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SISYPHUS 1

THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE: NEW FABRICATIONS

Edited by
Martin Lawn & António Nóvoa

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* *A special thanks to Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for sponsoring the Lisbon meeting (that was held in Lisbon, in 2011) and for their support of this publication.*

Sisyphus – Journal of Education aims to be a place for debate on political, social, economic, cultural, historical and organizational aspects of education. It will pursue an extensive research agenda, embracing the opening of new conceptual positions and criteria according to present tendencies or challenges within the global educational arena.

The journal will publish papers displaying original researches – theoretical studies and empiric analysis – and expressing a wide variety of methods, in order to encourage the submission of both innovative and provocative work based on different orientations, including political ones. Consequently, it does not stand by any particular paradigm; on the contrary, it seeks to promote the possibility of multiple approaches. The editors will look for articles in a wide range of academic disciplines, searching for both clear and significant contributions to the understanding of educational processes. They will accept papers submitted by researchers, scholars, administrative employees, teachers, students, and well-informed observers of the educational field and correlative domains. Additionally, the journal will encourage and accept proposals embodying unconventional elements, such as photographic essays and artistic creations.

Editorial

Sisyphus – Journal of Education is a new editorial initiative undertaken by the Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon, an institution that since 2009 has been devoting itself to the development and increase of the potential for debate and inquiry in the fields of Education and Training. This publication embodies the legacy of two previous scientific journals, each of them connected to a former institute of this University, from which it inherits both the heading and subheading: *Sisífo – Educational Sciences Journal*, from the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, with 12 issues from 2006 to 2010 (http://sisifo.fpce.ul.pt); the *Revista de Educação* [Journal of Education], published by the Department of Education of the Faculty of Science, with 37 issues between 1986 and 2011 (http://revista.educ.fc.ul.pt).

The release of an English edition – available online for free – is part of a plan of action promoting new ways of dialogue, trade and exchange beyond national borders, aiming at the important task of globalizing the modes of production and expansion of scientific knowledge. By underlining the significance of creative processes and the shaping and dissemination of scientific knowledge, this project is inclined to value multiple networks and methodologies involving researchers from a variety of disciplines. As a result, this new publication will pursue an extensive research agenda, embracing the opening of new conceptual positions and criteria according to present-day international tendencies and challenges within the global educational arena. *Sisyphus*

– *Journal of Education* offers a *locus* for debate on political, social, economic, cultural, historical and organizational aspects of education.

I believe this proposal brings us closer to the stimulating gesture that has been a vital and integral part of academic tradition since the beginning of the 19th century. This attitude can be summarized as the infinite task of thought and truth telling, proclaiming an *unbreakable relationship between research and education*. In other words, this particular task identifies the academic universe with the idea of a contract that binds both the State and the people to a specific work ethic that structures, produces, stores and diffuses a varied array of knowledge with its respective methods, procedures and techniques. What brings us together is this basic principle that postulates the infinity of scientific research; the desire to question indisputable principles and fundamental axioms, as well as consensual and immediate truths, in a social field as tense and unstable as the contemporary field of education. In *Sisyphus - Journal of Education* we seek to reflect on diagnoses, resources and practices inscribed in this particular field of knowledge, but no longer with the intent to produce «good» statements or «adequate» ideas – be they denotative, prescriptive or evaluative in nature. The ambition is to open up the debate in order to convene and add original thoughts to the collective imagination in the educational arena.

Sisyphus - Journal of Education assumes the relevance and central role of the critical questioning of *doxa*. It is therefore essential to assert the ethics of academic work as deriving from a major impediment: the creation of a *corpus* of systematic knowledge, the description of a unitary sum, the production of a totalizing and all-encompassing narrative. We believe this impairment is mostly performative, as it imposes the idea of deficit or incompleteness as the core value of our craft, the open range which makes all scientific practice possible. The Greek myth that lends its name to the journal invokes the necessary status of *difference* corresponding to the link between unity and discontinuity in the practice of all social sciences. In contrast with the traditional idea of a meticulous and systematic search for the be-all and end-all «solution», our task will no longer be to solve a problem, but merely to expand the process of inquiry, to relaunch explanations, to continually displace the threshold of research. Let us reiterate our predecessor Rui Canário's justification for the use of the name Sisyphus. Like the mythical king of Ephyra, forced by the gods to endlessly resume the same task, we would also be *condemned* to question, to accept that the constant pursuit of truth can only be exercised «by means of empirically falsifiable, permanently temporary and conjectural knowledge.» In line with this train of thought, Maurice Blanchot can be heard echoing the same principle:

> To question is to seek, and to seek is to search radically, to go to the bottom, to sound, to work at the bottom and, finally, to uproot (…). The question starts a type of relation characterized by openness and free movement (…). The question awaits an answer, but the answer does not appease the question (…). To question is to make a leap in the question. The question is this call to a sault that does not let itself be held back by a result. In order to leap there must be a free space, there must be firm ground, and there must be a force that, starting from a secure foothold, changes the movement into a jump. The freedom to question is a leap starting from, and moving away from, all firmness.[1]

It is for the aforementioned reasons that *Sisyphus - Journal of Education* intends to publish papers displaying original research – theoretical studies and empirical analysis – and expressing a wide variety of methods, in order to encourage the submission of both innovative and provocative work based on different orientations, including in the political front. Consequently, it does not represent or favor any particular paradigm; on the contrary, it proposes and supports the possibility of multiple approaches and commends diversity.

Jorge Ramos do Ó

1 Blanchot, Maurice (2003). *The Infinite Conversation (Theory and History of Literature)*, vol. 89, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 11-19.

The European Educational Space: New Fabrications

Introduction by *Martin Lawn & António Nóvoa* (Editors)

INTRODUCTION

In October 2000, an invitational seminar sponsored by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation was held in Lisbon. The underlying theme of the gathering was «Rethinking the European Educational Space». Our main intention was to discuss the possibility of a European public space for education or public spaces linked to education that have emerged from new material and cultural circumstances, and fresh ways of interpreting these new developments.

During the year 2000, the European Council approved the well-known Lisbon Strategy aimed at making «Europe, by 2010, the most competitive and the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world». The reason for the meeting was to examine the new opportunities to be gleaned from Europe's public and institutional spaces, and discuss the lack of impetus that exists within education to shoulder the task of creating analyses and producing responses. In other words, our aim was to light a spark.

In 2002, Kluwer Academic Publishers produced *Fabricating Europe – The Formation of an Education space*, edited by António Nóvoa and Martin Lawn as a result of our seminar. A French version of the book was published in 2005 by L'Harmattan: *L'Europe réinventée – Regards critiques sur l'espace européen de l'éducation*.

A NEW SEMINAR IN LISBON: TEN YEARS LATER (2011)

Since last year, a general consensus has developed that the Lisbon Strategy has not succeeded. As Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt stated in 2009, «Even if progress has been made, it must be said that the Lisbon Agenda, with only a year remaining before it is to be evaluated, has been a failure».

Furthermore, since 2010, Europe's social crisis has led to new questions and discussions on the European Union and the role of education in European policy. Unsurprisingly, a new strategy was launched, Europe 2020, which is viewed as an updating of the previous Lisbon Strategy for the new decade. Once again, the European Commission defined «developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation» as the main priority. Education is dealt with under five headline targets, in terms of employability, R&D investment, compulsory schooling and higher education.

We believed it was once again time to engage in critical discussion regarding the European educational space, in an attempt to understand how education and knowledge are being broached in the European arena. Debates currently underway are being fuelled by transnational governance, networks and cultural and economic projects. They involve national and state collaboration, European Commission guidelines and products, academic networks, social movements, business links and sites, «city states», virtual connections and meetings such as ours.

In April 2011, a new invitational seminar took place in Lisbon. The informal meeting was financed by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the University of Lisbon. Invitations were sent to well-known academics in different countries, some of whom did not work in the educational studies field per se. The meeting was interdisciplinary and brought together academics interested in discussing the broader implications of education in Europe.

The gathering was organized by António Nóvoa (University of Lisbon) and Martin Lawn (University of Edinburgh). Invitations were extended to a wide range of professionals and practitioners, since our aim was to spark creative thinking that might point to new directions in research rather than contribute to an unproductive, growing mountain of paper.

In addition to the authors participating in this special issue, several other colleagues attended the Seminar including Göran Therborn, Daniel Innerarity and Adelina Sánchez Espinosa. A number of other specialists have kept in touch and engaged in dialogue with us before and after the Seminar.

SPECIAL ISSUE OF SISYPHUS

This special issue of *Sisyphus* brings together five contributions on new fabrications in the European educational space. All of them seek to describe the educational problems facing Europe today and analyze the complex issues that underlie the European debate on education. We have also decided to include Francisco Ramirez's revealing reflection on universities. Though it centres on an analysis of American universities, Ramirez's essay nevertheless explains many of the developments that are taking place in European universities and in the European Higher Education Area.

1. *The Understories of European Education: The Contemporary Life of Experts and Professionals, by Martin Lawn (University of Edinburgh, UK)*

The first article acknowledges the fact that the European Union is faced with dramatic crises as a result of its own contradictions, national failings and banking system breakdowns. Dramatic summits, tight financial regulations and complex political solutions have fragmented the continuing growth and consolidation of the EU. Its institutions and procedures look very fragile. Yet there are other stories existing in this time and space, and the assemblage of a European education space or area continues in low key, unspectacular, expert and professional ways. This is an understory in the EU. The tall trees in the European forest are clearly visible, but underneath them, sustaining their growth, are the microclimates of the understory. Beneath the canopy of the forest, the life of the understory is lived in the shade but in favourable conditions for growth. It is a form of mutual, cooperative, voluntary and even «niche life».

Martin Lawn tells us about these understories, describing an environment in which governance in Europe is developed through public-private partnerships, knowledge-based organizations, agencies, associations and markets. He asserts that the governing of Europe depends on the activity taking place in the understory. It is often out of sight and excludes politics. It thrives among a new elite of technocrats, professionals and academics with specialized knowledge and skills, who are working both in public and private organizations. To illustrate how the understory has grown and expanded, how standardization occurs and how knowledge is generated, he explores the work of European educational associations: first, the European Educational Research Association and second, the Standing International Conference of Inspectorates.

2. *«Now We Are European!» How Does it Get That Way?, by Thomas S. Popkewitz (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA) and Catarina Silva Martins (University of Porto, Portugal)*

The second article looks at «the European», which is seen as a kind of person and an autonomous subject in contemporary policy and research. The idea gained strength from the 1970s onwards as a cultural concept to examine 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 in studies on schooling, crime, family, community, economy and citizenship. It embodies narratives and images about who people are and how to act with particular populations. It also serves as the basis for cultural theses outlining how people themselves should act.

Thomas Popkewitz and Catarina Martins examine the social and educational science technologies that are at work in constructing this new kind of person. The argument first briefly explores the human sciences as historical practices that link the individual to the community. These practices are reassembled and examined descriptively in the second section focusing on the making of the European as a particular kind of person from which a nation's daily life is to be organized. Research policy and research projects are examined as embodying particular narratives about a unified people who share universal ethics that give moral, scientific and historical exceptionalism to Europe in the arena of global competition. The third and fourth sections discuss the role cultural technologies play in fabricating the European.

3. *Governing Education, Governing Europe? Strengths and Weaknesses of the Lisbon Model, by Anne Corbett (London School of Economics and Political Science, UK)*

The third article begins with a reference to the Lisbon Strategy (2000) and to the EU updates and adaptations of the strategy for a second decade contained in Europe 2020. Critics view the Lisbon strategy – and especially the Bologna Process, which has been creating a European Higher Education Area – as an affront to the democratic institutions of the EU in that they virtually ignore the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice. The author inquires whether this is the reason the Lisbon Strategy for education was taken up so quickly. Within five years, education has moved away from the periphery and, with each review of the process, has become more entrenched as a policy the EU regards as crucial.

The article suggests that the question of how and why education has assumed such a place in the Europe 2020 strategy cannot be resolved without applying some middle-range theory and looking more closely at the policy-making that underlies the Lisbon Strategy and Europe 2020. The author also discusses how the open method of coordination (OMC) related to education may contribute to a wider spectrum of Europeanization literature. The basic assumptions of Corbett's analysis are that ideas will get nowhere without institutional support, and that mobilization of institutional support is not only determined by rules but is also context-specific. After tracing an overview of developments up to the present, the second half of the article looks at the factors liable to account for change. The final section returns to the issue of democracy and the strengths and limits of the European process.

4. *The Interfacing Approach for Investigation Beyond Boundaries, by Vita Fortunati (University of Bologna, Italy)*

The fourth article concentrates on the «crisis of the humanities», discussing how the neo-liberal, profit-oriented style of university management has produced negative consequences for the humanities by tending to dismiss them as unproductive and uncompetitive. All the emphasis seems to be on entrepreneurship, research & development and endless research assessment exercises. The author believes that certain keywords are essential when focusing on new strategies for overcoming the identity crisis in the humanities: networking, new epistemological paradigms and new perspectives.

Fortunati asserts that an integrated studies approach is needed if the deep-seated crisis in the humanities is to be overcome. It is a crisis that was brought on not only by financial problems, but also by the awareness that the complexity of the world surrounding us needs new approaches and new methods. Integrated knowledge is necessary in understanding the complexity of today's cultural environment. Science and the humanities are no longer two separate spheres of knowledge but two complementary and integrated fields. Science has to take into account epistemological and ethical issues and the humanities need to face and embrace scientific developments and new conceptualizations. On the whole, this approach will end up being of reciprocal benefit and provide fertile ground for both the sciences and the humanities. The author organizes her argument by examining the concepts of «interface», and «contact zones» and discusses the actions undertaken by European and national research councils and the European Science Foundation.

5. *The Blindness of Europe: New Fabrications in the European Educational Space, by António Nóvoa (University of Lisbon, Portugal)*

The fifth article explains that after a slow start during the 70s and 80s, European educational policies took on a new importance after the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. Since then, numerous texts and documents gradually built a «European educational space». The Lisbon Strategy of 2000 is an important milestone in this process. The main reference point of the 21st century is the Education & Training 2010 Work Program, which sets a clear framework at the European level for education and training. Recently, there has been a new turning point with the approval of Europe 2020, and even more so with the launching of the Rethinking Education strategy. The article goes on to assert that we are facing continuities and changes that need to be analyzed carefully.

Nóvoa divides his paper into two main sections. In the first section, the author reexamines the major turning points of educational policy in the last two decades. The second section focuses on the new Education and Training 2020 program and the Rethinking Education strategy launched in November of 2012. His concluding remarks seek to spark broader reflection on the «new fabrications» that are taking place in the European educational space.

6. *World Society and the University as Formal Organization, by Francisco O. Ramirez (Stanford University, USA)*

The last article interprets the worldwide transformation of universities with respect to accounting-for-excellence activities. The first part of the article reflects on the rationalized university as an organizational ideal and its implications for accounting-for-excellence practices. Next, the article focuses on faculty assessments by looking at the annual faculty report and tenure protocol in a case study designed to illustrate common organizational practices within American universities. The author argues that these practices facilitate American university participation in national, and later, international university rankings. In the last section, Ramirez argues that American universities underwent earlier organizational rationalization and differentiation in part because they were less differentiated from other social institutions.

With the absence of the buffering authority of the state and the professoriate, American universities earlier on became organizational actors dealing with multiple stakeholders in search of resources and legitimacy. This earlier development paved the way for more current manifestations aimed at accounting for excellence. These exercises have now surfaced within Western European universities, but they encounter greater resistance therein. Nevertheless, the rationalized university as an organizational ideal has spread throughout Western Europe. Ramirez's paper concludes by reflecting on why the current globalization efforts differ from earlier educational «borrowing» practices and why they are more difficult to resist. Although the article does not broach European affairs directly, it sheds considerable light on the workings of European universities and the intense debate that is taking place on the modernization of universities in Europe.

The editors would like to thank the authors for the fruitful exchange of ideas that took place during the editorial phase of this issue and for their contributions to understanding the «new fabrications» that are taking place in the European educational space.

They would also like to extend their gratitude to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for sponsoring the Lisbon meeting and for their support of this publication.

A final word of thanks is due to the University of Lisbon, which helped to organize the 2011 Seminar, and to the University's Institute of Education, which decided to devote the first issue of the new series of the *Sisyphus* journal to our work.

Martin Lawn
António Nóvoa

The Understories of European Education: The Contemporary Life of Experts and Professionals

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abstract

The European Space for Education exists in different forms; for example, as policy documents, regulations, projects, Ministers Meetings. In the last ten years or fifteen years, there has been an important growth in the work of experts and professionals, constructing the infrastructure of this Space. Their associations, created at a European level, are enmeshed and embedded in this work of construction. This is undramatic but essential work, and they have steadily engaged with the governance of Europe. But they live life in the shade, without summit meetings or media headlines, but with an essential place in the ecology of new European education.

key words

Associations; Experts; Professionals; Governance.

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The Understories of European Education: The Contemporary Life of Experts and Professionals

Martin Lawn

INTRODUCTION

The European Union is faced with dramatic crises as a result of its own contradictions, national failings and breakdowns in the banking system. Melodramatic summits, tight financial regulations and complex political solutions have fragmented the continuing growth and consolidation of the EU. Its institutions and procedures look very fragile. Yet there are other stories existing in this time and space, and the assemblage of a European education space or area continues in low key, unspectacular, expert and professional ways. This is an understory in the EU. The tall trees in the European forest make themselves visible, but underneath them, sustaining their growth, are the microclimates of the understory. Beneath the canopy of the forest, the life of the understory is lived in the shade but in favourable conditions for growth. It is a form of mutual, cooperative, voluntary and even specialized life.

The governance of Europe has specific forms and it is viewed here as a system in which private and public actors at the transnational, national and local level deal with the problem of an apparent lack of a central authority and the dispersal of resources. A sign of their value as actors, was an early invitation to them, given in the *Governance White Paper*:

> Expertise, however, is usually organized at a national level. It is essential that resources be put together and work better in the common interest of EU citizens. Such structured and open networks should form a scientific reference system to support EU policy-making (Commission of the European Communities, 2001, p. 19).

But a range of partners at different levels of government then emerged; they existed within complex networks, which span intergovernmental, producer, professional and expert forms (Bellier & Wilson, 2000; Shore 2000). They may represent highly organized industry, voluntary sector groups or loosely-knit but important specialized academic associations. Increasingly, it appears that these networks, woven into sets of linked relations, represent a form of governance unique in Europe, crossing state boundaries, old government divisions and traditions of work and administration. The informality of their organization, the complexity of their knowledge relations and exchanges, the hybridity of their institutional association, combine with their overall inter-dependence to produce a distinctive form of governance in Europe. This form of governance in education cannot be understood as simply instrumental in transmitting policy or in mediating it. Policy is made in this process, within the web of its decentred and plural forms (Mayntz, 1994, p. 5). Taken as a whole, this educational space can be described as being composed of organizing networks, where territorial proximity has been replaced by network [virtual] proximity, in which the actors exchange information and expertise within relationships marked by trust (Hannerz, 1996).

For my purposes, the understory will be viewed as the environment where governance in Europe is developed through these public-private partnerships, knowledge-based organizations, agencies, associations and markets. The governing of Europe depends on the activity taking place in the understory. This activity is often out of sight and excludes politics. It thrives among a new elite of technocrats, professionals and academics, with expert knowledge or skills, who are working in public or private organizations. They meet in associations or through projects or networks. They are solving problems, problems in the governing of Europe, through the collection, classification, and analysis of data, the parallel creation of standards or the accumulation of knowledge about problems and development. The microclimates in which these technocrats flourish have their own imaginaries, combine technical possibilities and software-driven visions, professional associations, expert networks and embedded common sense meanings and values. Since the turn of the millennium, data collection activity has grown very fast, and the Lisbon Open Method of Coordination (OMC) process has driven it along with its targets, benchmarks and indicators. It is rhizomatic, in that it is continually spreading and thickening by incorporating related discourses and integrating numerical data. Standards are an extension of market growth and a tool for enforcing /encouraging harmonization, and they are seen as a very particular European way of governing the market. Standards grow by interlocking, they are interoperable, and they develop ambitious formations quite quickly, driven by a range of actors and demand in the market.

The field of education, a minor but politically sensitive policy area in the past, avoided by tall tree activity, has grown in the understory. This is a reflection on the new organization and purposes set for European education, embedded in EU governing processes, and the related Europeanization of professional activity in the fields of education. The fact that understories exist in European education is a result of the gradual formation of an influential policy space, a governing rationale and manner, and the opportunities offered by the wide range of relations and flows that have been encouraged. Constant rhizomatic activity has produced a new landscape of standardized objects, reams of data, and professional knowledge activity across education. Often it is not visible and one only becomes aware of it through the reports coming out of groups and conferences.

In various asymmetrical ways, people, policies, knowledge and data are on the move within the different areas of European education. They are manifested through networks, conferences, expert groups, standards, statistics and products (Lawn, 2006). Although the thickness and extent of the understory has grown since the turn of the millennium, the understory lacks visibility and thus, immediate significance. It exists as a consequence of soft power (Nye, 2004) and is used as a governing device within Europe. Professionals and experts are mobilized through attraction, support and opportunity, and the creation of meaning, produced by shared understandings or devices, commerce and even their common desire for a 'European education space'. The creation of regional meaning and of common European meanings involves expertise, deliberation, collective actors and regular procedures (Lamy & Laidi, 2002, p. 6). This is a governing process, but a governing that attracts as much as it disciplines and controls. Networks of loosely-organized interest-driven actors are working together, in greater or lesser-disciplined forms, focusing their relations of work, and remodelling their associations to engage in policy action (Mayntz, 1994). Voluntary, expert, professional and community groups and associations in Europe are being mobilized through consultations and the opportunity to offer advice or technical support, which they find attractive (Cram, 1998).

There is a wide variety of ways in which the understory has flourished. It is coupled with regulatory movements developed from the Bologna and Lisbon processes; governing modes, with extensive use of data and standards; commercial 'learning' activities; research and evaluation projects and networks; and community-wide movements – school-to-school, and institution-to-institution. The foundation of professional and expert engagement in these areas is often financial, drawn from EU contracts and bilateral actions, but associations and networks can be self-financing (at least in part) as well.

This is not to be viewed just as busywork, activity or flows. This is a place of meaning and knowledge construction. The consequence of the growth of the understory is that new professional meanings and expert skills are produced. Public and private actors can be viewed as constructing and transforming policy making, and not just transmitting or mediating it. As Europe does not exist as a place separate from the national, the process is multilateral, spiral and cross-border. For the actor, this is not a separate activity, divorced from the local context. For example, expertise in developing indicators in education in a specific field or at the national level becomes intertwined with expert work at the European policy level. It would be difficult to separate this knowledge process into national and European parts.

More and more, information, standards and classifications are produced at the European level, often through the close involvement of national agencies, (such as Eurostat and Eurydice) in support of policy objectives such as the Lifelong Learning Area. The Understory is formed by activity but also by knowledge, meaning and data. Out of political and practical necessity, governing European education uses a persuasive and attracting power which draws actors in, across a range of levels, places and spaces, to community engagement at micro and meso scales (Lawn, 2006). Generally, they work with the flow of interest and needs and draw actors and agencies into governance partnerships and associations. Standardization is a very useful governing tool, as it enables education to be controlled at a distance; but in order for this to occur, the actors' behaviours must change, and so

> (…) professional and organizational knowledge-practices are reinvented in increasingly formalized, universalized and standardized ways (Higgins & Larner, 2010, p. 1).

To illuminate the ways that the understory expands and thickens, how standardization occurs and knowledge is generated, the work of European associations in education is explored here. We shall first examine the European Educational Research Association (EERA) and second, the Standing International Conference of Inspectorates (SICI).

THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

The EERA was founded in Strasbourg in 1994 by a group made up of members from a number of national associations and eminent professors, following an initiative taken by the Dutch National Association of Educational Researchers. The initiative was inspired by the signing of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty and its introduction of education into EU policy. The meeting was funded by a feasibility study on the state of educational research in Europe, was paid for by the EU, and was accompanied by a declaration stating that a «new educational policy is emerging in Europe» and that educational research needs to «broaden its perspective» within the European framework. The study (Plomp, 1991) used contacts made through the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and set the goal to provide a platform for European associations of specialists in this field and to forge links with the European Commission.

Earlier pilot meetings involved individuals from Belgium, England, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Scotland, Switzerland, Spain, the Czech Republic and Hungary, and from a range of national and specialist associations active in the area of educational research in Europe. Eventually, a group made up of members from the UK, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Hungary, the Czech Republic and the Netherlands decided to form the EERA, with the support of a wider group of European representatives. They decided to form the EERA quickly for several reasons: that strong associations should help the weak through exchange and transfer; that Europe was moving from uncoordinated to coherent activity in research; there was a need for an umbrella organization across Europe rather than specialized or area specific associations; the Council of Europe and the OECD asked for a single organization across the whole of education research;

and Eastern Europe needed to be brought into the fold. As part of the EERA's activities, the organization decided to create a journal, train researchers, organize cross-national research projects and improve the public profile of educational research in Europe. One of the EERA's first acts was to encourage the construction and publication of an overview of educational research in Europe.

In its first years, prior to 2000, the EERA Council was focused on strengthening the organization– its networks, links with national associations and Brussels; making alliances; building up its communications, including a website; and organizing annual conferences and events. But the Association that began as an idealistic, innovative idea for Europe soon became embroiled in financial problems. Organizing conferences to pay for its office became a constant, destabilizing task. A continuing problem was the lack of representation from swathes of Europe, and it was decided to allow each eligible European country onto its Council. After 2000, the EERA grew rapidly. In 1996, it had 12 national affiliates and in 2012, 35 associations. Its annual conferences in the late 1990s were attended by about 600 delegates, while in 2012, 2700 academics attended.

While its conferences, internal organization and journal have all flourished, its attempts to investigate and improve European research infrastructure has been more difficult. It gained EU funding to link the information in national research centres and create a European database and repository of open-access papers, but neither initiative matured into a stable system. However, the EERA's goal of supporting new researchers did produce a regular series of summer schools dealing with general and specific areas of educational research.

It now had to recognize that, in order to contribute effectively to the European Research Area (ERA), it had to support educational researchers across Europe at a new level. It had to model a new stage of maturity, with the formation of a professional community in associative, ordered and manageable relationships; it had to develop a collective capacity for reflection and an infrastructure for articulating and supporting flows of knowledge and expertise. Facilitating the work of new, emerging associations across Europe to network and support each other via this common platform was the logical next stage of development for the EERA, and continued its longstanding civic and professional aims. But members within the EERA began to feel thwarted by the gap between the organic growth of professional and focused networking, which it espoused, and the low quality of support infrastructures across Europe, which was hindering the organisation's constructive contribution to the crucial policy area, the 'European Space of Educational

Research'. The EERA's new engagement with the Commission had meant that it had a problem overcoming the raised expectations of what educational research could deliver in Europe. A proposal on citation and research literature repositories (Design: CRISS, 2004) was produced in 2004 that explained the situation.

> Before educational research can contribute to a wider European scientific area, it has to be brought into concert, its insularities surmounted, its networking supported and reinforced and its overall value realized. In particular, fragmentation has to be overcome before consistent knowledge management and research quality can be developed (Design-Criss, 2004, p. 5).

The EERA already had an EU programme that was receiving funding, «Pedagogical and Educational Research Information Network for Europe» (PERINE), that was based on the work of EERA Net 12 – Information Centres and Libraries in Educational Research – that aimed to integrate national information infrastructures that supported educational research; interrogate their nature, accessibility and content; and establish a multilingual, freely accessible Internet resource catalogue. These initiatives were designed to support knowledge creation, policy-making and practice.

> This project will ensure that originators and users of research-related information are aware of the national and international options available to them for dissemination of, and access to, information supporting their work. It will do this by connecting existing national agencies to each other and developing a European network which they will undertake to grow [PERINE website – www.perine.eu]

Creating new cross European standards from the national agency standards needed expert work, which was provided by Network 12.

In 2008, the EERA and its partners received funding from the EU Framework 7 Programme for a three year project to create European research quality indicators (EERQI – European Educational Research Quality Indicators). This was an attempt to provide a new system of European scientific quality evaluation in education. Research quality is the main determinant of research funding, thus the manner in which quality is measured is crucial to many educational researchers. It would be multilingual and mixed method. In effect, the EERQI was an attempt to create a new European standard to match the powerful US model of citation counting.

Since 2000 and the Lisbon process, many education experts involved with benchmarks, indicators, school effectiveness and assessment within the EERA have been consulted on specialised issues. Within a relatively short period of time, the EERA, an association of national associations, has gone from being a series of informal meetings of primarily Western European countries to a well organized, efficient association with legal structures, elected officers, a solid financial structure and clear procedures. Its annual conference is a major hub for European educational researchers. It is organized into thematic or disciplinary networks, with participants co-presenting and increasingly publishing jointly (although contributors from many other countries also take part). Through the standards provided by its most powerful associations, organisations from Britain, the Nordic countries and Germany, it has achieved a solid standing among European academia. New associations are joining from the outer reaches of Europe, like Belarus and Turkey. As an association, it is reliably European, but the complexity and asymmetries of policy and governance in Europe sometimes defeat its aims. It is part of a flourishing understory, but it is difficult to thicken and grow except horizontally.

THE STANDING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INSPECTORATES

Initially founded in 1985 as the Conference of School Inspectorates in Europe by the OECD, at the instigation of the Netherlands' Inspectorate, the Standing International Conference turned into a modern association in the mid-1990s. It started with the heads of the main European inspectorates meeting and recognising the mutual benefit of having a series of regular meetings over time. The countries involved were Scotland, England, Portugal, France, the Netherlands and the Czech Republic. So, it began as an informal series of meetings. The Dutch Inspectorate was the 'driving force' in its formation; they worked closely with their Ministry of Education, and were offered funding to support their international work. By 1995, the group had become a legal association headquartered in the Netherlands. In its by-laws, the Conference stated the following aims: to share experiences; remain updated on developments regarding education systems; find ways to improve working methods; and establish a basis for cooperation among the various school authorities. In 2011, after 16 years of association, the SICI had developed into an association of 29 members.

The association has grown through a mode of professional cooperation. Member inspectorates work together because they are faced with common pressures. However, they exist within different national systems and policies. The SICI grew through the organisation of workshops, develop a descriptive study on the supervision and inspection of schools in Europe and encourage mutual projects based on joint visits and joint inspections. Since 1995, the SICI has been involved in a number of joint studies and exchanges of expertise among inspectorates across Europe. These events «provide opportunities to discuss and analyse key aspects of education and inspection... [they] also provide opportunities to develop the valuable personal contacts that can be built into partnerships» (SICI, 2003, p. 6). The SICI has also produced and constantly updated a Blue Book, the 'Inspectorates of Education in Europe' publication, which aims to provide a quick overview of European inspectorates. The effort began in 1998 and the descriptive mapping covered the 14 original SICI members. Some of the themes covered in the book are the organisation of the inspectorate, its areas of responsibility, the process of inspection and its methods (frameworks, indicators and criteria for data gathering), the relationship between inspectorate evaluation and school self-evaluation and instruments and methods – the way inspectors collect information and the approaches they use when carrying out their work. In short, the SICI began to serve as a hub for inspectors, inspection systems and evaluation methodologies in education across Europe.

Since the start of the Lisbon (OMC) Process in 2000, the volume and scope of these semi-formal, cross-border events have increased, as has its formal collaboration with the European Commission and the OECD. In 2001, an Education Policy Unit officer of the EU Directorate-General for Education and Culture outlined to SICI members the new era, beginning with the Open Method of Coordination and the launch of indicators and benchmarking for education policy in Europe. He argued that it would be a «new frontier for European integration», comparing it to the completion of the internal market, the introduction of the Euro and the enlargement of the Union (Tersmette, 2001). Tersmette emphasised the new significance given to Education by the Lisbon Treaty, suggesting that the work of associations such as the SICI was crucial in this process, as there was a need «not only to close performance gaps between countries, but rather to close communication gaps» (Tersmette, 2001, p. 51). A clear indication had been given by Commission officials that the SICI has been fulfilling a vital role in the Lisbon process. It had begun to work quite closely with Commission staff who were either present or continuously informed about the activities of the association. The growth of activity in SICI highlights a significant response by national inspectorates to hierarchical, bureaucratic forms and relations, to cross border professional cooperation, and national pressures on education performance.

For its part, the SICI has viewed its work as helping to shape the modernisation of European education systems, and by 2005, it called for inspections across Europe to play a role in encouraging transparency, quality evaluation and self-evaluation (SICI Report, 2005). A final report provided guidelines for conducting evaluation visits and using their framework of quality indicators. It explored the balance between internal and external evaluation and contained country reports which set out the strengths in self-evaluation in the countries/ regions that participated in the project.

One of the main elements of the SICI Academy, the professional development arm of SICI that carries out intensive courses around Europe, was to focus on school self-evaluation as a driver of SICI professional identity and a defence against data-driven management. The idea had been culled from one of its member associations and turned into a tool to be shared by the other participating inspectorates.

ASSOCIATING IN EUROPE

Looking at the growth of both associations since their foundation, which took place roughly at the same time, one sees patterns of similar development. Firstly, they both had an early focus on cooperation, discussion and the benefits of working together:

> We learn from one another through discussion. We learn even more about the principles and processes of inspection by working alongside one another in schools on real inspections. As inspectors we have a key contribution to make and this will be much valued by educational policy makers (SICI, 2001, p. 23).

Europe was an opportunity, newly available because of cheaper travel and better communication technologies, and the founding of national associations of educational experts in the late 20th century.

Around the year 2000, policy initiatives in the EU pushed regulation, standards and data forward as the technologies underpinning the new initiatives in governing the EU. In education, a range of programmes and projects began in lifelong learning, software standards, e-learning, data and benchmarking, all of which involved many different kinds of professionals of different nationalities. The pace of change grew so rapidly that the associations felt that new opportunities and their policy concerns needed better organization on their part. The EERA tried to mobilize its expert groups to engage with research infrastructure issues, policy discussions and innovation meetings. The SICI felt that constructive engagement with the EU had come when innovations in system evaluation placed inspections in danger. This was particularly the case with data-based evaluations and large scale data collections. The expectations upon inspectors increased following the scope and usage of the OECD PISA project. As a result, the SICI, and its Academy became highly organized, proficient in providing bilateral workshops, and adept at garnering funds at the national and European level. The EERA for its part became well organized internally and proficient at staging conference/summer school programmes; but it still had difficulty in representing educational research when it came to Brussels.

Since 1995, how to navigate through the 'stages' of improving fraternal relations and how to organise effectively at the Europe-wide level, by solidifying close relations with Brussels, dealing with the pressures of promoting professional development, and the managing of opportunities and threats posed by fast-moving policies have characterised their development.

THE UNDERSTORIES

A new governing architecture of public and private experts and other actors has built European education through arrays of interlocking standards. Governing by standards excludes politics and relies on experts, while offering workable solutions to governing and being governed in Europe. Since the 1990s, the governing of European education has depended on the production of abstract and commensurable units, enabling exchange across borders and places, and producing a newly-transparent domain. The production of standards in the EU has been developed through inclusive, expert and technical processes such as networking, seminars, reviews, expert groups, etc. It has produced an intertwined and captivated Europeanized population of experts, practitioners and professionals, especially within the field of education. Its virtue is that power is not wielded, if anything it aims to attract, and uses 'incentive acts' (Brunsson & Jacobsson, 2000, p. 13).

The term 'expert' is ubiquitous in the field of EU education. It started with the Janne report in 1972, which was devised around the responses of senior scholars, researchers and other European actors, and foreshadowed a Community education policy.

> It also regularly supported many organisations and associations working at European level (teachers' unions, student and other organisations). Various working groups were set up consisting of national experts and stakeholders, giving them the opportunity to share best practice and experience (Pepin, 2006, p. 36).

These embedded experts assist policy makers in the preparation of working documents to support the European Commission's directives and recommendations.

> In addition, European policy makers mobilize informal networks to develop scientific knowledge about the effectiveness and quality of educational systems. This expertise contributes to the construction of indicators and benchmarks supporting the open method of coordination. This knowledge is very useful for the European Commission, which looks for efficiency in the implementation of its strategy of lifelong learning, while member states retain the control of their national systems in education and training (Normand, 2010, p. 407).

In a decentralised, information-rich society, governance needs to use 'science' more actively to minimise risk, or to minimise anxiety about risk (Bauman, 1992). Thus, newly-participating technocratic actors constitute a new policy instrument that knits together a complex space of flows of agents and data, with the aim of imposing its logic over scattered, segmented places.

The governance of the European Education Policy Space appears to be managed through building relations among professionals and experts in groups/ nations/ networks/ communities. The project of Europeanization seems increasingly dependent upon the cooperation and joint resource mobilisation of national policy actors who sometimes lie outside governmental hierarchical control. Further, policy networks accommodate the blurring of state/civil society boundaries that is such a feature of current policy-making –especially in England – with the growth of cooperation or dispersed responsibilities among state and non-state agencies, and engagement of actors from the private and voluntary sectors in the delivery of services. The term 'policy community' (Rhodes, 1996) denotes a network with high levels of stability and continuity, longer-term agendas and interests beyond the sectoral or issue-based.

The discourse is one of *translation*, uneven in influence and effect, these system actors moved between Brussels and the home state, and between states, interpreting one to the other, and easing the path of change (Lawn & Lingard, 2002). They have acted as translators between sites, turning information into powerful knowledge, re-imagining the project of Europe and re-positioning national stances. They circulated an explicit language of comparison and evaluation, new generic skills and 'learning' which surpass Europe in scope and usage, but appeared in their particular forms in the European space.

A wide range of actors are at work in the new European policy space, spanning commercial, professional and expert forms, and representing highly organized sectors, like higher education or specialist academic associations. They are often funded directly by the EU and its programmes or indirectly by professional associations and national organizations like universities. Non-territorial, horizontal networks involving actors drawn from outside governmental organizations, are visibly at work, creating a space around their interests and trying to overcome problems of legitimacy. They appear to be self-governing networks of actors mobilizing capacities for action, appearing autonomous yet often relying, at some level, on governmental power.

To create and manage policy, a range of partners, at different levels of government, has to be negotiated with; they exist within complex networks, which span intergovernmental, producer, professional and expert forms. Increasingly, networks of various kinds made up of combinations of interlinking relations, have become a common form of governance in Europe. They cross national boundaries, old government divisions and traditional structures of work and administration. The informality of their organization, the complexity of their knowledge relations and exchanges, the hybrid nature of their institutional association, combined with their overall inter-dependence, produce a distinctive form of governance in Europe. But their relationship to the construction of the education space is complex and varied; the range of their work and interests is broad, and the spaces in which they work and deliberate are heterogeneous. They are attracted to the European space yet vary in their contributions, their expertise, their purposes and their opportunities. As an area of governance, it may not be visible or even disciplining to its members, who are nevertheless creating it. For example, you may have a statistician travelling across borders from university to university for expert group meetings on indicators, referring to it as just 'working with a network of academics in her area'. Yet she is producing a crucial element in the formation of the benchmarking process. Or members of a Socrates network, which may be fruitful in social contact but low in productivity during its short life, later go on to establish a European association sub-network in a growing, common area of work. In both cases, there are people contributing to the foundation of a new policy space in education, and building it through a series of necessary but almost invisible steps.

In effect, academics and experts, often through their associations, act as new political actors. They are the transmitters and mediators of European Union or European socialization logics that encompass new procedures, institutional priorities and networking discourses which they incorporate into their associational identities and strategies. Professional associations are becoming crucial in the governance of many areas of EU policy, especially ICT (Knill, 2001) where they act to provide expertise in areas where the Commission is weak, and where intervention involves a range of heterogeneous actors. Associations have begun to alter their structures, from federalist and national, to European and individual membership, to cope with the new demands upon them in providing expertise, acting as policy mediators between the national and the trans-national, and supporting ambitious European goals. Education is not immune to this as Europe–wide educational associations struggle to achieve influence, provide their members with information and cope with Commission expectations with regard to their stability and expertise. They engage with a range of partially or fully funded networking organizations that have arisen from Europe's new governance (regions, transnational programmes, EU Declarations, etc) and related funding providers (Socrates, Thematic Networks, EU-based research projects, work groups on benchmarking, etc).

There is a close fit between the ordering of this space and the activities of associations and networks, and individual actors. It operates in a dynamic market, where the usefulness of the system is validated in different contexts in which several types of specialized knowledge are required. Socially distributed knowledge has fluid forms of production: it is produced in an array of sites, often linked together, across private and public organizations, with a range of skill levels and applications. Experts work with an expertise which is portable. They act as points of distribution for the ideas of Europeanization, creating, imagining and transmitting within a framing of work networks, which exist within and outwith varieties of steered partnerships. Significant system actors act as symbolic analysts (Reich, 1991), dealing with abstract Europeanization ideas for educational policy and building experimental or analytical policy networks. Conferences are a major way of reporting their work and creating communities of shared concepts and aims.

CONCLUDING

As Europe is being fabricated as a common project and a process, it is also an ordering. The soft governance of Europe education, and its understory of professional, commercial and expert connections and work, has been a fertile ground for networks and associations. They found a welcoming environment, a chance to develop European institutions and gather financial support, which was also happening, independently, to a significant number of their members. The understory offered new meanings to their work, contrastive experiences and wider knowledge. But the governance of the European Union changed rapidly as the associations began to organize within it. Europe and the European Union became conflated, and the understory of thickening contacts, events and projects was dealing with new fraternal and sororal associates, at the same time as it had to engage with swift policy changes.

Since the time they were formed the EERA and the SICI were forced to come to grips with a post-comparative European educational space. They had to find new ways of understanding the present of its partners and the rapidly changing visible and opaque policies of the policy space it inhabited and had to act within. They had a very short time to negotiate the cultural diversity of their members, while managing the rapid funding, policy and organizational features of the Educational or Learning Spaces emerging within the EU.

Their entry into the understory of Europe was fraught with difficult organizational strategies and improvement aims, ambitious development plans, the coordination of a variety of member initiatives and large programme operations. As they wove sets of linked relations, and engaged with European 'opportunities', they were both constructing and being constructed by this new policy space.

The understory hasn't always been a comfortable place for these often unstable, wilful, loosely-knit associations that depend on part time officers. The assembling of a policy area in virtual and material form, with its own means of calculation, categories and standards, has moved very fast since 2000. It has also moved quite silently and invisibly (if one did not recognize the significance of these areas of work in education) to shape a field of governance and behaviour. The creation of standards, related to their different areas of work, is a striking element of their work, and common to both of them. The development of their expertise in the new Europe meant that they instituted and coded it within standards their members required and the EU needed. Research infrastructure and modernized education systems needed their assistance, developed out of their interests and helped to fabricate European education space or area as well. This did not, and does not, happen in the surface or visible events of the EU but in the understory, and most of all in the education arena, the understory needs watching.

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«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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«Now We Are European!» How Does it Get That Way?[1]

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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

1 We appreciate the comments of the Wednesday Group, the graduate student seminar at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and the POP Group as we worked on this paper. We are also grateful for the documents provided by Sverker Lindblad during the visiting professorship of one of the author's at the University of Gothenburg, and the assistance provided by Paola Valero of Aaborg University, Denmark.

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 20^{th} century, references to «European» as an autonomous subject of research were almost non-existent. However, in the first decade of the 21^{st} 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

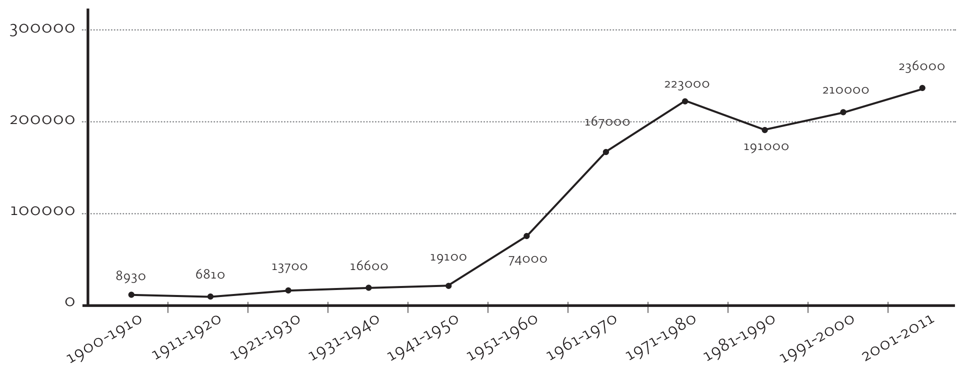

CHART 1. GOOGLE SCHOLAR SEARCH FOR 'EUROPEAN'

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.

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.

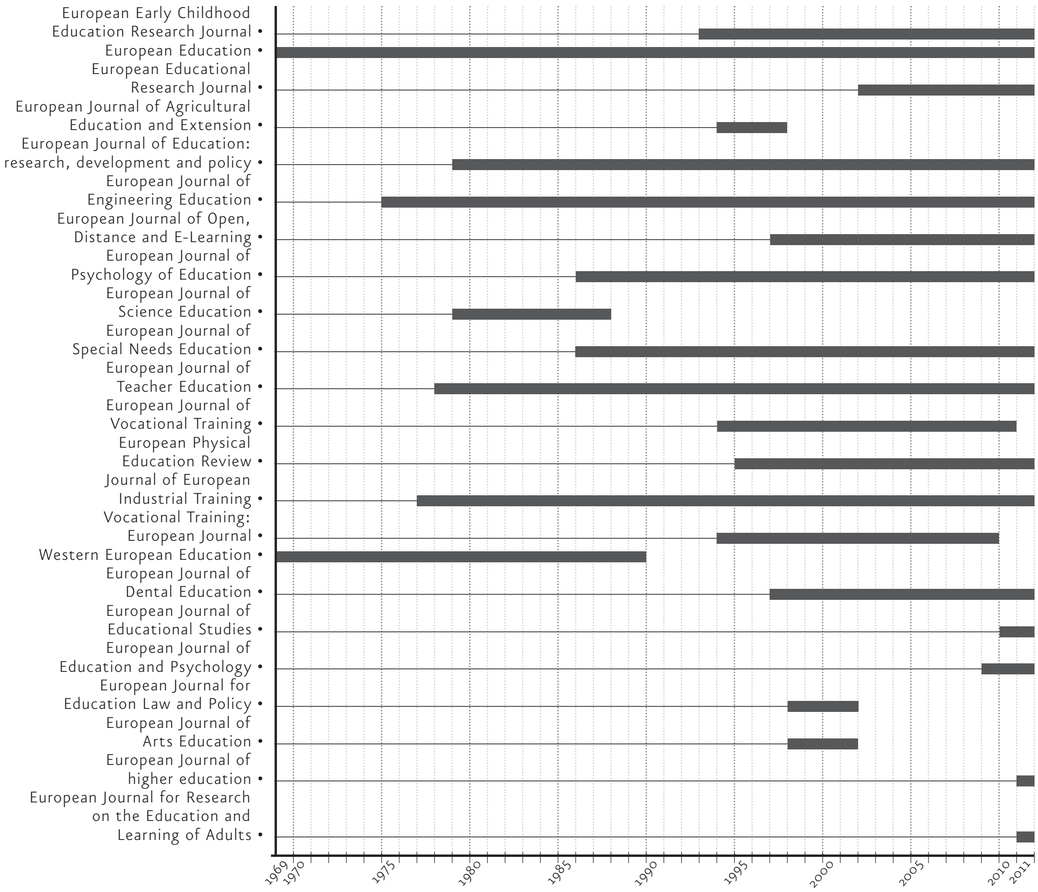

CHART 2. EDUCATIONAL EUROPEAN JOURNALS (FROM-TO)

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 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

- 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.

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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Governing Education, Governing Europe? Strengths and Weaknesses of the Lisbon Model

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abstract

The weaknesses of the Lisbon model of governance, as exemplified by the intergovernmental open method of coordination, has been widely aired in the literature. This paper suggests in contrast that there are strengths in this form of policymaking for strategic ends, and when applied to nationally sensitive policy domains. An examination of OMC-education throughout the Lisbon decade shows the evolution of policy-making through Lisbon 1, Lisbon 2 and Europe 2020, finding that the 'governance architecture' has been stabilised and the policy domain of education enriched by a balance between social dimension and competitiveness. The paper suggests however by way of conclusion that the outlook for the Lisbon model is now suspended on the outcome of the institutional upheaval being played out in the EU as a consequence of the economic crisis, and which demands democratic solutions.

key words

EU; Higher education; Lisbon agenda; Open Method of Coordination; Policy process.

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INTRODUCTION

The EU's Lisbon strategy takes a lot of flak. As the EU updates and adapts the strategy for a second decade, *Europe* 2020, (Council of the European Union, 2010; European Commission, 2010) this paper is a plea for a reading which opens up a more nuanced reading of the Lisbon Process. Education is a policy sector that raises many questions about the hopes and deceptions involved in European-level problem solving and European-level solutions. In a sector seen as essentially national, and hence sensitive, we should expect such questions. But to adapt a phrase from Maassen and Olsen's book on the politics of universities and Europe, education presents a particular problem: as an object of policy at the European level. It still seems that education has been over-debated and under-investigated (Olsen & Maassen, 2007, p. xi). This paper will focus on the political process that has generated the latest strategy.

The particular targets of the academic criticism of Lisbon education policy are its ideology and methodology. In this critique EU strategy is viewed as neo-liberal, i.e based on ending the concept of education as a public good, and accepting – if not encouraging – the commodification of knowledge (Jayasuriya, 2010; Pasias & Roussakis, 2009; Robertson, 2010; Robertson & Dale, 2006; Sörlin & Vessuri, 2007). Among the consequences are that consumerist ideas gain more weight, as does the management of reputation (Hazelkorn, 2011).

The methodology used, the Open Method of Coordination, borrows from new public management concepts of quality control as measured against objectives, target setting and performance, and peer learning and feedback.

EU policy-making has long been criticised for depoliticising questions of policy choice (Shore, 2008). The EU has handed control of policy to experts and a policy elite (Lawn & Lingard, 2002). As Grek and colleagues put it: 'the European education space is being constructed by data' (Grek *et al.*, 2009a; Grek, Lawn, Lingard & Varjo, 2009b; Lawn & Keiner, 2006; Ozga, Dahler-Larsen, Segerholm & Simola, 2011). Recent legal scholarship adds to thee critique. The Lisbon strategy – and even more the Bologna Process, which, contemporaneously, has been creating a European Higher Education Area – are seen as an affront to the democratic institutions of the EU, in virtually ignoring the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice.

This notion of a diminished democracy is taken up by Garben in an exhaustive study of EU higher education law (Garben, 2010). She challenges the view of OMC education as flexible and respectful of national identity (Garben, 2010, p. 89). As she sees it, soft law is a 'treacherously powerful' policy source. Not only is it a relatively unchecked and unlimited method of policy-making, since it does not have an explicit base in law but is 'unchecked and unlimited' (Garben, 2010, p. 89).

Do we have in this view od OMC's power the explanation of the puzzle as to why the Lisbon strategy for education was taken up very rapidly? For within five years, education had become one of the most institutionalised policy sectors under the OMC (Laffan & Shaw, 2005). Education has moved from the margins, not even meriting a mention as a specific policy sector in 2000 in the launch of the Lisbon strategy for jobs and growth (Council of the European Union, 2000). With each revision of the process, education has become more entrenched as a policy that the EU regards as crucial. In 2010, when the European Council accepted *Europe 2020*, as an integrated strategy for 'smart, sustainable and inclusive growth' cutting across several policy sectors (Council of the European Union, 2010, European Commission, 2010), education was a key element at the core of a four-pronged growth strategy.

This paper challenges the preceding critiques. It suggests that the question of how and why education has assumed such a place in the Europe 2020 strategy, can be clarified by applying some middle-range theory and looking more closely at the policy-making that underlies the Lisbon strategy and Europe 2020. Education might contribute to a wider range of literature on Europeanisation. To this end, I use a methodology of policy change that takes account of factors that do not feature in some of the critiques mentioned above. The basic assumptions of such an analysis are that ideas will get nowhere without institutional support, and that mobilisation of institutional support is not only determined by rules but by a context in which the dynamics of problem-setting, policy formulation and political mood coalesce (Kingdon, 1995). We can see in such instances whether that process conforms to the rules and whether the choices are, or are not, neo-liberal.

The paper starts with an overview of the developments up to the present. The second half of the paper looks at the factors susceptible to account for change. The final section returns to the issues of democracy and the strength and limits of the European process.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE EUROPE

In order to trace the evolution of educational policy-making in the EU strategy for jobs and growth, the decade is seen as consisting of three policy episodes. A distinction is made between Lisbon: 2000-2005; Lisbon 2: 2005-2009; and Europe 2020 (2010 – planned for 2020). The main policy-making actors considered are the European Council, the Council of Ministers and the Commission and the activities which intersect with each other and with national governments on a permanent basis and on occasion with the European Parliament and stakeholders.

LISBON 1 – EDUCATION AS SOCIAL POLICY IN THE EU STRATEGY

The Lisbon strategy was launched at a moment of hope. The economy was strong, the dot-com revolution looked promising, but there were two worries. One was Europe's competitiveness in an increasingly inter-connected global economy. The other was a stubborn rate of unemployment and its social repercussions. The EU's elected heads of state and government met for the European Council in Lisbon in March 2000 believing that they had a new solution. They committed to a knowledge economy to boost both competitiveness and social cohesion.[1]

1 The EU should aim, within the decade, «to have the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth, with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion» (European Council of the European Union, 2000, para 5).

The method they chose, the OMC, had been tried in the employment strategy but was controversial on the proposed scale. It required governments to commit to common objectives, targets, benchmarks, a work programme and peer review and a methodology that implied the involvement of national officials and experts. The initiative also largely cut out the European Parliament and was outside the reach of the European Court of Justice.

As such, the OMC was immediately seen as a step back for EU integration (Scharpf, 2002), a second best where hierarchical or Community method was not possible (Bulmer, 2012). But some detailed studies of education suggest a different reading. What the OMC offered was the chance to define and commit to common objectives and feedback, acting as much as anything, as of form of policy-learning (Souto Otero, Fleckenstein & Dacombe, 2008). Comparative studies of European policy-making equally underline that the OMC, a form of intensive trans-governmentalism, is trying to achieve something different from the decision-making structures operating under EU law (Wallace, 2005).

For the EU leaders, there were three priorities in preparing the transition to a knowledge-based economy and society: (i) to develop the information society and R&D, including stepping up the process of structural reform for competitiveness and innovation, and completing the internal market (ii) to modernise the European social model by investing in people and combating social exclusion (iii) to sustain a healthy economic outlook and favourable growth prospects [as it seemed then] by applying an appropriate macro-economic policy mix.

The European Council believed that education should contribute to the modernised social model, and in particular, to a social dimension: a the strategy 'for living and working in a knowledge-based society'. Hence the request from the European Council to the Council of Ministers. At this stage, education was not seen as contributing to innovation.

Lisbon 2 – Education's innovation potential recognised

By 2004, the general Lisbon strategy was in trouble. It was already clear that the targets for the decade would not be met. A committee under the chairmanship of the former Dutch Prime Minister, Wim Kok recommended simplifying the strategy by stripping it of its social element (Kok, 2004). The Commission president refined the strategy in a more neo-liberal way. This was basically accepted by the European Council in 2005 (European Council, 2005), although the Luxembourg presidency of 2006 was to restore the social dimension.

This phase extended the mechanics of OMC to include an obligation whereby national governments were to produce annual reports and act on feedback.

For education, Lisbon 2 paradoxically represented an advance. Education was recognised as a policy sector in its own right. This time, the European Council recognised education's potential for stimulating innovation. As the EU leaders put it, «It was a sector which helped to make it possible to turn knowledge into an added value and to create more and better jobs, a complement to research and innovation» (European Council, 2005, para 8).

Europe 2020 – Education as an integral part of EU strategy

By the time the Lisbon decade had drawn to a close, the economic climate had changed dramatically. The financial crisis of 2008 was spreading to the economy at large. The Commission president took the initiative of launching a strategy for 'smart, sustainable and inclusive growth' for a new decade of coordinated effort (European Commission, 2010, p. 5) and strengthening a 'holistic' governance architecture, designed to facilitate strategic, i.e. medium and long term, policy-making (Borrás & Radaelli, 2011).

There was a logic to the fact that after ten years' experience, integrated guidelines were proposed for all the policy sectors involved in the jobs, growth and innovation strategy, and for thematic rather than sectoral initiatives to be established. The digital agenda, innovation, youth, low carbon and resource efficient Europe, industrial policy with an emphasis on new skills and jobs, and anti-poverty measures were defined as 'flagships' of EU strategy. Education became integral to three them, the initiatives dubbed Youth on the Move, Agenda for New Skills and Jobs and Innovation Union.

The targets were sector-specific. The 2020 targets relate to employment (that 75% of the 20-64 age group should be employed); R&D and innovation (that 3% of the GDP should be devoted to the sector); climate change and energy (renewable energy to reach 20% and greenhouse emissions to be 20% down to the 1990 level); education (early school leaving should be reduced to under 10 % and at least 40% of the 30-34 age group should have completed tertiary education); and poverty and social exclusion (to reduce the population at risk by 20 mn).

In sum, the European Council, in approving Europe 2020, was maintaining that education needed to contribute to four elements of the EU growth strategy: the acquisition and production of knowledge and the innovation that might follow; the development of a more sustainable economy; higher levels of employment and greater social inclusion.

THE SITUATION IN 2012: INSTRUMENTALISED OR ENRICHED?

targets

Targets may be the measure of the success of EU strategy that most easily comes to mind. Early research suggested that outcomes were disappointing (Ertl, 2006). In these terms, not much has changed: literacy levels are actually falling. Except for maths and science teacher recruitment, targets will not be reached by 2020. But these figures are merely indicative rather than a balanced evaluation. The targets were the outcome of difficult intergovernmental negotiations where vetoes, informal as well as formal come into play. For example there was no consensus for a target of the numbers of languages mastered. Furthermore the averages hide significant diversity among member states (see table 1).

However, the targets have stimulated the reporting of data and the production of publications such as the Commission staff working papers. These fact-filled documents have preceded the presentation of the Council-Commission joint reports to the European Council every two years. Such reporting procedures, which make much of the data transparent, as Grek *et al.* note (Grek *et al.*, 2009a, 2009b), can feed back into the political process in national policy arenas, to challenge comfortably entrenched national perceptions.[2]

educational activity

The use of the new political space created by the Lisbon strategy provides a second measure of EU education and training activity. In the early years, while EU strategic thinking on education and training was mainly focussed on supporting employment policy and developing lifelong learning (European Commission, 1998), the policy that the EU was actually managing centred

2 For example, Eastern European countries are outperforming Western European countries on the higher education achievements of young adults in the 30-34 generation (Council and European Commission, 2008).

SCHOOL LEVEL BENCHMARKS

	Decline in low achievers in reading (% 15 year olds)	Decline in early school leavers (% 18-24 year olds)	Rise in upper secondary completion (% 20-24 years olds)
EU average 2000	21.3	17.6	76.6
EU average 2006	24.1	15.3	77.8
Target for 2010	17.0	10.0	85.0
Source	OECD (PISA)	Eurostat (LFS)	Eurostat (LFS)

OTHER TARGETS

	Rise in participation in lifelong learning %25-64 age group	Rise in graduates in mathematics, science and technology (MST) (% increase)	Rise in participation in pre-school learning: four year-olds (2000 to 2005)
EU average 2000	7.0	baseline	82.8
EU average 2006	9.6	+25	85.7
Target for 2010	12.5	+15	n/a
Source	Eurostat (LFS)	Eurostat (UOE)	Eurostat (UOE)

TABLE 1 – BENCHMARKS AND ACHIEVEMENTS 2006
COMPILED FROM COUNCIL AND COMMISSION (2008)

on the mobility programmes that arose out of the pioneering Erasmus programme: the Socrates initiative for general education; Leonardo da Vinci for vocational education and training; and Tempus, which focussed on Central and Eastern Europe and was created in response to the political shifts taking place in Europe in 1989. By 2012, policy-making aimed at strategic growth, innovation and jobs had been turned into programmed activities that were legitimised by the oft-derided Articles 165 and 166 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) and made more dynamic by the policy-making 'architecture' of Lisbon.

The policies as of 2012 (within the financial framework of 2007-2013) showed how EU activity had expanded into six main areas of activity:

1 The general framework for education and training that follows from the Lisbon strategy

ii The lifelong learning programme consisting of six strands: school education; e-learning; higher education including teacher training and language learning; mobility and lifelong learning
iii Vocational education (VET) consisting on activity based on Europass (the common CV template), programmes, agencies and the recognition of qualifications
iv Youth activity: the European Youth Pact, the White Paper on Youth and a number of programmes
v Education, training and youth-centred (ETY) cooperation with non-EU countries: programmes of cooperation and activity connected with EU enlargement
vi Sport: including the internal market for sport and the the fight against drug use and hooliganism

In concrete terms, this includes educational exchanges for students and teachers from all types of institutions, not just higher education; improved recording of learning outcomes (e.g., the Europass CV templates); the development of a European Qualifications Framework onto which national qualifications can be mapped in terms of levels from primary school to tertiary education; backing for the European Higher Education Area (the Bologna Process) outside the EU framework, the Bologna process and in VET (the Copenhagen process) in order to promote high quality education in Europe; encouragement for knowledge and innovation-based communities (KICs) linking universities, research organisations, companies and foundations under the umbrella of the European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT); and last but not least, more opportunities for young people in terms of education and employability through mobility, work experience, volunteering, and health and culture-based initiatives.[3]

As the Lisbon strategy has progressed and policies have become more integrated, there have been spillover effects from related policy areas (Warleigh-Lack & Drachenberg, 2011). This is taken forward in the Europe 2020 strategy for 'smart, sustainable and inclusive growth' and the Multiannual Financial Framework covering the growth and jobs agendas (Education Europe, Horizon 2020 and Cohesion Policy). Rather less remarked, but important for policy outcomes nonetheless, is the interaction within the

3 http://europa-eu/pol/educ/index_en.htm (Retrieved 18/05.2012).

policy sector, which has led to reframing as initiatives for schooling have acquired a bigger place in policy.

EXPLAINING THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE EUROPE

INSTITUTIONS

The way in which institutions react to policy ideas in a particular context serves to explain, to a great extent, how in Nóvoa & Lawn's phrase, Europe is 'fabricated' (Nóvoa & Lawn, 2002). The notable fact about the OMC is that it provided a solution to a problem that had bedevilled EU education over decades: how to operate in a policy domain considered national (Corbett, 2003, 2005). Cooperation based on weak and ambiguous Treaty law had caused breakdowns in the policy process in the 1970s. EEC jurisprudence with the ECJ and the Commission playing a dual role in the 1980s to get programmes and in the 1990s to guarantee students' rights had produced results (Shaw, 1999). But the extension of jurisprudence created new tensions as well. It was only in 1992, with Treaty Article 126 (now Treaty on the Functioning of the EU, Article 165) making education subject to the subsidiarity rules, that the issue was 'tamed' (Dougan, 2005) and Treaty competence ceased to be a headline question.

The OMC does not appear to have de-politicised EU politics as some claim. But OMC-managed strategy has freed policy-making from the day-to-day political timetable, which with 27 member states means elections are a permanent event. It has thereby provided member states with a strategy for managing long-term issues. This is an additional dimension, not a replacement for conventional processes. For the first time, actors in the policy domains concerned manage key parts of their mandate within a stable process. The OMC has allowed the Commission and the Council to progress from opportunistic to strategic policy-making under the umbrella of the European Council. The OMC therefore occupies a space in which policy coordination is thought to be more effective than policy legislation. More than acting merely as a template of rules, practices and organisational capabilities (Gornitzka, 2007, p. 176), the new architecture has begun to exert an impact on the *raison d'être* of the EU (Borrás & Radaelli, 2011, p. 464).

The stability lies in the policy cycle that the European Council imposed on the Council and the Commission with regard to the growth and innovation sectors (Corbett, 2012). Each sector has had to report back to the biennial European Council meeting devoted to the Lisbon strategy and receive the strategic guidelines for the next round. Progress can be measured via the joint reports of the Council and Commission (see Table 2), later backed up by detailed staff working reports on the data used. Conventional political decision-making came into play when the issue was how to bolt on new and existing activities. The joint reports to the European Council by the Council (education) and the Commission provide an overview of changing preoccupations and achievements over the decade. The report of 2004, which was notable – maybe even a watershed in policy (Gornitzka, 2006) – presented all EU education and training activities within a programmatic, coherent framework for the first time. This included cooperation with two Europe-wide processes aimed at creating a higher education and a vocational education and training space (The Bologna Process created in 1999 and the Copenhagen Process for enhanced cooperation in VET, created in 2002). Over time, the concept of education has been gradually broadened and enriched. At one end of the spectrum is the current approach toward policy framing, which embodies the concept of the knowledge triangle: the higher education system, which educates and trains, conducts pure and applied research,

2002	The detailed work programme to follow up on objectives of educational and training systems in Europe
2004	Education and Training 2010: The success of the Lisbon strategy hinges on urgent reforms.
2006	Modernising Education and Training: a Vital Contribution to Prosperity and Social Cohesion in Europe: Joint Interim Report of the Council and Commission on Progress under the Education and Training 2010 Work Programme
2008	Delivering Lifelong Learning for Knowledge, Creativity and Innovation: Joint Progress Report of the Council and the Commission on the Implementation of 'Education and Training 2010'
2010	'Key Competences for a Changing World: 2010 Joint Progress Report of the Council and Commission on the Implementation of the Education and Training Work Programme

TABLE 2 – EVALUATING LISBON PROGRESS: THE JOINT REPORTS

is internationally committed to the circulation of the brightest ideas and the brightest students and academics. At the other end of the spectrum is the goal of more inclusive schooling.

By the end of the decade, this institutional framework had enabled the Commission and the Council to feed policy ideas back to the European Council, notably on issues of creativity and competence. In Lisbon 1, the education policy-makers had been struggling to catch up with the new strategy; hence the intensive institutionalisation in the first phase. By Lisbon 2, major consolidation was taking place within the education and training sector. The support for the Bologna Process had also brought higher education onto the scene. By EU2020, the EU education policy area had expanded to cover all sectors from school to lifelong learning and links had also been established with the other Lisbon sectors: employment, cohesion policy and research and innovation. The Council's appropriation of the knowledge triangle (Council of the European Union, 2009) as an element in its strategy served to underpin, even more strongly, education's place in EU policy.

IDEAS

The ideas picked up by institutions were a second element in the new dynamic affecting education and training policy. The evidence suggests that although the policy ideas reflected EU strategy, they were never as ideologically frozen as some suggest. Past generations had experienced the Community's promotion of post-war reconciliation through the universities, and the 1950s revival of universities as part of EU industrial policy (Corbett, 2005). The advent of the Single Market in the 1980s encouraged ambitious policy-makers to frame educational initiatives in human capital terms even where not appropriate.

The advent of knowledge as a concept to exploit, as both problem and solution, marked a new turning point and was driven by the White Paper of 1993 on growth competitiveness and employment (European Commission, 1993). The Treaty of Amsterdam formalised the importance of the concept by enshrining it as an EU objective: «the development of the highest possible level of knowledge for their peoples through a wide access to education and through its continuous updating» (Treaty of Amsterdam 1997, Article 1-2). Behind this lay the view that Europe's economic growth could not be assured by simply tackling unemployment (in any event a policy that had failed). Europe needed to be competitive globally. That meant embracing the knowledge economy, but also – a detail often forgotten – knowledge-based society. Not only did individuals need to be equipped with appropriate skills but also innovation had to be encouraged. Social cohesion was an essential part of the mix. When the Commission educational services took up these topics in 1998 in a policy document entitled «Towards a Europe of Knowledge» (European Commission, 1997), they were promoting the strategic idea of education as an instrument of employment policy that was to be embedded within a performance-related European Economic Strategy (EES) (Pépin, 2011; Souto Otero *et al.*, 2008).

As the Lisbon strategy developed, the narrow view of knowledge was replaced by initiatives that acknowledged the complex interaction between the acquisition of cognitive skills, competence and creativity.[4] As Maria João Rodrigues, a policy-maker behind the Lisbon strategy asserted, «Knowledge is inseparable from education» (Rodrigues, 2002, p. 4). Evidence provided by activities in 2012 seems to have proven her right. Events helped. The unexpected creation of the Bologna Process from 1998 to 1999, the new ideas that flooded into the EU with enlargement to the East, the expansion of the Lisbon strategy to school and teacher education, and the first steps to create a European Research Area and support doctoral students brought home to EU policy-makers that the purpose of education could not be entirely subsumed in EU social policy, or even in social policy and innovation.

At the same time, member states were ready to concede that for a decade or more they had had problems in managing their education systems, and especially higher education. They were ready for some appropriate EU dynamic.

POLICY ENTREPRENEURSHIP

A third element which helps to account for change was the activity of the policy entrepreneurs within the Commission who were quick to see that «Lisbon was a method for us» (Gornitzka, 2007). They were the ones who recognised the opportunities the structure offered and who helped to make

4 Commissioners also ceased to make aggressive comments to the educational world, as recorded by Olsen and Maassen (2007, p. 6).

the connection between the problems, policies and political dynamic (Kingdon, 1995). They were the ones who knew how to put intense multilateralism to work in exploiting the legacy of the European experience and how take advantage of a European political culture ready to invest in institutionalised cooperation.[5]

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has addressed the issue of the strengths and weaknesses of the Lisbon Model, and its governance by the Open Method of Coordination over the last decade. It has advanced an account of how the Lisbon model has evolved within education and its growing links to other policy areas, notably employment and research. In this concluding section we now set the account of strengths and weaknesses that have been revealed, against what the literature has portrayed.

The education-oriented literature has focussed on the weaknesses of the Lisbon model. These are seen as three fold. One largely concentrates on the ideational diversion of education policy towards neo-liberal ends. A second weakness is the depoliticised nature of the Lisbon policy process. A third is more concrete: the failure of the Lisbon model to attain its targets.

This account concurs that Lisbon's strategic education targets have not been reached, with one exception (the numbers of maths and science teachers). In one case (literacy) attainments are falling. But I, in contrast to some of the commentators, see in this evidence that the Lisbon model for education has a number of strengths. On the evidence here its aspirations cannot be dismissed as neo-liberal. There has been, with one exception, a consistent desire to have a social dimension incorporated alongside a modernising strategy for the economy.

Furthermore in a policy domain where policy-making has often been contentious, OMC has brought a stable process into operation. Education is in a very different position from economic and employment policies where EU legislation has been the norm. For years the policy status of EU education was contested. The Treaty of Maastricht agreement in making education a case for subsidiarity, and not for legislation, set the rules but did

5 See Wallace, Wallace and Pollack (2005) for amplification of this point.

little to generate new attitudes. I see it as a strength that OMC has been introduced to try and do something different, with a focus on the cognitive rather than the legislative.

The institutional consequences for education have had some beneficial effects too – which would not be so apparent in traditional sectors. With strategic policy steered by the European Council, the Council and Commission have been obliged to work together. Such new routines have modified the role of the Commission, so that it has become much more of an energiser of a policy directed by the European Council, rather than an initiator of policy. It has to play a role as the pre-eminent source of expertise, much of it emerging through research contracts, and as a bridge to all member states through bilateral dealings connected with target setting and diffusion.

However what needs to be noted is that this paper is written at a moment of huge institutional upheaval within the EU, as the financial crisis has turned into a banking crisis, a sovereign debt crisis, and for the countries of the south and for regions within countries of the north, an economic crisis. The democratic deficit is an issue that will not go away. If the EU becomes eventually more of a political union there will be spill-over effects for social policy areas, and possibly education. If it does not, and the EU continues to muddle through, democratic issues will still be a source of tension.

In the era of the «great brain race» (Wildavsky, 2010) and an increasingly interdependent world (Hay, 2010), we need to have understood the context for OMC education policy, how the Lisbon model has operated and the continuing debate around its strengths and weaknesses.

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The Interfacing Approach for Investigation Beyond Boundaries

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abstract

My essay will tackle with the following issues:
1 – The urgent need of integrated studies for understanding the complexity of our current culture environment We are aware that science and humanities are no longer two separate spheres of knowledge but two complementary and integrated ambits. Science has to take into accounts epistemological and ethical issues, humanities need to face and be aware of scientific developments and new conceptualisations.
2 – The concept of «interface» that has been the working hypothesis of the European project Acume2 Interfacing Science and Humanities. We have started by questioning the very idea of 'influence' (or 'mutual influences') in favour of a more dynamic idea of 'interfacing'. Therefore, a fundamental point of departure is to acknowledge the isomorphism of the two fields, recalling that they have often developed new models and strategies of investigation into complex scientific and cultural (artistic, literary) phenomena at the same time, simultaneously responding to their own actuality and societal matrices.
3 – I will present the methodology and the scientific results of two cases studies carried on by scientists and humanists on: Memory and on Bio-complexity.

key words

Integrated studies; Interface/ interfacing; Travelling concepts; Complex Systems.

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The Interfacing Approach for Investigation Beyond Boundaries

Vita Fortunati

Science is that form of poetry (...)
imagination and reason that act together synergistically
(P. B. Medawar, *The Hope of Progress*, 1971)

INTRODUCTION

There is a clear consensus among progressive academics that the 'crisis of the humanities' is deep and far-reaching, as evidenced by the number of specialized and mainstream publications on the theme.[1] European and national research councils, as well as the ESF (European Science Foundation), are outspoken on the need to discuss the identity and purpose of the humanities today. At the same time, however, the neo-liberal, profit-oriented management style of universities has produced more negative consequences for the humanities than for other academic fields and tends to dismiss them as unproductive and uncompetitive. All the emphasis seems to be on entrepreneurship, research & development and endless research assessment exercises.

In dealing with the complexity of the phenomena that characterize our «planetary» society, comparatists (Bassnett, 1993) state the need to eliminate the fears

1 cf. recent issue Martha C. Nussbaum of the *Times Literary Supplement* (April 30, 2010).

that have always haunted humanistic studies on the other disciplines, since perhaps these disciplines can furnish new interpretative models and heuristic tools. Since the 1980s, with the pressure caused by deep, complex migration problems, the accelerated processes of acculturation, movements of global capital and the diffusion of media and information networks, comparative studies have once again begun to question their own identity. Many comparatists realise that comparative literature needs new paradigms. The trait that all new comparatists share, despite their different theoretical approaches, is the awareness that, faced by this new scenario, they must not only accept the challenge of complexity, but also try to find theoretical and practical solutions for studying and teaching world literature.

The keywords that characterize the new strategies for overcoming the identity crisis in the humanities are: networking; new epistemological paradigms; new perspectives; intersections or interfaces between the traditional disciplines in the humanities and new emerging fields (gender studies, postcolonial studies, new media studies, the impact of technology on humanistic thinking and practice, etc.).

My paper will broach the following issues:

1. The urgent need for *integrated studies*. The deep crisis in the humanities was brought about by financial problems and awareness that the complexity of the world around us requires new approaches and methods. An integrated knowledge is necessary to understand the complexity of today's cultural environment. We are aware that science and the humanities are no longer two separate spheres of knowledge but two complementary and integrated fields. Science has to take into account epistemological and ethical issues, while the humanities must confront and integrate scientific developments and new conceptualisations. On the whole, this approach will end up being of reciprocal benefit and enhance both science and the humanities.
2. *The notion of interface* with regard to a number of studies, which has helped me to clarify this concept.
3. *Is the interface a metaphor or a methodology*? In our discussion of interfacing what we are interested in are the points of contact, since they represent the spearheads of a discipline. New cognitive paradigms arise from these contact areas, which can act as interesting fertile terrain, where contaminations and hybrids are generated.
4. The results that have been achieved using interface methodology and in

particular, two case-studies on memory and bio-complexity.

THE URGENT NEED FOR INTEGRATED STUDIES

In attempting to attain the target of integrated culture, one needs to go beyond the longstanding controversy involving the two cultures and deconstruct the stereotypes that characterise scientists and humanists. Reading C. P. Snow (1959/1998), one wonders whether, after almost fifty years, these stereotypes are still present in public opinion: scientists as optimistic, progressive, left-wing liberals who look to the future for inspiration; and humanists as pessimistic, right-wing conservatives who are inclined to dwell on the past.

Recently, the Italian mathematician Odifreddi, in a collection of essays, *I Classici e la Scienza,* claimed that «(...) the various cultures and paradigms are not nothing but the faces of an intellectual enterprise that transcends them all, and each one of them offers nothing but a structurally, socially and historically limited point of view» (2007, p. 53). The issue of integrated culture is intimately connected to the need to eliminate the dividing lines between disciplines; yet it is a fact that disciplinary barriers are still very strong at universities and in primary and secondary schools.

Ludovico Geymonat (1908-1991), the father of the philosophy of science in Italy, had little patience for artificial barriers and claimed that borders exist to be crossed. Nowadays, there is awareness that a parcelled type of culture no longer suits modernity and that excessively specialised knowledge does not seem appropriate when studying or attempting to comprehend the complexities of the modern world. The huge questions that technological and scientific development – from atomic energy to genetic engineering – have posed, require a clear analysis that only integrated knowledge can offer. Excessively specialised learning does not hold the answer.

The need to profoundly reform teaching in schools and universities is felt everywhere. Excessive fragmentation of knowledge only hinders young people who are being educated, because it portrays knowledge as a series of separate vessels that do not interconnect. This concept is underlined by philosopher Edgar Morin, and by Paolo Dario, an engineer interested in robotics. Morin (1999) states that our education system separates subjects and fragments reality, thus making understanding of the world impossible and preventing an awareness of fundamental problems that actually require a trans-disciplinary approach. As Paolo Dario asserts,

> Technology today must also meld with the human sciences, which should, in turn, proceed in the direction of innovation and open up, with curiosity and receptiveness, to the stimuli of technology. The model of engineering guided by science requires a high level of creativity and problem-solving capacity (2007, p. 263).

Since the 1970s, studies on the relationship between science and literature have striven to deconstruct this binary distinction, trying to highlight their affinities and identify possible cognitive paradigms common to both spheres. In these studies that have sought to find affinities between the two cultures, it has been noted that both are traversed by language. Not only literature, but also science is «a discourse», involving the same kinds of rhetorical strategies, literary tropes and unstable meanings as other forms of writing. L. J. Jordanova, an eminent science historian, in a beautifully written 1986 essay, stated: «Our primary object of study is language, that which mediates all thought, action and experience. We focus largely on the discourses common to science and literature» (p. 17).

There are many insightful pages in the works of Carlo Levi, a chemist, poet and great novelist, and in those of Italo Calvino, a writer fascinated by science, geometric shapes, symmetries, the *ars combinatoria* and geometric proportions, on how science and literature, far from being two separate activities, have many points in common. In a recent essay, Andrea Battistini (2008) asserted that the paradigm of bio-complexity was one that humanistic disciplines could also use. What links literature to biology is complexity, the complexity of subjects and of reality.

Another perspective is offered by Stephen Collini in his recent reediting of Snow's work, when he stresses how the notion of physics has changed since Snow's times from a subject considered:

> (…) as the hardest of 'the hard sciences', a discipline traditionally taken to exemplify how rigorously deductive analysis of a few general laws confirmed or falsified by induction from controlled experiment, provided predictive knowledge of the behaviour of the physical properties of the universe. The so called 'new physics' of the last twenty years has modified this model in two related ways. First, its actual findings on the nature of matter and the

origins of the universe appear to install unpredictability, open-endedness (Collini, 1998, p. XLVII).

This new view of physics greatly harmonises with the view of the world propounded by the humanistic sciences and literature.

In order to understand this contiguity, it is necessary to rethink some of the clichés surrounding scientific and poetic language: the former being denotative, transparent, and a class of language that refers more directly to what is spoken about; and the latter being connotative and inherently ambiguous. In order to show how many common elements these two types of discourse in fact possess, it is useful to start by analysing how metaphors are used in both cultures. The study of metaphors has indeed become one of the central themes in analysing the relationship between literature and science. Those who know how to use metaphors, or are capable of inventing them, possess a high level of creativity. Metaphors are a powerful instrument of knowledge that constitute an epiphany-like glimpse of reality. They are a means of semantic enrichment common to both scientific and poetic languages, that makes these languages productive and creative, capable of producing original views of the world and the things in it. In this respect, the scientist, the poet and the prose writer possess a capacity for «estrangement», an ability to look at reality through a stranger's eyes and consequently, discover unusual and hidden connections in the world that surrounds us. Many sciences, including immunology have actually used metaphors to explain the workings of natural phenomena.

It has often been claimed that «modelling» (mathematicisation) of the world aspires to absorb the universe's infinite characteristics, to achieve a model in which the qualities of reality are overlooked in favour of quantification. The artistic attitude on the other hand has been viewed as paying attention to details, to fragments, and to single factors. This opposition of positions is also questionable, because the description of singularities and fragments would possess no artistic/universal value without an underlying vision of the world, i.e. a model. Thus, upon closer inspection, one realizes that the modelling of the world is not only a feature of science, but of literary output. As Calvino reminded us in his *Lezioni Americane*, his lecture on exactness, «The formal choices of each artist always presuppose a cosmological model (…) Poetry is a great enemy of chance, although she herself is a daughter of chance» (1995, p. 69).

The other quality that both the poet and the scientist are endowed with is precision, the never-ending quest for the right word. In the author's case it means precision in observation; in the scientist's case, the exacting description of natural phenomena. According to Calvino, exactitude – or precision – means three things:

1. A well-calculated and defined plan of the work.
2. The evocation of neat, incisive, memorable, visual images (in Italian we use an adjective that does not exist in English: *icastico*).
3. A language as precise as possible, both lexically and in conveying the nuances of thought and imagination.

Another important point is that today we possess a concept of culture and science that is more complex and less simplistic than the one discussed by Snow. For example, research carried out by the philosophers of science has led to a better understanding of the scientist's work method (see, for example, Thomas Kuhn's writings suggesting that scientific change does not invariably take the form of a steady accumulation of knowledge within stable parameters; anomalies in the evidence accumulate to the point where change takes the form of a «discontinuous jump» or «paradigm shift»). Furthermore, research done by sociologists in science has highlighted how the very constitution of scientific knowledge itself is dependent upon culturally variable norms and practices. Seen from this perspective, science is merely one of several sets of cultural activities, as much an expression of a society's orientation to the world as its art or religion and equally inseparable from fundamental issues of politics and morality. Science, then, is seen as a «social construct».

The third point to bear in mind is the discourse on creativity: those who have kept a close watch on the great watersheds in scientific thought and technological innovation cannot help but admit that the most creative developments have consistently torn down disciplinary fences.

In depth investigation into the relationships (links, affinities, differences, issues and problems) between the sciences and the humanities shows that there are mutual influences that favour a more dynamic approach toward interfacing. Therefore, the fundamental starting point would be to acknowledge the isomorphism of the two fields that, to respond to their own actuality and societal matrices, have often simultaneously developed new models and strategies to investigate complex scientific and cultural (artistic, literary) phenomena. This idea of isomorphism (Hayles, 1994) is no longer linked to traditional concepts of cause and effect, but instead implies simultaneousness, not consequentiality: one field does not influence or condition the other. Isomorphism implies joint discoveries, as both domains simultaneously develop new investigative models which become, in turn, analogical mirrors of a world in constant progress. This idea leads us to view the sciences and the humanities together, because their mutual interfacing can trigger new dynamics in the various fields of knowledge.

In the last two centuries, theories of education were developed around ideas of distinctiveness and choice: with the humanities on one side and science on the other. However, today's students are asking for new educational models that reflect the complexity and interplay of a world characterised by a different understanding of knowledge and, especially, by the rapid development of new societal matrices. As a consequence, other paradigms that follow the development of new societal conditions have begun to emerge such as globalisation, changing political assets and new 'mediascapes'. In such a shifting context, the idea of «interface/interfacing» seems to offer a suitable paradigm that in turn triggers new, heuristic implications. Also, the very idea of interfacing leads to the interesting concept of 'complexity', which in itself is a metaphor that implies exchange, mutual interlinking and, above all, the concept of networking; that is, of new strategies for looking at and subsequently rendering a world in progress. The concept of networking implies not only a new way of carrying on transversal research among different disciplines, but also a new way of conceptualising and representing reality. Networking is at the basis of complexity: a new epistemological paradigm that is common both to humanistic disciplines and science.

We are facing a cultural context undergoing constant evolution. This is a fact that both domains have to acknowledge; and education is finding interesting ways to deal with these changes. There are new programs in medical schools, faculties of engineering and the other scientific branches that are offering courses in literature, the arts and philosophy, as well as courses to foster creativity. On the other hand, attempts have been made to apply scientific research and knowledge to the humanities. These involve the application of more practical approaches with the creation of new disciplines within the humanities such as humanistic informatics; the creation of new infrastructures such as e-archives and new databases; and new theoretical developments that combine theories of literature/criticism and scientific models of investigation (from field theory to chaos theory).

Other interesting examples come from the social sciences, which have been playing a pivotal role in developing new lines of research and new concepts to break down barriers and encourage interdisciplinary approaches. Anthropology has provided us with one particularly interesting example. In this discipline, the scientific idea of «thick description» is applied to analyse *culture tout court*, a broad, complex concept that interfaces the two domains. Similarly, in the last two decades, scholars in the humanities have begun to reconsider the idea of «literary phenomena», with literature no longer perceived as a closed system, but instead as a complex manifestation, a network of events, thereby triggering a new understanding of *zeitgeist*. In such a shifting environment, the links between scientific discovery and literary and artistic experiments are inevitably being judged anew: not as linear, sequential phenomena but as manifestations that are convergent and interconnected.

THE CONCEPT OF INTERFACE

I shall now examine interfacing, the concept behind the working hypothesis of a European project dubbed «Acume 2 – Interfacing Science and Humanities», which I have coordinated.

The meaning of the term «interface» is easy to apprehend. The word is composed of the prefix «inter» or «intra», meaning «between two or more parties», and the root «face» – surface, face, point of contact. It is a term, however, which defies monolithic explanations. The semantic fields to which «interface» can be applied range from information technology (I.T.) geography and chemistry to metaphors.

The term was used first in I. T. and connotes not only a point of contact that allows communication, but also the methods of exchanging this information. We will use the term, which is a wide-ranging descriptor, and thus fascinating for its power to suggest rather than describe, and – in acting as more than a simple metaphor – convey a methodological point of origin. Let us, first propose a few definitions for the term «interface». In computer science and information technology, it is a circuit, a hardware component, that acts as a physical link to other components. The USB (universal serial bus) port of a computer is a good example of this. But an interface is also part of a computer's software; that is, a program enabling interaction, translation between two languages, thus allowing the user to interact with the machine.

In the strictest sense of the term, the «man-machine» interface is a program that allows someone to use his or her desktop or lap top computer. In other words, an interface is a knot, a minimum component that is part of a wider complexity. It is also the description of an exchange, a specification of the limits of a given activity. All information exchange implies, then, the presence of an interface.

The utility of this notion is not then, that of naming something, but rather of making it visible. An examination of «human being – technology item» interfacing begs the question: Are we really facing an interface (excuse the artless redundancy)? If the answer is yes, then one must view the two systems as distinct and independent, since there are continuous exchanges between what is biological, what is human, and non-biological and non-human space. This last case is evident in artistic representations of artificial beings, and especially in medical technologies such as CAT scans and X rays, which allow human space to become readable, as it were.

Sickness or health are literally rendered by a tool that allows these renderings to become evident, visible, to the eyes of the doctor, who is then able to read them. So interfacing works, not only in those striking cases in which hybridization of the mechanical and the organic occurs, but also as a mediator, as a means of communication between two actors who are interacting with each other, and even as a new language invented for this communication. Likewise, in the CAT scan, a diagnostic, medical imaging technique that produces a 3D reconstruction of tissue through a tomographical analysis obtained by sweeping an X-ray beam over the patient, there are many «mediations» of messages: from the patient's symptoms to the diagnostician using an analysis instrument and customizing a final report on the basis of data obtained from the patient's body. In turn, the data are interpreted by the practitioner, who will then draw up a course of treatment. It is no mere diagnosis. Different levels are involved in the different stages of the procedure. The patient's body becomes a network, a multiple system comprising physiological, organic, psychological and existential dimensions. Interfacing lies at the core of the system of medical knowledge. It is the meeting of epistemology (all that is known about man and his functioning) and culture (the way illness is perceived by the subject himself and society and the way a particular illness is viewed by the patient and described to or by others). Interface is thus not a metaphor, but a methodological approach. It is a question of seeing how the two systems – man and technology – interact and at what level and how. From this observation, patterns may arise, that is, structures, continuities or discontinuities. The levels of interfacing can be analysed, in order to know if the two systems are really independent.

The seminal studies by Katherine Hayles, *The Cosmic Web, Scientific Models and Literary Strategies in the 20th Century* (1984), and Edward O. Wilson, *Consilience, The Unity of Knowledge* (1999) are vitally important. The first was written by a scholar who moves in humanistic circles (and now also in ITC) and the second by a biologist. Both authors affirm the need for cooperation between the two fields and propose new methods and paradigms of knowledge. Therefore, a fundamental starting point is to acknowledge the isomorphism of the two fields that, to respond to their own actuality and societal matrices, have often developed new models and strategies simultaneously while investigating complex scientific and cultural (artistic, literary) phenomena.

In the work mentioned above, Hayles links literary sign/signs to scientific theories, and proposes the idea of 'field theory' or 'field concept' as the epitome of the new way of observing and perceiving contemporary reality that characterizes both scientific research and artistic and literary endeavour. What makes Hayles' book interesting and characterises her line of research is the fact that the author doesn't limit herself to simplistic, even predictable, remarks such as «science influences literature and opens it up to new imagery» or «new scientific discoveries offer literature new models of expression». Rather, Hayles offers a deeper examination and subscribes to a new concept of field within a more complex context. She observes that between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, apologists of both the humanistic and scientific spheres of knowledge, started proposing similar modes of investigation that were less connected to the atomistic (Cartesian) idea of knowledge and increasingly linked to a holistic idea that Hayles defines, as «field theory». Science and humanities have come up with new investigative methods within field theory that Hayles herself espouses, that are built on two fundamental assumptions:

1. All things are connected – not by a tidy, hierarchic logic – but simultaneously by their joint presence.
2. For this very reason, the language expressing them is, inevitably, self-referential.

These conditions make observation more complex, because it cannot be carried out in a traditional way: all differences between the observer and the observed are eliminated (both actors belong to the same field of observation, and mutually influence each other). One of the fundamental differences contained in atomistic (Cartesian or linear) observation is that

> (…) in the atomistic view, the gap between subject and object is not 'contami-

> nated' by the circular paradoxes of self-referentiality, because it is assumed that reality can be divided into separate, discrete components. Consequently, it is assumed that language can be used to define the relation between subject and object in a formally exact way. But the field concept assumes that these components are interconnected by means of a mediating field. When language is part of the mediating field (i.e., the means by which the relation between subject and object is described), it participates in the interconnection at the same time that it purports to describe it. To admit the field concept thus entails admitting that the self-referentiality of language is not accidental, but an essential consequence from within the field (Hayles, 1984, p. 41).

'Field concept' is thus a way of observing (viewpoint) that underpins both scientific and artistic research and that, as previously said, can no longer be explained in terms of a simple cause and effect relationship, precisely because it is perceived simultaneously by the two fields. Rather, Hayles stresses how important it is to read this new idea in the light of a complex and ever-changing cultural context:

> (...) a comprehensive picture of the field concept is more likely to emerge from the literature and from science viewed together than from either one alone. (...) A more accurate and appropriate model for such parallel development would be a field notion of culture, a societal matrix which consists (...) of a 'climate of opinion' that makes some questions interesting to pursue and renders others uninteresting or irrelevant (Hayles, 1984, p. 10, p. 20).

In turn, the idea of «consilience» that Wilson investigates in his studies proposes the union of the two cultures in order to grasp, holistically, the cultural processes and those of the natural world. The definition of consilience is thus unequivocal.

> Consilience [is] a jumping together of knowledge by the linking of fact and fact-bases theory across disciplines to create a common ground-work of explanation (Wilson, 1999, p. 8).

Interface as a strategy: a new method of approaching literary studies

In her study, Katherine Hayles offers up a new method of literary analysis that is founded on the use of mathematical models applicable to texts. Hayles' fundamental working hypothesis is that the 20th century's change in the scientific paradigm determined a change and a new conceptualisation of reality, which necessarily affect the scientific, social, cultural and artistic milieus. However, it is not a simple exchange of influence between the scientific and the artistic or social domains. A revisiting of the concept of comparison thus becomes necessary. It is no longer a case of adapting a scientific methodology to literary studies; it is no longer a case of using metaphors, but rather seeing the two spheres of knowledge as indissolubly linked, as part of the «cosmic web» that connects a holistic, multi-stratified universe to man, science, technology and art. According to Hayles, the chaos theory and the theory of complex systems of the 20th century have supplied investigative models and brainframes[2] which can be applied to all the fields of human studies. In other words, the old notion of cause and effect has given way to concepts embracing a simultaneity of non-consequential relations and to areas of isomorphism, where the different levels and materials interact simultaneously.

Hayles invites us then to a reformulation of the concept of «comparison». It is no longer a question of putting two or more texts on the same level, but rather keeping the borders of texts fluid to permeable thematic constructions, languages, structures, all part of contemporary «discourse» in which human beings, technology and art overlap each other in a continuum.

In the European Project Acume 2, starting off with specific «case-studies», we have attempted to understand how some concepts, metaphors and narrations, migrating from one discipline to another, have acquired new meanings. Consequently, they have sparked new knowledge configurations and have opened new frontiers of understanding. Words such as «appropriation», «translation», and «reassessment» have become key words in understanding the reconfiguration of the processes of knowledge that occurs when there is a migration from one discipline to another. Another important point that emerged was that, in this process of migrating from one discipline to another,

2 A brain frame is a structure for the physiological, cognitive and sensory reception and interpretation of reality, created and determined by information technologies. According to this model, the means of communication change the mental configuration of those who take part in the communication. Derrik de Kerckhove, a pupil of M. McLuhan, developed this concept and it is used here, modifying its application somewhat. All the technologies and sciences together, with their paradigms are in fact considered agents of changes in the mainframe.

the different historical and national contexts must be kept in mind.

Not only are concepts, metaphors and narratives the most important theoretical and analytical tools of academic discourse, but they also provide critical interfaces between science, literature and the humanities, enabling debate, research and dynamic exchange on the basis of a common language. However, more often than not, the meaning and operational value of concepts, metaphors and narratives, even of those which appear to be self-explanatory, differ between the various disciplines, different academic and national cultures and historical periods. Concepts such as 'communication', 'code', 'complexity', 'life' and 'system'; metaphors like 'crisis', 'network', 'body' and 'text'; and cultural narratives such as 'evolution', 'ageing' and 'digression', which are at the core of both sciences and humanities, are not univocal and firmly-established terms. Rather they are dynamic and interchangeable as they travel back and forth between academic contexts and disciplines. Hence, they constitute what Mieke Bal has felicitously called '*travelling concepts*' (Bal, 2002).

With the move towards greater transdisciplinarity, the dynamic exchange of concepts between different disciplines, as well as the translation of concepts into metaphors and narratives has surged. Through constant appropriation, translation and reassessment across various fields, concepts, metaphors and narratives have acquired new meanings, triggering a reorganisation of prevalent orders of knowledge and opening up new horizons of research. This has happened to such an extent that their meanings must, be constantly renegotiated between the different disciplines' travelling concepts, metaphors and narratives in order to foster a self-reflexive approach to the transdisciplinary study of culture.

THE NOTION OF TRANSDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

I would like to mention two books *Memory/Memories: Transdisciplinary Routes* (Agazzi & Fortunati, 2007) and *Bio-complexity at the Cutting Edge of Physics, Systems Biology and Humanities* (Castellani, Fortunati, Lamberti & Franceschi, 2008), which are the result of our efforts to test interface as a strategy for approaching possible common epistemological paradigms both in science and humanities. Both of these books were born from the fecund idea of transdisciplinarity. While in interdisciplinary studies the various disciplines operate alongside each other with each one tackling the same problem from its own field of competence, in transdisciplinary studies the research methods themselves are re-envisaged and, consequently, so are the disciplinary boundaries. The idea of transdisciplinarity is built on the reasoned and dynamic combination of verticality (macro-areas) and horizontality (common keywords).

Our first book investigates the state of the art of studies on memory in six disciplinary macro-areas: Social Sciences, Biomedical Sciences, Arts and the Media, Humanities and Religious Studies. These are crossed by 'keywords' present in the conceptualisation of memory that has developed during the last twenty years. This means that every section must confront the keywords that constitute a sort of thread running through the various disciplines.

- Evolution
- Individual and collective memory/memories
- Memory and trauma
- Memory as a dynamic process
- Memory and information
- The context
- Memory and oblivion

The idea of trans-disciplinarity is built on the reasoned, dynamic combination of verticality (macro-areas) and horizontality (common keywords). Thus, traditional disciplinarity remains a compulsory touchstone (both for writers and the readers) but it is 'revisited' by means of common keywords that acquire marked heuristic relevance.

Work we are jointly carrying out with a number of scientists led to a book based on a seminar aimed at investigating the paradigm of 'bio-complexity' as a possible heuristic model for the interpretation of complex systems in other disciplines. The book discusses biological complexity as a challenge and a possible paradigm for other fields of knowledge whose objects are non-biological complex systems (i.e. literature). The working hypothesis is that the bio-complexity model could be used as the paradigm for the observation of complex systems in both fields of human and scientific sciences: from biology to economics and from literature to physics. This is the thread that runs through the book and connects the articles of its various contributors who are pursing a variety of objectives and referring to a number of disciplines.

Fundamentally, the book stresses that there are concepts that can highlight the characteristics shared by a series of complex systems, despite their apparent diversity and their belonging to different fields of knowledge. For example, we have to verify if the theories of biological complexity can be useful in examining literature, which is seen as a complex system. In the humanities, the paradigm of bio-complexity has revealed itself to be a useful analytical tool, because from a global perspective of literary systems, the view of European and Trans-European literatures and cultures as complex systems that interact within a system of networks is now being explored in comparative and post-colonial studies. Because of its complexity, the study of literature at the global level requires models created in other fields of research, such as quantitative historical graphs, geographical maps and the genealogical tree of evolutionary theory. Only in this way can relationships, structures and forms be identified in literary macro-systems (Moretti, 2005).

The most advanced conceptualizations of biological complexity have underscored the following characteristics shared by living organisms:

- They are made up of a very high number of elements that mutually interact and organize themselves in functional, dynamic *networks*.
- They possess different *levels* or *strata of complexity*, from molecules, to sub cellular organelles and *the cell*. This fundamental unit of living organisms is not only a complex system in itself but the building block of higher levels of organization that can generate a whole series different tissues and organs that finally constitute a unique body.
- The different bodies (organisms) organize themselves into *societies* which in turn constitute their own ecological systems which are even more complex and in which hundreds or even thousands of different species coexist or cohabit in a dynamic balance.
- They are systems possessing their own *evolutionary history*, which has conditioned their structure and their functional capacities, and as such, entails a series of *constraints*.
- They are the result of a *fitness* selection, which optimises the networks from a structural and functional point of view, and occurs at all the above-mention levels of complexity, from molecules and cells to organisms.
- They are organized into *modules*: aggregations of networks with a defined function. Modules are organized by means of *links* amongst them in order to form supra-modular organization.
- The systems are *dynamic*, *open* and *non-linear* and are dominated by *stochastic*

fluctuations and noise.

- They are characterized by *the emergence of wholly unexpected properties and functions* (symbolic language, awareness, etc.).
- They possess the ability to *learn* and remember (*memory*), which occurs from the molecular to the highest level of biological organization and includes the most sophisticated, cognitive functions.
- The behaviour of every given element is determined by its *context*, that is it is conditioned by all the others together, in a continuous interactive and dynamic system.

The two books show how fertile an approach that combines traditional disciplinary distinctions is and demonstrates how such outwardly different subjects share similar methodological problems that can be examined using the same instruments. It is not a trivial lesson for scientific institutions such as universities that are still organized according to visions that do reflect today's concepts regarding the dynamics of knowledge. Memory and bio-complexity are fields that have shown the rewards of challenging time-honoured, traditional disciplinary divisions that have still not incorporated the heuristic, epistemological potential of the transdisciplinary method.

I would like to end my contribution by citing two authors who have so aptly summarized the working hypothesis of my research on complexity in literature and science: Italo Calvino and Prigogine:

> The function of literature is communication between what is different, not dulling but exalting the difference (Calvino, 1995, p. 668).

> While classical science used to privilege order and stability, today we recognize the primal role of fluctuation and instability at every level of observation, [associating] multiple choices with the horizons of limited predictability (Prigogine, 1996, p. 14).

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The Blindness of Europe: New Fabrications in the European Educational Space

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abstract

After a slow start during the 70s and 80s, education took on a new importance after the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. From that date onwards, numerous texts and documents would gradually build a «European educational space». The Lisbon Strategy of 2000 is an important milestone in this process. The main reference point of the 21st century is the Education & Training 2010 Work Program, which sets a clear framework at the European level for education and training. Recently, there was a new turning point of great significance, with the approval of Europe 2020 and especially with the launching of the Rethinking Education strategy.

We are facing continuities and changes that need to be analyzed carefully. That is what I intend to do in this article entitled «The Blindness of Europe: New Fabrications in the European Educational Space». In the first section, I will recall the major turning points in educational policies in the last two decades. In the second section, the analysis will focus on the new Education and Training 2020 (ET 2020) program and the Rethinking Education strategy launched in November of 2012. The final considerations seek to promote a broader reflection on the new fabrications that are taking place in the European educational space: i) Is Europe a solution or a problem?; ii) What education for what Europe? iii) How to study educational policies in Europe?

key words

Education and training 2010; Europe 2020; European educational space; Lifelong learning; Rethinking education.

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The Blindness of Europe: New Fabrications in the European Educational Space

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INTRODUCTION

My earlier work on educational policies in the European Union dates back to the late 80s (Nóvoa, 1993, 1996). At that time, every idea proposed was inevitably contested with reference to the fact that education was excluded from EU policies, while remaining under the full responsibility of each Member State.

As time went on and as the European authorities were increasingly intervening in the educational arena, the questions were becoming less and less frequent. Today, nobody is surprised by this discussion, such is the importance attached to educational policies by the European Union. And even the official texts no longer hide this fact, despite the prudence of the language.

The answer given to one of the FAQs on the site about the Europe 2020 strategy speaks for itself: «*Why does Europe 2020 propose action in areas run by national governments, e.g. education and employment?* Because the crusade to keep Europe competitive can benefit from coordination at the EU level.»[1]

In fact, after a slow start during the 70s and 80s, education took on a new importance after the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. From that date onwards, numerous texts and documents would gradually build a «European educational space». The Lisbon Strategy of 2000 is an important

1 http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/services/faqs/index_en.htm (Retrieved on December 17th, 2012).

milestone in this process. The main reference point of the 21st century is the Education & Training 2010 Work Program, which sets a clear framework at the European level for education and training. Recently, there was a new turning point of great significance with the approval of Europe 2020, and especially with the launching of the Rethinking Education strategy.

We are facing continuities and changes that need to be analyzed carefully. This is the principal aim of this article entitled «The Blindness of Europe: New Fabrications in the European Educational Space». In the first section, I will recall the major turning points of educational policies in the last two decades. In the second section, the analysis will focus on the new Education and Training 2020 (ET 2020) program and the Rethinking Education strategy launched in November of 2012. The final considerations seek to foster broader reflection on the new fabrications that are taking place in the European educational space.

FROM MAASTRICHT (1992) TO LISBON (2000) TO EUROPE 2020

Maastricht (1992): a first turning point

The first phase of European cooperation in the field of education was very cautious and restrained. It was accomplished through several «programs», organized around voluntary or temporary agreements. Most of the documents issued after 1992 begin by asserting the need to develop *quality education*, a principle introduced by the Maastricht Treaty as a way to legitimize European initiatives in this field.

Throughout this period, it is important to highlight three tendencies:

First, a recurrent discourse concerning the European dimension of education. This is condensed in Green and White Papers, mobilizing significant groups around this theme, namely in the fields of history and literature.

Second, the emphasis on the concept of lifelong learning, which was not only invoked with reference to education and schooling, but also as a way to solve the problems of unemployment and preparation for the job market. The year 1996 was named as the «European Year of Lifelong Learning», and since then, the term has permeated all the European educational policies.

Finally, we may refer to an impressive series of papers and reports, published for the purpose of identifying issues for «future policies» in the educational field:

Teaching and learning: Towards the learning society (1995), *Accomplishing Europe through Education and Training* (1997), *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* (1997), *Learning for Active Citizenship* (1998), etc. These documents are part of a political construction which imposes powerful «ways of thinking» about education in Europe (Nóvoa, 2002).

LISBON (2000): A SECOND TURNING POINT

In the year 2000 in Lisbon, two important decisions were made: to move towards a knowledge-based economy as the way forward towards Unionization and to foster European policies through the open method of coordination. The means to achieve a knowledge society was described in terms of «investment in people», by placing education at the forefront of European initiatives.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the European Council requested that the Education Council «undertake a general reflection on the concrete future objectives of education systems, focusing on common concerns and priorities while respecting national diversity» (European Council, 2000, § 27). Important changes took place, reflecting an intention to establish common objectives, as well as common indicators to monitor and assess European educational systems.

It is worth underlining the relevance of the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* (2000) and the *European Report on the Quality of School Education* (2000). Lifelong learning is considered a key factor in creating an «active employment policy» and the main strategy for enhancing employability and «promote quality in employment». As for the development of quality education, this entitled the European Commission to set up a series of indicators and benchmarks in order «to learn from each other, to share our successes and failures, and to use education together to advance European citizens and European society into the new millennium» (CEC, 2001, § 37).

Hence, it has been impossible to ignore European educational policies, which were not to be devised through legislation or compulsion, but rather through emulation, cooperation and participation. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine a Member State opting out of this game of «freely adhering» to shared guidelines.

THE EDUCATION & TRAINING 2010 WORK PROGRAM: A NEW TEMPO FOR EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

The Barcelona European Council (March 2002) agreed upon a program to be achieved by 2010, which would focus on education and training systems. The same goal is systematically repeated in all EU documents: to make the European Union the leading knowledge-based economy in the world. To achieve this goal requires «the crucial contribution from education and training as factors of economic growth, innovation, sustainable employability and social cohesion» (CEU, 2002, p. 5).

The Education & Training 2010 Work Program delineates three strategic objectives: improved quality, facilitation of universal access and opening-up to the wider world. It returns recurrently to the same issues in a narrative construction that is intentionally circular and redundant (CEU, 2002).

«Improving quality and effectiveness» is the first strategic objective, focusing on key competencies for the so called «knowledge society». Scientific, communicational and technological competencies are prioritized, and the exclusion of the humanities, in the broader sense of the term, is accompanied by a psycho-sociological and entrepreneurial discourse. The desire to ensure and monitor quality education leads to the evaluation of progress and achievement through comparable benchmarks and indicators. Issues of quality, determined through the politics of comparison, are underpinned by an expert discourse that is developed on a global scale, but which is reinforced at the European level by an effort to integrate national policies. We can say that «the challenge of data and comparability» – to quote the words of the *European Report on the Quality of School Education* (2000) – establishes a policy without specifically formulating it.

«Facilitating the access of all» is the second strategic objective of the Education & Training 2010 Work Program. It articulates the conventional discourse concerning lifelong learning in European institutions by, on the one hand, redefining «employment» as a learning problem that should be solved by each individual and, on the other hand, creating the illusion that the «crisis of schooling» will be solved if individuals simply continue to expose themselves to education and training throughout their entire lifetimes. In all of the European guidelines for improving employability, the emphasis is placed on education and training for young people, as well as on lifelong learning. In fact, the concept of employability is reinvented as a way to link employment to education, or to interpret unemployment as a problem of «uneducated» people. The consequences are that responsibility for solving the crisis of the Welfare State shifts from the political system to citizens, who are invited to become responsible for «constantly updating their knowledge» in order to enhance their employability.

«Opening up education and training systems to the wider world» is the third strategic objective. The intention is to create an open «European area for education» and to promote the «European dimension of teaching and training». Mobility within the European space is described as not simply movement, but rather as a process which develops awareness of what it means to be a citizen of Europe. The idea of «experiencing Europe» is concurrent with programs of mobility and the project of reinforcing European citizenship. The politics of identity is formulated in terms of qualification and disqualification, leading to the formation of «new educated subjects» to populate the «knowledge society». Such a policy includes and excludes at the same time. The Education & Training 2010 Work Program seeks to attract «students, academics and researchers from other world regions», in the hope that European educational institutions will be «recognized worldwide as centres of excellence» (CEU, 2002, p. 16). This objective is formulated against a background in which the United States of America is regarded as the primary competitor in the educational market.

An appraisal of the Education & Training 2010 Work Program

Analyzing the Education & Training 2010 Work Program, it is possible to discern two recurrent themes. The first has to do with a systematic reference to the «new knowledge-based economy» and to principles of competitiveness and entrepreneurship. The second is the frequent use of psychological concepts applied to educational situations, which is clear in the different uses of the concept of «learning» throughout the document.

The European Commission publishes a detailed report annually analyzing the progress made on an agreed set of statistical indicators and benchmarks. It is impossible to analyze these lengthy reports in detail. They are justified by the rationale that EU institutions «need to use evidence-based policy and practice, including robust evaluation instruments, to identify which reforms and practices are the most effective, and to implement them most successfully» (CEC, 2007, p. 3).

Despite the frequent changes, a substantial proportion of the reports are based on the five EU benchmarks for 2010: i) no more than 10% early school leavers; ii) decrease of at least 20% in the percentage of low-achieving pupils in reading literacy; iii) at least 85% of young people should have completed upper secondary education; iv) increase of at least 15% in the number of tertiary graduates in mathematics, science and technology (MST), with a simultaneous decrease in the gender imbalance; v) 12.5% of the adult population should participate in lifelong learning (CEU, 2003).

As time passed, it became clear that these objectives would not be achieved by the year 2010. Worse still, it became clear that in some cases there had been very slow progress or no progress at all.

In the last annual report pertaining to the years 2010 and 2011, the European Commission recognized that «the benchmarks will not be achieved, apart from the benchmark on increasing the number of math, science and technology graduates» (CEC, 2011, p. 7). Furthermore – and this is very important in light of the ambitions set out by the Lisbon Strategy in 2000 – the distance to the main international competitors has not diminished, and in some cases has even widened.

The Commission's appraisal is especially critical of the fact that too little progress has been made regarding the benchmarks most closely related to social inclusion. It is an important point, since there is a clear need for a new generation of policies to respond to the economic and social crisis.

There is a growing sentiment in European bodies that the first decade of the 21st century was a lost decade in terms of educational policies. This feeling is obviously enhanced by the acute awareness that Europe is in the throes of an extremely profound crisis.

A sense of discouragement and especially of misunderstanding is taking over Europe. Why are the objectives of the Lisbon Strategy (2000) so far from being accomplished? Why weren't the objectives of the Education & Training 2010 Work Program achieved? Worse yet, how is it possible that this overriding European ambition has translated into a crisis as deep as the one we are facing today?

Strangely or not, instead of promoting critical reflection and seeking alternative orientations, the European Commission is launching a new program called Education and Training 2020 (ET 2020), which relies heavily on the logic of the past. There is no significant change, there is no new perspective, only repetition and rehashing of the Education & Training 2010 Work Program.

Again, five EU benchmarks are set for 2020: i) at least 95% of children between 4 years old and the age for starting compulsory primary education should participate in early childhood education; ii) the share of early leavers from education and training should be less than 10%; iii) the share of low-achieving 15-years olds in reading, mathematics and science should be less than 15%; iv) the share of 30-34 year olds with tertiary educational attainment should be at least 40%; v) an average of at least 15% of adults should participate in lifelong learning (CEC, 2011; CEU, 2011).

Greater relevance is given to two of these five benchmarks – to reduce the number of early school leavers and to increase the share of young adults holding tertiary education qualifications – that are selected as headline targets for the Europe 2020 strategy.

The more light that is cast on Europe – through indicators, benchmarks, objectives, strategies, programs, etc. – the more blindness seems to govern the policy guidelines. There is a kind of rush forward, instead of fresh, critical thinking regarding the future of Europe. The reasoning is: «if the previous program failed, it was not because of lack of lucidity, but rather because of lack of determination». So, the new program should maintain and strengthen the same policies.

Thus, after a period of adjustment created by the launch, in 2010, of the Europe 2020 strategy, a set of new guidelines for European educational policies was adopted in November of 2012 under a new Education and Training 2020 (*ET 2020*) program. That is what I will analyze in the second section of this article.

THE EUROPE 2020 STRATEGY AND THE NEW ET 2020 PROGRAM

Intense debates have taken place in the 2010-2012 period within the European Union. The deep crisis affecting Europe has led to questions that go to the heart of the Unionization process. On one hand, there is a return to national fractures and divisions, particularly between the South (most affected by the crisis) and the North. On the other hand, there are emerging voices demanding greater European integration and even the construction of a European federation (or confederation).

The evidence makes it undeniable that the Lisbon Strategy (2000) has failed, particularly with regard to the education and training objectives. The idea that Europe would become the most competitive, dynamic, knowledge-based economy in the world has now clearly been abandoned. Not only has this ambition fallen far short of being achieved but progress in this direction has been extremely limited. And, needless to say, the expansion of emerging countries (Brazil, India, China, etc.) has begun to undermine the dominant position Europe has occupied for many centuries.

It is this background of crisis and a certain disorientation that define the Europe 2020 strategy and its corollary in the education field, ET 2020 (CEU, 2009). Rather than a sound reflection, there are more continuities than changes in the way European construction is conceptualised. And the changes that occur contribute more to narrowing the debate than to opening up new ideas and perspectives.

From the political point of view, the analysis is reactive. It entails a defensive logic, which has translated into a lack of ambition and an awareness that Europe's recovery will likely be very slow and perhaps lead to a permanent loss in wealth and potential for future growth.

From the point of view of the methods of action, the documents approved in 2010-2012 repeat the same rationale, even though there are pressures for greater European integration. These pressures are overly cautious, which makes responses more difficult and untimely. Faced with a major crisis, Europe seems unable to change its methods of action and foster new dynamics, either towards greater federative efforts or new types of relationships among European countries.

In education, – the field in which the European Commission had placed so much hope in 2000 – there has been an inflation in discourse that seeks to compensate for the shortage of results. Education is once again placed at the core of all solutions, both in Europe 2020 as in its deployments. But when you look at the long list of goals and priorities in detail, it is clear that the central points of the ET 2020 program are based on economics, on-the-job-training, employability and a set of initiatives to tackle youth unemployment. There is a tendency to reduce the educational issues to the «needs of the economy» and to the preparation of professionals capable of joining the job market.

It is in this atmosphere, that albeit socially and politically unpromising, is very interesting to analyze from a theoretical and analytical perspective, that I will present a critical view of the Europe 2020 strategy and the ET 2020 program.

Europe 2020: a strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth

The President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, writes an interesting preface to the Communication from the Commission, Europe 2020:

> 2010 must mark a new beginning. I want Europe to emerge stronger from the economic and financial crisis. (…) This crisis is a wake-up call, the moment we recognize that *business as usual* would consign us to a gradual decline, to the second rank of the new global order. This is Europe's moment of truth. It

is the time to be bold and ambitious (EC, 2010, p. 2).

The purpose of the preface is to recognize that «Europe needs to get back on track». And for this, it is necessary that Europe «acts collectively, as a Union». The Europe 2020 strategy sets out a vision of Europe's social market economy, introducing the following headline targets: i) 75% of the population aged 20-64 should be employed; ii) 3% of the EU's GDP should be invested in R&D; iii) the 20/20/20 climate/energy targets should be met; iv) the share of early school leavers should be under 10% and at least 40% of the younger generation should have a tertiary degree; v) 20 million fewer people should be at risk of poverty (EC, 2010, p. 5).

Throughout the document it is consistently pointed out that these targets are interrelated and critical to the overall success of the strategy. Furthermore, to ensure that each Member State tailors the Europe 2020 strategy to its particular situation, the Commission proposes that EU goals be translated into national targets and trajectories: «The Commission will monitor progress towards the targets, facilitate policy exchange and make the necessary proposal to steer action and advance the EU flagship initiatives» (EC, 2010, p. 6).

We are facing a change of some significance, with the European Commission taking on greater control in monitoring national policies. This new step towards stronger involvement of European institutions is justified by the exceptional nature of the European crisis and the need to take urgent action: «In so doing, our exit from the crisis must be the point of entry into a new economy» (EC, 2010, p. 10).

Once again, education policies occupy a prominent place in the making of the new European strategy (EC, 2010): increasing employment rates (first target) is directly related to training for employability; intensifying the investment in R&D (second target) involves primarily universities; objectives in the area of climate and energy (third target) depend heavily on technology and deeper awareness of new generations; the fourth target is specifically related to compulsory and higher education; and even the fight against poverty (fifth target) is defined based on a new relationship with work and people's ability to acquire the skills needed to integrate themselves into society and the labour market.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING 2020: RETHINKING EDUCATION STRATEGY

My message is clear: Europe will only resume growth by producing highly skilled

> workers who can contribute to innovation and entrepreneurship. Efficient investment in education and training is fundamental to this (Vassiliou, 2012, p. 1).

These words uttered by European Commissioner Androulla Vassiliou at the press conference where she presented the outlines of the Rethinking Education strategy are very interesting. The central idea is that «Europe must respond». And to organize this response, it is necessary to provide «the right skills for employability» and to work «with business or employers to bring the learning experience closer to the reality of the working environment» (EC, 2012a, p. 2).

The whole strategy is built on the need to supply Europe with «highly skilled workers», and this approach marks a significant difference in European priorities. Obviously, throughout the document, there are a number of additional references and recommendations concerning themes such as literacy, numeracy and basic mathematics and science as key foundations for further learning; early childhood education and care; high quality, adult basic skills; and language learning (EC, 2012a).

Furthermore, two themes are always present: learning outcomes and the need to harness «the power of assessment» and the potential of ICT and the importance of the digital revolution. The role of teachers and the urgency of defining cost-sharing schemes for funding education are also addressed in this Communication from the European Commission.

But the main foci of the document, which serves as the reading frame for all orientations, are undoubtedly issues related to the economy and employability. The subtitle of the Communication is a good illustration of this fact: *Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes*.

All educational policies are presented in light of the need to acquire better jobs, to open «a gateway to employment», to foster competitiveness, to increase levels of employability, or to enhance the «skills needed to function in the global marketplace». In short, the whole line of argument is based on the need for young people to «get the right skills to enter the labour market or create their own businesses».

The atmosphere of crisis and in particular the fight against youth unemployment pervades the entire Rethinking Education strategy, approaching educational policies from the perspective of addressing «the needs of the economy» (EC, 2012a, p. 2).

Among the four areas covered by the Communication, three are directly related to this rationale: developing world-class vocational education and training to raise the quality of vocational skills; promoting work-based learning including quality traineeships, apprenticeships and dual learning models to help the transition from learning to work; promoting partnerships between public and private institutions (to ensure appropriate curricula and skills provision).

We are witnessing a major turning point in educational policies in Europe. These policies do not embody a new way of thinking about education, but mainly embrace the overarching presence of economic and unemployment issues. In a sense, the same logic that has always guided European policies, at least since Maastricht (1992), prevails; but it has been compressed to dimensions related to skills that will «generate growth and competitiveness» and concentrates on the «development of entrepreneurial skills».

LIFELONG LEARNING TRANSLATED INTO «THE RIGHT SKILLS FOR THE LABOUR MARKET»

European Union documents always centre on rhetoric regarding the «great past» and the «great future» of Europe. But today, there is a strong sentiment that we are experiencing what is indeed a «small present», and the feeling has begun to raise doubts about Europe's ability to overcome the current crisis.

The grandiloquent statements of European documents are in stark contrast with Europe's inability to think of itself in a new international context or account for the fact that societies that are undergoing profound transformation. In the case of educational policies, rather than openness to new perspectives, we are witnessing a narrowing of vision and an impoverished understanding of how education should function in contemporary societies.

From the late 90s, and especially after the Lisbon Strategy (2000), European documents placed lifelong learning at the centre of educational policy. The response to social and educational problems would be found in the capability of each person to learn throughout his or her life, to undertake the journey toward endless training and re-training.

With the expansion of the concept of employability, lifelong learning was increasingly defined as the aptitude to embrace a life of constant adaptation to new jobs and careers. The logic of continuing education was gradually transformed into the logic of adaptation to a life of permanent new jobs, a euphemism that often meant precarious work or no labour rights. This transition meant that the challenges of the Welfare State became less the responsibility of political entities, and more the responsibility of the individual.

The new ET 2020 or Rethinking Education strategy goes a step further in this direction by virtually abandoning the concept of lifelong learning – up to now dominant in European texts – and concentrating pointedly on issues of employment, jobs and occupations.

We are witnessing the emergence of a new vision of education that overlooks important social and cultural dimensions and emphasizes points of view focusing primarily on economic dimensions. The way concepts of learning outcomes, entrepreneurial skills, work-based learning, IT skills and even «entrepreneurial teachers» are mobilized, shows the extent to which the educational space has been restructured.

Simultaneously – and this point deserves to be stressed – the European Commission decided to follow up on the Rethinking Education strategy with monitoring devices at the level of each Member State: «The Education and Training Monitor is a new analytical tool that provides the empirical evidence to underpin this reform agenda. It is a succinct yet comprehensive overview of the core indicators regarding education and training systems in Europe, enabling the reader to compare and contrast recent progress as well as to identify the immediate challenges for Member States» (EC, 2012b, p. 3).

It is clear that this policy is consistent with the usual forms of European action, heavily based on the open method of coordination. But one realizes that this decision constitutes an important step towards further European interference in national policies. The «reader» spoken of in the document is, first of all, the European Commission, which will take actions regarding each Member State based on its «reading».

In this respect, the detailed reports presented by each country are a very strong indicator of the policies to be pursued at the national level (EC, 2012c). In a previous text, I called this approach «governing without governing», that is, elaborating sophisticated ways of producing policies in each Member State and at the European level, but always pretending that no policy is being implemented (Nóvoa, 2010). There is continuity in this method of political action but now the European Commission is taking a new step towards stronger coordination of European policies on education.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

These concluding remarks will be organized around three main themes: Europe in times of crisis; the meaning of education policies in today's Europe; and the need to revise our analytical and theoretical tools to study educational policies in the European context.

It is from this triple reflection that the *new fabrications* that are taking place in Europe can be gleaned, particularly within the European educational space. These new fabrications seek to rediscover a place for Europe but have proved incapable of responding to a crisis that is far more than a mere cyclical difficulty.

Without a historical perspective situating European reality in time and space, we will not be able to free ourselves from the swamp into which Europe has fallen. We are locked into narrow, short-range views and lack the capacity to mobilize European energies or create a new vision of education. Is Europe condemned, like Paul Valéry (1919) wrote almost a century ago, to be merely a «small promontory of the Asian landmass»? Or is Europe destined to be no more than a poor imitation of America and nothing else?

IS EUROPE A SOLUTION OR A PROBLEM?

European integration has been seen, over recent decades, as a solution to the problems of peace and development, not only within the region but also at the global level. In twenty years, the European Union has evolved from 12 countries to the current 27 Member States. For most of these countries, particularly from Southern and Eastern Europe, EU membership was seen as a solution to national problems. The loss of national sovereignty would be offset by belonging to a stable, cohesive, supportive Europe, which would offer protection to its countries and their citizens. This expectation was particularly evident in countries belonging to the Eurozone.

The current crisis has cast doubt on these beliefs (and expectations), creating a problem of legitimacy in the process of European integration. There is a growing misunderstanding about the crisis and there are increasing worries about Europe's ability to respond politically to the crisis. The resurgence of national tensions in Europe shows the fragility of an alliance that can disintegrate quicker that one might imagine. What took decades to build can take just a few months to dissolve.

Once the illusion of Europe as the centre of the world has disappeared, what remains may only be a project to imitate America. But, as a leading European philosopher, Eduardo Lourenço, states, «our current existence as a second rank pseudo-America is the worst of deaths» (2011, p. 51). What transformed Europe from a solution into a problem?

Many countries, notably some peripheral countries, have resumed old identities and connections with America, Asia and Africa as an alternative to facing the difficulties they feel within Europe. It could be seen as a process of openness but it is not. In effect, it is a process of division and separation that can only be tackled by creating a new concept of Europe, built from the bottom up, not from the core European institutions or «eurocrats» down. Instead of the survival rationale that has guided the European bodies' response to the crisis, it seems that the time has come to promote a «response from the bottom up» that joins movements, cultures and peoples. Inherent in this process is the opportunity to create new concepts and practices of living in Europe that are necessarily more democratic – not only within the political space of the nation-states – but also at the European level. This is the only way to create a stronger legitimacy that fosters new answers to the problematic situation Europe is grappling with today.

WHAT EDUCATION FOR WHAT EUROPE?

Traditionally, the European Union has approached educational issues with prudence. At first, the EU adopted mechanisms of soft regulation. Then, gradually, new layers of action were accepted and implemented. The same thing can be said, as is evident today, of the field of economic policies: «We do not see how coordination can succeed when the coordinator is primarily constituted by an assembly of those who are the target entities of the coordination effort» (Enderlein *et al*., 2012, p. 17).

Apropos of this view, the report from the *Notre Europe* think tank presents the following observation:

> A stronger economic policy of the EU can emerge only if the actor of the policy is the EU itself and not the assembly of Member States. This implies a significant transfer of sovereignty. The EU level would have to be recognized as a full-fledged and autonomous actor in economic policy-making, based on appropriate sources of legitimacy (Enderlein *et al*., 2012, p. 17).

The same holds true for educational policies. Progressively, there is an emerging awareness of the fact that educational issues should be regulated at the European level, even if education remains the responsibility of each Member State.

A central element in this process is the burgeoning development of a body of European experts in the field of education. These experts, from various countries and backgrounds, have been building a theoretical, methodological and statistical apparatus that influences EU documents and, ultimately, national policies.

We are faced with discourses that carry powerful ideological concepts regarding education, yet they always tacitly appear – and seek – to impose themselves under the guise of being «obvious», «natural» and «inevitable». The most recurrent of these concepts are the «human capital theories», even though they have acquired new forms since the early 60s.

In this regard, it is useful to recall, once again, the criticism made by Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset in *The Mission of the University*:

> These clichés rest upon a fundamental error which we shall simply have to get out of our heads. It consists of supposing that nations are great because their schools are good. (...) It ascribes to the school a force which it neither has nor can have. (...) Certainly when a nation is great, so will be its schools. There is no great nation without great schools. But the same holds for its religion, its statesmanship, its economy and a thousand other things. A nation's greatness is the integration of many elements (1930, p. 19).

Saying the same thing, but in a different way: education is a more «totalized» than «totalizing» universe. It is not worth repeating, program after program, a «narrative of salvation» regarding education or the idea that education is the primary condition underpinning development. Education and development must be understood in equilibrium, without cause and effect, but in the light of a strong interaction and balance between the investment in education and the social and economic development of societies.

In this respect, the dogged continuity of European beliefs, from the documents of the 90s to the Education & Training 2010 Work Program and ET 2020, constitutes a kind of «blindness» that can hardly bring new light to European education.

But what is even worse, echoing this ideology, ET 2020 tends in effect to narrow the field of educational wisdom. It entails a return to the old concepts of vocational education and training, now clothed in new technologies and appeals to the entrepreneurial spirit. As stated in the Rethinking Education document: «Europe will only resume growth through higher productivity and the supply of highly skilled workers, and it is the reform of education and training systems which is essential to achieving this» (EC, 2012a, p. 17).

We are seeing a short-term response, when «in the context of crisis, long-term matters are urgent matters» (Enderlein *et al.*, 2012, p. 3). In fact, the crisis will not be overcome without radically new conceptions of education, devoid of time-worn theories on human capital or with views cloistered within a narrow interpretation of educational opportunities and possibilities.

HOW TO STUDY EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN EUROPE?

Throughout this article, I have tried to demonstrate how the European Union has progressively proposed and imposed educational policies in Europe. The analytical tools at our disposal are useful, but insufficient in explaining the European educational space and the reciprocal influences that exist between the European level (bodies and experts) and the national level (Member States).

Over recent decades, comparative education has been enriched by new theories and methods, among which is the world-system approach and research on educational transfer. World-system approaches provide a stimulating interpretative framework for the diffusion of standardized models of educational organization on a global scale. Its contribution is fundamental to understanding the expansion of mass schooling and to explaining why a certain degree of homogeneity is present in the development of national educational systems worldwide (Meyer, Ramirez & Soysal, 1992; Ramirez & Ventresca, 1992). Despite their importance, the prospects opened by these authors are insufficient in explaining the situation in Europe, which comprises its own specificity. European political integration requires different analytical tools that take into account the processes of power balance and power sharing between national states and European institutions.

Research into educational transfer – borrowing and lending, externalization and internalization, diffusion and reception, etc. – has undergone significant progress in the last decade (Popkewitz, 2000; Schriewer, 2000; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). The globalization of education has led to the conclusion that many changes were similar throughout the world, raising questions about the processes of transfer among countries and regions. Needless to say, these same processes are also active within the European area, not only in the relationship between Europe and America, but also in the way Europe influences and is influenced worldwide. Yet the European political situation has its own configurations which cannot be accurately analyzed solely through these approaches.

Thus, it is necessary to adopt analytical models that take into account the role that each Member State plays inside the «European Union» entity while simultaneously fostering an understanding of how and why autonomous discourses and practices have been created inside the European Union itself. These times of crisis are leading to stronger European governance through regular monitoring of national policies and the Commission is steering the process using the new instruments introduced by the Lisbon treaty: recommendations, policy warnings where necessary, and the possibility of penalties for serious delays.

Understanding how the convergence processes are defined in the European space is a major challenge for comparative education. As in economics, in education it is also necessary «to solve the paradox of preserving strong domestic political cultures while building a strongly integrated framework and allowing the European level to become an economic actor on its own» (Enderlein *et al.*, 2012, p. 21).

With this statement we come to the core of the debate that Europe – in today's context and more than ever – must have on how to deepen democracy. Philosophers like Jürgen Habermas (2001) have been saying something similar for many years, especially those who have viewed Europe as a non-state, supranational, democratic order: nothing will be achieved without greater participation of the people and social movements to counterbalance the decisions taken by experts and European bodies.

Power relations within the EU, both between states and between individual states and European institutions, are crucial to lending clarity to educational policies. The way each Member State contributes to influencing European decisions and, in turn, the way the EU is establishing itself as a tier of policymaking, leaves the field wide open for analysis and interpretation. In order to attain a clearer view of the future, we need to remove the blinkers that have narrowed Europe's field of vision and prevented education from fulfilling its personal and social potential in contemporary society.

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World Society and the University as Formal Organization

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abstract

This paper describes and interprets the worldwide transformation of universities with respect to how they account for excellence. It first reflects on the rationalized university as an organizational ideal and the implications of rationalization on standardizing university practices. The paper then focuses on two interrelated phenomena: the assessment of faculty and the assessment of universities, as illustrations of accounting-for-excellence. Examining the annual faculty report and tenure protocol as examples of common organizational practices within American universities, it argues that these practices facilitate American university participation in national and international university rankings. Finally, it is argued that American universities underwent earlier organizational rationalization and differentiation than universities in other countries in part because they were less differentiated from other social institutions. In the absence of the buffering authority of the state and the professoriate, American universities early on became organizational actors dealing with multiple stakeholders in search of resources and legitimacy.

key words

World society; Rationalized organizations; Socially embedded universities.

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World Society and the University as Formal Organization[1]

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the world, universities are increasingly engaged in activities that commit them to the pursuit of excellence and to accounting for progress toward excellence. Much of this accounting involves formalizing faculty assessments and standardizing university assessments. These assessments emerged earlier in the United States than in Western Europe, but accounting for excellence is now a worldwide university development. A crucial dynamic that facilitates this development is the transformation of universities from historically grounded, nation-specific institutions to organizational actors influenced by universalistic, rationalizing models. As organizational actors, universities are expected to have goals, plans to attain them and mechanisms for evaluating their progress. Universities are also expected to act as if they can learn from other universities and from expertise on how to become better universities. More universities today adhere to these expectations than at the beginning of the 20th century.

This paper seeks to interpret the worldwide transformation of universities with respect to how they account for excellence. The first part of the

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paper reflects on the rationalized university as an organizational ideal and its implications for accounting-for-excellence practices. Next, the paper focuses on faculty assessments by looking at the annual faculty report and tenure protocol in a case study designed to illustrate common organizational practices within American universities. I argue that these practices facilitate American university participation in national, and later, international university rankings. In the last section of this paper, I shall argue that American universities underwent earlier organizational rationalization and differentiation in part because they were less differentiated from other social institutions. In the absence of the buffering authority of the state and the professoriate, American universities early on became organizational actors dealing with multiple stakeholders in search of resources and legitimacy. This earlier development paved the way for more current practices to account for excellence.

These accounting-for-excellence exercises have now surfaced within Western European universities, but they have encountered greater resistance. Nevertheless, the rationalized university as an organizational ideal continues to spread within Western Europe. This paper concludes by reflecting on why the current globalization differs from earlier educational «borrowing» practices and is more difficult to resist.

Throughout the 19th century, European universities crystallized as national institutions, linked to both territorially bounded nation-states and distinctively nationalizing cultures. Transcending their ironically more cosmopolitan medieval roots, universities became laboratories of nationalism, editing national histories, constructing national languages and pursuing national agendas. The nation-state as a recipe for progress and the university as a core ingredient in that recipe became widely diffused in the 19th and 20th centuries (Anderson, 1991). In new country after new country, the university as a national institution was adopted, and this manifestation of commitment to modernity clearly contributed to both the legitimacy of the new country and to the time-honoured view of the university as a national institution (Riddle, 1993). But the earlier cosmopolitanism and its universalistic aspirations never totally faded. In fact, it seems to have resurfaced. Interacting with widespread models emphasizing the virtue and feasibility of better organization and superior management, these universalistic standards have given rise to the rationalized university as an organizational ideal that now commands worldwide attention.

This paper is an extended reflection on the rationalized university as an organizational ideal and the accounting-for-excellence practices that are both informed by this ideal and further strengthen its taken-for-granted status. First, I briefly revisit earlier work on the rationalization of the university motivated by the neo-institutional perspective (Frank & Meyer, 2007; Meyer, Ramirez, Frank & Schofer, 2007; Ramirez, 2006). The transnationally rationalized university is endorsed for its entrepreneurial spirit (Clark, 1998), critiqued for its lack of canonical soul (Readings, 1996) and analyzed with greater nuance in the growing body of literature on universities in transition (Mazza, Quattrone & Ricacaboni, 2008). In this section, core features of the rationalized university are emphasized. Next, the paper focuses on two interrelated phenomena: the assessment of faculty and the assessment of universities. Both exercises in assessment presuppose standards that can be applied to individuals and to organizations. Both exercises may be conceptualized as efforts to account for excellence and its pursuit. Thirdly, I explore these phenomena with concrete examples from one university in the United States. This abbreviated case study will illustrate growing rationalization justified by a discourse that is designed to be both objective and progressive. In this context, the growing rationalization will centre on the annual reports faculty submit to deans, the tenure protocol and the collection and organization of material universities submit to external organizations for purposes of facilitating inter-university rankings. Lastly, I reflect on why accounting-for-excellence practices emerged earlier in the United States and why their worldwide diffusion is enhanced by the current state of globalization.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE RATIONALIZED UNIVERSITY

The medieval university could not be viewed as a national institution for the simple reason that its emergence and expansion preceded the formation of nation-states by centuries. Very early on, the university was literally thought of as a highly portable institution. Consider, for example, the following letter written by King Henry of England (1229):

> The King (Henry II of England) to the Masters and University Scholars (at Paris).
> Greetings to the masters and the whole body of scholars at Paris, Humbly sympathizing with the exceeding tribulations and distresses which you have

> suffered at Paris under an unjust law, we wish by our pious aid, with reverence to God and His holy Church to restore your status to its proper condition of liberty. Wherefore we have concluded to make known to your entire body that if it shall be your pleasure to transfer yourselves to our kingdom of England and to remain there to study, we will for this purpose assign to you cities, boroughs, town, whatsoever you wish to select, and in every fitting way cause you to rejoice in a state of liberty and tranquillity which should please God and fully meet your needs (Daly, 1961, pp. 168-169).

To be sure, this audacious effort to «abscond with» not a single scholar but an entire university was facilitated by the low level of physical capital associated with the university. In the 13th century, the University of Paris was made up of masters and scholars and not much else. But the point to bear in mind is that the «French» character of the universitas did not pose problems for the «English» King. Truth be told, neither University nor King were especially French or English. Contrast this medieval cosmopolitanism with the provincial nationalism of the university in the 19th century. Consider, for example, an 1891 letter from future University of Chicago president Harry Judson to then president William Harper:

> I dislike the idea of a foreigner at the head of such a department in an American university. It seems to me that departments involving American history, American literature and American politics should be under the charge of Americans… I must confess that I don't fancy having to work under a German. I doubt if many American professors would (Boyer, 2003, p. 41).

In the late 20th century, the same University of Chicago would welcome Gerhard Casper, a German, as first the dean of its Law School and then as its provost. American professors at the University of Chicago and later at Stanford (where Casper served as president between 1992 and 2000) were most unlikely to think of themselves as working under a German. Though clearly less welcoming, medieval-cum-19th century, nationalist Oxford would see a New Zealander as its vice-chancellor in the 21st century.

The university as a national institution is a fairly recent, though in some ways well entrenched, phenomenon. For as long as national historical legacies held sway, the national university could invoke and embellish its unique national character to buffer itself from invidious, international comparisons (see Flexner, 1930 for an early cross-national assessment of universities). International comparisons, as we shall later see, presuppose standards, comparability and even the portability of «best practices» determined by professional experts. While announcing the eclipse of the nation-state may be premature, there is ample evidence of a decline in its charisma. Models of progress and justice now embodied in theories of human capital and doctrines of human rights are increasingly worldwide in their reach and clearly universalistic in substance. The Education for All regime is motivated by the optimistic premises that all children everywhere are capable of learning, that all societies stand to gain from having their people learn more and that the world itself would benefit from the triumph of the learning society perspective.

An earlier phase of this development emphasized access to schooling, and national report cards were mostly about showing enrolment levels and enrolment growth. The more recent phase stresses the importance of achievement across a wide range of subject matters, from mathematics and science to reading and civics. International tests like TIMSS and PISA have proliferated, and the number of countries that use these tests has also increased. National reform talk is replete with references to how well one's students did in comparison to other students from other countries taking these tests. The complex ways in which these tests are produced are discussed within academia; but in the world of policy talk, the country rankings discussions obscure methodological controversies. National economic growth, it is argued, is driven by educational quality reflected in these achievement tests (Hanushek & Kimko, 2000; but see Ramirez *et al.*, 2006, for a re-analysis and rebuttal). The conflicting evidence notwithstanding, there is a widespread faith in the tie between educational quality and national economic growth. Many calls for educational reforms are grounded in this faith.

The massification of lower levels of schooling has extended to higher education (Schofer & Meyer, 2005). Not surprisingly, the same shift in focus is taking place in higher education, a shift from issues of access and enrolments to one about quality and achievement. Inquiring minds seek to know what the contemporary monks and their acolytes are really learning. How does this learning contribute to the betterment of society? Who is doing it right? How can we learn from the winners? If these questions seem farfetched, consider the following e-mail queries from the world's best-known, international consulting firm to the author of this paper:

> I am part of a team supporting the Kingdom of Bahrain on a comprehensive education reform (spanning all levels: primary, secondary, tertiary and vocational). As I have been researching international comparative systems of higher education, I came across your name. I would be most obliged if we could spend a bit of time discussing your perspective on international systems of higher education. Specifically, I would appreciate your insights on:
>
> – What major trends are occurring in education internationally, particularly related to university institutions?
>
> – What are the factors that make an educational system most successful, particularly in a small, developing nation?
>
> – What nations are achieving the most success in their educational reforms? From whom can Bahrain learn?
>
> These questions are very broad, as we are in the early stage of our study. I am particularly interested in these questions as they relate to higher education, but I am grateful for any thoughts that might be applied more generally to an educational system. I would be most appreciative of your guidance. Would it be possible to set up a 30-60 minute phone interview? I look forward to speaking with you; thank you in advance for your insight and help.

It is important to note that I do not have country (Bahrain) or even region-specific (Middle East) expertise. Nor do I have a track record of studying successful educational policy implementation. But I have studied international educational trends and written widely about these developments. From a neo-institutional perspective, these studies emphasize the growth of educational isomorphism, despite much cross-national variation with respect to economy, polity and culture. These studies have also emphasized the role of experts in promoting the diffusion of favoured educational blueprints that they helped to forge in the first place. Major consulting firms clearly assume that their clients and their plans for higher educational development need to take into account international trends and what factors contribute to higher educational success in other countries. The query «From whom can Bahrain learn» presupposes a capacity for learning from others, and thus, the portability of success stories. The learning may require some translation, but the communication is open-ended and does not bias one in favour of this or that reference group of countries or educational systems. In this respect, the communication in 2006 is more in line with the 13th century cosmopolitan effort to attract the Parisian masters to England than the late 19th concern about Germans in positions of authority in an American university.

From a realist perspective, all of this is just plain good sense. Why should a country or a university not learn from political and educational winners? Why should those seeking to upgrade themselves not figure out the efficacious technology others have utilized to thrive? The problem, of course, is that the relationship between means and ends is more complex and uncertain when looking at higher education and national development goals than when examining mousetraps and the demise or the continued prevalence of mice. Notwithstanding other influences on their demise, dead mice are undeniably a better testimonial to the efficiency of a mousetrap than a mousetrap surrounded by cheese-nibbling mice. But what exactly does one point to by way of showing the relative superiority of a system of higher education? The most obvious and most widely accepted national outcome of higher educational development is national economic growth. But there is little systematic evidence to support this presumed relationship. In general, expanded systems of higher education do not promote economic growth (see Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000 for a review of the literature; see Schofer *et al.*, 2000 for data analysis and evidence directly bearing on this issue).

From a neo-institutional perspective, it is precisely this lack of evidence regarding efficaciousness that subjects national educational systems and universities to the influence of rationalizing external models to «get it right» and to success stories that presumably illustrate the main assumptions of these models. What these rationalizing models achieve is greater isomorphism, though not necessarily greater efficacy. Through mimetic and normative dynamics, universities begin to resemble each other, especially as regards those dimensions that reformers identify as organizational in character. Each university can continue to assert some symbolic distinctiveness as in the institutional sagas connected to its founding moments, for example (Clark, 1972), even as its curricula and faculty cease to be distinctive (See Soares, 1999, for the case of Oxford). In earlier eras, the mimetic and normative dynamics were mainly contained within the national domain. University rankings within the United States, for instance, predate the international Shanghai and Times rankings by decades. But the permeability of national boundaries, the decline of national state charisma and the sense that states and organizations are embedded within a world society, not merely a national one, trigger international comparisons based on transnational standards.

The rationalization of the university is influenced by its transformation into an «organizational actor», and this transformation in turn facilitates further rationalization. Krücken (2011) uses the term «organizational actor» to refer to «an integrated goal-oriented entity that is deliberately choosing its own actions and that can thus can be held responsible for what it does» (p. 4). It is perhaps now commonplace to imagine universities as organizations and indeed higher educational management is emerging as an area of research and practice. It is a recognized specialization within organizational studies at the Norwegian School of Management and in many other universities. But universities *qua* national institutions often lacked organizational backbone or formal administrative structure (Musselin, 2004). Older universities were instituted as communities with tradition (and its frequent re-inventions) as a guiding light. Newer universities were established to look more like deliberate associations, but even these were insufficiently rationalized as organizational actors.

Today, however, universities are expected to function as organizations. Universities are expected to have goals and plans for attaining these goals. Universities are expected to have specialized personnel and smart systems to bring these plans to fruition. And lastly, universities are expected to collect and analyze data to determine how well they are performing. Performance assessments in turn lead to refining goals, targets, resource allocation decisions and strategies for more effectively attaining these goals. These circular processes enhance the sense that universities are organizational actors and indeed acting like a rational actor has become the bottom line (Ramirez, 2006). The intensification of rationalization is examined more directly in the next section. In what follows, I briefly consider the worldwide scope of the rationalization of the university with respect to university rankings.

Universities as national institutions are more difficult to rank than schools because each university can more persuasively claim unique legacies or distinctive styles. The age of the university, of course, increases the likelihood that it can evoke an image of itself as a core feature of a national tradition. The more the national tradition is insulated from transnational expertise on how to function as a university, the more the university as a national institution persists. In practice, this means that universities as distinctive national institutions are increasingly «at risk» of veering toward more model-driven, formal organizations. Diffuse goals such as broad accessibility and social usefulness are on the rise in national educational agendas everywhere. Frank and Gabler (2006) convincingly demonstrate patterns of curricular change and isomorphism that are much attuned to the imperatives of broad accessibility and social usefulness. A third general idea is that the university should become more organizationally flexible and effective. This idea often goes hand in hand with the notion that universities should be «free» to seek multiple sources of funding. This in turn blurs the boundaries between universities and a range of organizations and associations in civil society and industry.

The university *qua firm* has led to a critical discourse on academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) or managerialism (Gumport, 2000). One can indeed point to material that supports the premise that it is the global market or global capitalism that is the visible hand that steers universities as national institutions. The search for new revenue streams, for example, has led to new programs to attract students from outside national borders. University industry ties are also frequently discussed in these terms (but see Colyvas, 2007 for a broader institutional perspective on the commercialization of university research).

However, there are many changes in the organization of universities that make little sense if profit is the bottom line. Cost efficiency does not drive the efforts to create a more diverse student and faculty body, efforts well underway in the United States and increasingly elsewhere. Neither the relative triumph of the social sciences in university curricula worldwide (Frank & Gabler, 2006) nor the global diffusion of women's studies as a distinctive innovation in higher education (Wotipka & Ramirez, 2008) is a by-product of the global economy. Instead, we find that the global cultural emphasis on accessibility invites diversity just as the social usefulness theme underlies the rise of the social sciences. The university as an upper-class institution or as an institution for men is delegitimized on universalistic, cultural grounds. In varying degrees, universities have changed to appear to be more inclusive, more student-centred, more socially useful and more organizationally flexible and effective. To monitor progress along these different fronts, universities collect the relevant statistical data, create specialized offices that both monitor and signal commitment to progress, expand curricular offerings, advertise the relevance of the university and its services and engage in both faculty and university assessments. The latter increasingly involve international benchmarks by situating universities in the hierarchies or rankings generated via the Shanghai or Times university rankings.

Universities have frequently promoted and protected themselves but only recently have these activities been explicitly framed by transnational standards and international rankings (Engwall, 2008). Much of the literature on how universities and governments utilize these rankings is limited to the

First World. Not only is it evident that universities in less developed countries are unlikely to be «competitive», it is further assumed that the obvious resource gaps between universities in the rich and in the poor countries will make the rankings less relevant to the latter. But this turns out to be untrue. Universities in poor countries use the rankings to symbolically communicate high aspirations. Furthermore, the rankings allow them to make not only within-world but also within-region and even within-country comparisons. Depending on the reference group of countries, the rankings can be used to promote an image of the university as a high-quality establishment or as one striving to attain high international standards. This organizational presentation of self can be aimed at governments, at other universities, at potential funding sources and at alumni.

To illustrate how the rankings can be used to promote the university, consider the case of De La Salle University in the Philippines. In a 2007 letter to alumni across the world, this university informs its graduates that it landed 392nd in the Times Higher Education Supplement, and was thus one of the top 500 universities in the world. The letter goes on to report that De La Salle was ranked 89th in the Asia-Pacific region and second within the Philippines. The latter makes it the top-rated private university in the Philippines, ahead of its perennial competitor, the Ateneo de Manila University (484th). A partial reproduction of the rankings table situates this university between the 380th and the 500th ranked universities, that is, between the University of Bremen in Germany and Carleton University in Canada. This partial reproduction identifies the criteria that were used to arrive at the overall rank and the university scores on each of the criteria: peer review, recruiter review, international faculty, international students, faculty-student ratios, citations per faculty and an overall score.

In a simple page, De La Salle University communicates to its alumni that it is a university that counts in a «world of standards». There will be times and places to mobilize alumni sentiment via the familiar trek through memory lane. But this page is deemed to be about objective assessment and a rationalized presentation of organizational self. Excerpting from the THES-QS-2006, this English language university acknowledges that the rankings favour universities that teach in English, but that future efforts will be made to level the playing field. Further excerpting leads to the conclusion that while ranking universities will remain controversial in the near future, there is broad acceptance that cross-national comparisons in higher education are here to stay.

This example suggests that the scope of the rationalized university is truly worldwide in character. In a similar mode, Kruecken and Meier (2006) report that the website of the University of Botswana is loaded with the familiar descriptors of the rationalized university: centre of excellence, international orientation, quality management, lifelong learning, public accountability and interdisciplinarity. Resource-limited universities may be even more eager to link to the wider world and to world standards and international comparisons that legitimize the university as an organizational actor. Just as resource-limited countries often rely on external sources of legitimizing, membership in the United Nations for example, so too resource-limited universities may be especially inclined to invoke their external ranking to validate themselves as real universities recognized by the wider world. Resistance may be more evident in older and more resource-rich universities but these too undergo some organizational changes that align them with current visions of the effective university (See Soares, 1999 for an interesting depiction of organizational changes in Oxford).

To summarize, nation-states are increasingly embedded in world society and influenced by world models of progress and justice. International organizations and epistemic communities both help construct these models and disseminate them worldwide. These models rationalize nation-states and the national institutions therein. Universities as national institutions are increasingly rationalized as organizational actors expected to commit themselves to the broad goals of greater accessibility/diversity and social usefulness/ relevance. Universities are further expected to function as effective and flexible organizations. Without an efficacious technology to produce higher educational quality, certain universities with a strong interest in becoming good, better or even world-class institutions are subjected to normative and mimetic pressures. These pressures expose universities to world standards and to their heroic exemplars. These standards are set forth as portable goals and so too are the strategies for change and upgrading. Cross-border diffusion is thus made sensible, that is, the object of much sense-making effort. The standards diffuse, as do accounts of their efficaciousness, somewhat in spite of the evidence. These pressures situate universities within hierarchies based on international rankings. A transnational benchmarking discourse emerges and expands, often corroding the historically-grounded and nationally distinctive university. All of this involves world cultural rationalization, and its net effect on universities is to move them along a path that leads to the university as a more rationalized organization. There is evidence of resistance here and there, but the resistance appears to be limited, symbolic and often involves appropriating some core elements of the rationalizing models. It appears that no university is officially opposed to diversity or formally dismissive of higher quality management. A full-fledged return to the university as a laboratory to breed counter-attacks of nationalism is not evident (See Strang & Macy, 2001 for a more general discussion of sense-making in «searches for excellence»).

THE INTENSIFICATION OF RATIONALIZATION: A CASE STUDY

American universities are often held up as exemplars of universities that are broadly accessible, socially useful and organizationally flexible. Their success in international rankings and in bibliometric contests is often attributed to their superior organization and management. Reforms in higher education in other countries, directly or indirectly, are influenced by American success stories and the principles and assumptions these stories are supposed to illustrate. A lot of these stories involve distortions, underestimating the role of federal and state governments in fostering and maintaining universities and overestimating the differences between public and private universities. Most importantly, the causal tie between better organization and management and university success is based on anecdotal evidence at best.

But it is true that some forms of rationalization and accounting for excellence took place earlier in American universities. American professors were subjected to student evaluations of their courses long before this practice took root in some European universities. Earlier controversies about the competence of students to assess faculty quality are deader than a doornail. The American professor is not expected to simply profess but to teach. The teenagers whose evaluations are recorded do not assess the professors' mastery of theory or research methods but whether the course material was well-organized and effectively communicated by a professor that truly engaged them.

The actual content of the evaluation protocol varies between and even within universities. But the commonalities clearly outweigh the differences. Though elite universities clearly value scholarly achievements more than teaching assessments, the latter are routinely utilized in both elite and non-elite universities. Furthermore, as professors are recruited from one university to another, they are often asked to display some evidence of teaching effectiveness. Testimonials from former students count, but the more formal and scientized evaluation ratings are often displayed as well. The portability of these ratings is grounded in the belief that good teaching is good teaching, regardless of the local university context.

Of course, there are many other factors that go into the overall assessment of professors. In what follows, I first examine two dimensions of faculty assessment, the annual report and the tenure case. I do so using materials from one school in one university, the School of Education at Stanford University. I highlight both what is expected and in what ways these expectations have become more formalized and elaborated. Next I examine what goes into an assessment for tenure. There is less variance across the University as regards the tenure protocol than with respect to the annual report.

The annual report is a common practice across American universities. It is produced by individual professors and sent to school deans, department chairs or departmental colleagues. In some universities, these reports are cited as the basis for determining the magnitude of salary rises. But these reports are undertaken even in universities where salary rises are more or less standardized, at the California State University system, for example. Even in those where the magnitude of salary rises fluctuates, the degree of fluctuation within a year is modestly related to the variation in the quality of professorial profiles, as revealed in these annual reports. In universities where big annual rises are possible, academic market processes mostly trigger these rises. External offers from prestigious competitors are by far better leverage than unusually attractive annual reports. External offers, of course, are influenced by judgments of quality based on performance. But if one is not movable for spousal or other reasons, one is likely to face more modest salary bumps.

Before we delve into the contents of an annual report to consider what makes for an attractive faculty profile, let us briefly reflect on why these annual reports take place. Since both the tenured and the untenured faculty issue these reports, we know these are not instruments designed to weed out the weak or the unproductive. Since the reports are not strongly linked to a system of rewards, monetary incentives are not the core drivers for report writing. More importantly, it is misleading to think that universities seek this information to rationally reward the more productive.

The annual report, I contend, is first and foremost a symbolic affirmation of the university as an organization. More concretely, annual reports activate the idea that professors are accountable to those who play managerial or administrative roles within the university, and furthermore, that accountability displays are orderly, standardized and universalistic. Within the appropriate academic unit, the department, the school or the university as whole, every professor faces the same annual report criteria.

Taking this imagery one step further, the annual report generates data, thereby creating the impression that the university is a data-driven organization in its assessment of faculty. However inconsequential these performance assessments may be in some universities, in all universities the idea that the organization is engaged in a fair and objective assessment of its personnel contributes to the sense that the university is a rationalized organization. The alternative to the rationalized organization is imagined to reek with subjectivity, arbitrariness, favouritism and other organizational shortcomings.

Thus, while the innovation called performance assessments produces «fear and trembling» in some European universities, annual reports do not generate the same adverse reaction among American professors. The practice is so common and so routine, that it rarely evokes much criticism or even commentary.

So, what goes into an annual report? Not surprisingly, these reports cover familiar grounds: scholarship and research on the one hand and teaching on the other. In earlier eras, a loosely-structured narrative sufficed as an account of scholarship and research activities for the year. The standardized teaching evaluations, however, have been a staple in these reports for a long time. This paper has previously identified some dimensions of student evaluation of teaching: course organization, communication effectiveness and engagement with students, among others. For each of these dimensions, an average assessment score can be computed that can then be compared to the department or school average. Overall scores can also be computed and compared. More qualitative comments are solicited from students and this feedback presumably will help professors upgrade the quality of their teaching. Student anonymity is taken for granted in this process.

The scope of annual reports has expanded, providing professors with opportunities to demonstrate virtue across more varied dimensions. In *Appendix A* (*cf.* p. 153), we find the current annual report format, used within the School of Education at Stanford University. There are seven types of data solicited: publications, courses, committees, funding, service to the school and to the university, service outside the university, professional activities and honours and awards. The first thing to keep in mind is that the narrative on scholarship is now boiled down to a specification of research products. The underlying message is a simple one: a good scholar generates research products. These in turn are differentiated into books, refereed articles and chapters. Earlier versions of this format did not call for further specifications. But in this format, one is asked to specify whether the product is single-authored or involves multiple authors. In the case of multiple-authored papers, one is further expected to indicate the order of authorship, not merely to identify the co-authors by name. Both of these more recent developments are exercises that facilitate partitioning the credit due to the authors. These developments may seem out of line with an educational climate that celebrates collaborative endeavours. But both developments make sense as indicators of more precise accounts of excellence. Knowledge of the relative status of the collaborators is no doubt factored into assessments of an individual's scholarship. One's relative standing in the authorship line may be weighted differently depending on one's relative standing in the discipline or profession. Alternatively, to avoid this ranking of authors' contributions, co-authors increasingly state in print that they really are co-responsible for the product.

A related issue has to do with products that have yet to materialize. Here a sharp line is drawn between work in progress (which may or may not result in a product or even exist as a product candidate) and work that has already been accepted but has yet to materialize. The former is an inevitable part of the process but only the latter counts in the annual report. The closer the accepted product is to publication, the greater the likelihood that pagination will already be known. Thus, professors are encouraged to cite pages when these are known. This too is a recent further specification and one that gauges proximity of materialization with the more proximate, perhaps, counting more. Papers under review count because they have materialized and can be viewed as product candidates.

The sections on teaching and student committees are revealing because these include more than the standard student evaluation of teaching forms. They remind the faculty that other standardized data gathered and organized by academic services – data on the kinds and number of courses taught, on the different kinds of committees served, on the different roles played within these committees – could contain error.

Professors are expected to have their own, presumably more accurate, records regarding the relevant materials sought. These also indicate that faculty should explain why they taught fewer courses than the norm and why course evaluations are not available for some courses. None of this is as draconian as it may sound, as there are well-established grounds to justify a course under-load in a given year or not having a course evaluated. For the latter, new courses and courses with very few students are exempt. For the former, administrative responsibilities or grant-supported «time buy outs» are acceptable accounts.

Again, it is not clear what sanctions would be applied to those who deviate from these norms. What is clear is that the annual report activates norms regarding the value of teaching and does so in greater detail than a simple «we care about teaching» statement. The annual report also activates norms regarding the quest for funding. In this domain though, both submitted and received grants count. The former may be grant proposals that are pending or even grant proposals that have been rejected. It may seem odd that the latter count whereas work in progress does not. Perhaps the issue is that even a failed research proposal is more of a concrete product than a work in progress. Or, perhaps, the main point is that research proposals are more aligned with a collective good, the support of doctoral students, than work in progress. Even a failed research proposal communicates that one at least tried!

The last four sections of the annual report focus on service, professional activities and honours and awards. The service category distinguishes between service to school, to university and to the wider society. In a highly rationalized university, there are all sorts of committees, and hence, all sorts of opportunities to display service. There are university and school-wide standing and *ad hoc* committees. Committee membership may be brought about through an election or an appointment or even via the old fashioned volunteer route. The School of Education alone is involved in ten faculty searches, each of which will require three or four professors who either express an interest in serving on the search committee or are persuaded to do so. Service outside the university could range from local to state to national and even to international organizations or associations. Membership in a board of the National Academy of Sciences or in a committee of the Ford Foundation or in some international counterpart counts. So do multiple other venues in which service can be undertaken and recorded.

It is equally easy to identify an array of professional activities from presentations of papers in conferences (not to be confused with research products), to reviewing papers for journals to serving on editorial boards, etc. Some of these activities could be classified as service as well, evaluating research proposals for a foundation, for example. Further rationalization down the road may facilitate more precise classification of one's activities. For present purposes, the simple rule is not to double count the same service or professional activity.

Lastly, the section on honours and awards has a dual purpose. First, it explicitly provides faculty with an opportunity to shine. Secondly, it allows the School to garner the kind of information that then makes the School shine in the aggregate. This will become clearer when we turn to the question of university assessment and rankings. Before we do so, however, we take a brief detour to better understand tenure protocols, as another domain within which there has been intensified rationalization. Unlike annual reports, tenure protocols are more standardized within universities but more varied across universities in the United States. There is an obvious reason for the greater variability and that is the greater variability in tenure rates across universities. The tenure bar radically differs across universities. The American universities that dominate the top twenty lists in international rankings are in no way representative of the population of American universities. Though assistant professors everywhere worry about tenure, their concerns are more realistic if they are employed in one of these elite universities. Most professors in most universities get tenure when they come up for tenure. So, why does it appear that tenure anxieties are on the rise everywhere? In good part, the answer lies in the triumph of the rationalized university model. Despite obvious differences in resources, reputations and actual tenure rates, universities begin to resemble one another with respect to the formal processes associated with the tenure decision. That is, while tenure bars clearly vary, tenure protocols are increasingly similar.

Let me briefly illustrate this point. In a growing number of universities, the tenure protocol formally emphasizes the same criteria. The terms «major scholar» and «future leader in the field» are now commonplace. Even in places where teaching excellence is given greater weight, some display of scholarship and research productivity is expected. But who is to assess whether the display suffices to warrant tenure? Reviewers external to the university are increasingly asked to evaluate tenure candidates. Reviewers from the more prestigious universities are often solicited because they are imagined to add gravitas to the assessment process. The number of external reviewers sought is also on the rise. Reviewers who decline the offer to serve in this capacity often indicate that their refusal should not be held against the candidate. At times they explicitly endorse the candidate while simply indicating that they do not have the time to participate in what has become a very time consuming form of assessment. The increased use of external reviewers signals the triumph of diffuse professional norms over organizationally specific ones as regards the important issue of faculty tenure. Or, to put it differently, external reviewers make sense because the university is increasingly re-imagined as a professionalized organization instead of a historically grounded one.

The tenure protocol in the major universities has been rationalized along different dimensions. First, as already implied, a greater number of reviewers are sought. The less a field is dominated by a single paradigm, the greater the number of external reviewers solicited. In education at Stanford, for example, it would be risky to proceed with less than eight external letters of assessment. Secondly, the form of the review letter has undergone further rationalization. Reviewers are now asked to compare the candidate with other typically tenured scholars in similar fields in other universities, often referred to as the «comparison set». This expectation presupposes that comparisons make sense and that reviewers have sufficient knowledge to make sensible comparisons. Not all reviewers comply. Reviewers that both comply and rate the candidate at the top of the list, though, make the case for tenure easier. The toughness of the comparison set, of course, varies across universities. But the formal process is now in place in many universities and the formal process creates the impression that all are engaged in a serious, high-stakes assessment. Thus, even a candidate in a university in which no one can remember the last person who failed to get tenure, is caught up in this sober accounting-for-excellence exercise.

The formal process creates work for the candidate, for the tenure committee, for academic services and for the external reviewers. The candidate puts together a dossier, a package essentially made up of publications plus the material compiled in the annual reports. The tenure committee identifies the external reviewers and the comparison set. Academic services reproduce all the relevant materials and send these to the external referees. All of these activities take place within a standardized framework that is mindful of issues of confidentiality and fairness in a culture that tends to be litigious.

It may be hard to imagine that the process can be further rationalized but it has. At Stanford University guidelines have been established to further structure the report from the tenure committee. First, the tenure narrative is organized around specific predetermined and differentiated sections deemed important. The result is not quite as standardized as the annual report but a greater degree of formal standardization is attained. All tenure reports contain a section on scholarship that is differentiated from a section summarizing reviewer views and both sections are differentiated from the sections on teaching quality and service contributions. Second, the length of the report is standardized. No candidate should be favoured or undercut because the length of a report gives the case for tenure greater or less weight. Third, reviewers are now identified, not only by their current university affiliation, but also by the university from which they obtained their degree and the date of degree conferral. No rationale for this further rationalization has been explicitly provided, but one can imagine that some degree-granting universities may command more respect than others. This in turn may lead tenure committee members to reflect on which experts they should rely on for assessment. Lastly, a concern for transparency is formally translated into the expectation that any negative letter must be explicitly addressed in the report. It will not do to merely say that nine out of ten referees wrote very favourable comments appropriately summarized in the report. The non-favourable tenth one must be made visible and its reservations or critiques of the candidate's work must be addressed.

So far this paper has discussed annual reports and tenure protocols as indicators of how the rationalized university engages in faculty assessment. It has also more concretely focused on the annual report (Appendix A) within the School of Education at Stanford and the tenure protocol for Stanford University as a whole to get a better sense of what is involved and in which ways these documents have been further formalized. I turn now to external rankings and the assessment of universities (Ramirez & Christensen, forthcoming).

RANKING UNIVERSITIES: A CASE STUDY

A world of universalistic standards co-varies with a world of international comparisons. Still not all phenomena in this world are subjected to comparisons and rankings. We do not engage in ranking exercises as applied to races, religions, civilizations, etc. So, why are universities now ranked? And why are they ranked across national borders? This paper suggests that the key to this puzzle lies in the movement from national, historical institutions to rationalized organizations. The general idea is that the more any entity is imagined as a rationalized organization, the more it is at risk of being compared to other entities. Or, to be more precise, the rationalized organization image undermines the historicity and distinctiveness of the entities by dangling portable «best practices» before them. What are then compared are aspects of the entities rather than the entities as a whole. Phrased differently, for as long as universities could claim to be deeply rooted in national fabrics and essentially indivisible wholes, they were fairly immune from comparisons. Obviously, the older and more successful universities were better buffered from broader standards and inter-university comparisons, not to say international rankings. These universities could turn down proposals for change by simply observing, «things are not done that way here». The invocation of distinctive, institutional identity provided the rationale and justification for «why we do what we do». A rich, historical «we are» is the *sine qua non* for «what we do».

A world of universalistic standards and international comparisons though is one in which universities can not only be compared across national boundaries but universities-qua-organizations can be compared with other non-educational organizations as well. So, for example, the Entrepreneurship Research and Policy Network has recently generated a top ten list of organizations in which universities such as Harvard, Chicago, Stanford and Yale make it to the top ten list along with the National Bureau of Economic Research, the World Bank, the European Corporate Governance Institute, the Centre for Economic Policy Research and the Institute for the Study of Labour (http://hq.srn.com/Group Processes). This list illustrates the ascent of the professionalized organization as an abstract standard applied very broadly and with little respect for historical tradition. A world of universalistic standards and international comparisons is one where diffuse professional norms override specific organizational ones. Phrased differently, the professionalized organization as an ideal trumps the historically grounded legacy.

Most American universities have neither had the burden nor the advantage of historical richness and local roots. Moreover, American universities are embedded in a relatively new national landscape. It is therefore not surprising that American universities have always been more inclined to think about their 'competitors' and to favour inter-university comparisons. An optimistic belief in progress and in science for progress has made American universities more inclined to imagine that there was something to be learned from inter-university comparisons. Greater faculty mobility across universities is enhanced by this optimistic belief and by relatively low levels of university historicity and local roots. These factors provide some of the foundation for the earlier rise of the rationalized university as an organizational ideal in the United States. This point is revisited in the concluding remarks.

University rankings within the United States appeared much earlier than the international rankings that now command worldwide attention. Much of this comparative effort predates the highly publicized annual rankings found in the *US News and World Report*. Within the National Science Foundation, for example, there are serious efforts to ascertain whether some universities are better than others in promoting learning. One question currently explored is whether one can deal with selection bias and demonstrate that there is learning «value added» to attending universities. So, in addition to earlier popular horse race rankings of universities, schools and departments, there is now a more scientized quest to figure out what works best in the promotion of learning in universities. This quest is designed to hold higher education accountable (Shavelson, 2008).

It is indisputably true though that the *US News and World Report* has had a significant impact on colleges and universities in the United States (Sauder & Espeland, 2009). On the dark side, there is a sense that some of these places of higher learning are actively working their numbers to show improvement. There is also an excessive focus on such things as yields (what percent of accepted applicants come to you instead of to your competitors) and standards (what percent of applications you accept). Kirp (2003), among others, suggests that some admissions offices encourage weak applicants to apply in order to increase the applicant pool.

Furthermore, these offices turn down some worthy applicants who are likely to reject their offers of admission to go to more prestigious universities. The trouble, of course, is that admissions offices in earlier «in house» studies utilized these notions of standards and yields. This earlier experience gives these measures some face validity in admissions offices. But the public at large was less directly and less dramatically informed as to who the winners were, who was accepting and who was declining. Thus, the *Report* impacted universities directly and also indirectly through increased public awareness of the university rankings. How much the rankings actually influence student choice is unclear. But it is clear that many universities invoke their rank in their organizational presentation of self. It is clear that many universities pay attention to the rankings and dedicate time and energy to upgrading their standing.

But surely the many methodological problems involved with ranking are known and are a source of scepticism as to their value (see Welden, 2006 on business school rankings). There are indeed grounds for scepticism. From the assessment of schools of education in the United States, several illustrations come to mind. First, an assembly line, productivity imagery underlying the rankings has favoured schools that have produced a large number of graduates per faculty. In practice, the schools favoured have been those with large classes and, more often than not, a high student-to-professor classroom ratio. Though no school advertises itself as a place you should go to because you will be one out of a hundred instead of one out of forty in a classroom, less individualized attention ironically becomes a plus in this ranking dimension. Secondly, reputations, once achieved, have exerted an inordinate influence on the rankings. A once, top-rated program within my school continued to be rated the best in its field long after the program had come to an end. When the program was revitalized, it slipped in the rankings!

Scepticism abounds but scepticism does not stop universities and schools from participating. Efforts to boycott the *Report* have failed in large part because elite universities have not successfully formed a coalition to do so. This e-mail from the Associate Dean for Administrative Affairs at Stanford is instructive:

> It's the time of year when we send the *US News and World Report* our data for their annual rankings of graduate schools of Education. Although we don't approve of such rankings and scoff somewhat at their methodology, we have to play the game. One of the questions asks: How many full-time, tenured or tenure track faculty have received the following awards or have been an editor of the following journals in the last two calendar years (2006 and 2007)? These are the awards and journals they include in their list. Please let me know if these apply to you.

This brief request starts with the assumption that we all understand that this is a routine practice. There is a time for giving lectures, a time for presenting papers at professional conferences, a time for faculty meetings and a time for responding to the questions from the *US News and World Report*. This request comes to us now because now is the time to comply. Notice, though, the awareness of methodological problems in the production of the rankings and yet the incontrovertible imperative that «we must play the game».

The scepticism is authentic. A former president of the university sought (unsuccessfully) to establish a coalition of elite universities that would visibly boycott the rankings game. The present dean chooses to not celebrate the schools' 2008 number 1 rank, lest a subsequent change in our rank require an account for our diminished excellence. But the scepticism does not derail the rankings.

Why? The answer in part is because much of the information sought is already contained within the annual reports and tenure protocols that are increasingly standardized in form. Awards and journal editorships are already established data entries under the honours and awards and professional activities or services categories in the annual reports. Tenure protocols make use of the same kind of information. Not only are the questions relatively easy to answer but also both the questions and the answers are taken for granted in the everyday life of many American university professors. Methodologically flawed as the rankings may be, the familiarity of the questions lends an aura of legitimacy to the data-gathering operation. The same aura of legitimacy is less than evident in other national systems of higher education where standardized annual reports have not been common practice. In these systems assessments, rankings are often critiqued as features of a rising audit culture that undercuts professorial conviviality.

To summarize, this abbreviated case study looks at annual reports and tenure protocols as university artefacts that illustrate the rationalization of faculty assessment. Upon close examination, it is evident that rationalization has intensified. Narrative accounts of scholarly pursuits have given way to standardized formats that identify products that count. The tenure bar is higher in elite universities but the tenure protocol diffuses across a wide range of universities. Formal standardization invites inter-university comparisons, as many universities can pretend that they are formally similar, and thus, comparable.

This case study also suggests that earlier experience with rationalized faculty assessment paves the way for compliance with university assessments. These take the form of national rankings that cover familiar ground for most American universities. These rankings in turn open the doors to international comparisons, and thus, to international university rankings.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The rationalized university as an organizational ideal that emerged earlier in the United States. Both the national experience and the experience of universities within the United States have made them less historically rich and locally-grounded, national institutions. American universities look like «organized anarchies» only because the organizational yardstick was easier to apply to them than to the older and more organizationally hollow but institutionally rich European universities. American universities have had more experience playing the organizational game, acting as if there were portable lessons to be gleaned from blithely comparing themselves with other universities. These comparisons presuppose standards and a widespread belief in progress.

But what was it about American universities that moved them in this direction earlier? Ben-David and Zloczower (1962) provide us with the useful insight that relative to their European counterparts, American universities were less buffered from other social institutions. Neither the authority of the state nor the authority of the professoriate shielded the university from a range of pressures emanating from different groups and interests. For the sake of legitimacy and funding, American universities coped with these different, and at times, competing demands by more carefully managing and properly displaying socially respectable identities. A distinctive and more powerful administrative strata emerged earlier in American universities. Other forms of organizational differentiation would ensue, paving the way for today's distinctive, fund-raising and public relations organizational units. Thus, an unintended consequence of the university being less differentiated from other institutions is the proclivity for greater organizational differentiation and accounting-for-excellence exercises.

Belief in progress and organizing to attain progress has evolved in two ways that interact with each other to produce the rationalized university as an organizational ideal. First, the belief is linked to models that attribute success to better organization and management. Since the university is imagined as an organization, it is more «at risk» of being rationalized. That is, the university is more likely to be attuned and receptive to theories of «best practices» and heroic stories of achievements in other universities or systems of higher education. Secondly, this belief is no longer constrained in its application by national boundaries. Medieval cosmopolitanism has resurfaced and contemporary cultural globalization is on the rise. Not surprisingly, universities now face world standards of excellence and pressures to adapt to international benchmarks via rationalized strategies. These pressures increase both the extensiveness and intensiveness of rationalization.

To be sure, transnational models interact with historical legacies. In countries with well-entrenched, historical legacies, one is more likely to observe hybridization or decoupling between formal policy and informal practice. In Germany, for instance, the habilitation prerequisite for becoming a professor is no longer legally mandated and junior professorships have been created. But many a junior professor writes a «second doctoral thesis» for fear that the older standard will be upheld by senior faculty in their assessments of excellence. However, in most countries, most universities are fairly new and have neither the resources nor the reputation to rely on historical legacies to maintain themselves. (It is important to keep in mind that more universities were created after World War II than in all of recorded time prior to the end of the War).

To be sure, universities influenced other universities across national boundaries in earlier eras. The influence of the German university in the late 19^{th} and early 20^{th} centuries is well established. But the current globalization of the model of the university differs from earlier patterns of exchange and influence in good part because the state of the globalization of the world differs. First, and perhaps obviously, communications and technological developments have given rise to a world in which models can and do diffuse more rapidly. Furthermore, the reach of these models is more extensive and not limited to the developed or Western world. The more extensive reach is facilitated by the greater ease with which higher education is theorized in abstract and universalistic terms, instead of in a nationally specific idiom reflecting a culturally distinctive canon. This leads us to our second point and that is the worldwide growth of organizational expertise in general, and more recently, of organizational expertise in higher education. This is not a historically-grounded expertise but one rooted in the triumph of the more ahistorical social sciences and one that is deeply committed to the pursuit of progress (Frank & Gabler, 2006). This expertise and the theorization it generates are more likely to celebrate the entrepreneurial, accountable and transparent university than any specific American university.

Practices to account for excellence are harder to resist if they are portrayed as rational efforts to gauge quality and progress rather than as distinctive features of an alien, national system of higher education. Lastly, the current state of globalization more directly emphasizes the world and global norms, for example, a global ecosystem, common humanity and the putative equality of all humans (Therborn, 2000). The current emphases facilitate the identification and diffusion of «best practices» across an increasing range of domains including university organization.

To summarize, cross-border diffusion of university forms and practices is not in and of itself a novel phenomenon. What is novel is that the current state of the world privileges professional expertise that facilitates cross-border diffusion by theorizing portable goals and strategies for attaining these goals and mechanisms for assessing progress toward attainment. What is novel is the technical ease and rapidity of communication flows across national borders. And lastly, what is novel is a level of world consciousness shaped in good part by the «scientization of society» and «the socialization of science» (Drori, Meyer, Ramirez & Schofer, 2003). A world in which both nature and society are increasingly imagined as subject to law-like forces is one that facilitates imagining universities as organizational actors and legitimizes structures and activities that communicate transformation.

Although scepticism abounds, it has failed to derail rationalization or undermine the rationalized university as an organizational ideal. Much of this rationalization revolves around the idea of excellence now cast in abstract, organizational terms. Universities as distinctive national institutions solely reflecting historical legacies can escape international comparisons. But the ongoing globalization of cultural models of progress makes it more difficult to cling to the national distinctiveness imagery of the 19th century. All universities are under varying degrees of pressure to generate accounts of excellence or at least accounts of commitment to excellence. Many educational reforms throughout the world are better understood if one recognizes how much accounting for excellence is a set of practices driven by the broader dynamic of transforming universities into organizational actors.

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ANNUAL REPORT

I. Publications

A. Books

B. Refereed journal articles

C. Chapters

For B and C distinguish between single and multiple authored papers and the latter are presented making clear the order of authorship.

Chapters in books (in press).

If page numbers are known these should be presented. Work in progress should not be cited.

Other publications and articles reprinted in journals or books.

D. Under Review

II. Courses taught from autumn quarter, 2006 through spring quarter, 2007 (list will be placed in your mailbox, Rm. 101, within a few days).

See attachment.

The course information in the database is not always reliable, and it is sometimes hard to interpret. Please use the information put in your mailbox, making adjustments where appropriate, to fill out the table below.

A. Please submit a syllabus for each course with your annual report.

B. If fewer than four courses per year were offered, please indicate why (leave, administrative duties, etc.).

C. If student evaluation forms were not completed, please explain why.

D. Additional teaching (e.g., independent readings).

III. Dissertation/Thesis Committees, Undergraduate Honours Students (please insert names into the table below)

(A listing from Academic Services will be placed in your mailbox within a few days).

PhD Diss. Chair PhD Diss. Comm. Masters Advisor Undergraduate Honours Advisor

IV. Funding (for research, teaching, or professional activities)

A. Grant proposals submitted.

B. Grants received.

V. Service to SUSE and Stanford University

A. SUSE committees.

B. SU committees.

VI. Service outside the University (including participation in local schools and other Education- or community-related organizations)

VII. Professional activities

VIII. Honours and awards received during the time period, and other activities not noted above

APPENDIX A

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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courses and Narrations in the Biosciences, P. Spinozzi and B. Hurwitz (Eds.) in *Interfacing Science, Literature and the Humanities* / ACUME2 Vol. 8 (Goettingen, V&R unipress, 2011, pp. 183-197).

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By Making The Child (2008); *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century: Comparative Visions* (2011), edited with Daniel Tröhler and David F. Labaree; and *Globalization and The Study of Education* (2009, with F. Rizvi, eds.). He is currently working on a book about social and education science as a history of the present, examining the historical and political limits of practical knowledge as a project of the social and education sciences.

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