«Now We Are European!» How Does it Get That Way?

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ABSTRACT

«The European» is given as a kind of person and as an autonomous subject in contemporary policy and research. The paper examines the role that the social and educational science technologies play in constructing this new type of person. We first briefly explore the human sciences as historical practices that link the individual to the community. These practices are reassembled and examined descriptively in the second section which explores the making of the European as a particular kind of person from which nation and daily life are to be ordered. In the third and fourth sections, we discuss the cultural technologies of science in fabricating the European. These technologies are forging the memory of a common history that simultaneously erases, forgets, and realigns Europe's internal differences so that Europe may become the «world champions» of global competition. At a different level are technologies of numbers and statistics mobilized in making the unity given to the European and from which to understand diversity and differences.

KEY WORDS
The European; Europe; The homeless mind; Systems of reason.

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INTRODUCTION

«The European» is given as a kind of person and as an autonomous subject in contemporary policy and research. It appears most strongly from the 1970s as a cultural concept to think about collective desires and fears of the dangers that may occur if society and people are not properly organized. In the social and educational sciences, the European as a kind of person intersects with national discourses and studies on schooling, crime, family, community, economy and citizenship, among others. It embodies narratives and images about who people are, how to act on particular populations, and as cultural theses for people to act for themselves.

We provocatively entitled our essay on the making of the European as «How did we get that way?» in order to examine the social and educational science as technologies in constructing this new type of person. In one respect, the human sciences as technologies in making kinds of people are not new. The social and education science have been actors in the making individuals into citizens of the nation from the 19th and 20th century to the present. What

is different today is how social sciences assemble and connect with multiple policy discourses, institutions, and research practices about a «transnational» citizen inscribed in the notion of 'European'.

In our article we first briefly explore the human sciences as historical practices that link the individual to the community. These practices are reassembled and examined descriptively in the second section to explore the making of the European as a particular kind of person from which nation and daily life are to be ordered. Research policies and projects are examined as embodying particular narratives about a unified people with universal ethics that give moral, scientific and historical exceptionalism to Europe in the arena of global competition. In the third and fourth sections, we discuss the cultural technologies of science in fabricating the European. These technologies are forging the memory of a common history that simultaneously erases, forgets, and realigns Europe's internal differences so that Europe may become the «world champions»[2] of global competition. At a different level are technologies of numbers and statistics mobilized in forging the unity given to the European and from which to understand diversity and differences.

Methodologically, we examine a broad range of actions, institutions, and discourses in order to explore particular historical practices that give intelligibility to the kind of person called «the European».[3] The strategy of placing different practices in proximity with each other to consider the principles that organize the «reason» of the European and in exploration may lose certain nuances and details; nevertheless, we believe the strategy is worthwhile and necessary for this inquiry. At the time when there appears such strong dissension in the national debt crisis within the EURO zone, some might intervene and say that the idea of the European might seem a chimera. Yet that dissension has not challenged the inscription of «European» within the

2   Europe is fabricated as an actor entering the world championship of progress and innovation: «Europe should move away from a R&D model where competition is the lead of innovation and cooperation is a means to better competition, to one where cooperation is the lead and competition is the means to better cooperation. This requires both a thinking mode shift and a world champion taking the lead of a global model shift. Europe has sufficient historical and technological solidity to take up this challenge and become the world champion of cooperation among the big actors (US, Japan, China, India, Brazil). Practically, this would involve strengthening the international dimension of all its R&D programs, including research infrastructures» (European Commission, 2011c, p. 11).

3   Interesting approaches to research can be found in Cassirer's (1951) study of the enlightenment, Dumont's (1991/1994) research on German and French modernities, and Foucault's (1972) history of the episteme in the formation of the social sciences, now all classics in their respective fields. Though they may not be definitive studies, they are good examples of time-honored approaches toward thinking and doing research.

larger European context. The future given to this kind of person seems less problematic than is the feeling of betrayal felt by some of the countries in the south and the need for more discipline and integration that moves from its southern borders to that of the central continental and northern territories. This inquiry about the changing technologies and the borders of identities produced is, as suggested by Foucault's (1983, pp. 231-232) not necessarily bad but always dangerous and thus require on-going scrutiny.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, NATIONS, AND EUROPE AS A HOME AND BELONGING

The conventional wisdom of science is its magical appearance in the enlightenment, the copying the natural sciences in the social sciences, with science becoming a game changer in the charge towards progress and correcting social wrongs by the 21st century. Since the Enlightenment, science has no longer attempted to prove the existence of God's laws. Its mastery of the natural world has become intertwined with the mastery of the human condition. The science of humanity by the turn of the 20th century had two major projects. One was to design the paths toward progress that would eliminate the dangers in making a more progressive and cosmopolitan world. The other was to assure that the citizens of the new republics embodied visions of the Enlightenment reason as modes of living.

The «Reason» of science, however, was not just any old reason but one that entailed a new relation between sensibility and intellect, experience and thought, the sensible word and the intelligible world (Cassirer, 1932/1951, p. 38). Reason was seen as an original intellectual force to formulate the order to the world, and in that process bring about the fulfillment of progress. The power conferred by knowledge was epitomized by the image of the cosmopolitan individual whose life was ordered by reason and rationality (science). Though historically peculiar to the European and North American Enlightenments, reason was seen as universal and a quality possessed by all of humanity. It was a view that secularized the Reformation themes of individual finding salvation into political theories of human agency in the pursuit of progress and «happiness».

But that is only part of the story that we need to enter into in order to think about the transmogrifications of science and the making of «the European» a few centuries later. The Enlightenment's cosmopolitanism morphed

into cultural principles aimed at forming the citizens of the Republics. The Enlightenment's universal project for humanity was subsequently abandoned and interned into forms that give representation to the citizen as a person endowed with rights based on territoriality or membership in historically constituted and constructed communities (Wittrock, 2000, p. 46). Though possessing different cultural and social configurations, citizen participation was seen as a guided mode of life that intertwined with the social norms of civic virtue and responsibilities that governed the choices of everyday life.

The new linking of individuality with collective norms of belonging and responsibility entailed a particular way of thinking and acting that can be considered as the «the homeless mind»: homeless in the sense that secular, abstract and distance relations now had a new way of ordering and classifying interpersonal and personal life. In a sense, Foucault's notion of governmentality, the governing of the conduct of conduct, embodies a new concept of «self» as an entity whose intimate and private relations are encased by the public domain and the abstract relationships of what would seem as secular and a world of human history rather than theological. In the 18th and 19th centuries' notions of «society», the citizen and the worker, for example, appeared as particular kinds of people that could be classified and ordered by using populational reasoning and probability theories. The kinds of people were connected to individuality. One's most intimate face-to-face relations are classified and ordered by means of distant, abstract qualities of «societies», members of 'classes', and transcendent concepts of childhood and youth. The new classifications of individuality appear as natural, without an author or history yet as binding as one's belonging and organizing of life.

The «homeless mind» is a recent notion in the making of the European as a particular type of historical kind of person. In the Middle Ages, Christianity was the universalizing concept, but that concept was not about a «people». In complex processes that took place from the 14th to the 18th century, Europe became visible as a community linked most often to the nation and the citizen, a place of belonging that replaced Christendom. The images and narratives involving «the nation» portrayed it universal and exceptional in relation to other nations and other groups of people, whether they are Swedish, French, British, Spanish or Portuguese. Nation was cast not only as a territorial entity but as inscribing the advancement of civilization as told through its enlightenment that included Kipling's white man's burden. But it was in post-World War II Europe that «the

European» received a new social and cultural position to «build governments that were transnational, passionless and safe» (Brooks, 2011).

The distant «objects» of identities embodied new forms of allegiances, attachments and subjectivities. The political forms the Republic took as its subject the modern citizen whose mode of living was, if we can use the tropes of political philosophy, aimed at the pursuit of happiness, liberty, and freedom; and in today's commonsense as children who seek happiness as learners and parents as moral guardians. Each of these categories of human kinds embodies abstract qualities that leach into daily life to perform in the contemporary landscape as «the homeless mind». Such distance abstractions as the European Union of Human Rights, the Knowledge Society, the Knowledge Economy, the Innovative Society, and their human inhabitants who are given the category of the lifelong learner are the (re)visioning of the Enlightenment's cosmopolitanism and the belonging made possible through «the homeless mind».

The last part of the European's story involves the emergence of new expertise in the social and educational sciences. Norms that linked virtue, participation and individual conduct had to be produced as one was not born as the citizen. The ways of ordering and rationalizing life as a citizen of the nation and now of Europe entailed acquiring particular kinds of knowledge about how people and society should be ordered and prepared for the imagined future.

This expertise can be initially notice in the Enlightenment notions of cosmopolitanism. There emerged a notion of philosophy as providing the knowledge needed to effect change and bring progress itself to humanity. «Thought consists not only in analysing and dissecting, but in actually bringing about that order of things which it conceives as necessary, so that by this act of fulfilment, it may demonstrate its own reality and truth» (Cassirer, 1932/1951, p. viii). The province of moral philosophy that was central in this social position of knowledge was replaced by the emergence of social sciences, a term that first appeared in the 19th century. The new scientific psychology of child study, for example, was seen as more adequate to interpret the Bible than philosophy and its knowledge expressed salvation themes through strictly secular terms. There was a millennialist belief in rational knowledge as a positive force for action. The strength of that knowledge was seen as having the power to shape life and bring about the order of things that fulfills what is wished for through social planning and projects of intervention. Although there were resistances, «the social scientist was a model citizen helping to improve the life of the community, not a professional, disinterested, disciplinary researcher» (Wittrock, Wagner & Wollmann,

1991, p. 38). The new sciences of Northern Europe and North America were to bring «order and progress», to borrow a phrase from Augustus Comte.[4]

While there were differences in the moral underpinnings in Europe's social and educational sciences (see, e.g., Osterwalder, 2011), the sciences to reform society and people intersect the qualities of the «the homeless mind» with salvation themes generated by religious elements of social life. Secularization was never a «pure» category and in opposition to religion when considered through the cultural principles related to the nation and the citizen as a kind of person! At the turn of the 20th century, the social sciences were enlisted to respond to Protestant reforms in Northern Europe and North America, which were aimed at addressing «The Social Question» (Popkewitz, 2010; Tröhler, 2011). Studies on the family, child development and urban housing, for example, focused on the causes of alcoholism, delinquency and prostitution, among other practices. The domestic sciences gave attention to populations who suffered from or fell from grace as a result of the harsh conditions of city life. These sciences were to change the modes of living of these urban populations through teaching the immigrant and the urban poor how to budget money, buy healthful foods and take responsibility for the moral principles involved in children's upbringing.

In this context of making kinds of people, the pedagogical sciences of learning in «the modern school» were given intelligibility. Science was a way of «reasoning» about changing the urban poor, the immigrant and the rural populations. Learning was the strategy for producing modes of living that inscribed the moral order and civic virtues. Edward Allworth Ross (1920/1930), an early founder of American sociology, placed faith in the common school to provide social cohesion, «concord and obedience» (p. 524) and «a like-mindedness among diverse populations through stressing the *present* and the *future* rather than the *past*» (p. 259, italics in original). The French pedagogue Gabriel Compayré saw the science of pedagogy as having the «double purpose of establishing the current government of the class and teaching pupils how to govern themselves when they leave school and the tutelage of their masters» (1896, pp. 493-494).

Today, this making of people in the human sciences is bound to different kinds of «cosmopolitanisms» and salvation themes that are to enable

4   This phrase is also on the Brazilian flag to represent the formation of its republic. But while making this observation of the travels of positivism, it is beyond the scope of this paper other than to recognize a particular globalization before the word becomes popularized in the present.

the «European life as a path to future» (see, e.g., The European Council and European Commission, 2010). Individual state leaders in the Council and the administrative law of the Commission have called on Europe to create «a well-functioning 'knowledge triangle'» of education, research and innovation to produce a new kind of person. That person is the European who is given the skills and competences seen as «crucial for growth and jobs, as well as for equity and social inclusion» (European Commission, 2010a, p. 1). While little is actually known about the future, the European Union has established an institute that lists eight key competencies for the future. It is a future inhabited by a particular European called the European Lifelong Learner, whose personal fulfilment, active citizenship, social inclusion or employability in a knowledge society fulfils what is described in an epic narrative of Europe (European Commission, 2007, p. 1).

SOCIAL SCIENCES, THE EXCEPTIONALISM OF EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN

The discussion that follows explores how narratives of the future of society are embodied in research and research policies and in that future is the inevitability of shared belonging and unity. This idea of unity brings into the present a cosmopolitanism, translating prior universal views from the Enlightenment into the present hope that Europe will become a beacon in the future through the norms and standards – grounded in science – it can provide.

Traveling with the singularity and unity of the Europe is the European as a kind of person. This is evident in the emergence of academic educational journals. In the first decade of the 20th century, references to «European» as an autonomous subject of research were almost non-existent. However, in the first decade of the 21st century (see Chart 1), there were 236,000 such references. Tracing the term's growth, one notes that it appears to be contemporaneous with the 1973 European Community meeting that focused on «European identity» (Stråth, 2000). A different indicator of European as an autonomous category about a homogeneous people is the increasing emergence of journals about European Education from the 70's through the 90's (see Chart 2).

If we trace policy and research discourses across documents, Europe is spoken about as a unity that inscribes harmony, consensus and integration among the different institutional practices that surround the European
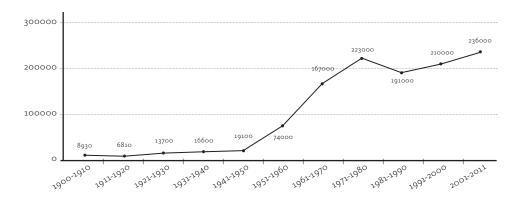
CHART 1. GOOGLE SCHOLAR SEARCH FOR 'EUROPEAN'

Union.[5] There is the President of the European Union who describes «the European» in the universalistic language of human characteristics whose «emergent economy» has strong resources in terms of «intelligence», «sensibility», «memory», «imagination» and «creativity» (Barroso, 2007, p. 7). This unity is echoed across European Council and Commission research institutions. The European Commission's European Science Foundation is a non-governmental organization funded by national governments that include over 80 national funding agencies, research agencies, academies and learned societies from 30 countries. Its purpose is to bring together different European science practitioners to create a unified European social science «to meet the challenges of the future and to create a common platform for cross-border cooperation in Europe» (European Science Foundation, 2009). The Science Foundation asserts in its policy statement, «Europeanisation and its Challenges» (2009) that Europe is or needs to become a single entity that treats Europe as a whole. This unity is embodied in the use of classifications that order differences as fitting in singular categories that blur previous national boundaries. Research is about «the macroeconomy», «social and economic inequalities», «regional inequalities and the role of social science», all of which are European issues that are separate from or from which to «see» different populations as subcategories in which to approach change in Europe.

The unity gives expression to the European Union's exceptionalism in which harmony as a people and culture is set apart and better than others in the world.

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5   We use this phrasing as our analysis involves the European Commission which in one way is separate from the legal framework of the European Union but its discourses intersect with Union practices discussed here.
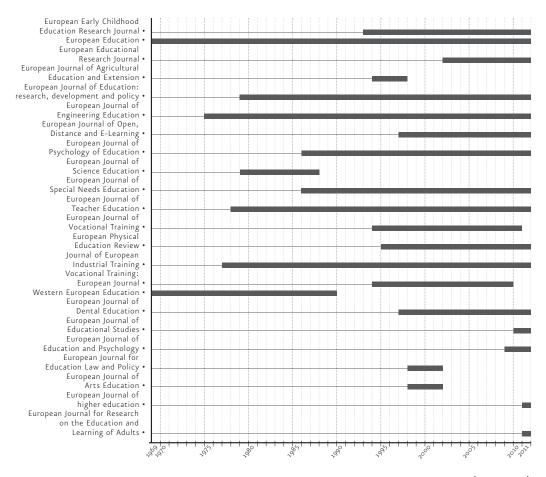
CHART 2. EDUCATIONAL EUROPEAN JOURNALS (FROM-TO)

This exceptionalism is grounded in universalistic, cosmopolitan values; the democratic virtues of its political forms; and the standards of economic development it espouses. The European looks to the rest of the world as a neighborhood to be acted on, helped or competed with through the common values that define its exceptionalism. Research is a crucial vehicle to give expression to this exceptionalism. It embodies projects that represent normative values shape and fashion a uniqueness to Europe that offers «social protection», «equality» and a «social model» that is an example to the rest of the world. Whether the task is seeking out a knowledge-based economy, creating environmental sustainability, or operating in a global world, the unity of Europe is given its exceptionalism in world arenas in which research calculates and provides in administrative paths to the promise of human progress. The vital questions for the future of society,

economy and the citizen's happiness are posed within the research agendas, such as «When will the recession end?» «What is the best way of anticipating and defeating terrorist activity?» «How can my children be better educated?» are the «province of social science» (European Science Foundation, 2009, p. 6). Europe's universalism is inscribed as the heritage to unify human kind and provide for the promise of what should be.

The unity of «the soul» of the European becomes an abstraction used to measure national differences in relation to principles about what a European citizen should be. In a study of Turkish and British teacher education students, the research contrasted approaches as left social democratic and right regimes of government to explain differences in as a maximal process-led activist to minimalist of more didactic content led approaches to citizenship. Researchers concluded that scepticism and «multiple identities» indeed exist (Wilkins, Busher, Lawson, Acun & Göz, 2010, p. 446). The scepticism and lack of consensus becomes the «democratic deficit in Europe», as students still identify with their nations. In Europe, the task of schooling is to create an identity that does in fact not exist while enabling a feeling of European exceptionalism. The British and Turkish students were interviewed and then compared with regard to the universal values of Europe, an independent subject in which a continuum of values is produced. The overriding challenge is not only how to create a specific identity within Europe but also how to prepare others to belong. In the case of Turkey, this implies getting students to accept the norms and practices that go into a European education.

It may sound counterfactual as science is seen as non-national and provincial, the logic of European science is posed different from other geopolitical spheres. European science is to design paths toward the utopian future. Calls for research in the EU's 7th frameworks for sponsored research, for example, contain elements of exceptionalism. The funding of research is likened to the dawn of a new future in human relationships, and the transformation of Europe into a dream of peace and justice.

While the nation is still a discernible general category in policy and research, it has become an anonymous category that has little, if any, territorial distinctions or naming. What is given significance is the integration, coherence and harmony of European systems and institutions, classifications that treated a singularity from which to study education and its diversity within nations. Nationness is subsumed within the unity, and shows up in phrases such as such «all countries» are to use schools to «help shape society and its future citizens» (European Commission, 2011a, p. 12). Europe is the site of «education for the masses»,

with any reference to nations. European research enables the «making quality education available for all» and «countering persistence of socio-economic inequalities and the skills mismatch» (European Commission, 2011a, p. 12).

The signification of education and Europe is to unleash potential that is not only about the unity of the present but also that of the historical future. While this phrase of historical future may seem odd, the unity of Europe is viewed first as necessary for a future that is already within reach. And that future is given as a consequence of a unified past. A number of European documents speak of the common heritage and portray belonging in the present as a natural consequence of the past, which has laid the path for the future. Europe has been culturally shaped by a «tension between history and transcendence» and is seen as «a universal mission» (Giesen, 2002, p. 2002). The European Commission's research priorities for funding projects, for example, broach the issue of «why European research matters» to priorities as based on the unity and progress of Europe which are not solely concerned with the present or the economy as much public rhetoric and critiques focus on. The call for policy-oriented research is cultural and social: to provide «new insights» that can spark important European initiatives aimed at modernization (European Commission, 2011a, p. 13). In this context, education is viewed through the lens of psychology and is seen as making «new forms of personal development» possible. «Biological factors» are taken into account to explain «the differences in learning ability between individuals». Education should serve to «mould» the child's «attitudes, behaviours, values and skills that are socially and politically viable in modern society» (European Commission, 2011a, p. 12).

The absent European that research is to enable is called the «lifelong learner» (see, e.g., Lawn, 2001). It embodies the mode of living absent and not yet been achieved, but which the future is indebted to. That future is of individual problem solving, innovating, and flexibility in a continuous process of making choices. Research is «action-oriented» so that this European will no longer be a mere «vision» but a reality (see, e.g. Nordin, 2011). Programs and classrooms become the actions that make the lifelong learners by serving as «supportive (…) facilitating the self-directed learning process of its citizens» (Wilkins, Busher, Lawson, Acun & Göz, 2010, p. 18). That citizen is not of the nation but of Europe.

The citizen of Europe that research is to achieve is a transnational citizen who is defined by European exceptionalism. He or she is one that Ong (1999) describes as an individual who moves through simultaneously shifting and changing conditions of cultural interconnectedness and mobility. While Ong

considers this flexibility and transnationality as embodied in the flexible accumulation of capital, this reduction of the discourses and changes to issues regarding capital is limiting. The kind of person embodied in the notion of the flexibility of capital requires a particular cultural thesis and human kind of the homeless mind in order for it to be intelligible. Research is aimed at a kind of person who has little direct relation to economy. The latter European is made, according to documents into turning Europe into a «laboratory» that will create unity and integration by shaping people who are lifelong learners. «Europe provides a natural laboratory» (European Science Foundation, 2009, p. 6) that will eliminate and re-define differences and achieve commonality and harmony by means of a single European community. The social sciences bring order to diversity by (re)working and (re)examining Enlightenment perspectives of the moral order in order to create a better future for European citizens.

TECHNOLOGIES OF SCIENCE IN THE FABRICATION OF THE EUROPEAN

In the previous section, we focused on the narratives of unity and the social and political exceptionalism attributed to Europe and the European. In the next three sections, we explore the sciences of education as social technologies in the fabrication of this human kind. One is the technologies of memory and the displacements of different national histories; and two are the creation of categories of equivalence in the statistical systems about European conditions. The numbers and their magnitudes make similarities from differences that also define differences within the boundaries of that unity. In the concluding sections we explore how these different technologies and narratives of European unity and exceptionalism inscribes a comparative style of thought that differentiates and socially divides.

MEMORY AND DISPLACEMENT: FABRICATING PAST UNITIES TO CREATE A PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE

The making of «the European» involves creating memories that give Europe a past that links it to the promise of the present and future. This memory entails *recherche* rather than recuperation. And is entails the recognition that the temporal status of memory is always the present, not the past, even though all memory

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hinges on some past event or experience (Huyssen, 1995, p. 3). As Danziger (2008) reminds us, all human societies remember, but they remember in very different ways. Individual memory in modernity is closely linked to historically changing forms of external memory. It works to carry out tasks whose parameters are set by changing social demands and conventions (Danziger, 2008, p. 5; Hacking, 2006). The development of external memory tools were not available, for example, to monastic cultures. Medieval texts, for example, were devoted to the memory tasks of monastic culture which emphasized that biblical narratives must be remembered as the reliving in the body and soul of sacred narratives and parables (Danziger, 2008, p. 6). The notion of memory that we are interested in European policy is a fairly recent one, linked with cultural manifestations that shape and bring to light specific qualities of the «homeless mind». External forms of creating memory create a «useable» past that enable us to «see» and think of one's life in a continuum of abstract time that links the past, present, and the future with the necessities of collective belonging and individual self-realization.

Zones of the individual and collective past, previously linked with the nation, are now employed in the production of Europe and memorializes as its European heritage. The domain of heritage, which is expressed in the way we classify what is called «patrimony», has been expanded. Cultural boundaries are reshaped in order to find the «original» concept of European as the common heritage arising from a murky past that otherwise would have been lost. The European Union and the Council of Europe, for example, promote the celebration of European Heritage Days in order to construct the memory of a common «home» and of collective belonging. The event is said to give «Europeans a rare opportunity to appreciate and celebrate their common heritage» (European Commission Press Release, 15 September 2011). The opening of the doors of castles, farms, museums and factories throughout Europe aims to create unity by highlighting «the importance of cultural heritage for the European economy, especially during times of crisis» (European Commission Press Release, 15 September 2011).

The narrative of being European is given as the unquestionable celebration of the idea that Europeans share a common heritage. Shrines to the recollection of the past such as coffee houses, function as venerable temples for generating ideas, and the myriad European streets and squares are named after statesmen, scientists, artists, and writers (Steiner, 2007) serve to evoke memories of the past. Facts, photographs, museums, modern historiography, sociology and psychology make possible new ways to construct and order a past that can be learned about who one is, has been, and should be.

The fabrication of a past as the unbroken historical lineage of being the European citizen is memorializes in timelines that trace the past to the present that also holds the future of the community defined by a particular kind of individuality. Europe is portrayed as sharing the common heritage of the Enlightenment and its cosmopolitanism whose coherence is to be made visible through European social science to establish points of contact among Europe's vast array of cultures, languages, customs and belief-systems. The assertion of the homogeneity of values and norms plays down national differences by emphasizing what is common – or what should be common – to all human beings.

The HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area) has called for research on the theme of commonality. Promoting 'Cultural Encounters', HERA stresses the unity of Europe's past and so sanctifies the present through the discovery of its heritage. The past becomes a ordering that imposes a hierarchy of value from which to see the unity of self and «others». Research proposals «will investigate the phenomenon of cultural encounters in spatial terms (i.e., in terms of cultural encounters within Europe, and between Europe and other parts of the world) and in temporal terms (i.e., in its contemporary forms as well as in historical perspectives)». The path to the future is linear, coming «from the earliest periods of human settlement to the present day» (HERA, 2011, pp. 1, 2). Research is aimed at finding the causes, conditions and consequences of cultural encounters that will give cohesion to the 'European identity' and the conditions from which to see «others».

A particular logic given to the present begins with the construction of memory. What previously was national is now transnational and is aimed at promoting the unique historical features of Europe in the world marketplace. The European Science Foundation gives the European social sciences a past whose «distinctive features which can be traced back to European scholarly traditions based in European history and social and cultural diversity. The most important among these traditions has been the fact that the distinction between social sciences and humanities has in Europe always been less pronounced than elsewhere – intellectually and institutionally» (2009, p. 12).[6] The social sciences

6   Particular characteristics of European social sciences are given a new momentum what describing a unity of these sciences through having the 'cultural turn' that maintains «the traditional» European close affinity between social sciences and humanities. These characteristics are listed as:
•   There is a relatively greater focus on broadly defined institutions and cultures than on social groups as agents of social dynamics (European Science Foundation, 2009, p. 13).

are importance in global competition owing to the exceptionalism of Europe's cultural roots in «the powerful historical idea in the west since, at least, the second half of the 19th century» (European Science Foundation, 2009, p. 11).

The construction of this common heritage, ironically, entails displacements in order to generate the principles of social unity of a single people. The displacements come from national institutional traditions that place obstacles in the way of progress and the fulfilment of European exceptionalism. Tradition becomes the past whose ways of organizing and working in schools, for example, must be overcome in order to create a modern, flexible and innovative future for Europe. The heated polemic known as *The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns* that took place in the 17th and 18th centuries is unknowingly visited – but with today's stress on science, literature and the arts – in order to contrast the old from the modern that inverts the value of the past. Today's *Quarrel* that orients current research is to overcome the traditions of schooling, for example, that stands as an impediment to innovation and the cultural thesis of the flexible life of the lifelong learner.

The unity and universalizing of the past has displaces the diversity and location of social science in various national traditions. The history of social science and social theory, for example, continually point to the social sciences as embedded in national cultural traditions (Levine, 1995) that link the salvation narratives of the state to ideas of universal progress. The British social sciences of the late 19th and early 20th century, for example, conceptualized society and individuality through the Newtonian perspective of a social world that included a secular ethic, an atomic view of nature in the human world, and evolution as a process that involved a deep concern with measurability. In contrast, traditional French sociology started with postulates of societal realism in which social formation predominates over individual propensities. Society was seen as a source of normative and moral sentiments that prevailed in the construction of individuality, such as in Durkheimian sociology. German sociology, in contrast, emphasized an interpretive (hermeneutic) subject of *bildung*, capable of

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- Special attention is given to comparative analyses of various scales and ranges as expressed in a visible contrast to American 'self-centeredness' (European Science Foundation, 2009, p. 13).
- Special attention is given to interdisciplinary.
- Historical analyses play an important role in European social sciences. As Anthony Giddens has put it, history and sociology «appropriately conceived» are the same, because both focus on the dynamic interdependence between human agency and structural developments (European Science Foundation, 2009, p. 13).

self-determination through identifying and making choices between good and evil. German sociology was to understand the expressive subject, recognize the cognitive subject, and analyse the voluntaristic subject.

As this point, we would like to return to the initial question in the title, «How did we get that way?» and suggest that the answer requires a combination of techniques involving the social and educational sciences. The production of memory/displacement is not a natural phenomenon but a construction that has a materiality (Le Goff, 1982).[7] On one level, the techniques of memory entail creating pasts that show the linear development, coherence, and distinctiveness of European science. Yet they also involve creating external sites in the present concerned with belonging and individuality. The acknowledgement of diversity and difference in the past are ordered to give unity to the present and the principles for governing how future is best achieved. Consensus, unity and exceptionalism in the making of historical homes are totalizing procedures in the technologies of memory/forgetting.

NUMBERS AS THE CULTURAL LOGIC OF EQUIVALENCE TO (RE)VISION DIFFERENCES

A different technology employed in the forging the identity of the European is numbers. The commonsense of numbers in survey research, discussion economic growth, and comparisons of national educational achievement is that numbers are descriptors of the things of the world and not actors in the making of that world. Our discussion here, however, is aimed in a different direction: to view numbers as a technology of social science that «acts» in generating cultural theses about human kinds and thus, in the production of the European. Number function as a technology that provides uniformity across the disparate territories of European nations and brings their unlikeness into orders of likeness that are regularized through systems of equivalencies and magnitudes.[8] These equivalencies and magnitudes perform as distancing technologies that we spoke about earlier in our discussion of the «homeless mind».

7   In this way our discussion is not a social constructionist argument but one about fabrication, that is knowledge and the principles of reason involve a complex relation of providing ways to respond to the work that also acts back on that world through theories, programs, and discourses about who 'we' are and should be.
8   For a discussion of the development of standards across the different fields of policy, and statistical calculations in policy spaces, see, Lawn, 2011.

Statistics about Europe as a whole and its parts give stability to things in flux, and confer an apparent consensus upon the world and the phenomena in it that makes the world seem possible to control. The creation of equivalences as a single entity re-territorialize the citizen as transnational.

This is illustrated in the past few decades through the increased institutionalization of large data-bases and statistical techniques through the OECD's PISA, ESS – the European Social Survey; the CESSDA project to link European social science data archives; and SHARE – the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe. The institutionalization of these large data bases shifts governance technologies from institutional indicators and audit and performance-monitoring to governance that combines technical measurement components and procedures that order the capacities and qualities of individuality (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2007).

In the concept of the European as a transnational citizen, the equivalences embody standards and rules to establish differences. Numbers define the problem space for standardizing the subject of Europe as a stable object of reflection and change. The equivalencies of performances and outcomes of schools, and those of businesses and government are seen as technical, calculable, transparent, and as a transparent act of exchange through graphs and flow charts that are presented as measurement tools that can effect change. The European Social Survey, an institution of the European Commission, conducts multiple surveys. These surveys aim to provide «another layer of accurate data to inform academic debate and European governance» (European Social Survey, 2009, p. 2).

Differences are measured from the standards applied about the collective sameness of Europe. Numbers have thus become cultural devices centred on «social» and «personal» contents that generate and can be compared with normalized 'views'. These practices of measurement assume a consensus about the governance of Europe that is then assigned to the psychological qualities of the individual, such as «trust in institutions», «well-being, health and security» and «moral and social values».

Numbers have therefore become an external device of memory and governance. The comparisons of past achievements and magnitudes with the present assumes points of projection about what the future is and should be with the proper mixture of science and policy. Instead of statues and museums, the European Social Survey is presented as the ongoing mission «to paint» a picture of what Europe was, has become, and to monitor change: «Further rounds are planned to paint an accurate picture of changes in European attitudes, values

and behaviour patterns both across nations and over time». This social science project portrays itself as the «authoritative monitor of societal change» (European Social Survey, 2008, p. 22).

The establishing of magnitudes and equivalencies as classifications that map and monitor change is prominent in the Organization of Economic and Cultural Development's measurement of national educational systems, PISA. PISA's comparative measurements are part of a relatively new industry of international comparisons of educational institutions that has become influential throughout Europe. PISA is to compare students' «practical knowledge» of science, mathematics and literature. Its technologies of comparison are bound to the new algorisms that allow working with large data sets in which one might call «the Google effect». The educational measure program, it is asserted, is to identify the school systems' contribution to the competitiveness of the nation in the light of new, global economic demands. While it is hard for economists to agree on what these demands are and how to best order society to provide the necessary outputs, PISA seems unburdened with these ambiguities of predicting the future. But further to muddle the future, when the categories of science learning are examined, they embody indicators of a generalized mode of life of the citizen that has little relation to the practical knowledge of science or mathematics. With apparent certainty, PISA asserts that its competency measurements «will enable them [as citizens] to participate actively in life situations related to science and technology» (OECD, 2007, p. 3).

The children's participation and practical knowledge, however, are ordered and classified through the learning sciences. The tensions between science and school knowledge are resolved through the idea of the child's 'performance'. The sciences direct attention to the capabilities of the child, the school, and the family. The outcome measures of science learning, for example, are placed in relation to factors about school contexts, instruction, students' access to and use of computers, parental perceptions of students and schools, and performance changes in reading and mathematics, all of which are employed to explain differences in performance. The last question PISA focused on (OECD, 2012) was 'Are boys and girls ready for the digital age?' The answer inscribe systems of classification and descriptions of differences based on gender and socio-economic gaps that have resulted in «poor performers» and «top performers» both male and female. All school subjects and children performances are categorized using equivalencies, i.e., appraising the achievement of children worldwide according to how well they perform as problem solvers.

The citizen is identified with the nation in a manner that illustrates difference as measures of «European» homogeneity. Equivalencies as illustrated above embody social categories that differentiate and divide, and the magnitudes expressed serve as evidence of the growing numbers and differentiation, for example, between immigrant students and the mainstream school population.

The divisions and unity inscribed in the apparatus of statistical data evokes European exceptionalism through its research community in «worldwide competitions». In response to the recent international trend toward ranking in the social sciences, the European Science Foundation argues for «seeing» Europe as a single, harmonious collective of researchers. When viewed as a single unit, Europe indeed compares favourably with the data elsewhere: 111 000 researchers in the United States, 50 000 in Japan and 17 000 in Australia; and a system of higher education that teaches «over 7 million students, 35% of all students in European higher education». The international comparison to argue for a European identity bound through the creation of a category of data that ordered as a harmonious whole the «scholarly output; i.e. publications in journals and, even more so, in books and reports» of different professional scientific groups across nations (European Science Foundation, 2009, pp. 10-11).

The statistics of equivalency and ranking inscribe a seeming naturalness to reflection and action in different national settings (Nóvoa, 2002). The Europe-wide statistics overlap with and, to some extent supersede national data, creating a space of equivalency where one can judge, assess, and order practices about particular kinds of people. Aimed at cutting across traditional discipline boundaries through collaboration on common problems and long-term planning, the statistical information is to provide data about «surveys of public attitudes, such as those of the European Social Survey» that are «vital in formulating political responses to the challenges [of Europe through being able to] gather and analyse large amounts of data in many fields» (European Science Foundation, 2009, p. 8). What is at stake it is the representation of the different ways in which different people in different European countries «see themselves and the world around them» (European Social Survey, 2009, p. 2).

The use of statistical reasoning is reminiscent of the positivist Karl Pearson's view of that the world of perceptions should be organized through a scientific lens. For Pearson, the value of science was its ability to promote happiness and social efficiency. The scientific mind was one that converted «all

facts whatsoever into science». No matter if the «facts» came from «the past history of mankind», «social statistics», the great cities or even «the life of a scarcely visible bacillus». The mission of science was completed when every fact had been examined, classified and coordinated with the rest. «It is not the facts themselves which form science, but the method in which they are dealt with» (Pearson, 1900, pp. 12, 13).

Numbers as possible as cultural entities and technologies of social organization within a particular element of modernity we referred to earlier as «the homeless mind». Numbers perform as a distancing technology in which immediate events, institutions, and modes of living are given an order and purpose. The appeal of numbers is bound to the idea of democracy, as everyone is seen as treated equally through the claim of objectivity and the idea of difference born within the creation of equivalences. The objectivity and equivalences, however, are not transcendent notions of pure reason but shaped and fashioned in moral and political discourses. And they function in making particular human kinds.

THE LOGIC OF UNITY IN COMPARING THE HOPES AND FEARS FOR THE FUTURE

In the previous sections, we explored the European as produced through the inscription of memory in which heritage is given that paradoxically supersedes the past in the attempts to build a path to the future. In many ways, the production of memory and its paths to the future have utopian qualities. That utopia is ordered through faith in the planning societies and people through the evocation of the future as the task of governing the present. But if that was all, then the fabrication of the European as a human kind would be merely policy makers and scientists choosing the best moral and political technologies. The dream of making of people is historically more complicated. The mission of research to tame the traumas of the past, order the uncertainty of the present and provide the paths to fulfill the desires of the future is paradoxical. Exclusions and abjections are in these impulses to include.

The distinctions and differentiations of the European as a kind of person continually generate double gestures. The gestures are of the hope for harmony that simultaneously embodies fears of the dangers and dangerous population to Europe's exceptionalism. That hope and failure is often spoken

about economically with education providing job skills and employability. The hope is that everyone finds successful work and contributes to society. The fears are of populations unprepared for work. But upon closer inspection, the economic words of the purpose of schooling in policy and research quickly morph into cultural themes that, at the end of the day, are not about economics but about morality and civic virtues that govern individuality. Research is seen, for example, as responding to the civic challenge of achieving social cohesion and individual development in a global world that is defined as different from the nation-building of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Youth is one of the prominent places where the double gesture continually appears. Youth is both the hope and the dangerous populations to the future, a potentially problematic population in relation to the European as a citizen. The first issue chosen as a basis for a large scale collaborative project to guide Europe's future policy in its 2020 Strategy 'Challenge: Education systems in the 21st century' is youth. The socio-economic sciences and humanities are to create the flagship «Innovation Union» through research that is «to unleash the potential of its young people and (…) give them the means to develop and define their future in Europe» (European Commission, 2011a, p. 13). This «unleashing of potential» is not merely giving expression to what is innate and unique in each individual. It is a «potential» that is given order and classification through an unspoken norm about «the European» that is absent in the lives of people but which social sciences will help to inscribe.

Conducting oneself as «a good citizen» lies at the core of the European educational efforts to achieve social cohesion and a common European identity (Eurydice, 2005, p. 7). A 2010 Eurobarometer survey express the absence of the European citizen as the dangers to the future: «only 43%» of Union citizens «know the meaning of the term 'citizen of the European Union' and almost half of European citizens (48%) indicate that they are not well informed» (European Commission, 2011b, p. 7). The fear is of the possibility that people won't «see» themselves as European and as part of what the authors define as the 'reality' of the construction of the European future.

The hope for harmony and the fear of those who do not regard themselves as European are embodied in the questions of diversity and multiculturalism in the curriculum. The educational question of the hope of integration is fears of the dangers and dangerous populations that comprise the social motilities. «The Janus face of migration in Europe» is made into the call for research in the

7th framework.[9] If this Janus face is pursued further into curriculum research, Faas' (2011) study of national curriculum agendas focuses on the creation of sets of distinctions regarding «diversity» and «multiculturalism» that are thought of as adequately responding to the impact of migration and European integration. The immigrant is inscribed as a kind of person recognized to be included through their proper development yet placed in oppositional spaces from the European citizen. The conditions for inclusion end up excluding so that the immigrant can never be can never be of the averages. The «newly-arrived children», «migrant children» and «children of immigrant background», for example, are described as youngsters who may be born to «families with a different legal status in the host country» (Eurydice, 2009, p. 3). Intercultural education and research on the subject in Italy instantiate the paradox of the immigrant as integrated yet unintegrated, and a threat to harmony and order (Kowalczyk, in press).

The link between birth and nationality is one of the deeper issues underlying the immigrant as foreigner remaining the foreigner. That is the where the ghost of the 'Other' gives sense to the 'Us'. Derrida (2000, p. 15), for example, questions if we must «ask the foreigner to understand us, to speak our language, in all the senses of this term, in all its possible extensions»?

The classification embodies divisions and distinctions that join together and act on the fabrication of certain kinds of person. The socio-conceptual rationale is used to explain differences in performance. The question of being an immigrant in Europe is tied to social status that permits the immigrant to be seen as a foreigner to the country or the Union without its abjection embodied in its recognition. Numbers are deployed to make visible disparities that establish difference. Immigrants are classified as making up more than 5% of the student population in some countries and also «in most countries, immigrant students lag behind native students in performance; in many countries, the difference is considerable» (OECD, 2011, p. 1). The data collected enable researchers and statisticians to create watertight categories of people and affirm that «students with an immigrant background are socio-economically disadvantaged» and that «the parents of these students are less educated and work in lower-status occupations than their native peers». In addition, it is said that «these students tend to have access to fewer educational and material

9   It is important to recognize that the universal categories such as migration are particular historical categories referring to what Bauman calls the migrants who are vagabonds and who economically have little rights and money and the travelers, those who receive work permits at the higher ends of the social-economic fields, such as those who work in the London financial sector.

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resources at home than their native peers» (OECD, 2011, p. 3). But these representations are not only confined to research. They travel as «borders» through cinema and other media, generating an image of abjection even though a «sympathetic perspective on migration» might prevail (O'Healy, 2010, p. 1).

The double gestures of hope and fear are not merely internal. Externally, the perceived inheritance of the Enlightenment mobilizes Europe's exceptionalism as its comparative edge in globalization. Europe is placed in the global competition of global championship against the United States and China, and as a developmental bridge connected to Africa and Latin America. Europe also shares its Enlightenment heritage with the United States and the common «firm belief in freedom, democracy, human rights and prosperity. They are the hallmarks of our societies and what binds us together» (Barroso, 2011). But in the global championship that is being played, Europe's unified, moral and cultural project contrasts with America's avowed liberal individualism. The narratives used to «explain» these differences are translated into empirical «facts» in The European Social Survey which asks, at one point, «(…) how closely do European expectations of good citizenship correspond with or differ from, say, US expectations?» (European Social Survey, 2008, p. 14).

CONCLUSIONS

We have examined the technologies of the social and educational sciences as the making of a particular historical kind of person who is named «the European». Using an analytical approach, we first provided examples of how particular types of discourse on unity and exceptionalism are generated across various policy institutions and policy networks that relate to the social and education sciences. We then proceeded to explore the role of the social and educational sciences in creating «the European». The exploration of the social and education sciences is, in one sense, analogous to the shaping and fashioning of collective belonging and «homes» found in the extensive historical and sociological literature about the making of the nation. What is historically significant is the way in which the European-based social sciences are, for example, fabricating the common heritage that erases the distances to national spaces by activating coordinates that trace the right way to be a European. The technologies of memory/displacement, for example, meld the past with the present and posit the present as an active path toward the future. Discourse

on European hopes for the future portray European unity and harmony as a regional competition within the larger, authorless processes of *globalization* to which Europe must respond. These technologies and narratives cantered on unity and consensus to give intelligibility to the concept of Europe as a Knowledge Society populated by inhabitants who are lifelong learners.

We have focused on the narratives and technologies of science as forming the social entity called Europe and its inhabitant, «the European». Some might suggest that the events and initiatives we have discussed are only policies and research discourses, and do not reflect the realities of European life. While we have no doubt that further exploration will be helpful in understanding the governance principles being produced, we are reluctant to spark a debate on the nominalism/ realism dichotomy. We do believe that to say that the devices identified here are only theoretical ideas, policy statements, or utterances is to be ahistorical about how systems of reason order and classify what is seen and talked about move into the world as programs, theories and identities are produced by which people operate in the world. For policy and research are material and not epiphenomena to social structures. Ask any European!

The argument points to the particular technologies of the social and educational sciences in ordering and classifying the changes occurring. Making visible these changes is to point to the need for the continual scrutiny of is cultural theses about modes of living. To make visible this thought about one's *history (the past)* in such a manner is not necessarily to reject it. It is to free one's self from the causality that interns and encloses the present.

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