evaluative statements and criticism of other pre-service teachers' views; (3) listening to others and building their statements on their points as a continuation of the previous thought, or developing a new idea(s) unrelated to previous opinions; (4) attentive listening to the statements of others without interruptions and critical evaluations of other pre-service teachers' views.

During the dialogue, the main function of the teacher was to support pre-service teachers' thinking without additions, comments, or evaluations of their statements. The instructor was not interfering with their dialogue but provided some help when pre-service teachers needed it (Rogers 1995). The conducted dialogue showed that teacher candidates' opinions expressed in their narratives became confirmed. However, during the dialogue, the views of pre-service teachers were divided. Several dialogue participants considered Ukraine as a democratic society with a high level of economic development, lack of corruption, respect for the law, presence of justice, freedom of speech and press,

as well as respect for the rights and interests of each person. These views were not observed in their initial narratives from the first class when they responded to the question about the Revolution of Dignity. Others were focused on the development of Ukraine as a European country supporting the equality of citizens, protecting their interests, providing a high level of material well-being, and where every person is responsible for their actions, fulfilling their own social responsibilities and working hard for the benefit of others.

A student from the Crimea noted that Ukraine is a home country for many different ethnicities that historically live together with their strong roots in the country. Therefore, he believed that civil society requires respect for the culture and traditions of each ethnic minority, protection of their rights and freedoms, and the development of strong inter-ethnic relations. At the same time, he believed, members of different ethnicities have to consciously serve the interests of Ukraine to comply with its laws, respect its history and language, as well as maintain and develop the culture and traditions of the Ukrainian people.

During the dialogue, several pre-service teachers in discussing the concept of "civil society," emphasized its national dimension. They regarded Ukraine as an independent, self-sustaining, national state, which is protected by national interests, a developed national economy, and celebrated national culture and traditions. The dialogue showed that pre-service teachers do not sufficiently understand the essence of civil society, confuse the concept of "civil" and "national" or absolutize one of them. Future teachers need knowledge of these terms and concepts in order to organize civic education in schools. Therefore, to develop an understanding of the relationship between these two concepts, the instructors initially organized a discussion in each group separately aimed at the following problem: Are the concepts of civil development and national development identical or different in regards to a democratic society?

The discussion was held according to the rules that were mutually accepted by instructors and pre-service teachers to regulate the process. For a focused discussion of the problem, the instructor gradually oriented pre-service teachers to reflect on the issues: What are the benefits (pros) of civil society? Will the society be civil without the development of the language and culture of its people? Is it possible to develop civil society, if the idea of national exclusiveness is cultivated in a multinational state?

In the course of the discussion, the conflicting and contradicting nature of pre-service teachers' views was obvious. However, during summing up, the majority of the pre-service teachers came to the conclusion that the development of civil society in a democratic and independent Ukraine should harmoniously, with a sober sense of proportion, combine national interests with respect and openness to other people who also have to be aware of themselves

as patriots. For understanding, consolidation and development of personal attitudes toward the expressed ideas, the pre-service teachers were asked to write a reflection on these questions using necessary literature.

Dialogue, discussion, and written reflection contributed to pre-service teachers' own understandings of the nature of civil society, which is a conceptual condition for the formation of their democratic citizenship position, social activism, and future pedagogical activity. The dialogue and discussion clearly demonstrated the need to develop pre-service teachers' civic dispositions as necessary components of their pedagogical beliefs as a professional. During the next classes, the instructors organized educational activities focused on the formation of future teachers' civic dispositions that direct their behavior.

Pre-service teachers expressed in their narratives, dialogues, and discussions a lack of understanding of key democratic concepts such as equality, dignity, respect, tolerance, trust, reconciliation, and responsibility. We believe that the formation of civil dispositions requires not just pre-service teachers' understanding, but also a change in pre-service teachers' personal attitude toward them, as well as appropriate experiences and behavior. As confirmed by pre-service teachers' narratives, the content of their civic attitudes is largely impacted by the ethnic, social, and cultural characteristics of their development.

Exit Narratives: Analysis and Discussion

At the end of the course, pre-service teachers were asked to answer the questions again: (1) How, in your opinion, should the Ukrainian state develop? (2) What contribution do you want to make to the development of your country?

The analysis of pre-service teachers' opinions in the final narratives showed a qualitative change in their civic dispositions, as well as in strengthening their civic position and democratic citizenship. In their statements, they spoke not only about the problem, but also about their personal relationship with it and the solution of the problem. Pre-service teachers used concrete concepts and disclosed ideas, which showed their knowledge and understanding of the essence of a democratic and civil society. They divulged the ideas that make up the foundation of civil dispositions.

Answering the first question, all of the pre-service teachers were predominantly talking about Ukraine as a democratic, civil state. Pre-service teachers did not get divided into two groups in their answers as observed in their initial narratives. In their exit narratives, all the pre-service teachers wrote about Ukraine as a civil society in which all citizens showed patriotism in relation to their country, and respect for the history, culture, traditions, symbols of the peoples as well as respect for other peoples, their rights, values, and cultural achievements.

The qualitative differences between the initial and exit narratives could also be observed in some pre-service teachers' statements and arguments, which in exit narratives became more specific, supported by premises. During the first class, when the participants wrote their initial narratives, their responses to the first question were more emotional than logical, not always clear; the participants generally described their experiences and personal attitudes to the problem. The exit narratives also demonstrated that pre-service teachers more clearly identified specific problems of Ukrainian society and possible solutions. Some typical responses were:

> "I understand that Ukraine will be strong and united, if the rights of all ethnic minorities living in Ukraine are protected and nobody is humiliated and discriminated against."
>
> "I think that for the development of civil society in Ukraine we need to get rid of corruption. Corruption is a great evil; it often intensifies enmity between people. There should be no one above the law."

Positive changes were observed in the views of the future teachers in regard to the question: "What is the contribution do you want to make for the development of your state?" The change was seen in pre-service teachers' linking their public duty to professional activities, where they can express themselves. Many pre-service teachers clearly described the specific actions and educational activities that are important for the democratic development of the society.

Another positive change was observed in the growth of pre-service teachers' social responsibility, their civic activism; pre-service teachers' evaluative judgments became more reflective, deep, and caring for others. After the intervention, the pre-service teachers raised more social issues and challenges for reflection and discussion, than they did in their narratives written before the intervention, among them were corruption, equal rights of minorities in Ukraine, and freedom of self-expression. We also found that pre-service teachers were using the word "patriotism" more often than the word "nationalism"; they also became more sensitive to the dignity and rights of ethnic minorities.

Conclusions and Practical Implications

The conducted study showed that during the Revolution of Dignity, the Ukrainian nationalism became a strong positive value for the participants as a solidifying factor of their coming together as a nation. The dramatic events had made an enormous impact on the participants, especially on their feelings. The study showed that in extreme social situations, when the survival of Ukraine as a sovereign state was threatened, the state nationalism awakened

citizens' self-identification. United by nationalism in the wider sense, which sometimes went under the name of "patriotism," the pre-service teachers valued democratic citizenship, community and loyalty to the state, and in contrast to ethnic nationalism, they respected diverse sociocultural and ethnic communities and their rights.

Though the participants seemed to be open for democratic change, our research revealed that their knowledge of democratic citizenship turned out to be rather limited: In their narratives, they were mainly confined to generalities and vague knowledge of the basic democratic concepts. In Ukrainian society where the government policy consisted of separatism and nationalism, along with negative stereotypes, which formed as an outcome of that division, teaching skills and dispositions of intercultural cooperation through teacher education is essential.

Our analysis showed that without training in the analysis of democracy, the pre-service teachers would base their teaching on limited perspectives and emotional behaviors that impede understanding of complex conflicts. The participants needed a combination of learning activities and broad exposure to information sources as well as cross-cultural sensitivity and perspective taking to comprehend and responsibly react to the ethnic biases, corruption, and violation of human rights.

The study confirmed the effectiveness of using Vygotsky's (1978) cultural-historical theory in teaching for democracy and peace, which constituted the basis for our pedagogical intervention. Sociocultural factors were evident in pre-service teachers' cognitive processes displayed through their introductory narratives. In accordance with Vygotsky's theory, pre-service teachers' values and beliefs were derived on the basis of their experiences promoted by a particular culture. Culture influenced the construction of their cognitive and behavioral expectations within their communities. The pre-service teachers showed a need for training to recognize their cognitive orientations resulting from different factors in their understanding of and responses to extreme social crisis.

The study confirmed the usefulness of the sociocultural cognitive approach in the formation of pre-service teachers' democratic dispositions. Using dialogue at the initial stages of learning promoted pre-service teachers' metacognition and self-awareness about their civic dispositions and the dispositions of their classmates. This gave them an opportunity to enhance their own civic views, as well as to see the distinctions and commonalities that unite them. It also supported the instructors in determining the content and teaching strategies at every stage. Participation in the discussion after the dialogue enabled pre-service teachers to clarify many conflicting concepts of nationalism to

defend or modify their positions; it also guided their future work. Pre-service teachers' judgments became more meaningful, specific, and more detailed. They were no longer confined to generalities and clearly described their plans for active participation in the development of their native state. Reflecting on the future of Ukraine in their exit narratives, the pre-service teachers did not write about nationalism, but instead they emphasized the importance of patriotism, sociocultural acceptance, and democratic citizenship in education.

The research showed the necessity of gradual formation of pre-service teachers' personal attitudes toward civic values that form the basis of dispositions. This process includes interiorization of external information into inner structures—personal opinions, judgments, motives, and behaviors. In the result of exteriorization the pre-service teachers, in accordance with their personal experiences, opinions, and motives ponder, plan, and organize external actions, or their own behavior, that responds to these civic ideas.

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Saami Educational and Knowledge Claims in School Systems of the Nordic Countries

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Introduction

This chapter is inspired by current theorizing about the world society and knowledge society (e.g. Stichweh 2013; Holzer 2015). The conditions of Saami cultural development have been affected by global processes, including the evolution of modern school form which has been subsuming local knowledge transmission traditions. Such institutional and organizational autonomy of educational and pedagogical communication over what has been called "culture" is characteristic of a functionally differentiated society (see. e.g. Kade 1997). Modern schooling today conditions the transmission of culture even in relatively isolated locales where traits of traditional educational forms persist. Against this can be observed centuries of resistance, and gradual global connecting of the social movements of indigenous peoples raising awareness of their political and educational rights. Such development has become politically legitimized with support of the international law (Anaya 1996). Since the Second World

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War, many international organizations have facilitated articulation of the indigenous viewpoint regarding global education.

In the global discourse of education, Nordic countries have been celebrated for their strong reliance on public schooling, yet Saami educational aspirations are similar to those of other indigenous peoples. The global indigenous movement has emphasized such similarities. This has often led to connecting shared challenges to similar histories of colonization, despite some significant differences. The postcolonial viewpoint has aimed to critically unveil the renewal of neocolonial domination. Our thesis is that the postcolonial struggles of indigenous movements have fostered a normative commitment in academic discourse regarding indigenous people. Pedagogical views have often adopted philanthropic stances of description motivated by benevolent practical ideals. Each viewpoint, however, is blind to cognitive limitations built in its theories, themes, concepts and distinctions. Therefore, we wish to clarify Saami education through observing its current status across three Nordic countries. Saami people also live in north-west corner of the Russian Federation, but we look across Norway, Sweden and Finland. We aim for a better understanding of the form of problems and attempted solutions that have arisen in educational reconciling of the Saami knowledge claims or episteme in the three national school systems. We will note the significance of the state boundaries crossed by Saami land, referred hereafter as Sápmi.

First, we will situate the Saami culture in its Nordic context. Then, we point out how the international agreements on the rights of indigenous people and covenants of international law and context of indigenous movement have affected the Saami. This leads to considering Saami education in schooling of the Nordic regions of Sápmi. By "Saami education", we cover contextually different aspects in the problem area: (1) as assimilationist schooling, we mean inclusion of Saami persons in Nordic school systems without linguistic and cultural adaptations; (2) regarding Saami language education, strengthening the position of Saami languages in and out schools; (3) in education, using Saami language in teaching subjects taught in Nordic schools; and (4) Saami as language of tuition is, in cultural terms, sensitively adapted in contents and methods. Western school form has penetrated the Saami culture for centuries. However, since the 1970s, global attention to indigenous rights has conditioned Saami descriptions of their educational matters. We will consider differences and similarities of educational arrangements in these nation-states in their inclusion of the Saami language and other elements of culture in their national school systems. Thus, problems between strengthening Saami identities through culturally pertinent education and Western-style schooling with its formally homogenizing features are noted. We also compare policy

orientations of the three countries; noting that education policies rise from the communication system of politics, not primarily from the system of education. From the viewpoint of national school systems, we will point to challenges in developing effective Saami educational arrangements according to the limits of flexibility within Western schooling, as well as possibilities for nonschool educational domains. We will point to the pedagogical relevance of language immersion programs and extra-curricular school organizations, such as the Saami museum, Siida.

The Saami in a Historical Context

The Saami view their territorial history as colonized by the Swedish Crown's proclamations of 1673 and 1695. Before then, the Lapland Border, as it was called, distinguished areas that the Swedes had clearly recognized, at least since the fourteenth-century King Magnus Eriksson, by naming it Lappmark (Joona 2005a). The Russian westward expansion confronted Swedish eastward expansion, leaving the Finns as well as Saami and the Karelians, who inhabited areas along the western shores of the White Sea, to accommodate the territorial ambitions of the two regional power concentrations. In the early fourteenth century, Swedish rulers agreed upon a north-west borderline with Russia from the easternmost part of the Gulf of Finland close to the current city of Oulu on the northern shore of the Gulf of Bothnia. This border started to be seriously challenged during the sixteenth century. Thereafter, European turmoil of the seventeenth century left the Saami as subordinated, but not at all exposed to violent colonization like indigenous peoples elsewhere. To understand this better, we suggest going beyond dominant views of colonization.

The Norwegians inhabited Scandinavia along its Atlantic coast, and Saami reindeer husbandry, fishing and hunting took place in the northern part of the country. For centuries, these boundaries together with the moving Swedish Lappmark borders demarcated the areas where Saami people could maintain their traditional land distribution, called Siida. Such Siida borders became Lapp Villages due to the taxation by the Swedish Crown (Joona 2005b, pp. 187–189). However, the late seventeenth-century proclamations, mentioned above, started to break down the traditional Siida system and introduced more competition from new settlement of peasantry at their borders (Lähteenmäki 2004, p. 87; Nahkiaisoja 2006, p. 41). The Lutheran Church took over the mission of Christianizing their respective Saami areas. During the seventeenth century, the Danish Norway, Sweden and Russia viewed parts

of the traditional Saami land as their shared territory. The relationship of the Saami to the states, which competed in the edges of the traditional Saami land, has been described as colonial, also on the basis of legislations of the independent nation-states of Norway (1905) and Finland (1917) until the end of the assimilation politics in the 1950s. During these 300 years, the traditional Siida areas disintegrated and were partly destroyed, and the Saami became dependent on national majorities and thus marginalized (Seurujärvi-Kari 2012a, b, pp. 30–31). The history of the Saami in the making of Finland requires a rather distinct argument for colonialism, if any, given that Finland itself was an Autonomous Grand Duchy of Imperial Russia (1809–1917).

Finnish is so closely historically and etymologically related to Saami languages that the sixteenth-century German observers could not distinguish between these languages while distinguishing them from Swedish (Häkkinen 1996, pp. 25–26). Swedish was, with the sixteenth-century Lutheran reformism, pushed by more scholarly programs attracting people to Christianity and schooling clergy for Swedish eastward expansion. Karelian territories came under Russian language influences. Centuries of regional power struggles thus resulted in linguistic differences according to confessional differences. Well before Lutheran reformism consolidated the Swedish Crown for its seventeenth-century aims of controlling the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland, the Roman Catholic Church had started to impose cultural order among peoples in the Finno-Ugric language family who previously had not established connections to any church having schooled clergy to foster territorially centralizing aims. Thus, schooled Finnish peasantry were enticed to develop a unifying Finnish literary language which then took its own course from the seventeenth century with increasing number of schools and the University founded in 1640 in Turku by the Swedish crown. Such development accented differences between the Finno-Ugric language groups, but enabled scholarly development of the unifying Finnish language and subsequent integration of the Finns. While the Finns turned these forces into nation-making and state formation, the Saami remained at the margins.

Despite growing interest in the Saami people, the scholarly systematization of written Saami took place only in the latter part of the twentieth century. In the turmoil of the times, the seminomadic forms of Saami life were pushed toward areas where reindeer herding was less imperiled. Saami life endured by moving away from political hot spots affecting the trade between East and West through the Gulf of Finland. Finno-Ugric peoples who had adopted more settled agrarian forms of livelihood were acclimated more easily to structures of the Swedish estate society. Although independent peasants (*bonde*) of Sweden were not as oppressed as the serfdom peasantry in some other feudal

arrangements of the time in Europe and Russia, taxation-based motives for population classifications distinguished between settlers and those who practiced traditional Saami culture (Nahkiaisoja 2006, pp. 43–48, 64–69; Lehtola 2012, p. 23; Vahtola 2005, pp. 185–187). These developments were accompanied by instituting governance of the remote areas through schooling and parochial education into Christianity (Kylli 2005; 2014) and led to territorial demarcations with severe consequences by turning the traditional forms of Saami wild reindeer husbandry to semi-settled reindeer herding. Territorial demarcations were the frontiers between Sweden and Imperial Russia, when Finland was attached to the Russian Empire in 1809. And, in 1852 and 1888, Saami living areas in Finland were determined by Imperial order (Nahkiaisoja 2006, pp. 17–20; Lehtola 2012, pp. 13, 23).

The nationalist movement in Finland in the nineteenth century emphasized the importance of schooling. The political autonomy of the Russian Empire allowed leeway for a gradual switching of the language of schooling from monolingual Swedish to bilingualism with Finnish. Between the 1880s and 1939, Saami languages were not in the focus of nationalist politics. For centuries, the minority language of Swedish had dominated the schooling arrangements for the Finnish-speaking majority. The Swedish-speaking population in early seventeenth-century Finland which was a part of Swedish reign until 1809 has been estimated around 17 %, and it has declined ever since, being currently around 5 % (Liebkind et al. 1995, p. 64). Due to historical conditions, Swedish has had a decided influence in Finnish schooling while tuition in Saami has struggled for its existence. Yet, multilingualism and some continuity of Saami education in connection with missionary work had existed for centuries. The end of the Second World War further affected Saami languages in Finnish territory; when the north-east frontier with the Soviet Union was pushed westward, the Skolt Saami language became settled in Inari in Finland. Post-war reconstruction related to Western modernization views and focused strongly on the nation-state. In global view, however, decolonizing experiences after the Second World War gradually exposed the dark side of modernity. Enlightenment-inspired understanding of science and technology had become related with somewhat unwarranted views of progress, and scientific knowledge had been turned to an important resource for global schooling. Such escalation can be characterized as disregarding the locally oppressive side in the common marriage of schooling and progress. To better understand the current challenges in developing proper Saami education, reconsideration of knowledge in society from the local indigenous viewpoint is needed. To reflexively distance from nation-state bound views on schooling, the support of the theory of world society appears as useful.

Constructing the Identity of the Saami as an Indigenous People

Society viewed as communication system, which encloses all social systems can help identifying regional differences within differentiated communication systems, such as education and politics (Luhmann 1997; Stichweh 2004, 2008). By adopting the latter view of society, instead of spatially bound groups, we can better analyze the significance that the surrounding nation-states have had for the Saami as indigenous people. Differences between political and legal conceptions of indigenous people can be better understood through a theoretical notion of world society. Such a perspective allows questioning the relations between culturally relevant education and othering schooling in the making of the Saami cultural order (nation) and political orders (parliaments) in Sapmi where educational complexities are conditioned by different nation-states.

Saami indigenous identity became constructed in the interdependence of global, transnational region, national and local communications. The connectivity between levels is related to three periods of Saami movement's history: (1) transnational cultural and political organizing of the Saami people promoted during 1950s and 1960s; (2) the revitalization and strengthening of the regional Saami cultural identity during 1970s and 1980s in connection with the global discourse and human rights issues; and (3) the establishing of the political institutions, such as the Saami Parliament in Norway, Sweden and Finland between 1987 and 2000 with an increasing focus on the concerned nation-states (Seurujärvi-Kari 2012a, b). Founding these autonomous parliaments has not led to claiming an independent state. Instead, Saami nation-building has emphasized cultural cohesion among the Saami people. Thus, also symbols, such as the Saami flag of 1986, have so far pointed to the unity of Saami people, whatever their national citizenship. Thus, the Saami identify themselves as citizens of four countries.

Political and judicial interest in "indigenous peoples" emerged after the Second World War along with growing concerns for human rights and environmental issues. This background provided the rise of indigenous movements and politics to international attention. By the end of the 1960s, indigenous peoples managed to organize themselves and gradually founded a global network around the "indigenous" category. During the 1960s, Western modernization views still prevailed in understanding indigenous peoples as primitive or lesser developed (Jernsletten 1998; Lantto 2003; Seurujärvi-Kari 2010). However, times were changing in Nordic countries toward equalization, reversal of oppression and recognition of cultural differences. In this context of change, Saami people were the first among all indigenous peoples to

create a transnational organization, the Nordic Saami Council, in 1956 in the hope of increasing the cooperation between Nordic states promised by the Nordic Council founded in 1952. Finland joined in 1955. In 1992, the Nordic Saami Council was renamed the Saami Council with membership of the Russian Saami.

The Saami Council first promoted revitalizing the language and culture as basis for common ethnic identity and then provided administration for designing proper transnational cultural policy via negotiations with government authorities (Rantala 2004; Wigdehl 1972). Transnational mobilization aimed at raising the level of education by means of national school systems, while aspiring to the inclusion of Saami language and culture in their educational foundations. One task of the Saami Council has been to prepare the all-Saami Conferences every three years since 1953 and every four years since 1992. In these Conferences, Saami representatives have decided on Saami issues. These conferences and the Nordic Saami Council were the principal elements in organizing regional Saami culture until the early 1990s. The transnational notion of Saami people was especially reinforced via important political and cultural programs approved in 1971, 1980 and 1986 Conferences, where education and language issues were given focus. The 1971 Conference founded the Saami Language Board (*Sámi giellalávdegoddi*) to systematize the Saami language and to create a common orthography envisioning its pedagogical potential. By the end of the 1970s, a North Saami writing system common in three Nordic countries was approved by the Saami Conference; subsequent writing systems of other Saami languages were created following the model, thus fostering the idea of a unified, modern Saami region. Thereafter, teaching of Saami language grew and using Saami in instruction grew slowly. Also publication and broadcasting in Saami were stimulated, and the first specific Saami research center, Nordic Saami Institute (*Davviriikkaid Sámi Instituhtta*) was established in 1973 in Kautokeino, Norway. The institute had great symbolical value, as it was established in the center of the Saami area, thus motivating founding of the Saami University College (*Sámi allaskuvla*) in the village in 1989. In Saami Conferences, nationwide symbols were approved; its own flag and the text of the national anthem *Sámi Soga Lávlla* was approved in 1986, and the composition for the Song of the Saami people in 1992 (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011).

Paradoxically, when the significant context for constructing the Saami identity was extended and complicated, the referencing of Saami issues, nevertheless, became geared to national frames. First, identity communications became intensively connected to the world level of indigenous discourse, operating through a network of indigenous peoples and various international organizations. Second, the

regional context changed when Sweden and Finland were accepted to the European Union (EU) in 1995. Norway remained outside and in 1999, Finland entered the Euro-zone but Sweden didn't. Thus, conditions changed significantly for the Saami region. For instance, the EU has its own minority policy discourse of importance for the Saami. Of concern is that new criteria have led to increased regional complexity, with corrosive consequences for previous transnational referencing of Saami policy issues. Now educational problems are framed by global indigenous issues and increasing importance of local contexts, but nationally framed. Thus, nation-state level negotiations with EU regulations are considered as enabling or restraining factors in Sweden and Finland but not in Norway. For instance, the Saami Parliament of Norway has defined the Saami as an indigenous people but not as a linguistic, cultural and ethnic minority, while Saami Parliament in Finland (Saamelaiskäräjät 1995; Samediggi/Saamelaiskäräjät 1995) and in Sweden (Sametinget 1992) in accordance with the EU policy accepted both definitions.

Nation-states as operative contexts for Saami identity communications gained in importance with Saami Parliament. In accordance with the Saami Act of 1987 (Sameloven 1987), a first democratically elected Saami Parliament (Sámediggi/Sameting) was established in Norway. Subsequently, Saami Parliament were founded in Sweden (1992) and Finland (1995). Previously, Norway had a leading role in developing Saami political rights, partly due to the Alta Controversy (1979–1981) where Saami activists organized to oppose damming of the Alta-Kautokeino River. This local conflict focused international attention on the subordination of the Saami and their demands for self-determination. The Alta conflict fostered legal changes concerning the Saami rights. Finally, in 1988, the Saami were recognized as an indigenous people in the constitution of Norway (§110a 1988), which obliges the state to ensure that the Saami are able to practice and develop their language, culture and way of life. The Alta event resulted in legal consequences that altered Saami educational issues. The Saami became members of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) in the 1974 Saami Conference. Since 1975, the key topic in Saami discourse was the worldwide cooperation of indigenous peoples.

In the developing context, general principles concerning indigenous peoples were defended in order to gain world political legitimacy and potential for legally compelling consequences. Previous demands for justice and equality became crystallized in gaining recognition as equals, even though lacking state identification. The value of distinct cultures, languages and knowledge gradually gained in recognition; as manifested in admissions to international fora, such as the United Nations (UN) Working Group of Indigenous Peoples (UNWGIP 1982) and the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPF 2002). In the UNWGIP, the representatives of the indigenous organizations together

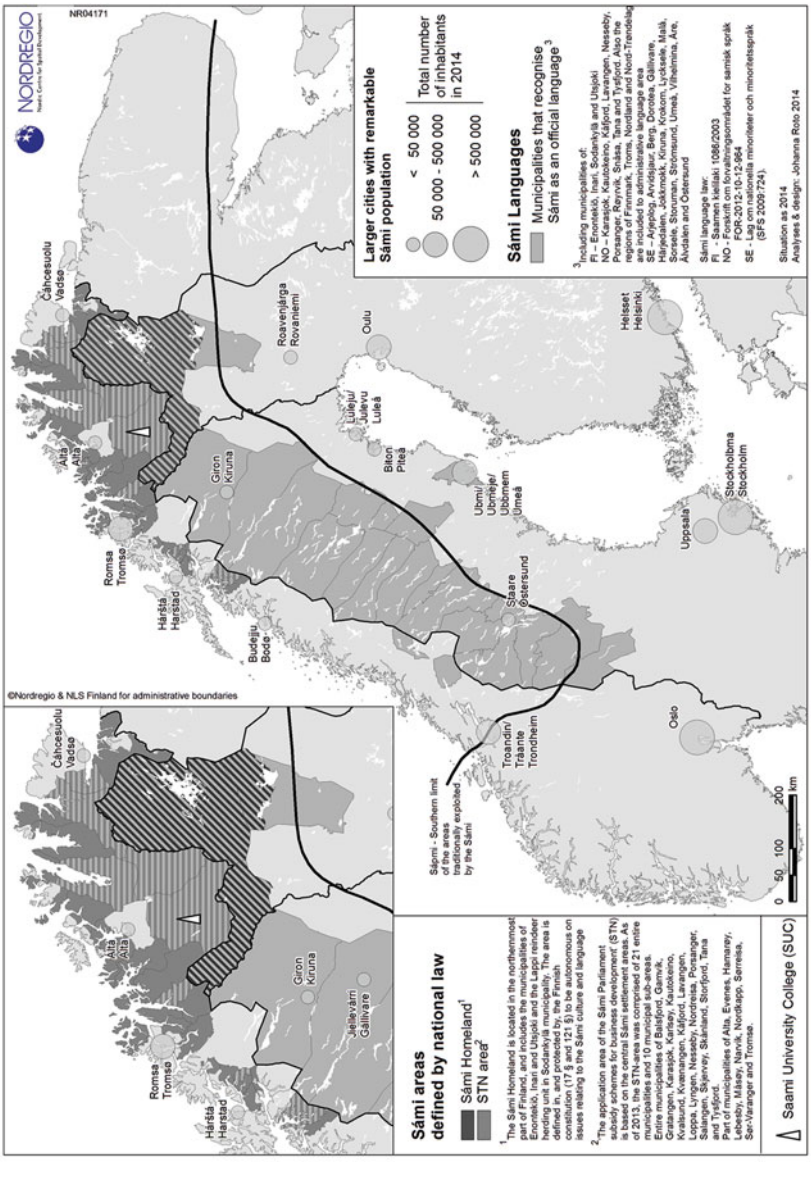
with governments of the UN member states drafted the 1989 International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention (No.169) concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, replacing the 1957 ILO-Convention on the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Tribal Populations. The 1957 version was criticized for its essentializing, homogenizing and assimilatory goals and terminology, but the 1989 Convention distanced itself from "populations", "minorities" or "people", and referred instead to "indigenous peoples", thus offering unifying significance for such peoples with common problems. Norway was among the first countries to ratify the new Convention in 1990, thus confirming indigenous peoples' rights to their languages and cultural heritage, to their lands and natural resources. Finland and Sweden haven't ratified it yet, but have recognized the Saami as an indigenous people (Seurujärvi-Kari 2012a, b).

The context for referencing Saami educational issues changed considerably in the 1980s. Since then, the significance of international treaties and covenants has been increasing, while indigenous peoples' communication has evolved in close-knit global network involved in international negotiations and drafting of conventions, such as the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples (UNDRIP), affirming existence of the rights of the Indigenous Peoples and the close relationships of such Peoples to their specific environments and to their need for land and other resources to sustain their ways of living. The latter declaration is not legally binding but morally challenging, and thus politically important; its articles 13–17, together with articles 26–31 in ILO-Convention No. 169, acknowledge linguistic and educational rights of indigenous peoples to create proper educational institutions and to participate as equals at all levels in planning and execution of nation-states' educational programs. The declaration of 2007 simply codifies the existing global consensus on the education of indigenous students, but through intellectual and educational self-determination of their proper institutions, indigenous academics are more likely developing relevant knowledge and pedagogical methods to empower their communities to participate in society. States are urged to take effective measures together with indigenous peoples for providing them proper education (UNDRIP Article 14.3.), and not to discriminate indigenous peoples in their aspiring of education, dignity and diversity of cultures but to appropriately reflect their traditions in education and public information thus promoting understanding instead of prejudice (Ibid, Article 15). Such are the claimed "minimum standards for the survival, dignity, and well-being of indigenous peoples of the world" (Ibid, Article 43).

Ethnic cultural autonomy and the participation of the Saami in discussions related to the implementation of the international conventions have been possible since the Saami Parliament became operative. In Finland, the rights of the Saami people to maintain and develop their own language and culture became further strengthened by the Constitution in 1995 (updated 731/1999). The law concerning the Saami Parliament in Finland (1995: 974) aims to secure the cultural autonomy of the Saami by giving them right to elect the members of their parliament. The Saami Parliament in three countries, however, seem to have led to emphasizing nation-state-level negotiations at the cost of more versatile transnational strategy of the Saami movement. Against this, a Saami parliamentary council was founded in 2000 to strengthen cross-border cooperation, but without any decision power, making it likely that each Saami Parliament develops its own national focus without regional cooperation. The Saami Council, set forth in 1956 to conduct transnational unity of the Saami, has evolved to a nongovernmental cultural organization operating at the international level with mandates of Saami national organizations. Different enclosures of signification, whether political or cultural, seem to have increased rather than decreased complexity in regard to Sami issues. As depicted below, the identity of the Saami appears to be complex: the citizenship, the first language learned, the locality of origin, etc. Even the territory of Sápmi is hard to pin down (Map 1).

The traditional living area Sápmi, as depicted above, covers in total almost 400 000 km². This area corresponds to the traditional Saami language area. The smaller, Saami Core Area refers to those parts of the traditional area where the Saami speakers form a majority, and the Saami language is a dominant language or in official use. This area has been diminishing. Its decline signals Saami scattering with consequences for Saami education, especially in Sweden, where no clear Saami language community exists due to rather intensive industrialization in traditional Saami areas. Currently, many Saami speakers live in the capitals of the nation-states Oslo, Stockholm and Helsinki. Traditionally, ten mutually understandable Saami languages are distinguished that vary from a few to some hundreds of speakers with the exception of about 20,000 North Saami speakers distributed between Finland, Norway and Sweden.

While language borders cross the state borders, North Saami remains an important unifying factor. The Saami as one nation of transnational people, however, appears to have lost importance to the Saami themselves. Only a part of the traditional living area of the Saami people offer legal protection of Saami rights. In Finland, the Saami Homeland is defined and protected by the Constitution of Finland (sections 17: 3 and 121: 4), declaring it the Saami autonomy with regard to Saami culture and language. Such homeland



Map 1 Border variety and Saami University College as learned center

municipalities are not found in Norwegian and Swedish legislation, but separate administrative language areas were established in Norwegian laws that denote municipalities, where individuals have the right to extensive use of spoken and written Saami, and where authorities are obliged to serve Saami speakers in their own language and, by law, to teach Saami and offer tuition in Saami languages. Among other issues, migration from traditional living areas to cities has had consequences for preserving and transmitting cultural heritage within national school systems.

Saami Educational Problematics in Nordic School Systems

Comprehensive research on Saami education as framed in the evolution of national school systems is still lacking. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, there has, however, been more interest in such research (Lund 2014; Keskitalo et al. 2014a). In what follows, we identify four periods common to the evolution of the Saami education: (1) the *missionary* period which aimed to spread Christian doctrines among the Saami, (2) the *assimilationist* period which stressed the importance of the nation-state's major language, (3) the *tolerance and acceptance* period aiming at the schooling of all citizens by using Saami languages as pedagogical help and only limitedly as language of tuition, and (4) the period which stresses the *revitalization* of the Saami languages and culture among other aims of the schools (Lund 2014). To the end of more precise temporal analysis of the process, we add a period opened with national legislations of the late 1980s and 1990s as guarantees for cultural autonomy.

These five layers have accumulated a load of significations to the current regional or national viewing of the educational problems in the Saami core area. Tensions between the regional, national and local have significance in regard to the complexity of educational developments in the Saami region. Such complexity can be unfolded by means of more abstract elaboration of differing structural expectations. In short, centuries of spreading Christianity made the subsequent monolingual nationalist political assimilation more plausible. Still, post the Second World War, the nationally unifying potential of schooling was commonly emphasized thus marginalizing the Saami. Later, the ideas of inclusiveness in the Nordic welfare states supported tolerance for linguistic and cultural variety, thus providing leeway to foster Saami cultural revitalization and emergence of cultural autonomy. It is important to observe the historical significance of the nation-state enclosures and the need of observing their consequences in current regional complexity of the Saami educational endeavor.

Some of contemporary research has described the inclusion or exclusion of the Saami persons to the modern school form, while some focuses on educational arrangements and pedagogical practices responsive to Saami culture. Boundaries of pedagogical communication cannot be reduced into school organizations. Only part of educational communication is focused directly on pedagogical interaction in schools. In addition, educational communication operates in school regulations and curricula that condition the ways in which certification-mediated pedagogical communications should be carried on. In what follows, we stress the importance of language revitalization in connection to educational arrangements, since in Nordic countries, assimilative schooling of the Saami dominated to the end of the 1950s and disregarded Saami languages, both as a school subject and as a language of instruction.

Given nationalist overtones, Saami languages were even stigmatized, leading parents not to speak Saami to their children, thus jeopardizing cross-generational transmission of some Saami languages. In such an environment, schooling in Sapmi was actually intensified with the inclusive gains of the national school systems during the 1950s. Educational arrangements of the time, such as the boarding school network, had considerable assimilationist pedagogical potential for sparsely populated Sapmi. Thus, schooling, with its boarding schools, became a symbol for state control of the Saami (e.g. Rasmus 2006). The long assimilation also meant first of all language shift or at worst language loss and with that losses in the socialization necessary for Saami language communication and knowledge transmission. Only along increasing linguistic and ethnic tolerance of the past few decades have issues concerning recognition of minorities and different knowledge traditions been activated, and epistemological debates were initiated in the international indigenous movement.

Different knowledge traditions have been recognized by both indigenous and nonindigenous academics. Anthropology points to the importance of "local knowledge" (Geertz 1983). Modernity recognized that intensified reflexivity has been gradually subverting reason in the sense of the Enlightenment-based views on gaining certain knowledge (Giddens 1990, p. 39). The reappraisal of traditional knowledge forms and celebrating the increased reflexivity has connected to aiming toward the "new common sense" (Sousa Santos 1995), with implications in subversive views and for resistance in which the indigenous movement promoted social and ecological responsibility that should be expected from the unleashed powers of modern techno-science. Such meanings have been shared by the scholars of the indigenous movement who elaborate conceptions of indigenous knowledge and episteme. This has led to a deconstruction of the current academic knowledge hierarchies and to looking ways indigenizing academe (Kuokkanen 2007; Virtanen et al. 2013).

Since the late twentieth century, new ways of appreciating indigenous knowledge have appeared (e.g. Linda Tuhiwai Smith 1999 and Marie Battiste. 2000, 2002, 2008) and have been politically advanced by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Indigenous knowledge includes both knowledge of nature and livelihoods and a spiritual and aesthetic culture closely connected to language and is collectively preserved and transformed from generation to generation. Thus, indigenous education is learning about life through participation and community relations, including not only people but nature as well. According to Battiste (2002, p. 5), indigenous knowledge fills the ethical and knowledge gaps in Eurocentric education, research and scholarship. In its reflexive uses, the concept serves to reconceptualize the resilience and self-reliance of indigenous peoples. Such a paradigmatic turn in viewing knowledge connects with schooling, which is following the disciplinary structures of university knowledge production. The university organization has, however, been only limitedly extending to areas not previously included in its domain (Kantasalmi 2001, 2008 and Kantasalmi ad Hake 1997). Thus, while indigenous studies programs have been initiated in many regular universities, the latest one at the Finnish university in Helsinki in 2015 (Indigenous Knowledge and Culture 2015), so far, indigenous knowledge forms have fared poorly, in both the university and its influence on schooling (see, Keskitalo et al. 2013). Despite the past few decades, Saami culture has only modestly penetrated even the lower levels in national school systems of the Nordic countries. Saami traditional knowledge and wisdom have not been recognized in national school systems. Epistemologically, schooling continues the assimilation cycles of dominating Western knowledge forms and languages.

In the 1960s and 1970s, indigenous activists and scholars worldwide drew attention to distorted schooling of indigenous peoples. Developments in international law and politics convinced the Saami of their right to provide education in their languages as appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011). Thus, the Saami emphasized a close linkage between education and language. Since then, developing Saami language and identity through schooling has been viewed as the key to cultural integrity. Accidently or not, in parallel with the latter turn, comprehensive school reforms were carried out in Nordic countries. These reforms stressed equality of opportunities, but only gradually inspired altering educational structures to favor inclusion of the Saami language and culture into the school system. Officially, in the Nordic comprehensive schools (1–9 grades), the Saami language could be taught both as a mother tongue and as a second language (Aikio-Puoskari 2007, p. 75; Hirvonen 2004, 2008, p. 17).

Saami remained mostly an auxiliary language of pedagogical communication. The reforms, nevertheless, increased inclusion of Saami pupils into comprehensive schools and fostered schooling career possibilities even to higher education and to Saami-speaking teacher education. Yet, the supply of qualified Saami-speaking teachers remains a serious problem. However, steps taken in teacher education enabled new generations of Saami scholars to elaborate epistemic views on teaching contents and methods.

Before recent reforms, teacher education in Norway was in the Saami department of Tromsø Teacher Training College, established in 1951. Thereafter, teacher training was moved to the Upper Secondary School of Alattio in 1963, which became a regional college of Finnmark in 1973. In this college, part of pedagogical education was offered in Saami. However, given shifting Saami movements, in 1989, teacher education was rearranged in Kautokeino, thus forming the nucleus for the current *Sámi allaskuvla*—Saami University College (SUC). This move broadened the Saami knowledge production by joining forces with the previously initiated Nordic Saami Research Institute, *Sámi instituhtta*, mentioned above. The initial idea of *Sámi allaskuvla*, was to train Saami-speaking public school teachers to cross over national borders (Hirvonen 2004, pp. 23–24) and instruction has been developed on the basis of Saami perspectives and world view. Thus, the tension between the Norwegian national viewpoint and the cross-nation-state regional viewpoint of the Saami was alive, and leading its initial regional role in Saami teacher education. In a reform of higher education in Norway in 1995, SUC assumed the main responsibility for Saami higher education and teacher training at the Nordic level (Hirvonen 2009; Keskitalo 1997, pp. 162–163; Seurujärvi-Kari 2005b). Its training qualifies students to work particularly among the Saami, but it also gives them a general official qualification as a teacher in Finland, Norway and Sweden in the Saami language and culture. Currently, *Sámi allaskuvla* (Saami University College) is a part of the Norwegian higher education system. The growing number of competent Saami scholars has been attractive for Saami students from the three Nordic countries. *Sámi allaskuvla* has had an important role and most likely will have a central role in developing indigenous knowledge and its transfer into new learning methods. *Sámi allaskuvla* currently publishes journal *Dieđut* and another, *Sámi dieđálaš áigečála* in the Saami language in cooperation with the University of Tromsø.

In Finland, the comprehensive school reform of the 1970s ended elementary school teacher seminars which had served Saami-speaking teachers since the 1950s. The newly formed northern universities in Oulu (1956) and the University of Lapland in Rovaniemi (1978) started teaching North Saami

language. At the outset, Rovaniemi had quota for Saami-speaking students in pedagogy and in Oulu, similar arrangements were made for kindergarten teachers. The teaching of Saami language began in Norwegian higher education during the 1960s at the University of Oslo, but it faded due to lack of demand, and was continued by native speakers in the University of Tromsø in the 1980s (Gaski 2015). Native language teaching was since 1970 been offered in Finnish Universities of Helsinki and Oulu under the control of Helsinki, and in Sweden, in the university of Uppsala, but it later moved to the northern University of Umeå. In Finland, the University of Oulu was given a national responsibility for Saami teachers' training in Finland when the Giellagas Institute for Saami culture research was founded there in 2001 (Giellagas n.d., http://www.oulu.fi/giellagas). Gradually, a regional network cooperation between these Saami studies organizations has been developing. However, such academic study still offers potential for elaborating on Saami culture and local knowledge of the arctic, with applications for proper Saami education. Furthermore, Folk High Schools for Saami were founded in Norway (1932), in Sweden (1942) and in Finland (1953). As part of the widening provision of adult education (Lund 2000), and together with the research organization (*Sámi Instituhtta*), they served as incubators for the core of Saami culture interests and a place for its youth to meet.

In Finland, the comprehensive school curriculum planning committee (Committee Report 1970) equated the rights of the national language groups of Finnish, Swedish and Saami for children to receive the initial teaching in their mother tongue; to this end, a quota for Saami speakers in teacher training, mentioned above, was suggested. The Saami Committee (Committee Report 1973) proposed developing Saami secondary education with the goal of reaching functional bilingualism. Norway lead when a Saami comprehensive school was built in the 1960s. Moreover, in 1976, the Norwegian Ministry of education founded a special advisory council for Saami education (*Samisk utdanningsråd*), which today operates as part of the Saami Parliament (Hirvonen 2008, pp. 17–18). In the 1970s, in Sweden, an upper comprehensive school was established in Gällivare for the teaching of Saami language. In addition, in Sweden, the "nomad schools," which dated back to early 1900s, were reformed and their names changed to Saami schools in 1977 (*Utbildning för samiska barn*). In the 1985 reform, all Saami children were entitled to receive education in such schools for first six grades. Currently, there are altogether six such schools in northern Sweden, teaching both in Saami and Swedish, but emphasizing Saami language and culture. In the 1980s, these were organized under the jurisdiction of special board with representatives of the central government and the Saami people. Since 1993, administration of

the Saami schools (Sameskolestyrelse/Samiskuvlastivra http://www.sameskolstyrelsen.se) has been directed by the Saami Parliament.

By the end of the 1980s, Saami was taught both as a mother tongue and used as language of tuition in all schools in the Saami Homeland of Finland, but mostly at the primary level. Finnish 1980s regulations, however, did not oblige the municipalities to arrange the teaching of Saami language nor its use as an instructional language, but only made these possible in principle. In Sweden, the instruction in Saami language began in public schools in 1976 as a result of an educational reform concerning the home languages of the children of immigrants and members of linguistic minorities. Apart from the special Saami schools, Swedish municipalities can choose to offer integrated Saami education in its schools after proper arrangements with the Saami school board. In integrated programs, knowledge about Saami culture is offered according to compulsory school curricula, but instruction in languages other than Swedish, including Saami, may not exceed 50 % (The European Charter of Minority and Regional Languages n.d.; Sameskolstyrelse n.d.; Läroplan for sameskolan, forskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011; Seurujärvi-Kari 2005a). Still today, municipalities in Finland and Sweden have difficulties in complying with their educational obligations, for example, to arrange Saami bilingual instruction due to scarcity of Saami-speaking staff. While Sweden entitles all Saami children to receive education in special Saami schools, the Norwegian model is extensive. However, in Sweden, there is no municipality with clearly Saami-dominant population, as in Norway and Finland.

In Norway, the solution of Saami recognizes Saami as equal with Norwegian. The Saami curriculum (O97S) requires revitalization of Saami language and cultural heritage through education. The regulation states that "In terms of content and quality, education must provide basic skills which bring the cultural heritage to life, motivate students to make use of the local culture, and provide children and young people with the desire to become active and innovative in both the Saami and Norwegian societies" (Hirvonen 2008, p. 21). In Finland and Sweden, there are no differentiated curriculums for Saami education. As Saami education in Finland and Sweden is interwoven into national curriculums, deconstruction of the features of dominant schooling remains difficult, thus jeopardizing the construction of Saami identity within the national school system. While in Sweden the recognition of the status of Saami as indigenous people caused some difficulties, related to viewing all minorities in rather similar terms, in Finland, the ILO Convention 169 inspired positive discrimination of the Saami. Thus, an increase of resources through special funding scheme was approved when education legislation was reformed in 1998. Thereafter, municipalities have had an incentive to arrange

Saami bilingual instruction. Research has detected increases in regard to teaching hours and numbers of attendance (see; Aikio-Puoskari 2007, p. 80; Seurujärvi-Kari 2005b).

Differences in curricular orientations between three national systems become a regionally significant issue, which relates to differences in political referencing of the Saami educational problems. The complexity of the issue becomes clear from the global viewpoint when indigenous scholars worldwide and their Saami associates argue for curricula that would be developed by indigenous peoples themselves (e.g. Battiste 2002, 2008; Keskitalo et al. 2013; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Recognizing the complexity might result in sustainable solutions. While in Finland, the education laws refer to a restricted geographical area, in Norway, the Education Act of 1998 (Nr. 1096) stated nationwide right for Saami children to receive teaching in the Saami language. This is important, given concentrations of Saami speakers in cities. Accordingly, every child in the Saami area is taught Saami, and bilingual instruction in Saami and Norwegian is offered for every child. Emphasis on Saami culture in the classroom has become an important part of the curriculum. However, only four of twenty schools in the Saami Administrative area and about ten schools outside this area used the Saami curriculum in the school year 2004–2005. Currently, there are also some schools categorized as "maintenance of bilingual education schools", where Saami language in curriculum is more prominent than Norwegian. Some of these schools have aimed to increase Saami-speaking classes, teaching curriculum subjects in Saami, while others have aimed to decrease such instruction (Hirvonen 2008, pp. 22–23, 32). However, Hirvonen (2004) considered the Norwegian curriculum reform as the most significant ever in the Saami school history. Yet, even in Norway, most Saami school teachers have been trained at majority universities or teacher training colleges. Furthermore, programs facilitating Saami children's truly bilingual development are short in supply, and schools alone do not produce new Saami speakers. Students prefer to use the dominant language when talking to each other outside classrooms even in the physically separate Saami schools in Sweden (e.g. Rasmussen 2015). However, in all Nordic countries, Saami students in Saami core areas can study in the Saami language.

Less than half of the estimated 70,000 Saami persons can communicate in Saami. Defects of schools in Saami education combined with still remaining negative attitudes of parents can be fatal for the smallest Saami languages (Magga 2008; Seurujärvi-Kari 2014). In such conditions, the so-called "language nests" are currently considered as effective in language immersion, above all, in early childhood (Pasanen 2010, 2015). This is a kind of total

immersion in minority language targeted for minority children who are under school age where the personnel do not use the majority language at all, but the children are allowed to use it freely (Pasanen n.d., http://www.visat.cat/articles/eng/116/the-language-nest.html). Good results have been obtained in the villages of Inari and Ivalo in Finland (Olthuis et al. 2013, pp. 27–30; Olthuis 2003). Thus, the Ministry of Education and Culture has renewed funding for these programs. Also, a government program in Finland to revive the Saami language was prepared in cooperation with the representatives of the Saami Parliament in 2011 and accepted in 2014. Out-of-school organizations, such as the Saami museum Siida and Saami Education Centre in Inari Finland, spread Saami knowledge tradition.

Conclusions

Three Nordic countries discussed in this chapter are similar and different in political referencing of the Saami people and language. Although, from the Saami point of view, their educational problems are regional and lived through in the local communities of the Sapmi, the national emphasis for assimilation is hard to resist. We have clarified intended nation-state-level solutions of Saami problems. We pointed out the paradoxical increase in Saami cultural autonomy but decrease in regional cross-border cooperation in framing challenges. Educational distributions depend unequally on the host state. The scarcity of certified Saami-speaking teachers stands out. Teachers' training has been influenced by majority systems for decades. Even in Norway, only 15 % of the Saami teachers had studied at SUC, and less than half of the teachers were Saami-speaking at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Hirvonen 2004, pp. 149, 154). In some areas, the educational contents for comprehensive schools are better adapted to Saami culture, while in other areas, their equivalents can be mere translations from the teaching materials for the majority (Aikio-Puoskari 2007; Hirvonen 2004).

Before the 1990s, all-Saami regional focus was directed into nation-state allied Saami Parliament and school planning and teaching materials were forced into nation-state frames. Saami Parliament have not yet found sufficient collaboration for contesting needed development, for example, in producing culturally pertinent teaching materials for Saami curricula, whatever the nation-state context. Recent research seems to confirm that the Saami educational community largely conforms to national frames of education policy (Jannok 2013; Keskitalo et al. 2013, pp. 83–90, 95). Yet, the Saami

themselves need to take more active role in promoting and determining their indigenous language revitalization and education processes.

In global indigenous perspectives, however, more profound paradigm changes for Saami educational arrangements and pedagogy have been envisioned. Saami researchers point to challenges in advancing toward the goals set forth in international conventions, in national legislation about indigenous rights, to education in one's own language, to an integration of Saami heritage and knowledge to schooling at all levels, thus recognizing the equity of such contents in programs valued as equal to those of the majorities (among others Jannok 2013; Keskitalo et al. 2013; Keskitalo et al. 2014b; Magga et al. 2008). Our analysis of the regional complexity of Saami education affirms that recognizing such profound changes would require also indigenizing of the hierarchical top of the organization structure in national school systems, namely the university. Structural expectations thus strengthened would foster inclusive openings in the certification logic of schooling and would result in wider recognition of new knowledge forms in national school systems. Increasing the pedagogical emphasis on learning of the psychic systems of people, instead of certification-mediated schooling, might offer leeway for such development of Saami education.

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Differentiation and Diversification in Compulsory Education: A Conceptual Analysis

Lauri Ojalehto, Mira Kalalahti, Janne Varjo, and Sonja Kosunen

Introduction

In this chapter, we analyze conceptualizations of school differentiation, that is, how social and institutional[1] differences within and between schools can be represented in research. These differences are often described by varying, overlapping, and sometimes vaguely defined concepts: differentiation, diversification, segregation, stratification, polarization, and marginalization are all used for this purpose. Therefore, our aim is conceptual clarification: at a general level, we will briefly discuss the limitations and possibilities related to the use of all of the foregoing concepts. In addition, we analyze two concepts, "differentiation" and "diversification," in detail. To clarify these concepts, we examine their various applications in school research.

By addressing the issues of conceptual clarity, this chapter aims to contribute to both scientific and political debates on school differentiation. While clear concepts can do justice to the complexity of phenomena, fuzzy ones may lead to misunderstandings, talking past one another, and hampering

[1] By "institution," we mean both formal organizations (e.g., schools) and the social practices manifested in those organizations.

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the criticism and interpretation of arguments—both in research and in policymaking. Conceptual ambiguity might also cause erroneous findings, whose utilization could have unfortunate consequences (cf. evidence-based policymaking). We also describe the difficulties in the conceptual representation of school differentiation. We hope that awareness of these challenges will help researchers in tackling conceptual problems, as well as assist those using research findings (e.g., administrators) in making correct interpretations of the results. Policymakers, administrators, and students of educational sciences will find here conceptual tools for understanding the diverse processes of school differentiation: we describe various forms of school differentiation and explain a range of concepts suitable for describing these phenomena.

School Differentiation

By "school differentiation," we are referring generally to the (increasing) socio-institutional differences within and between schools. With this general term, we want to cover a broad collection of phenomena denoted by diverse and overlapping concepts in educational research. Although how schools differentiate is partly context specific, we do not examine any particular school system; our study addresses abstract and conceptual issues. Accordingly, by "school," we are referring generally to the organizations providing compulsory education, either at the primary or at the lower secondary level.

School differentiation is manifested as differences in learning outcomes across schools (e.g., Bernelius 2013), differences in reputations and prestige of schools (e.g., Kosunen and Carrasco 2016; Delvaux and van Zanten 2006; Ball and Vincent 1998), diversifying educational trajectories of pupils within the school system (e.g., Rinne et al. 2015; Van Houtte and Stevens 2009), and school segregation, that is, differences in social and ethnic compositions of schools (e.g., Reardon and Owens 2014).

Various reasons for school differentiation have been suggested. In many countries, market-oriented educational policies have promoted institutional and curricular diversification across schools (e.g., school profiling). In this sense, these policies have aspired to greater differences between schools, even if their concurrent aims have been to increase quality, equality, or efficiency in education. To further these aims, the policies have also promoted competition between schools and widened parents' discretion over their children's education (e.g., school choice) (Dimmock 2011; Lubienski 2006b; Plank and Sykes 2003). However, given that the abilities and knowledge required for successful choices are unevenly distributed across social classes,

the expansion of free school choice could increase educational inequality between families (Ball 2003; Ball and Vincent 1998) as well as school segregation (Söderström and Uusitalo 2010). Another cause for school segregation is urban segregation: in combination with residence-based pupil allocation policies, it transforms the segregation of catchment areas into school segregation; and when school choice is available, it places some pupils in privileged positions by virtue of their place of residence, since the supply of education varies by region. Research across disciplines suggests that no one-size-fits-all solution exists for preventing school segregation in different local contexts (Varjo et al. 2016; Söderström and Uusitalo 2010; Oberti 2007).

As a phenomenon, school differentiation also raises the question of its consequences relative to nation, state, and identity. In many European countries (e.g., the Nordic countries), a universalist school system has previously provided a coherent socio-institutional foundation for the reproduction of the nation state: schools have been rather uniform environments for the formation of national identity and citizenship (Ahonen 2001). Yet the conditions of a common education erode when schools differentiate: differences in curricula, institutional arrangements, and socio-cultural compositions signify differences in these conditions. If dissimilar school environments affect the experiences that shape pupils' national identity and citizenship, then school differentiation could also reshape educational reproduction of the nation state, for instance, through pupils' experiences of marginalization or curtailed citizenship (Beach and Sernhede 2011).

Differentiation Concepts and the Research Problem

Having now briefly described the phenomena related to school differentiation, we turn to their diverse conceptual representations in research: diversification, differentiation, segregation, polarization, marginalization, and stratification, all describe different parts of the above-mentioned differentiation processes. The following short characterizations will give the reader an idea of the diverse and partly overlapping meanings of these concepts.

Differentiation often refers generally to the differences within and between schools, for instance, differences in curricula or pupil configurations and differences in parents' educational strategies (e.g., Poupeau et al. 2007; van Zanten 2007). *Diversification* can refer to institutional and curricular diversity across schools (Lubienski 2006b), while "diversity" also denotes the diversity in school populations (Juvonen et al. 2006). *School segregation* denotes uneven distribution of specific pupil groups (e.g., ethnic) across schools (e.g., Alegre et al. 2010). *Stratification* refers to social rankings, that is, hierarchical

differences between persons, groups, or social systems. In the school context, it can denote the ranking of schools by the abilities of their pupils (Gibbons and Telhaj 2007), the ranking of pupil groups, as in the case of ability grouping (Van Houtte 2006), or a differentiated school system with various types of education and hence diverse educational trajectories (Dronkers and van der Velden 2013). *Polarization* expresses either stark differences in social or cultural practices between pupil groups (Van Houtte 2006) or bipolarity of statistical distribution. *Marginalization* refers to pupils' experiences of being on the margins of society and perceptions of themselves as not belonging (Beach and Sernhede 2011) or pupils' membership in a group that is marginal by its numbers (Benner and Wang 2014).

All these concepts describe societal differences within or between schools and often suggest their change or an increase in their quantity. Because they all describe societal differentiation within the educational system, we will henceforth refer to these concepts collectively as *differentiation concepts*. We use this superordinate concept to lump these more specific concepts together, since our aim is to discuss their common problems and features collectively. Note, however, that above, we used the term "school differentiation" to refer generally to various phenomena related to the differences within and between schools. In turn, "differentiation concepts" refers to a collection of concepts utilized for describing these differences, that is, to diversification, differentiation, segregation, polarization, marginalization, and stratification.

Not only are there various concepts describing similar, partly intertwined phenomena, but each has multiple variations: (1) The differentiation concepts are used both as general terms and as narrow theoretical concepts (see the next section); (2) they are modified by varying attributes (e.g., ethnic or social segregation); (3) among scholarly studies, the same terms denote different phenomena, or the same phenomena are denoted by separate but rather similar concepts.[2] In effect, there is no coherent, established practice in using differentiation concepts.

Our research task is twofold: (1) the research goal concerning all the differentiation concepts is to analyze and evaluate the limitations and possibilities related to their use in research on school differentiation. We address this goal first, in the next section. By examining all the differentiation concepts generally

[2] For instance, Van Houtte refers to ability grouping, tracking, and streaming both as "differentiation" and as "educational stratification" (2006, p. 273); in turn, Terwel refers to these as "curriculum differentiation" (2005, p. 653). Both scholars also use "differentiation" to refer to the curricular differences between schools, something Lubienski calls "diversification." Yet by "diversification" and "differentiation," Lubienski is also referring to the symbolic hierarchies of schools (Lubienski 2006a, b). For Poupeau et al. (2007, p. 31), the "socio-spatial differentiation of schools" concerns space, institutions, and social practices.

at the outset, we endeavor to lay the foundation for the following conceptual analysis conducted in the remaining part of the chapter. This analysis, in turn, focuses on the conceptualizations that research has labeled "differentiation" and "diversification." We put particular emphasis on these two terms, since both are susceptible to undefined and ambiguous usage: their meanings are intertwined, and they are used both as well-defined theoretical concepts and as ambiguous general terms in ordinary language. (2) The research goals concerning differentiation and diversification are, first, to analyze and clarify these two concepts and their applications to school research, and second, to propose some alternative conceptualizations. To further these two goals, we will explore (1) how diversification can be understood as the (increasing) diversity of a school population, (2) the conceptual tools that Niklas Luhmann's theory of societal differentiation could provide for analyzing school differentiation, and (3) how diversification and differentiation as concepts can describe symbolic hierarchies within and between schools.

The Use of Differentiation Concepts: Limitations and Possibilities

This section examines the differentiation concepts as well as the limitations and possibilities pertaining to their use as representations of phenomena in school research. Specifically, we explore issues of conceptual clarity and accuracy. For instance, we contrast the scientific formulations of these concepts with their general usage in ordinary language, as these are interconnected and cannot be entirely separated. Since the optimal level of conceptual precision or specificity depends on the purpose of the usage, we also explore the functions that the differentiation concepts can have.

In English, the differentiation concepts are ambiguous as to whether they denote processes or a state of affairs prevailing at a particular time. For instance, in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford 2014), "differentiation" is defined as denoting both a "condition of being differentiated" and "any change by which like things become unlike, or something homogeneous becomes heterogeneous." Similarly, "diversification" is defined as "the process of becoming diversified," "the fact of being diversified," and "the production of diversity or variety of form or qualities." Also in research contexts, these concepts as well as polarization and segregation denote states of societal differences as well as processes in which such differences develop or increase (cf. Bernelius 2013, p. 29; Lubienski 2006b; Hamnett 2001). According to Bernelius, segregation

and differentiation[3] can refer (1) to processes in which the differences between regions or schools are increasing, (2) to the level of differentiation existing at a particular time, or (3) simultaneously to the process and its result (2013, pp. 20–29).

Since the differentiation concepts refer ambiguously both to processes and to states of affairs, their use in cross-sectional studies can be misleading: cross-sectional data alone cannot justify conclusions about processes or increased differences. However, by referring ambiguously to processes, the differentiation concepts may suggest that such conclusions are warranted. Another problem may also arise: since these concepts can have context-specific normative connotations, they may imply that the processes denoted by them advance toward a normatively unjustified result. For instance, polarization, segregation, and marginalization sometimes involve the normative idea that increasing societal differences is unjustifiable or leads to unjustifiable outcomes. However, if the underlying conception of justice has not been clarified, such normative implications remain vague. Moreover, concepts that conflate both descriptive and normative content make it difficult to distinguish the descriptive analysis of phenomena from their normative critique. By contrast, presenting normative and descriptive claims separately ensures that both are readily criticizable.

In applications of differentiation concepts, tensions exist between different ideals concerning properties of concepts. Just as the capacity to describe reality accurately and in detail makes a concept useful, so too does generality and the ability to cover a wide range of phenomena. Hence, the optimal level of precision or specificity depends on the context and the purpose for which the concept is used. Differentiation concepts are used inter alia (1) as theoretical concepts with specific well-defined meanings to represent phenomena accurately; (2) for generalized representations of multifaceted phenomena (e.g., simplification of complex findings); and (3) for rhetorical and political functions.

As theoretical concepts, their functions include describing, interpreting, and explaining data accurately.[4] To achieve accuracy in these matters, quantitative research utilizes mathematics: for instance, various mathematical formulas or quantitative definitions have been developed for estimating the level of segregation, polarization, or marginalization (e.g., Benner and

[3] Since Bernelius writes in Finnish, she does not use the English words "differentiation" and "segregation" but the Finnish words of corresponding meaning: "eriytyminen" and "segregaatio" (Bernelius 2013, p. 29).

[4] Theoretical concepts also have other important functions: for instance, they are used to specify research questions, and they partly direct the collection of data. When differentiation concepts are used in these functions, conceptual precision and accuracy are equally important. In this short chapter, however, we cannot examine these other functions any further.

Wang 2014; Alegre et al. 2010; Montalvo and Reynal-Querol 2005; Reardon and Firebaugh 2002). Yet while such mathematical exactness can facilitate a concept's accurate operationalization, it also narrows the concept's meaning. Therefore, given that societal processes are complex, intertwined, and multidimensional, it is helpful to refer to them with more comprehensive concepts as well. For instance, segregation is a multifaceted phenomenon including many mutually resembling and intertwined processes, such as residential segregation and school segregation. Furthermore, school segregation can refer not only to the distribution of pupils across schools but also to the condition of school buildings and pupils' experiences in (non-)segregated schools. Therefore, denoting the general phenomenon of segregation with one word is often useful, albeit ambiguous. General concepts can also have heuristic value that the more exact but also narrower concepts lack (cf. Reardon and Firebaugh 2002; Duncan and Duncan 1955); they allow a wider variety of interpretations and thus are compatible with a wider range of theoretical ideas than are the narrower concepts.

However, the use of general terms or concepts involves two risks, namely, overgeneralization and oversimplification (cf. Hamnett 2001, pp. 167–168). First, general terms such as "differentiation" may suggest that a general and wide societal process exists, even if empirical evidence covers only a narrow or local phenomenon or only one form of differentiation. Second, while one general term, for instance, "polarization," may seem to neatly put together complex phenomena, it may also oversimplify by suggesting that only a single process with similar causes, consequences, and manifestations exists.

There are also tensions between the requirements of scientific accuracy and the rhetorical and political functions of the differentiation concepts (cf. Hamnett 2001; Beauregard 1993). Imprecise concepts denoting the processes that produce social divisions and inequality are politically useful: they are rhetorically powerful because they involve normative connotations and are sufficiently general for political communication. Yet such concepts can also be empirically misleading: because they are generic, imprecise, and normative, they may draw attention from what *is* happening to what we *think* is happening or what we think *should* (or should not) be happening. Thus, there is the risk that the existence of phenomena denoted by the differentiation concepts are taken for granted rather than tested empirically. Hence, while evaluative, emotional, and symbolic functions of these concepts are needed for political purposes, theoretical clarity and empirical evidence play crucial roles in their research usage: without them, the propositions that utilize these concepts to describe phenomena are only vague theoretical conjectures.

The problem of conceptual precision is partly relieved, partly complicated by attributes modifying the differentiation concepts. For instance, segregation is

described as social, racial, multiracial, ethnic, linguistic, economic, socio-economic, residential, spatial, between-district, and within-district (cf. Reardon and Owens 2014; Bernelius and Kauppinen 2012; Hamnett 2001; Reardon et al. 2000). Other differentiation concepts are also modified by varying attributes.[5] By using modifiers (e.g., ethnic) to specify a term's meaning (e.g., segregation), it is possible to describe different, but partly similar phenomena with a single term. However, the multiplicity of attributes may also be confusing: each new attribute connected to the original term forms a new notion. The question then arises of how these notions are similar to or different from each other.

However, one justification for the manifold attributes is the complexity of the phenomena that are described. Processes such as differentiation, segregation, and polarization occur simultaneously in several dimensions: social, spatial, cultural, economic, institutional, and political (cf. Bernelius 2013, pp. 13–21; Hamnett 2001, p. 169). Hence, linguistic attributes attach each concept to the specific phenomena corresponding to these dimensions. For instance, in a study by Poupeau et al. (2007), differentiation has several dimensions: space, institutions, and social categories and practices. *Space* is socially ranked and thus differentiated, *institutions* such as schools are *socio-spatially* differentiated, and *educational practices* such as school choice can be differentiated, either between *social categories* (e.g., the middle and lower classes) or within the same social category (e.g., the middle class). Differentiation of educational practices within a social category means regional differences, for instance, in school choice practices of the middle class. In sum, "socio-spatial differentiation of schools" (ibid., p. 31) then seems to mean schools' dissimilar social compositions, their dissimilar locations in a socially hierarchical space, parents' differentiated educational practices, and the resulting social hierarchy between schools.

The discussion above has examined the relationship between language and phenomena by juxtaposing linguistic attributes vis-à-vis the dimensions of differentiation. However, the differentiation concepts could also be analyzed for their implications for social ontology. One may ask what are the social entities that are claimed to be differentiating and what are the properties or relationships that make the difference. Or do the differentiation concepts denote the differences in the properties of social structures or in the properties of individuals or both?[6]

[5] For instance, for the concept of differentiation, researchers use attributes such as socio-spatial (Poupeau et al. 2007); residential (cf. Hamnett 2001); and urban, social, spatial, socio-spatial, socio-economic, ethnic (Bernelius and Kauppinen 2012). Further, there are concepts of school differentiation (Bernelius and Kauppinen 2012; van Zanten 2007), differentiation of educational outcomes (Bernelius and Kauppinen 2012), and curriculum differentiation (Terwel 2005).

[6] On the structuration theory, see Giddens (1984), for instance.

This section has examined limitations and possibilities pertaining to the use of differentiation concepts as representations of phenomena. Specifically, we raised the epistemological problem of the precision and unambiguity of these concepts. As suggested above, a partial solution is practical: the required exactitude of a definition depends on the purpose and context of its use. Yet researchers should take note of the risks examined above: overgeneralization, oversimplification, undefined usage, conflating of normative and descriptive content, varying and overlapping meanings of terms across studies, and unnecessary terminological diversity. The discussion also suggested several perspectives for clarifying differentiation concepts: when defining or utilizing these concepts, researchers can assess the functionality of definitions from linguistic, epistemological, practical, heuristic, normative, rhetorical, political, ontological, and empirical perspectives.

Interpreting Diversification and Differentiation in School Research

This section takes a closer look at the possible definitions of differentiation and diversification and how they can be applied in the analysis of differences within and between schools. To open up new perspectives for clarifying these concepts, we examine two conceptual schemes rarely utilized in research on school differentiation: the quantitative research on diversity by diversity indices and Niklas Luhmann's differentiation theory. The quantitative research on school populations rarely applies the concept of diversity, and in previous research, diversity has often been confused with concepts such as the sociocultural average, ethnic share, or shares of high- and low-status parents (Dronkers and van der Velden 2013). Luhmann's differentiation theory, in turn, involves many useful conceptual perspectives for analyzing the differentiation of schools as social systems.

Diversification: School Populations and Their Diversity

Quantitative research concerning in-school diversity and segregation across schools explores the shares of linguistic, ethnic, or religious groups in school populations. It compares these populations by using diversity or segregation indices (e.g., Dronkers and van der Velden 2013; Juvonen et al. 2006; Reardon et al. 2000). In biology, economics, and sociology, diversity is measured with various diversity indices, for instance, species richness or the Shannon and Gini-Simpson indices (for definitions, see Jost 2006). Through these

indices, diversification could be defined by using the concept of diversity. Diversification would then denote the (increasing) diversity of a population, defined in relation to a selected variable (e.g., native language) and measured with a suitable index.

In biology, "species richness" measures diversity as the number of species in a population (e.g., Tuomisto 2010). Similarly, the number of native languages spoken provides an indicator of linguistic diversity. While such a figure may explain the school-specific challenges in providing instruction in native languages, it may not give a comprehensive picture of a school's linguistic diversity. Suppose the pupil population consists mainly of one large language group that covers, for instance, 98 % of the pupil population. If a great number of different native languages are then found in the total population (100 %), this is explained almost exclusively by the linguistic diversity of the remaining 2 %. By contrast, the Gini-Simpson and Shannon indices not only take into account the number of different groups but also are responsive to the (un) evenness of the group sizes. The numerical dominance of some groups thus affects index value.

In social sciences such as education, economics, or sociology, the Gini-Simpson index (also called the Blau or Herfindal index) has been used to measure ethnic, religious, or linguistic diversity (Dronkers and van der Velden 2013; Rushton 2008; Juvonen et al. 2006; Alesina et al. 2003). A limitation of both the Gini-Simpson and Shannon indices is that they measure only structural diversity: they take into account only the relative proportions of the subgroups, but not their other social characteristics. Hence, a school with a 10 % Asian minority and a 90 % Hispanic majority receives the same index value as a school with a 90 % Asian majority and a 10 % Hispanic minority. Yet, both in subgroups and in overall school populations, social dynamics, beliefs, and behavior could be rather different because of cultural or economic reasons. Similarly, sheer structural linguistic diversity alone might not explain the pedagogical challenges related to language; background variables, internal features of linguistic groups, or the overall composition of the population could also be significant factors (cf. Dronkers and van der Velden 2013; Rushton 2008).

The diversification of school populations and school segregation are two interconnected phenomena. For instance, the total ethnic segregation of schools corresponds to the hypothetical situation in which ethnic diversity is found in the total pupil population, but not in schools that are ethnically homogeneous. Accordingly, Alegre et al. define segregation as "uneven distribution of specific groups of pupils characterised by specific variables … between schools in a given territory" (2010, p. 25). Thus, school segregation can be defined by using any variable dividing pupil populations into different subgroups: gender, language, social class, sexual orientation, religion, or

academic abilities. Once one determines the shares of such subgroups in classes, teaching groups, tracks, or schools (i.e., institutionally defined groups), or in catchment areas, neighborhoods, or administrative districts (i.e., spatially defined groups), segregation and diversity indices can be used to estimate the level of segregation or diversity.

In sum, diversification can be understood as the "(increasing) diversity of a pupil population," but this general characterization allows several interpretations, since diversity can be measured with various indices and variables. While indices provide possibilities for estimating the level or change of socio-economic, ethnic, or linguistic diversity in schools, their limitations indicate that, for many research purposes, they should be supplemented with other methods. Nevertheless, recent work in biology provides valuable insights into problems concerning the definition of diversity as well as its representation through indices (Tuomisto 2010; Jost 2009, 2007, 2006). Because these investigations partly concern the concept of diversity itself, their results seem relevant to research on the diversity of school populations. Diversity indices are, however, rarely utilized in educational research. For instance, Dronkers and van der Velden, who use the Gini-Simpson index (the Herfindal index in their terminology), claim that they are introducing the concept of diversity into research on school populations (2013, p. 92); yet, as indicated above, in terms of different approaches and alternative diversity indices, many other perspectives on the concept of diversity and diversification exist.

School Differentiation as a Development of Social Systems

This section explores the conceptual tools that Niklas Luhmann's theory of societal differentiation could provide for analyzing school differentiation. Luhmann's theory could open new theoretical perspectives on the conceptualization of school differentiation. First, although it is a notable sociological theory about societal differentiation, it is rarely used in this area of research. Second, as a theory about social systems, it emphasizes systemic structures more than many of the common approaches to school differentiation, which focus more on individuals and their relationships.[7]

Luhmann (2013) identifies three types of social systems: (1) interaction systems (e.g., teacher–pupil), (2) organization systems (e.g., school), and (3) functional systems such as education, politics, law, and economy.

[7] Compared to Luhmann's theory, the following mainstream approaches to school differentiation are more individual focused; for instance, Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction, comparative studies on educational achievement and school effectiveness, and neoliberal theories on individual choice.

In Luhmann's systems theory, all social systems are based on communication. System differentiation, in turn, is "recursive system formation" (2013, p. 3) in which new systems arise, mainly from previously existing ones.[8] Consequently, the previously existing systems and the new, differentiated systems form an environment for one another.

Luhmann (2013, 1977) distinguishes four historical forms of societal differentiation: (1) segmentation, (2) stratification, (3) center–periphery differentiation, and (4) functional differentiation. One of these always dominates a societal system, while the other forms may simultaneously exist to a lesser extent. For instance, in a modern society, the dominating form is functional differentiation. Luhmann analyzes the historical logic of societal differentiation with these forms, which describe internal differentiation of entire societies. We will, however, explore whether and how similar principles, akin to these differentiation forms, could also structure the internal differentiation of educational systems. Hence, our approach is partly heuristic: we will describe the central features of these differentiation forms and explore how they could function as conceptual tools for analyzing the differentiation of schools as organizations and the internal differentiation of national school systems.

First, in segmentation, society is differentiated into *equal* subsystems. The defining feature of such subsystems is their *similarity*: "Segmentary differentiation arises when society is divided into basically similar subsystems, which mutually constitute environments for one another" (Luhmann 2013, pp. 11–12, p. 27; Luhmann 1977, p. 33). Luhmann's examples come from archaic societies in which segments of society were defined by descent, residential area, or a combination of these. Similarly, an educational system could also be seen as differentiated into separate segments of rather similar form, namely, schools. Specifically, the school systems with catchment areas resemble the Luhmannian segmentary differentiation; these systems may be divided into separate segments (schools) according to residential areas. In some such systems, schools have also been relatively *similar* socioculturally and institutionally; such was the case in Finland in the 1980s, for instance, owing to modest residential segregation, a culturally homogeneous population, and a centrally governed school system (Ahonen 2001). As a concept, segmentation thus seems suitable for characterizing the differentiation of an educational system, namely, its differentiation into separate, yet rather similar and equal social systems (schools), whose pupil populations reflect the populations of their surrounding residential areas.

[8] In Luhmann's theory, new social systems can emerge from and within existing social systems, but this is not the only way in which new social systems arise. However, it seems to be the principal way (see Luhmann 2013, p. 2–3).

Second, stratification differentiates society into *unequal* subsystems, and the defining feature of such differentiation is "*dissimilarity in rank* between subsystems" (Luhmann 2013, p. 13; Luhmann 1977). For Luhmann, stratification denotes the hierarchy of social systems. In stratification, "subsystems of society differentiate themselves from other systems of their intrasocietal environment in terms of difference in rank" (Luhmann 2013, p. 54).

Third, center–periphery differentiation occurs between the center and the periphery (e.g., city vs. rural areas) and is characterized by *dissimilarity* and structural differences between the two (Luhmann 2013). These structural differences are based, among other things, on regional dissimilarities in capital accumulation. In the centers, stronger and wider-ranging kinds of differentiation are able to develop; in particular, deeper stratification becomes possible. Rural areas may thus remain in a state of segmentary differentiation, while stratification simultaneously begins to characterize the city. Hence, center–periphery differentiation can mean regional differentiation of segmentation and stratification (Luhmann 2013, p. 48).

In national school systems, greater differences between schools are supposedly found in cities than in rural areas (cf. e.g., Bernelius and Kauppinen 2012, pp. 228–229). Hence, center–periphery differentiation could structure the differentiation between city and countryside also within school systems. While segmentation into similar and equal social systems (schools) may remain typical of rural areas, the school system in cities can be stratified: residential segregation of catchment areas, school choice, and pupil selection may and often do result in school segregation. The distribution of pupils across schools may begin to reflect the social stratification of the society, and a hierarchy among the schools may thereby emerge. Thus, school systems could become stratified into unequal social systems (schools) characterized by dissimilarity in rank. Therefore, as concepts, both "stratification" and "center–periphery differentiation" seem suitable to describe differentiation of schools within school systems.

The fourth form is functional differentiation. According to Luhmann, "every functional system is differentiated out for a specific function" (2013, p. 89). Examples of functional systems are education, politics, religion, and economy. A central difference from the other differentiation forms is that "People cannot be attributed to functional systems in such a way that each belongs to only one system" (ibid. p. 87); thus, these systems are rather general and abstract (e.g., law). As education is itself a functional system in this general sense, it might seem that the concept of functional differentiation is not suitable for conceptualizing the differences between schools: in a certain sense, each school has the same function, namely, providing

education. However, the internal differentiation of an educational system may emerge from its general functions. According to Qvortrup, Luhmann's theory of education gives two primary functions for education: the first is "to change people in the direction of definite goals" (2005, p. 9) or, more specifically, "to create … the preconditions for human beings to function in society as persons" (2005, p. 13). The second is "to execute evaluations in order to realize career selection" (2005, p. 13). Both of these functions could become structuring principles of school differentiation. First, in some national school systems, there are significant differences in educational goals across schools (i.e., curricular diversification). These goals can also differ in how children are to be educated to function as persons—either in society in general or in its subcultures in particular (cf. faith schools). Thus, educational goals could structure the differentiation of schools as social systems. Second, career selection can structure the school differentiation, either through the opposition of academic and vocational education or through the emergence of elite schools.

The idea of functional differentiation as the division of labor could also provide a framework for analyzing differences between schools, at least in specific circumstances. Historically, the establishment of formal schooling can be seen as differentiation in which school education takes over a significant part of the family's socializing functions. Functionalist explanations often presuppose that, due to specialization, differentiated structures work more effectively than non-differentiated ones (Smelser 1990; Rueschemeyer 1977). By extension, in market-oriented school systems in which school profiling and competition are encouraged, schools may aspire to serve different clienteles and adopt different strategies in these efforts. Both the school system as a whole and each school as a separate entity could be seen as trying to adapt to the environment by adjusting to the conflicting interests of parents (cf. Lubienski 2006b; Chubb and Moe 1990). School differentiation could then mean the division of labor along the lines of these interests: different schools perform dissimilar educational tasks that correspond to the diverse demand in the market. Luhmann, however, does not define functional differentiation as the division of labor (2013, p. 98), but claims that it originally emerged from the differentiation of social roles, which, in turn, are divided into professional roles (e.g., teacher) and complementary service-receiving roles (e.g., pupil) (Vanderstraeten 2004; Luhmann 1977, p. 35). Analogously, the differentiated roles of parents as dissimilar customers and of schools as dissimilar service providers could structure the functional differentiation of schools.

Emerging Symbolic Hierarchies Within and Across Schools

The previous section described differentiation and diversification mainly as non-hierarchical concepts. This section explores how, as concepts, they can describe symbolic hierarchies within and between schools.[9] A symbolic hierarchy represents examined items not only as ordered on different levels but also as differently valued: the items at higher levels have a superior, socially determined value, prestige, or significance than those at lower levels. On the other hand, societal differences can be hierarchical, and the diversity of societal entities can consist of their distribution on the different levels of hierarchy. Thus, differentiation and diversification can be understood as hierarchical concepts. This section aims to explain: (1) how non-hierarchical differences or non-valued orderings of societal entities are transformed into symbolic, hierarchical differences of social prestige and significance, and (2) how differentiation and diversification as concepts can describe either such transformation or its result—a symbolic hierarchy.

In school research, the distinction between non-hierarchical and hierarchical differences is sometimes marked by a horizontal–vertical opposition. If the differences in compared objects are described as "horizontal," then the objects are represented as equals or on the same level; if they are described as "vertical," then a hierarchy is established by placing the objects on different levels. However, in practice, varying conceptual pairs denote this opposition: horizontal versus vertical diversification (Lubienski 2006b), horizontal versus vertical differentiation (Kosunen 2014; Delvaux and van Zanten 2006), and segmentation versus stratification (Luhmann 2013). At least four conceptual components are involved in these conceptualizations: difference/dissimilarity of quality, quantity, change, and levels of hierarchy. These components reveal subtle differences between the conceptualizations.

While diversification denotes roughly the plurality and diversity of items, differentiation refers more to their differences or distance. Adding the idea of change, diversification could mean the "*increasing* quantity of mutually dissimilar items" and differentiation could mean their "*increasing* qualitative differences." Yet a somewhat different perspective on defining differentiation is found in Luhmann (2013). In his theory, system differentiation is not defined as increasing differences across systems. In the case of education, for instance, it rather means the emergence of new subsystems within the functional system of education.

[9] In the Bourdieuian framework, symbolic hierarchies of schools can be analyzed as a part of field in which actors struggle over social positions in relation to those hierarchies (cf. Bourdieu 1984). This perspective has been utilized in school choice research (e.g., Kosunen 2016) but is not applied in this study.

If these conceptualizations are combined with the concept of hierarchy, it means that the differences, dissimilarity, or quantity of compared items pertain to the levels of hierarchy. Consequently, vertical differentiation could refer to the (increasing) *hierarchical* differences of (existing) items, and vertical diversification, to the (increasing) quantity of mutually dissimilar items, whose plurality and dissimilarity are understood in terms of their distribution on *hierarchically* ordered levels. Similarly, horizontal differentiation could describe non-hierarchical differences, and horizontal diversification, non-hierarchical diversity.

For instance, Lubienski (2006a, b) uses "horizontal diversification" to refer to the variety of substantively different, yet equally valued curricular options, classroom practices, pedagogical approaches, or school types. If the differences across schools remain merely horizontal, no hierarchy or ranking of schools emerges; only differences in the content or practices of educational provision occur. However, horizontal differences or horizontal diversity may be transformed into vertical differences of perceived quality or prestige of schools, curricular options, or school types. Such vertical diversification or differentiation is based on various factors, some of which symbolize quality rather than actually indicate it: the social and ethnic composition of school enrollment, school uniforms, discipline codes, drop rates, test scores, traditional/academic curriculum, and school efficiency (cf. Lubienski 2006a, b; Ball and Vincent 1998).

Lubienski's horizontal–vertical division of diversification resembles Luhmann's distinction between segmentary and stratificatory differentiation. Both horizontal diversification and segmentation refer to differentiation into equal, unranked systems; however, in segmentation, differentiated systems remain similar and equal, whereas in horizontal diversification, differentiated systems are dissimilar, yet equal (unranked). By contrast, in stratification and vertical diversification, a hierarchy across systems emerges (Luhmann 2013, 1977; Lubienski 2006b). Hence, segmentation could refer to similar and unranked schools, horizontal diversification to dissimilar, but unranked schools, and vertical diversification and stratification to schools that are dissimilar and ranked. "Ranked" denotes here the symbolic hierarchy of the perceived quality or prestige of the schools.

Just as it is a subtle matter to define differentiation and diversification as hierarchical concepts, subtlety is also required to conceptualize the determinants, structure, and emergence of vertical differences across institutions. The symbolic hierarchy of schools is grounded not only in publicly available "cold" knowledge about schools (e.g., ranking lists) but also on "hot"

knowledge, which spreads through the grapevine of parents' and children's social networks. "Hot" knowledge is socially constructed information about the general reputation, prestige, and quality of schools. It consists of rumors, beliefs, experiences, and valuations, and it is manifested as preferred pupil configurations, perceived school contentment, and the expected quality of teaching and learning. Hot and cold knowledge form part of parents' social and cultural capital and are unevenly distributed across social classes: for instance, there are class-related differences of access to valuable hot knowledge (Kosunen et al. 2015; Kosunen 2014; Ball 2003; Ball and Vincent 1998). Hence, the amount of social capital and the capacities to transform some forms of capital into other forms (e.g., paying for entrance exam preparation) may become determining factors in a successful school choice (Kosunen and Seppänen 2015). Therefore, realized school choices can be partly class-dependent and thus affect the social configurations of schools. Furthermore, strategic school choices, residential ethnic and socio-economic segregation, and grade-based selection together may result in segregation by ability across schools (e.g., Söderström and Uusitalo 2010). In turn, if certain social or ethnic pupil configurations are generally preferred to others—for instance, because of expected educational outcomes—a school's position in the symbolic hierarchy of institutions could be affected by its pupil distribution. In sum, horizontal differences across schools may develop and translate into vertical differences in expected educational "quality" through several processes: (1) pupils or parents utilize their social, economic, and cultural capital in making a school choice; (2) ethnic, socio-economic, and ability segregation develops across schools; and (3) socioculturally determined valuations of pupil configurations emerge.

Schools themselves engage in the processes by which symbolic hierarchies are formed. Because the constraints and opportunities influencing daily life differ from one school to another, different schools develop dissimilar *logics of action* (van Zanten 2007). The logic of action denotes the patterns of a school's daily functioning manifested in discourses and practices. The constraints and opportunities shaping the logic of action arise from a school's social composition, from the relationships among personnel and the pupils, and from the school's social, institutional, and political environment. As the logic of action differs among institutions of higher and lower prestige, a school's position in the symbolic hierarchy could affect its logic of action, and vice versa.

One component in the logic of action is school profiling through the curriculum. Hence, curricular differences within and across schools could affect the emergence of symbolic hierarchies. In previous research, curricular differences have been denoted by both "differentiation" and "diversification."

Terwel (2005, pp. 653–654), for instance, defines "curriculum differentiation" both as "offering different curricula to the different categories of students" and as "streaming, tracking, ability-grouping." Because curriculum differentiation thus has two components—group composition and differentiated educational content—symbolic hierarchies related to the curriculum may arise, (1) if different curricula are culturally valued differently, or (2) if some pupil configurations are on average more valued than others, for instance, for their tendency to produce good educational outcomes.

As suggested earlier, horizontal curriculum diversification can be defined as an (increasing) variety of different, yet equally valued, curricula (cf. Lubienski 2006b). Such diversification can occur at different institutional levels. In a school system, curricular differences may exist: (1) between system-wide tracks or streams (e.g., vocational vs. academic education), (2) across schools providing formally equivalent education, or (3) within schools (banding, tracking, and streaming). In each case, the differences in curricula and group compositions could be transformed into symbolic differences. Vertical curriculum diversification—or differentiation—thus denotes the symbolic hierarchy that may emerge between different tracks, schools, or pupil groups in accordance with curricular differences. However, symbolic hierarchies might correspond not only to differences in the written curricula but also to school-specific differences in hidden or enacted curricula that may emerge. Even if schools follow the same national curriculum, elite schools may provide "extensions or enrichments to the core curriculum," whereas disadvantaged schools lower the educational expectations or emphasize the parts of the curriculum that "seem appropriate or interesting to pupils" (van Zanten 2007, p. 433).

Also within schools, offering different curricula to different categories of students may produce symbolic hierarchies. In ability grouping, a symbolic hierarchy based on differing academic abilities across groups can emerge through aptitude-based pupil selection. Symbolic hierarchies may also emerge as social categorizations related to academic and socio-economic criteria (Delvaux and van Zanten 2006); often the educational choices made by pupils and their families are affected by their social class (e.g., Ball 2003). The differences in the written curricula and in group configurations could thus lead to unexpected differences in experienced, learned, or hidden curricula. According to the differentiation–polarization thesis, the differentiation of pupils into tracks based on ability leads to a polarization of "anti-school" and "pro-school" cultures, which arises between the differentiated tracks (Van Houtte 2006, p. 273).

In sum, the concepts of "diversification" and "differentiation" can be combined with the idea of symbolic hierarchy in various ways, since symbolic hierarchies within and across schools may emerge owing to several factors: rumors, school choice and school market, uneven distribution of capital

(Bourdieu 1984), social compositions of schools, differences in ability across pupil groups, and curricular differences.

Summary of Conclusions

This chapter has analyzed conceptualizations that describe socio-institutional differences within and across schools. First, it explored limitations and possibilities related to the use of all the differentiation concepts. The aim was to explore whether and how these concepts can describe phenomena precisely and unambiguously. Thereafter, two concepts, differentiation and diversification, were analyzed in more detail.

Differentiation and Diversification

The more detailed discussion of differentiation and diversification suggests the following conclusions: (1) if "diversification" is interpreted to mean the (increasing) diversity of a school population, then it can be conceptualized with the help of *diversity indices*. Regardless of their limitations, these indices are underused in research on school populations. Hence, educational research could utilize selectively the innovations of diversity measurement developed in other disciplines, such as biology or economics. (2) The *differentiation forms* of Niklas Luhmann's systems theory are rarely utilized, but they offer useful conceptual tools for describing how schools can differentiate as social systems. (3) We also examined how the concepts of diversification and differentiation can be combined with the idea of *symbolic hierarchy*. Our analysis indicates subtle differences in previous non-hierarchical and hierarchical conceptualizations of differentiation and diversification, and it shows how these concepts both differ from each other and yet also overlap. The analysis further indicates how these concepts apply to school research by distinguishing several ways in which they can describe symbolic hierarchies within and across schools.

Differentiation Concepts

The more general examination of the differentiation concepts suggests that the ambiguous features of ordinary language can unobtrusively be incorporated into the scientific uses of these concepts. For instance, concepts such as polarization or segregation describe both societal states and processes, and this together with their possible context-dependent normative connotations makes them susceptible to ambiguous or misleading usage.

Some difficulties regarding conceptual clarity and precision arise from the complexity and multidimensionality of the phenomena. While general conceptualizations are needed for describing extensive and intertwined phenomena, such generality may also mean imprecision or ambiguity. A partial solution to this problem is practical: while researchers should aim at conceptual exactness, the precision and quality of each definition should be arguable from the angle of the concept's context-dependent purpose. For instance, dissimilar conceptualizations are required in the (1) quantitative or (2) qualitative analysis of data, (3) in condensing complex results for a scientific or general audience, and (4) in political communication. Since different aims require adhering to different, sometimes incompatible, ideals, it is therefore useful to balance the costs and benefits of each definition from various perspectives. Our discussion of the differentiation concepts suggests that at least linguistic, epistemological, practical, heuristic, normative, rhetorical, political, ontological, and empirical perspectives are worth considering. Moreover, the choice of what concept to use requires care: the differentiation concepts vary in how profound the societal differences they communicate are and in the kind of context-dependent normative connotations they convey (e.g., polarization vs. differentiation).

Compulsory education is evidently one of the societal institutions that most significantly shapes national identities (Tormey 2006) and citizenship. Education substantially molds the values, beliefs, behavior, and sense of belonging of a society's future citizens. However, because of school differentiation and curricular diversification, pupils' national identities are taking shape in diverse school environments. If the horizontal differences within and across schools are transformed into symbolic hierarchies of prestige, the dissimilar experiences might also turn into marginalizing ones. Therefore, school differentiation may diversify the conditions under which pupils' conceptions of equal citizenship and national identity develop: unequal educational opportunities, school segregation, and curricular diversification mean ever more differentiated experiences of state, nation, and citizenship.

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Cultural Capital, Equality and Diversifying Education

Anna-Kaisa Berisha, Risto Rinne, Tero Järvinen, and Heikki Kinnari

Introduction

The aim of the chapter is to analyse the significance of cultural capital with regard to the social inheritance of education in the context of diversifying education. We are striving to give a holistic picture of the state of justice and equality of education in the Finnish educational system and policy. This task will be approached by analysing the mechanisms of educational selection at different educational levels, from primary to higher education, from the point of view of recent changes in Finnish educational policy practices.[1] Our empirical examples focus mainly on the importance of the *institutionalised form of cultural capital*, referring to the institutions which provide the credentials that signal attainment in the dominant culture, the school system chief among them.

In recent years, Nordic educational policies including Finnish educational policies have gone through remarkable changes compared to the old historical tradition emphasising the equality of educational opportunities as the

[1] While we are conscious of the fact that early childhood education has also been strongly affected by neo-liberal welfare and educational policies, we leave it outside our examination due to the limited space of the chapter.

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backbone of the whole educational system. Traditional Nordic models of welfare and educational policy have been reconstructed and influenced by neo-liberal educational policies and pressures from supranational organisations such as the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU). At the core of these changes has been a reconceptualisation of equality in education, which has manifested itself, for example, in the mechanisms of 'free parental school choice' as well as in the formation of 'the educational markets'. The reforms whose origins lie in the global neo-liberal turn have not only changed the institutional context of education but also reduced the equality of educational opportunities and outcomes. (Rinne 2014.)

The article begins with an examination of the origins of the concept of 'cultural capital' informed by Pierre Bourdieu, after which educational selection on different educational levels in Finland will be analysed. The significance of cultural capital with regard to the social reproduction and social inheritance of education will be examined by considering the recent changes in 'the field', that is, the changes both in policy practices and institutional arrangements in comprehensive, upper secondary, and higher education in Finland. Special attention will be paid to the free school choice policy as well as the selection into and diversification within upper secondary and higher education. Finally, this chapter will provide a theoretical interpretation regarding the utility of the concept of 'cultural capital' in understanding the mechanisms of the social inheritance of education in the contemporary policy of the Nordic countries in general, and Finland in particular.

Cultural Capital and Social Reproduction

Bourdieu employed the concept of cultural capital in order to explain the higher success rates of children of educated parents. These children succeed better in school not only due to the support they receive from their parents but also as a result of intimate familiarity with high culture, such as the fine arts and classical music (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu and Wacqant 1992; see also Prieur et al. 2008). Home practices such as verbally stimulating conversations, reading sessions, educationally relevant resources (books and magazines) and parental warmth have a substantial positive impact on academic achievement. (Kingston 2001.)

The concept of cultural capital has become one of the most popular objects of analysis in the field and has been thoroughly examined by sociologists of education. Bourdieu's concept is an attempt to expand the idea of capital to

measure more than just economic capital, and to identify culture as a form of that more general category (Reay 2004, 2012). In Bourdieu's own work, the concept of cultural capital was used prominently in research on education, consumption and taste (e.g. Bourdieu 1984). In all economically advanced countries, schools play a crucial and growing role in social reproduction, the process through which status and class positions as well as educational advantages are transmitted across generations. Therefore, any comprehensive assessment of the concept of cultural capital must necessarily come to grips with its role in education (Lareau and Weininger 2003).

Bourdieu (1986) divides cultural capital into three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalised cultural capital. *Embodied cultural* capital denotes the ability to appreciate and understand cultural goods, which are 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243). This process of embodiment (culture, cultivation) takes time and requires personal investment on the part of the investor. Bourdieu refers to this embodied capital as external wealth—an integral part of the 'habitus', which cannot be transmitted or exchanged. It can be seen more as a form of symbolic capital, unrecognised as capital and instead acknowledged as legitimate competence. Any certain competence produces profits of distinction for its owner. It is also strongly related to social reproduction and, according to Bourdieu, the most powerful principle of the symbolic efficacy of cultural capital is the logic of transmission to the offspring—'the arrow effect', as Bourdieu calls it. The accumulation of cultural capital covers the whole period of socialisation. As Bourdieu (1986, p. 246) states: '[…] the length of time for which a given individual can prolong his acquisition process depends on the length of time for which his family can provide him with the free time, i.e. time free from economic necessity, which is the precondition for the initial accumulation […].'

Embodied capital is linked to *objectified capital*, which refers to cultural objects such as paintings, writings, instruments and so on, which require special skills and knowledge to be appreciated and are transmissible in their materiality. By way of an example, Bourdieu states that if one wants to possess machines, he only needs economic capital. But in order to use them appropriately, he must have access to embodied cultural capital as a person or through an intermediary. One can think this *objectified capital* to the extent of their *embodied capital*. Objectified capital needs embodied capital in order to be appropriated properly. It is also a matter of power and authority, because deriving profit from one's own cultural capital by selling services is justified among dominated groups. According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 247), 'if it is emphasized that they are not the possessors (in the strictly economic sense) of the means of production which they use, and that they derive profit from their own cultural

capital only by selling the services and products which make it possible, then they will be classified among the dominated groups; if it is emphasized that they draw their profits from the use of a particular form of capital, then they will be classified among the dominant groups' (Bourdieu 1986).

In this chapter, we are mainly focusing on *institutionalised capital* that refers to societal institutions, here the school system, which provide the credentials that signal attainment in the dominant culture. The institutional recognition of cultural capital makes it possible to compare academic qualifications and even exchange them. More importantly, '[…] it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 248). These qualifications of monetary value can be exchanged in the labour market, and the markets are governed by changes in the structure of the chances of profit offered by the different types of capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Bourdieu also emphasised that despite the great regard that schools may have for high levels of cultural capital among their students, the institutions themselves do not usually provide this form of capital; rather, it is typically transmitted through the students' families. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) conceived the system of education as an ensemble of institutions and practices which legitimate and reproduce the cultural significances of the dominant class (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, pp.194–210). Bourdieu argued that schools are not the great equalisers, but rather help to reaffirm and reproduce social class and privilege by valuing the preferences, behaviours and attitudes of the dominant class over those of the non-dominant groups. Cultural capital thus contributes to social inequality and helps to reproduce social stratification across generations. The dominant groups are able to maintain their hold on rewards and benefits by minimising access to cultural capital for members of the lower and working classes, while maximising access for their own members. Several studies of social reproduction, for example, the child's inheritance of the parent's social class, have shown a positive association between the educational success of parents and that of their children. The theory argues that the culture of the dominant class is transmitted and rewarded by the educational system. In order to acquire cultural capital, a student must have the ability to receive and internalise it. The acquisition of cultural capital and consequent access to academic rewards depend on the cultural capital passed down by the family, which is largely dependent on social class (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Dumais 2002; van de Werfhorst and Hofstede 2007; Hampden-Thompson et al. 2008).

Global Educational Policies Capturing Finnish National Education Policies

A global neo-liberal ethos present in educational policy has altered the field of education in a way which has stressed the importance of cultural capital in coping with new educational demands. It is important to note, however, that globalisation is not only the consequence of economic internationalisation and technological development, driven by some 'natural forces,' but also the result of the conscious political decisions of people. In fact, little or nothing can be explained in terms of the causal powers of globalisation, but by processes that involve real economic and political actors with real interests (Robertson et al. 2006, p. 228; Niukko 2006, p. 9; Simola et al. 2013).

Globalisation is a deeply ideological construct being supported and framed by the neo-liberal agenda. Stephen Ball (2012, p. 2; cf. Lingard 2009, p. 18) has denominated such global policy transformation in education the 'neo-liberal imaginary' and in the discussions of the 'end on state education' on its welfare forms. Over the past 30 years, we have witnessed neo-liberal globalisation, an ideology which promotes markets over the state and regulation, and individual self-interest over the collective good and common well-being. Individuals are deemed responsible for their own 'self-capitalising' over their lifetimes and become 'hybrid social subjects, who are spatially mobile, ethically malleable, and able to speak the languages of public, private and philanthropic value' (Ball 2012, p. 29 and p. 145).

Finland is a country of five and a half million inhabitants in the northernmost periphery of Europe (Rinne 2012). Its social, cultural and geopolitical history is strongly linked to Sweden (until 1809), and after that to Russia (until 1917) as a Grand Duchy with its own legislation. Finland's tradition of governance has been strongly influenced by the old centralised and bureaucratic governance systems of the two neighbouring countries.

Finland has closely exemplified the Nordic welfare and education system. Since independence, Finland has based its cultural and political position upon Nordic neutrality between the power blocs of the East and the West. Because of good political and commercial relations with the USSR, it was accused of 'Finlandizierung' by Western commentators. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, Finland sought membership in the EU and rapidly strengthened ties to Western Europe. Until the 1990s, Finnish welfare policy was a part of the Nordic 'social democratic' model, which strongly stressed comprehensive social security, strong state control, significant income transfers, full employment and a high level of equality.

Educational policy and its principle of equality of educational opportunities were considered one of the most important spearheads in the removal of all types of social inequality.

As a member of the Nordic family, Finland invested heavily and systematically in education. The level of education rose rapidly, especially in the latter half of the twentieth century. Of those born in the early 1960s, only a fifth entered working life with no more than basic education behind them, but among those born in the late 1970s the equivalent share dropped to less than one in ten (Kivinen and Rinne 1998; Pöntinen 1990; Antikainen et al. 2013).

Finland joined the EU with Sweden in 1995 while experiencing significant difficulties due to a deep economic recession. In a rapidly and radically changing political climate, the traditional state-centred approach to welfare policy collided sharply with the more market-driven policies. Finland changed its tack on social and education policy astonishingly fast. The opposition may now look back and criticise the official policies for no longer bowing before the Kremlin commissioners in Moscow, but instead, the EU commissioners in Brussels. This criticism of the new 'Euro-Finlandisierung' argues that small nations like Finland are not fully able to carry out their own independent foreign, domestic or even educational policy (Rinne 2000).

Finland is easily influenced by its more central and populous fellow Union members. Its former egalitarian policy, designed to safeguard the welfare and equality of all citizens by means of education in the name of social justice and highlighting the bureaucratic elements of the social welfare state guaranteeing safety, has given way in the 1990s and 2000s to a very different set of values and practices. Neo-liberal educational policies are being favoured in the name of competitiveness on the international market—a policy which is inevitably also increasing competition between individuals and schools (Simola et al. 1999). Only very little discussion and political debate arose from the sudden change of the course of educational policy despite the fact that it took place ten years later than in the rest of Europe. However, there were social, political, economic and global reasons for this, not the least of which were the significant diminution of Soviet influence over Finland and the election into government, for the first time in decades, of the right front and the Coalition Party as the prime minister party.

There was also the OECD impact. According to the OECD (2003; Niukko 2006), Finland became the model pupil (Niukko 2006, p. 12): 'Finland has a record of heeding the advice of past OECD education reviews […] helping to shape the future growth of a dynamic new education sector.'

The history of worldwide educational policy was already steered by a strong pro-market orientation in the 1980s (Ball 2012; Green 1997; Daun 1997).

Up until that time, changes in educational policy could be observed and understood to a large extent through the internal forces and struggles of nations (Husén and Kogan 1984; Marklund 1984; Antikainen et al. 2013), but from this time forward the national viewpoint has proved to be clearly inadequate (Jauhiainen et al. 2001; Henry et al. 2001), as argued by the eminent British researcher, Stephen J. Ball (2004):

> It is no longer possible to look at educational policy purely from the point of view of nation-states because in education it is a question not only of regional but also of global policy-making, and to an ever increasing extent also of international business. (pp. 7–8)

If national governments lose their grip on education, they will be substituted on the one hand by supranational, more global norms and, on the other hand, by more parochial local norms. This means a change in the basic historical task of nation-states' education: the transfer and creation of national culture and the renewal of the national work force. Some scholars have warned that the role of education as the main means of social renewal and national integration is under threat of disappearing (Usher and Edwards 1994). The most extreme visionaries are even asking whether the existence of national education is coming to an end (see Green 1997, p. 3, p.130; also Brown et al. 2001; Brown and Lauder 2001; Rinne et al. 2015).

As Roger Dale (2009, p. 40) elegantly writes concerning the Nordic countries and Finland:

> In post-war social democracy it was assumed that education could contribute most effectively by expanding equality of opportunity by bureaucratic administration of access and availability; this often took the form of comprehensive schools, for instance. By contrast, in the 1980s and 1990s, the idea was that education could best contribute to the wider social project of expanding wealth through markets, by making education and schools behave themselves in market-like ways.

The limits and possibilities of nation states to pursue their own traditional national education policies have changed dramatically during the past decades. The trends of internationalisation and globalisation have had an unavoidable role in steering and guiding the decisions of national policymakers and the direction of national education policies. Organisations such as the OECD and the EU, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have also become increasingly interested in educational policy and human capital (Rinne and Ozga 2011).

Educational policy promoting free parental school choice has, since the 1980s, been a central part of the global restructuring of public education. It has been justified as a means to give the parents more freedom to use their cultural capital, already at the comprehensive education level, in choosing a school that better corresponds with their child's predispositions and wishes. The new policy has encouraged and promoted the early selection of children from different backgrounds into different educational tracks. The new policy also encourages schools to specialise in their particular areas of strength, and to differentiate themselves by stressing their distinctive features. Even in countries with a strong tradition of policy for educational equality, school choice is justified and top schools of 'excellence' can be created.

In the new global market-oriented society, we may list some central features of the new supranational mainstream practices and technologies of educational politics at primary and lower secondary school level, such as strong marketisation, consumer and parental choice, national testing systems, league tables and ranking lists, a growing inspection and monitoring system, a large sector of independent schools, high local accountability including intelligent accountability, large assessment enterprises, the administration of control, sanctions and rewards on the basis of collected assessment data and, finally, striving for individualisation and excellence (Rinne 2001; Maroy 2008, pp. 17–20; Power and Frandji 2010, pp.385–386; Ozga et al. 2011, pp.124–125; Rinne and Ozga 2011; Simola et al. 2013).

These principles guiding the arrangement of basic education through market mechanisms have been applied for the longest time and on the largest scale especially in Chile, the USA, England, Australia and New Zealand, but also increasingly in non-Anglo-Saxon countries, for example, in Estonia and some Nordic countries, especially Sweden. These policies have strengthened a socially segregated school system, since parents' education, professional position and wealth affect which school their child ends up attending (e.g. Lauder et al. 1999; Thrupp 2005; Bunar 2010; Waslander et al. 2010; Seppänen and Rinne 2015).

Unlike many other countries, the free school choice policy arrived in Finland solely within the public school system in the 1990s (Seppänen 2003a, b), emphasising electiveness and criticising the welfare state: basic education should be based on individuals and the balance between equality and the freedom to choose (Bowe et al. 1994). School choice was added in small increments to the Finnish basic education system and is connected to the middle class's persistent search for advantages gained through education (Thrupp

2007). In Finland, the start of the school choice policy in the early 1990s coincided with financial recession, widespread unemployment and a growing middle class (see e.g. Rinne 2000, 2003). It was also connected with increased discussion in the late 1980s about equal opportunity and talent in basic education (Rinne and Vuorio-Lehti 1996, pp.113–119). This coincided with the National Coalition Party's win in the 1987 election after 21 years in opposition (Seppänen and Rinne 2015).

Finland still has an exceptional basic education system which is government funded and free of charge for families, including teaching supplies and school meals. The state and municipalities administer, govern and steer all basic education provided in Finland. Schools are not allowed to financially profit from their operation. The state regulates the central goals, content and distribution of teaching time for different subjects as well as the basic principles of student admission.

While increasing marketization is a reality in Finland today, it is not as extensive as in other countries, including Sweden. There are no national testing systems, no public league tables and almost no private or independent schools. Finland has neither a growing inspection and monitoring system nor high local accountability. There are no large assessment enterprises nor control, sanctions or rewards on the basis of collected assessment data. However, there is stronger competition between schools for pupils, a desire for individualisation and excellence, as well as a strongly growing and freshly legitimised parental school choice system—three factors which form the basic core of the new Finnish neo-liberal education policy and new educational markets. The advance in Finland of the global travelling policy of strong marketization was suddenly hindered by the surprising results obtained by the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) study since 2000, showing that the Finnish comprehensive educational system produced top results in world rankings. The PISA results slowed the flow of neo-liberal educational ideas and mechanisms to Finland and made possible a return to Finnish educational policy tradition that focussed on equality of educational opportunities rather than competition and high-stakes testing.

The new Basic Education Act (L 628/1998) was passed in 1999, just before the first PISA results. The Act officially recognised and legitimised parental choice and school choice policy, stating that parents can apply for specific schools also outside their school districts and that schools can select their pupils based on specialisation and even tests (Seppänen 2006, p. 10).

The Social Inheritance of Education in Finland at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

Families' Cultural Capital and Parental Choice in Comprehensive Education

Recent changes in Finnish educational policy practices have altered the mechanisms of educational selection, a phenomenon which manifests itself differently at different levels of education. This, in turn, has strengthened the importance of cultural capital in making 'the right choices' when navigating through different stages of the educational system. The change in this respect has been especially significant in comprehensive education. Since the long tradition of a child's school place being determined by the municipality, and thus was dependent upon his or her place of residence, ended as a result of the Basic Education Act (L 628/1998), families have had the chance to apply for another school besides the one in their own neighbourhood, assigned by the city or municipality (neighbourhood allocation). The Finnish comprehensive education system consists of two levels: primary school (grades 1–6, pupils aged 7–12) and lower secondary school (grades 7–9, ages 13–15). School choices are usually made in the context of the transition from primary to lower secondary school, although choices are possible in the early years of school (Seppänen et al. 2012).

However, the first official choice all pupils make—whether to pursue the academic or the vocational track of upper secondary education—takes place at the age of 16. Thus, the Finnish comprehensive education system is often regarded as free of ability grouping (i.e. streaming, tracking, setting; see also: van Houtte et al. 2012, p. 75) (Reay 2012, p. 595; Sahlberg 2007). Nonetheless, there are practices within the system that lead to the grouping of pupils based on pupils' school performance, even though comprehensive schooling does not officially involve any grouping of pupils into significantly different curriculums for certain subjects or use ability-based grouping. This grouping is carried out using classes with a special emphasis that offer teaching that emphasises a certain school subject (e.g. foreign languages, natural sciences, arts). These classes are allowed to select pupils based on their aptitude in the emphasised subject in question. Furthermore, such 'tracking' is connected to families' cultural capital, that is, their ability to and interest in making choices regarding schools and the various options offered in specific local contexts (Berisha and Seppänen 2016).

School choice policies and their consequences in comprehensive education have been widely studied internationally and to a more limited extent in Finland. The domestic studies have shown that school choice is a forceful mechanism that leads pupils on different kinds of school paths very early on (Seppänen 2006; Seppänen et al. 2012). Recent research shows that pupil selection is a vast phenomenon in some of the largest Finnish cities due to the existence of classes with a special emphasis (Seppänen et al. 2015). The share of school classes that select pupils varies significantly between schools in different cities (Seppänen and Kosunen 2015). In Finland, the municipalities control the geographical catchment areas as well as the profiling of the schools; thus their institutional school choice spaces can differ a lot from each other (Varjo and Kalalahti 2011). Additionally, the implementation of criteria for pupil selection for the classes with a special emphasis differs greatly depending on the school (Seppänen et al. 2012). Furthermore, the reputations of schools among parents differ greatly between schools and especially between school classes, and hence affect their desirability among parents (Kosunen 2014; Kosunen and Carrasco 2014).

In Finland, like elsewhere in Europe and overseas, parents (and, in particular, mothers) with institutionalised cultural capital (university degrees) and a high socioeconomic status, make more school choices compared to other parents (Thrupp 2005; Seppänen 2006; Van Zanten 2015). According to a recent survey study conducted in five major cities in Finland (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Tampere and Turku, $n = 2617$) in 2012, this holds true in the current Finnish urban context. Among the families in which the mother or the father has a university or university postgraduate degree, up to 43 per cent of the children attended a class with a special emphasis, whereas among the lowest educational group the equivalent percentage was only 22 (Table 1., see also Kalalahti et al. 2015). A similar trend can be observed in the case of employment—especially among mothers—as well as income. Thus, when looking at the social class of the family, which was formed using the education, employment and income levels of the parents, the statistically significant results continue to support the fact that the families with higher cultural capital have their children attend classes with a special emphasis more often than those with less cultural capital. Among upper-middle-class and upper-class families, approximately 40 per cent have made school choices, while among lower-class and lower-middle-class families, only a quarter have done the same. Interestingly, it seems that the social class of the family trumps the effects of the child's school performance: even if children from a working-class background excel in school, they are not enrolled in classes with a special emphasis as often as the children with a middle- or upper-class background (Silvennoinen et al. 2015).

Table 1 Children attending a class with a special emphasis in relation to the parents' education, employment and income level as well as the family's objective social class

		Child attends a class with a special emphasis, % (f)	
		Mother	Father
Education $p < 0.001$	Comprehensive school/vocational school/upper secondary school	22 (136)	23 (178)
	Lowest level tertiary education (*opisto*)	29 (201)	33 (157)
	University of applied sciences	30 (112)	29 (73)
	University/university postgraduate degree	42 (357)	43 (318)
	Total	32 (824)	32 (726)
Employment $p < 0.001$	Clerical support, service, sales, craft and related trades workers	25 (170)	34 (69)
	Technicians and associate professionals (e.g. nurses)	29 (173)	41 (274)
	Professionals (e.g. researchers)	41 (333)	32 (98)
	Managers	38 (29)	24 (133)
	Total	33 (705)	33 (574)
Income $p < 0.001$	Under 20,000 €	31 (116)	26 (42)
	20,000–49,999 €	30 (460)	28 (256)
	50,000 € or more	40 (200)	39 (363)
	Total	32 (776)	33 (670)
		Family	
Social class $p < 0.001$	Lower class		24 (19)
	Lower middle class		25 (206)
	Middle class		31 (151)
	Upper middle class		41 (318)
	Upper class		39 (20)
	Total		32 (714)

The Significance of Cultural Capital in Upper Secondary Education

In the neo-liberal policy environment, there is pressure to organise education according to the hypothetical needs of different client groups. Not only in comprehensive education but also at the level of upper secondary education, schools are being encouraged to specialise in their own areas of strength. In Finland, this can be most clearly seen in the functions of specialised upper secondary general schools. These schools have received a special mandate from the Finnish Ministry of Education to emphasise particular subjects, such as arts, natural sciences or foreign languages, in their curriculums. In addition, they have the right to set special criteria for student enrolment. (Järvinen 2003.)

The mushrooming of specialised upper secondary general schools in the 1990s has contributed to the stratification of upper secondary education in Finland. The features of neo-liberal educational policy such as marketisation, the aspiration to excellence, the demand for efficiency and accountability as well as the performance-related allocation of resources have led to a situation where upper secondary schools are also using specialisation as a means to attract students and teachers of a certain kind. As a result, competition both among schools for students and among students for the limited number of places available in schools with a good reputation has increased in Finland during the past couple of decades. This has strengthened the significance of social background in the selection of students to schools with high status and thus emphasised the role of cultural capital in the educational choices and outcomes of young people. According to nationwide studies, the proportion of well-paid, highly educated and upper-middle-class parents is clearly greater among the students studying in the specialised upper secondary general schools than in the population at large and also compared with the parents of students studying in upper secondary general schools without specialisation (Järvinen 2000, 2003).

The opposite finding emerges when examining the social profile of young people dropping out of upper secondary education. An analysis of the connection between cultural capital, as indicated by parental education and young people's exclusion from education and working life, is an important issue from the point of view of educational equality and social justice. In the current societal situation, those with minimum education have the greatest risk of becoming not only educationally isolated but also socially excluded. The transition from lower to upper secondary education is a critical stage from the point of view of the educational and social exclusion of young people (e.g. Lamb et al. 2011; Järvinen and Vanttaja 2013).

Although changes in the educational and labour markets have affected all young people, studies looking at youth transitions in European and OECD countries have revealed that factors related to one's social background still have a powerful effect on the educational pathways and outcomes of young people (Furlong and Cartmel 2007). The effect is particularly strong when analysing the school-to-work transitions of educationally disadvantaged youths. According to a longitudinal study on the later life courses of Finnish young people not in employment, education or training (NEETs) of the mid-1980s (n = 6983) and mid-1990s (n = 7508), social background is connected not only with young people's exclusion from education and working life but also with the later educational and labour market trajectories of the excluded. The main result of the study was that the children of parents with weak labour

market positions, low education and low income not only have a greater probability of being excluded from education and working life than the rest of the population on average but also experience the most difficulties in getting a job, advancing in their career, and reaching a stable labour market position (Järvinen and Vanttaja 2013).

The significance of parental education on the employment careers of Finnish NEETs of the mid-1980s and mid-1990s is examined in more detail in Table 2. The career trajectories were constructed based on the information gathered from three observation years (NEET cohort 1985: 1990, 1995 and 2000; NEET cohort 1995: 2000, 2005 and 2007). One's employment career was interpreted as being 'stable' if she or he had been either employed or a student, and 'stagnant' if she or he had been either unemployed or outside the active labour force for some other reason in each of the three observation years. The third career type, 'unstable', refers to trajectories in which the statuses of both inclusion and exclusion were observed during the follow-up period. In both cohorts, there was a strong connection between parental education and one's ending up in both 'stable' and 'stagnant' careers. Among the NEETs of the mid-1980s, the connection was linear: the more educated the parents were, the more often their offspring had ended up in 'stable' careers and less frequently in 'stagnant' careers. Parental education was also clearly connected with gaining a successful labour market career among the NEETs of the mid-1990s. Furthermore, although the connection between parental education and dropping out of education and working life was not as consistent among the NEETs of the mid-1990s as it had been ten years earlier, young people whose parents were less educated were still the most represented among those who had ended up in 'stagnant' careers (Järvinen and Vanttaja 2013; Table 2).

Table 2 Employment careers of NEETs by parental education (cohorts of 1985 and 1995 compared, %)

	Parental education, cohort 1985 (*n* = 6983)			Parental education, cohort 1995 (*n* = 7508)		
	Basic education	Upper secondary	Higher education	Basic education	Upper secondary	Higher education
Stable career	25	32	41	38	39	45
Unstable career	32	34	33	33	34	28
Stagnant career	43	34	27	30	26	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The Caste Division of Finnish Higher Education

Going to university has historically been the unquestioned right of the few members of the upper class (Rinne 2012). Only after the baby boom generation did the system of higher education become available for the masses. When places in higher education became available to two-thirds of a generation, the middle and higher classes started to regard not being highly educated as 'a sign of being somehow lesser, or it otherwise requires separate explanation, justification and apologies' (Trow 1974, 63).

As a certain level of education becomes the norm, it is usually followed by the segmenting of higher levels. When being highly educated is normalised, the value of basic degrees decreases and the focus shifts to university postgraduate degrees. Paths to the most valued elite will always assume new forms, and again only the few chosen will be able and know how to reach them (Weis et al. 2014). David Riesman's (1956) metaphor sums up the situation well: the system of higher education is a snake-like creature whose head is composed of a selected few institutions, whose mid-section is a battleground for trying to reach the head and whose tail is fighting against succumbing to hibernation. (cf. Kivinen and Rinne 1995a.)

As welfare states grew stronger after the Second World War, it was usually thought that mobility would increase, the hereditary nature of professions would diminish in importance, and higher education would become available for the offspring of all social classes. The significance of societal origin is believed to lessen when university-level education is readily available and inexpensive. There is extensive research and discussion to support the thesis of 'industrialisation and diminishing inequality' (Kivinen and Rinne 1995b; Rinne 2012), but there is also a lot of evidence against this thesis, and trends pointing in the direction of growing inequality.

The deep recession of the 1990s, Finland's entry into the EU in 1995, and its changing political relations diluted the equality-based university policy typical of Nordic welfare states. Although Finnish universities have started to mass-produce higher education, it is still difficult to get into university. The low number of admitted students compared to applicants creates tough competition, and as a result, about four-fifths of applicants fail to get admitted into university every year.

In Finland, the idea of diminishing the inequality of educational opportunities has had a major influence on ideologies behind university politics at least after the Second World War. Still, embarking on academic studies in universities has always been easier for the children of upper social classes and higher-educated families (Rinne 2012).

In 1980, the likelihood of the children of highly educated families to end up in universities was approximately 13 times higher than that of the children of families with only basic education, whereas in 2000, it was only 8 times higher. Inequality has slowly decreased as higher education has become more commonplace, but the disparity clearly still exists (Kivinen and Rinne 1995a; Kivinen et al. 2001; Kivinen et al. 2007; Rinne et al. 2008).

Global neo-liberal educational mechanisms and education politics as well as supranational pressures have affected the stratification of higher education in Finnish educational politics in the 1990s and 2000s. This has happened very rapidly, turning Finland towards ideologies of the so-called 'enterprise university' and the new market-driven 'top-unit' ideology (For a more detailed account, see Rinne 2010).

Figure 1 shows very clearly that the regional inequalities within the university system are high, and the system is quite diversified with regard to the

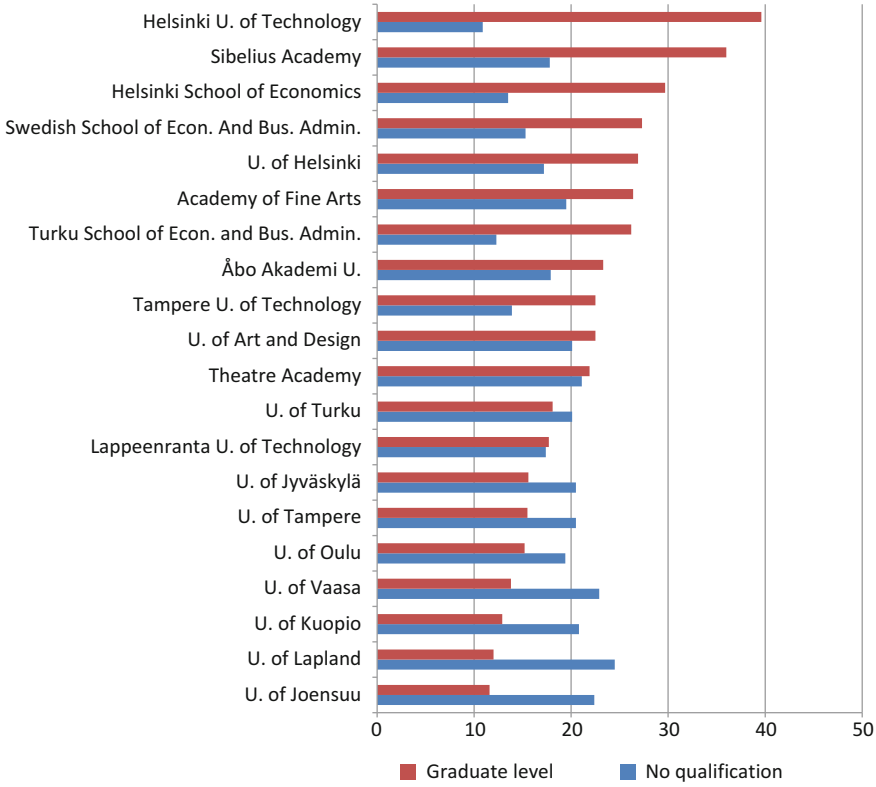

Fig. 1 Graduate level of university applicants' fathers in the early twenty-first century, by university (Rinne et al. 2008)

applicants' social backgrounds. The six top-ranked universities with respect to this 'elitism' criterion are situated in Helsinki, the capital of Finland. The six lowest-ranked universities are located in the more peripheral eastern and northern regions of the country. The differences were wide, with 40 per cent of the fathers of top university applicants having a master's degree while the equivalent figure for the bottom universities was less than 10 per cent.

The universities at the top were the Helsinki University of Technology, Sibelius Academy and the Helsinki School of Economics. The bottom universities were the universities of Lapland, Kuopio and Joensuu. It is not by accident that the three top institutes were the ones to be united in 2009 by the power of the new neo-liberal university law to become the first private foundation enterprise university, 'Aalto University', which aims to become the most competitive and 'elitist top' university in Finland, selecting its students from the upper classes.

Inequality in the twenty-first century is clearly becoming more emphasised within the university system as the latter is segmenting into higher- and lower-status fields. This segmentation into higher- and lower-level fields is happening not only between the different universities but also between the different faculties, disciplines and education programmes. These facts are not refuted by the results according to which inequality has been diminishing since the earlier decades due to, among other aspects, the Nordic countries and Finland focussing on education policy that emphasises equality—as well as many other aspects related to societal change.

When this reality is combined with the faith in the innocence of neutral educational choices prevailing in political discussions which hide and misidentify the class-based 'symbolic violence' (e.g. Bourdieu), we are headed for something new and unknown. It is of the utmost importance that we at least be aware of the hidden social and cultural facts and power relations influencing the selection processes and mechanisms in higher education.

A central conclusion with regard to social inequality in higher education is that it manifests itself above all as self-selection or -exclusion caused by differentiated levels of cultural capital embedded in the population and families, and their educational preferences now that higher education has become mass higher education, seemingly open to anyone. When children of highly educated parents seek university-level education more often than children of non-academic parents, the rationale behind the institutional selection mechanisms of university admissions and entrance exams remains distorted. The gates of universities may not be quite so tightly shut for those from lower social classes as long as they decide to apply. However, most often they choose not to even try. To put it simply: choosing to apply to university is something

that we already learn through our family background during basic education; these tendencies are based on cultural capital, which makes certain choices for certain families feel natural and 'right', like for a fish in water, while making others uncomfortable and awkward (for a more detailed account, see Rinne et al. 2008).

Social Justice and Equality in Diversifying Education

The inequality of educational opportunities and outcomes between social classes remains a fact in Finland as it does in the rest of the world, and may be growing now that comprehensive education is becoming divided, upper secondary school is becoming stratified, and even in the twenty-first century, children from highly educated families are 8 times more likely to go to university, and 1.5 times more likely to get in compared to applicants who come from families with lower education.

Within the Finnish comprehensive education system, the cultural capital of the pupil's family does affect the likelihood that she or he studies in a class with a special emphasis—meaning the family has made a conscious choice concerning the child's educational path. The children from upper-class families, in which parents have more cultural capital, attend these classes more than their peers of lower classes. Such grouping of pupils is known to have a connection with the school performance of the pupils (Berisha and Seppänen, 2016). In upper secondary education the division prevails, as the children of upper-middle-class parents are overrepresented among the students of specialised and general upper secondary schools, which are the most prestigious educational tracks in upper secondary education. Conversely, the offspring of the parents with low education, low income and unstable labour market positions are overrepresented among those who drop out of upper secondary education altogether. Furthermore, as students proceed to university they are still under the influence of their social background; their chances of getting into university, as well as the kind of university they end up attending, are connected to their parents' educational level. Overall, the Finnish educational system seems to have many mechanisms that create divisions between pupils and students at different educational levels via a variety of emphases and specialisations.

The overall logic of educational selection is one part of social reproduction, and students tend to end up choosing majors that lead to occupations which are equivalent to their parents' social status and class background. According to Reay (2004), this mechanism of social reproduction has become even stronger in the twenty-first century. Economic capital has always been a significant fac-

tor, but the increasing emphasis on parental involvement and parental choice as well as on programmes for the talented and gifted has highlighted the significance of cultural capital even further (Reay 2004). Ball (2010) argues that schools and universities are also encouraged to compete with each other and be more like corporations. This marketisation of education changes the relationship between students and schools, and parents are encouraged to compete and search for advantages for their children. This practical shift from education as an essentially valuable and shared resource to a consumer product or an investment fundamentally changes the relationship between citizen and state and emphasises the significance of cultural and economic capital at a growing pace.

Recent changes in education, in terms of both policy practices and institutional arrangements, have made this field more complex and strengthened the importance of social class and cultural capital in making 'the right choices' when navigating through the system. This has also led to a widening gap between the educational outcomes of children and young people of different social backgrounds in the Nordic countries, where emphasising educational equality has previously been regarded as the backbone of the whole educational system. The empirical evidence supports the fact that young people's educational aspirations, future expectations and school-to-work transitions are even under the conditions of individualisation and late modernity, strongly connected with their social class (Furlong 2009; Aaltonen and Karvonen 2015; Biggart et al. 2015). Consequently, it seems that it is still relevant to use categories such as social class, as well as related concepts such as cultural capital, as tools for the theoretical and analytical understanding of the educational choices and careers of individuals, as well as the inequalities related to them.

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Discourses on Gender and Achievement in Lower Secondary Education

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Background

Girls in Swedish compulsory school achieve, at a group level, ten percent higher grade average than boys of similar socio-economic background (Sou 2009:64). Contemporary media and policy debates largely give the impression that this difference is a rather new phenomenon and that boys' situation is now far more distressing than previously. However, that girls perform better than boys is not a new finding in Sweden, neither is the intersections with class (e.g. the Swedish National Agency for Education 2009); working-class boys are as unlikely to attend higher education now as they were previously.

The Swedish gender differences in grades are similar to those in other Western countries (Arnesen et al. 2008). One common theoretical

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explanation for the variations refers to differences between dominant youth masculinities and femininities, which to varying degrees are consistent with school commitment (e.g. Connell 1996; Francis 2009). This relates, especially in older literature, to an "anti-school" culture among boys with roots in a class-based opposition to schooling (e.g. Willis 1977; Trondman 1999), but also in more recent studies to a rejection based on concerns about academic failure (Jackson 2002; Arnot 2004). In present times, this line of research is largely based on studies of relationships and understandings of gender and schooling in peer groups (e.g. Holm 2008, 2014) and interviews with youth, and less than in older research on analyses of classroom communication and teaching. For instance, Nordic research until the late 1980s tended to focus on the gendered messages and resources that were furthered by school institutions—by teaching materials, teaching content and teacher actions and responses—whereas later research has been more interested in student experiences and agency (Öhrn 2000; Lahelma and Öhrn 2011). Consequently, we know less than previously about contemporary discourses on school achievement, grades and gender that are communicated to students in teaching. However, classroom analyses indicate that teacher actions and attitudes in this respect are most important (e.g. Smith 2007; Holm 2008, 2014; see also Abraham 2008).

Contemporary research also prompts questions about the implications of future aspirations for students' (gendered) educational efforts and achievements. For instance, girls generally might seem in greater need of educational qualifications as they are more likely to go on to higher education. This is partly because traditional female occupations more often than traditional male ones require a university education in Sweden; for instance, pre-school teachers are required to have university studies whereas electricians need upper secondary education (see Arnesen et al. 2008). This also maps on to questions about the impact of local labour market conditions, and what kind of paid work and positive gendered identities they offer young people (cf. Weis 1990). Such conditions might be expected to reflect on the perceived need for various groups to perform well in education and get high grades. Following Connell (1996; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) dominant masculinities and femininities are expected to vary locally and to change with the demands of the labour market. For instance, the development of a post-industrial knowledge economy changes the hegemonic masculinity that was formed in the industrial society, and puts greater demands on theoretical and abstract knowledge (Kimmel 2010).

The Study

Previous research as the above provided three starting points, concerned with gender and youth group ideals, teaching and local conditions, for the study reported here.[1] More specifically, it meant that the study aimed to explore: (1) the understandings of achievement and education that are communicated among various groups of young people in school and their relations to dominant femininities and masculinities in the groups, (2) the understandings of achievement and gender that are communicated in teaching, and (3) young people's conceptions of the meanings of academic achievement for their present and future lives.

The study relied on a compressed mode of ethnography (Jeffrey and Troman 2004), to research altogether nine 9th grade classes from different schools in different socio-economic and geographic areas in Sweden. Of the nine researched schools, four were located in different socio-economic areas of a large city (the North City School, the South City School, the Mixed School and the Suburban School), one school was located in a community outside a large city (the Outskirt School), one in a town (the West Town School), and three in small villages (the Rural School, the Forest School and the Field School).

The empirical work (October 2011–April 2013) included classroom observations and interviews in each class, in all 474 observed lessons and interviews with 180 students (100 girls and 80 boys). The observations were conducted during lessons and breaks, and focused on interactions between students and between teachers/students, and discourses of achievements and grades in relation to gender. Also, the students' and teachers' views were elicited in conjunction with the observations. The interviews were carried out with students in single-sex groups (in all 38 groups, typically with two–three persons) and focused on specific incidents observed during the fieldwork as well as common themes concerning individual experiences/conceptions of gender and achievement in school. The interviews lasted about an hour and were recorded. Field notes and interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically in accordance with the research aims above.

Findings

The sub-studies of the various classes have been reported in previous papers and publications (e.g. Asp-Onsjö and Holm 2014; Gustafsson 2014a; Holm 2014; Holm and Öhrn 2014; Asp-Onsjö and Öhrn 2015). This paper brings

[1] The article reports from the research project 'Achievement and gender. On teaching, youth groups and local conditions', that was funded by the Swedish Research Council 2011–2013 (VR 2010–4869).

together the results from the sub-studies to present an overall analysis of four central themes (see Öhrn and Holm 2014, for a full report in Swedish). The first theme is concerned with the governance by marks and tests and its consequences. The emphasis on individual testing means that students experience a highly individualised situation with rather limited teacher help, which girls seem to have more strategies to handle. The findings also indicate the presence of intertwined and gendered discourses of performance, work and talent. Teachers and students stress everyone's equal chance of success if only they study hard, but parallel to this is a celebration of talent that adds to the devaluation of girls' higher grades which are seen as consequences of hard work. A third theme concerns groups' resources for academic positioning and points to the importance of peer relations and boys' strategies for parallel positioning in peer groups and school work, as well as to the significance of school organisation for students' collaboration and achievement. Finally, we discuss the importance of local contexts for students' gendered aspirations. This also calls for discussions of ethnicity and social class, prompted by the rather striking social divide within Swedish urban areas with respect to social and ethnic background (e.g. Sernhede 2007) as well as the growing school segregation due to school reforms as freedom of choice (Swedish National Agency of Education 2006:24). Furthermore, location in Sweden stands as an important signifier of class and ethnicity, and people are categorised on basis of their (classed and ethnified) area of living (see Öhrn 2011). So although the main focus of this text is on gender, we also explore somewhat its intersections with place, class and ethnicity. This is in line with the theoretical starting points (Connell 1996; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) that emphasise gender as taking on different forms and meanings due to its relations to other categorisations.

Governance by Marks and Tests

This study points, as other contemporary Nordic studies (e.g. Carlgren et al. 2006; Öhrn et al. 2011), to a highly individual-centred teaching. Public, large-class teaching is less common, although with some variations between the researched classes, and the teaching largely centres on individual tests and assessments. In particular, the national tests came at times to permeate the school activities and pose as both governing and disturbing; governing because the teaching content was adjusted to the forthcoming test and disturbing because the preparation, implementation and following up of the tests took much time from the ordinary teaching (see Asp-Onsjö and Holm 2014).

> Eva-Britt: "The national tests are there all the time, they are so many and the students get really stressed by them. And they take a lot of time. (…) I don't know how many lessons we have lost because the students have to do a test."
> (Interview, teacher, West Town School)

The national tests are often designed so that the teacher tests a group of four or five students at a time in a secluded classroom. Meanwhile, the rest of the students have to manage their studies by themselves unless the school has access to additional staff. As a result, students are at times left without teacher guidance and in this situation especially the boys typically spend little time on school work.

> There is a noticeable unrest in class as soon as the teacher leaves the class room. Most of the girls continue to work with their tasks while several of the boys switch to other activities, as socializing with each other. The boys in the back of the class room cease to work, instead they start playing and laughing with each other and finger on their cell phones.
> (Fieldnotes, Mixed school)

Some students indicate that they attempt to compensate for the lack of tutorial by studying on their own or getting help from others, such as classmates or family. This underscores the importance of access to cultural capital, as in help and support at home. Girls who cannot rely on such support, to some extent still seem to manage the situation; more girls than boys state that they study on their own and they also voice more explicit strategies for managing their work, and especially emphasise student cooperation (see also Dalland 2014). For boys, who need to take into account the avoidance of "swotting" in dominant youth masculinities, this reliance on individual studies appears particularly troublesome.

Throughout the researched classes, there are strongly gendered expectations of students' school involvement and aspirations. Girls are expected to study; boys are generally not. Such expectations are voiced both by teachers and all groups of students. Also, this is associated with girls being more anxious to achieve well, to "bother more," "care more" or being more "serious" about their achievements, whereas boys are more "relaxed."

> Alice: "I think girls take it more seriously."
> Vilma: "Yes, I agree. They sort of swot more and get better results. (…) There are a lot of guys in our class who don't care about school. Actually!"
> Alice: "They're not concentrated … they're busy with their mobiles."
> Vilma: "Or just don't care."
> (Interview, North City School)

> Jerry: "Girls are more serious, I guess. That's how I see it."
> Victor: "Guys are more relaxed or so."
> John: "Yes, it's like we guys can sort of relax more and just (in a cool voice) 'Ok, it's dead-line tomorrow', but the girls are sort of (in a shrill voice) 'Oh, my good!'"
> (Interview, Rural School)

This presentation of the more "relaxed" boys is in line with much previous research (e.g. Jackson 2002; Nyström 2012). However, this is largely a discursive presentation not matched by the observed classroom behaviours. Boys do not appear indifferent to their performances. The classroom observations rather point to a general and rather explicit interest in one's achievements and individual test results (cf. Martino 1999; Aasebø 2008). As Jonathan says, "Boys are certainly also under pressure" and this showed during the observations:

> At the end of the lessons someone mentions the coming test in Social Sciences. Joel seems nervous and cries out: "I get panic! We have barely covered half of it yet!" Victor tries to calm him down and says that the test probably only will be about issues they have already discussed. "Yes, but it's like 40 pages to read!" Joel says.
> (Field notes, Rural School)

This emphasis on achievement might appear as particularly strong in 9th grade that we studied, as this is the last year of compulsory schooling in Sweden and a time when students become more aware of the requirements for getting into upper secondary education.

There is a common discourse in all the researched classes that students can choose their level of performance and actual grading. Educational achievement is presented as to depend on students' willingness to make an effort; by deciding how much time and effort they put into their studies, they can largely "choose" their grades. To further this, teachers inform students about the criteria and knowledge requirements for individual courses and lessons (see Asp Onsjö and Holm 2014). The observations show that teachers frequently explain and refer to these requirements, but also, that students, even the high-achieving ones, find it difficult to understand them. The students seem to accept the idea that they can decide their grades through the effort they put in their school work—and hence are themselves responsible if they fail—but appear largely ignorant about the meaning of the criteria. As one girl explains:

Eva: "It feels like you can choose your own grades. However, you have to understand the goal criteria, which is not easy. The criteria are quite similar: you need a 'high understanding', you should have 'understanding', or 'be able to understand'. I mean what is the difference? It makes no sense really."
(Interview, Rural School)

Discourses of Performance, Work and Talent

The presentation that students can decide their level of achievement and grades is described by students themselves as "everyone can succeed"; it is merely a matter of willpower, individual responsibility and hard work. However, here appears a main paradox—everyone is said to have the capacity to perform well, but only some ways to performance are recognised. That "everyone can succeed" relates to the equal opportunities to study, but studying is a downgraded activity. Talent is appreciated, work is not. Throughout the researched classes, there is a culture of talent similar to that Nyström (2012) found among the privileged and well achieving boys that she studied. These boys were most anxious to achieve well, but it should appear as due to talent, not due to hard work. Some boys in our researched classes even talk about studying as a kind of unfair act, as when Ville says "Those who study five hours a day are cheating."

Some of the boys were asked to explain the meaning of "natural talents" after having presented themselves to the interviewer as such:

Interviewer: "How is a person who is a natural talent then?"
Ante: "You have it in your blood, sort of. Then you don't need to study."
Jon: "You are good without trying."
Interviewer: "Is it better to be a natural talent than to be one that studies?"
Ante: "Well, it is in the long run … I mean you can have very high marks without being intelligent, actually. 'Cause intelligence is not how much you study (…), it's rather that these persons [the natural talents] are lazier. Usually. It's more difficult for some to learn, but *everyone* can achieve the highest marks, if they only make an effort. But being a natural talent, then you just *have* it."
(Interview, North City School)

Talent and studying also are associated with different kinds of knowledge. "School knowledge" as students call it, is associated with studying and opposed to "real" knowledge that is seen as associated to talent, and is valid also outside school and thus with a wider scope and value.

In line with this, the dissociation between school knowledge and the knowledge acknowledged in the "real" outside world are referred to as reasons to disqualify school subject content and—knowledge. Some groups of working-class boys also highlight the value of general knowledge (in Swedish: allmänbildning), and emphasise the importance of knowing about social and political processes in society, as part of the "real" knowledge that is valid in the world outside school, but largely missing in school (Gustafsson and Öhrn 2012). This is important to remind us that working-class boys are not generally anti-education and certainly not indifferent to present and past processes and relations in society. It also points to a critique from students towards education for not providing knowledge about these issues. Similar critiques are put forward by students elsewhere as they call for an education that addresses societal and political issues and relations, for instance, by initiating discussions to share and understand their socially marginalised position (Schwartz 2013), or by asking for teaching that might further their political analyses and responses (Öhrn 2012).

We generally found high-achieving students to be well positioned in their peer groups. This includes boys too; those with high status among peers are often high achieving (Asp-Onsjö and Öhrn 2015). As said above, any associations to studying are problematic though, and it is important that high grades are deemed to be the result of talent, not hard work. This dissociation between studying and hegemonic young masculinities is well known from previous work (e.g. Phoenix 2004; Holm 2008; Francis 2009), but as shown by our data, studying is not presented as particularly desirable for any student group, neither is it seen as altogether good by teachers. This also has consequences for the evaluation of girls' higher grades and educational success which is typically associated with hard work and thus devalued (Holm and Öhrn 2014). Girls may stand out as successful because of their school achievement, and as pointed out by, for instance, Ball (2001) high achievers are exceedingly well looked upon and coveted by schools in present times of pressing performativity as they compete for students and rankings. But girls' achievements are also questioned by their association to hard work. Some boys even claim girls' higher marks to be "undeserved" as Danny says, since they are thought not to mirror any "real" knowledge or talent. Similar understandings are voiced by girls themselves. As Rosita, a high-performing girl, says "I don't think I'm smart, I think I'm just swotting a lot, so I never feel smart."

Discourses of natural talent versus hard work are voiced also by teachers and typically appear as gendered. Although boys in the researched classes on a group level generally achieve less well than girls, they are more readily identified as gifted by teachers. As one teacher in the Suburban School puts it "The boys in this school generally have more potential [than the girls]." Another teacher says:

> Gun: "I have some clever boys in class, also have some clever ones that don't do a thing … and then I have the ambitious girls that you have already seen …" (Interview, teacher, North City School)

Hence, the centrality of talent and intelligence is furthered by teachers, not only by students themselves. As shown by, for instance, Dweck (e.g. 2009), such a view is widely spread, and historically well known.

A central starting point in the study was the scarcity of analyses of classroom discourses on gender and achievement in contemporary Nordic research. Whereas gender research in the 1970s and 1980s was rooted in analyses of classroom relations and teaching content, later research has focused more on relationships within peer groups and their implications for gendered norms (Öhrn 2000). It tells less about what gendered discourses that are furthered in teaching. Consequently, we consider it important that the fieldwork from the researched schools points to a celebration of talent and a gendered understanding of such talent in teaching.

Resources for Academic Positioning

Previous research not only shows students' achievements to vary with their social and ethnic background, but also points to substantial variations between students in different schools (e.g. the Swedish National Agency for Education 2009; Damber 2010). The within-school relations are deemed to be of importance to this; students whose classmates have high-educated and Swedish-born parents are more likely to do well, irrespective of their individual background (the Swedish National Agency for Education 2012). Similar relations are shown in a few instances in our study. These instances point to collective strategies as important resources for those with little cultural capital of their own, and show that school organisation might further the development of such strategies. This was the case, in particular, in the Outskirt School that focused heavily on creating cohesion and solidarity between students, for instance by arranging joint activities as parties and journeys that mixed different groups of students. Also, the school has a particular "football profile" that provides a joint focus and attracts students from various backgrounds and provides a greater social/ethnic blend than in most schools (Gustafsson 2014b). Consequently, the chances of cross gender/class/ethnic meeting are unusually good. In this school, there was one group of boys with higher grades than expected, given their immigrant background and living in a mainly working-class local council estate (Gustafsson 2014a, b). Drawing

on the openings for collaboration and mixing provided by the school, these boys developed social networks with older schoolmates that gave them access to knowledge of rules and routines, and to groups of (middle-class) girls who provided increased access to cultural capital. This provided them with support both to act adequately within the organisation and to perform academically:

> Both the boys and some of the football girls are sitting together and working with the rehearsal questions. The girls have a well-developed strategy; first they work with the questions, after that, they begin with the timelines, mind maps and summary. Then they work with the rehearsal questions once more. A pervasive pattern between the girls is that they help each other if needed and the boys are often included in this interaction. (Field notes) (Gustafsson 2014a, p 248).

A significant number of studies have demonstrated the importance of girls' joint work and collective strategies for their knowledge positioning (Skeggs 1991; Gordon et al. 2000; Berggren 2001; Öhrn 2009). There is considerably less report on boys' cooperation and their collective strategies for educational positioning, but as shown here they might be promoted by school organisation for student mixing, collaboration and joint work. It should be emphasised that girls in the researched school also benefit from this, as they too receive help and support from peers (see Gustafsson 2014b). Still, girls are seen to collaborate in all the researched classes and appear less dependent on school organisation for doing so.

Decades of research have pointed to the discrepancy between the demands put on boys by educational institutions and peer groups, respectively (e.g. Willis 1977; Kryger 1990; Epstein 1998; Jackson 2002). The contradiction is prominent in this study too and appears to be delicate for the boys to handle. Those who want to succeed academically, while also being well positioned among their peers, are faced with a problem that typically seems to require a certain order: one's social status in the group needs to be secure first. "To be high in the guy's hierarchy you have to be cool—and others must think you are," as Helge says. Or as John puts it: "You have to be kind of cool first … It's ridiculous but you can't do anything about it."

The observations show, in accordance with previous research (e.g. Phoenix 2004), that the already socially well-positioned students might pursue their studies without negative reactions from peers. One of the boys in the study clarifies this line of reasoning:

> Edvin: Guys who are already popular can study without being called nerds. If you have a high social ranking, you can devote yourself to studying. It works for the *fancy* people, so to speak. (Interview, South City School)

According to Edvin and others, the boys who have passed the social test and gained status among their peers had qualified for studying without losing rank in the masculine hierarchy. This pattern was visible in all of the observed schools, but was most obvious in the middle-class schools where the competition for high scores was most intense.

However, those who cannot rely on their high status in the group, have to work in parallel to manage their relationships with teachers and peers. Here, the observed actions point to various strategies. In addition to the collective strategies highlighted above, the boys are involved in parallel positioning where they simultaneously try to manage school and peer requirements. The parallel positioning appears as a rather exhausting process, where boys have to position themselves academically to every new teacher, while simultaneously showing a more distanced attitude towards schooling to their peers (see Asp-Onsjö and Öhrn 2015). They have to appear convincing to teachers, without engaging in academic interactions or activities too lengthy or too intense as to endanger the interaction with and positioning among friends.

For boys who prioritise their studies and openly study rather intensively, the relationship to life outside school might lend legitimacy to the studying. We noted that boys' swotting was accepted with reference to the requirements of a certain future professional/student career. One boy, Magnus, for example, explains "You can have many friends even if you study hard. Someone might call me 'damn swot' but I don't care. I got my good grades and *that* doesn't change because someone calls me a swot." Magnus aims to attend a high-ranked technical university, and works hard to achieve this. The distinct goal outside the school seems to provide him with a kind of accepted reason for studying. School knowledge is not seen as "real" knowledge and does not provide legitimacy for studying, but a clear goal placed outside school sometimes confers dignity and acceptance (see also Skelton and Francis 2011).

This shows again, as in the students' distinction above between school knowledge and real knowledge, the importance of relations to (present and future) life *outside* school for boys' attitudes to school performance. The connection to the outside world might legitimise that boys do not study (as academic achievement is seen to have limited value outside school) but also that they actually do (as qualifications from school are required to succeed in other arenas).

In contrast to much previous research (e.g. Trondman 1999; Phoenix 2004; Francis 2009) there are no strong indications of anti-school attitudes among boys in this study. They rather distance themselves from studying through expressions of its relative value compared to other activities. In doing so, they indicate that school must have its limited space and not dominate their lives, and point to their involvement in various hobbies as more extensive and serious than girls' involvement. As David says:

> David: Of course, if you don't have so much to do, you can spend your time studying Swedish. (Interview, West Town School)

This adds to the negative understandings of studying—not only might studying be associated with lack of talent, it also might suggest lack of a socially meaningful life. The value of a rich social life is emphasised by all groups of students and the data point to characteristics such as social skills, flexibility, humour and self-distance to be highly appreciated.

Girls are, as discussed above, expected to study more and report to study more than boys do. Their work is rewarded in the sense that they generally receive higher grades, but as seen above this does not generally position them as knowledgeable or talented among peers. Also, the pressures they experience and their efforts to perform have their price; girls report of considerably more stress than boys in these schools as elsewhere (The National Board of Health and Welfare 2009). As Henny tells when explaining why girls are, as she says, "more anxious about their achievements":

> Henny: Girls know that there are higher expectations of them. The guys don't need to work that much. Everyone knows that girls perform better, and it becomes sort of a requirement. (Interview, South City School)

Several of the girls talk about the difficulties to achieve under stress. They point to the requirements for mastering the situation and as Iris says, you need to be "mentally strong." The pressures also showed during the fieldwork as signs of stress. For instance, in one school, during a period of intense testing, one girl fainted while doing a national test and was later reported sick for burnout. This is not to suggest that only girls experience stress in school—as pointed out above the field notes rather indicate that boys are more concerned about their achievements than they or previous research indicate—but in general, girls appear to experience considerably more negative stress than boys to achieve well.

The Importance of Local Contexts

Most of the interviewed students, boys as well as girls, state that it is important to achieve well to get access to the kind of upper secondary education that they wish for. The grades' future exchange value appear central to students' present ambitions. It is well-known that the selection of further education programmes and paid labour vary locally and provide different future

options for young people due to gender, social background and ethnicity (e.g. The Swedish National Agency for Education 2013). Our interviews also show some variations related to the local labour markets and contexts that have bearings on various groups' future aspirations.

Especially, working-class boys in the smaller communities often consider future occupations that do not need further education but are compatible with traditional male manual identities, such as building repair, hunting or fishing. Although these activities may not be part of their future profession, they may contribute substantially to their livelihood (Gustafsson and Öhrn 2012). They also rely heavily on the boys' access to social networks that might provide access to work. Similarly, the boys in urban migrant areas say they have social networks that might help them to get jobs in local enterprises. The immigrant and/or working-class girls appear to have fewer options to get paid work through local social networks and are more oriented towards further education. The girls in small towns and rural areas also generally talk more about moving to more urban settings. "It is important to get good grades so I can get out of here. That's the ticket from here" as one of the girls expresses it (c.f. Sandell 2007). Students in the middle-class city schools generally stress the importance of high achievement and grades, and most of them appear to take further education for granted. Students in the socially mixed areas in or close to a larger urbanity also show fairly strong orientations towards higher education. Some of them highlight the ethnic mix in school as an advantage in this respect as it improves their language skills and grade levels. The migrant students in the *mixed* schools (not in all schools) are also those most likely to talk about the importance of education for their future positions and a path to improve their life chances.

Girls are generally said to have more explicit future aspirations and a clearer view of their future lives (Holm 2010). In the researched classes, this is often coupled with a discourse of maturity, and the saying that girls mature earlier and thus understand earlier the importance of planning for their future:

> Abdulla: "Girls maybe think that 'I have to make it in life and without school I will not get anywhere'. Girls are more serious in that sense."
> (Interview, West Town School)

> Belmetina: "I realize that I have to manage school so I can get a job and a good life, have children and a chance to support myself."
> (Interview, West Town School)

Girls' more explicit plans are also connected to their greater *need* to plan for the future. Girls are said to need to focus more than boys on their studies and to get higher grades, in order to get into the kind of educations they aspire for. The students are aware that there are different requirements for traditional male and female occupations, with a greater variety of traditional male work that do not call for higher education, such as car mechanics, construction or other craft work. Boys have a wider range of opportunities to undertake less academic but in many cases more economically attractive work in the future (c.f. Swedish Trade Union Confederation 2014). As one boy says:

> Ralf: "It all depends on what upper secondary programme you will choose. Do you aspire for the Natural Science programme you need high grades. If you aspire for the Electrician programme or such things you don't need that high grades, but it [the Electrician programme] can nevertheless be as well paid."
> (Interview, North City School)

Or as Jelena says:

> Jelena: "No girl wants to be a carpenter or a truck driver … usually not. There are some, but it's not the ultimate profession for a girl … then she realizes that she needs quite high grades to get into something else."
> (Interview, Rural School)

Also, social gender relations are said to imply that girls cannot be as confident about the future as boys and have to take measures accordingly. Some boys say that even though girls achieve better in school, things will nevertheless work out for boys as the future is in their favour:

> Pedram: "Girls may perform much better, but it's still boys who reach the top. If you look [on television] … you don't see so many female chefs, and you mainly watch male soccer. There are a lot of male things if you say so. Even though many women are very successful… they are not visible. So it's a double standard I think. In the future, the men will be most visible."
> Interviewer: "Do you think it affects boys' efforts to perform in school? Pedram: "Yeah, maybe. They might think: "I will still do better in the future than the girl who is better than me right now".
> (Interview, West Town School)

Similarly, another boy explains that he does not always do his homework by saying "It is easier for boys to get a job." Boys are not thought to need educational qualifications the way girls do, but to stand a better chance of getting

a job anyway. This might be seen as in line with previous research showing students to believe that boys in general can expect a better future than girls; when asked whether they consider it better to be an adult man or a woman, students (especially boys) are much more inclined to deem that it is better to be a man (Holm 2010).

Concluding Remarks

This study points, as others before it, to the dissociation between dominant youth masculinities and school work, but also, in line with some other studies (e.g. Skelton and Francis 2011; Nyström 2012), to the existence of highly valued masculinities characterised by high achievement, academic knowledge and self-confidence. Generally, the high-achieving boys in the researched classes were also well positioned among peers, whereas the few boys with explicit anti-school attitudes were not. Consequently, the high-achieving boys were usually successful in managing both peer group and school demands. This differs from older research (e.g. Willis 1977) and might indicate a change of patterns of masculinities related to social and cultural changes in the transformation to the post-industrial society. There seems to be a similarity to the well-positioned girls insofar that those who are recognised by peers often master a broad repertoire of social activities (cf. Holm 2008).

The high-achieving boys were recognised by teachers and highly appreciated, both due to their performances and said talent, and their perceived capacity to help to make lessons run more smoothly and involve other boys in formal school work (see Asp-Onsjö and Öhrn 2015). Also, they received much positive attention during lessons. This might seem at odds with contemporary discourses on boys' difficulties to position themselves academically (e.g. McDowell 2000; Arnesen et al. 2008). Central to this understanding is, as pointed out by Hayward and Mac an Ghaill (2013), the tendency to homogenise boys and neglect variations between groups and contexts. There are substantial numbers of boys who are marginalised in school, but other groups of boys are doing well, and in the researched schools at least, it was boys, not girls, who were presented by teachers and peers as the most talented and resourceful ones. Similarly, girls in school tend to be homogenised as a successful group—in media typically as high-achieving "winners" compared to the "losing" boys (see Arnesen et al. 2008)—despite within-group differences.

The analyses in this study confirm that high grades do not generally go along with academic recognition from peers and teachers (cf. Lahelma and

Öhrn 2003). Girls are expected to study and they admit more than boys to actually doing it. In contrast to their male schoolmates, their study efforts and achievements are thus expected and accepted. However, this association to hard work typically also risk that their achievements are devalued. Being a high-performing girl is thus an ambivalent position that does not necessarily imply status in the school practice. Hence, it is important to note that ideals of effortless achievement have bearing not only on boys' positioning and relations to schooling. It also characterises the understanding of girls' performances and grades, and devalue them through the dissociation to talent.

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Justice in Education in the Nordic Countries: Perspectives, Challenges and Possibilities

Dennis Beach

Introduction

The introductory paragraphs of the Education Acts of all the Nordic countries point out that education at both primary and secondary levels should promote the maximum development of all learners, by compensating for the variations in their learning possibilities that may be due to poverty, handicap or social background, and by providing equal access to education regardless of geographical and socioeconomic background. This is expressed as important moreover, not simply because this would be fair in itself, but also because a good education for all is seen as the way of creating a more just society. At the same time, we know that an individual's gender, race, level and type of disability, and socioeconomic background still determines to a large extent the educational path that they take in these countries and that these different paths provide very different kinds of educational contact and experience. The present chapter is directed at these problems. It suggests that while the Nordic Education Acts promise justice and equal educational opportunities the justice they are claimed to develop is questionable, both at the level of theories of justice and their assumptions, and in terms of practices and outcomes.

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When conceptualising education justice, I have drawn on writing by a number of researchers. One of these is Nancy Fraser, who suggested in 1997 that a shift had occurred in the way justice is conceptualised, from what she termed as a socialist political imaginary of justice through distribution to a post-socialist position, where justice needs to be analysed from a more complex standpoint comprising at least three interrelated dimensions. These are specifically the *distribution* of resources, the *recognition* of different groups and their contributions to society, and their *representation* in public discourses and decision making. This critical theory of recognition assesses justice from within a complex totality of social relations as an issue of power and competing interests (Fraser and Honneth 2003).

Ideology is a key concept in the chapter. In *The German Ideology* from 1845 (https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/), Marx defined ideology as the ideas of the ruling class that are in every epoch also the ruling ideas of society, because the class which has the means of material production at its disposal also has control over the means of mental production. In this sense, the system of ideas of the ruling class would be the ideology of a given society and its function would be to assist in the continual reproduction of the means of production that ensure the continuous dominance of the ruling class (Althusser 1971). According to Marx, ideology achieves this aim by distorting reality to serve the needs of the owners, controllers and benefactors of a humanly contrived and changeable economic system (the mode of production), which is made to appear natural and immutable. It is ideology, he wrote, that undergirds the forms of false consciousness that encourage subordinate classes to accept states of alienation against which they would otherwise revolt. Power and control shaping ideology, consciousness, common sense and alienation in relation to education and education justice is a point I will return to several times during the course of the chapter.

Recognition of the role of power and ideology in shaping consciousness is also found in Mike Cole's (2003) Marxian critique of liberal concepts of justice and social justice in education today. According to Cole, there can be no education justice within (or emanating from) the education systems of capitalist societies, including those of the Nordic States, as capitalism itself is fundamentally and incorrigibly unjust both materially and ideologically. Materially, as the material (and/or intellectual or even emotional) work of wage labour is exploited to create surplus value, and ideologically because the work done is held up against those doing it, as a measure of their value and their 'just deserves', by those who control and monitor the labour process. This makes the capitalist mode of production in essence a system of the systematic, calculated and controlled exploitation of the labour of one class

of individuals by another, with the help of a third category of agents, the middle-class economic managers, business leaders, lawyers and controllers of production (Cole 2003).

In its most extreme forms, this mode of production has created death, injury, poverty and stress and thus great harm to people (Raffo 2014). This was clear already for Friedrich Engels through his studies of the capitalist labour process over 150 years ago. But it has also been described much more recently by Guy Standing (2011) in his 2011 book on the new social class of the social precariat, where he also describes it is basically unacceptable from most ethical standpoints, despite he adds the formal legality of the system in place. Standing's recognition forms a first methodological point in the chapter. This is the need to recognise that what is just is not necessarily reflected in what is legal and politically legitimate. Laws should be understood as social constructions that can be subjected to critical reflection and analysis.

The right to private property is a good example of why we need to be critically aware of the Law. This right is protected as if it reflected a general will and a common interest rather than the class hegemony of an ancient institution that has been dominated by the interests of the powerful and the wealthy and controlled through the arbitrary will of the ruling social class. This was stated by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto from 1848 when they wrote that law, morality and religion represent bourgeois prejudices behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests. Law is, according to Marx and Engels, a mechanism for holding subordinated classes obedient to the dominant class. This applies even in the Nordic countries, where the distribution of goods and access to property is already unequal (if less so than in many other places), so that laws on property rights actually become a reflection of specific social relations that protect the interests of the powerful against any possible claims that might be made on their possessions.

Critical research can show how such laws operate and whose rights are protected, in which ways, and with which consequences. This is important when analysing justice as there is always a need to seriously examine and interrogate the organisation of ownership and production, along with the rights, ethical guidelines and laws that regulate our governance and expected behaviour. Whose or what interests are reflected in and/or protected by judicial systems and how do they make it legally justifiable to act on one's desires at the expense of others are valid questions even in the Nordic countries. Moreover, we could also ask how laws relate to philosophy and ethnics. What makes it philosophically and ethically acceptable (or even for some virtuous and rightful) to have such desires as wishing to control and profit from the labour of others, and to use public discourse, ideology, education, the media

and the legal system, to further undermine those that are exploited, and make them appear as distinctly culpable for their predicaments?

In relation to such questions as these, and citing Marx and Engels from the Communist Manifesto, Kelly (2007, p. 329) wrote that they are but the outgrowth of the conditions of bourgeois production and property made into a law for all. They represent in other words a will whose essential character and direction are determined by economic conditions and a selfish misconception on the part of the rich and powerful that induces them to transform the social forms springing from the present mode of production and forms of property into eternal laws of nature and of reason. This misconception is one that the dominant class has shared with every ruling class that had preceded it Kelly adds, but see also Freeman (2008) and Weis et al. (2014). David and Brierley (1985, p. 171) wrote:

> Law is only a superstructure; in reality it only translates the interests of those who hold the reins of command in any given society; it is an instrument in the service of those who exercise their 'dictatorship' in this society because they have the instruments of production within their control. Law/…/is only just from the subject point of view of the ruling class. To speak of a 'just' law is to appeal to an ideology—that is to say, a false representation of reality; justice is no more than an historical idea conditioned by circumstances of class.

To fill out on all of this it is worthwhile recognising that it is legal in capitalist societies to wilfully exploit the labour of another, and partly through the legal system, the media, research institutions at departments of philosophy, education and economics in universities, and the school, it has also become socially acceptable (and in no way unjust) to make this seem to be both 'normal' and essentially beyond reproach (Cole 2003). But the structure of rights and the system of law in contemporary capitalism is still highly iniquitous, which means that from a Marxian perspective attaining justice in education and society is possible first after capitalism and its prevailing social relations have been overcome. This includes moreover its ethics, its forms of distribution of wealth and exchange, its laws and rights of ownership and its forms of knowledge, education (and ideology) and principles and practices of distribution, recognition and representation. This could be accomplished by means of hegemonic struggle. But in the Nordic countries reform-based change and regulation rather than hegemonic struggle and transformation has been the way of attempting to instil some sense of justice under these circumstances (Lindvall and Rothstein 2010), not the least regarding their education institutions (Englund 2009; Simola et al. 2002).

Reform-Based Change in Education and Society in the Nordic States

In order to extend the analysis of justice in education into the context of reform-based change, in addition to the Marxian perspective presented above from Cole (2003) and the post-socialist perspective from Fraser, also Sharon Gewirtz's (1998) analysis of the field of education justice and her discussion of Iris Young's (1990) notion of relational justice has been used. The work by Gewirtz and of Young are, in fact, made extensive use of, as is Terri Seddon's (2003) critique of Gewirtz analysis. Carlo Raffo's (2014) book on educational justice and equity with respect to family, gender, ethnicity, community and the geographies of space and place cited already earlier has also been drawn on.

Expressed in its simplest terms and looked at through a lens constructed from Gewirtz's, Seddon's and Raffo's works, reform-based justice aims to improve social conditions for needy groups without undermining the basic system of social organisation, that is the political economy itself (Lindvall and Rothstein 2010). Extending the availability of schools, teachers and education facilities to all geographic areas of a nation and people of all genders, sexualities, ethnicities and social classes, regardless of physical and intellectual challenges, without transforming education production relations is an example, and there has been argued to have been some clear incremental gains from this for many people, such as longer and more 'inclusive' arrangements of education for all (Seddon 2003).

These aims have been very clearly a part of the development of Nordic education systems for decades, from the post-war period up to the new millennium (Antikainen 2006, 2010), and as pointed out by the OECD education in the Nordic countries has become continually longer and more inclusive (http://www.sgi-network.org/pdf/SGI11_ Social_Justice_OECD.pdf) since before the end of the Second World War. However, this inclusion is still uneven in terms of class, gender and other social markers (such as ethnicity) with respect to where in the educational system people are admitted, recognised and retained, and in relation to which type of content is being transmitted and to which ends (Berggren 2013; Simola et al. 2002). Selections are made in other words and often in ways that obscure class related patterns of curriculum domination (Beach and Dovemark 2009, 2011). For instance, the national systems of education in the Nordic countries still differentiate pupils based on disability (Emanuelsson and Persson 1997; Haug 1999; Vislie 1997) and they have also failed to protect against segregations based on ethnicity, gender and class (Bunar 2008, 2010; Arnesen 2002), as well as those occurring through

education choice making and marketisation (Lundahl et al. 2013; Rangvid 2007, 2010; Tverborgvik et al. 2013). Examinations and assessments continue to be used to separate students and distinguish them as different types of student; such as typically male or female (Lappalainen et al. 2013), academic and practical, able and unable, and fast or slow (Jonsson and Beach 2013; Volckmar 2008); and new regulations are coming into force through new curriculum reforms that make selection and assessment ever more important.

The Swedish upper-secondary reform (Gy11) is a good example. This reform, which was described as bringing Swedish upper-secondary schooling more into line with that of Nordic neighbours, has led to greater distinctions between pupil categories and increased differences in terms of the education they will follow and the opportunities it can provide them with. For instance, the former academic programmes are now termed university preparatory programmes whilst the vocational programmes have been replaced by a combination of programmes and apprenticeships. In addition, the core subjects that were once studied by all students are being replaced by so-called upper-secondary school subjects. University preparatory programmes contain a significantly greater proportion of the upper-secondary school subjects than vocational programmes do, which means that students who take a vocational programme in Sweden today, such as the Vehicle and Transport Programme, will now read as the vocational students in Denmark and Norway do, far less (and also different) language, history and social science courses than students on academic programmes and will no longer obtain eligibility for higher education on completion of their upper-secondary studies, which had been possible in Sweden from 1994.

Another new construction is the introduction and expansion of so-called elite classes (spetsklasser as the former education minister in Sweden, Jan Bjorklund, called them). These have been in existence at upper-secondary level in Sweden since 2012 and slightly longer in Denmark and Finland. They are now to be introduced on a trial basis even in the compulsory comprehensive sector, from 7th grade upwards. Admission will be via an admissions test. Students attending an elite class at compulsory school in Sweden will be able to read upper-secondary school courses and students in the elite classes at upper-secondary school will be able to read university courses. What the former government in Sweden used to motivate the need for these changes was Sweden's international competitiveness. The claim was that elite schools and classes would select the very best students and that this was more positive and effective than organising their learning experiences in undifferentiated classes, as previously. However, there is little international research evidence supporting this idea.

The creation of elite classes is highly significant from a justice and equity perspective. Education for academically identified students is intended always to relate to the reproduction of vertical structures of generalisable knowledge and superiority (Englund 2009), while practical curricula are organised more around principles of punctuality, orderliness, good habits, generic forms of practical knowledge and subordination (Rosvall 2011). I will return to this later. Michael Young and associates from the London Institute of Education have discussed it as a general consequence of an academic versus vocational curriculum or curriculum/instructional organisation in western societies.

There are many important outcomes from a dual curriculum of this kind according to official statistics and research (Lindberg 2003; Niemi and Rosvall 2013; Nylund and Rosvall 2011; Tverborgvik et al. 2013). One of them is that academic students tend to continue in the higher education system to obtain further doses of generalisable knowledge, while less than 30 % of students who are classed as practical, and who complete vocational upper-secondary educational programmes, do so (Beach and Puaca 2014). A second outcome is that these students also tend to be from female-dominated upper-secondary vocational programmes that do not normally offer direct access to a qualified labour market in the same way that male-dominated programmes do, and therefore more or less demand (or in the past have demanded) higher education (Lappalainen et al. 2013). These educations are often located in institutions with local recruitment bases that primarily offer vocational study options (such as social work and pre-school teacher education) that can again lack an extensive connection to vertical structures of generalisable knowledge (Beach and Puaca 2014). Both Parker (2007) and Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000) describe how these options may work as part of a normalising of ideology through the production of images of human beings that unjustly serve to keep people in their place (Jonsson and Beach 2013, 2015).

Problems of Representativeness

As suggested for instance in work by Althusser (1971) on the role of the Ideological State apparatuses, in Lenin and other Essays, from Marxian and neo-Marxian perspectives we could expect the developments discussed above liberal nation-states. However, there are some issues worth thinking about nevertheless. One of these concerns the involvement and role of modern labour unions in the processes of formation of the State educational agenda. Another concerns the role of science and researchers. This involvement is, like the formation of the welfare state itself, deeply compromised, inconsistent and contradictory

Unions are examples of organisations that declare a reformist political agenda in the Nordic Countries, and an intention to work within the collective interests of the working (labour) classes there. But this intention seems to have become somewhat cloudy in relation to their collaboration with employer organisations and political parties, where they seem to have contributed instead to a tripartite hegemonic apparatus (a kind of historical bloc in the Gramscian sense) that has been both created by and creates the false values and theories of a consensus superstructure in the form of a state bureaucracy that has then brought forth policies for and acted thereafter to stabilise the above kinds of education institutions (Lindvall and Rothstein 2010). It is this superstructure.

What has happened here has been described internationally by Mills et al. (2014). It is that by using unions in democratic negotiations, the political representatives of capitalist states and employer associations have been helped in establishing hegemony around the construction of different types of school curricula, and subsequently the schooling of different 'types' of students from different backgrounds, as institutions that operate in the clear interests of employers and the owners of production, while appearing to operate in everyone's equal interests. These actions actually also serve to keep the present class structure intact: which would hardly seem to be within the interests of the dominated class (Freeman 2008).

Science and researchers have also played a role in constructing this hegemony according to Mills et al. (2014). This is because underlying the expressions of consensus between left- and right-leaning governments and the trade's union organisations, according to Mills et al. (2014), is a strong agreement around a group of associated assumptions that have been partially produced through and supported by scientific research. These assumptions include firstly an assumption that human intellectual abilities underlie learning abilities (which are therefore primarily cognitive) and learning activities in school. The second is that intellectual abilities can be measured and ranked on the basis therefore of school performances or through specifically designed tests of the learning product. The third is that by means of this, intellectually homogeneous students can be identified and organised and taught in groups that are constructed either around specific ability levels, or specifically expressed shared interests, and that this will foster the development of their talents more effectively, by enhancing efficient teaching and improving the quality of educational outcomes for everyone. However, there is constant dispute over whether or not this applies. The scientists whose works support one ideological position are chosen by its adherents to support their programmes whilst the representatives of other positions will choose and use the work of other

scientists to argue for their ideas. Scientists seem to be producing ideological assurance for policy makers rather than truth and certainty for policymaking.

In this sense, negotiation in and about education that involves the trade unions and scientists can in fact contribute to maintain the class structure rather than overcoming its excesses and this brings us to the next methodological point. This point is that there is a need to critically assess and question the characteristic history, content and outcomes of the hegemonic way of representing the interests of exploited, oppressed and marginalised groups in our political economies, including the role of science and other institutions that claim to represent the interests of dominated so-called weaker groups or groups who are defined as at risk. This applies not only in terms of who gets to speak but also in terms of how justice for these groups and others has been translated into a legal (State) bureaucracy for the production of a representative welfare system and what role (which) science and scientists are asked to play in relation to this hegemonic triad in the development (and nowadays also deconstruction of course) of the Nordic welfare states and their institutions. As Marx and Engels identified in the German Ideology rights and laws are merely the symptoms of other relations upon which state power rests. The material life of individuals, the mode of production and forms of interest determine each other and constitute the real basis of the State. The individuals who rule in these conditions constitute their power in the name of the State by giving their will a universal expression as if it was the will of the State itself (Kelly 2007, p. 329).

There are several important points embedded in this one statement. They concern who is given rights of representation and how they operate but they also imbed the need to recognise one important aspect of state power and welfare state construction. This is that in societies where one class of people may have nothing to sell but their labour power, it is always the individuals of this class (particularly, the poorest and most exposed of them) that are defined as the needy recipients of a welfare system (Cole 2003), while those who live off the proceeds of exploitation are generally seen to be 'above welfare', and are often somewhat bizarrely defined as its main suppliers (Beach 2010; Dyson et al. 2011; Lundahl et al. 2014). This is part of the power of misrepresentation and it is exactly this misrepresentation, the use of science in misrepresentations, and the misrepresentation of the interests of the dominated class by its representatives that is the issue here. It brings us to four further important points.

The first point is that it is both the rich and the poor that are falsely represented, the first by their own design and the second through cultural dominance and their relative lack of symbolic power (Beach and Dovemark 2009, 2011; Weis et al. 2014). In this process, the rich and successful are seen to

'excel' because of intellectual abilities rather than social dominance and the poor are seen to fail because their asserted lack of intellectual skills and application is interpreted and expressed independently of their dispossession, exposure to symbolic violence and loss of the right and possibilities to own their own means of sustenance. Land Acts, Vagrancy Acts and the privatisation of the means of production all play a role here historically, but so too does the vilified caricature of the dominated class in education, education politics and the public media, which are all of course also in the control of and strongly influenced by bourgeois values (Beach and Sernhede 2011).

The second point is that schools in capitalist societies have played an integral role in normalizing this situation, through social and cultural reproduction and the production of ideology (Althusser 1971). The third is that through globalisation and migration diaspora the ethnification of poverty means that ethnicity needs to be increasingly factored into these considerations and the fourth is the need to investigate the increasing fears, abilities and desires on the part of the rich to maintain security for themselves and their offspring in socially precarious times, regardless of their costs to others, and the lengths they are prepared to go to in order to accomplish their ends. This has also been pointed out recently in books by Guy Standing (2011) and Lois Weis and associates (Weis et al. 2014).

Utilitarianism and Neo-liberalism

What justice is can be interpreted in various ways. Utilitarianism, originally attributed to the philosophy of Jeremy Bentham, is one alternative. It is also the one that became hegemonic in each of the Nordic welfare states (Telhaug et al. 2006). It asserts that our social goals should be to achieve the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and that an aim thereafter has to be to jointly maximise the sum of utilities that are broadly available to all (Peters 2001). This has been translated into a notion of a need for constant economic growth and has become the basic premise of the operational form of utilitarianism in education and society today not just in the Nordic states but also globally (Lindvall and Rothstein 2010). However, it must be remembered that there are absolutely no expressed ambitions about egalitarian outcomes in current utilitarianism (Raffo 2014). This concern has to be factored in separately. Neoliberal reform is the current hegemonic form for this factoring in of notions of equity and fairness by law (Freeman 2008; Kelly 2007) and in political discourse (Harvey 2007).

As Peters (2001) suggests, neo-liberalism is a derivative of classical political economy theory and its claim about the power and virtue of markets (also Harvey 2007). Markets are seen as both individually empowering and virtuous as through them people can be liberated from governmental interference in and control over their lives. It is the free trade of goods and services, the free circulation of capital and the freedom of investments that is said to make this empowerment of individuals possible (Beach 2010), as through them competition and enterprise can stimulate both economic growth and economic justice (Peters 2001).

These are principles that have been adopted on a global level today as a dominant worldview, a form of doxa (Harvey 2007). Advocates of the doxa argue that neo-liberalism has reduced absolute inequality. But again, there is conjecture in science on this point. Harvey (2007) blames the capitalist nature of neo-liberalism for rising inequality. He describes the processes of accumulation by dispossession and the suppression of the rights of the commons and of non-capitalist forms of production and consumption.

As a new doxa neo-liberalism has become part of current policies of justice as an image(ina)ry of an entrepreneurial state where services, such as public education, can be given an economic exchange value which subsequently allows for rational human choices to be made about individual educational investments by individuals themselves. One of its main premises is that competition between different suppliers in education markets will improve the effectiveness and performance of education systems because of this individual responsibility (Dovemark 2004; Lundahl et al. 2013, 2014). But in this way neoliberal ideology in education becomes more than just an idea (Ball et al. 2012). It actually changes the very concept of welfare, from that of a caring welfare state supplier, where governments play a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being, to a welfare society (Beach 2010). Some critics of the welfare state concept call it the Nanny State and premise the need of a new society on needing to replace it because it encourages passivity and incautious wastefulness through the ineffective use of resources. In the new welfare society the number of private suppliers of welfare is increased, state ownership and control is reduced to increase competition and allow economic efficiency based on public choice and individual freedom which will punish ineffectiveness to be emphasised (Dovemark 2004; Peters 2001).

The basic claim of this ideology and assumption is that a market economy with a small public sector will maximise output efficiency and that justice, welfare and high living standards are all best realised and guaranteed under conditions comprising high levels of economic growth and private ownership.

However, it must be added here that this premise has never been scientifically proven, it is simply an assumption based on ideology. It is moreover an assumption that quite probably the majority of scientifically qualified political economists would reject (Beach 2010; Standing 2011). But one that has a significant effect on concepts of justice (Fraser 1997)! Social justice is redefined as individual freedom and welfare equity is understood as equal freedoms of access to welfare choices (Dovemark 2004).

There is a shift here to a mode of social policymaking that emphasises the free play of public choices in a situation where the state's role has become that of orchestrator and protector of the conditions of production of the markets themselves, within which people then act (Ball et al. 2012; Beach 2010), which then forms a logical and highly emphasised link in public policy between market freedom, economic expansion and social justice (Lundahl et al. 2013, 2014). Market freedom is expressed in relation to the number of operatives on and their freedom to enter the market, which is then related to increased economic growth which enables increased public choice and by this the availability justice and equity for and between individuals (Harvey 2007). This is again a myth (Peters 2001), but one that has been used in the Nordic countries to bring about changed patterns of public and private spending, an influx of market-oriented policies and practices, which are monitored through market regulations and control over suppliers. Market exchange has become an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action (Harvey 2007), despite at times significant concerns being expressed about shares and profits. But along with Harvey (2007) we need to ask whose justice is likely to be served by this and in what interests?

Sharon Gewirtz (1998) has critiqued the neoliberal concepts of justice and equity. She refers to Iris Young's Five Faces of Oppression as a starting point for thinking about a broader concept of justice. These following faces relate to several of the main points mentioned so far. They are the presence and levels of exploitation of the wealth that workers create through their labour power and the marginalisation in labour (or from labour markets) of those who are unable to keep steady employment because of, for instance, disabilities, education levels, age, discrimination and poverty. They are also powerlessness and cultural dominance through one group's experiences, cultural expressions and history being defined as superior to those of others, and they are also the use of symbolic or repressive state-sanctioned violence by dominant groups to keep other groups in their defined place.

Following Young (1990), Gewirtz (1998) suggests that reflecting on these five faces of oppression will help us to better attend to the needs of education and social justice at the present time. However, she adds that to do so

also requires addressing historical, political, economic and cultural (including legal) legacies and structures that inform, inhibit, and or extend the heterogeneous agency of various individuals and groups differently today. It will therefore involve valuing the autonomy of individuals in all their diversity and difference, whilst recognizing that both autonomy and the definition and determination of difference are each a part of a broader civic context of a class-dominated social, intellectual and material histories and ideologies that enable and constrain notions of—and opportunities for—free choice very differently (Beach and Dovemark 2007; Dovemark 2004). And there is a problem here. Even in the market form, justice and rights are still constantly subjected to bourgeois limitations and gendered notions of just deserves that are extremely class and racially biased (Weis et al. 2014).

This is again based on the notions of superiority among the bourgeoisie and capitalist class as expressed by Marx and Engels in the German Ideology. Such values operate in relation to a social condition based on ownership, hegemony and a quantifying notion of labour that allows one person to be judged and accepted as superior to another (regardless of background, gender, disability, etc.) due to an assumed ability to supply more labour than others, in the same time, and under the same operative objective conditions (Cole 2003), which thus one person to be judged as superior to and more worthy than another. Through producing more labour than others a right for unequal labour is also established and by this therefore even strictly speaking *a right to inequality*, which is perhaps among the most powerfully guarded of all rights in liberal political ideology today (Raffo 2014; Weis et al. 2014; Young 1990). It is achieved through the application of an equal standard to individuals in terms of their performances as objectified labour (Beach 2010).

Labour as a Quantity and Standardisation in Education

As Marianne Dovemark and I discuss in Beach and Dovemark (2007), the school and its examination and grading systems can be introduced into the discussion here, as these grading systems essentially take the same moral and economic structure as quantified labour and the educational development of individual learners becomes conditioned accordingly: that is, as both legally anticipated, socially accepted and standardised, as unequal (Beach and Dovemark 2009, 2011). However, although these standardised examinations are legal, socially supported and institutionally sanctioned, neither they nor their legal and institutionalised anticipations of inequality and difference are neutral or objective. They are used to anticipate, create the means of

production of, identify, and standardise, educationally 'productive individuals', and nowadays potentially countries as well. They are not, as is often assumed and officially claimed, objective and neutral. On the contrary, actually mirror and reproduce key aspects of a particular kind of social relation through the quantification of intellectual labour and they form an important link in this way from the politics of economic productivity to the policies and practices of education and back again.

There are some serious challenges for education justice here. Through examination and grading systems, pupils are firstly 'legally differentiated' and then given access to educations that 'match' their initially assumed and then subsequently measured structure of ability, all of which are discussed in Beach and Dovemark (2007). But research has shown that there is a great risk in this, including the development of negative stereotypes about and conflicts between student groups, the contravention of social inclusion, diminishing educational equity and important challenges to the fundamental principles and ethical values that are still formally expressed in written national curricula in the Nordic countries.

Standardisation, Differentiation, Segregation and Education Justice

Anna-Carin Jonsson and I (Jonsson and Beach 2013, 2015) examined some aspects of the effects of separation, segregated and differential treatment of learners based on standardised assessment when we studied the production of stereotypes among academically specialising high performing pupils in Swedish upper-secondary schools about themselves and students like them (i.e. academic students) and about students who were enrolled on non-academic, specifically vocational, programmes. We identified two sets of stereotype. One was an in-group stereotype of compliant capable and ambitious mainstream students on academic programmes: empirically this group consists, in the Nordic countries as elsewhere, primarily of 'able' middle- and upper-middle-class pupils, and the pupils were aware of this (Jonsson and Beach 2015). The other was an out-group stereotype of lazy substance abusers in vocational programmes who had no interest in education and a weak academic work ethic. In Nordic countries, this group ordinarily comprises pupils from lower-middle and economically poor working- and precarious class backgrounds, and the pupils were well aware of this as well. They were assigned rather more primitive attributes than the academic students were. They included having insufficient reasoning skills to guarantee their own survival and a need therefore to be led and controlled in their own interests and those of others.

Stereotypes similar to these have been found previously. They are discussed in for instance Frantz Fanon's books The Wretched of the Earth and Black Skin, White Masks and Aimé Césaires Discourse on Colonialism, as typically found in the justification-narratives of the coloniser towards the conquered native humans, from the colonial era (Jonsson and Beach 2015). However, they have also been identified more recently in relation to the working class and black population in contemporary USA, by amongst others Gorski (2012) but also, if indirectly and only implied, by Weis et al. (2014). There are several serious challenges towards education justice implied by them. The main distinctions are summarised in Table 1 below, as associated in- and out-group stereotypical attributes of typical academic and vocational students, respectively.

This tragic affixation of attributes by successful academic students to themselves and others became more and more established across the three years spent in upper-secondary studies, and is an outcome of both direct and indirect educational indoctrination there according to Jonsson and Beach (2015). But what kind of justice is reflected here. One thing is for sure, the upper-secondary school has completely failed to develop any sense of the equal value of all people in this favoured group, which, as Erlandson and Beach (2014)

Table 1 Stereotypical in- and out-group attributes of academic students

In-group (self-)attributes	Out-group (other-)attributes
Motivated	Unmotivated
Intelligent	Unintelligent
Committed	Uncommitted
Theoretical	Practical
Rich	Poor
Middle-class	Working class
High grades	Low grades
Good social background	Bad social background
Academic children	Not academic children
High-educated parents	Low educated parents
Culturally aware	Not culturally informed
Boring	Funny
Quiet	Loud
Concentrated	Concentration difficulties
Solves problem theoretically	Solves problem practically
Big plans for the future	Have no dreams
Always striving	Satisfied with less
Great capacity to work	Lazy
Many possibilities	Few open doors
Politically well-informed	Opinions based on ignorance
Good communication skills	Hard to understand
Likes intellectual activity	Likes to work with their hands
Natural ability to learn and analyse	Natural ability to use hands
Fast thinking	Slow thinker
Logical	Illogical/irrational

have described, also then seems to develop an extremely inflated self-image and sense of self-superiority. They describe themselves as refined and continually becoming more so and they express non-academic others to be less refined and as needing but lacking the interests and capacities necessary to acquire the desired skills, knowledge and capabilities for success in our post-industrial, societies. These others are neither considered nor treated as bright and clever or intelligent and mature. They are named as backward, incapable and an immature risk to themselves, their schools, society and even future European prosperity (Beach and Sernhede 2011; Jonsson and Beach 2015).

This position in relation to the existence of bright and dull learners and with respect to the different learning needs, interests and abilities is also reflected in education policy and with the exception of a very short period in the 1950s-1980s it probably always has been (Telhaug et al. 2006; Volckmar 2008; Simola et al. 2002). However, there has been a significant reassertion of the position through recent government education bills in the Nordic countries, such as most clearly the recent Swedish upper-secondary school curriculum reform (Gy11) from 2011 and the elite (spets) class proposals from 2012. These reforms formally reinstate this kind of attitude as the official position. But again, what kind of justice is reflected in and afforded by this? Is it not one where although official educational policies still formally pronounce democracy and the equal value of all people as standards in practice we can see other things entirely (Cole 2003). Even in terms of John Rawls's (1971) notion of justice, the products of the education system in cases like this clearly give further advantage to those already advantaged, while contributing to the further malaise of those who are not.

However, as both a product and a driver of unjust inequity we should be very worried about the differentiation of pupils into different groups in these ways, the subsequent differential treatment of these groups, and how this treatment works and reflects and reproduces deep-rooted and ancient practices and biases that have been historically harboured and employed by dominant sexes, classes, races and colonisers (Jonsson and Beach 2015), towards those they oppress and exploit, as their just desserts (Popkewitz and Lindblad 2000). Their presence still today, even in the highly just and equity conscious education systems of the Nordic states (to paraphrase the earlier cited OECD report on justice and equity) supports Cole in his article from 2003 and its statement about the impossibility of reforming capitalism in the interests of social justice, and the need instead to replace it. As Cole wrote, the capitalist state is a complex of institutions that is not neutral, but always acts in the interests of capitalism and this applies in respect of its schools, school systems and their concepts of justice as well.

Concluding Remarks

Frasers' programme and Marxian discussions are generally said to point in different directions. Fraser points to the value of deconstruction and a notion of a critical theory of recognition whilst traditional Marxian views are said to only look at access and distributed resources. But is this really so and are the differences irreconcilable? I think not, as in Marxism and the view expressed by Fraser, justice is about history, structural relations, political decisions, attitudes and practices: as indeed it also is in the work of Iris Young (1990) discussed by Gewirtz (1998). Moreover, there is no evidence from his writings that Marx simplistically expelled capitalist society as unjust by reference to historically general norms of justice such as distribution. Although others may have done so Marx did not focus his attention narrowly on the differentials of the distribution of income and the share of the social product received by the workers whose exploitation was located within the nature of capitalism and was integral to its relations of production (Kelly 2007). This fundamental issue of production relations and the need for a thoroughgoing revolution in them is what the Marxian notion of justice identifies (Cole 2003). As Marx and Engels suggested in the German Ideology, placing individual values before the reform of capitalism's production relations is part of a fraudulent practice by the dominant class for legitimising an exploitive system that serves their own interests. Marx and Engels therefore in fact strongly advocated the abolition of all legal and moral rules (Freeman 2008), which they saw as necessary to eliminate the bourgeois view of morality and its attack on non-relativist ethics. Morality was ideological and relative to class interests and particular modes of production, they asserted. Therefore, in the struggle to attain communism concepts like human rights should be pushed aside (Freeman 2008, p. 1153).

This association of justice to broader production relations is reflected in Fraser's (1997) concept of justice. In education the focus is as Seddon (2003) suggests on the availability of a pedagogy and a curriculum that will build on the experiences and understandings of all young people, without marginalisation, by providing them with the agency to develop, engage in, drive, monitor and evaluate their own learning fairly in relation to the distribution of resources, the recognition of different groups and their contributions to society, and their representation in public discourses and decision making. Agentic developments and rights are mediated by material, cultural, social and psychological experiences within school, beyond school, and by the relationships of place and space that link the two together, through agency versus subordination in, for instance, the Law, the media, common sense and social conventions of recognition.

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Not All Students Are Equally Equal: Normality as Finnishness

Ina Juva and Gunilla Holm

Introduction

Migration to Finland is a relatively recent phenomenon with the first refugees and asylum seekers arriving in the 1980s. Although the migration has increased in the past years, it is still comparatively limited. In the 2014, the foreign-born population formed 5.88 percent of the Finnish population (Statfin 2014). Finland has in comparison to most of the other Nordic countries a much smaller migrant population. Even though the migration has been very limited, it has become a major political issue, and recently in connection to the increased migration in 2015, there has been a rise in openly racist speech and actions.

The school has traditionally had an important role in Finland in the maintenance of the idea of cultural homogeneity (Gordon and Holland 2003) through the reproduction of national representations and subjectivities. The representations can take various forms ranging from curricular contents to rituals such as school festivities and visual materials in the school (Lappalainen 2006; Komulainen 2001a, b). The national subjectivities connect to the idea

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of who can become Finnish or take the position of Finnishness. The meaning of Finnishness was questioned to some extent by research and teachers when the number of the migrant and migrant background students started to increase in the Finnish schooling system. In this chapter, we examine how the Finnishness and its limits are still a difficult and complex issue in Finnish schools. Multicultural education has become the umbrella concept for the discussion of the migration and the school system (Holm and Zilliacus 2009; Lappalainen 2006). In the Finnish national curriculum for basic education (FNBE 2004), the school is constructed as providing an equal basis for all students including migrant students. In this chapter, we argue though that this equality does not mean that all students independently of their background can be given a place of equal status in the Finnish school.

The findings discussed in this chapter are based on in-depth interviews with teachers, teaching assistants and school counseling personnel about the inclusion and exclusion of students in two comprehensive schools. The teacher and staff interviews conducted in spring 2013 focused on informal inclusion and exclusion of students in the school community. We are interested in exploring in what ways teachers contribute to the discourse of a school that is equal for all and how the limits of 'normality' are constructed in the Finnish school.

The Finnish School as Equal for All?

The principles of equality and equity are basic pillars of the Finnish school system. The comprehensive school is free of charge and with benefits such as free meals, transportation, health care and books. Since there are only a few private schools in Finland, all students go to public schools of similar quality (Holm and Mansikka 2013). The national curriculum for basic education (FNBE 2004) uses the concept of equality as referring to gender, ethnicity and ability as well as to regional equality. Equality is not defined per se but the meaning emerges from statements in the description of the underlying values of basic education:

> Basic education helps to increase both regional equality and equality among individuals. In the instruction, the diversity of learners is taken into consideration, and gender equality is promoted by giving girls and boys the ability to act on the basis of equal rights and responsibilities in society, working life and family life.
>
> (FNBE 2004, 12)

School services should also promote equality like '(c)ounselling also helps promote educational, ethnic and gender equality'. (FNBE 2004, 256) Students should also be made aware of different cultures and that they are of equal value. With regard to ability, every student should have the possibility to develop their own abilities. The difficulty for teachers emerges in the translation of the basic values into teaching practice since there is limited amount of instructions that are given for how various forms of promoting equality should be incorporated into school and classroom practice (Holm and Londen 2010).

The equality and equity as the basis for the Finnish schooling system is challenged by research that shows how racism and discrimination based on ethnicity, ethno-centrism and nationalism are part of everyday life of the schools (Souto 2011; Rastas 2007). Earlier research in Finland shows that even though it is recognized that students come from different backgrounds and bring their differences to the school, these differences are at the same time seen as of a similar kind without a hierarchical order. Differences are seen as individual, which obscures the hierarchical relations between differences. Structural racism, conflicts and discrimination are presented as problems of individuals, as opposed to seeing them as institutional and structural (Gillies and Robinson 2011).

In the construction of school as an equal and neutral ground for all, the student is converted to an abstraction. Even though differences are considered as ties to the individual the student is not seen as a unique individual, but becomes 'a student' as an abstract category. The abstract subject is an imaginary creation, which can erroneously be seen as neutral and universal as well as without history and context. Construction of abstract individual students includes the idea that all have equal opportunities, thereby the hierarchical power relations between individuals and groups are faded out. The construction of an ideal abstraction is part of constructing normality. Even though the concept of normality has been used to describe the 'average', Ian Hacking (1990) describes how through Auguste Comte's work the use of the concept of normality moved from natural sciences to the political sphere and how normality came to be connected to progress. So in the concept of normality was included the description of the norm or ' the normal as existing average, and the normal as figure of perfection to which we may progress' (Hacking 1990, p. 168).

Normality emerged as a concept in the 1840s and was used to create means to measure an ideal of how average a human being should be (Davis 1995). According to these studies, normality has been referred to as an unmarked and unproblematized position that neutralizes and legitimates power relations

(Mcruer 2006; Garland Thomson 1997; Halperin 1995). Constructions of normality are also connected to the expectations of who is able to function in the system of labor (Davis 1995). There is earlier research on normality also in Finland, especially regarding the construction of marginalization. This research has concentrated mainly on defining how the process of marginalization is connected to defining normality or the 'normal' student (Brunila and Isopahkala-Bouret 2014; Rinne 2012; Jokinen et al. 2004). In this chapter, we seek to examine closer how the normality is produced and connected to the discourse that the school is equal for all.

The construction of normality and marginalization is also connected to the construction of Finnishness. Lehtonen (2005) has analyzed Finnishness as an abstract ideal construction, as a social construction of what Finnishness is supposed to be where at least expectations of whiteness and knowledge of the Finnish language are included. Also Rastas (2007) and Tuori (2009) point out the connection between Finnishness and whiteness. The school itself, Tolonen (2002) argues, is constructed as 'Finnish space' regarding ethnicity and nationality, meaning that the ethnic and gender order is produced and reproduced through stories, actions and performances. Furthermore, in the school Finnishness is associated with the ordinary (Tolonen 2002). Part of the construction of Finnishness is the construction of the 'other', which is a position or a construction with shifting meanings (Riitaoja 2013). In the context of the school one of the functions of 'the other' is to maintain the ideal of Finnishness, by defining what is not considered Finnish as one of the functions of the school is to construct the citizenship and the nation (Gordon et al. 2000). In the construction of 'us' and citizenship, there are expectations of Finnishness and of a certain ethnicity (Tuori 2009; Lepola 2000). The construction of Finnishness as whiteness is a historical process, which entails Finnish scholars' research and writings in the nineteenth century to show that Finns were not genetically part of the Mongolian 'race' (Ruuska 2002), and clearly, 'race' has historically been connected to the nationhood in Finland (Rastas 2007). The connection between race and Finnishness was also present in the interviews Rastas (2007) made with children about their experiences of racism, where they connected Finnishness with whiteness.

Also connected to the school, that is presented as equal for all, is the shift in the form of racism where there is a shift from the racism connected to the notion of biological or genetic racism, to 'cultural racism' (Grosfoguel 2007; Gilroy 1987, 1993; Essed 1996). Racism can be understood as complex phenomena that legitimize and produce unequal relations and oppression between different groups, and limit the entrance of some groups to resources and possibilities of influence (Souto 2011). Cultural racism is a form of racism where the word

race is not used, but the hierarchical difference is constructed based on cultural differences. The ethnic identities are constructed as essentialist categories, where each member always represents the whole group and any kind of hybridity of identities and positions is not recognized. The lower position of the 'other' in the hierarchical power relations is seen to be a consequence of cultural difference of the 'other'. Thus, problems such as poverty are constructed as problems of cultural difference/incompatibility arguing that migrants (seen as a homogenous category) share some essentialist traits (behavior, norm, beliefs, habits) that lead them to marginalized positions in the society (Grosfoguel 2007).

The Study

This study is part of a wider two-year ethnographic project that examines teachers' and students' perceptions of marginalization in two lower secondary schools in the capital area of Finland. The two schools have diverse student bodies and are located in culturally diverse neighborhoods. With diversity we refer to, for example, students with different religious background, immigrant and non-immigrant backgrounds, different social class background, different home languages and different gender identifications as well as students with special needs. We do not distinguish between the two schools in this chapter since there were no differences between the schools in how they approached the issues studied. The part of the larger study that is discussed in this chapter draws on semi-structured in-depth interviews with twenty-eight teachers, one teaching assistant and two school counseling personnel about their perceptions of whether and why certain students are excluded and others included in the school community. The interviews lasted 1–1.5 hours and were conducted in the schools. The transcribed interviews were thematically analyzed with the themes partially emerging from the data and partially from theory and earlier research. Pseudonyms were used for all interviewees and possible identifying characteristics have been left out or changed.

Inclusion and Conflicts in a Multicultural School in the Light of Individualized Differences

The construction of the Finnish school as equal for all students can be seen both in the Finnish national curriculum and in the school personnel interviews in our study. The theme of the school being equal and multicultural arose when interviewees were asked whether there are specific students or

student groups that are more likely to be excluded. Even though we did not ask directly about migrant students or students with migrant background, interviewees raised this theme when asked about exclusion. The school was described as a place with a 'multicultural crowd' and where everyone is tolerated independently of skin color and cultural background.

Many teachers said that the students have grown up in a multicultural setting and are used to a multiplicity of cultures and ethnicities. They are tolerant because of the multicultural nature of the school. The school was described as naturally multicultural due to the diverse neighborhood and thus is an equal base for all the students. However, there were also comments from some of these teachers hinting at that the school does continuous work on making students accept each other as equals independently of their background or skin color. Kari (teacher) said:

"In this school most students belong to a group whether they succeed or not in school, their skin color doesn't mean anything. You try to be friends with others and not hurt others. It's a thing that has been fostered here and something we here in school try to work on in many different ways. And it's quite good as it is as far as I've heard from teachers who have been in other schools."

In Kari's view, the school is successful in fostering acceptance of others among the students. He sees students as belonging in school independently of whether they are migrants or have a migrant background.

In the quote below, Lea describes how the Somali students are named as loud (hinting at that it has happened before) and she points out that it is not connected to racism as the school is a multicultural space with great diversity of pupils.

> We have a large multicultural crowd. Some might say that there the Somalis are raising a ruckus again or something like that but it feels like no one is offended. In my view it is not actually racism.

In the excerpt above, the teacher Lea speaks of a multicultural crowd in the school. But who does the 'multicultural' include? In the excerpt, Lea describes how the students (who are not in the multicultural crowd) are commenting that Somali students are 'again' making a ruckus, but due to the fact there is a large multicultural crowd in the school, it is not perceived as racist and nobody is offended. Hence, racist comments are considered harmless by some teachers as if it is just the way the students interact in a culturally diverse school. At the same time, by bringing up the Somali students as an example and in a context of potentially problematic behavior and racism, she connects

the findings of earlier research where the multicultural is mainly connected to the migrant and migrant background students or those who are not recognized as 'Finnish' students (Holm and Londen 2010).

The school is constructed as a tolerant and multicultural space where there is no discrimination based on race or ethnicity. Therefore, the cases of discrimination are only regarded as personal problems between individuals. Interestingly, this is contradictory to the fact that the teachers treat migrant students as homogenous ethnic/migrant categories and representatives of their culture. More openly racist teacher comments were made when the recorder was off or in the teachers' lounge. Comments like 'All the Somali women stay at home and don't learn Finnish and the men spend all days in a café' (teachers' lounge and after a group interview and that all the Muslim students are going to grow up as homophobic and sexist (after a group interview with teachers) are made off the record. Teachers describe individual students as having 'social problems at home' but above all as having abnormal personalities or problematic personalities.

In a discussion about who is excluded, Laura (teacher) claims that in this school to be a migrant does not necessarily explain being excluded since being excluded has more to do with the individual student than with a student's migrant background or ethnicity. She explains that if there are only a few native Finns in a class with mostly migrant students or only a few migrant students in a class with mostly native Finns, it might be a problem with the smaller group not being included. However, Laura continues:

> In my view since there are so many migrant students all the way from grade one to grade nine, this kind of thing (being just a few in a class) does not clearly explain it (being excluded). It (being excluded) is more something related to the person.

As part of the individualization of hierarchical relations, the conflicts between students and student groups were only partly recognized as conflicts connected to hierarchical differences. In the quote below Eini, a school counselor, describes conflicts between immigrants and native Finns, and how those conflicts are connected to individuals.

> Racism is a difficult question and there are always conflicts. Their roots are often though in the individuals' own feelings about themselves … We had a fight between immigrants and native Finns. It originated in a dispute between one or two people, spread via Facebook that there was a group fight. It died out and was connected to these individuals. All kinds of groups come to me (as school counselor), from all cultures. I can't say that I've experienced racism at work … Nowadays the young are so mixed—so many kinds of groups and it is appreciated. It is more the individual that's important in who is bullied.

Eini speaks of a conflict between two student groups and she names those groups as immigrants and 'native Finns', but after talking around the issue of racism she concludes that the conflict was due to individual disputes and 'individuals' feelings about themselves', even though she all the time mentions that it was a conflict of Finns versus immigrants. As closure, she describes the youth nowadays as tolerant and multicultural, and again wonders if the problem lies more with the person who is being bullied or it is actual racism and discrimination. The discrimination, bullying and conflicts are limited to individuals. The racism is seen as a problem of individual persons and not as part of the structure of the school. The teachers might also be in a difficult situation where they try not to stereotype groups, which in some cases can lead to that issues are only interpreted in the context of individuals and not in the context of structural issues concerning entire groups of students.

When the teachers describe the school as multicultural and therefore equal, it is described as something desirable. As in the comment below the teacher Airi describes the diversity of the school and the tolerant attitudes of the students as a positive thing.

> It feels like these (students) are more tolerant towards each other than for example adults in shopping centers. Maybe they will become a different generation since they are in a class where everybody has a somewhat different background. For me it's very wonderful.

Even though individual teachers construct the school as a place where everybody is equal there were also teachers who reflect critically on the existing school culture and question whether the school makes everybody feel included. Some of them have different strategies to include all students, for example, by having closer and more personal contact with students.

Constructing Migrants as a Category

When the teachers describe school as a multicultural and equal base for all the students they describe them above all as individuals and not as members of different groups. Nevertheless, at the same time, they present migrant and migrant background students as categories that share at least some traits. These traits are not necessarily attributes such as skin color (at least not directly) but more like expectations and behaviors.

In the excerpt below, Meri ponders the behavior of students with migrant background. She describes them as being very social which can be disturbing

in class sometimes. She hypothesizes about whether the reason lies in their cultural background or in the fact that they are marginalized. Meri says about the exclusion of students:

> In some groups it feels like they are trying to make themselves more social but I don't know if it comes from that they are people who want to be very social or if it is part of their culture … I don't know if that's it or they feel that they marginalized otherwise. I have not at least seen or felt at any point that they would be marginalized but more that they like go for it … talking and things that disturb the teaching like talking with everybody and the use of space like that they shout to the other side of class … which might be characteristic of their culture.

She mentions the culture as the explaining factor, which raises the question who those migrants are that are very social. By speaking of them as an abstract group that shares the tendency to be more social than 'Finnish' students, she constructs the category of migrant student. And even though her gaze can be said to be emphatic, it defines a certain kind of sociability as problematic, because it does not fit the behavioral expectations of the school. A part of constructing normality is defining 'normal' behavior and certain social skills as part of 'normal' behavior.

Generally, teachers often mentioned the behavior when they talk of normality and what influences if someone is considered 'normal' or 'not normal'. Well-behaving migrant background students are seen as an exception and not the norm. This can be seen in the teachers' answers, where they point out that there are also well-behaved and successful migrant kids. The teachers name the normal behavior in their interviews, pointing out things like a good attitude, being motivated, following rules and time schedules. Some teachers (like Erja and Eini) mention directly the connection between good behavior and being an ethnic Finnish student. For ethnic Finns, the 'bad' behavior is seen as a problem of the individual while for migrant and migrant background students, it is the cultural group as a whole that is the problem. For example, when there is talk of students who do not want to go to swimming even though swimming is compulsory, in case of ethnic Finnish students, it is interpreted as a question of individuals with adolescent problems but for migrant students it is constructed as a problem of Muslim students as a cultural group.

In the excerpt below, Eini (counselor) draws a connection between low achievement in school, bad behavior, social problems and migrant students. The difference between students is described by Eini as follows.

> In this school, good school success is valued. This is not valued in all schools … in this school those who manage are valued. There have been clashes between the sporty, successful, Finnish, born in Finland students and then the students with immigrant background who struggle with the language and with other problems … They cannot stand each other. Just a look is enough to make the other feel completely useless. When it was investigated, it's only a question about one's own feeling, how does it feel for me here. Or in this school youngsters who come from traditionally good families, from caring families and who succeed and otherwise engaged students are valued.

The difference between students is highlighted by naming the ethnic Finns as successful and dutiful students. The well behaved and successful students like the ethnic Finns are the ones who are valued by the school. In a school who wants all students to belong and feel included, it would seem important that all students are valued and not only those who come from so-called good and caring families. The students with immigrant backgrounds are perceived as struggling. The students with migrant background are described in the excerpt below by Laura (teacher) as well as a 'challenging group' with potential difficulties graduating from the school and creating 'successful' social relations.

> There are some students with immigrant background who come to upper comprehensive school. They are quite a challenging group. Like to make them to get through (school) with the school support measures, not to mention their socialization. Arriving to upper comprehensive school has its own challenges and to learn the language and some might have a very uneven schooling background or they have not gone to school nearly at all. Those are the things that have an impact on how the schooling goes, both with the school work and with the socialization.

Both the students' poor Finnish language skills, and their poor schooling background are seen as potentially problematic features. It is of course difficult to arrive in the upper comprehensive school and be expected to graduate within a couple of years if one does not know Finnish or does not have an education comparable to the lower comprehensive school. However, it is problematic if the teachers view the students as potential problems without seeing their potential to succeed. For example, in the two schools where we did the research, the backgrounds of migrant students are varied, and many know several different languages even though they might not know Finnish. Teachers' ways of speaking of the migrant and migrant background students describes them though as a more homogenous category of students. Even though most teachers describe the migrant students as a homogenous category, they in some cases make distinctions according to nationality or

ethnicity. For example, Eini mentions that Russians and Estonians have more positive and ambitious attitudes toward school than other migrant students.

Many teachers (Laura, Janika, Virpi, Erja, Sanni, Senja, Kari) mention not having social relations with ethnic Finns or Finnish-speaking students as potential problems and/or reason for marginalization. Having tightly knit social relations with other migrant background students are rarely seen by teachers as a positive resource, but more as a potential problem leading to isolation from Finnish society and not having possibilities to create socially valuable contacts as well as possibilities to practice speaking Finnish.

The migrant student as a category is described as behaving badly. Teachers explain migrant or migrant background students' 'bad' behavior by that the students are migrants or as due to their culture, as opposed to some structural reasons or because of something related to the school. With ethnic Finns, the 'bad' behavior was seen as a problem of the individual while for migrant and migrant background students, it was a problem related to the cultural group as a whole.

In the quote below Virpi describes gendered differences in being 'loudmouthed' and she says that before the girls used to be more loudmouth than boys but it has evened out, even though she hints at that the boys who are loudmouthed are migrants.

> A kind of equalization has happened. If I think of my own school days when girls were in my view more verbal but it has somewhat evened out. Here in our school there are now those loudmouth boys too. I don't know if it is a question of culture because the ones I think of are not entirely Finnish. It doesn't feel like it directly links to gender.

For Virpi, the girls used to be verbal because they were girls but the boys with immigrant background are verbal because they come from another cultural background than Finnish. She does not elaborate on what those cultural reasons could be or to what cultural groups or cultures the boys belong. Importantly, here, the boys are not just more verbal but loudmouthed which puts a negative spin on their verbal interactions. Based on the observations done in the school, the variety of the students mouthing off is quite wide. At times, migrant students' regular participation in class discussion is interpreted as 'mouthing off' and silenced. For example, in one class, there was a Somali female student who asked the teacher a question about the topic of the class but the teacher silenced the student and scolded her for not raising her hand to ask for her turn, at the same time the teacher did not intervene when other students, especially ethnic Finnish boys, were talking about topics unrelated to the class.

Even though some teachers admit that migrant or migrant background students can be 'good' students they don't point out the structural obstacles hindering students from doing well, such as the requirement of knowing Finnish well. The discourse is that we are all different but equal, and there is also still amazement over that even a migrant background student can be successful in school. According to teachers the migrant students are generally connected to poor performance in the school. The connection is not opened in the discourses of the teachers. The poor performance in school is isolated to individual and sometimes to cultural reasons meaning that the student's culture is too different from the Finnish.

'To do well in school' is presented as a neutral category even though it excludes many groups and individuals. The exclusions are based on language, social and cultural habitus. School as institution is not recognized as a cultural and social construction, where everything from schedules to the system of grading are social and cultural products. For example, the schedule of the school might benefit those who come from families where the guardians work an eight to four schedule. Also the strict schedules of vacation might affect differently those students who have family abroad (and e.g., on other continents) and limited economic resources to travel to meet them. Traveling during school vacations is usually much more expensive than at other times during the year.

To Be 'Normal' Is to Become Finnish

In this section, we examine the complex ways in which normality and Finnishness are linked in the interviews. The teachers still connect normality and Finnishness even though the number of migrant and migrant background students has grown steadily in the studied schools since the 1990s. In the quote below, the teacher Leevi assumes that all ethnicities are equal and does not consider that the school is built upon the Finnish ethnicity.

> We had that kind of project a year ago … last school year, where we were trained to encounter immigrants with the help of drama. There were examples and the students had to react and comment. It felt totally funny for us, because we are so passed that situation. These immigrants have been here since kindergarten. They (immigrant students) are their ('Finnish' students') friends and people do not think about whether someone is yellow or pale. And in our school I know that in the upper comprehensive school there have been a situation where the Russians are against Somalis and for me it speaks of the weakness of the school's

> own culture. I don't criticize at all … but in a way the experience of belonging in school should be more important than belonging to the Russian students or the Somali students.

In the excerpt, Leevi describes a project where the students in the school were prepared with specific classes (and drama-tools) to encounter immigrants. From his point of view, this was strange as they have moved beyond the encountering stage meaning that the school is culturally diverse and the students are used to it. He continues with an example where there have been conflicts between students with Somali and Russian backgrounds. From Leevi's point of view, the solution is that the belonging to the school has to be stronger than belonging to specific ethnic groups. The underlining idea is that the school is without ethnic identity. The school is then constructed as the 'zero point of identity' (Echeverria 2007, 16), where the hegemonic position of specific cultures is not recognized (Echeverria 2007; Apple 2004).

Some of the teachers speak directly about the construction of the migrant student as a problem. The teacher Kerkko ponders the sense of the process of integration where the ethnic 'other' needs to be integrated to the normality of the school and if they are not integrated it might be a problem.

> With the students with Russian background it is in a way truly great nowadays and have been from my point of view for long time, because many have good Finnish language skills. In a normal school situation you can't even notice anymore based on the language skills (who is Russian). It is not that kind of dividing line or it is truly difficult to say what is the reason why some Russian does or does not belong in the group. Because I think that they have also somehow contradictory feelings about whether and in what group they belong. We think that everyone should feel that (laughs) they belong to this school community, but no one is so naive that they think that any school in Finland is some kind of paradise with the kind of harmonic community that we are the people of the school. Well it is clear that in our kind of school the ethnic background or the significance of the migrant background (students) should not be emphasized but in our comprehensive school about a fourth or fifth has a background that is not this traditional basic group (ethnic Finns). This should be taken into consideration.

Kerkko says above that the ethnic background should not be overemphasized, nevertheless he adds that in their school already a fifth of the students have a migrant background. So he recognizes at least partially the contradiction between the discourse of the school as neutral and without ethnic identity and the fact that a large proportion of students come from different ethnic backgrounds. The reason why teachers like Kerkko do not to emphasize

the high proportion of migrant and migrant background students in the school might be connected to the public discourses in Finland about culturally diverse schools as problematic and in some cases have led to that native Finnish parents have moved their children from schools with high percentages of migrant students. Interestingly, Kerkko recognizes that the Finnish school as a harmonic community is a mere ideological construction and may not be so in the daily life of the school.

However, emphasizing one's identity is not seen as something the Finnish students do. Since the Finnish ethnicity and identity are taken for granted, it is not necessary for Finnish students to reflect on who they are. Therefore, it is perceived as problematic when other students make their ethnic identities visible in the classroom. In the quote below Jutta speaks of Kurdish and Turkish students bringing their ethnic identities to the classroom:

> The most difficult situations are when there is one Kurdish and one Turkish student in the same group … and they want to emphasize their identities, that in their place they usually bring forth themselves more than is done here in Finland. Then it was necessary to intervene really a lot.

Jutta uses highlighting one's ethnic identity as an example that might lead to problems in school. Finnish school is one of the main institutions to construct the discourse of a homogenous national community (Gordon and Holland 2003; Komulainen 2001a, b), but when other students or groups bring forth their identities it is seen as something negative or abnormal. Finnishness is not openly discussed as it is the norm in the school leading to that other identities can be presented as exceptions to the normality, which positions Finnishness in a seemingly neutral context of scientific discussion of normality, as Hacking (1990) presents the normality, it includes the description of the average but at the same time the expectation of the ideal, so it might seem as neutral and objective, even though it presents values and ideals.

The students who identify strongly with their parents' ethnic background and who do not want to take on a Finnish identity are considered at risk of being marginalized as Virpi, a teacher, states below:

> Then there is a more subtle outsiderness somehow. When you think that here where we have so many cultures (in the school) they (migrant background students) define themselves so strictly, even those who have born in Finland, they define themselves and their identities through the nationality of their parents. And in that way a very strong marginality is created for many (students) where the margin can be even a (numerical) majority but inside the students' heads can exist a very strong conception of that they are outside of what is Finnish or

> Finnishness … Even if one doesn't get the feeling that these children are in any way left on the outside it is a mental concept that I am not Finnish and it is in my view then a kind of created and maintained what I assume is and will be truly challenging for these youngsters.

This raises questions like whether it is possible to live in Finland without becoming Finnish and who determines when one is Finnish enough. Now the exclusion and problems of the migrant and migrant background students are explained by their inability and resistance to integrate, instead of, for example, by the school's inability to accept any kind of hybridity of ethnic belonging and identifications.

The migrant students do not have a similar possibility to construct an ethnic or national identity as ethnic Finnish students do, but they are not recognized as Finnish either. In this context Finnish identity is not recognized as an ethnic identity, because it is perceived as 'natural' or the way it should be in the materials and the practices of the school. The belonging to other ethnic/cultural/social groups is seen as a possible problem and reason for conflicts. The school is presented as a 'naturally' multicultural space, which becomes a culturally neutral and 'empty' space.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have examined how the teachers participate in constructing the idea of an equal school for all. The teachers described the school as a tolerant and multicultural space where there were no discrimination based on race or ethnicity. The cases of bullying, discrimination and conflicts were regarded as personal problems between individuals. This pattern of locating the reasons for problems in the students has also been found in other studies in Finland (Mansikka and Holm 2011). However, even if the school was described as multicultural the term multicultural referred mainly to migrant students and students with migrant background and overall to those who were not recognized as 'Finnish' students.

For the teachers and other school personnel being a migrant student or a student with migrant background was connected to marginalization in the school. The teachers saw these students' possibilities to succeed as quite limited. The lack of close relations or friendships with 'Finnish' or Finnish speaking students was seen as one of the reasons for the marginalization. Teachers were even a bit surprised when students with migrant background were successful in school. In general, the migrant or migrant background students were described as prob-

lematic or potentially problematic, and mostly because of their behavior. The difference between the 'Finnish' and migrant students' reasons for bad behavior was that teachers saw ethnic Finnish students' poor behavior as a problem of the individual student while for migrant and migrant background students, it was the cultural group as a whole that was the source of the problem. Many of the teachers describe migrant students[1] as a potentially problematic group and see students' ethnic and cultural identities and languages as obstacles to integration. Constructing migrant students as problematic and the majority students as unproblematic and normal creates hierarchical power relations in school. In the interviews, Finnishness was interestingly conceived as a reason for inclusion in school, but not as a reason for exclusion. In contrast, being a migrant was seen as a reason for exclusion and only in a few cases was it connected to inclusion. Thus, it was exceptional to consider a migrant student as included. This is in line with earlier studies that have found that the 'natives' are better integrated in the society (Wimmer and Schiller 2002).

Teachers constructed the 'non-Finnish' ethnic identities as potentially problematic in some cases. The Finnish identity was not seen as one of the ethnic identities but it was taken for granted. The school was constructed as a place without ethnic identity, because the Finnish identity was not explicitly seen as an ethnic identity. Finnishness was taken for granted and noticed only when students behaved differently from the taken for granted, from what was considered normal. The students who did not want to take on a Finnish identity were considered at risk of being marginalized and students making other identities than Finnish visible in the school were seen as problematic and not normal.

In order to be included in the school community, migrant students have to fit into the majority Finnish culture. Teachers talk about school as an equal ground for all; nevertheless, at the same time, they had different expectations and categories of behavior for students, depending on their background such as being an ethnic Finn or a migrant or migrant background student.

In the interviews with the teachers, the Finnish school was constructed as an equal space, where the students can compete as abstract individuals in neutral and equal settings. However, while the school is presented as an equal space for all individual students, the ideal or 'normal' student includes expectations of Finnishness, and as earlier research also shows Finnishness is

[1] In the interviews and partly in the observations, the fieldworker noticed that the teachers used immigrant and immigrant background when speaking of students of color while students with scarves were called migrants or students with migrant background. There were also teachers that problematized the category of immigrant student. In this chapter we use the term migrant, as the main concept, but when we refer to the speech of the teachers and other personnel or in the construction of migrant student as category we use the notion of immigrant as it is used in both schools.

connected with whiteness (Rastas 2007; Tuori 2009). The exclusion of the migrant students of the normality is not total, but full of contradictions. It is not a dichotomy between normal and deviant or Finnish and migrant, but more like a hierarchy constructed from the normality that is Finnishness, where the 'others' are positioned depending on how well they can accept or perform the Finnishness.

The tendency of not paying attention to this difference-making can obscure hierarchical power relations. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the construction of a normal student is an abstraction that aims not to represent any group's cultural or identity traits, or differences based on gender, race, class and ability, but idealized individual traits. In the interviews, the teachers connected certain kinds of behavior to specific student groups, for example, Finnish students' behavior was based on their individual will, while migrant students were seen as acting based on the logic and values of the group that they are 'representing'. Migrant students were at least partially connected to the risk of school failure, and this was explained with cultural reasons.

By connecting marginalization to the students with the 'wrong' kind of behavior, and naming some modes of behavior as essential for the normality, the teachers construct the school as an equal and neutral area for all individuals. The students are assessed by their behavior and placed in hierarchical relations based on how well they can perform 'normality'. The processes of individualization are complex, and even though the 'Finnish' students were treated more as unique individuals compared with students with migrant background, they still do not completely escape the processes of the abstraction, where they are measured and categorized. But between different students and student groups the grades of abstraction and categorization in school can vary considerably. Apple (2004) mentions that the groups that suffer the categorization and classification most intensively in the school are the 'minorities' that are measured through the normative structures of the hegemonic culture. In the discourses of teachers and counselors there is quite a narrow perception of what is considered Finnish and normal.

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