THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION RESEARCH

Education Systems in Historical, Cultural, and Sociological Perspectives

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For nearly half a century, research on education systems has been increasingly popular. However, this popularity was long restricted primarily to internationally linked policy makers and education planners, often backed up by international organizations such the OECD but also by governmental or para-governmental organizations within the individual countries.

These institutional affiliations provided education research with a specific character that often centres on notions such as excellence, efficiency, or standards. The specific comparative character of this policy-driven research agenda triggered the development of suitable research techniques such as comparative statistics and pertinent sub-disciplines such as cognitive psychology. Backed-up by powerful global institutions, this agenda purported to be rather unique, and it tended to ignore the cultural complexity of the educational field and those research approaches that address this complexity.

This volume includes different historical, cultural, and sociological approaches to the education systems and to questions as to how research on education systems can be undertaken beyond the parameters of the existing research agenda. They demonstrate how pertinent problems of research on education systems can only be tackled taking an international and interdisciplinary approach with regard to both research questions and methods concerning education systems.

ISBN 978-94-6091-825-4

SensePublishers FUTU 1

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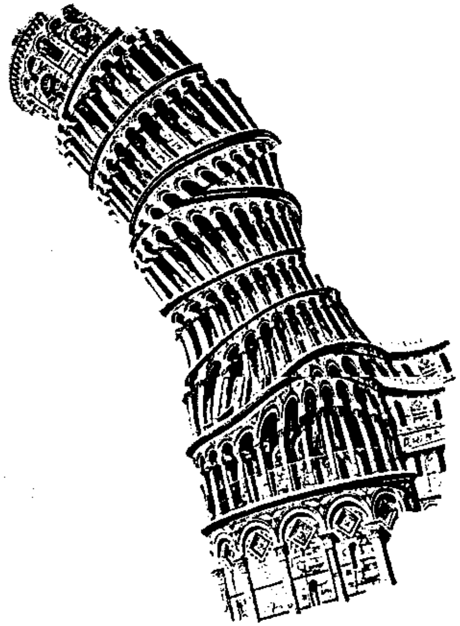

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A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-94-6091-825-4 (paperback)
ISBN 978-94-6091-826-1 (hardback)
ISBN 978-94-6091-827-8 (e-book)

Published by: Sense Publishers,
P.O. Box 21858, 3001 AW Rotterdam, The Netherlands
www.sensepublishers.com

Printed on acid-free paper

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DANIEL TRÖHLER

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION RESEARCH

Introduction to the series of four volumes

One characteristic of modern societies is that they are likely to assign their social problems to education. Arising in the specific context of the late eighteenth century, this 'educational reflex' paved the way for education to become an important social factor on local, regional, national and global scales. Witnesses for this upswing are, for instance, the expansion of compulsory schooling, the state organization and tertiarization of teacher education and thus the introduction of education departments in the universities, and the introduction of certificates for both students and teachers.

However, in contrast to the social artefact of modern societies – pluralism in languages, cultures, values, and customs, the education sciences seem in many respects still committed to ideas of unity or uniformity: For instance, the global standardization movement fosters uniformity in curriculum and content to serve the purpose of dominant global evaluation schemes. These schemes in turn are based on the idea of human cognition as an immutable arrangement of mental processes with regard to learning. And the critics of these developments often argue with motives, arguments, and convictions that can be traced back to the time when the education sciences emerged in the context of the cultural and political idea of the uniform (and of course superior) national state. In other words: Today, the education sciences often operate using concepts that are derived from ideas of unity and uniformity in order to tackle the challenges of cultural and linguistic plurality in the context of democratic societies. This is obviously both a paradox and an occasion to reflect upon the present and future role of the education sciences in the context of modern societies.

With over 40% of inhabitants not having Luxembourg passports, Luxembourg is a multinational and thus a multilingual and multicultural society. With its three official languages Luxembourgish, German, French, and with Portuguese as the first language of nearly 20% of the inhabitants, it is also a multilingual society. Against this background, Luxembourg is predestined to evaluate 'educational reflex' mentioned above, the assigning of social problems to education. The University of Luxembourg, which defines itself as "multilingual, international and strongly focused on research", responded to this desideratum by making "Education and Learning in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts" a Research Priority in the frame of its current four-year plan (2010-2013).

One particular challenge of this research priority is the self-reflection or critical self-evaluation of the education sciences in the context of the social expectations concerning education. Therefore, one of the major aims of "Education and Learning in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts" was to assess the future of education research jointly with outstanding international scholars. The 2010-2013 lecture series "The Future of Education Research" is an integral part of this research priority. Here the international discussion is not restricted to questions regarding technical feasibility and methods of educational ambitions. Self-reflection or critical self-evaluation meant precisely to refrain from compliant adoptions of research desiderata defined by stakeholders of political, cultural, religious, or developmental institutions and to be engaged in the (self-) critical assessment of the legitimacy and general feasibility of educational desiderata, that is, of social expectations emerging from the educational reflex. Education research was defined not simply as a service towards fulfilling social expectations but like any other academic discipline as a field in which its actors, the researchers, define the appropriateness of its research agenda – research questions and methods – in the realm of their peers.

With these premises, the future of education research is defined to be international, self-reflexive, and interdisciplinary and to include a broad range of traditional academic disciplines, such as the education sciences in the narrower sense, psychology, sociology, linguistics, history, political sciences, cognitive sciences, and neurology sciences. And it is meant to focus on the macro, meso, and micro levels of education questions and problems analytically, empirically, and historically. The invited international colleagues addressed their respective scholarship to the topic under consideration, the future of education research, in one of four lecture series at the University of Luxembourg from 2010 to 2013. In accordance with the interdisciplinary approach, the relevant questions were not clustered around traditional disciplines but around several focal points, resulting in this series of the following four volumes to be published from 2011 to 2014:

- *Education Systems in Historical, Cultural, and Sociological Perspectives* (Vol. 1)
- *Multimodality and Multilingualism: Current Challenges for Education Studies* (Vol. 2)
- *Professionalization of Actors in Education Domains* (Vol. 3)
- *Education and Learning in Non-Formal Contexts* (Vol. 4)

We greatly appreciate the support of the University of Luxembourg and extend thanks for the opportunity to establish a Research Priority dedicated to "Education and Learning in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts", within which the lecture series "The Future of Education Research" is being held. We are grateful to all the excellent international scholars participating in this research discussion. And last but not least, we sincerely thank Peter de Liefde of Sense Publishers for his support of this series and for giving us, by means of publication, the opportunity to open up this discussion on a more global level.

Walferdange, Luxembourg, August 2011

Daniel Tröhler, head of the Research Priority "Education and Learning in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts", University of Luxembourg

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DANIEL TRÖHLER, RAGNHILD BARBU

INTRODUCTION

For nearly half a century, research on education systems has been increasingly popular. However, this popularity was long restricted primarily to internationally linked policy makers and education planners, often backed up by international organizations such as UNESCO, the World Bank, or the OECD but also by governmental (for instance, the US Department of Education) or para-governmental organizations within the individual countries (for instance, the *Max Planck Institute for Human Development* in Germany).

These institutional affiliations provided education research with a specific character that often centres on notions such as excellence, efficiency, or standards. The specific comparative character of this policy-driven research agenda triggered the development of suitable research techniques such as comparative statistics and pertinent sub-disciplines such as cognitive psychology. The global concern behind these research endeavours has created a relatively new field for trained educationalists, psychologists, sociologists, and economists in the intersection of policy, politics, and education systems comprised of stakeholders from outside the universities. And those chairs of education that were devoted to policy analysis – less often found in Europe than in the United States and Canada – have shared the logic of the given agenda. Backed-up by powerful global institutions and selected chairs of education, this agenda purported to be rather unique, and it tended to ignore the cultural complexity of the educational field and those research approaches that address this complexity.

However, research outside this policy-driven agenda has been rather hesitant to accept more open-form approaches and questions concerning how education systems perform, how they are influenced by and interact with national, international, and global education policy, and how they react and adapt to change. It is only in the context of comparative sociology and comparative education that some aspects of the issues at stake were raised in the late 1970s for the first time. However, questions as to how research on education systems can be undertaken beyond the parameters of the existing research agenda have not been discussed on a large scale. This desideratum was the reason for choosing to dedicate the first round of lectures in the University of Luxembourg's 2010-2013 lecture series "The Future of Education Research" to the topic of how education systems can be investigated in the context of an academic policy-driven agenda.

The new approach to research brings up problems that can only be tackled taking an international and interdisciplinary approach. It was therefore our privilege to invite outstanding international scholars in different academic disciplines to present ideas about research questions and methods concerning education systems. Due to the cutting-edge nature of this research the invitation

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INÉS DUSSEL

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION RESEARCH ON INEQUALITIES

Policies, pedagogical discourses, and beyond

The discussion of the future of education research might cause some vertigo. The social sciences have long been complicit in producing regimes of social administration that intend to govern the future (Popkewitz, 2008). In education, the dreams of social engineering have met fertile ground in exercises of prospection and strategic planning. To talk about the future of education research, then, entails some risks that need to be averted.

But the invitation to discuss is also stimulating. It was Sigmund Freud who said that the future is basically an illusion, and by illusion he did not mean deception or alienation but the force of a desire to believe.[1] The stimulus comes from thinking about the future as desire and as an interruption of that which is given and taken for granted. Thus, reflecting on where we are going as education researchers can be a good excuse for thinking, first and foremost, about where we are. Are there new topics emerging? Are important redefinitions of concepts and methods taking place? What lines of research seem to be the most promising in the next years?

In this chapter, I would like to focus on a line of research that I find particularly challenging and that has to do with the study of education policies and their relationship to pedagogical discourses at the level of schools. Important studies on the history of education in Ibero-American countries have emphasized, and justly so, the distance between education reformers and practitioners and between the rhythm and focus of education policies and those of the life of schools (Escolano Benito, 2000; Viñao Frago, 2002). This emphasis, however, might have occluded the implicit and explicit borrowings that take place between those realms, and ignore that educational policies are built with pedagogical discourses and pedagogical discourses at the level of schools also react and converse with the language of policies. As Chartier (2004) shows for the teaching of reading and writing, in the life of schools and the adoption of methods there are always "mixed formulas, eclectic solutions, imperfect arrangements" that combine different registers and foundations (p. 120). Innovations produce effects that might be diffused and felt later on, and which might be experienced in other layers of the school system than the ones expected (p. 121). It is to these delayed effects and to these other layers of the implementation of educational policies and particularly to how they interact with pedagogical discourses in schools that I would like to draw the attention of education research.

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My focus of analysis will be the education policies that deal with inequalities. Whereas for most of Europe and the United States, access to comprehensive primary and secondary schooling has been achieved for the past 40 years, in Latin America it is still being accomplished. In the region, during the last 30 years education reformers have been busy deciding how to proceed to make schools more inclusive, specifically at the preschool and secondary school levels, which remained reserved for less than half the school-age population. Direct money allocation, curriculum reforms, compensatory or priority education programmes, have been some of the strategies essayed to expand schooling at these levels.

The concern with education inequalities and exclusions has a long history in education research. Floud and Halsey (1961), Bowles and Gintis (1976), Baudelot and Establet (1971), Bernstein (1990), and Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) organized their research, however different in their theoretical approaches and methods, around the question of "why some groups systematically win and others lose" (Lauder, Brown, & Halsey, 2011, p. 13). If the analysis tended initially to look at the structure of inequality, in recent times it changed its focus to the policies and to the meanings conferred by actors to these policies, exemplified by the work of Stephen Ball and his colleagues (Lauder et al., 2011, p. 21).

I would like to study the implementation of education policies dealing with inequalities from the point of view of a social epistemology that considers the scaffolding of discourses that shape education practices (Popkewitz, 2008). Instead of looking at the statements of teachers and school principals as separate entities opposed to theories and to the language of reformers, I would like to analyze them as pedagogical discourses that borrow from, react to, and rewrite education policies. Based on the findings of a study done in secondary schools in Argentina between 2005 and 2008, which will be presented more thoroughly in the second part of this chapter, I would like to underscore the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that emerge out of the classifications and perceptions that school agents perform in their daily practice. I will be looking not so much at "meaning" but at how pedagogical discourses are configured that include different layers and logics of arguments. To understand these pedagogical discourses, I will first take a closer look at the context of secondary schooling in Argentina, the dramatic changes that are being effected, and some of the policies that have both caused the changes and have intended to respond and modify some of the directions.

EDUCATION POLICIES: DEALING WITH SCHOOL INCLUSION IN TURBULENT TIMES

In Argentina in the last 25 years, following the end of the military dictatorship in 1983 and the reinstallation of democracy, the enrolment in secondary schools has almost doubled. Whereas in 1980 only 42.2% of the age group in the population was registered in this level of schooling, in 2006 it was 86%. In net numbers, this implied a growth from approximately 1.4 million students in 1980 to more than 2.8 million students in 2006 (Capellaci & Miranda, 2007).

This expansion was mostly accomplished through the incorporation of urban and marginal populations; the students are the first in their families to gain access to formal education at the post-primary level (Ministerio de Educación, 2009). This speaks of an effort on the part of the state to promote educational inclusion but also of an extended perception of schooling as a strategy for upward mobility, especially among low-income families.

The two figures in the following present information on the enrolment of low income students in secondary schools in four Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. Considering the data from 2005, it is clearly Argentina that has the highest rate of students coming from poverty backgrounds.

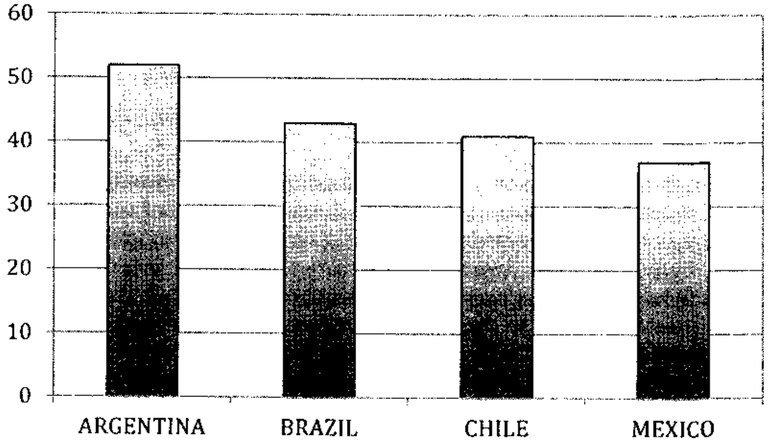

Figure 1. Percentage of students from low income groups over total enrolment, 2005. Source: SITEAL, available at www.siteal.iipe-oei.org

Also, when considering data from 1990 and 2005, both Argentina and Brazil show a significant growth in the enrolment of the lower third/poorest children. At the earlier date, Chile had better inclusion rates in secondary schools, and its growth has not been so steep; Mexico still lags behind in terms of the expansion of secondary schooling.

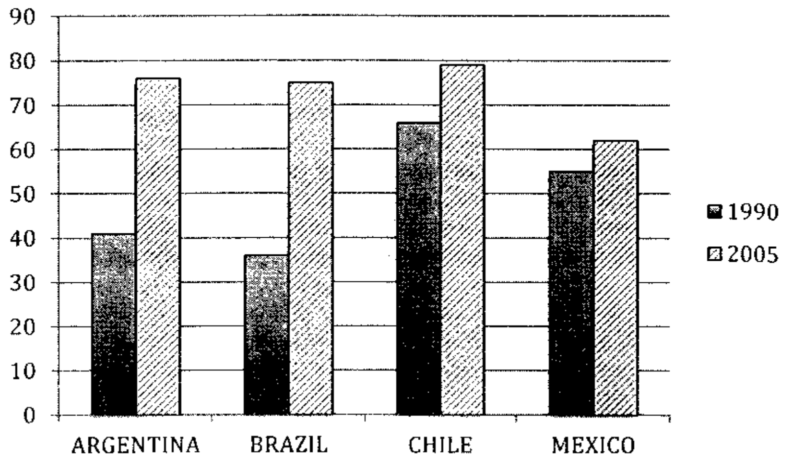

Figure 2. Net enrolment in secondary schools of the lower third/poorest children, 1990-2005. Source: SITEAL, available at www.siteal.iipe-oei.org

These figures show that Argentina has undergone an abrupt transformation and that its secondary schools are experiencing a new social landscape. But three cautionary notes should be made, so as not to endorse too quickly a happy tale of expansion and inclusion.

As the first cautionary note, this inclusion was done in the midst of an economic crisis and transformation that put extra pressure on schools. Unlike what happened in Europe with the growth of comprehensive schooling after the Second World War, in Argentina the enrolment rate grew when the economy was in a contraction cycle and when the distribution of income became more unequal, in what has been called a counter-cyclical movement (Feijóo, 2002). In most of the period considered, the Gini coefficient worsened, and the income distribution became more unequal. Taking 1974 as the last year to be measured before the military dictatorship, the Gini coefficient increased from 36 in 1974 to 46.1 in 1991 and to 53.3 in 2002, in a continuous tendency to grow, and then in 2009 it started to decline again, to 45.8%. Poverty rates went from 4.4% in 1974 to 31.7% in 1991 to 53% in 2001 and then declined to 13.7% in 2009, and indigence rates rose from 5.7% in 1991 to 24.8% in 2001 and then declined to 4% in 2009 (Agis, Cañete, & Panigo, 2010).[2] Since 2003, the country's economy has had GNP growth rates of 8-9%, similar to South East Asia and China. The Gini coefficient has remained stable, although it started to decline in 2010, when a universal allocation of funds to poor families was effected (Agis et al., 2010).

The fact that this inclusion has been done in a climate of fewer economic and social expectations means that the new students are placing new demands on schools, not only because they are newcomers to the education system but also because they have unstable and precarious situations in their communities and demand a different type of attention from schools.

The second cautionary note refers to the appearance of a new segmentation or fragmentation of the education system (Tenti, 2003; Tiramonti, 2004; Tedesco, 2005; Gallart, 2006; Tiramonti & Montes, 2008).[3] Research shows that the schools that these new students are entering have a lower quality and worse infrastructure and equipment than the schools attended by middle and upper class students. According to a report by the Ministry of Education, 8 out of 10 students that come from low-income families attend public schools, whereas 6 out of 10 students from middle and upper class families go to private schools (Ministerio de Educación, 2009). One of the biggest problems in secondary schools is teachers' absenteeism, which is as high as 30% in low-income public schools (Rivas, 2010). Also, there is still a great disparity between different social groups in the enrolment rate: Whereas only 60% of the lower income students are enrolled in secondary schools, over 90% of the upper classes are enrolled. Dropout rates in public secondary schools more than double the rates in private schools (Ministerio de Educación, 2009; Observatorio, 2010). Inequalities are still high.

The third cautionary note is that on top of this demanding social and economic situation and the persistence of inequalities and segmentation, there is another trait of this expansion that has to do with the effect of education policies or, it could also be said, with the effect of the lack of policies. In most cases, this inclusion has been done without major changes in the institutional and organizational life of schools (cf. Dussel, Brito, & Núñez, 2007; Gallart, 2006). This is not surprising, considering that to produce major institutional changes, large budgets and considerable political support are needed. Neither of these has been available in Argentina for the past 30 years, at least not until very recently.[4]

The lack of significant changes in the organizational life of schools to face up to these new demands of inclusion can be further analyzed in two dimensions: curriculum policies and school governance. Regarding curriculum policies, Argentina's education system is decentralized in provincial states. Secondary schools are ruled by provincial governments, which choose their own curriculum designs and set academic regimes of promotion and retention. As centralization was perceived as a result of authoritarian ruling (Dussel, Tiramonti, & Birgin, 2000), there has been pressure to allow different models and institutional designs. This led to a situation in which more than 155 curriculum designs were in effect for 24 provinces in 2008, according to a survey done by the National Ministry of Education (Ministerio de Educación, 2009). Despite this huge number, the curve of dispersion of these 155 designs is significantly small: Most of them remain within the margins of a traditional humanist, encyclopaedic curriculum. This curriculum can include as many as 18 school subjects, with an average school time spent per subject of 1.5 hours per week. This produces fragmented teaching, the same fragmented teaching that has been going on for more than a century (Dussel, 1997), and it has profound consequences for the quality of teaching and learning. The fragmentation is also reflected on the structure of teachers' work, which is organized around the number of teaching hours. Thus, secondary teachers can have as many as 500-700 students per week, with 40 teaching hours, in two or three different schools. Also, given that the schools now have to fulfil many more tasks than before – basically related to social work, allocation of economic support, compensatory programmes for disadvantaged students, and so on – there has been a growing conflict concerning who performs these chores. Teachers resist doing them, but teacher unions are not willing to allow non-certified teachers to occupy educational positions. This has helped create a certain malaise in schools with regard to the inclusion of new students (Zelmanovich, 2008).

As for school governance, there has been a pressure to democratize school life. School councils that include teachers and students as governing agents have been tried out in some provinces but have generally not prevailed as significant political bodies in schools (Giovine, 2010). What have become more common, though, are disciplinary school councils that enact Rules for Living Together (*Reglas de Convivencia*). A study done on these new regulations (Litichever, 2010) shows that all share a language of participation and inclusion, but social segmentation operates in the distinction between educating for citizenship and leadership in the upper and middle class schools and educating for social and work disciplining in the low income ones. However, Litichever found some exceptions in schools created in the last 20 years under the impulse of inclusive policies, which despite being attended by urban-marginal youth tend to be concerned with educating for participation and citizenship. These kind of institutional differentiations will be dealt with more extensively in the next section of this chapter, but, related to the prior argument, it can said that these new venues for participation have not turned into effective policies for all schools and have not helped most of them to deal with the new challenges.

Besides the curriculum and governance policies, probably the most effective measures to promote inclusion have been policies of monetary transfers to families in order to increase school enrolment. This has taken the form of scholarships for students, that is, direct allocation of money to the families of the students to reduce the impact of the opportunity cost due to the teenagers' late entrance to the labour market and the loss of wage income for their families. These fellowship programs included as many as 450,000 students in 2004 (total amount of money per year: 600 pesos or 180 dls) out of 2.8 million students in secondary schools. The fellowship program can be considered a compensatory programme, part of the second generation of education policies targeted at particular groups. These students were defined, at least initially, in terms of "at-risk populations" that had to receive a special supplement to pursue their studies (Dussel et al., 2000).

However, by the end of 2009, a universal programme called Universal Allocation per Child was launched, ending the compensatory programme and turning it into a universal policy.[5] As many as 4 million children and 1,675,000 families[6] are receiving a wage for sending their children to schools and getting health care (2,160 pesos per year or 550 dls). This is reported to have had a significant impact on the decline of poverty and indigence rates, and it has produced a rise in enrolment rates, especially in pre-K levels and secondary schools, although it is too soon to evaluate their impact (Agis et al., 2010).

It is interesting to compare these trends in educational policies with the ones observed in Europe. In an analysis of priority or compensatory education policies (*politiques d'éducation prioritaire*), Rochex (2008) distinguished three moments of these policies: a first age of education policies based on a compensation of prior deficiencies and deprivations; a second age of policies that stresses the value of equity in the result and performance of disadvantaged children and promotes school choice; and a third age that defines at-risk population and designs specialized programmes and transfers responsibility to the educational institutions.

In Argentina, both the first and second age were experienced in the 1980s and 1990s, when compensatory programmes were put into effect (Dussel et al., 2000). Yet, the policies have not moved to the third age but to a different movement of school change. Recent programmes to reform high schools launched by the Ministry of Education by the end of 2009 are aiming to promote the schools' responsibility for their results, but the rhetoric mobilizes democratic claims for decentralization as well as the need to have an increased awareness of social equality.[7] The Programme for School Improvement in Secondary Schools (*Programa para el Mejoramiento Escolar de la Escuela Media*) targets 1,500 schools that receive low-income population and have high rates of school dropout and retention. The schools are asked to design specific strategies to overcome these problems, with financial and pedagogical support of the local and national administrations. The language and categories of the programme are not those of the responsabilization of individuals. For example, one of its central statements is that the State must guarantee the conditions for a significant school experience for all adolescents, despite their differences in trajectories or environments; at the same time, that the programme asks that schools and teachers revise the exclusive traditions of secondary schools and redesign their own practices to allow all students to succeed (Ministerio de Educación, 2009, pp. 2-3). Thus, there seems to be remarkable differences in the logics and modes of justification and operation of the policies between what Rochex observed in Europe and what is taking place in Argentina.

The programme still has to unify a large number of programmes and projects that are in effect in schools, either by the national or local/provincial administrations or by civic organizations and that have constituted fragmented efforts to address specific problems. In a way, this fragmentation and multiplication of programmes could be considered in the light of what Rochex stated about the multiplication and fragmentation of categories that target inequalities in the third wave of priority education policies, but there seems to be an important difference: Most of these programmes do not address specific populations but particular educational and social problems – in that way, they might avert the risk of essentializing these categories of students. This can be seen in a preliminary listing of such programs: Centres for Youth Activities, located in each school and that want to become important centres for cultural mobilization and promotion of social activities; the Programme for Institutional Capacity-Building for schools, which gives pedagogical advice to school principals and funds specific strategies for school improvement; the Programme for Zero School

Dropout (a programme of the City of Buenos Aires, and probably one of the most ambitious, since it has changed the school organization); Programme for Teenage Parenthood, among others. Also, it can be stressed that these programmes – at least most of them – are conceived and defined in socio-educational terms and not psychological terms. "Preventions and remediations" (Bautier, 2004, p. 3) are not grounded on concepts such as self-esteem and competence but on educational categories such as institutional life, pedagogical strategies, and extracurricular activities, among others.

The context, then, of education policies for secondary schools in Argentina is complex and manifold. On the one hand, there has been an impressive expansion of enrolment, particularly among low-income young people, helped by policies of monetary transfer and regulations that have promoted inclusion. But this has happened without significant changes in the organization of schools, and a fragmented and encyclopaedic curriculum has persisted that has not contributed to pedagogical change. Also, teaching positions remain hour-based, increasing the fragmentation. Changes in school governance have been tried out and have dissimilar effects in each institution. Despite the efforts made for inclusion, secondary schools continue to be segmented following class lines, with some exceptions. Recently, there have been new policies that promote school involvement in the design of pedagogical strategies, in directions that are different from the individualization and definition of "at-risk" populations that have characterized the experience of several European countries. It is too soon to know if the effects of the policies are going to be significantly different from the effects of previous policies, but the language and orientations seem to differ considerably.

How do school principals and teachers view these changes and the new policies? Are they producing a new language to refer to these new situations? How is the level of policy read and enacted at the level of schools? In the following, I would like to present the findings of a research study on secondary schools that addressed these questions.

PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSES IN SCHOOLS: DYNAMICS OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

Secondary schools have received wide attention in education research in Latin America and particularly in Argentina (Braslavsky, 2001; Tenti, 2003; Tiramonti, 2004; Tedesco, 2005). Grounding on this body of research but also challenging some of their assumptions about the relationships between schooling and inequality, between 2005 and 2008 we conducted a research project in which we studied 24 secondary schools located in four different provinces (in central, northern, and southern Argentina).[8] The goal of the study was to analyze the production and reproduction of inequalities; the 24 schools included schools attended by upper and middle class students, schools receiving low income students, old and new schools, schools oriented to work training, and humanist schools. Also, one of our purposes was to understand the political life of schools; that is why we selected three school districts with a recent history of political mobilization. In particular, we were interested in looking at the effects of the education policies described above on the production of pedagogical discourse on the part of school principals, teachers, and also students about what secondary schools are and what they should be. We looked at the pedagogies and didactic strategies that were used in schools to teach language skills, citizenship education and work skills, among others. In this chapter, I will analyse only the statements by school principals, which present a semi-official voice of the school that provides some unity to an otherwise diverse universe of voices in the schools.[9]

Our theoretical background was based on a historical sociology that understands the production and reproduction of inequalities as changing boundaries. Tilly's (2000) analysis of persistent inequalities and discussions in France such as Fitoussi and Rosanvallon (1997) and Fitoussi and Savidan (2003) helped us focus on their relational quality (see also Hirschman, 1981). One of our findings, consistent with other recent research, is that school inequalities are not only organized along traditional lines of territories/social backgrounds and the old hierarchies of knowledge (central schools versus peripheral ones, *bachillerato* versus technical schools, and so on). The lines of distinction and differentiation have become blurrier, even between religious schools and secular ones (Tiramonti, 2004; Ocampo, 2004, Del Cueto, 2004), which is also consistent with other changes in social and economic processes of differentiation (cf. Bauman, 2002) and of an increased role of institutional profiles, which have been subjected to challenges, fluctuations, and negotiations previously unseen (Dubet, 2002). There is a "de facto autonomy" that is crossed over by new patterns of differentiation and inequalities, and educational institutions have large margins for effecting particular policies and strategies, as the accountability systems are loosely coupled.[10]

These large margins depend basically on what Tilly (2000) has called "repertoires of actions", which vary according to contexts and history but generally constitute a limited set of routines and options for social agents. Thus, what can be seen at first sight as freedom and independence of schools might be in fact hindered by what social agents can imagine and organize as actual practice.[11] That is why we considered it important to study statements by school principals, teachers, and students, as they constitute points of entry to their repertoires of action.

These repertoires of actions can also be analyzed as part of pedagogical discourses that frame them, organize categories and classifications, and define particular recontextualizations (Bernstein, 1990). As said before, I do not consider that "pedagogical discourses" at the level of schools are totally external to education policies; on the contrary, school agents react to and are in dialogue with education policies and construe their language with the discourses and strategies that they have at hand. But there is specificity in this construction that needs to be attended; Bautier (2008) calls it a "discursive genre" that defines the nature of interchanges in classrooms, the hierarchy of knowledge, and the strategies that are designed.

A final consideration needs to be pointed out before proceeding to the analysis. The statements by school principals made during research interviews have some limitations that the researcher has to acknowledge. First, interviews are language games in which authenticity is mediated by several factors, among them the narratives of the self that interviewees know from mass media and the power relationship between researcher and researched (Arfuch, 1998), which produces a "desirability effect" that moves interviewees to accommodate their statements to what is perceived as correct (Corbetta, 2003). Second, in the case of school principals, this effect is more pronounced, as they are used to being considered the "official speakers" of schools, and the policing of what is said and what remains unsaid is more frequent than with teachers.

I would like to underline three aspects of the pedagogical discourses that our research found at the level of schools that are related to the education policies that I discussed in the first part of the chapter.

1) New social functions are envisioned for secondary schools that can be seen as responses to the changes mentioned above. These functions vary among schools. Whereas upper and middle class schools define their mission as educating for a global world and preparing the flexible citizen, the poorer schools see themselves as social discipline institutions, whether softer or tougher. In these schools, there is a displacement of the social function of secondary schools from selection and instruction to social assistance and "contention". "Contention" is a psycho-social term that includes both containment of social conflict and developing an emotional bond, a caring relationship in which neglect and emotional wounds can be healed.

It has to be noted that up until the 1980s, secondary schools were institutions where meritocratic ideologies and exclusionary practices were common. After the inclusive education policies of the last 25 years, almost no school agent among those we interviewed voiced an argument for exclusion. But there seems to be a displacement of functions and tasks that deeply affects the life of schools and that posits strong limits for the inclusive policies. This displacement can be observed in the statement of one school principal, who stated:

> *Our classes are very multicultural, with different levels of knowledge (...). The school is fulfilling a social assistance function that is very strong, which it would be good that it did not take place. We have been giving lunch to students since 2005, and well, at the beginning we had lots of problems because of the large amount of lunch services we had to provide. It means organizing classes, assuming that students start eating when they have their first school hour, and sometimes these students it is their first meal in the day.* (School principal, secondary school in the city of Buenos Aires, low income population)

In this excerpt, there is a remarkable shift from "multicultural classes" to "unequal" ones. In this displacement, the principal follows a line that labelled compensatory programmes as "attention to diversity" in the 1990s, levelling claims of cultural diversity with unequal disparities. But the statement also refers to institutional changes, reorganization of time schedules and of groups that change the school priorities. At this point, there is also a school production and not only a

reproduction: "Origin" is perceived as destiny, and that defines what the school can do.

Newcomers are seen in terms of deprivation, of lack of material goods, but also void of affective bonds and of a sense of "family". To assist these new students becomes, more times than not, the place where an unredeemable inequality is installed. Hannah Arendt (1990) opposed the politics of compassion to that of justice; in a politics of compassion, the one who takes care of and assists the other never recognizes the equal dignity and rights of the one who is assisted. Many school principals seem to be caught in a politics of compassion that probably has religious roots and that is organized around the notion of caring as opposed to teaching/instructing. It is this new scaffolding of discourses, which combines old and new themes and languages, that needs to be interrogated.

2) The privilege of caring and assistance is related to a shift from an instructional discourse towards a moral, regulatory one in most of the schools that receive low-income students. Instructional content is replaced by basic drills on reading and math that aims at fulfilling basic chores and that contains few complex intellectual tasks.

Another school principal stated:

> *Students today should recognize vocabulary, read a technical support, send an e-mail, but basically [I want] that they can read something, whatever that is (...) Most of our students do not know how to fill in a survey. This is what I would like them to know: to be able to write a check, to prepare their curriculum vitae, make a note or a claim... That is what I would like them to do.* (Director, technical public school, Gran La Plata, low income population)

This statement shows many signs of a desire for inclusion in economic life and the job market, which is not to be dismissed lightly, given the context of economic crisis and severe social exclusion that might await some of this principal's students. However, it should be noted that there seems to be a privileging of a horizontal discourse, one that is centred on tasks that are heavily contextualized but rarely abstract and generalized or requiring more complex endeavours. A third school principal makes a blunt move on that direction when she states:

> *If I cannot teach them how to read and write, at least I can teach them how to be a good person.* (Director, secondary school, Salta, low-income population)

Here, *savoir être* comes before teaching content. As in the findings of Bautier (2008) and Bonnery (2006), these school principals talk about a school that provides a weak cognitive challenge, and a weak framing of school knowledge, that runs parallel to a regulatory discourse that privileges the production of moral subjects. It has to be noted that this idea of the moral subject is a flat one; it is not defined in complex psychological terms but in religious or moral ones that seem simple and one-sided ("being good"). The subject of teaching and learning is not defined in terms of rights, knowledge, or complexity of behaviours. Many of the interviewees seem to believe that these students cannot learn and that they will not be able to succeed in any academic challenge; instead of making them fail, they change the challenge to a moral one, flatly defined.

Something very different can be observed in the statements of the school principals who work in schools attended by middle and upper class students. One principal in a city near Buenos Aires stated:

> *Schools should be closer to what happens in today's world. The student has to know about the world, philosophically, economically, socially. That is our challenge: that young people can think. If they think, they will study. However, it is very difficult to do so in our classroom environments, with the school desks fixed to the floor. You want to teach them respect, but what respect can they learn if the only thing they see is each other's back of the neck... This arrangement comes from a different time, the Fordist system, which is over.* (Director, secondary school, La Plata, upper- and middle class school)

The world that these different principals envision for their students, and how they see the school performing in it, represents opposite expectations for their students that might in fact produce new inequalities. Also, in the last statement, there is a critical reflection on the constraints of schooling and on the need to redefine the organization of space, time, and the hierarchy of knowledge. Critique, then, stays as a privilege of an educated habitus, a praxis reserved for those who position themselves in some capacity to act and modify what is given. For the others, it is needed that some basic survival skills are learned and that a moral training takes place.

3) Most of the school principals organized their statements around an "us/them" opposition that swings between patronizing positions and populist positions. Even progressive educators seem to fall prey to the opposition between the poor students and the teaching body.

It is interesting to note that this opposition stands in the midst of a multiplication of programmes that have tried to identify different underperforming groups in schools. But this has not led to a multiplication of categories, and only two seem to be in effect: us and them. "Us" refers to the ones who were "here before", the adults, and "them" to the young people, the newcomers and their families. For instance, one school principal spoke of the cohabitation problems he was seeing at his school:

> *(What happens) most frequently are disrespectful behaviours towards professors, and also discrimination and violence among students... conflicts from the street that are brought to schools... the motifs are the lack of work, and they live by different rules, they have other codes of living than the ones we have.* (School principal, secondary school, *bachillerato*, city of Buenos Aires, low income students)

Interestingly, this us/them opposition takes loans from the critical theories, particularly from critical sociology. There seems to be a re-sociologization of pedagogical discourse, but it ends in sociological determinism of two kinds: one that says "with these kids, it is impossible to do anything (due to their families, their socio-economic conditions, etc.)", and another that says that we have to adjust our pedagogy to these new groups (pedagogical populism). This can be seen in the statement of another interviewee:

> *If you ask other professors, they would speak of our students in bad terms, but I have a relationship with the kids that is full of affection... I always look at them and see values, virtues ... I would say that my kids come from a different culture where certain manners and ways of behaving are natural. It is my look that qualifies them as good or bad, when it is just different.... I worked with "cumbia villera"[12] in ethics and I perceived that they feel and think differently, they see life from their own reality.* (School principal, Salta, low-income population)

There is an anthropological reference for this school principal. He seeks to understand the "native point of view" and use it as a line of approaching his students, but at the same time he is reinstating the us/them opposition that is almost as essentializing as the ideology of innate gifts and talents. The worlds that he describes are separate and opposite ones. There is, in the same movement, a gesture towards "understanding the other" and at the same time "othering the other", turning it into an otherness, an alterity so distant that it seems to be an irreducible disparity.[13]

In both cases, there are marks of constructivist pedagogies that believe that the point of departure of any educative action is what is brought by the student and that this has to be worked through in the classroom. There is a deliberate effort to "turn a defect into a virtue": Manners, silences, ways of looking at things, music preferences, are perceived as the signs of another world whose value is still up for grabs. If this is a better position than the patronizing and expulsive tradition of secondary school teachers, it has to be noted that the relationship to the newcomers is still perceived as one between two opposite worlds. Again, this movement can be seen as the production of a pedagogical discourse that incorporates languages and categories from the social sciences to organize social and cultural hierarchies.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The three aspects that I have marked out in the school principals' statements point to the ways in which school agents at the level of schools are reacting to, and producing new languages to relate to, these new conditions of schooling. The abrupt changes in secondary schools have been interpreted in different ways by different schools, and this divergence seems to relate primarily to the students that they receive. For upper and middle class schools, the new context is perceived as a cultural and political change that requires new horizons of expectations for schools. To educate the global citizen is the main purpose of these schools, in the understanding that their mission is to enable their students to perform competitively in the world and to become critical subjects. For the schools that receive the newcomers, their task is to provide basic survival skills such as reading and writing “whatever it might be”, and doing some simple tasks in the economic world. The pedagogical discourse of these school principals has shifted from an instructional code to a moral one, and one defined in very simplistic terms – with only a few exceptions. There seems to be a weakening of the decision of the school to teach more complex positions, both in school subjects and in political or moral education.

Another common trait is the construction of an opposition between us and them, conceived as separate worlds, which in some cases can be understood with the tools of anthropology and sociology, and in others, without any intention to build bridges between both positions, implies expelling their students to a different universe. This distinction cuts across social groupings; in upper and middle class contexts, the different worlds might be perceived as a different culture, sometimes threatening and sometimes exciting, whereas in lower income contexts, it is more often than not perceived as threatening. Interestingly, both the appeal of anthropology and its search for the “native point of view” are found appealing by school principals. Social science and expert pedagogical discourse are not external to these constructions. Its language and categories are mobilized to produce statements that organize their repertoires of action and strategies for dealing with the changes.

These remarks relate to one of the first comments made in this chapter, which criticized the dualist vision of a world of education policies and a world of practitioners. The analysis of education policies and the pedagogical discourses at the level of schools shows that there are many hybrid formulas and mixed arrangements, as Anne-Marie Chartier said, that take borrowings from one another. Social differentiation operates clearly in this production, but the reading that school principals make of inequalities is tainted by the scaffolding of the expert, moral, and political discourses that they have at hand, and it is not always reducible to sociological background. What might lay in the future of education research, then, is to give more shape to the complexity of the production of schooling in its different layers and to abandon any determinisms that may still be around.

NOTES

[1] Freud (1927). *The Future of an Illusion.*

[2] These last numbers are contested, due to an alleged manipulation of the statistics on the part of the government; however, independent calculations estimate the poverty rate at 26% and the indigence rate at 8%, which still shows a significant decline (Agis, Cañete, & Panigo, 2010, p. 35).

[3] The notion of “segmentation” comes from the work of Fritz Ringer, who pointed to the internal differentiation that occurred with the expansion of comprehensive schooling in Europe (Ringer, 1987). “Fragmentation” is a term coined by Guillermina Tiramonti (2004) to refer to further differentiation within the segments, in which schools that are attended by the same social groups are nonetheless diverse due to fortuitous reasons (leadership, social capital of the communities, institutional identities, among others).

[4] In the last five years, there has been a relatively extended cycle of economic growth and political continuity of the same party in office. In 2009 and 2010, the Ministry of Education embarked upon reform policies that are promoting new institutional designs in 1.500 schools throughout the country – out of around 10,000 secondary schools (described in note 7) and universal equipment with netbooks for all public secondary school students; this is currently underway and the effects are still unclear.

[5] There is a significant difference in the way the policy is phrased. The universal allocation is part of a right of every citizen and not a special programme. It is aimed at children under 18 whose parent/s are unemployed or informal workers, and intends to level the per-child-allocation that each employee receives as part of her/his social benefits. The receiver is the parent and not the child, and s/he has to prove school enrolment and a health report filled out by a public health centre.

[6] This is the population target of the program. It is difficult to find information about the efficiency rates in the implementation, but evaluations from CEIL-PIETTE place it at 75% at the end of 2010.

[7] Distinctively, the language is not of “equity” but of “equality”.

[8] The study was funded by the National Agency for Scientific Research and included a consortium of five institutions: FLACSO/Argentina, University of La Plata, University of Comahue, University of Salta, and the Department of Educational Research of the City of Buenos Aires. It surveyed 720 students and 360 teachers using multiple-choice questionnaires; there were more than 100 in-depth interviews conducted with students and over 60 with teachers and school principals. We conducted classroom observations; studied the “rules for living together” and institutional projects and documents; we conducted interviews with school prefects and disciplinarian agents and interviews with over 50 parents. We also took several photographs that were analyzed as part of the material culture of schools and their regime of appearances.

[9] As mentioned above, secondary school teachers work in more than one school as a rule; they are known as “taxi teachers”, as they have to commute from one school to the other. In some cases, this prevents them from developing an institutional affiliation. That is why school principals and teachers who have leadership full-time positions generally have a broader perspective of the school and more commitment to and say in its daily life.

[10] These findings are discussed at length in a forthcoming book (Dussel & Southwell, in press).

[11] Also, Koselleck's (1992) work on the relationship between the conceptualization of experience and the horizon of expectations for collective action was significant in our study.

[12] *Cumbia villera* is a popular music genre that is similar to rap in its improvisational quality and its ambivalent lyrics (misogyny, racism, and classism are common).

[13] Something that should be followed is whether the principal thinks that this work with *cumbia villera* would expand the students' experience or just reinforce it.

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WEB 2.0
AND THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION RESEARCH

Pedagogical, Political, and Epistemological Implications

For any conversation about the future of education research, it is necessary at some point to address the roles of computer-based information technology. Knowledge production, research reporting, access to information, and pedagogical design in education are now all mediated by various sorts of computer technologies. From a standpoint of critical curriculum theory, I am interested in examining the ways in which Web 2.0 technologies present possibilities for education research that are different from other forms of information technology, and how those differences may be relevant in terms of epistemology, pedagogy, communication, and power relations in education. Currently, research on education technology is being conducted primarily in fields other than education, and usually for purposes of marketing rather than education. When education research does focus on technology, it tends to be uncritical and optimistic. This chapter includes a description of wikis as an example of Web 2.0 in teaching, and then provides an overview of research on Web 2.0 and education.

Adam Gopnik (2011) classified three different attitudes towards information technology: Never-Better, Better-Never, and Ever-Waser. Never-Betters believe technology has the potential to solve all the world's problems, and that computers afford the greatest possible tools for improving education and other social institutions. In contrast, the Better-Nevers take a pessimistic stance; they argue that technological innovation has had a deleterious effect on human relationships, social cohesion, and ethical sensibilities. Ever-Wasers regard recent technological developments as an extension of a long line of inventions from books to chalkboards and pencils that have been introduced to schools and educational processes in continuous succession.

My attitude towards computer technology in education does not fit easily into any of Gopnik's three categories. It is my view that computers have had different effects in various places. Information technology has improved education research and possibilities in some places; it has made research more difficult and more inequitable in some cases; and in other research contexts, computers and information technology have had no appreciable effects. More importantly, perhaps, I prefer to differentiate the roles of educational technology in terms of *modalities* to denote differences in how knowledge is generated, and how web-based information is used. I would like to suggest that Web 2.0 modalities in

Daniel Tröhler, Ranghild Barbu (Eds.), Education Systems in Historical, Cultural, and Sociological Perspectives, 125–141.

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education research are quite different from other Web-based modalities, and that the particular identifying features of Web 2.0 technologies pose unique challenges and opportunities for education research. This overview of research suggests that more education research on Web 2.0 has been conducted outside the field of education, and mostly for marketing purposes. Research that has been conducted within education has generally reflected a relatively limited Never-Better perspective. I hope that this overview of education research will help to provide some conceptual frameworks for conducting critical and analytical research on Web 2.0 within the field of education.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

For purposes of this paper, I distinguish three basic modalities of web-based knowledge production. These distinctions are made for analytic purposes only; in the field of web-based communications, the distinctions should properly remain blurry. In brief summary:

- Web 1.0: a modality in which information created by writers is made available for other people who are readers
- Web 2.0: a modality of collaborative knowledge production in which readers are also writers
- Web 3.0: a modality in which information is generated by algorithms from online sources

I classify these as modalities of web-based knowledge production because any given website may facilitate practices in all three modalities. For example, lurkers can use Web 2.0 technologies in a Web 1.0 mode, and Web 3.0 information is regularly available in Web 1.0 and 2.0 sites. As Greenhow, Robelia, and Hughes (2009) clarified, "precise distinctions between Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 are elusive because in reality, technologies evolve over time, with newer iterations emerging from previous ones and some sites characterized by a blend of Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 features" (p. 247). Web 2.0 modalities almost always include some elements of Web 1.0 (read-only information) and Web 3.0 (computer-generated information); however, for analytical purposes, it is helpful to draw a strategic distinction.

Jenkins (2010) further distinguished between "participatory culture" and Web 2.0:

> I want to hold onto a distinction between participatory cultures, which may or may not engaged with commercial portals, and Web 2.0, which refers specifically to a set of commercial practices that seek to capture and harness the creative energies and collective intelligences of their users. (¶17)

Table 1. Web Modalities

	Web 1.0 mode	*Web 2.0 mode*	*Web 3.0 mode*
Sources of content	Institutionally mediated and edited authorship	User-generated; public and collaborative authorship	Semantic web; tagged information; "intelligent" searches
Examples	*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* Online	Wikipedia; Second Life; FaceBook;	Erfgoedplus.be; Google Ads; Amazon re-commendations
Public access	Read only	Interactive reading and writing; Free Software Movement (FSM)	Mediated by various algorithmic filters
Knowledge production processes	Obscured; unavailable	Transparent, archived and accessible	Search algorithms are not trans-parent; archives may or may not be accessible
Disposition towards change	Conservative; bureaucratic	Conservative; bureaucratic	Dynamic; iterative; responsive to socio-cultural trends in popularity and frequency and density
Role of the teacher	Medium of communication and gate-keeper between Web 1.0 knowledge and students (unless the teacher is the author of the website); model	Provider of technological venues; facilitator of knowledge production; model of educative engagement; administrator of IT access	Medium of communication between Web 3.0 knowledge and students (unless teacher is the website's owner); object of profiling; model
Role of the student	Knowledge consumer, evaluator, selector	Knowledge consumer, evaluator, selector, creator, combiner, illustrator, arranger, disseminator	Knowledge consumer, evaluator, selector; object of profiling

We can historicize these three web-based modalities of knowledge production by showing their homologous relationships with historical modalities in the financial sector:

- Finance 1.0 modality: Only tycoons and licensed brokers invest in the stock market. Investments reflect business trends; when businesses flourish, dividends accrue.

- Finance 2.0 modality: Online and day-trading options are available to ordinary people who want to invest in the market. Investments may reflect business trends, speculation, and/or derivatives.
- Finance 3.0 modality: Market-based finance is transformed from investing in business to speculation and derivatives, i.e. betting on the market itself. Trading is driven by complex algorithms designed by insiders to maximize profit for insiders. Speculation and derivatives are not tied to the fates of businesses but rather to the internal fluctuations of the market.

These modalities of finance operations are also not discrete or clearly separable. As in web-based knowledge modalities, all three financial modalities operate simultaneously, and there are dynamic interactions among modalities.

For purposes of the analysis in this paper, the salient characteristics of Web 2.0 are interactivity, dynamic multi-dimensional architecture, and data-repository capacity. Specifically, I focus on those features of Web 2.0 and how they are relevant for the future of education research (see also Gee, 2010; Hargadon, 2008). This analysis suggests that insofar as education research aims for relevance, inclusion, interactivity and participation, Web 2.0 modalities provide possibilities for education research that are unique; research on Information Technology within the field of education is almost always shaped by the attitude of Never-Better; and education informatics have been studied more extensively from outside traditional education research domains (Collins & Weiner, 2010).

WEB 2.0 IN TEACHING: THE CASE OF WIKIS

Examples of Web 2.0 in education include blogs and social media (e.g. Facebook and Second Life); in this section, I focus only on wikis. Wikis have been available to the public in some form or another since the mid 1990s but have only relatively recently become widely used in educational settings, including primary, secondary, tertiary, and professional schooling institutions (Parker & Chao, 2007). There are already thousands of educational wikis being used in teaching all over the world. Some are private to classes, some are accessible only for members of the host institution, and some are publicly available. Faculty in my university use wikis in various university roles: teaching, research, and professional service. In order to provide some context and examples for the analysis of Web 2.0 in educational research, I begin by providing a brief description of what wikis are and how they are used in education (see also Bruns & Humphreys, 2005; Roe, 2010). There are three particular features of wikis to be highlighted here: interactivity, dynamic multidimensional architecture, and data repository capacity.

Interactivity

A wiki is a website that all users can edit. When wikis are used in their Web 2.0 mode for teaching, it means that not only the teacher but also all of the students are authors and editors of the wiki. In Web 2.0 mode, students and teachers can freely create and design wiki pages, delete pages, edit the content of pages, and participate in discussions about pages.[1] This distributed authorship of course content is a highly interactive approach to teaching and learning, and for that reason, wikis tend to be promoted by educators who favour constructivist pedagogical commitments, whereas wikis tend to be rejected by educators who hold more authoritarian and hierarchical dispositions towards knowledge production and purposes of education (Cunningham, 2010; Heafner & Friedman, 2008).

Reflecting a Never-Better attitude, research on wiki use by educationists tends to emphasize four major pedagogical advantages. First, when students create and edit wiki materials, they become active producers of course content, not just passive recipients; the productive activities reinforce the receptive activities (reading and listening) to enhance possibilities for learning. Second, student contributions to the wiki provide the instructor with information that allows instructors to assess how the students are doing. Student work informs the instructor about what the students (mis)understand and what they are (not) interested in; it is an easy venue for continuous formative assessment. Third, student work is made public to other members of the class, so students are writing for an "authentic" audience that includes peers as well as the instructor. Finally, the interactive features of wikis allow—and even encourage—students to work together, help each other, and collaborate in efforts to engage in course material.

In educational research, these Web 2.0 interactive practices of knowledge production have been called "social scholarship". Greenhow et al. (2009), for example, defined social scholarship in favourable terms as:

> a new practice being discussed and debated in several disciplines, especially library sciences.... Social scholarship capitalizes on Web 2.0 affordances to evolve the ways in which scholarship is accomplished in academia. It connects traditional formal scholarship practices (such as creating a peer-reviewed, print-based journal article) with more informal, social Internet-based practices (such as hosting an online video or audio conference discussion about a journal article). (p. 253)

Wiki-based interactivity offers rich possibilities for education research. So far, most of the research reflects a Never-Better attitude; however, there is vast potential, and possibly an urgent need, for future research projects that focus more critically on the effects and affordances of interactivity in a wiki-based environment.

Dynamic Multidimensional Architecture

Most websites in a Web 1.0 mode are multidimensional, but wikis are both multidimensional and dynamic. A wiki, like most conventional websites, is multidimensional, because its pages can be hyperlinked to other wiki pages and also to external websites. The unique aspect of wikis (as examples of Web 2.0 technology) is that they are also dynamic: Users can change the architecture to make it more pedagogically effective for different learning styles. Wikis are