

Ten nation states; an analysis of policy, agency and globalization

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Abstract: This paper analyses the ten nation states' papers in this special edition journal that are read through Hodgson and Spours (2006) Policy Analytical Framework that examines political eras, the education state, policy processes and engagement with the public space. Each nation state identifies particular themes that impact upon their education policies and systems. First is the shift from a planned comprehensive education system underpinned by communitarian ideologies to the marketization of education, underpinned by capitalist ideologies. Second is participation and civic engagement. Third is management of economic transitions, economic growth and human capital. Fourth is commitment to tolerance for cultural diversity and the transformation of identity. All four themes may play a role in a nation state's policy development but particular authors choose to focus on particular themes due to the focus of their papers, and/or dominating societal pressures that include political unrest, conflict, agency and globalization.

Keywords: ideologies, participation, economic growth and human capital, tolerance for cultural diversity

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Introduction

This analysis paper aims to bring the collection of papers in this journal together and read them through The Hodgson and Spours (2006) Policy Analysis Framework that examines political eras, the nation state, policy processes and engagement with the public space. The framework emerged from analysis of the 14-19 education system in England. Such analysis makes it possible to reveal the extent to which “policy memory” exists over political eras, or the extent to which political cycles present barriers to coherence between policies. Hodgson and Spours (2006) present three key areas of political era as societal and historical meanings, contexts and movements, hegemony, and national and international debates in education. Resnik (2007) affirms the need to consider such global networks and the effect of globalization on education debates when considering policy. Resnik argues such discourses are essential to understanding policy shifts at national level and argues that The American School Model influenced policy development in many countries, with a sharp focus on structural reform in Israel from 1968.

The collection of papers in this special edition journal represents quantitative and qualitative analyses of the social historiographies of the particular nation states’ educational policies. Each paper describes educational policies and then addresses the questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ these education policies developed as they did as explained in the introductory methodology paper in this journal (Taysum & Iqbal). Here, the papers move beyond the ‘what’ questions that quantitative analyses address in educational research that compares the outcomes of education systems provided by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Using qualitative policy analyses it is possible to illuminate deeper understandings of education policy that the quantitative evidence describes. In this paper I am going to begin to represent themes that have emerged as a result of systematic analyses of the texts in this special edition journal. Such policy analyses are required to make a new contribution to knowledge with a sharp focus on policy learning so that nation states might learn from each other, and develop understandings of how education policy, agency and globalization impact upon their education systems and therefore the cultural and economic development of their societies. To address the aim of the paper I ask four questions. First, to what extent do the papers in this

journal identify political eras in their educational policy and systems? Second, to what extent do policies as text and discourse facilitate community engagement and participation? Third, to what extent do the educational policies impact upon the management of economic transitions, economic growth, and human capital within ethical frameworks? Finally, to what extent do the educational policies build tolerance for cultural diversity and the relationship this has with constructing citizen's identity, particularly that of national identity?

I began the analysis by reading each of the nation states' papers published in this special edition journal through the Hodgson and Spours (2006) Policy Analytical Framework and four themes emerged which provided a conceptual framework. The first theme was the identification of particular political eras from the Second World War to date and the impact of the changes on the education state. The second theme was the extent to which educational policies as text and discourse facilitated community engagement and participation in a public space. The third theme was how the education policies and processes impact upon the management of economic transitions, economic growth and human capital within sustainable ethical frameworks. The fourth theme was how education policy builds tolerance for cultural diversity and the relationship this has with constructing citizen's identity, particularly that of national identity.

I copied and pasted quotations from each of the papers under the subheadings of the four themes of the conceptual framework into a very large table. For each of the themes I included quotations from the educational policies as texts, and the critique of these policies provided by the authors of the papers. Therefore the quotations that I copied and pasted into the table included the description of the education policies and the understandings presented in each paper for how and why the education policies as text and discourse emerged and were, or were not actualized. The chronological events were therefore related in the narrative in the table and I represented them faithfully in this reconstruction of the reality. Remaining faithful to the construction of the representation can be said to be remaining faithful to the "mimesis" which Aristotle named as the making of a representation (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995). Aristotle also refers to the term "muthos" that Ricoeur (1984 in Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995) calls "emplotment" which is the activity of putting the events reconstructed into a system that will faithfully represent the mimesis. Ricoeur (1984 cited in

Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995) states: Emplotment is “the active sense of organizing the events into a system” and mimesis is “mimetic activity ... in the dynamic sense of making a representation of a transposition into representative works” (p. 33).

I then used narrative analysis, which needs to be recognised as problematic because it involves analysing the reconstruction of reality from the authors of the papers, and this reconstruction is again reconstructed by me. A very important part of the process therefore was sending the analysis paper to all the authors for feedback to ensure that my representation of their research was correct. It is also important that I make my position in this research clear and make my intentions as transparent and faithful to the process of analysis as is possible. Such a way of undertaking analysis, is both an art and a science. This is demonstrated by Blumenfeld-Jones (1995) when he states: “Narrative inquiry is an artificial endeavour existing within layers of intention and reconstruction” (p. 28). My position in the research is that educational policy analysis is important because it calls for the collection and theorising of educational policy development through a lens of social historiography to expose the possible relationships between the socio-educational past and present (Taysum & Iqbal). Further, such analysis may reveal common themes that impact upon public issues and private troubles. Therefore in this paper the focus will be on themes surrounding globalization, policy, and agency that emerge from the analysis of the papers, and that impact upon the ten nation states. The reader also needs to be aware that I agree with Lupton (2011) that the shift to a marketised system in England 1988 that commodified education was informed by ideological commitment rather than systematic critical analysis and reflection upon the comprehensive system. This has implications for the analysis of other nation states that have experienced the commodification of education. Moreover, my position is that community engagement and participation in educational policy is important and as Fraser (1997) notes this needs to be coupled with the management of economic transitions and economic growth within suitable ethical frameworks in relation to human capital. Finally my position is that these themes have the potential to impact upon facilitating tolerance for cultural diversity.

Through the narrative analysis it emerged that the ten nation states referred to one or more of the four themes, but in very different contexts

and therefore each one is unique. Rather indicative quotations are used in this paper to enable the reader to connect with the themes examined (Taysum & Gunter, 2008). The reader is invited to read each of the papers, which make a significant contribution to knowledge in their own right.

Political eras, community engagement, and participation

Using Hodgson and Spours framework (2006)² it is possible to see that the nation states do identify political eras. From a systematic analysis of these eras it is revealed that the eras have been identified for different reasons. China, England, Ireland, Italy, Nigeria, Northern Ireland and Russia identify eras that focus on political shifts in terms of two underpinning ideologies. The first ideology is a planned collectivist approach that seeks to provide an education for the masses. The second is an individual approach where neo-liberal market forces operate that position the learner as a consumer of the commodity 'education'. It may be argued that the two extremes of these approaches have not met success. The collectivist extreme of communism has not worked where there have been significant issues regarding participation in civic processes. The individual extreme of capitalism has not worked where there have been significant widening of gaps between the rich and the poor leading to unrest which in turn have incited 'moral panic'. Cohen (1972) suggests such moral panic is the hall-mark of increasing civic disengagement and reflects how little value is placed on community service if there is not an immediate payback for such community service³. Indeed MacFarlane (1998) argues that community service needs to be foregrounded and he points to the role of academics who engage with teaching and research while very little may be done in the area of community service. This ties in closely with Eddy Spicer's paper when he examines the US case studies where academics are actively involved with the community along with their roles as researchers and teachers.

² Please see the introductory methodology paper (Taysum and Iqbal) in this special edition journal.

³ I would like to recognize a postgraduate student Mahamadu Iddrisu who cited Cohen (1972) in his unpublished writing and gave me permission to cite the argument in this article.

Gunter and Fitzgerald (2011) in their special edition of the *Journal of Education Administration and History* draw from Barker's book *The Pendulum Swings* and ask where does the pendulum swing to? They argue that encouraging the privatization of public space does not respect or value public goods or public service and promotes notions of ownership rather than sharing the public space. They cite the low turnout at local and national elections particularly among the young and suggest that if the young are encouraged to look to their own needs in a highly competitive environment it is unlikely to foster civic engagement and practices of participation that are the hall mark of democracy. They also argue that there is a lack of intellectual work and a reliance on common sense views. Hookaway (2008) argues that relying on common sense views is dangerous. He argues that individuals need to have a will to believe and that this will must come from sufficient evidence that individuals have had time to critique and reflect upon which will enable them to engage with civic life and public service. O'Reilly in his paper in this special edition journal argues that education policies in Ireland are still based on nineteenth and early twentieth century legislation. Barker (2010) argues that in this period of time, or the Victorian period when Colonialism was impacting throughout the world, education focused on 'Payment by Results' and profit seeking enterprises. Gunter and Fitzgerald (2011) cite Ravitch (2010) who critiques private, profit seeking enterprises in the US education system:

Our schools will not improve if we expect them to act like private, profit-seeking enterprises. Schools are not businesses, they are a public good. The goal of education is not to produce higher scores, but to educate children to become responsible people with well-developed mind and good character. Schools should not be expected to turn a profit in the form of value-added scores. The unrelenting focus on data that has become commonplace in recent years is distorting the nature and quality of education. There are many examples of healthy competition in schools, such as science fairs, essay contests, debates, chess tournaments, and athletic events. But the competition among schools to get higher scores is of a different nature; in the current climate, it is sure to cause teachers to spend more time preparing students for state tests, not on thoughtful writing, critical reading, scientific experiments, or historical study.

Nor should we expect schools to vie with one another, they must readily share information about their successes and failures, as medical professionals do, rather than act as rivals in a struggle for survival.

Indeed all the papers in this special edition identify there are issues with young people being prepared for a test and issues with high stakes testing. Pogosian in her paper in this special edition journal also identifies the impact this may have on children's health and states:

Paradoxically, the concern and the relevance of preserving school children's health was and still is rooted in the fact that it is due to their being overloaded by teachers that their health is deteriorated. As it was contended by Dneprov in 2000, the load on children "reached catastrophic amounts, and "turned into a basic internal misfortune" of the school (Dneprov 2000, p. 22). In 2000, high school pupils' load, including all assignments was 60-70 hours per week (Dneprov 2000, p. 22), at present, the situation has not changed (Kamenskaya, Kotova 2007; Makarova, Korchagina 2007). The reason for that is interrelated with other unsolved issues of reforming school education (also in the focus of the policy agenda) – the domination of teacher-centered and subject-centered pedagogy (Pogosian 2011, p. 4). The persistence of teachers on this pedagogy is rooted not only in the Soviet pedagogy stereotypes, but because teachers' work is assessed on the basis of the students' academic achievements, as a result teachers try to do their utmost to have their students have the highest achievements as that is one of the indicators in their ratings taken into account for their attestation, i.e. directly linked with the salaries (another policy agenda priority – raising the social status and financial standing of teachers).

However, the Italian paper, the English paper, and the Chinese paper have also identified the significance of attempts at a third way that seeks to bring balance between a planned collectivist approach and welfarist ideologies and an individualistic approach and neo-liberal market forces ideologies. Grimaldi and Serpieri state in their paper in this special edition journal:

(The) Third Way fashion endorsed neoliberal recipes but, at the same time, tried to temperate them to avoid the polarization of the school system, the harshness of competition among schools and the inequalities that could come out of market regulation. The reforms emerged from a complex interplay between the 'new' neoliberal discourse on the restructuring of welfarist education and the 'old' welfarist discourse. Moreover, they were mediated by welfarist path dependencies

Taysum in her paper focusing on England states:

Two key political eras are identified. The first is an egalitarian approach and engagement with community interests underpinned by respect and recognition for diversity within and amongst human beings. The second era focuses on self-interests within neo-liberal market forces of supply and demand. The argument I make is the nation faces a challenge of how to provide socially just education processes and systems that balance these two interests whilst facilitating civic engagement, or 'participation' with education systems and processes through evidence informed participatory policy making and implementation.

Yang states in his paper: 'the Chinese government has been trying to devise ways in which socialist values may be combined with market mechanism'. Thus, with third way education policies individuals might develop their identity within neo-liberal market forces whilst also being aware of the needs of the community and welfarist approaches. Lupton (2011) suggests that an ideology with markets as a system principle underpinned by competition has not produced any evidence of a positive effect on educational attainment. Although Lupton does identify that middle class parents are likely to choose high attaining schools, and children of lower socio-economic status are unlikely to travel out of their local areas to better schools, thus increasing segregation in society based on economic capital (Bourdieu, 2000). Lupton goes on to argue that such conditions mean that where there is more choice there will be more unequal opportunities. Further parents as consumers choose from what Mansell (2011) calls a range of school 'products', with test/exam scores, complemented by inspection reports, meant to help them make up their minds. This positions the exam results as having very high stakes and

Bradley and Taylor's research cited in Lupton (2011) demonstrates that good performance in schools is becoming increasingly middle class. West and Hind (2003) argue there are obvious opportunities for schools to 'select' pupils in and 'select' pupils out to obtain higher positions in league tables in England. Ball (2004) suggests schools can select students formally or informally and therefore more readily control their position in the league tables. Ball (2004) draws from his extensive research with headteachers to reveal that the best strategy for improving General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) performance in the league tables is to manage league tables. However as Grimaldi and Serpieri, and Taysum argue regarding the Italian and English contexts respectively an effective third way that brings balance to progressive comprehensivism and the marketization of education systems has yet to be found. Lupton (2011, p. 323) supports this claim and argues:

It will be incumbent on progressive educators to articulate clear and workable proposals that show how places can be allocated fairly and in ways which allow all individuals both to develop their individual potential and to learn the values of society and community in excellent schools, thus trumping 'choice' as a system principle with something better and fairer. Barker's book offers a valuable historical reminder that 'it was not ever thus' and that alternatives to dominant ideologies do exist, but also that reconciling equity, individualism, social mobility, equal opportunities, freedom, choice and community is not easy. A post-market alternative is badly needed but needs much greater development.

Grimaldi and Serpieri identify that trying to address a third way approach using partnerships is problematic and they state:

schools were strongly encouraged to build partnerships with other public and private actors, in order to pursue their educational mission. Partnerships were explicitly identified as a potential channel through which to gain public or private extra-resources and enrich the educational provision'... and 'A complex discursive landscape emerges where the concerns for equity, mass and citizenship education and education as an empowering practice for the enhancement of social mobility confront and clash with the new economic imperatives bearing upon the education system. Such

imperatives imply the subjugation of the educational aims to the requests of the labour markets and the hidden return of an elite and selective view of educational aims’.

Clearly to realize there is a pressing need to develop a Third Way as Lupton proposes, but the notion of partnership needs to be defined and critiqued particularly when framed within discourses of public spaces and service and private spaces and profit. Jones and McNamee’s (2000, p. 133) (Table 1) have engaged with searching for balance between the individual and civic life in their framework for levels of moral development (adapted from Kohlberg, 1981, pp.17- 19 cited in Taysum (2010, p. 125).

The framework suggests a staged framework for this process and they argue that individuals are on a journey together to get to a stage where universal ethical principles guide all action. This is applicable for young people and for the opposing ideologies. The table begins at the first level before any kind of intellectual thought including critique or reflection informs action. The first stage is where punishment is used for discipline and throughout history the spectacle of public punishments have served their part in discipline (Foucault, 1991). Here obedience is in itself the reason for right action and is determined by the physical consequences.

The second stage of the first level is action that is determined by the best outcome for the self and justice is based on ‘an eye for an eye’ approach. Such an approach of retribution works on a principle of the injury you give is the injury you receive in compensation. The second level is where intellectual work, critique and reflection begin to determine action and at the third stage people conform to their perception of the social norm and adhere to rules and conventions of society. At the fourth stage of the third level people begin to develop a sense of duty and the notion of service emerges and is acted upon. The third level is the post-conventional level where moral judgments are universal and impartial. The fifth stage located at this level is where action is still determined by norms and rules but people are civically engaged and are part of their co-construction. The sixth stage at this level is where doing the right thing is important and where a concern for ethical principles guides all action.

However young people and those who find themselves operating within competing ideologies may find themselves in situations where there is little time to consider the consequences of their actions. In such conditions it

may be helpful to have rehearsed different responses and the consequences of these different responses through role-play in the safety of a classroom or through the examination of social historiographies.

Table 1. Levels of moral development

<i>(i) The Pre-conventional Level</i>	<i>The self is the primary concern in moral considerations</i>
Stage 1. Punishment and obedience	Obedience is valued in its own right and the goodness of an action is determined by its physical consequences
Stage 2. The instrumental relative orientation	Value is judged in terms of instrumental worth to the self. There is an 'eye for an eye' conception of justice.
<i>(ii) Convention level</i>	<i>The morality of the given convention or society is adopted</i>
Stage 3. The interpersonal concordance level	Persons conform to their perception of the social norm
Stage 4. Society maintaining orientation and give rise to certain duties	Rules and norms of society are respected
<i>(iii) Post-conventional or principled level</i>	<i>Moral judgments are universal and impartial</i>
Stage 5. The stage of prior rights or social contract	The morally right thing to do is still determined by norms and rules, however persons are actively involved in their construction.
Stage 6. The stage of universal ethical guides all action principles	A concern for universal ethical principles

Source: Jones and McNamee's (2000, p. 133) levels of moral development (adapted from Kohlberg, 1981, pp. 17-19).

Through such intellectual work an understanding of how to balance the

needs of the individual in relationship with civic society and the world they live in may begin to be addressed. Such analysis requires thorough and systematic critique of events in social history that reveal what works and what does not work. However, such intellectual work is not for the faint hearted because it means owning fallibility as well as right action. Hookaway (2008) cites Peirce (1868) who calls for those with a commitment to understanding the world better should not pretend to doubt in intellectual work of the mind what is not doubted in the heart. Learning of this kind may develop levels of maturity drawing on Haan's (1978, pp. 288-89) levels of maturity (Table 2) cited in Taysum (2010).

Table 2. Haan's phases and levels of maturity

<i>(i) Assimilation phase</i>	<i>Seek moral balances that benefit the self</i>
Level 1. Power balancing	Balances are negotiated to reflect self interest
Level 2. Egocentric balancing	Acknowledgement of others interests but compromises only occur when benefit the self
<i>(ii) Accommodation phase</i> <i>group</i>	<i>Seek to maintain a moral balance for the</i>
Level 3. Harmony balancing	Recognition of group interests but perceived as no different from self-interest
Level 4. Common interests balancing	Persons differentiate self-interest and group interest and seek balance to maintain group norms
<i>(iii) Equilibrium phase</i> <i>impartially</i>	<i>Seek to optimize everyone's interests</i>
Level 5. Mutual interest balancing	Recognition of the necessity of moral balances to optimize the interests of all in all situations

Source: adapted from Haan, 1978, pp. 288-289.

What is important about this table is the relationship between the individual and the community and the balance that this attempts to reach. At the assimilation phase there are two levels. The first seeks to balance power reflected in self-interests which are the foundations upon which markets are based. The second level is the egocentric balancing where the interests of others are recognized but compromises only occur when they benefit self interests. The second phase is the accommodation phase and the third level within this phase is where the group interests are not seen as different to that of the interests of the self. The fourth level is where people begin to recognize that self interest and group interest may be different and people strive to maintain group norms.

The third level is that of the equilibrium phase where at the fifth level people try to optimize the interests of all in all situations. Moving through the phases and levels individuals need to engage with intellectual work where their mental models have developed over time and are challenged and challenged again. The new knowledge that is reflected upon enables a synthesis of the old knowledge with the new knowledge. The process may cause angst and therefore students need to develop resilience and learn to be comfortable with being uncomfortable (Taysum, 2010). Developing activities to learn such resilience might be an important part of a school curriculum.

Hookaway (2008) argues that such a pragmatic approach to knowledge need not engage with skepticism. Rather epistemological frameworks might enable individuals to have confidence in their cognitive achievements and trust themselves and their knowledge with the belief that knowledge is provisional and therefore methods of inquiry are also fallible and therefore provisional. On the other hand developing provisional knowledge until it is found fallible may descend into relativism. James (1907) addresses this issue by suggesting that preserving the traditional stocks of belief is the first principle in reviewing and reframing beliefs in a rational way. Therefore, it could be argued that there is no independent or objective position that guards beliefs. It is important to note that James reports it is important to be loyal to personal beliefs until they are doubted, and the challenge that may bring doubt needs to come from learning, or new knowledge that is reflected upon. Such a position agrees with Confucius who states: 'Learning without reflection is a waste,

reflection without learning is dangerous' (Anon, 2012)⁴. Therefore who is involved in knowledge production, or the knowledge workers and knowledge brokers engaged with organic intellectual activity is important and is wrapped up with issues of power (Taysum, 2010). Developing a resilience to life, and to continuing when your voice is heard and/or when your voice is not heard within educational systems is important. This brings me to Eddy Spicer's important paper that focuses on the United States. Eddy Spicer identifies that educational researchers do not currently have the opportunity, or the power to contribute to education policy.

Thus meaningful and worthwhile research and the intellectual work that develops knowledge through this process is lost. Further the research communities that include postgraduate researchers who are frequently leading educational professionals in the field are unable to participate fully in the public space, which impoverishes the development of the education state and therefore society. Gunter and Fitzgerald (2011) cite the medical profession who develop their own professional knowledge of and for the profession in the development of communities of practice (Beckett, 2011) and it is interesting that the teaching profession does not operate in this way. Further, there are other professions such as solicitors, engineers, nurses and architects who are able to develop their own professional knowledge through systematic research and that have autonomy in the development of their communities of practice (Tomlinson, 1997).

The production of knowledge is therefore very important and enables human beings to develop the thinking tools required to make moral choices in the communities, nation state, and world in which they live. What this collection of papers demonstrates is that the underlying reasons for changes in policy may be contextually specific but there are similarities in the identification of two political eras and the impact these have had on the education state, the public space and identity. Now this has been identified, further research is required into how these policies have spread through global networks through a process of globalization. For example Imam cites the Nigerian reaction to the shift in oil prices in 1976 which positively effected an increase in the expenditure on education in Nigeria. Imam states:

⁴ I would like to thank Jonathan Young, a postgraduate student who used this quotation in his writing and gave me permission to use it in this article.

In 1976, due to a substantially improved revenue position brought about by the oil boom, the Federal Government of Nigeria, embarked on the very ambitious Universal Free Primary Education (UPE) programme and expanded access into tertiary education and increased the number of unity schools in the country. The UPE was geared towards giving all children between age six to twelve years of age, free primary education, which was to bridge the educational gap and reduce the rising levels of illiteracy in the country. The programme which took off with much promise, failed to achieve its goals of eradicating illiteracy largely due to inadequate planning, which is a consequence of lack of adequate data. When the schools were opened to register the pupils, instead of the 2.3 million children expected, 3 million children arrived to be registered (Fafunwa, 2004). This resulted in an under-estimation in the provision of classrooms. In addition, there was dearth of qualified teachers with the majority of the teachers recruited being trainees who underwent a one year crash programme in the pivotal teachers' colleges set up by the government of the time.

Whilst in 1976 the increase in oil prices benefited Nigeria, England was experiencing economic decline which was influenced by the increased oil prices. Taysum argues that in England teachers were blamed for poor learning and students' poor performance impacting negatively on the labour market, resulting in an economic decline. The result was a shift from a welfarist progressive approach and comprehensive education for all, to a 'back to basics' approach with reading, writing and arithmetic and an impoverishment of the curriculum. A systematic critique of the comprehensive education system was not carried out, was not presented to all stakeholders, and did not inform the shift from the comprehensive ideology to what effectively became the germ of the marketization of education (Lupton, 2011).

The analysis of the papers in this special edition journal therefore reveals that education policy shapes the chances that all stake holders have to participate in its production as text and discourse within education systems that builds identities. Further the education system prepares the identities of policy makers who potentially go on to write policy that prevents full participation. Such an education system is closed and does not permit participation that would challenge the common sense view and

therefore the policy-making process. This special edition journal therefore spot lights the important interplay between policy, agency and globalization. The case studies that Eddy Spicer identifies in his paper present an alternative to a closed system, rather they have been part of an open systematic inquiry to generate new knowledge that aims to have a deeper understanding of how to facilitate learning for students and the role of leadership and the middle layer, and therefore improve educational professional practice. Eddy Spicer argues that each of the three case studies he examines: ‘operates to connect various essential elements of the broader system’ which he describes as the vertical layers of the system of schooling including the district, state department of education, federal department of education, and the horizontal networks across institutions including academia, school systems, governmental agencies and non-profit foundations. Eddy Spicer states that the three case studies help to provide:

Robust discussion and debate about theories of organizing and organization (and these) are just as necessary in the UK right now as they are in the US. Not to be unduly deterred by ‘cautionary tales’, we might begin with consideration of and debate around those approaches that have had some success in gaining a purchase on the broader system in the interest of sensible practice and policy and intelligible research and theory. If the Kellogg Foundation or another generous philanthropist wanted to step up and fund such debates along with existence proofs in empirical research, as it did in Getzels era, the support would be welcomed. Experience of the past half-century teaches us to be more modest in our aspirations of a unified and unifying theory while at the same time being more ambitious in our engagement with “good enough” (Luttrell, 2000) theories that productively engage policy and practice while building sure foundations for the accumulation of knowledge.

Management of economic transitions, economic growth and human capital

However, the notion of pedagogy and professional practice have not always been the focus of education and this brings me to another theme that emerged from the analysis which is the management of economic

transitions, economic growth and human capital. Every article in this special edition journal referred to the links between education and managing economic transitions, economic growth and human capital (Becker, 1994). For example O'Reilly sums this up in his paper focusing on Ireland when he suggests the economic role of education and education as investment were positioned as the central themes that dominated Irish education policy as text and as discourse into the 21st century. O'Reilly states that:

'education as investment for economic progress', and as 'human capital development' were foregrounded when officials from the Departments of Education and of Finance attended the major conference organized by OECD in Washington in 1961. There they encountered the ideas regarding 'human capital' as developed by Becker and others at Chicago University and returned to champion the participation of Ireland in an international study then underway in the Mediterranean basin countries under the auspices of OECD (Walsh, 2009; Ó'Buachalla, 1988).

Zay suggests economic development is considered to be dependent on a highly qualified population and where access to the labour market is linked to having the right qualifications. Yang in his paper in this special edition journal that focuses on China affirms this and states:

The phenomenon of commodification is not essentially different from other closely related ones including commercialization, privatization, corporatization and marketization. They share the belief in market ideologies, the attempt to introduce the language, logic, and principles of private market exchange into public institutions, and the increasingly control of corporate culture over every aspect of life as a result of the rising trend of neo-liberal globalization that has ushered great changes in social affairs particularly over recent decades (McLaren, 2005). Economism defines the purpose and potential of education. Public schools/universities are made into value/commodity producing enterprises (Rikowski, 2003), and become institutionally rearranged on a model of capitalist accumulation (Shumar, 1997). This includes both exogenous and endogenous privatization respectively referring to the bringing in of private providers to deliver public services and

the re-working of existing public sector delivery into forms which mimic the private and have similar consequences in terms of practices, values and identities (Hatcher, 2000).

Commodification happens at administrative and instrumental levels, with three components: a preoccupation with economic policy and objectives, while education seen as a branch of economic policy rather than a mix of social, economic and cultural policy; the economic content of public policy based on market liberalism; and operational control of ministers over education with emphasis on managerial efficiency at the expense of public service. Such economic rationalism has deep roots in western thought, in particular in the English liberalism of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke in the 17th century and in Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' of the market in the 18th century. It also has some roots in the Cartesian "separation of the ultimate requirements of truth-seeking from the practical affairs of everyday life" (Lloyd, 1984, p. 49), which has resulted in the commodification of knowledge serving the instrumental ends of the globalized knowledge economy. The intensified injection of market principles into educational institutions has also much to do with human capital theory.

Pogosian in her paper in this special edition journal affirms this argument with the concept of modernization in Russian education till 2010 and states:

Compared to the Doctrine, The Concept is a well structured and analytical document, it states that the role of education at the current stage of the development of Russia should be determined by the objectives of Russia's transition to a democratic lawful state, and to the market economy, and that the aim was to overcome the danger of the country's lagging behind the world's economic and social development. Thus, the basic assumption of the Concept was that in the modern world education was the most important factor for society's economic growth through the development of human capital.

Imam in her paper for this special edition states: 'In Nigeria, educational policy at independence (1960) was most concerned with using schools to develop manpower for economic development'. However, another theme that emerged from analysis of the Nigerian paper was the sectarianism between the North and the South and the non-secular with regard to policy,

agency and globalization. The theme of building tolerance for cultural diversity, and what Gogolin (2010) calls 'super-diversity', which defines a level of complexity that societies have not experienced before, will now be discussed in relation to the development of identity.

Building tolerance for equitable cultural diversity

O'Reilly in his paper in this special edition journal argues that in the Republic of Ireland a non-secular identity is promulgated and the Catholic Church has had a very strong influence over the education system. O'Reilly states that participation of stakeholders in the education process has not been democratic and states:

However, the state has been unsuccessful in significantly extending the democratic participation of parents and the public in the governance systems, despite the broadening of participation in educational discourse and consultation on educational policy matters. The account presented in this paper illustrates the highly centralized nature of policy making in Irish education resulting in the striking extent to which to which policy initiative is concentrated on the holder of office of the Minister for Education. When this aspect of the Irish system is combined with the extent to which primary and secondary education facilities are in the ownership of religious authorities, the great difficulty reported here in moving from policy discourse to policy enactment and implementation, become more intelligible. The policy initiative to address the highly centralized nature of the system and to counter the dominance of church authorities at local and state level along with the proposals in respect of an intermediate tier or sub-national structures, have been unable to challenge the status quo that derives from the present concentrations of power in both church and state.

McGuinness in his paper in this special edition journal argues that Northern Ireland has also experienced non-secular education but that this is in a context of sectarianism. McGuinness states that in the establishment of the state in 1921 the Catholic Church would not be part of the discussions regarding the state education system in Northern Ireland, but critiques this and states the protestant policy makers were not dissatisfied with such a

situation. McGuinness indicates the significant issues with regard to the troubles in Northern Ireland, and states that the hope of the nation is now in integration where there is participation in the education policy process. McGuinness cites Peter Robinson (2011a), NI's First Minister who recommended that a commission be set up to examine a way of bringing about integration of schools.

We cannot hope to move beyond our present community divisions while our young people are educated separately...I believe that future generations will scarcely believe that such division and separation was common for so long...The reality is that our education system is a benign form of apartheid, which is fundamentally damaging to our society.

McGuinness continues:

The group of academics at University of Ulster and NUI Maynooth who manage the programme published a report in October 2011 entitled "Dissolving Boundaries: Through Technology in Education" (Austin *et al.*, 2011). In the report, Matthew Gould, British Ambassador to Israel commented: I want to congratulate you on the Dissolving the Boundaries Programme. I think it's a really fantastic programme - and you are real role models to others around the world who want to do the same. We should make sure you share your experiences with people in this region!

Grimaldi and Serpieri in their paper in this special edition journal also argue that the Catholic Church has had a significant influence on education policy and state:

the Catholic Church played a significant role in the education debate, and more generally in the political life of the country. Since the nineteenth century, Catholic Church had run many private schools that acted as agencies of catholic evangelism and catechesis. In the education debate, the position of such a powerful actor often converged with the liberals' one, asking for a non interventionist State in education, public funding to private schools and choice policies. As it will become clear later, given the dualistic nature of the Italian education system, *i.e.* a public system with a parallel and well-rooted system of mainly religious private schools, in some

policy cycles it is possible to recognize a partial convergence between the liberal (and later neoliberal) and the Catholic Church recipes on education governance, i.e. quasi-marketization, choice policies, introduction of voucher, per capita funding, same status to public and private schools, State funding to private schools.

Arar in his paper on Arab education in Israel in this special edition journal refers to the sectarianism with regard to Jewish, Muslim and Christian communities and points to the inequalities in the education systems for different groups in Israel. Arar states:

Disputed issues include personal and national identity, civic equality, domination and oppression within Israeli society (Ghanem & Rouhana, 2001). When the State of Israel was established in 1948, the indigenous Arab population remaining within Israel's borders became a minority, numbering a mere 156,000, weakened and depleted by war and the loss of its elite due to expulsion or flight. Sixty years later this indigenous ethnic minority has multiplied ten times and in 2009 numbered 1.7 million (excluding the population of the Golan Heights and Eastern Jerusalem), constituting 20.2 % of Israel's population. Arab communities (82.1% Muslims, 9.4% Christians and 8.4% Druze) are mostly geographically separate from Jewish communities, apart from a few multi-ethnic towns (Khamaise, 2009).

Arar identifies that identity is complex and includes: 'citizenship (Israeli), nationality (Palestinian), ethnicity (Arab) and religion (Islamic or Christian or Druze)' and argues that the development of society is not 'natural development but a product of crisis'. Arar suggests that Israel, like France is aiming to unite different communities through a national identity. However, Arar argues in Israel the national identity is shaped by Jewish traditions and young Arab children see their history written out of the history books and the curriculum, and are unable to develop a sense of self-esteem in their history. In other words they cannot construct a will to believe in their knowledge, which connects with Hookaway's (2008) notion of a will to believe. Arar suggests that without being able to respect themselves they are unable to respect others. This mutual lack of respect for the self and for others potentially places the children and young people at the first stage of Jones and McNamees (2000) framework regarding

discipline and punishment (Foucault, 1991). Thus the young people are located in a moral vacuum where they are not building traditional knowledge about how to behave within a society, and do not have the intellectual tools for moral development or to develop levels of maturity (Haan, 1978). Rather they are developing ways of thinking and doing based on avoiding getting punishment.

McGuinness in his paper in this special edition journal makes a similar claim and cites Price, Waterhouse, Coopers (2008) research that states:

the reasons for the long tail of under-achievement in Northern Ireland were a lack of parental involvement in their children's education, a perceived lack of value placed on education in certain areas, particularly deprived Protestant areas, a shortage of positive role models, the impact of 'The Troubles' and a decline in readiness for schooling at primary level in recent years in terms of behaviour and linguistic development.

However, Hamill (2002) argues dysfunctional behaviour may emerge from a history of marginalization and minoritization and self-sacrifice when she refers to the Northern Ireland context. Hamill argues that the causes of this may be a lack of relational context, and a lack of civic engagement. This agrees with Arar's findings with regard to the Arab Israelis who have come from a history of marginalization and minoritization in the nation state of Israel. Hamill's research in Northern Ireland also revealed that individuals test the edge of boundaries with anti-social behaviour, and the stronger the force they can bounce against, and the more risky their behaviour, the greater the kudos they get. Hamill argues an alternative response to the dysfunctional behaviour is a longer term one that builds a relational context to include an ethic of care to heighten well-being, and to facilitate young people developing a will to believe that underpins the fostering of mutual respect. Such development may facilitate the will to participate in civic life where citizens trust they will be heard as part of a democracy. Such development synthesises with Jones and McNamee's table and Haan's table above with regard to developing a balance between the individual and society based on building knowledge bases through intellectual work that the young people can have a will to believe in. The alternative is not participating with society, which means young people frequently 'drop out' of education. Imam's paper in

this special edition journal that examines the Nigerian educational policies and education systems speaks to this issue by stating that The Nigerian policy for an integrated education system has not been actualised and young Muslim people are unable to access Higher Education and are at ‘the bottom of the social ladder’. Imam argues such minoritization may underpin unrest and conflict. This links closely with Zay’s paper and the French context in this special edition journal. Zay argues drop out rates for young people is a significant problem for society and states:

The studies carried out with young people recognized as colluding in their own exclusion by dropping out of mainstream education systems indicate that the cost of the present weaknesses in the system is not only economic and social (low quality-price ratio of the reforms and “repair” schemes, failure for young people to get jobs, problematic out-of-school behaviour that leads to urban insecurity), but also engenders a significant human cost. In effect, it leads to great psychic suffering during adolescence, a key period in the construction of the adult and citizen’s identity. It is also a political issue and a choice of our society (Dolignon, 2005, 2008).

Young people who are unable to participate in an education system that they do not believe recognizes them, and in turn is not recognized by them, needs addressing. Zay argues France continues to observe a secular paradigm imposed upon schools by the third Republic at the end of the 19th century. The focus is on developing a national identity in a secular context that embraces multi-communities and multiple cultures without giving a preference to any, because the State has no religion. Zay argues in her paper:

Dane at the CEDIAS conference (2008) argues “civic skills” begin at the earliest age. Reuter (2007) research results confirm it. A school that transmits the basic idea that political legitimacy and the source of social ties are built on “the community of free and equal citizens” (Schnapper, 2000, p. 19, cf. 1994) seems to be the formula that best conforms to democratic values. It has fewer pernicious effects than the notion of “mono-communitarianism”, but it must also continually scrutinise and if necessary amend the notions regarding respect for the distinctive characteristics of each individual.

Zay quotes two American references, an inquiry by the Pew Research Center (2006) and Joppke (2009), to argue:

While half of British Muslims consider there is a “natural conflict between practicing Islam and living in modern society,” 72% of French Muslims see none, a proportion identical to that recorded for French society overall. French, like the Spanish feel the least hostility to practicing Muslims, and 39% of the French believe that most Europeans are hostile to Muslims whereas 52% of Germans believe most Europeans are hostile to Muslims. 81% of British Muslims stated their religion not their nationality defines them the most, while only 46% of French Muslims said religion defined them the most with an almost equal proportion of 42% stating their nationality defines them the most. These results are very different to those of the French population as a whole in which 83% identify first of all with their nationality, but the figures are close to those found in the US, where 48% of the population define themselves firstly as Americans and 42% as Christians. Finally, the perspective of French Muslims on other religions is much more positive. 91% of French Muslims have a favourable opinion of Christians and 71% have a good opinion of Jews, which makes them an exception: only 32% of British Muslims and 38% of German Muslims have a good opinion of Jews.

These results have been interpreted as the positive effects of an educational policy founded on secularity, which focuses on citizens-to-be in a neutral public space and not on members of separate communities privileging the milieu of origin (Joppke, 2009). “As the writer Cavanna, son of an Italian immigrant, said ‘I tell you, your mother tongue is the language of school’ ” (Schnapper, 2000, p. 18).

The notion of mono-communitarianism is examined in Yang’s paper in this special edition journal that focuses on the Chinese context, and Pogonian’s paper in this special edition journal that focuses on the Russian context. The Chinese and the Russian papers identify that young people’s routes to alternative futures were blocked but this was not due to sectarianism and/or minoritisation. The effects may be similar but the causes have different contextual explanations. Yang suggests that there is a significant difference between the rural and the urban contexts in China and

cites expenditure on education and the different personal incomes Chinese citizens have to spend on education. Yang states the main barriers to education in China today is family wealth which is the: 'prominent deciding factor in terms of educational rights for children'.

Pogosian in the Russian paper cites the Soviet System determined career pathways and states:

One of the basic features of the Soviet system of education is that it was totally centralised, state maintained and state controlled, isolated from the rest of the world (except for the Eastern Block Countries) and indoctrinated with the Communist ideology. All the educational institutions had the same curricula, the same textbooks, and the same Young Pioneers and Comsomol (Communist Union of Youth) organisations at schools. The Soviet system of education served the political needs of the state, was its inseparable part and was doomed to collapse together with it. Although there are still a lot of people in Russia who complain that the former system of education was destroyed and should be restored, as it was very good, there is no way back, as it is not only that Russia has become an absolutely different country, it is the world that has changed and the education is under reforms worldwide. During the post-Soviet era, educational policy, first stated in the Law "On Education", is based on absolutely different values which are underlying all the policy documents (those shared by all humankind vs Communist; freedom and pluralism vs monopoly; learner's needs vs nation state's needs). Unlike the Soviet policy, the new policy not only does not develop in isolation from the rest of the world, but it is following the general tendencies of the world development, even borrowing. Unlike the Soviet policy, the new policy recognises learners' freedom, is aimed at preparing students to live in the competitive world and in the global world. This policy is implemented in the new context of market economy, and it is aimed at developing an efficient market of educational services (Priority Directions, 2004). The issue of educational policy implementation is another area of vast differences: the authoritarian resolutions of the Soviet educational policy had to be followed thoroughly, without any critique, or disagreement. The contemporary policy makers work in an absolutely different discursive situation. The project of the new Law on Education is open for public discussion and feedback on the web-site of the Ministry of

Education. Yet, if the discussants' voices are heard, should be a matter of a special research.

The Russian education policy used education to develop national identity. The aspirations of the individual were not accounted for. Arguably participation may facilitate engagement and commitment to making a contribution that involves hard work because the rewards are seen to be meaningful and worthwhile. However, the analysis in this paper has revealed real tensions in every nation state examined in this special edition journal with regard to developing the conditions needed for civic participation, economic growth, and building tolerance for cultural diversity within and between nations.

Conclusions

The systematic narrative analysis of the collection of papers in this special edition journal begins to reveal that the eras have been defined by different themes. There is complexity here, because the priorities of particular countries, and the particular focus of each of the papers, determines the particular eras, and/or the themes engaged with. The first theme is a shift from education policies for a planned education state underpinned by a communitarian ideology to educational policies to the marketization of education underpinned by a capitalist ideology. The Chinese paper, the English paper, the Israeli paper, the Italian paper, the Nigerian paper, the Northern Ireland paper, the Republic of Ireland paper and the Russian paper all reveal that they have experienced such a shift. Further, the education policy has shaped the chances that all stake-holders have to participate in its production as text and discourse within education systems that builds identities. Participation and civic engagement is the second theme. West and Hind (2003) argue there are obvious opportunities for schools to 'select' pupils in and 'select' pupils out to obtain higher positions in league tables in England which presents a barrier to full participation. Ball (2004) suggests schools can select students formally or informally and therefore more readily control the school's position in the league tables. As Lupton (2011) suggests progressive educators will need to articulate clear and workable proposals that demonstrate how full

participation in education systems might be realized thus: ‘trumping ‘choice’ as a system principle with something better and fairer...and that reconciles equity, individualism, social mobility, equal opportunities, freedom of choice and community’. Thus these papers reveal developing civic engagement remains a challenge as does bringing balance to the two ideologies underpinning the two identified political eras.

A third theme is the management of economic transitions, economic growth and human capital, and all ten nation states in this journal have experienced this particularly when competing in a global arena for economic wealth. For example O’Reilly sums this up in his paper focusing on Ireland when he suggests the economic role of education and education as investment were positioned as the central themes that dominated Irish education policy as text and as discourse into the 21st century. Here, as Zay suggests, economic development is considered to be dependent on a highly qualified population and where access to the labour market is linked to having the right qualifications.

A fourth theme is the commitment to tolerance for cultural diversity and the relationship this has with the transformation of identity. For Zay, ‘the spirit of the Council of Europe directives, which aims to uphold democratic societies through the education of future citizens, encompasses the general position of developing social ties based on differences’. Zay recognizes that on the one hand the concept of community needs to be developed based on solidarity, discussion and mutual support. Further such a community needs to be developed through the processes of social life. On the other hand local territory and authorities need to act as intermediaries to be involved in a continual process of feedback thus enabling differences to be dealt with as they arise and whenever they arise, without necessarily sanctifying them as generalized laws, but nevertheless operating within an agreed national framework. This has significant implications for the nation states facing overt sectarianism such as Israel, Nigeria and Northern Ireland. However, it also has implications for nation states such as China, England, the Republic of Ireland, Italy, Russia, and the US in terms of who has power with regard to globalization, policy, and agency.

Nation states potentially need to engage with policy learning to find out what works, how and why and explore new knowledge that may present alternative ways of thinking through how to balance the opposing forces that education policy as text and discourse is constantly grappling with.

Jones and McNamee's (2000) framework for moral development and Haan's (1978) phases and levels of maturity may help to think some of these issues through. Eddy Spicer's important paper suggests robust debate and knowledge building about theories of organizing and organization, are required. Eddy Spicer's paper examines US case studies where academics are actively involved with the community along with their roles as researchers and teachers, which synthesizes with McFarlane's notion of academics engaging with public service. Further, Eddy Spicer suggests case studies might be conducted that claim to have had some success in gaining a grasp of the broader system with regard to intelligible research and theory. The ten nation states presented in this special edition article might be a good place to start for such case studies, and the articles in this special edition journal begin to provide the much needed socio-historical back drop to such meaningful and worthwhile research.

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