Empires, Post-Coloniality and Interculturality

New Challenges for Comparative Education

Leoncio Vega (Ed.)
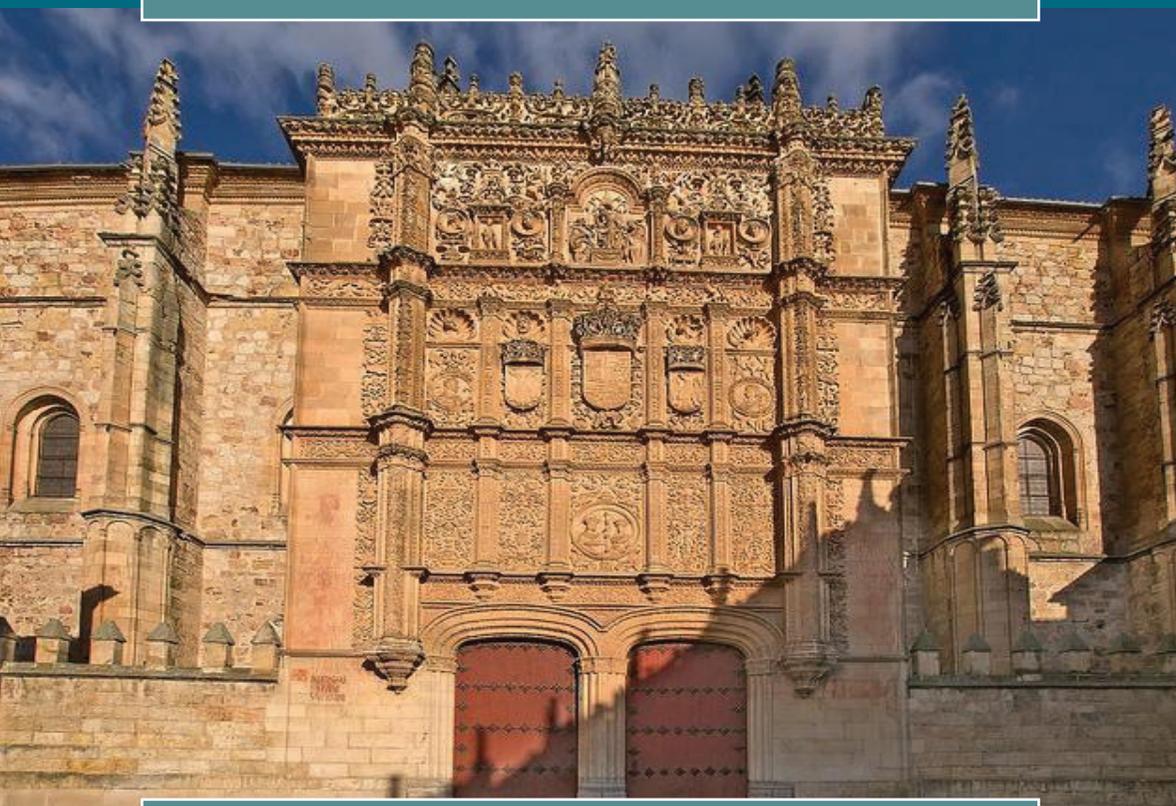
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CESE

Empires, Post-Coloniality and Interculturality

The Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) is an international non–profit making association of scientific and educational character. CESE was founded in 1961 in London and is a founding society of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES).

CESE has traditionally promoted a space for dialogue amongst scholars, specialists and young researchers from the field of education and other disciplines. More specifically, its purpose is to encourage and promote comparative and international studies in education by:

- promoting and improving the teaching of comparative education in institutions of higher learning;
- stimulating research;
- facilitating the publication and distribution of comparative studies in education;
- interesting professors and teachers of other disciplines in the comparative and international dimension of their work;
- co–operating with those who in other disciplines attempt to interpret educational developments in a broad context;
- organising conferences and meetings;
- collaborating with other Comparative Education Societies across the world in order to further international action in this field.

Every two years CESE organises an international conference of high scholarly standards which attracts academics, scholars, practitioners and students from all parts of Europe and around the world. Throughout its history, CESE has organised twenty–four such conferences, a special conference for the 25th anniversary of the Society, a symposium, and two 'CESE In–Betweens'. In–Betweens are international symposia organised between the biennial conferences. A web site of CESE is maintained at http://www.cese–europe.org/

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New Challenges for Comparative Education

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L. BELÉN ESPEJO, J.C. HERNÁNDEZ, LUJÁN LÁZARO &
EVA GARCÍA

PREFACE

The celebration of the XXV CESE Conference in the city of Salamanca last summer (2012) is a *bona fide* indicator of the health status of one of the oldest scientific societies in the Old World.

On that occasion, the achievement was greater than expected if we take into account the huge economic difficulties currently being imposed on University affairs by the recession and, by virtue of this, the organization of academic meetings with an international perspective.

Paradoxically, it is now, within this context of economic crisis and political upheaval, that the celebration of such international meetings may have the greatest meaning and potential impact. From the exchange of ideas and the formulation of proposals, comparative education can and indeed must contribute to an international debate that will offer contributions of interest as regards deliberations about the construction of Europe.

With all these issues on the horizon, the setting up of a scientific meeting in Salamanca had as its *leitmotiv* three arguments that are analysed in–depth in this book: empires, post–colonialism and interculturality, understood as arguments that apart from standing out as individual entities in themselves also share areas of convergence.

We are thus dealing with epigraphs with many derivatives for the field of comparative education. The evocation of the new *empires* in education raises issues such as the hegemonic presence of certain elements, examples of which are accountability, international rankings as an incentive to develop reforms and that act as keystones in pedagogical reflection, and the presence of an unequal "trafficking" in the development of comparative education. Here we find languages, models, concepts, developments and even the editorial distribution of discourses in a set direction, these therefore being hegemonic or predominant.

The issue of post–colonialism is equally relevant. Under this spreading denomination we find interpretations in at least two different levels. On the one hand, the phenomenon can be understood from the viewpoint of cultural identities. And the tight relation in the identity–school binomial is well known.

Study of this phenomenon – for which there are very evident enclaves in Europe for its analysis –, has important obstacles in that nothing is constructed *ex novo*, and of course education is no exception. Thus, together with the demand for or recovery

of (where pertinent) a given cultural identity it is also necessary to bear in mind the dialectic between what we wish to rid ourselves of and the new elements we wish to incorporate into the cultural, political, social, and naturally educational, equation.

On the other hand, post–colonialism also admits other points of view, other focuses. Thus, some interpretations hint at the prevalence in this new post–colonial scenario of a cultural relativism, at loggerheads with the values formed in the West. To a certain extent, post–colonialism propitiates debate about the discourse on Modernism and Post–Modernism, also within the span of international education.

Finally, the discussion addressing interculturality forms part of the reality of our environment and is hence a pertinent aspect that the CESE has wished to incorporate as one of the thematic axes in the field of academic activity. Global society expresses itself not only through movements or trends in the same direction in what some have referred to as an institutional globalization, but also refers to a culturally pluralistic world in which the role played by education is crucial.

Recalling one of the four pillars announced some years ago by Delors, comparative education also finds it relevant to persevere in the reflections and proposals of what the French author called *learning to live together* as one of the imperatives for the 21st Century, at the time knocking at the very door.

Regarding acknowledgements, it is necessary to mention the institutions that collaborated actively so that the CESE Meeting could be held successfully in Salamanca. In the "external institutions" sector, two merit special mention: the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness, which supported the Meeting with the granting of a Complementary Action (Ref. EDU2011–15549–E). Our gratitude is also due to the City Council of Salamanca, who facilitated diffusion of the Meeting and was kind enough to nominate the expert in comparative education Prof. R. Cowen as a "Distinguished Guest".

It is also just to recognise the support provided by the academic institutions and agencies who understood the importance that International Meetings of this kind have in broadening the field of scientific knowledge. With such high sights, we are grateful to the collaboration of the University of Salamanca, the School of Education of this University and the Department of Theory and History of Education itself. Regarding academic contributions, we sincerely acknowledge the encouragement and support offered by the Spanish Comparative Education Society. Our thanks are also due to the work, commitment and professionalism of the *Fundación General* of the University of Salamanca for ensuring that the Meeting would be a success.

Committee of CESE. Likewise we are indebted to the work of the Organizing Committee of the Meeting: Leoncio Vega Gil, José María Hernández Díaz, Belén Espejo Villar, Luján Lázaro Herrero and Juan Carlos Hernández Beltrán, and of the Technical Secretariat, composed of Eva García Redondo, Silvia Martín Sánchez, José Francisco Rebordinos Hernando, Alexia Cachazo Vasallo, Sara González Gómez and Tania Gómez Sánchez.

LEONCIO VEGA

EMPIRES, POST-COLONIALITY AND INTERCULTURALITY

New Challenges for Comparative Education

XXX CESE CONFERENCE

The central topic of discussion and debate for the XXX CESE Conference, held at the University of Salamanca on 17–21 June 2012, was approved by the Executive Committee of the CESE in April 2012 together with the structure of the thematic sessions. The main focus proposed for the debates of the Conference can be encompassed within an intellectual effort aimed at reappraising and redirecting the scientific discipline of Comparative Education on the basis of the major cultural trends affecting the internationalization and/or globalization of education. Reconsidering and/or rethinking our discipline involve studying the influence of three large international forces on it. On one hand, we see empires, not so much in the sense of discipline or government but rather from the cultural, technological and knowledge perspective. This addresses both historical processes and present events and is expressed through networks, research programs, the academic processes of university reform under the auspices of governmental criteria and efficiency, transnational mobility, and linguistic monopolies. Second, it is necessary to rethink the influence of post-colonialism on educational models and citizens' education, not only from the point of view of its impact on the curricular reordering of educational systems, but also of its educational and socio-cultural expression; both forms were expressed in the 19th and 20th centuries within different international geographic contexts. The third component of the discursive triangle is the reconsideration (not only historical) of the impact of migratory flows, or perhaps better said of cultural migrations", and their relationship with the reordering of the curricular and educational processes, both in the educational systems and within the social framework. Education is from a "monoculture" to multi-cultures in schools.

With a view to achieving our goals, the Conference was organized in eight sessions (seven working groups and the Symposium). WG1, on Education and Empires (Chair: E. Klerides), aimed to answer the question about the type of comparative thinking we need to understand the "old" and the "new" empires, studying geographic contexts on the five continents. The topics of comparative analysis focused on the EU, the Council of Europe, the OECD, the World Bank, UNESCO, etc. That is, the international agencies and their practices (discourses,

rankings, benchmarks, governance, legitimization, experts, etc.). From a geographic perspective, the contributions presented at the WG focused on Argentina, China, Finland, Portugal, the European Union, Pakistan, the Philippines, Spain and Italy. It should be noted that most papers corresponded to the central theme of the Conference: the involvement of Comparative education of the new "imperial" forms of knowledge, technology, discourses, and identity.

WG2, addressing Post-socialism and Education (Chile: V. Domovic), aimed to study issues related to Post-socialist States and their construction or reconstruction as regards education (curricula, universities, instructor training, civic education, etc.). A further aim was to explore how the "new empires" affect the reordering of education systems. Geographic contexts should not only refer to Eastern Europe but also to Cuba, North Korea, Africa and Russia. The papers presented and discussed in this WG came from countries such as Italy, Poland, Eastern European countries, Russia, Kenya–Armenia and Kazakhstan.

WG 3 dealt with Imperialism, Education and Interculturality (Chair: J. Gundara) and their relationships with comparative education through scientific contributions from anthropology, political science, sociology and other disciplines of the social sciences. This WG received papers from Finland–Japan–Turkey, Spain, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom, Europe, and Cyprus, together with others with no specific geographic circumscription.

WG 4, addressing Post-colonialism and Education (Chair: L. Wikander), looked at thematic issues related to post-colonial education after the collapse of the large empires of the 19th and 20th centuries. Comparative reflection on the educational perspective of post-colonialism theory includes discursive constructions about the British, Portuguese, Spanish, etc., post-colonial times, but also attending to South Korea, Japan and China. The papers presented at this WG focused on Angolan, Latin–American, Argentinean, Tanzanian, Bolivian, Jamaican, Korean and Rwandan contexts.

WG 5, focused on New Empires of Knowledge (Chair: H.G. Kotthoff), was dedicated monographically to the study of international programs and institutions for the assessment of competencies (TIMMS, PIRLS, PISA, etc.). This group studied the sociology and international politics of numbers (Education by Numbers, W. Mansell, 2007), and how programs have become the matter of study of Comparative Education as regards ideology, the sciences, policies, systems and processes. The thematic contributions to this WG came from Greece, the United Kingdom–the United States, Cyprus–Turkey, the Middle East–N. Africa, Australia–Canada–New Zealand–Finland–US, England–Germany and Norway–Romania.

WG6, which looked at International Cooperation and Education (Chair: E. Buk-Berge), focused on the infrastructures, mechanisms and processes that use both discourses (evidence, rigour, relevance, etc.) and practices (agencies, programs, bodies, etc.) in the new forms of international cooperation and the role played by education in their initiatives and projects. Should this international educational cooperation be studied within the scientific discipline of Comparative Education?

The thematic contexts of the contribution to this WG came from Finland–Italy, the EU, the UK and Sweden–Japan.

The NSWG (Chairs: L. Vega and J. Valle) was devoted to welcoming young researchers or investigators who were participating for the first time in CESE Conferences and who had the opportunity to position their contributions within an international setting. The work topics were the main ones addressed at the Conference. However, this section was in great demand and received works with contextual references to Europe, Argentine–Chile–Uruguay, Russia–Norway, Spain and Bolivia.

The Symposium with the main topics of the Conference was also well received by those attending: there were works from the Italian, Spanish, Mexican, Portuguese, Argentinean and Brazilian contexts.

The participants at the Conference came from different countries, although it seems pertinent to distinguish between the registered (150) and (non-registered (160) participants. This second category included accompanying persons and those interested or involved in some of the sessions of the working groups or of the Conference. 86.2% of those who were registered came from European countries (taking as a reference the country in which they worked): Spain, 50; The United Kingdom, 20; Italy, 12; Portugal, 10; Germany, 7; Norway, 3; Sweden, 3; Greece, 3; Belgium, 2; Denmark, 2; The Netherlands, 2; Poland, 2; France, 2; Croatia, 2; Cyprus, 2; Finland, 1; and Ireland, 1, an indicator of the full attendance of the CESE in the European university. 14 % came from the Americas: USA, 8; Canada, 3; Brazil, 3; Argentina, 3; Mexico, 2; Chile, 1; and Uruguay, 1, and the remaining 3.33 % from the Asia–Pacific area: Japan, 2; Korea, 1; Hong-Kong, 1, and Australia, 1.

The Local Organizing Committee (presided by the Professor of Comparative Education of the University of Salamanca, Leoncio Vega) offered an academic, social and cultural program that led to intense academic sessions for thematic discussions (with a broad high-quality participation), and was combined with some cultural initiatives, such as a visit to the majestic Renaissance Old Library of the University of Salamanca, where the visitors had occasion to enjoy the historical beauty and documentary quality of the manuscripts and incunabulae conserved there, and a nocturnal visit to the "Golden City" to appreciate and enjoy the city built of Villamayor stone and its rich architectural and artistic heritage (the ample series of civil Renaissance buildings, the "procession" of Gothic or Romanesque churches. This was headed by the two Cathedrals, and also the rich University heritage, special attention being paid to the main façade of the Major Schools (the Historical University Building), constructed in the 16th century in a Castilian Plateresque style and guarded by the austere skull and frog as a symbol of the loneliness and rigors of intellectual work and the licentious life-style of the students of the day).

Among the programmatic actions, we should not overlook the institutional act of reception offered by the City Hall of Salamanca in the Functions Hall, which included the emotional and highly merited appointment of the comparativist Professor Robert

Cowen as a distinguished guest of the City and the later gathering on the balcony for those present to enjoy an "aerial view" of the uniform "Churrigueresque" (from Churriguera, the architect) Main Square, constructed in two phases along the 18th century.

In panel format we had the opportunity to attend a round table coordinated by Professor M. Pereyra, whose contributions focused on the intellectual effort involved in rethinking or redirecting research and teaching in the field of Comparative Education from perspectives that situate human beings (their education, training and moral construction) at the reference epicenter of the comparison, of educational systems and the daily activities of comparativists. The words of researchers such as J. L. García Garrido, Karin Amos, Carlo Cappa and Andreas M. Kazamias allowed us to gain further insight into the historical construction of comparative education since the advent of Humanism, in which the University of Salamanca has been a well-known and renowned intellectual reference.

The academic work program included the delivery of seven plenary speeches. Four were in English, two in Portuguese and one in Spanish. The first one was delivered by the Professor at the University of Bayreuth (German) Sabine Hornberg (an expert in PIRLS tests and in the transnational dimension of educational spaces), addressing "*Transnational Education Spaces: Border-transcending Dimensions in Education*". The second was given by Iveta Silova (Professor of Comparative and International Education at the College of education, Lehigh University, Pennsylvania (USA) and the Editor of European education) on "*The Futures of (Post) Socialism; Critical Reflections on Transitologies and Transfer in Comparative Education*". The third was delivered by the Professor at the University of Pernambuco Zélia Granja Porto (an expert in pre-school) education in Brazil) on "*Infancias y Poder: Discursos Transnacionales en las Formas de Regulación de Políticas para la Educación Infantil*". The fourth contribution was delivered by the Professor of Comparative Education at the University of Valencia (Spain) María Jesús Martínez Ussaralde (an expert in relations between cooperation and education) on "*Sentipensar la Cooperación al Desarrollo en Educación desde las Políticas Internacionales y de Subjetividad*". The fifth was given by the professor at the Piaget Institute (Portugal) Joao Ruivo (an expert in teachers training) on "*La Globalización, la Escuela y la Profesionalización de los Profesores*". The sixth corresponded to Juan Manuel Moreno (Senior Education Specialist at the Department of the Middle East and North Africa of the World Bank) on "*Skill Gaps and Meritocracy in the Transition from Education to Work: The case of the Middle East and North Africa*". The Lauwerys delivery, or closing speech, was given by the Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin–Madison (USA), Thomas S. Popkewitz (a specialist in curricular analysis, assessor of education systems in different countries and a renowned publisher of political-educational themes, schooling and instructor training as the construction of power). His stimulating historical talk addressed "*The paradoxes of Comparative Studies: The Representation of the Others as Exclusions and Abjections*".

The deliveries, widely followed by the participants at this event, focused on the topics basic to the Conference and, although with different perspectives and levels, acted as an academic stimulus to comparative reflection in education.

The reflection of the work involved in the organization and planning of the Conference, together with the condensation of research richness in the comparative field, could be encapsulated in the two documents that the organization made available to all the participants. On one hand, there was the booklet, which detailed the composition of the various committees (both that of the CESE and of the Local Organization), general information for the participants, the general program of academic activities, the organization of the Panel, the Working Groups (these gathered the abstracts presented and debated and the programming of their presentation) and the final list of participants.

The CD-ROM (ISBN 978-84-695-3792-3) includes the 50 papers that the authors accepted for publication in this format for academic research works. The distribution some homogeneous levels, but the sections most demanded were the Symposium, the New Scholar Working Group, and WGs 1 and 6.

The CESE Conference that was held in Spain for the fourth time (Valencia 1979, Madrid 1990, Granada 2006 and Salamanca 2012) should first be interpreted as a new opportunity to continue broadening the international dimension of the comparative research of the Spanish scientific community. This is an extensive and diverse collective that to a large extent responded with its participation and contributions. The presence of curricular continents in the subjects of Comparative Education (CE) and similar materials in the study plans of Pedagogy, Social Education, Infant Education Teaching, Primary School Teaching and the formal Master's degree in Teachers Training in Secondary education, with different levels of development in the Spanish university spectrum, requires a constantly updated academic effort and a renovation in a social context of progressive consumption of contents and information of an international nature. Second, we are also supporting a process of aperture and expansion of the CESE, not only in the internal European and North-American contexts but also in the Latin-American sphere, that of the Middle East and that of Africa and, of course, in the rapidly economically developing Asian zone.

Third, apart from the above contributions to the "internationalization" of the discipline of CE, we should underscore those of strictly academic and intellectual nature. The initial proposal of comparatively reflecting and rethinking the relations between knowledge societies, the teaching and research activities that are expressed through social and/or institutional education and the cultural trends, current and movements (political and economic) that act as "empires", was achieved with complete satisfaction, as may be seen both from the participation and from the intellectual richness and interest pervading the debates that took place in the Work Groups, the contributions, and the Panel. The material embodiment of this richness is seen in the CD-ROM, available to all participants and is more intensely expressed via the bibliographic documents to be found in this volume. All this suggests that CE is not what it was some decades ago. Education systems as we knew them are

not undergoing reforms (internal and external) derived from the "world culture". Additionally, new programs and knowledge are being added to reflection and teaching. Examples are those deriving from international assessments of competencies and the educational contributions or determinations from international agencies. We are also advancing in the scientific construction (theoretical and intellectual) of Comparative Education in an attempt to overcome data fetishism and "on-the-spot democracy" (A. Nóvoa).

From the domestic viewpoint, we cannot overlook the fact that the Conference also served to lend continuity to the historical and international trajectory of the University of Salamanca, with centuries of external relations that are now expressed in terms of student mobility, cooperative programs, signed agreements, doctorate programs, the training of researchers and an endless list of collaborative academic activities with other universities, teams and researchers from all five continents. The CE team of which we form part has also joined that academic trajectory.

AUDIENCES IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Currently, following the scheme proposed by Professor A. Viñao (2003) our avenue of enquiry involves the social groups that use Comparative Education: the audiences or the "consumers". According to Prof. Viñao, the reference audiences would be the official, social, professional and scientific groups. Eckstein (1990) concentrates these audiences in three sectors: teachers, researchers and users (to implement and assess policies). It is clear that the main audience of comparative studies comes from the Administration and the political system. In this sense, Comparative Education has been the victim of its own success (Nóvoa, 2033) since research has been governed by political and administrative concerns in the field of schooling, which has mortgaged scientific construction. Support for international references can be seen in parliamentary discourses, reports and interventions. This is the case of the European Network on Education and Policies in Europe (Eurydice), whose comparative research work on education systems is performed with two collectives in mind, the political and the administrative collectives, the former being the one that sets and determines both the agenda and the rhythms and processes. In other words, comparative studies are converted into a "System of Governability" (Nóvoa, 2006) as a result of the revitalization of comparative education brought about by globalization (Vega, 2006). Regarding the social audience, it should be borne in mind that education forms part of the concern and social debate and comparativists must act as key elements in this process of conformation. The social consumption of the international perspective of education can be found in the literature, the communications media (television, radio, etc.) and in the press (in their regular contributions or in education supplements such as those published by El País, Le Monde, The New York Times, etc.). Nevertheless, these books, documents, reports, supplements or sections not only become converted into instruments of the social process of education but also act as a support and/or academic reference

for professionals (teachers, school teachers, administrators, politicians). Moreover, this social information about international education plays a substituting role with respect to CE. Current international issues – such as the evaluation of teachers in Portugal, segregated schooling in Spain, the reform of the *Lycées* in France, the student protests in Greece against the political system and the divorce of the system from youth or the ranking of countries according to the evaluation of competencies derived from PISA and the subsequent debate and reforms concerning the standards of school performance in Sweden, the USA and other countries – should not, despite the political, cultural and social relevance harboured within them, mark the academic agenda in CE (a trend also seen in Educational Policy). However, we are aware that they offer detailed information based on international reports or reports on the professional and academic consequences of expected and desired reforms and, in this sense, they should form part of a more structural, systematic and planned approach to teaching activities or research projects. However, all this is a clear reflection of the "popularity" of CE. Social enthusiasm for comparisons has two consequences of interest for the academic field of CE. On one hand is the "society of spectacles" ("on-the-spot democracy" or "urgency regime", with new ways of socialization). On the other we have the policy of accountability (the discourse of the "experts" that is able to create concepts, methods and tools for "comparing" education systems) (Nóvoa, 2003).

Thirdly, the collective of education professionals (school teachers, professors, administrators, inspectors, orientation providers, educators), which so strongly contributed to the birth and consolidation of comparative studies, has been converted into an audience that is now contributing to reconstruction the field. As an example, one could refer to the common directives of the study plans of the teacher-training degrees from 1991 and 2007; the Regulatory Bill providing for the grades in pre-school children and Primary education gathers international competencies such as "situate the school in the Spanish, European and international context", or "international experiences in pre-school teaching". In degrees in Social Education and Pedagogy (non-regulated professions) the organization of study plans lies in the hands of Departments and influential groups and individuals. In this case, we see two reform-directed trends: the continuation of the present academic weight of the disciplines and equality. That is, the aim is to put the weight of the curricular blocks (history of education, Comparative Education, education policies, social pedagogy, environmental teaching and women's education) on the same level. Such equality involves the need for certain renunciations and the "*deconstruction*" of certain professional profiles. However, in the pedagogical academic community in Spain there is not even consensus about the knowledge and disciplines that make up the Education Sciences. As an example, one could cite the meeting that the School of Education of the University of Santiago de Compostela organized in 2004 to commemorate the centenary of the first University Chair of Pedagogy in Spain (created in 1904), which aimed to concentrate reflection and debate on the state of the art in the education sciences. The corresponding publication includes contributions

about the history of education, social pedagogy, didactics, the theory of education, educational organization, orientation, and research methodology (Trillo, 2005). No contribution from Comparative Education is mentioned but we are bound to ask ourselves about the reason for this irrationality … On one hand, it could be due to a misinterpretation of comparisons as a methodological application and not as the scientific construction of knowledge. On the other hand, Galician academic tradition has not been sensitive to studies (disciplinary and investigatory) of a comparative nature in education.

The last audience comes from the scientific community of comparativists. CE as a research field, and above all as an academic discipline in universities, is international. In some contexts, as well as being a discipline and a field of Comparative Education encompasses a third meaning that encompasses practical work, mobility, awards, exchange, collaboration, contests, school networks, associations and other international actions from the organization and functioning of education centres at the primary and secondary levels (Porcher, 2002).That is, international activities developed in classrooms, workshops or the schooling environment. The scientific community of comparativists, the "discursive communities" are unitary in their institutional dimension but heterogeneous as regards the basic training of its component elements (pedagogues, economists, inspectors, psychologists, sociologists, etc.), the methodological focuses used by them, the means of expression used, and internal scientific circles (Masemann, 2007; Martínez, 2003).

THE MYTHS OF RESEARCH INTO COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

The dictionary of the *Real Academia Española* distinguishes between "myth" and "fallacy". One of the meanings of the former refers to a person or thing attributed with qualities he/she/it does not have or a reality that is not present. The second term refers to the use of falsehoods although it can also be interpreted as referring to fraud, trickery or lies with the intent to cause harm. Since this latter characteristic of the second term is not present in the processes we wish to analyze, we shall use the first one. The issue of "myths" in education has been addressed by Prof. R. Cowen (2003 and 2012) in several works. In the first, Prof. Cowen briefly presents the three myths of Comparative Education: education systems as commercial spaces, that is, the education markets (market-driven); the new values or discourses used to explain success in education (Thatcherism, competitiveness or Confucianism), and life-long learning. It is true that these discursive categories do not act simultaneously but prevail in some countries, with more or less explanatory power, as a function of the history, culture, sociology and politics of the context of each country. In his latest work he explains in more detail the fundaments and expressions of the market myth, focusing his discourse on quality, quality control, the classic myths in the academic construction of Comparative Education and the "political" governance of our lines of enquiry. The context chosen is the United Kingdom and the universities can be seen as the institutional circumscription. The detailed analyses of Prof. Cowen inform us

that "the doctorate has increasingly become a performance of an act of empirical research calling for the display of research techniques and careful reporting of research results" (Cowen, 2012, p. 17).

Along the same lines, we wish to mention those that we consider to be "myths" in the processes of research into Comparative Education, taking as a reference comparative research in Spain. We first have what we could consider the "*myth of language*". This considers as comparative and/or international knowledge all studies published in other languages. In the "discursive community" it is very common to be under the belief that researchers in comparative education are the studious scholars who express themselves (both at Conferences and in journal articles or books) in European languages such as English, French or Italian. The assignation of roles depends not so much on the quality of the research processes (methodological approaches, the contribution to the progress of knowledge and narrative richness) as on ease of communication. The dominance of foreign languages (crucial in Comparative Education) is no longer a means but is the very goal of academic research. The second is what one could refer to as the "*myth of the sample*". This involves interpreting educational research from the perspective that it contains an empirical part. In the supervision of research works, both the completion of academic degrees and doctorate programs, degree reports and doctoral theses, we become aware of the "social image", but not the academic one, surrounding research. To a large extent I believe that this is due to the myth that Prof. Cowen refers to as "market-driven"; one which is still very present in our countries and also in Latin America. Nevertheless, we can connect it to the scientific traditions in universities that have undergone a considerable tilt, in discursive and academic terms, from the natural and experimental sciences. Such is the influence of this "empiricism" that the main value of research lies not in this context, nor in the theoretical underpinnings, structure, focus or narrative quality of the thesis, but in the empirical data presented. This is a quantification that also "adulterates" the research process on considering empirical data to be the goal of research and not a means to provide analytical and explanatory knowledge of a comparative nature. In research projects and journal articles it is also possible to note a reappearance of methodological empiricism in the social sciences; perhaps "collateral damage" of the crisis and the reduction in resources destined for investigation. Thirdly, we are witnessing the progressive academic presence of the "*technological myth*", according to which research processes are those that allow us to handle information and perform empirical studies from the new information and communications technology. As well as favouring the "privatization of educational and training spaces" (interpreted as individualization), technological tools are becoming not only instruments and research means but also the goals of research itself. This is perhaps another example of the "education market" as regards the determination of the focus of research processes. A fourth myth can be found in the varied basic training of researchers in Comparative and International Education. This refers to "economists", "politicians", scholars of philology, sociologists and historians and not to researchers with training in the education sciences. This

is unlike what happens in other fields of the social sciences such as economics, literature or political science, in which comparative investigation is performed by specialists trained in the content matter.

We also consider a fourth academic myth (narrative and methodological), which consists of the attraction towards research classicism both in the topics addressed and in the working methods, which – despite the "theoretical" defense of the social sciences – to a large extent overlooks its explanatory application. In its desire to differentiate between Comparative and International Education it remains glued to a national conception of education systems and descriptive research practices of International Education oriented to the study of education/school systems. This tendency attempts to present and demarcate the scope of Comparative Education with respect to other disciplines in the Educational Sciences.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS INCLUDED IN THE BOOK

The 16 chapters of the book are organized in four blocks preceded by the Introduction in which the Editor explains the organization of the XXV CESE Conference, some reflections on the social and professional dimensions of Comparative education and on the "implicit forms" that underlie research processes as well as a synthesis of each of the chapters included. The four sections of the structure refer to the following issues. The first section addresses the comparative contributions in the historical dimension. The second includes research work addressing the empires of knowledge (communications networks and competency research programs). The third one covers the presentations and papers dealing with the transnational and or colonial/post-colonial dimension of International Education. Finally, the fourth section includes two research works on the intercultural dimension of education from the international perspective. The presentation of each chapter is included below.

Comparative Studies and the Reasons of Reason: Historicizing Differences and "Seeing" Reforms in Multiple Modernities

The evocative work contributed by the researchers **T. Popkewitz, A. Khurshid and W. Zhao** is focused on the study of the relationship between cross-cultural and international comparative research embodies a conundrum, which lies in the very analytics of comparativeness in the human sciences. Such analytics are continually presented in some forms of connection to certain notions of the European Enlightenment of reason and rationality even when seeking to maintain the integrity of differences outside Western cultures. The challenge of comparative studies set forth in this paper is to explore differences without inscribing a continuum of values through the representations of the identities recognized for inclusion but defined as different. Their approach, a History of the Present, focuses on "systems of reason" or different historically inscribed rules and standards about what is "seen", thought about, and acted on as the subjects of school research. The exemplars to

engage in different systems of reason are reforms in China, Pakistan, and the US. The strategy does not escape the conundrum of enlightenment attitudes; rather it provides an alternative style of thought which disrupts the hierarchy of values that differentiate the self and others. The exploration of "seeing" difference as relational has implications for curriculum and policy studies in contemporary western school reforms, discussed in the conclusions.

Complexity of History–Complexity of the Human Being. Education, Comparative Educati, and Early Modernity

The contribution offered by **C. Cappa** aims to offer a theoretical-explanatory peek, from the historical perspective, into the "philosophical" relations between education, comparative education and modernity. It is a re-reading made from the possible "humanist" view implicit in interpretations of the educational phenomenon. However, the work offers the reader highly original conclusions that can and should spark debate among the "discursive communities" of Comparative Education. These are related to the cultural interpretation of the first modernity in the Renaissance and Humanism, with emphasis on the plurality of modernities and with the interpretation of rhetoric as a discursive resource. It is an investigation with more of a philosophical underpinning than a pedagogical one, more historical-cultural than political-educational, that is found in the relativism and pluralism of the discursive orthodoxy of modernity.

Time, Location and Identity of WWII-Related Museums: An International Comparative Analysis

The work offered by **M. Shibata** focuses on an innovative topic, with a strong international expansion. This refers to the pedagogy of museums. After exploring the social and political functions of museums as a reflection of the historical memory in the organization and functioning of western societies (branded, like museums, by the consequences of the Second World War), it focuses its analysis not so much on explaining and understanding the pedagogical dimension of these spaces of memory (programs, courses, distance learning, congresses, etc.) as on their origins (the time and context within which they were created) in order to better understand and explain their character and meaning. The research sources are in particular taken from Germany and Japan.

Citizenship, Values and Social Orders. The Assessment of "Census" and Ritual Education in Ancient Rome

The suggestive work of A. Paolone starts from a more pedagogical springboard in that the author make a discursive analysis of the social processes of the conformation of "citizenship" through collective ceremonies and rituals, which acquire a socio-

pedagogical category. The ceremony *par excellence* studied is the "census", which refers to a holistic symbolic construction with repercussions in the form of social and family organization. Classical Rome is where we find the origins, both juridical and institutional, of public education according to the institution theory (Meyer and Ramírez, 2010), in which academic rituals form part of symbolic learning.

Models of Science and Education in Europe. The Disaster of 98 to the Weimar Republic (1898–1933)

The study of **J. L. Rubio and G. Trigueros** is focused on scientific research systems and their relationship with teaching models in Europe and North America. First they compare the Spanish and German science systems with their university teaching models between 1989 and 1936. The initial hypothesis also relates production sectors and their economic development level to the scientific research model and the role of the State concerning science and university teaching. The method used begins with interdisciplinary debates about the contrast in social science and history. Among the main conclusions, the first highlights the fact that in the most advanced economies of the twentieth century the State used to organize the promotion and foundation of those scientific institutions independent of universities, dedicated exclusively to research. Secondly, part of the leading science was linked to the solution of basic production problems due to the second industrial revolution. Thirdly, most of the research institutions were funded by the industry sector, for which they researched and which they depended on. Fourthly, the research areas lay not only in the natural sciences and mathematics, but also in studies on humanism and in the social sciences, although with their own particular characteristics. The fifth point is that university teaching established the basis of and used a network of scientific information sharing, which stopped the knowledge produced from becoming obsolete. Finally, the university model changed with the creation of an independent system of science and technology, which provides considerable upgrades since these also solve the practical problems of the industry sector and of the State, as reflected in the Great War.

High Performance in Reading Comprehension in Poverty Conditions in South America. The Case of Resilient Student in PISA 2009 in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay

In the most recent version of the PISA (OECD, 2009), Latin America was one of the regions in which socio-economic status had a strong influence on reading performance (OECD, 2010). Argentina, Chile and Uruguay are three of the countries that participated in the study. In all of these countries, despite the strong influence of the environment, some students do not follow the tendency to perform according to their socioeconomic status. Research work offered by **G. Gómez, J. P. Valenzuela and C. Sotomayor** focuses on high-achieving students and low

income. They share two essential characteristics: they belong to the poorest 25% of the sample of their country and they outperform the national average academically. This phenomenon is associated with the notion of resilience. They study the features of these young people and their schooling in the three countries mentioned. The objective is to identify the factors that favor their academic performance. By means of a multilevel analysis of the probability of being resilient, common characteristics are identified among resilient students in these three countries: female gender, positive attitudes toward books and reading, remaining current with their schooling (avoid repeating grades), and the socioeconomic level of the peers with whom they share schooling.

Approaches to Assist Policy-Makers' use of Research Evidence in Education in Europe

The contribution of **C. Kenny, D. Gough and J. Tripney** addresses the use made by European politicians of research evidence in decision making. The content focuses on an analysis of the academic literature and on the documentary contributions of the research agencies and institutes to analyze the focuses of this relationship and the type of actions aimed at meeting the needs of political action. The conclusions, with the due reserve in data use, reveal that there are few countries that work in international cooperation; that it is the governments themselves (through agencies and specific bodies) and university academics who are the main actors. The authors also posit that the mechanisms and strategies employed by the actors in the use of research evidence are education, facilitation, interaction-collaboration, searches and social influence.

Redesigning Curricula across Europe: Implications for Learner´s Assesment in Vocational Education and Training

I. Psifidou, from the CEDEFOP, offers a well-documented study of the political need to re-think the systems and methods of performance yield and qualifications in students and Vocational Training apprentices. The theoretical framework rests on European contributions focused on programs addressing Competencies and Life-long Learning (2006), within the **European Framework of Qualifications** (2008) and the **Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (ET 2020).** Additionally, the analytical approach includes empirical data from questionnaires given out to politicians, experts, employers, trainers and students. The conclusions offered are in keeping with the perception of an increasing awareness (political, social and pedagogical) of the need to revise the methods of competence acquisition in VET; of the complexity of this field due to its intimate link with the production system, and also of the offer made by some scholars who seek to unify learning and assessment.

Performativity and Visibility. Shapes, Paths, and Meanings in the European Higher Education Systems

In her contribution, **V. D'Ascanio** analyses the present debate on the role played by European university systems and the kind of knowledge they are called upon to produce and transmit. Performativity is a category used by many scholars to comprehend the variety and inter-relation of the factors involved. This paper regards the idea of performativity – referring to Jean-François Lyotard's thinking – and its relation with visibility in order to understand the forces, agents and discourses involved in requests that touch upon the production of knowledge and the governance of university systems. In this frame, the plurality of agents is underlined and their role in placing performance centre-stage is identified. These tendencies are examined to explain the emergence of the audit society and why its founding element is the visibility imperative. The relation between performativity and visibility is analysed to understand the adoption of the Global Emerging Model and harmonization and differentiation processes in European higher education systems. To represent educational space, both global and local, the network image is taken as the appropriate heuristic instrument to symbolize the plurality of actors, the complexity of relations and the asymmetry in the degrees and levels of influence.

Transnational Educational Spaces: Border-transcending Dimensions in Education

The contribution offered by **S. Hornberg** is organized in three parts. In the first the author lays down the conceptual bases and interpretations of the term "Transnational Educational Spaces", which are expressed in three forms or presentations: socialization, educational convergence and transnational education. The author then studies the aims and characteristics of the International Baccalaureate, offered through different international organizations, which is explained as a case of educational transnationality. In the third part, we read, by way of conclusions, of a series of open questions (issues to be addressed in the future) such as the added value of these programs for schools, parents and students; the added differentiation with respect to national programs and certifications; the relationship with the education markets and, of course, the "World Education System".

The Interplay of "Posts" in Comparative Education: Post-Socialism and Post-Colonialism after the Cold War

I. Silova offers an exhaustive and well documented paper on post-socialism and post-colonialism in countries from the former Soviet bloc, after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The two work categories are of great methodological interest in studies addressing Comparative and International Education because they encompass the great explanatory and narrative potential of the reference area, despite the prevalent diversity (geographic, social and educational). These categories are also analyzed

as "alternative proposals" to the dominance of globalization. The study examines the literature on "blocs" and "dichotomic theories" in the last decades of the 20th century. The categories are expressed through narratives of crisis, danger and decline and, in educational terms, they are transformed into belligerent discourses against western models (especially European ones) in their desire to break away from the most immediate context (both historical and geographic and cultural). The author concludes that comparative studies on post-socialist education have followed the pathways marked by global and neoliberal reforms (including those of a more local nature) that represent subjugation to the dominant discourse, despite the "alleged" cultural detachment. Accordingly, the categories analyzed are converted into a narrative potential that challenges the dominant neoliberal discourses of globalization.

Childhood and Power: Transnational and National Discourses on the Regulation of Policies for Early Childhood Education in Brazil

The Brazilian research **Z. Granja** provides a documented study of educational policies and infant attention in Brazil. From a Foucaultian focus, combined with the "ecological model", the study analyzes both the discourses of the actors and the production contexts of these. Having explained the analytical categories and their political and academic expressions, the author offers us (in the Conclusions section) some questions as a research strategy for the future and for the case in hand. In Latin-American societies there is a profound contradiction between policies, discourses and regulation (Recall that the 1990 *Child and Adolescent Statute*), approved and applied in Brazil, was pioneer and advanced in the application of childhood rights covered in the 1989 Convention) and the practices and social and moral position of childhood. This is why these paradoxes become analytical "objects of desire". This change in the discursive practices and their representations at different levels (local, regional, state-level and transnational) wrapped up in "global" discourse opens questions for future research; the issue is finding an answer to the question of how they operate both in the social mentality and in school cultures.

Translating Higher Education in the British Empire. The Question of Vernacular Degrees in Postwar Malaya

The historical-education work presented by **Grace Chou** addresses the consequences and reasons (political, social, cultural and administrative) of the British Academic Council's refusal to accept University degrees in vernacular tongues, as had been agreed, for Malaysian universities when they still formed part of the British Empire, but towards the end-phase of colonialism in an international post-war context and following guidelines that might be termed "African". This area is of great academic interest, especially for western scientific communities, because it helps us to understand part of the puzzle of the extensive and very diverse Asian–Pacific region.

The conclusions of the study show up the difficulty involved in "translation" under imperial auspices together with the ambiguity between the necessary respect for local cultures and the academic and cultural criteria of the Empire, whose actions are not only acts of cultural imposition.

Finnish, Japanese and Turkish Pre-service Teachers' Intercultural Competence:
The Impact of Pre-service Teachers' Culture, Personal Experiences, and Education

The study offered by **Hosoya, Talib** and **Arslan** is encompassed within intercultural education at the international level. The first part of the contribution is more theoretical and conceptual, with abundant and very sound bibliographic support, and a careful exploration of terms such as "self", "identity", "self-respect", "personal advancement" "intercultural competency" and "professional identity" The second part, which is more empirical, is based on information provided by teacher training students from three countries with huge geographic cultural, socio-economic and pedagogical differences, namely Finland, Japan and Turkey. The aim of the author is to related two variables: intercultural competency and the professional identity of teachers. The conclusions offered in the work suggest that both variables are only partly related and that the observed relationship is not uniform but different in each country studied since it depends strongly on the cultural and pedagogical conditions of each of the societies in which the teachers live and work.

Constructing the "Other": Politics and Policies of Intercultural Education in
Cyprus

The work of **E. Theodorou** focuses on an analysis of the political discourses about intercultural education in Cyprus from a post-modern analytic stance. It should be recalled that these discourses are encompassed within a context of special significance insofar that Cyprus is a fairly small country (both geographically and demographically), with social and economic disparities in the population, which is divided into two communities (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots). In this case, the study focuses on the Greek Cypriot community. In the paper, the "major" discourses on tolerance, respect, and diversity are analyzed from the perspective of subjectivity in the mentality of the "external" students of the Greek–Cypriot education system. In Cyprus, we see the same situation as that recorded in many western countries: the contradiction between discourses and reality, between form and content, and between politics and reality. Better said, the discourses display two, indeed paradoxical, forms of expression. The political rhetoric insists on the "goodness" of intercultural education, but at the same time the practical discourse of exclusion occurs or re-appears. And both forms are incorporated in the subjectivity of the students. This is so much so that research ends up by delimiting, in social and cultural terms, three categories of otherness: *the tolerable "others", the deficit (deficient?) "others" and the problematic "others".*

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SECTION I

FROM EMPIRES, HISTORY AND MEMORY: COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF EDUCATION

THOMAS S. POPKEWITZ, AYESHA KHURSHID & WEILI ZHAO

COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND THE REASONS OF REASON

Historicizing Differences and "Seeing" Reforms in Multiple Modernities

Cross–cultural and international comparative research embodies a conundrum the very analytics of comparativeness in the social and education science research, with variations in their themes, draw from particular European and North American Enlightenments' notions of reason and rationality that provide their epistemological "foundations"[1]. The classification travel as the subjects of the representations and as independent sources of the local identities of differences, such as in research about cultures, nations, minorities, religions, and indigenous populations. The same style of reasoning is apparent within European and North American research. A recent European educational research conference, for example, addressed issues of social exclusion through the category of "urban education". While the West European city is mostly an enclave of the wealthy, "urban" was given to represented as an identity of difference in the hope of rectifying social wrong for the poor, "ethnic' and immigrant groups.

   On the surface, the comparativeness in the latter distinction of "urban" is not readily apparent as "urban" seems to have its own identity in research. "Difference" assumed in this and the other classifications above is to recognize others for inclusion yet paradoxically define those populations as different from some unspoken hierarchy of values[2]. This paradox and an alternative are pursued in four parts. First, we place the paradox within arguments about "modernity" that give expression to a particular European and American enlightenment style of reason. That style of reason embodies the representation of subjects from which differences and divisions are ordered. In the second and third sections, an alternative strategy is proposed through the study of systems of reason. Reason, we argued, is not something natural to the mind or logic but entails historically generated principles about what is known and how that knowing is to occur[3]. Three cultural sites of the US, China, and Pakistan are explored through two intellectual tools: first we follow the logic of "multiple modernities" to understand differences in systems of reason; and second we historicize the categories of science and agency as embodying a particular cultural space and which to render other cultural theses about ways of living. The concluding section revisits and reframes the conundrum of comparative studies and discusses the broader issue of difference in contemporary policy and research.

Our method is a "History of the Present"[4]. Historical in the sense of studying that the distinctions and differentiations that order teaching and learning are made possible through a grid of political, social, cultural, and epistemological practices in the present[5]. This approach intellectually plays with Foucault's (1979) notion of governmentality and Rabinow's (1996) "anthropology of reason". It thus takes what seems as irreconcilable, contradictory and heterogeneous actions to explore the rules and standards that give intelligibility to diverse actions[6]. While this strategy goes against the grain of looking for debate and conflict, its advantages are to make visible the rules and standards of reason that make debate and conflict possible. Further, it allows thinking of "reason" as not a single rationality or logic, but as the play of differences that order and classify the things of the world (see, e.g., Fauer, 2000/2004)[7].

Yet in moving in this direction, the conundrum of comparative studies is not escaped. Our exploration is to push the limits of Western rationalities by being sensitive to the different epistemological systems (Jullien, 1995/2000). Chakrabarty's Provincializing Europe (2000) partially engages this challenge when he argues that Western notions and categories are indispensable but inherently insufficient to narrate the processes of change in and outside of the West[8].

MODERNITY, DIFFERENCE, AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE, SYSTEMS OF REASON

Comparative studies often embody a notion of modernity that focuses on cognitive and social transformations that serve to differentiate contexts and people within a continuum of value. If we draw on the work of Gaonkar (2001), modernity is cast as the growth of a scientific consciousness, the development of a secular outlook, doctrines of progress, the primacy of instrumental rationality, divisions between nature and mind, and the oppositions of the subjective and objective[9]. Gaonkar continues that the cognitive transformations intersect with the emergence and institutionalization of market–driven industrial economies, the bureaucratic state, modes of popular government, rule by law, and increased mobility and literacy that are accompanied with urbanization. These assumptions about the transformations that constitute modernity were assumed in the founders of post–World War II Anglo–American comparative education research.

The significance of locating modernity in these transformations is twofold. First and as Sachsenmaier (2002) argues, many societies had institutional changes related to science and industrialization, conventional markers in which modernity is discussed, prior to what came to be labeled as modern in the West. Seventeenth and eighteenth century China, for example, had the technological possibilities, economic dynamism, public spheres and notions of individualism that today are folded into the category of modern. To focus on these transformations as emanating solely from the west to the rest, then, is to misrecognize historically the patterns of changes and their diversity.

Second and closer to the problem of differences that we discuss, the transformations placed in the spaces of modernity (industrialization, capitalism, and urbanization) were not merely institutional and structural. The categorizations of modernity as an epoch or period are possible through a particular system of reason that governs how experiences are classified, problems located, and procedures given about reflection and action. Modernity, as it is expressed through the 19th and 20th century[10], embodies historically fashioned rules and standards of thinking and acting that enabled the casting of "modernity" an a particular epoch or age and the categorizations that order that age through the abstractions about society, class, and institutions.

At one layer, the cognitive changes that Gaonkar associates with modernity are inscriptions of the Enlightenments' cosmopolitanism as a social and political project of governing and change[11]. Cosmopolitanism embodied the notion of the planning of secular change through human reason and rationality (science). To replace the prior certainties of theology and given social status by giving, the individual was given the qualities of a rational being that separate from nature, in which humanity had its own particular history, and that human reason could assess its own nature and plan for change through observations of the empirical world. Contemporary notions of "human interests" in liberal to neoliberal theories of the subject embodied the notion of the "rational" human.

The property of agency became intertwined with collective belonging and a particular citizen as a kind of human associated the new forms of government associated with republicanism in the late 18th century. The "reason" that made agency possible, however, was not just about the individual. It was given distinctions that were assembled and connected to institutional, social and cultural practices (see, e.g., Popkewitz, 2008). American and French Republics, for example, (re)visioned particular elements of the Enlightenments'[12] cosmopolitanism as link to the order that made government possible through conceptions of participation and agency in a life viewed as involving incessant change. "Reason" and science were to tame the uncertainty of change and enabled the possibility of progress[13].

The cosmopolitan idea of human agency and reason was given temporal qualities regular and irreversible time which notions of progress embodied[14]. Progress gave the present as superseding the past and a looking to the future. And with the idea of change was ways of thinking about what the future was and should be that historically re–assembled particular salvation themes of the Reformation in secularized tropes of the nation (see, Tröhler, 2011).

The regularizing of time in the 19th century and the salvation themes of Protestant reforms were embodied in the new scientific psychologies. The interior of the mind was opened as a place of development and growth (Steedman, 1995). If we focus on American Progressivism, spoke of children's problem solving, motivation, and learning as ways articulated in social, psychological and educational theories of the child and teaching. The classifications projected the individual from the present to the future. Society, individual development, and their histories were given temporal dimensions which could be calculated and ordered for social and educational programs.

The cosmopolitan ethos embodied in the sciences, however, was not only about secular life. Again if we use American social and education sciences as exemplars, secular and revelatory forms of knowledge were integrated to contemplate the virtuous life through empirical means (McKnight, 2005; McKnight, Douglas & Triche, in press; Tröhler, 2011; Tröhler, Popkewitz, & Labaree, 2011). Progressivism in the US, for example, was given direction by Protestant (Calvinist) reformism whose salvation themes were translated into the categorizations and classifications of "the adolescence", "youth", "the urban family", and workers. The classifications of kinds of people were to reveal paths that would reveal moral imperatives through their lives embodying principles of responsibilities and obligations (agency)[15]. The relation of science and the salvation themes of Protestant reformism is not simply a remnant of the past but (re)visioned, reassembled and connected in different ways in neo–institutional theories about world systems, research about the knowledge society and the lifelong learners, and reform oriented research to produce the effective teacher and teachers' content knowledge (see, e.g., Tröhler,, 2009; Popkewitz, 2011).

In the particular transformations taking place, American enlightenment cosmopolitan notions of agency was placed in a progressive history (progress) [16]. The present was taken as superior to the past through its universal "reason" and science that differentiates humanity according to a continuum of value that traced development[17]. Contextual and psychological attributes of differences were "seen" and acted on in hierarchical distributions associated with the representations of people. It is this comparativeness that made possible the distinctions of the Enlightenment of civilizations, and the possibility of Social Darwinism and eugenics. The differentiation and production of "Others" were both internal and external to the boundaries of territories. "The Social Question" of American Progressivism and European Protestant reforms at the turn of the 20th century, for example, focused on the moral disorder of the city. As a response to this question of moral order was G. Stanley Hall (1905/1969), a founder of child studies proposed the scientific psychology about adolescence. It was to think and plan for the proper development of urban male children that would overcome prior traditions and enable a proper moral transition to adulthood.

Also visible in American Progressivism was the inscriptions that divided and differentiated the "urban" as the site of that moral disorder. The disciplinary formation of sociology, for example, gave attention to urban conditions and "community" that embodied narratives and images of the child who is different from particular but unspoken standards from which to judge "the urban" child. If we return to the European conference discussed in the introduction, "the urban" embodies the style of reason that embodies a dual space. It is about the "the child left behind", the poor, immigrant, ethnic and racial groups who are recognized for inclusion but positioned discursively as different from the unspoken norms about the child who not only learns but is what the urban child is not. That lacking of capacities and characteristics of the child is today represented in the child who is represented as the lifelong learner (see Popkewitz, 2008).

Our focus on the particular rules and standards of cosmopolitanism in the American social and educational sciences has two purposes in this argument. One is to think about the notion of reason and agency from different cultural theses in Chinese and Pakistani reforms that do not reduce the latter to the principles of the former. It is to consider different systems of reason through which judgments are made, conclusions drawn, solutions given plausibility, and the existences made manageable from those embodied in American social and educational research.

The principles explored above in the social and education sciences also provide a way to make visible the exportation of unspoken standards that insert a hierarchy of values and judgment in "seeing" others. This traveling of a system of reason is illustrated in an ethnographic study of women's education in Pakistan. The study concludes that the new educational forms produce new modes of self–presentation and categories of authenticity about women resisting the Islamization (Marsden, 2008). The descriptions of difference in this research were simultaneously a judgment of value through the classifications that differentiated and distinguishes the women of the village who "not only cultivate and earn reputations for being intelligent (kabil) … and doing so is also widely considered an important marker of their own moral self–worth" (p. 416).

The standards about difference (new modes of self–presentation, authenticity, voice, critical thinking, among others) embodied particular American and European principles of representations. These principles ordered, classified, differentiated, and defined what was constituted as resistance. The Muslim women's voices that "are rarely heard" are given identity through distinctions about moral agency that stands against Pakistan as a "deeply purdah–conscious society" (pp. 408, 415)[18]. The research classifications of "seeing" agency and voice in "Others" lose sight of how such concepts presuppose and normalize a particular cultural thesis about modes of life. The subject of comparing "others" elides the particular judgments that travel as universalized salvation narratives of moral human development.

Our task in what follows is to work against the logic of fixing identities from which to understand different. We approach difference as a relational and historical problem through thinking about systems of reason. This provides us with an intellectual "tool" to compare the "reason" described above about the cultural practices embodied in American sciences and education with those of China, and Pakistan. Differences are posed in two layers; to locate the grid of practices that give intelligibility to the cultural thesis about modes of living in different times and spaces. And then to consider the differences in the systems of reason that cross–culturally intersect within inserting a hierarchy of value in the representations of identities.

MAPPING MULTIPLE MODERNITIES, DIFFERENCES, AND SYSTEMS OF REASON

One strategy to engage the differences in systems of reason is through the notion of multi–modernities; that is, there are different logics or rules and standards of reason

that order and classify what is seen, thought about, and acted on. The subject of comparative research is to understand these systems of reason without placing them in a continuum of value from which to see "Others".

Why, though, should we maintain the notion of modernity, itself a particular category of Western history even if we make it multiple rather than singular? If we treat modernity, first, as a floating signify that directs attention to the relation of the sublime and rationality in ordering individual and social life; and second that relation has multiple and different contours and boundaries in organizing the self and collective belonging that are brought into the making of schooling through different cultural, social and political assemblages and connects, then it becomes possible to study its different systems of reason as historical practices in the making of kinds of people through schooling.

Modernity as a European phenomenon gives emphasis to particular historical formations that become evident in the long 19th century. These formations relate to the emergence of science as an important element in organizing life, new forms of governing and government, and new conditions of economy that include interactions of people on a global scale not apparent earlier. Modernity is a way of thinking about common school that is organized to teach children how to think and reason through rationalities associated with science, whether that science is to understand children's learning or science as a mode of thought taught as a way of living, such as embodied organizing daily life through problem solving and decision making. The previous discussion about the enlightenment and cosmopolitanism embodied this double quality of science: a method to administer social and natural life and as a mode of living where agency, "reason", and rationality are part of the political and cultural project about the individual *qua* citizen who embraces the common good through planning and efforts to create a more progress world.

Our use of multiple modernities, then, is to use the historical discussion of cosmopolitanism in the US comparatively and at two levels: first we examine how "modernity" itself is assembled as an overlap of multiple discourses in the contexts of the US, China, and Pakistan; and second, we argue that each of the contexts mobilizes a distinct system of reason and cultural theses about who the child is and should be that does not impose its distinctions within a hierarchy of difference. Our approach is to bring a Deleuzian sense of the play that gives attention to the assemblage of different cultural practice, institutional forms, and social arrangements that co–function as symbiotic elements.

At first glance and in the West, modernity as a cultural set of principles about the self cannot be subsumed as a unity. The processes in the making of the cosmopolitan citizen were not singular even if we take the notion of agency embodied in political and pedagogical projects. Particular cultural principles emerged to order reflection and action with attachments that formed collective belonging and "home". Human agency, an invention that is given visibility in the construction of the cosmopolitan citizen, entailed different cultural theses about the actors and participation of the citizen that worked their way in pedagogical projects (Tröhler, Popkewitz, & Labaree,

2011). The U.S. "Progressive" school pedagogies, often a sign as modern, were assembled in a grid of practices that we discussed earlier about science, Calvinist salvation themes about the good works of the individual, political theories about the agency and participation, and the development of institutional forms for mass schooling. The "reason" of Germany pedagogy, in contrast was bound to the notion of *Geiss* (a universal spirit of the nation) and *Bildung*, (the individual cultivation of the self) that embodied Lutheran notions of inner reserve with the authority of the state) (see, e.g., Dumont, 1991/1994). French and Portuguese pedagogy assembled liberal and Catholic salvation themes to map the physical and spiritual life of the educated subject (Ó, 2011). Swedish pedagogy of the 19th century connected the confessional forms of Luther's Table of Duties with the Scottish enlightenment to construct a mode of reason as the expression of the doctrines of knowing one's duties to God, the individual and neighbors to notions of common duties and civic virtues (Lindmark, 2011). The reason and rationality that guided "the soul" in the different pedagogies are not reducible to a singular notion of what constituted the "modern" and modernity.

At this point, the historically particular "reason" of the European and North American "modern" individual is apparent when compared with that of Greek Stoic and Medieval Church systems of reason. Stoic reason, for example, ordered everything of the present in place as are the settings of the table (see e.g., Toulmin, 1990). Life was modified through the acts of memory that liberated one's own being. For the Stoics[19], knowing oneself meant knowing the past that is drawn from the wisdom given by the gods. History told as an indefinite cyclic time rather than in a logical temporal order that linked the past, present and future. The primacy of memory was to "sing the hymn of gratitude and recognition to the gods" and "to grasp the reality of which we cannot be dispossessed which makes possible a real sovereignty over ourselves" (Foucault, 2005, p. 468 not in the reference list).

Stoic "reason" excluded the modern sense of human agency in the governing of one's life that ordered things to plan for the future. Comparative studies as we think of them were not possible in the sense of placing people on continuums of time and spaces related to their human attributes. Humans for the Stoics were a natural part of the origins of things embodied in that cosmos. The search for the future, an element of European modernity, destroyed memory and the person who forgets as "doomed to dispossession and emptiness… [Individuals] are really no longer anything. They exist in nothingness", consumed by forgetting, incapable of action, and not free (Foucault, 2005, p. 467).

The "reason" and the reasonable person in The Medieval Christian Church, in comparison to the enlightenment and Stoics, were placed in the universe of universal time that chronicled divine intervention and providence through the self–contained quality of timeless propositions (see, e.g., Pocock, 2003). Reason disclosed the eternal, immemorial ordering and hierarchies of nature and events in which people maintained their place in the cosmology of God. The moral rules that guided people to the afterlife stood in contrast to circumstantial, accidental and temporal

knowledge. History told of expectations related to the constant anticipation of the end of the world and its continual deferment to that end. Koselleck (1985) argues, for example, that paintings for Renaissance Christian humanists were didactic lessons in which temporal differences were not significant. The time of the painting, the time of its subject matter, and the time of the observer were contemporaneous. There was no sense of inserting individuality in a sequence of regularized time that spoke of human agency and progress to judge and order the capacities of humanity.

The historicizing of reason above is to direct attention to the social and cultural practices that produce the principles that order the subjects and objects of schooling. The subject of child, the teacher, the learner, among others in schooling, are not merely present in research to ask about how to make their learning, their possibilities of citizen, but are made possible as objects of reflection and action in a grid or assembly that connects different historical practices. The different movements, debates, conflicts and outcomes of American Progressivism, for example, were possible and given intelligibilities through political, social and revelatory discourses that come together to form the cultural principles. This grid of practices ordered the possibilities in the pedagogical sciences (Popkewitz, 2008). Through making these historical principles of "reason" visible, we now examine reform practices in China and Pakistan. Our purpose is to consider different systems of reason that order what is seen, acted on, and thought about as embodiments of historically particular principles and cultural theses.

CHINESE DISCIPLINING: THE REASON OF SCOLDING AND EDUCATION

Contemporary Chinese curriculum reforms speak about the humanistic and autonomous development of the child into the future citizen as a lifelong learner who leads an active life and contributes to a more egalitarian social system. The new child–centered curriculum reforms, when translated into the English, make them seemingly fall into the cosmopolitan categories about agency and social change/progress that we discussed early in US pedagogical discourses. The words, however, are (re)assembled and (re)connected to particular and distinct historical cultural practices and rationality. To historicize these differences beneath the cover of "seeming sameness", this section starts with a specific scolding education case in order to render that cultural system of reason visible while realizing the limits of translating Chinese (especially historical and cultural) notions into equivalents placed in their English classification.

Teachers' Scolding Education and Educational Policy

On August 12th, 2009, the Education Ministry of the People's Republic of China officially stipulated that "primary and middle school teachers have the right to scold and educate students in appropriate ways in their daily educational teaching and management" (Middle and Primary School Teachers Working Norm, 2009)[20]. The

Ministry of Education placed this stipulation within the 2010–2020 Middle–and–Long–Term Educational Reforms and Development Planning Guidelines[21] that are to "protect the lawful rights and interests of school teachers to educate students" (Working Norm Press Conference, August 23, 2009) and further promote the national quality education agenda launched around the 1980s.

The Ministry statement that scolding is a specific right of teachers in their education triggered heated nationwide debates among intellectuals, media, teachers, and students as well as parents. The media discussed the issue of scolding rights as teachers "taking off their jinguzhou (constraining hoop) for a shangfang baojian (empowering sword)" (Shanghai Oriental TV New Report, August 24, 2009). Teachers viewed the Ministry's directive as correcting the current unbalanced teacher–student pendulum that gave authority to students in the previously enacted students–centered pedagogy reform. The students–centered pedagogy reforms, coupled with parents' spoiling of the only–child generation and children's self–centeredness, are often cited as hindering teachers' educational work. The new regulation was seen to provide a limit to the indulgences given to students and, as one teacher in a Shanghai middle school said in the media report, "I can now give students various requirements and I can scold/criticize students to an appropriate degree" (Ibid.).

Scolding was viewed as a "natural", indispensable part of the pre–high schooling (Xiong, 2009). The Time–Weekly newspaper (August 26, 2009) comments that "it should have been the society's common sense that school teachers and advisors could criticize their students, and it already signals a tragedy that the Ministry of Education has to stipulate it as a norm". The article suggested that the teacher–student relationship in contemporary education has already been alienated from China's cultural practices of "respecting teachers and prioritizing education". "Respecting human rights doesn't mean respecting students' rights and their rights only. What on earth is wrong with our education?" (Xiao, 2009).

The debate about scolding is woven and made sensible when placed in a grid that embodies notions of relations about cultivating humans, moral/virtue education and teaching–governance that have no direct equivalence to notions of a rational self that circulate in Europe and North America pedagogy. The aesthetic metaphor of "taking off jinguzhou (constraining hoop) for a shangfang baojian (empowering sword)" immediately strikes out as cultural sensibility. This way of talking, seeing, and "feeling" about schooling might jar the American "ear" in Peoria or Madison as the metaphors seem rhetoric and a flowery language that masks the real need to confront rationally the purposes and goals of teacher–student relation. It is this reading of discourse and schooling that this paper seeks to problematize through mapping the relations among various social, cultural, historical layers of the reason in which principles are generated about what is seen, acted on, and hoped for. This mapping is not to pit the oppositions of classical Chinese and Western notions of reason in contemporary school reforms but to render explicit the differences that can play together.

Cultural Grid around Scolding Education

China's current guiding principle on educational reform that (re)visions the earlier national quality education agenda is "to have the cultivation of humans as its basis and morality/virtue education as its priority" (育人為本、德育為先) (Zhou, 2005). Thus, at one level, scolding inscribes the relations of spiritual, rational, and science in the teacher's role of producing what it means to be human. That notion of human is not merely about the individual but also linked to national belonging and embodied in the narratives that order governmental policies. The Communist Party Leader Deng Xiaoping's inscription motto at a Beijing middle school in 1983 that "education is to face the modernity, the world, the future" also expressed that the Chinese must hold on to their material and spiritual civilization in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. He said that we must insist on the "Five Stresses, Four Beauties, Three Loves" to educate the whole nation to have "ideal, virtue/morality, culture (knowledge) and discipline"[22]. The Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces value education proposed by current Party Leader Hu Jintao embodies the qualities expected of a modern citizen or human that becomes symbolized through phrases such as the life–long learner who is to learn and treasure the Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces as socialist core values.

> Love the country, do it no harm; Serve the people, never betray them; Follow science, discard superstition; Be diligent, not indolent; Be united, help each other; make no gains at others expense; Be honest and trustworthy, do not sacrifice ethics for profit; Be disciplined and law–abiding, not chaotic and lawless; Live plainly, work hard, do not wallow in luxuries and pleasures[23] (2006, English translation from Chinese Government's official Website: http://english.gov.cn/2006–04/05/content_245361.htm).

The qualities put under the umbrella term honor (榮/rong, semantically overlapping with "de" [德/virtue/morality]) are not adequately viewed as propaganda or of political strategy. The new educational reforms on "cultivating humans and prioritizing virtue–morality teaching" have as their core a seemingly liberal focus of students' agency in school learning that fits into the western scientific logic of the cognitive order of the students' future.

When the discourses of students' agency combine and connect with those of the teachers as the role model for students – a mode of living about "loving to learn, knowing how to learn and life–long learning" by "consciously enforcing teachers' own moral cultivation" (National Curriculum Standards), then this networking becomes not merely a translation of some universal values or traveling global discourses. They are culturally assembled with notions of students' healthy, moral, intellectual and physical growth that can be seen as related to a re–visioned Confucian ways of life.

This re–visioning of Confucianism in the current educational reforms is not merely bringing back 'basic' and authentic Confucianism into modern China.

The notion de (德/virtue–morality) is the weaving together of Confucian govern–mentality and Confucian learning. According to Confucius, sage–rulers (like King Wen and Duke Zhou) govern, teach and transform the subjects by virtue and the ideal effect of virtue–governance is compared to the charm of the North Star as "it (North Star) stays in its place, while the myriad stars wait upon it" (Confucius, Analects II:1). Learning, according to Analects, could be best described by the line from the Book of Odes – "As you cut and then file, as you carve and then polish" (Analects 1:15). In other words, learning is like a life–long stone–carving process through self–reflection every day with an ultimate goal to become a gentleman with the virtues that nourish qualities like being humane, righteous, polite, wise and trustworthy, which help to order his social life harmoniously both interpersonally as well as intra–personally.

In Chinese, one learns to make a person (zuoren/做人) and this making process is full of art; learning is far more than learning from the outward world, but rather through inner self–cultivation. Confucian education combines sage–rulers' virtue–governance, teaching–transforming and the subjects' inter/intra–personal cultivation to achieve a harmonious society through ideally observing various rites in political and cultural daily life. This network of education, teaching–transforming and virtue–governing is about the individual; but is connected to the nation and the forming of collective belonging as expressed in the argument that Chinese society historically "respects teaching/teachers and prioritizes education" (zunshizhongjiao/尊師重教). Education, or teaching–transforming is the prototype of Chinese schooling ever since the Spring and Autumn period (770 to 476 BCE) and continuing until the Qing Dynasty (1636 to 1912). It is, as Zhouji – the Minister of Education – states, "historically treated as the most effective way to purify the social wind and transform the social customs (淳風化俗)" (2007).

The historical cultural principles that travel in the discussion of scolding are evident when we think about its written expressions as based on ideography rather than an alphabet. The Chinese characters, with their distinct meaning–making rationale, are more of a sign–post pointing toward something indirectly rather than definitely referring to some fixed meanings (see, e.g., Julliet, 1995/2004; Hansen, 1993). Classical Chinese characters, mostly monographs, are rich and vague in meaning. They have a strong power to associate with other monographs; single Chinese characters have many rough English equivalents. For example, the character de (德), with a constitutive graph of xin (心/heart–mind) within, could form phrases like daode (morality), shide (virtue of teachers), wude (no virtue) and be roughly translated into English terms as morality, virtue, ethics with an assumption of inner virtue–quality cultivation and outward moral acts. However, these commonly used English equivalents fail to catch some cultural nuances embedded within this cultural thesis of de, i.e., in classical texts, this character de could be semantically equated to another character with the same pronunciation de (得/to get). Put aptly, to be virtuous paves your way to "getting/winning something or somebody".

The cultural principles provoked in the scolding debate also embody social forms of hierarchy. Scolding gives expression to the high social position that teachers have historically assumed and to the qualities of strictness valued when teachers train students. With some interruptions, teachers' high social position is conveyed through the ordered combination of "heaven, earth, emperors, parents and teachers" (天地君親師) on memorial tablets in grassroots and literate households usually hung on the sitting room wall. Lilun (論/Comments on Li–Rites by Xunzi) lists three foundations to life:

> "Heaven and earth are foundations of generations; ancestors are foundations of human kinds; emperors and teachers are foundations of governing" (Xunzi:Lilun, Chapter 19)[24]. There are culturally old sayings like "it is the father's fault if the kid is not well–taught; it is the teacher's laziness if the teaching is not strict", "strict teachers have a good apprentice", and "the Tao of teaching is respectful and authoritative".

Historically, the ultimate goal of Confucian learning was to become a gentleman with gem–like qualities of being virtuous, humane, righteous, and trustworthy in building up a harmonious relationship with one's inner self, outward toward one's own family, friends and also strangers. The seeming rhetoric and aesthetics of the language of present reform draws upon the sentiments of that discourse but is placed in a set of relations whose embodiments engender cultural theses about modes of life. De/Virtue, "to learn and treasure the Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces as socialist core values" and the "distinctions of jinguzhou (constraining hoop) for a shangfang baojian (empowering sword)" are embodiments of the cultural thesis in which a grid of practices bring together values and moral qualities.

The incident of scolding is connected to the aesthetic and moral framings of daily life and with their social and political forms. This grid of practices through which schooling is seen and acted on cannot be accounted for adequately and comparatively through principles of agency, action, and problem solving, at least in the sense found in the western cognitive psychologies that drive contemporary pedagogical practices. The words of life–long learner and student–autonomy, traveling into Chinese contemporary reforms, are assembled in cultural theses that are glaringly distinct from its inscriptions in northern European and North American pedagogical forms. Neither is today's virtue education merely the evolution of Confucius learning. Its construction is connected with seemingly western notions of modernity like being scientific. This relation can only be made visible through a sustained and contingent historical study of the grid through which such movements and relations occur.

We again face the conundrum of comparative research raised in the introduction. While our focus on systems of reason is to understand historically the relations that produce the objects of thought and action, there is still an inherent incompleteness of translating historical and cultural Chinese notions as an embodied mode of thought, such as the "de" and the eight honors and eight disgraces into what might seem

as logical English equivalents as "morality", "virtue". The equivalents–seeking translation unavoidably risks reading the particular western conceptualizations of time and space into Chinese cultural ways of reasoning. While translations are necessary to any comparative studies– linguistically and theoretically–such efforts are, as we stated in the introduction, acts of creation and not copies of the original. Thus there is a need to continually probe the sensibilities and dispositions of the cultural reason for the possibility of cross–cultural understanding.

DEMOCRATIC AND PARTICIPATORY EDUCATION AND THE SUBJECTIVITY OF PAKISTANI MUSLIM WOMEN

The post–colonial Muslim state of Pakistan in the aftermath of 9/11 has made women's teacher education a major reform agenda for modernization. In a way more forceful than in China, the media and policy take on a particular global (and American discourses) about educational reforms as the remedy of all the ills including the war on global terrorism. The internal discourse is sometimes modeled after the American one about modernization and become modern marred by political instability, economic upheavals, and security issues (Kristof, 2010). The reform of society is pronounced as dependent on the education of women. In an editorial in the New York Times, one of the few national US newspapers, Kristof (2010) tells of the education of Zahida Sardar, a young woman from a small town in Punjab, Pakistan. Zahida story is told as the future of Pakistan, convincing her illiterate and poor parents to send her to an expensive private school because of the importance of quality education to. Kristof contends that this educating of women "is a ray of hope" in Pakistan that "has become a dysfunctional money pit and a sanctuary for terrorists".

This narrative about modernity pits particular values about bureaucracy and a secularized civic society against Pakistani institutions placed as having a lack of rationality. The latter, the argument continues, allows religious extremism and the oppression of women and other marginalized groups. Educational reforms are narrated as making possible the promise of progress by connecting notions of quality and human rights to gender empowerment in classrooms. Women teachers are agents of modernization in their families and communities; and that modernization is tied to the functioning of the governing of the state.

When the educational reforms to modernize are looked at more closely, they overtly are organized to create child–centered, participatory classrooms through transforming the curriculum and pedagogy so as to produce quality academic performance. Further, quality is tied to another universal associated with modernity –the basic rights of children. The reforms position the reforms against communal educational system that are said to be premised on an authoritarian teacher who intellectually and physically subjugates children. The traditional values are not only outdated, so the argument goes, but also violate the creativity and basic rights of children.

Participation and its assumption of a democratic school in the educational reforms emphasize the value of interaction between the teacher and the student rather than the teacher transferring knowledge to the student. Sania, for example, a teacher at a community school supported by a transnational development organization, used a language about the role of the teacher that seemingly gave support to this notion of democracy in the education to children from low–income and rural communities. Talking about girls from marginalized communities in Pakistan, she articulated her journey of child–centered teaching.

> When our students did not do well, we used to say that they were not working hard or were not smart. We would blame them. It is through this (teacher) training that we learned to accept our responsibility. Now if the student is not doing well, we know that it is we, as teachers, who are not doing well. We then think what to do and how to teach in a better way. What we have learned is that every student learns in a different way, so we have to find the way that works for each student. I think it is a better way to teach.

Sania's language at one layer can be identified as embodying the shift from responsibility to rights–based teaching espoused by the educational reforms in Pakistan and teacher education programs supported by the international development agencies that transports UNESCO's *Education for All* into Pakistan as calls for inclusive and participatory classrooms for children, especially for girls from marginalized communities[25]. In this narrative, students are positioned possessing universal human rights and teachers as actors with the responsibility to protect those rights. Quality education, as reflected in child–centered pedagogies, is closely tied the narrative about human rights as the central objective of education. Women, as students and teachers, are positioned to restructure and modernize the child, family, and community that will make Pakistan modern– not only as a society but through the everyday relations of family and upbringing patterns.

An initial reading of the interview transcripts of rural and low–income women teachers working in community schools managed by a transnational development organization seems to reinforce the traveling of liberal values of participation and democracy in Pakistani reforms (Khurshid, 2012). After receiving intensive training from the development organization, the women teachers described the worth of their roles as facilitators and friends rather than as distant teachers. This interpretation and purpose of reforms posits the inscriptions of principles of moral worth and political efficacy as traveling globally and as part of a single modernity.

However, a closer reading of these transcripts brings to bear a grid of cultural practices that are not merely about modernization, democracy, and participation. The discourses are reform are inscribed within particular sets of norms and values through which the women are to see, think and act as teachers, members of their families, and communities. The discourses of Pakistani women teachers from the low–income rural areas express the subject of rights as part of communal discourses about the responsibility of students and teacher (Khurshid, 2012).

The cultural thesis of the teacher embodies principles about responsibilities as related to communal hierarchies of family and obligations to Islam and the State. The women teachers described their roles as facilitators, friends and critical thinking as bringing into the present the lost heritage of Muslims and not as a Western entity imposed as the cure for Pakistan's problems. The teacher as facilitator is to support the rediscovery of Muslim tradition. The democratic and participatory spaces of the classroom instantiates values of respect, collaboration, and harmony learned as Islamic norms that are re–instantiated in Pakistani citizenship. The women teachers contended that only educated people were aware of the real Islamic virtues and, thus, emphasized the importance of their roles as teachers to impart education that can enable students to recognize and appreciate community and Islamic culture and values.

The principles inscribed are neither traditional nor modern, as such distinctions inscribe a hierarchy of difference from some unspoken and universalized concept of the modern from which the traditional becomes knowable. The teachers' reference to the traditions that were wasteful and irrational customs had historical connotations drawn from the Islamic reformist movement of the 19th century British–ruled–India. These movements were to steer Indian Muslims in the direction of modern education and scientific household management. The reform supported the need for modern education of Indian Muslim women to eradicate irrational and traditional customs and rituals often carried out in women–centered spaces as well and to provide Islamic and scientific upbringing to their children. The contemporary reform narrative is (re) visioned as a knowledge that gives an awareness of connecting what is modern that is shaped by Islamic ways of thinking[26]. For instance, Salma, a thirty–two year old woman working as the head mistress of a community school supported by a development organization, described her role as a teacher in the following manner:

> These girls (students) are from the village, their parents are illiterate, and they have no exposure to the outside world so they can get lured by the distractions very easily. It is I who has to guide them, to tell them to be careful. Even a small stain on women's honor can ruin her life. I am a very strict teacher but act like a friend when it comes to such matters. They cannot tell their parents but confide in me. Their parents tell me that they would send their daughters anywhere with me, they trust me because I am educated. You see teachers have to give taleem (education) as well as tarbiat (moral character building) and only then we can change things for us. That is our role (as teachers), we have to be the teacher, parent, and a friend.

The teacher as facilitator and friend communicates communal values about women's honor. Education to participate fully in social life connected to principles of honor and self–discipline in building moral characters in governing the family and community. Individual interests and curiosity of students are bound within a cultural set of principles of taleem (education) and tarbiat (moral character building) that protected their well–being. The honorable character for women is something that empowers

women by bringing them respect and trust of their families and communities and not something individualist and about agency in the sense described earlier with the notion enlightenment notion of cosmopolitanism. Embodied in the perception of women's rights were the values of providing tarbiat to her students through her performances as a teacher.

Salma's discourse about the actions of teaching were made possible through a grid of practices historically assembled and connected particular international discourses of reform that disconnected them Anglo–American notions women's rights and its individualistic notions of empowerment. In this narrative, Muslim women are seen as the carrier of family honor and would face violent oppression and in some cases death in case of any discretion. However, in the narrative of the teachers, agency, rights and family honor were not oppositional values. They overlap and form a grid through which obligations and responsibility were ordered that is neither traditional nor modern. The notion of family honor was not confined to proper sexual conduct, as defined in popular media and policy discourses, but was reflective of a wider range of practices that brought the good name to the family. The education of young women was to earn them respect through virtues of honor and thus a voice in the community. The teacher as friend was to provide tarbiat about issues that were folded into the task of taleem. The principles generated about rights were not universal human rights guided by individual interests but Huqooq Allah (rights of God) and Huqooq ul Ebad (rights of people) in constituting the construction of the human and community.

Taleem (education) and tarbiat (moral character building) connected Islam and modernity as synonymous systems of knowledge, morality, and community that reinforce, rather than contradict each other. Teaching and learning entail rationalism (science as principles for organizing life) with Islamic values of spirituality and universality. The Pakistani discourse of the principles of Islamic teachings, for example, draw a comparison between Islam and science as compatible ways of living a healthy and productive life through instructions for a number of day–to–day activities such as eating, drinking, sleeping, etc. In the narratives of women teachers, the reference to uneducated persons did not allude to the lack of educational credentials but to the lack of wisdom informed by Islam and science.

The distinctions and differentiations, as the Chinese case, embody principles that make education and teaching legible and intelligible that are different from those discussed in the case of American education. Center in the distinctions are the sciences of pedagogy. Muslim scholars in South Asia have historically employed science to develop a rationale to provide education for Muslim women. Scholars have argued that a "reasonable" community valued education for women as education and science have the potential to restructure women, children, families, and communities. Women teacher interviewed for this study embodied and enacted a cultural thesis that modern education did not merely equip one with skills to do things but rather a "wiser" in resolving interpersonal and community related conflicts. In the narrative of teachers, science was seen as an epitome of human reason and progress on the

one hand, and on the other hand, reflecting principles that ordered the ethos of an ideal teacher and child as it relates to obligations of family and community. Women were agents of change, in this narrative, through the scientific principles brought into managing child rearing as a Muslim woman in modern societies.

Gender as the subject of reform is continually placed in a universalist language about abstract principles about schooling yet it embodies a particular kind of subject that is not adequately understood as variations of themes of agency instantiated and differentiated through particular European/North American distinctions of participation, equality, and democracy. The cultural patterns in Pakistan overlapped different social and cultural patterns that is the sum of its parts of western liberal discourses interacting with Pakistani "traditions". In making these observations, we return to the conundrum posed by the complexity of the translation from Urdu (the national language of Pakistan) to English poses a number of challenges that is not merely about finding the right words but to communicate the historical, social, and cultural systems of reasoning attached with languages.

COMPARATIVE STUDY AND SYSTEMS OF REASON

The challenge of comparative research since the second half of the 20th century has been, at one level, to understand others as pluralities rather than as oppositions to European and North American times/spaces. The difficulty of this strategy, we argued is twofold. One is "seeing" difference through systems of representation that fix standards of the subject as norms or models from which to judge the other. Differences are embedded in a hierarchy composed by the values inscribed in the representation. Ironically, differences become mediated by sameness. Second is the conundrum of comparatives studies. The very notion of comparison that orders research is a particular style of thought about research whose analytics are never totally outside of the west even when seeking to narrate differences outside of its time/spaces.

This chapter has explored the limits of the study of differences and an alternative through the history of the present. Its method can be seen within a broader attempt with the sciences of education, social sciences and philosophy to consider difference historically and relationally (see e.g., Lather, 2007; Ong, 1999; Hacking, 2002). The focus on making problematic the "reason" of schooling was, first, to consider the historically formed grid that shapes and fashions "seeing" and acting in different times and spaces. We argued that cultural theses about modes of life can be examined and compared without placing them in a continuum of value and hierarchies.

Our approach to compare the three sites operated at two layers. One was in thinking of the present as produced in an assembly of different historical trajectories that connect about what is seen and acted on the present. The differences were mapped as sources of potentialities for cross–cultural dialogues and understanding rather than as in a hierarchy and continuum of values. The disparate elements that are connected are not merely the sum of its parts and reducible to "difference from sameness". It

was in this context that we spoke of the notion of multiple modernities through the systems of "reason" that ordered U.S. educational sciences and its notions of agency and change, Chinese debates about scolding, and Pakistani reforms concerned with women's teacher education.

As we suggest an alternative, however, we acknowledge the conundrum of comparative research as an insolvable limit of the present that is still with us. The study of a history of the present maintains the attitude of the enlightenment and its commitments to reason and science for understanding and rectifying social wrongs. This intellectual "debt" of research was acknowledged in contemporary post–colonial studies earlier discussed by Chakrabarty earlier. The commitments are embodied in the conscious awareness in writing this paper in thinking about differences in a mutual space of the relation of self and "others".

We expressed this limits, in part, through issues of translation. No matter how we tried to think through the multiplicities of "reason" the search for translations continually are acts of creation rather than "copying" an original. Translation is not merely, for example, finding equivalent words from Urdu or Mandarin into English, but of the unavoidable risk of reading particular conceptualizations and distinctions that order and classify analytical ways of reasoning into other ways of reasoning. Constituting the cultural practices of Pakistani and Chinese reforms in English is to deploy classification systems that partition what is seen and talked about as sensible, the sensibilities, and the sensible/reasonable person.

Nor do we forego the political issues of difference raised in the comparative distinctions such as posed in the categories of "urban" and indigenous. That is, how one knows is intricately bound to what is to be known, and how the objects of schooling, the social and cultural are "seen", talked about, and acted on. While the politics of representation are important to struggles of socially excluded groups, when there is the givenessness of identities there is an inscription that recognizes inclusion by defining "difference". In this respect, the problem of comparative studies was to seek methods that do not re–inscribe a hierarchy of values through divisions such as "traditional" /"modern", "progressive"/ "backward", global/local or indigenous. The very strategies to differentiate Eurocentric thought from, for example, indigenous cultures may produce a dualism, oppositions, and hierarchies in the impulse to correct social wrongs. Inequality is ordered as equality by the very rules and standards of reason that are to correct social wrongs.

Our purpose has been, first, is to recognize the limits of the categorical imperatives of contemporary comparative research as engendering commitments and purpose. These limits require continual scrutiny. Second and through the argument of the paper, we pose the challenge of comparative research as not only in its styles of thought that define what and how comparison proceeds; but the challenge is that the very notion of comparison is political. This is easily recognized with the recognition given to difference in contemporary social and educational politics about diversity and equity.

NOTES

[1] For a discussion that pulls together many of the disparate elements of the enlightenments into a framing of its principles and style of thought, see, for example, Cassirer (1932/1951).

[2] The discussion intellectually plays in a non–deductive way with the historical and philosophical principles that order and classify differences and issues of representation in the social and psychological sciences. See, e.g., Deleuze's argument about the philosophy of representations; Derrida notion of logocentric; and Foucault's episteme.

[3] This notion of history is discussed in Dean (1994) Foucault, (1971/1977). This is discussion in education (see, e.g., Popkewitz, 1991; Popkewitz, Pereyra, & Franklin, 2001; Popkewitz, 2013).

[4] The approach is explored in Popkewitz (2005, 2008, 2010); and found in Foucault (1971/1977), and Dean (1994).

[5] What makes possible thought about children "developing" and parents and schools as responsible for that moral, social, psychological, and physical growth, for example, is a relatively recent phenomenon. The determinant categories given to these kinds of humans are made possible through divergent political, social and cultural processes that come together from different processes from the 1700s to early 20th century, what is called the long 19th century.

[6] The approach to research is found, for example, in what are now classical studies in their fields; Cassirer's (1951) study of the enlightenment, Dumont's (1991/1994) research on German and French modernities, and Foucault's (1972) history of the episteme in the formation of the social sciences. We are not claiming here the status in their studies but to illustrate a way of thinking and doing research that has a strong history.

[7] Because of the limits of an article, writing such a paper as this, the analysis cannot be neither exhaustive or represent the fields of education in these national context and their internal debates and conflicts.

[8]   Our use of the modernization is an example of the difficulties of historicizing concepts that have taken on a particular universalizing quality. The term modernization is itself one that has been continually historically debated and, as we will discuss later, contentious. But for the moment it is used to explore particular nuances through which differences can be explored.

[9] The limits of such divisions in social research are found in Hacking (1999).

[10] Modernity was a term used in medieval Germany centuries earlier, but the particular ways of thinking about change and people is different from what is given expression here is one of the long 19th century.

[11] For a discussion of the American enlightenment, see Ferguson (1997). One example of the difference in reason associated with the Enlightenment "reason" to find progress is the "reason" of colonialization and the Spanish differentiating of "others" where "reason" was to find salvation in Christ and those who could not reason were savages.

[12] We use the plural to recognize that there were multiple movements within Europe and North America that were not similar in outcomes, such as the German, French, British, and American. Our focus is on certain general epistemological principles that circulated among them and thus gave them, to use Wittgenstein (1966), a family of resemblance.

[13] The self–reflectivity that includes doubt is considered historically important to Western liberal and republican notions of rationality. The ability to engage in a critique, while having limits, has provided flexibility and (re)visioning that throw into questions what seem as processes of whose stabilities and consensus.

[14] As a simple illustration of difference, Greek notions of time were cyclical and not linear. The Medieval Church "saw" time as universal and located in God's ordering of things.

[15] The words were not 'new' such as citizen or child. But words do not have any sensibility outside of the cultural and social practices in which they are assembled. Contrary to analytical traditions that trace the notion of citizen back to the Greek Stoics (see Nussbaum, 1996), the notion of the citizen and its notions of reason and citizen are not merely an evolution from the past to the present. The citizen given identities in the new republics is governed by different principles of reflection and action than the Greek citizen (see Foucault, 2008/2010).

[16] The notion of time also becomes a way to differentiate the other and makes possible colonializations that divide the advance civilizations from those less advanced and the barbarians. That is, however, a different trajectory embodied in the discussion of this paper.

[17] This production of difference as an epistemic principle of knowledge is historically explored in Popkewitz (2007).

[18] The head–to–toe covering for women, constructs a Muslim modality that in fact intersects South Asian historical practices associated with notions of respectability among women from different religious backgrounds.

[19] As someone who studied Greek art, they will recognize that the merging historically of nuances to make appropriately the general points relevant to this argument.

[20] The Chinese version of item 16 stipulation is "班主任在日常教育教学管理中，有采取适当方式对学生进行批评教育的权利". The Chinese term "pipin jiaoyu" (批评教育) is a bit hard to translate into English terms "criticizing education" or "scolding education". According to the Oxford Dictionary, "to criticize" can mean "to offer judgement upon with respect to merits or faults" and "to scold" can mean "to address (esp. an inferior or a child) with continuous and more or less angry reproach or to chide". The word "scolding" may sound a bit harsh, but according to the historical cultural understanding, it is still appropriate in that scolding contains the teacher's moral involvement to correct students' wrong behaviours.

[21] The 2010–2020 Middle–and–Long–Tern Educational Reforms and Development Planning Guidelines was initiated in 2008 under the Premier Wen Jiabao team, and made public to invite nationwide suggestions and comments between January –February 2009 and February 28–March 28, 2010, and passed in May 2010. Details are available at http://baike.baidu.com/view/2801453.htm.

[22] 5 stresses, 4 beauties and 3 loves are: stress on decorum (讲文明) stress on manners (讲礼貌) stress on hygiene (讲卫生) stress on discipline (讲秩序) stress on morals (讲道德); beauty of the mind (心灵美) beauty of the language (语言美) beauty of the behavior (行为美) beauty of the environment (环境美); love of the motherland (热爱祖国) love of the socialism (热爱社会主义) love of the Chinese Communist Party (热爱中国共产党) – part of the Chinese spritual civilization construction guideline mobilized in the 1980s. National morality education campaigns have been launched by the party once in a few years with the latest one on "eight honors and eight disgraces" core value education in 2006 initiated by President Hu Jintao.

[23] Though translation in general and this version in particular is inherently incomplete in that part of the nuances not immediately transparent in the English terms are regrettably glossed over, still a general feeling of its cultural distinctions is already tangible. English translation from Chinese Government's official Website: http://english.gov.cn/2006–04/05/content_245361.htm

[24] The Chinese version is 礼有三本：天地者，生之本也；先祖者，类之本也；君师者，治之本也.

[25] The organization trained educated women from the same communities to implement right–based curriculum and pedagogy developed primarily in its head office in the United States.

[26] We use the notion of Islamic cautiously as we earlier discussed the notion of respect as emerging and embodied in South Asian cultural traditions "purdah–conscious society".

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