

# **Educational Restructuring**

**International Perspectives  
on Traveling Policies**

*A volume in*  
International Perspectives on Educational Policy, Research, and Practice  
*Series Editor: Kathryn M. Borman, University of South Florida*

# **Educational Restructuring**

**International Perspectives  
on Traveling Policies**

---

*Edited by*

**Sverker Lindblad  
*Uppsala University***

**and**

**Thomas S. Popkewitz  
*University of Wisconsin-Madison***



Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Educational restructuring : international perspectives on traveling policies / edited by Sverker Lindblad and Tom Popkewitz.

p. cm. – (International perspectives on educational policy, research, and practice)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 1-59311-180-0 (pbk.) – ISBN 1-59311-181-9 (hardcover)

1. Education and state—Cross-cultural studies. 2. Educational change—Cross-cultural studies. 3. Globalization—Cross-cultural studies. I. Lindblad, Sverker. II. Popkewitz, Tom. III. Series.

LC71.E349 2004

379—dc22

2004011535

Copyright © 2004 Information Age Publishing Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, microfilming, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America

---

## CONTENTS

Introduction:

Educational Restructuring: (Re)Thinking The Problematic of Reform  
*Sverker Lindblad and Thomas Popkewitz* vii

### part I

#### Internationalization and Globalization of Education

---

1. Educational Restructuring and the Reshaping of School Governance in Argentina  
*Inés Dussel* 3
2. Theorizing the Global Convergence of Educational Restructuring  
*Fazal Rizvi* 21
3. Changing Patterns of Power: Rethinking Decentralization in the Educational Reform in Taiwan  
*Yang-tien Chen* 43
4. Education Restructuring: Governance in the Narratives of Progress and Denials  
*Sverker Lindblad and Thomas S. Popkewitz* 69

### part II

#### Education Restructuring in Different Contexts

---

5. Governance by Spin: The Case of New Labour and Education Action Zones in England  
*Sharon Gewirtz, Marny Dickson, and Sally Power* 97

6. The Modern Teacher: A Textual Analysis of Educational Restructuration <i>Meg Maguire</i>	121
7. Responsiveness and Innovation in Higher Education Restructuring: The South African Case <i>Johan Muller</i>	143
8. Education Restructuring in France: Middle-Class Parents and Educational Policy in Metropolitan Contexts <i>Agnès van Zanten</i>	167
9. Creating a Discourse for Restructuring in Detroit: Achievement, Race, and the Northern High School Walkout <i>Barry M. Franklin</i>	191
About the Contributors	219

---

## INTRODUCTION

### Educational Restructuring: (Re)Thinking The Problematic of Reform

Sverker Lindblad and Tom Popkewitz

---

Restructuring is a major issue in education studies during the last decades. Educational systems are restructured in terms of the system aspects of education through decentralisation, deregulation, professional accountability, marketization and so forth. This is done with the goal to change the relation of the state to civil society through, for example, flattening hierarchies, increasing managerial, professional or “client” control and obtaining a more efficient and innovative organisation. The restructuring is also directed to changes in the pedagogical and teacher educational programs that focus on the relations of the child and teacher in learning communities. The changes in the curriculum are promoted in policy and research as bringing the school in relation to changes in cultural, social and economic patterns embodied in phrases such as “knowledge society” and life-long learner.

Education restructuring is a concept with changing meaning. Here we are dealing with transformations in the governing of education—from government to governance, which implies a changing role of the state. We find a shift from bureaucratic control to the introduction of other agencies, public as well as private, in the governing of education (Dale, 1998; Hirst &

---

*Educational Restructuring: International Perspectives on Traveling Policies*, pages vii–xxxii

Copyright © 2004 by Information Age Publishing

All rights of reproduction in any form reserved.

---

**part I**

**INTERNATIONALIZATION AND  
GLOBALIZATION OF EDUCATION**

---

## CHAPTER 1

---

# EDUCATIONAL RESTRUCTURING AND THE RESHAPING OF SCHOOL GOVERNANCE IN ARGENTINA

Inés Dussel  
*FLACSO/Argentina*

---

### INTRODUCTION

In the last two or three years, Argentina's crisis has been widely covered by the world's principal newspapers and journals. What most of them shared was the conviction that, after having been considered the IMF's best pupil in the 1990s, Argentina's crisis was a case in point of the failure of its policies. The news spoke about unemployment, recession, political instability, corruption, and they included more or less dramatic stories about people rioting supermarkets or queuing up for a piece of bread; other journalists, in a more romantic and optimistic vein, saw a new kind of citizenship emerging from neighborhood's meetings and the unemployed picketing (*piqueteros*) movements.

In this chapter, however, instead of referring to failures, ruptures, and sinking, I am interested in pointing out the continuities and the persistent

legacies of the 1990s reform in the present. Without ignoring the dramatic and brutal effects that the crisis has had on schooling, evident, among other things, in the rise of the drop-out rates and the levels of malnutrition and other poverty-related health problems, I prefer to analyze other subtle yet pervasive dynamics that are still structuring the school system and that have powerful consequences on the way in which people think, act, and relate to each other. Erving Goffman once said that, "in a complex society, social disorganization is no more than the dismantling of one component of a totality; but the totality is never so firmly integrated that it falls totally apart" (quoted in: Grüner, 2003, p. 27). In other words, as widespread and deep as this crisis is, it has not provoked a complete disarticulation of the system. Moreover, as other colleagues and myself have argued elsewhere (Dussel & Finocchio, 2003), Argentina's school system has remarkably kept functioning, and this "keeping up appearances" in turbulent times is not a minor fact.

My concern in this chapter is to analyze the reshaping of the patterns of governance in schools during the 1990s and that are still in effect these days, which may help to explain why the school has survived in better shape the general social disorganization that took place in recent years. First, a cautionary note should be taken here. It is particularly challenging to analyze patterns of governance in a society that has become known as one of the most un-governable places in the world. To counter this view, I will argue that this lack of "social discipline," or law-abiding people, should not be read as a complete absence of law or governance. As O'Donnell (2002) has stated, the efficacy of law has been weak in Latin America for most of the 20th century, and this has not meant that societies did not organize or that no rule or hierarchy was in place. What we need are more complex ways to understand this kind of organization and governance; and this is where I believe other theoretical tools have to be put to work. These tools should combine a different take on the workings of power, such as the one provided by Michel Foucault and Nikolas Rose among others, with "microphysical knowledges" (as the ones provided by some histories and anthropologies) that inform us about the "localization" of these political practices.

A second cautionary note is referred to in my use of the concept of "educational reform," which has been thought of as a one-dimensional, single movement that exogenously or endogenously seeks to impose change in one direction. Here, again, my analysis is based on the works of Michel Foucault, Nikolas Rose, and other studies about governmentality, but especially on Tom Popkewitz's readings of this school of thought from the educational field (Foucault, 1980; Rose, 1989, 1999a; Popkewitz, 1993, 1998). Grounding on these works, I will propose that recent reforms have to be understood as part of government technologies that intend to

shape the way people are to act, think, and feel about the world, that combine the old and the new in unique ways. These technologies of government are not the expression of a single "will to power" (Rose, 1999a) but rather have to be considered as a "combinatory repertoire" (Hunt, 1999) that adapts and relocates different discourses and strategies in the process of governing teachers.

Finally, another concern that runs throughout this chapter is to investigate how the global and the local have been played out in recent reforms. I have already mentioned that the 1990s reforms in Argentina were "inspired" by more global movements of change, which recommended school-based management, standardized testing, common curricular contents, and financial decentralization as the direction of change. But, as important as unraveling these universalistic rationale for change is, it is also necessary to analyze the "creolization" of these reforms (cf. Anderson-Levitt, 2003). In a way, my project is similar to Arjun Appadurai's when he says that: "If the genealogy of cultural forms is about their circulation across regions, the history of these forms is about their ongoing domestication into local practices." (Appadurai, 1996, p. 17) While I would speak more in terms of translation than of domestication, his pointing simultaneously to the global and the local in the construction of cultures and knowledge seems fundamental to produce a better understanding of these recontextualizations.

The chapter has two main sections. In the first one, I will take a historical turn in order to analyze the decentralization policies that were effected in the 1990s, and will describe the changes in the broader patterns of governance that were put in place by these reforms, that gave a renewed role to provincial governments and what was called the "federal government of education."<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the discourses of reform developed a new language for teachers and principals that set new constraints and regulations on their work in the name of reflexivity, autonomy, and responsibility. In the second section, I discuss current efforts of reform related to the construction of new patterns of governance based on personal responsibility and self-government, and will consider especially the new rules for school discipline. I will argue that these discourses, as they are read in present Argentina, are hybrid discourses that combine heterogeneous discourses, and cannot be enclosed in "neoliberal" or "neoconservative" labels. Also, I will argue against those who see the current situation as the sole product of globalization and import of foreign policies, and emphasize instead the translation and recontextualization processes that are taking place in the educational field. I hope that the unfolding of these combinations will illuminate the complex works of power, thus providing new grounds for the development of an "inventive politics" (Rose, 1999b).



### RESHAPING GOVERNANCE AT THE SYSTEM'S LEVEL: THE CENTRALIZED CONSTRUCTION OF DE-CENTRALIZATION

Argentina's decentralization policies in the 1990s were presented as the conclusion of a century-old struggle of the provincial governments against the primacy of the national state in educational matters. The notion of "federalism," which condensed the claims of the provinces to rule their own educational systems, gained currency in a context of structural reforms and financial cuts to social expenditure (cf. Rhoten, 1998). In this section, I am interested in tracing the history of decentralization policies in order to illuminate the multiple and even contradictory dynamics that they encompass today.

It can be said that, even if it is always difficult to date precisely any event without falling in the trap of declaring "origins" and "foundations," (against which Foucault (1980) persuasively argues), the emergence of this problematic can be traced back to the organization of the modern educational system in the second half of the 19th century in Argentina, while projects for a unified nation were being discussed. For the generation of liberals that led the process of unification, education was to civilize the plebe that had been mobilized during the independence and civil wars, forming a citizenship that would stop supporting the provincial leaders (caudillos) and embrace the liberal ideals. The republican order and the national union imagined by the liberal elite would rest on this "literate citizenship" (Sábato, 1992) educated by the schools.

The liberal program, and the first organization of the system, thought differently of primary and secondary schooling. The provinces that would be in charge of designing the curriculum and administration would run elementary schools. Secondary schools and normal schools that would train teachers would be run directly by the national state, which sought to keep a hold of the formation of the ruling classes. In 1905, a law was passed that authorized the creation of national elementary schools in those places where the provinces were not fulfilling the educational needs of the population. From that moment on, the national schools increased their enrollment gradually at the expense of the provinces', reaching its peak in the 1940s, when the national primary schools received almost 50% of the total population of that level (Braslavsky & Krawczyk, 1987), and the nationalization of educational services was the dominant drive until the late 1950s.

After Perón's debunkment of office in 1955 by a military coup, a reverse movement towards provincial administrations grew. At that time, some laws were passed that allowed private owners to run universities, and gave them increased power in the primary and secondary level. This shift of balance between the private and the public sector was thought of as the best means to prevent an authoritarian state from monopolizing public education.

This move implied a break with the deeply rooted republican belief that "state-owned" was the equivalent to "public" and "democratic." At this time, decentralization was led by the private sector.

During the last military dictatorship (1976–1983), the government transferred all elementary schools and preschools, depending on the national state, to the provincial governments. The government, coherent with its traditionalist, "back to the roots," ideological motto, claimed that this act was a sort of restoration of the federal origins of the educational system. In this second wave, then, decentralization was a result of authoritarian policies that intended to dramatically restructure the political field. The center of the scene was no longer occupied by the private sector, but by the provincial states, tightly controlled by the militaries.

In the 1980s, with the restoration of democratically elected governments, the strong movement towards communitarian participation and democratization also reached the educational arena. Several experiences of school boards, students' centers and parents' associations were developed, in some cases—as in the parents' and students' cases—recreating old traditions in the Argentinean educational system. Decentralization was claimed as a way of introducing democratic participation at all levels of the system. In their turn, the provincial states also demanded the completion of the transference of the national schools, including secondary schools and the tertiary level (mostly teacher education institutions). The concept of decentralization shifted profoundly to articulate anti-authoritarian, anti-militarist, pro-juvenile struggles.

In the 1990s, "reform" spread as a "contagious discourse" (Schram, 2000) that brought into national debates categories that were not neutral nor innocuous. Decentralization, accountability, managerialism, professionalization, national standards, were all topics of the rhetoric of educational reform that were quickly adopted in Argentina as the road to success. It is important to take into account that these discourses involved ways of seeing the world, senses of selfhood and otherness, disciplinary knowledges, and power relations that were introduced in the local arenas along with the words used to describe the situations and prescribe the solutions. They were part of "régimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980) that established criteria for judgement and validation processes that had political and ethical implications. These rhetorics depicted an old-fashioned system, caught between struggles of interests and conservative tendencies. The participatory decentralization was seen as part of the problem and not the way out of it.

In a previous text (Dussel, Tiramonti, & Birgin, 2000), I have emphasized that the adoption of these reform policies produced hybrid discourses. It implied a translation process that put these new experiences and directions in relation to the ones that were available previously, and



even if it erased and blurred the original markers, these older components remained as part of its texture, as when we find traces of previous writings in the palimpsest.<sup>2</sup>

The reform discourses were propagated by state-centered agencies, while the universities remained largely in the opposition.<sup>3</sup> Proposals such as the professionalization of teachers, unified curricular contents, site-based management of schools, and decentralization became the cornerstone of change and innovation. New legal and administrative frames were established. A compulsory general education of 10 years replaced the traditional 7-year long primary school, and a vocationally-oriented 3-year "Polimodal" education (with several orientations) took the place of secondary schools, traditionally structured, despite the technical or commercial-administration schools, by a humanist curriculum (cf. Dussel, 1997). The institutions that were in charge of teacher training were transferred to the provincial governments. The transference was accompanied by a deep restructuring of teacher education, including the reshaping of the teacher training system into a network with principal and subsidiary members, new standards for accreditation, and new content areas for the curriculum.

The provincial administrations were posed as the privileged sites of government of the educational system. Each province passed a new Law of Education that set their own principles and organizations for schooling. The new governing body of national education was supposed to be the Federal Council of Education, which included a representative for each province. From 1989, when it was created, to 2002, 195 resolutions and 22 general agreements were passed, whose contents range from primary and secondary education basic contents to compensatory programs to special and artistic education arrangements. A complex mechanism of transactions and negotiations between the national ministry and the provincial administration was established, which benefited the national ministry while it had access to foreign loans and could thus impose conditions on the provinces, but that ended by 1999 when international loans started to be scarce. The "provinces," a term which encompasses very different structures (Buenos Aires' province has a third of the school population of the country while other provinces have less than 50,000 students), gained political and financial relevance in their own territories, and the idea and the practice of a national educational system became much looser (Tiramonti, 2001).

Teachers and schools were also constructed as key actors in the decentralization policies. While the administrations that held office during the 1990s have diverged in their pedagogical orientations, some being more driven by the goals of participation and autonomy and others by managerial discourses, professionalization has remained a common thread among them. The notion that the teacher has to transform herself/him-

self into a different kind of practitioner, more academically oriented (i.e., with an updated knowledge purveyed by research findings) and more accountable in terms of her/his results, has received wide support.<sup>4</sup> The reforms have been oriented to give more weight to content areas and to "institutional knowledge" about how schools work. The notion of "institutional knowledge" has implied a new look at the life of schools in teacher education, which was significantly absent in the Normalist tradition—only requiring a small practicum at the end of the mostly theoretical training. But it has also implied the introduction of managerial language into pedagogy and curriculum. Schools are to be thought of as organizations that have to be managed, balancing inputs and outputs, controlling the flux of communications, and putting into numbers the daily interchanges and processes that take place in schools. These numbers will make teaching more accountable and thus, it is presumed, better.

The discourses of reform are related to shifts in the technologies and targets of power (Rose, 1999a). They are homologous to the ones involved in the reorganization of the workplace and the military, which focus on competency, flexibility, adaptability, and a re-education of the will ("the entrepreneurial self", as Popkewitz and Bloch (in press) define it). The individual is responsible for self-actualization, in a continual work upon the self in order to fully develop their potentialities.

In this new configuration of the social, "local" or "private" endeavors are seen as the most democratic and dynamic practices. The discourse on individual and community responsibility involves local institutions and individuals assuming what used to be done by the welfare State, and it links decentralization and democratization in a way in which each educational institution is the primary constructor of the new social agenda rather than the educational system as a whole. One central province, San Luis, has started six charter schools, although they remain as a limited experiment until now.<sup>5</sup>

But responsibility and accountability have permeated other areas as well. The French sociologist Alain Ehrenberg provides an interesting take on the categories and distinctions introduced by this therapeutic-economic discourse. In a book on depression and society, Ehrenberg points out that the new patterns of governance stress performance and success as the "normal" outcomes of conduct, and produce a new pathology of insufficiency and incapacity (Ehrenberg, 2000). All those who are incapable or unwilling to discipline themselves in line with the kind of performance needed to succeed will be considered a failure, and will enter into the realm of therapeutic technologies to redeem the self. These changes have deeply transformed the experiences and practices of the self. Ehrenberg points out that the psychological illness of our time is no longer Freud's neurosis but depression, "being tired of being oneself," of lacking sufficient initiative or responsibility. Pharmacology and the sciences of conduct will come

to the rescue, helping the individual to cope with this incapacity—although, Ehrenberg argues, they have been complicitous in the production of the pathology. Ehrenberg's work is important because it shows to what extent the new patterns of governance are centered on the self, and imply new languages, new categories and new actions to be taken for/against the self.

Sanford Schram, portraying how welfare reforms have focused on a notion of "responsibility" that is defined in an economic as well as in a therapeutic register,<sup>6</sup> stresses that this kind of responsibility has reinscribed liberal ideals about the subject in terms of new race, gender, and class relations. For Schram, a discourse on personal responsibility defines citizenship and rights in relation to the ability to work and provide an income for oneself and one's family. Not being able to work is a consequence of bad habits (addictions, early pregnancies, inability to constitute a two-parent family) and of incapacity to discipline oneself (Schram, 2000, ch.1). The "welfare queen," an artifact produced by this discourse (Schram, 2000; Cruikshank, 1999), is the epitome of this deficiency: women, and particularly women of color, are seen as especially incapable of controlling their impulses, governing their selves, in short, of living as independent beings. This formulation encourages the idea that "women are more likely to be poor and the poor are more likely to act in a female-like fashion.... In this process, not only does poverty get feminized but personal responsibility is again reinscribed as a male phenomenon that women lack." (Schram, 2000, p. 41)

In Argentina, most of these discourses have circulated intensely, although with heterogeneous effects. Their dissemination poses interesting questions to think about the dynamics of the global and the local in the circulation and recontextualization of educational discourses. First, it should be noted that the discourses that focus on the empowerment of teachers and principals coexist with those that see the "provinces" as the key players of this new field, and both terms have been frequently pitted against each other (Tiramonti, 2001). At times of heated political struggle between the National Ministry and the provincial governments, the central administration has essayed a direct contact with the schools and the teachers via the production of educational journals or teaching guides. Discourses on professionalization have been juxtaposed, or even have contradicted, other discourses on decentralization as transference of educational services to the provinces.

Second, the recontextualization has implied negotiations and translations with older discourses as well. For example, the discourse on personal responsibility has been a central piece in educational reforms, providing arguments for changing the work of head teachers and supervisors, but it has crashed against a firmly entrenched teaching ethos that defines teach-

ing as a wage-based work, subordinated to the central State. A case in point has been the unsuccessful attempts to reform the Teachers' Statute, a protective law passed on 1957 that grants stability and special privileges to teachers. Despite aggressive campaigns in the media, accusing teachers of being lazy and self-compliant, even corrupt, none of the three administrations that held office since 1990 have been able to change it.<sup>7</sup> It should be noted that, after the generalized political and social crisis that is taking place since December 2001, it is fairly obvious that these discourses on personal responsibility had very few chances to be efficacious when corruption and un-governability were widespread. However, they did produce some effects on how school principals and supervisors conduct their schools, having become more liable both in juridical and social terms.<sup>8</sup>

### RESHAPING SCHOOL GOVERNANCE: THE NEW ROLE OF COHABITATION RULES

In this section, I will pay a closer look to the patterns of governance that are being put in place in schools. As it has been mentioned before, the restoration of democratically elected governments in 1983 brought about new concerns about democracy and participation throughout the educational system. School discipline became a heavily charged topic in the national agenda due to the repressive experience of the dictatorship. One of the first measures of the new administration in 1984 was to derogate the disciplinary regime for secondary schools, which dated from 1934. Throughout the 1980s and the beginnings of the 1990s, the life of schools changed dramatically. Parents' associations became again important in primary schools management, also due to the financial crisis and the economic needs of schools, and students' associations gained momentum in secondary and tertiary schools, contributing to a renewed political participation of youth.

At that time, there were some essays to introduce school governing bodies that included teachers, parents and students, which were not successful (cf. Tiramonti, 2001). By the early 1990s, these bodies were accused of bureaucratization, corruption or excessive politicization; also, there was a more general decline in civic participation which was especially felt in the human rights movement. The decentralization reforms, as have been noted above, seldom spoke in terms of increased communitarian participation. School councils persisted in some schools but became much less important in terms of the power strategies that were designed at that time.

By the end of the 1990s, however, there was a renewed interest in school discipline and governance, this time fueled by concerns about the crisis of adults' authority and the loose boundaries of permissions and prohibitions in schools as well as in the broader society.<sup>9</sup> The discourse on discipline and



security constructs an association between the relaxation of norms and the crisis of adults' authority, on the one hand, and the rise of juvenile delinquency and school violence. Expert discourses on autonomy and responsibility have provided a language for dealing with these new situations, and new rules are being set in place in most provincial administrations.

In the city of Buenos Aires, the new rules were approved in 2001, under the name of "School System for Cohabitation" (*Sistema Escolar de Convivencia*). They establish that each school has to decide their own rules, constituting a Cohabitation Council. Despite its openness, it prescribes that the Council will have teachers, students, preceptors (disciplinary assistants), representatives of Students' Associations, and parents, and lists a set of sanctions that range from oral reprimand to separation from school.

The change from a centralized rule to a decentralized one, in which each school has a considerable degree of autonomy, is remarkable, and is one of the few aspects in which schools can exercise their autonomy—which, in other spheres such as curriculum design, monetary resources, or decisions on school personnel, is severely impaired by present conditions and regulations. In a study currently under way at FLACSO, we reviewed the statutes of 20 secondary schools in order to analyze what schools have made with that autonomy.<sup>10</sup> While we are still completing the research, some preliminary ideas will be summarized in what follows.

One of the most striking features of the statutes is that they are generally written in terms of the responsibilities that students have, and only two of them speak the language of rights and obligations. For example, one of the statutes states that, through cohabitation rules, students learn several important things: that conflict is an integral part of life; that problems can be solved through dialogue; that all situations can be improved; that each student has to assume her/his own responsibility; that anger and irritability have to be expressed through respectful language and so on.<sup>11</sup> Others are more concise but share the assumptions (i.e., in the definition of a technical school, the cohabitation system is a conflict-management strategy and entails permanent self-reflection<sup>12</sup>). The politico-legal language of rights and obligations is replaced by a psychological, even cognitive (problem-solving strategies) discourse.

The "responsibilities" listed in the school rules include: mutual respect, attention, respect for school property, and respect for patriotic symbols (flag, national anthem), among others, and are generally related to students' behavior and not to that of the teachers'. One school discourages students to bring along money or costly items and makes it explicit that the school will not be liable for lost items on school premises. Some schools opt for a "group ethics" that stresses the weight of the collective self of the school community. In this case, the idea of harmony and consensus inside the school community is so prevalent that transgression becomes much

more serious. Only four of the 20 schools mention that the adults have some kind of responsibility or obligation, while the others assume that the statutes are intended to control students' behavior.

This last point can be noted in the importance, in all statutes, of the regulation of "proper attire" and conduct in schools (no smoking, no drinking alcohol, no violent games). Proper attire and conduct is primarily a responsibility of students (no reference is made to what would happen if a professor smoked in class). As it happens in other school systems, the "presentation" of the self is a relevant aspect of school interactions (cf. Dussel, 2001). In Argentina, while until 1984 secondary school students had to wear uniforms, the liberalization of vestimentary codes has become a conflictive point in the relationships of students and adult authorities. Most of the school rules/statutes list the kind of clothing items that cannot be worn in schools: teams' T-shirts, baseball caps, leggy pants, shorts or miniskirts. Young women cannot wear earrings or make up, and young men, if long-haired, have to wear it in a ponytail. Vestimentary codes, then, include a more or less short list of what cannot be worn in schools, and general claims about wearing "adequate, proper clothing." What is interesting is that the regulation of clothing has to include some openness or flexibility, as it stands as a flexible form against the rigidity of uniforms.

The notion of "proper attire" and "style," then, becomes much more powerful. It can be argued that "proper attire" is a regulation that has been in effect at least since the end of the 19th century. In Argentina, before uniforms were donned, teachers insisted on the idea of "proper attire" as a way of disciplining the bodies of children. However, the notion of what is "proper" and "improper" is much looser today than it was in the 1880s, its boundaries being continually redefined by marketing strategies and youth subcultures among others (i.e., the notion of hipness or coolness as perpetually changing—in fact, there is no other way of being "cool" than perpetually looking for the latest trend). I claim that the fact that the one who has to define what is "proper" and "improper" is the self, implies a careful and attentive work upon oneself, a continual monitoring of the self and others.

The education of "passions," to borrow Nikolas Rose's idea, through the intervention on people's lifestyles is a substantial change in the way power is affected and the technologies it brings into play. The very idea of "lifestyle" points in a different direction than the liberal technologies of the self, and introduces new practices of identity formation through "the active and practical shaping by individuals of the daily practices of their own lives in the name of their own pleasures, contentment's, or fulfillments." (Rose, 1999a, pp. 178–179). Again, as with the professional teacher, the individual is responsible for self-actualization, in a continual work upon the self in order to fully develop her/his potentialities.

But it is in the sanctions that issues of responsibility come out strongly. Some schools have a credit system for sanctions, which implies losing points each time a transgression is made. For example, students start the school year with 100 credits, and lose 15 credits if they miss a class without justification, 5 credits if they throw garbage in an inappropriate place, or 10 to 50 credits if they do not show respect for patriotic symbols. The goal is to produce the student as a calculating subject, a speculative person who can manage her/his credits adequately. The schools that do not have a credit system propose gradual increases in the penalties, a graduality that can also produce speculation and calculating strategies. However, parents are to be notified of each sanction and remain ultimately responsible, in most cases, for their children's behavior, reinstating the notion of adolescents as minors incapable of self-regulation and autonomy.

The regulation of school discipline as it appears in the schools' cohabitation rules, then, combines old and new themes and strategies. It is formulated in terms of responsibilities and consensus, and emphasizes flexibility, adaptability, and a re-education of the will necessary to learn how to live together. It proposes dialogue and conflict-resolution strategies, in a similar way to what new managerial discourses are doing for other areas (Rose, 1999a). But, on the other hand, most of the statutes still see the child as incapable of self-government, and stress an idea of "responsibility" that resembles the old topics of school discipline (as in, i.e., "the student is responsible for obeying the rules"). The production of a calculating subject is counterbalanced by the weight of obedience and traditional sanctions. Reiterating an old relation between the state and marginal children (Guy, 2002), the cohabitation rules, most of the time, place the children and adolescents as "subjects-of-paternalism," incapable of self-monitoring responsibly, yet obliged to do it in many other aspects of school life.

Again, as it has been said in the previous section, governance is the result of hybrid discourses that combine the old and the new in unpredictable ways, and that can not be accounted for in terms of a "single will to power." Interestingly, most schools agree in establishing the disrespect for patriotic symbols as a severe fault, even leading to separation from school. That this consensus has gone unchallenged despite the wane of nationalisms and the crisis of the Argentinean state is remarkable, and constitutes an evidence of the complex translations that social and cultural dynamics have when they affect the school setting.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE PRODUCTION OF HYBRID PATTERNS OF GOVERNANCE**

Throughout this chapter, I have tried to unfold the many nuances and inflections that the discourses of reform of educational governance have

taken in the Argentinean educational field. The local translation of discourses on responsibility and autonomy is a powerful example of the assemblage of several discourses and strategies that constitute the patterns of governance. Mitchell Dean has argued that régimes of government always put together features that are heterogeneous, some paternalistic, some liberal, or simply authoritarian (Dean, 1998). As I have said before, these régimes are not the expression of a single "will to power" (Rose, 1999a) but rather have to be considered as a "combinatory repertoire" (Hunt, 1999) that adapts and relocates different discourses and strategies in the process of governing schools, teachers, and students.

I have argued that we need to develop a renewed theoretical and political reading of the educational reform in Argentina that goes beyond the uncritical stance of managerial reforms but also beyond the usual accusations of neo-liberalism or neo-colonialism. I have focused on the multiple discourses that are being mobilized to structure new patterns of governing, discourses that are not easily reduced to a single entity, be it ideology, political party, or policy. I have argued that they combine heterogeneous elements that have different dynamics inscribed in them, and that are produced in a field of relations that have their own dynamics too.

Another point of the chapter has been to illuminate the ways in which the translations made by reform strategies have implied adopting "foreign" discourses to local arenas. Following Appadurai's work, I have tried to show the importance of looking at the circulation of global cultural forms and educational discourses and their translation into local practices. For example, the "import" of professionalization discourses and the construction of the teacher as the privileged site of regulation has coexisted with another movement, that of transferring educational services to the provinces and constituting the provincial governments into central players of the reforms. This coexistence has produced a hybrid that includes old and new ways of governing schools and teachers. This simultaneous account for the global and the local in the production of cultures and knowledge seems much more tuned to current dynamics than either/or frameworks that still abound in educational research.

I have claimed that the introduction of notions of "responsibility" and "autonomy" has had dissimilar effects in a field in which people are used to act and think with different categories and languages. Teachers and principals are supposed to act responsibly, with the new language and managerial practices provided by the reformers, in a movement that points to the development of self-monitoring and adjustment. However, both the system's organization and the school organization build up on a different direction, tied to political negotiations and flows, and to a more traditional ethics of wage-work. On the other hand, it can be said that "cohabitation rules" have combined new managerial discourses and strategies with old themes, such as plain obedience to rules, respect for patriotic symbols, and a more verti-



cal, hierarchized relationship between adults and children than the idea of "cohabitation," conflict-resolution, and anger management promises.

In both cases, patterns of governance can be seen as simultaneously changing and stable. They introduce ruptures at the same time that negotiations with old discourses and strategies are performed. Going back to the arguments presented in the introduction of this chapter, I hope it is by now clear why I do not share the assumption that schools, as well as the broader society, have become lawless or totally un-governable. There is an organization of the educational system and of the school as an institution, with its rules and hierarchies. While its efficacy on people's conduct should be investigated through other methods than the ones I have used here, it could be argued that the hybridity of the technologies speak about multiple accommodations and translations made at several levels; in that respect it can be said that they are already having effects on teachers' and students' behaviors.

To reintroduce complexity and heterogeneity in the analysis of Argentinean educational policy is also to go beyond the reference to disparate mechanisms or entities. It is not enough to point out the "mix and match" of heterogeneity. I believe that there is an important point to be made about any practice of governing: that it is never totally coherent, and that the idea of self-identity and purity are nothing but myths (cf. Valverde, 1998). To look for a general rationality of governance behind all governance patterns, call it "neoliberal policy," an overwhelming disciplinary power, or neo-populism, would reproduce these myths of self-containment and coherence. Neither total dismantling, nor total efficacy and reproduction: as many post-structural scholars have argued, it is in this in-between that we have to navigate, humbly struggling for more justice and freedom in these turbulent waters.

### NOTES

1. As it will be noted, "federal government" takes a different meaning in the Argentinean context than in the U.S., and comprises the action of the provincial administrations and not of the central, national-level government.
2. In a recent paper, I discuss the implications of postcolonial notions of hybridity for curriculum theory (cf. Dussel, 2002). Hybrid is etimologically linked to the Latin word *hubris*, injury. Although a more rigorous etimological inquiry is needed, it is important to point out that the association of hybridity to a wound, an offense, an incision done to the self, is a long one in Western culture history, and that to construct it as a positive, contested place is a gesture that turns metaphysics upside down.
3. A history of educational discourse in recent years is yet to be written. Southwell (2003) provides an enlightening account of the continuities and breaks between the different administrations (radicalism-peronism). Public univer-

sities have held the monopoly of critical discourse, but their personnel initiated research about "teachers as practitioners" or the relevance of subject matter content. Cf. Palamidessi, in press.

4. Interestingly, in the debate around the legacy of the Normal Schools, "profession" has been pitted against "vocation." The professionalists argue that Normalists have relied on the primacy of "calling" or "vocation" over "scientific knowledge," turning teacher training into a moralizing endeavor instead of focusing on the content-knowledge that teachers have to impart. What this argument forgets is that "profession" shares the same religious roots of "calling": profession meant initially a public declaration of one's faith, an ideal of faithful service rendered to the community (La Vopa, 1988). This "forgetting" conveniently helps construct an image of the teacher as a neutral practitioner, one whose knowledge and role is prescribed by the objective sciences of teaching. No longer an "agent of the Republic," as the Normalists defined themselves, the teacher has to consider herself/himself as a professional whose task is to impart content knowledge.
5. It is remarkable that the experience has mobilized a strange coalition of hard-core rightist liberals and leftist libertarians. One school has been named after Eduardo Galeano, the author of an anti-imperialist best-seller in the '70s, "The Open Veins of Latin America."
6. Here Schram follows Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon's distinctions about the idioms used to speak about dependency in their seminal article (1998).
7. Cf. Llach et al., 1999, for a pro-government account of why the Teachers' Statute should be changed. Llach was the Minister of Education in 1999-2000.
8. It is common to hear school principals complain about parents' increased demands on schools. Several districts have implemented meetings with parents on a regular basis, more on the spirit of client/consumer basis than on the traditional way of relating to parents (paternalistic, civilizing, redemption-oriented).
9. These discourses can be traced back to conservative and nostalgic views as well as to more progressive, humanistic ones. For an interesting account on the changes of parental authority, see Delumeau & Roche, 2000. For a discussion of the prevalence of discourses on youth violence and the criminalization of poverty, especially of the young, male body, in Argentina, see Kessler, 2002; Isla & Míguez, 2003.
10. There are 40 public secondary schools in the city. Seventeen schools denied the researchers access to the document, arguing that it is not a public text, and 3 still have to answer.
11. Cohabitation School Project, Secondary School No. 1, 2002.
12. Cohabitation Statute, Technical School No. 6, 2002.

### REFERENCES

- Anderson-Levitt, K. M. (Ed.). (2003). *Local meanings, global schooling. Anthropology and world culture theory*. New York & Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press.

- Braslavsky, C., & Krawczyk, N. (1987). *La escuela pública. [The public school]*. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila Editores.
- Cruikshank, B. (1999). *The will to empower. Democratic subjects and other subjects*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society*. London & Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Delumeau, J., & Roche, D. (Eds.). (2000). *Histoire des pères et de la paternité* (2nd ed.). Paris: Larousse.
- Dussel, I. (1997). *Curriculum, humanismo y democracia en la enseñanza media (1863–1920)*. [Curriculum, humanism, and democracy in secondary schools, 1863–1920]. Buenos Aires: Oficina de Publicaciones del CBC-UBA/FLACSO.
- Dussel, I. (2001). School uniforms and the disciplining of appearances: Towards a history of the regulation of bodies in modern educational systems. In: T.S. Popkewitz, B. Franklin, & M. Percyra (Eds.), *Cultural history and critical studies of education: Dissenting essays* (pp. 207–241). New York: Routledge.
- Dussel, I. (2002). El curriculum híbrido. ¿Domesticación o pluralización de las diferencias?. In A. C. Lopes et al., (Eds.), *O campo do currículo. Novas perspectivas* (pp. 55–77). [The curriculum field. New perspectives] Sao Paulo: Cortez Editora.
- Dussel, I., Tiramonti, G., & Birgin, A. (2000). Decentralization and Recentralization in the Argentine Educational Reform: Reshaping educational policies in the '90s. In T. Popkewitz (Ed.), *Educational knowledge: Changing relationships between the state, civil society, and the educational community* (pp. 155–172). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Dussel, I., & S. Finocchio. (Eds.). (2003). *Enseñar Hoy. Una introducción a la escuela en tiempos de crisis. [Teaching Today. An introduction to schools in times of crisis]*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Ehrenberg, A. (2000). *La fatiga de ser uno mismo. Depresión y sociedad [Tired of being oneself: Depression and society]* (R. Paredes, Trans.). Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972–1977* (C. Gordon, trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Franklin, B., Bloch, M., & Popkewitz, T. S. (2003). *Educational partnerships: The paradoxes of governing schools, children, and families*. New York & Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan Press.
- Fraser, N., & Gordon, L. (1998). Contract versus charity: Why is there is no social citizenship in the United States? In G. Shafir (Ed.), *The citizenship debates* (pp. 113–127). Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Grüner, E. (2003). *Del experimento al laboratorio, y regreso. Argentina o el conflicto de las representaciones. [From the experiment to the laboratory and back. Argentina, or the conflict of representations]*. Sociedad. Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, 20/21, pp. 27–54.
- Guy, D. (2002). The state, the family and marginal children in Latin America. In T. Hecht (Ed.), *Minor omissions: Children in Latin American history and society* (pp. 139–164). Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hunt, A. (1999). *Governing morals: A social history of moral regulation*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Isla, A., & Míguez, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Heridas urbanas: Violencia delictiva y transformaciones sociales en los noventa [Urban wounds: Delinquent violence and social transformations in the '90s]*. Buenos Aires: Editorial de las Ciencias/FLACSO.
- Kessler, G. (2002). Entre fronteras desvanecidas. Lógicas de articulación de actividades legales e ilegales en los jóvenes [Between blurred boundaries. Logics of articulation of legal and illegal activities in young people]. In S. Gayol & G. Kessler (Eds.), *Violencias, delitos y justicias en la Argentina [Violence, crimes and justice systems in Argentina]* (pp. 339–354). Buenos Aires: Manantial/Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento.
- La Vopa, A. J. (1988). *Grace, talent, and merit: Poor students, clerical careers, and professional ideology in eighteenth-century Germany*. Cambridge, UK & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Llach, J. J., Montoya, S., & Roldán, F. (1999). *Educación para todos. [Education for all]*. Córdoba: IERAL.
- O'Donnell, G. (2002). Las poliarquías y la (in)efectividad de la ley en América latina. [Poliarchies and the (in)efficacy of the law in Latin America] In J. E. Méndez, G. O'Donnell, & P. S. Pinheiro (Eds.), *La (in)efectividad de la ley y la exclusión en América latina [The (in) efficacy of the law and exclusion in Latin America]* (pp. 305–336). Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- Palamidessi, M. (in press). *La investigación educacional en la Argentina: Una mirada al campo y algunas proposiciones para la discusión. [Educational Research in Argentina: A look at the field and some propositions for discussion]*. Buenos Aires: FLACSO.
- Popkewitz, T. (Ed.). (1993). *Changing patterns of power: Social regulation and teacher education reform*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Popkewitz, T. (1998). *Struggling for the soul: The politics of schooling and the construction of the teacher*. New York & London: Teachers' College Press.
- Rhoten, D. (1999). *Global-Local conditions of possibility: The case of educational decentralization in Argentina* (Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University: 354.)
- Rose, N. (1989). *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self*. London: Routledge.
- Rose, N. (1999a). *Powers of freedom. Reframing political thought*. Cambridge, UK & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, N. (1999b). Inventiveness in politics. *Economy and Society*, 28(3), 467–493.
- Rose, N., & Miller, P. (1992). Political power beyond the State: problematics of government. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 43(2), 173–205.
- Sábato, H. (1992). Citizenship, political participation and the formation of the public sphere in Buenos Aires, 1850s–1880s. *Past and Present*, 136.
- Schram, S. (2000). *After welfare. The culture of postindustrial social policy*. New York: New York University Press.
- Southwell, M. (2002). Una aproximación al proyecto educacional de la Argentina post-dictatorial: el fin de algunos imaginarios [Educational projects in Post-Dictatorship Argentina: The End of Some Imaginaries]. *Cuadernos de Pedagogía Crítica*, 10, 53–70.



Tiramonti, G. (2001). *Modernización educativa de los '90. ¿El fin de la ilusión emancipatoria? [Educational modernization in the '90s. The end of the emancipatory illusion?]* Buenos Aires, Ed. Temas.

Valverde, M. (1998). *Diseases of the will: Alcohol and the dilemmas of freedom*. Cambridge, UK & New York: Cambridge University Press.