



The **Centre for Globalisation, Education and Societies** is based at the University of Bristol and is coordinated by **Professor Susan L. Robertson**.

On-Line Papers – Copyright

This online paper may be cited or briefly quoted in line with the usual academic conventions, and for personal use. However, this paper must not be published elsewhere (such as mailing lists, bulletin boards etc.) without the author's explicit permission.

If you copy this paper, you must:

- include this copyright note.
- not use the paper for commercial purposes or gain in any way.
- observe the conventions of academic citation in a version of the following:

Robertson, S.L. (2011) *The New Spatial Politics of (Re)Bordering and (Re)Ordering the State-Education-Citizen Relation*, published by the Centre for Globalisation, Education and Societies, University of Bristol, Bristol BS8 1JA, UK at:
<http://susanleerobertson.com/publications/>

The New Spatial Politics of (Re)Bordering and (Re)Ordering the State-Education-Citizen Relation

Susan L. Robertson

Centre for Globalisation, Education and Societies
University of Bristol, UK

Forthcoming 2011 – *International Review of Education* – Special Issue

Abstract

One outcome of more than three decades of social and political transformation around the world, the result of processes broadly referred to as globalisation (Mittelman, 2004), has been the emergence of a complex (and at first glance, contradictory) conceptual language in the social sciences that has sought to grasp hold of these developments. Throughout the 1990s, theorists began to emphasize a world in *motion*, deploying concepts like ‘liquid modernity’ (Bauman, 2000), to signal rapid and profound changes at work in the social structures, relations, and spatialities of societies (Brenner, 2004) that were reconfiguring state-citizen relations (Sassen, 2006). Recently, however, researchers have focused attention on the study of *borders* and *containers* as a corrective to the preoccupation with mobility, arguing it is not possible to imagine a world which is *only* borderless and deterritorialised, because the basic ordering of social groups and societies *requires* categories and compartments. This paper focuses attention on processes of bordering and ordering in contemporary education systems, suggesting that comparative educators—whose main intellectual project is to understand how (different) education processes are re/produced within and across time, space and societies—would get much greater purchase on current transformations under way.

I would like to thank the organisers, particularly Professor Fatma Gok and her team, of the 14th World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, held at the University of Bogazici, Istanbul, June 2010, for the invitation to present this keynote address. Thankyou, also, to the conference participants who engaged me in conversations around these issues, and to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments.

Borders and mobilities are not antithetical. A globalising world is a world of networks, flows and mobility. It is also a world of *borders* (italics added: Rumford, 2006: 163).

Introduction

One outcome of more than three decades of social and political transformation around the world, the result of processes broadly referred to as globalisation (Mittelman, 2004), has been the emergence of a complex (and at first glance, contradictory) conceptual language in the social sciences seeking to grasp hold of these developments.

Throughout the 1990s, theorists began to emphasize a world in *motion* by deploying concepts like 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000) to signal rapid and profound changes taking place in the social structures, relations, and spatialities of societies (Brenner, 2004), which were, in turn, reconfiguring state-society-citizen relations (Sassen, 2006). A heady mix of management gurus, social theorists and politicians variously encouraged us to believe that: (i) social and political boundaries were disappearing (Omhae, 1990; Naisbett, 1994); (ii) the world was best viewed as made up of flows (Appadurai, 1996) and networks (Castell, 1996); (iii) space was being deterritorialised (Scholte, 2005); (iv) enterprises were increasingly stateless (Holstein et al, 1990); and (v) a new geography of statehood was emerging (Brenner, 2009).

However, some claims were subsequently shown to be extreme (cf. Weiss's [1998] critique of the myth of the powerless state, or Joseph's (2010) critique of networks), and that one of the more substantial concerns with 'flow speak' is that it tended to "...detach global flows from the material and institutional conditions which underpin global culture" (Bude and Durrschmidt, 2010: 482). And whilst recognising that a new set of dynamics were at work that were reflected in important and distinctive developments in contemporary world history (Scholte, 2005), researchers argued it was not possible to imagine a world which is *only* borderless and deterritorialised in that the basic ordering of social groups and societies *requires* categories and compartments (Harvey, 2006). In other words, we needed to bring back a sociological imagination that *at the same time also* concerned itself with social continuity and reproduction, as well as processes of ordering, rather than only social change.

More recently researchers from across the different social sciences have begun to argue we needed to also study the 'other' of movement and change; for instance 'stickiness' (along with slipperiness) (Markusen, 1996), 'fixity' (along with motion) (Harvey, 1999), and 'borders' (along

with flows), as correctives. Or, in the words of Bude and Durrschmidt (2010), what is needed is a significant injection of ‘contra-flow speak’. Furthermore, whilst recognising that borders and mobilities are not antithetical, and that they must, and do, exist together, Newman (2006) goes further by also arguing that it is processes *of bordering* must be the object of analytical enquiry.

This paper therefore poses and seeks to address the following questions. *Why, how, with what consequences/outcomes, for whom, is bordering work taking place, and how does the critical analysis of these processes help us understand current social orders, social relations and social identities, as they are realized through the reworking of education space?* This, in turn, leads us to the question: *What is at stake?* I will argue that what is at stake are issues of conceptual clarity, problem naming, and intervention framing. *Only then* might we be in a position to advance alternative, ‘counter’, projects that might reveal what is concealed when some social relations and identities are made visible—including the conditions and consequences of visibility, and how others are also produced as absent, and how this might be changed.

The structure of the paper is as follows. I will begin by problematising the idea of the border through addressing the spatial and mobility turns, the emergence of mobility as a key conceptual category, and the return to critical border studies as central to understanding contemporary societies. Second, I will argue that processes of globalization—in particular the globalization of neoliberalism—have generated novel forms of bordering, in turn giving rise to new forms of territory (e.g. Europe; the European Higher Education Area; NEPAD; the African Higher Education Space) and new meanings to categories or containers which are in turn constitutive of education sectors and subjectivities – such as in the ‘state’ [versus market/civil society], the ‘nation’ [versus regional/global/cosmopolitan], ‘sector’ [versus informal education], the ‘public’ [versus private/private for profit], the ‘citizen-subject’ [versus consumer-chooser], ‘knowledge’ [versus human capital/social capital etc] – and so on. Third, I will briefly explore four re/bordering/re/ordering tendencies I argue are transforming the education sector and its governance; *de-re-nationalization*, *de-re-statisation*, *de-re-sectoralisation* and *de-re-politicisation*. In conclusion, I will argue that there is much to be gained for comparative education, epistemologically, practically and as a guide to social action, from this theoretical lens as it draws attention to the ontology of the line, to processes of bordering, the spatiality of power, the politics of mobility, and the stabilisation of meanings of categories/identities. The point here is to not only attend to what is inside categories, but to examine how category making—the outcome of the border and its enclosure—is itself a political project that seeks to fix meaning by stabilizing and reproducing norms and social orders.

Turns, Flows and Borders

Throughout the 1990s, the ‘spatial’ and ‘mobility’ *turns* in contemporary social theory—as responses to broader processes associated with globalisation, regionalisation and cosmopolitanism—emphasized a world on the move and in motion (Bauman, 2000), with few limits (Bude and Durrschmidt, 2010: 438). This world of global flows and networks was viewed as a key feature of the modern world (Turner, 2007: 288). These ‘turns’ stimulated a rich and productive vein of work in an array of disciplines—from sociology to anthropology and politics—around concepts like ‘mobility’ (Urry, 2000), flexible citizenship (Ong, 2006), transnationality (Dunn, 2010), diasporic cultures, networked governance and liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000), and so on. These ideas have been taken up in a number of fields of enquiry, including education (cf. Rizvi, 2005; Kenway and Fahey, 2008; Waters, 2006; Koh, 2010).

However, over the past decade, a series of events and developments, including the iconic 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade towers in New York, and subsequent securitisation projects and practices (such as the erection of security fences to manage movements of populations; new forms of labour mobility associated with political projects such as region-building and the global division of labour; growing concern over illegal immigrants and asylum seekers, and so on), all have focused attention again on borders, their changing nature, and the paradox that globalisation has enabled not only new forms of mobility but also produces new systems of closure (Shamir, 2005). This led Turner (2007: 288) to observe that

...as the economy becomes increasingly global, especially in terms of the flow of finance, investment and commodities, states and their bureaucracies have in many respects become more rigid in attempting to defend the principle of sovereignty. There is as a result a profound contradiction between the economic requirements of flexibility and fluidity and the state’s objective of defending its territorial sovereignty.

As noted in the introduction to this paper, these developments stimulated an emerging body of work on study of borders not least because, despite the rhetoric of much globalisation talk, we continue to “...live in a world of lines and compartments” (Newman, 2006: 143). However, rather than a *return* to older forms of border analyses of rigid physical borders associated with territorial states and questions of security and sovereignty, a growing body of work is now arguing that what is required is a *turn* to a more critical engagement with borders by, firstly, drawing upon a range of disciplines and fields (such as geography, history, sociology, anthropology, politics, education), and secondly, by developing accounts that go beyond a nation-state-centric focus in order to capture a new spatiality of politics (see Rumford, 2006: 160), such as non-territorial spaces, global civil societies, multi-scalar citizenship, transnational or global networks, virtual communities, flexible and selective citizenship and so on. In other words, lines and

compartments are more than the physical barriers and visible lines of separation between political, social, and economic spaces, as in the edge of territories, zones of connectivity, or governance. This has led to the argument that we need to focus on *bordering processes* as they worked on, through, and are constitutive of, new social and political relations and identities, including society-state relations and claims and enactments of citizenship (Rumford, 2006).

Whilst I agree with a focus on bordering, in the rest of this paper I will argue we also need to focus upon the relationship between bordering *and* ordering. In other words, bordering is not just territorial but also involves the production of categories and identities, and as a result, and new forms of inclusion and exclusion. Secondly, there is no comprehensive account of the relationship between bordering and ordering in the education sector, despite the centrality of this sector to social re/production, social ordering, social transformation, and social identities. And whilst there are studies of bordering in education, this work tends to be confined to calls for border-crossing by those working in critical pedagogy studies (see, for instance, Kampil and McLaren, 1995).

Critical Border Analysis

An array of conceptual developments have now emerged on theorising borders. These range from Ingold's (2008) 'ontology of the line' to Turner's (2007) sociology of 'immobility' and the enclave society, Shamir's (2006) theorisation of globalisation as producing new forms of closure, entrapment and containment, Balibar's (2009) argument that where once borders were singular and existed at the border of politics, they are multiple and dispersed throughout societies with the result that borders are now so diffuse, whole countries are borderlands (such as those at the margins of the EU's project of integration), and Mignola and Tlostanova's (2006: 206) critical 'border thinking' arising from a critical engagement with modernity and its epistemology of exteriority. In this latter approach, border thinking is a de-colonial move, seeking to bring to the foreground different kinds of theoretical tools and principles of knowledge.

Whilst this list of conceptual contributions is by no means exhaustive, collectively they help make the following points: that (i) to theorise mobilities and networks is at the same time to theorise borders; (ii) it is critically important we examine the meaning and role of borders, and bordering processes in the context of societal transformations and a new spatiality of politics; (iii) we need to understand our changing experiences and consciousness of bordering – in both their hard and soft forms; (iv) borders do not remain fixed, but may change with time and for different actors, and finally importantly, (v) we need to develop our theories of borders so that we see them as constituting spaces, and as forms of power.

The ontology of the line

The noted UK anthropologist, Tim Ingold (2008: 1796) invites us to think about the line using this simple experiment: Take a pen and a sheet of plain paper and draw a rough circle, like so.

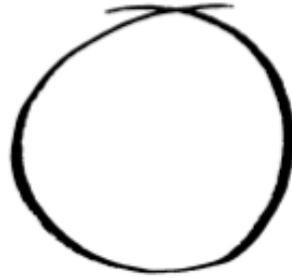


Figure 1: The Ontology of the Line

How should we interpret this line, he asks? Strictly speaking, it is the trace left by the gesture of your hand as, holding the pen (or chalk), it alighted on the surface and took a turn around before continuing on its way to wherever it would go and whatever it would do next. However, viewing the line as a totality, ready drawn on the surface, we might be inclined to reinterpret it quite differently; not as a trajectory of movement but as a static perimeter, delineating the figure of the circle against the ground of an otherwise empty plane. With this figure we seem to have set up a division between what is on the 'inside' and what is on the 'outside'. Now this interpretation, he contends, results from the operation of a particular logic that has a central place in the structure of modern Western thought - the logic of inversion (Ingold, 1993). In a nutshell, what it does is to turn the pathways along which life is lived *into boundaries within which life is contained*. Ingold's project is to identify practices of boundary making in modern western thought (which Santos [2007] argues is 'abyssal thinking'), and use that as a means of challenging bordering and enclosing practices. However the question of what work bordering is doing in modern social life as a result of this kind of thought system remains unanswered by Ingold. I would argue we need to look at sociological and comparative explanations to see if we can answer the question of why, for whom, and with what outcomes, processes of bordering take place? In other words, we need to focus on the border as a form of power, not in the sense of the power to decide who enters a school building, or a national territory, but as a means of defining which identities are made visible, and governable, and which are not.

The border as power

And it is here Basil Bernstein's (1990; 1999, 2000, 2001) body of work written in the last decade of his life particularly useful. Bernstein focuses his attention on the development of theoretical

instruments to uncover the social logic of pedagogy, as a socialisation project. His aim was to build a sociological theory of the relationship between modes of educational transmission and their regulatory bases, that is, a complex system of power relations and social control that over-determine pedagogy. Bernstein does not view pedagogy in a very narrow, ‘education system’ sense, though he is clearly interested in it as an important site. Rather, he is interested in ‘education’ in a wider, socialisation sense. Fundamentally Bernstein is asking the question: what work are borders doing in making modern social life/lives – such as Voice A and Voice B - as distinctive social entities (whether individuals, families, groups, institutions, sectors, nations and so on) (see Figure 2)? His explanations of the making of pedagogic identities (that is, in the broadest of senses – how we learn to be ‘someone’) bring us directly to questions of power, control, social order and social identity in societies, and the role of education systems in this process.

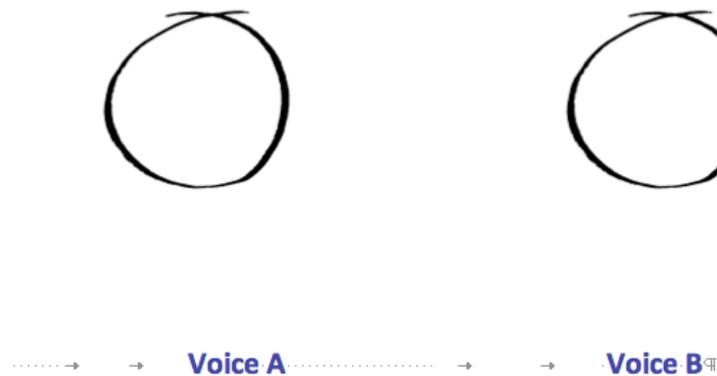


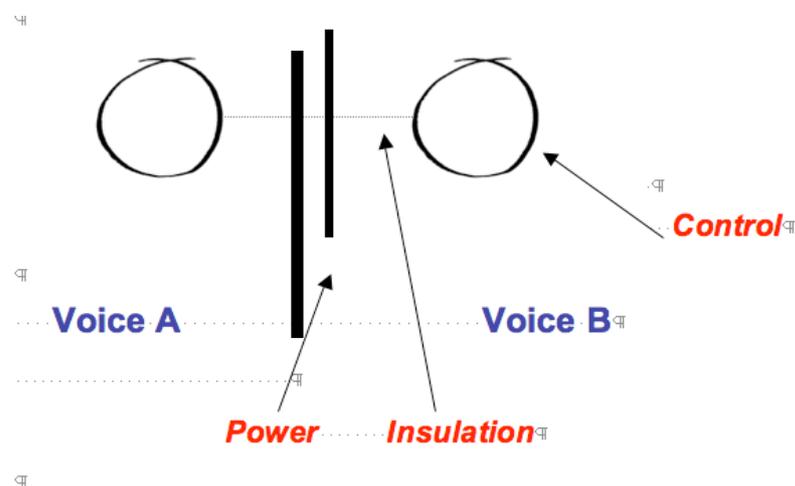
Figure 2: Id/entities

Boundaries for Bernstein (2000: 5) are like a ‘full stops’, or punctuations, at the end of a sentence. They differentiate one category of discourse, and therefore the discrete ideational and presentational content of the category, from the other.

In other words, boundaries define (different) categories of agents, institutions and territories, and their (different) relations (and identities) to each other. That is to say, we are talking about **power**. It is power relations that create boundaries, legitimates boundaries, and reproduces the boundaries between different categories of groups, gender, race, class, nation, and different categories of discourse. It is a relation in that A can only be understood **in relation to B** In Bernstein’s words, (strong) categories have distinctive **voices**. And, as we can see, this ‘inside’ only exists because there is an ‘outside’.

Thus power always operates to produce dislocations, or as Bernstein (2000: 5) argues, punctuations in social space – A, B, C, D – and so on. Power is therefore **not just about** understanding the individual **who** inhabits the world (as we saw with Ingold’s arguments above), but is an explanation of how modern thought works *on* social relations (different/unequal) to make up societies, communities and groups as particular kinds of social orders with particular kinds of social relationships and identities. It also prompts us to pose the question,; what is the role of education systems in this process?

Control (in contrast to power which we have outlined above) takes boundary relations and socializes individuals into these relations – giving each category’s distinctive voice the capacity to realize particular **messages** (that is, the range of ways in which being a girl are acceptable; or being working class). In other words, it socializes individuals into those orders that have been created as a result of how boundaries are created (see Fig: 3).



It is the strength (or weakness) of the **insulation**—or the border, and practices associated with maintaining the border—that creates a space in which a category can become specific. If a category wishes to increase its specificity or closure, it has to appropriate the means to produce the necessary insulation, which is the prior condition to its appropriating specificity (Bernstein, 1990: 23). For instance, social classes wanting to protect their social class interests in schooling might well ensure that selection mechanisms are in play in ways that continue to reproduce access to social class assets (Power et al., 2003). Similarly, the professions have mobilised discourses around expertise, and mechanisms of selection to ensure specificity and therefore closure.

We can now also go beyond the obvious ways we think about the territories contained within borders/categories, to begin to think about, and add, the myriad ways in which we come to present the relations between things: public/private; developed/developing; north/south, and so on.

Strong boundaries are also what preserves the spaces between one category of discourse/agent and another and strong category making. Weak boundaries, on the other hand, enable leakage, plurality, and diversity, to occur in how the category is materialized/practiced. Weakening boundaries (or boundaries that are more porous), or removing boundaries (thus collapsing claims to distinctiveness and creating the possibility for equivalences, perhaps of treatment or outcomes)—the object of processes of reform—are important ways in which new social orders and new identities are produced, whilst others are made invisible. For instance, Keynesianism, as a political project, sought to maintain weak boundaries around particular aspects of citizens' claims as part of the state-society social contract—such as access to the same kinds of education provision, despite social or geographic circumstances. Whilst it is clear that treating a population as if 'one size fits all' is ill-fitted to dealing with structural and social inequalities, neoliberalism's focus on the individual and choices—though this time located in a field of market relations—sets up new forms of inequality based on differential access to resources (cultural, economic, social and organisational) to realise choices.

The boundary as regulation of flow

Like Bernstein, Brighenti (2010: 68) sees the boundary or the border as a pivotal regulatory device (p. 68). "Boundaries are not the opposite of flows, but rather the moment when flows become visible, inscribed in the field of visible, socially relevant phenomena" (Brighenti, 2010: 61). In other words, territorial borders are nothing more than the deceleration of flows, or decrease of speed magnitudes" (Brighenti, 2010: 62). And, as boundary making, or boundary drawing, is immanent and situated, there are no pre-destined natural boundaries. What follows from this is that the naturalization and absolutisation of boundaries should be studied as the outcome of situated practices of power. This requires that we ask:

- **Who is drawing** – territories, categories and their meanings and category cannot be conceived outside of their relationships with the agents who undertake the bordering activity.
- **How is the drawing made** – there are many different technologies for developing markers – whether they are postures, cartographic projections, swipe cards, stamps of quality, a passport. Territorial markers are in themselves meaningful; each marker is a sign that bears its own characteristics, so that it can become more or less effective, impressive, memorable, and affectively powerful according to the situation. How the drawing is made will condition the meanings that get fixed.
- **What kind of drawing is being made?** Territories and categories are not absolute concepts. Rather, they are always relative to the sphere of application or a structural domain of practice. Territories and categories are always qualified; for instance, political territory, economic territory, proprietary territory, and so on. Boundaries are more or less focused on a range of expressions and a given set of functions that shape the rationale of a certain territorial constitution. However, different kinds of territories have different, overlapping geometries, voices and messages.
- **Why the drawing is being made?** The specific qualities of the different domains of practice are also inscribed into the constitution of territories and categories – via plans,

projects, and strategies. These transform territories and categories into resources for various kinds of projects.

Within education sectors, we need to ask ‘who’, ‘how’, ‘what’, and ‘why’, questions regarding the re/drawing of boundaries and borders, including the ways in which these involve other *scales* (European, local, global, and so on), on the one hand, and other *actors* located beyond the state (cf. Ball, 2007; Robertson, 2008), on the other. We can also see that boundary making and maintenance is the object of ongoing work of enactment, reinforcement, negation, interpretation, and negotiation. There are also strategies in place to routinize this activity to the point that it is naturalized and we don’t see it or ask questions about them.

However, it is along contested political borders, and the spaces inhabited by populations, such as those who might have become displaced as a result of social conflict, that we see that representational projects at work advanced by different actors operating with rather different logics of intervention. How might school certification work in these highly charged political spaces, when actors from a particular national jurisdictions (such as an international aid department) offer curriculum experiences or certification regimes that make it difficult for the displaced populations to return ‘home’ and realise the value of the experience or certification? These kinds of challenges currently exercise the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (<http://www.ineesite.org/index.php/post/about>). Similarly, how are the borders drawn, or policed in any national (or sub-national) system, as to who has access to what kinds of education experiences or resources (whether student or provider) and what are the social justice consequences of these practices for individual and their families? In speaking with a Brazilian family located in my city as visiting scholars to the university, the family were shocked when the school advised them by letter that their request for a place for there daughter into the state-funded system would not be realised. They stated they only accepted UK students! Given the fact that the young Brazilian in question was also holding an Italian passport, giving her the status of an EU citizen with presumably equal access to a UK state-funded school as a British student, how might a claim be advanced here, and to whom?

Borders, territory and the nation state

Until the early 2000s, the dominant approach to the study of borders was through the eyes of the nation state, as the key historic actor in shaping and institutionalising territorial borders in the modern world (Rumford, 2006; Sassen, 2006). The modern national state’s claim to autonomous and sovereign rule over this territory—constituted as ‘the nation’—is important for us to understand for it has been central to how we think about the development of modern education systems, nation-building projects, about what it means to be a citizen.

We experience political borders in palpable ways as we move from one territorial enclosure to another (note passport controls, buying visas, differential access for individuals at the passport control point from those who do not need a visa to those who needed to have purchased a visa prior to making the journey). If we return to our earlier figure, and view A and B as nations in a global world, it was the Treaty of Westphalia which was established in 1648 (Sassen, 2006) which provided the eventual, powerful, insulation for the emergence of the modern nation/al state as we came to know it. This required that we ceded some of our own personal sovereignty (freedom/autonomy) to the national states in return for protection of our interests (rule). Historically this has given nation states considerable autonomy to act in sometimes highly coercive ways toward their subjects, unhindered by other nations.

What gave the modern state the power to realize this capacity to gain for itself the right to rule, and spread to, and through, every pore of our being? Essentially Elden's (2005) argument is that the emergence of a notion of space rested upon a shift in mathematical and philosophical understanding, related particularly to geometry. This development was partnered by a change in conceptions of the state and its territory.

The modern notion of measure, which finds its most explicit exponent in Descartes, sees beings as calculable, and therefore as quantitatively measurable (Elden, 2005). For Descartes, calculation is the fundamental determination of the world. Put crudely, *to be, is to be calculable*. And, as Sack notes, "...to think of territory as emptiable and fillable is easier when a society possesses writing and especially a metrical geometry to represent space independently of events... the coordinate system of the modern map is ideally suited" (1986: 63). This calculative mode of thinking was related to the measuring and ordering of land, but also to "...the development of political arithmetic in seventeenth century Europe, which entailed the cataloguing of the physical and human resources of the state" (Pacione, 1985: 1). The rise of statistics, which dated from this seventeenth century Europe, and with it the capacity to then engage in calculation, is key to the constitution of the modern state. Political space is therefore about territory and rule by the state. A key basis of rule, and part of the social contract, was the strategic use of education in constituting the subject.

From Old Borders to Novel Bordering

Neoliberalism, as a political project, has had as a core objective, the selective elimination of those boundaries that have placed barriers around the movement of goods, services, finances, and into nations, the relations between sectors, the protections secured in labour markets, the purposes of knowledge and its use, and so on. This has given rise to what analysts like Sassen (2005; 2006)

have termed novel borderings within a context of dissolving or weakening boundaries. There is much disagreement about the effect of these global and digital capabilities on state territorial jurisdictions, with some seeing much, and others little, real change. But both sides of the debate tend to share one assumption, often implicit: the territorial exclusivity of the nation-state which makes of the border a line that divides the national and the global into two mutually exclusive domains. And yet, the changes under way are shifting **the meaning of borders**, even when the actual geographic lines that demarcate territories have not been altered. For Etienne Balibar (2002: 71), far from being at the outer limit of territories, “...these borders are dispersed a little everywhere, wherever the movement of information, people, and things is happening and is controlled – for example in cosmopolitan cities”.

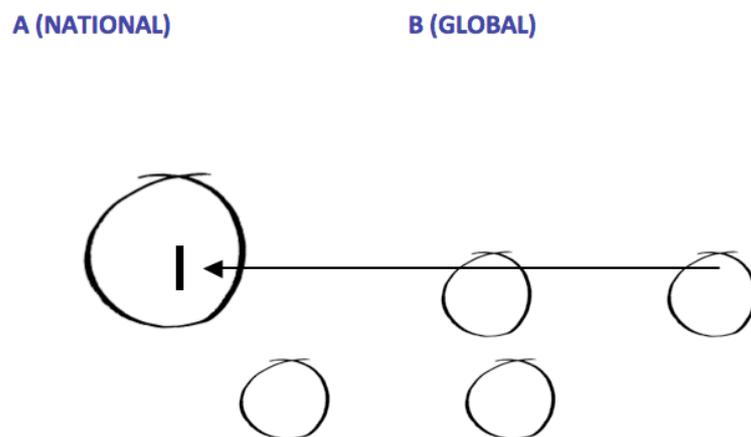


Figure 4: Novel Borderings Inside Scales

These changes are contributing to the formation of **new or novel types of borders** – not just those that present themselves in a scalar sense, as ‘local’, ‘regional’ or ‘global’, but the ways in which national state territorial authority is being affected by the proliferation of sub-national rescalings of global processes and institutions. In other words, when we conceive of globalisation as partly enacted at various sub-national scales and institutional domains, we can see a proliferation of borderings deep **inside** national territories. A focus on such bordering capabilities allows us to see a geopolitics of space easily obscured in prevalent analyses where we tend to assume the mutual exclusivity of the national and the global by the way in which we represent them as discrete hierarchical spaces (Sassen, 2006).

This has led Amin to argue that: “I have distanced myself from the territorial idea of sequestered spatial logics – local, national, continental and global – pitted against each other. Instead, I have chosen to interpret globalisation in relational terms as the interdependence and intermingling of global, distant and local layers, resulting in the greater hybridisation and perforation of social,

economic and political life” (1997, p. 133). As we will see shortly, there are a large number of micro-processes at work that are beginning to denationalize what has been constructed as the national – whether policies, capital, political subjectivities, urban spaces, temporal frames, or any other variety of dynamics and domains. Importantly, these processes denationalize what has been constructed as national, but do not make this evident. That is, they reorient particular components of institutions and specific practices—both public and private —toward global logics, away from historically shaped national logics.

Territorial rule and sovereignty, calculation and rule, are also no longer forms of power that are the preserve of national states. Over the past three decades, these have all been transformed as a result of state rescaling projects, claims to statehood at the regional scale (such as Europe), key international agencies acquiring for themselves major statistical capacity used to govern national system’s economic and social development, including education performance (such as the OECD’s Program of International Student Assessment [PISA] or the World Bank’s Knowledge Assessment Methodology [KAM] or the World Economic Forum’s Competitiveness Index). As a result, sovereignty is no longer fused with the national scale, and citizenship regimes are no longer exclusively tied to the nation (Robertson, 2009). These developments, of course, particularly those that move power and politics into spaces that are dominated by market logics and relations, also alter the nature and scope of claimsmaking. I will return to this issue in a later discussion of depoliticisation.

Rebordering Education - Four Tendencies in Re/Ordering

There are multiple processes in re-bordering work – such as ‘hollowing out’ (Jessop, 1997) the meanings of existing categories such as the state or nation; and ‘filling in’ and stabilising new structures and social relations (Jones et al, 2005; Shaw and MacKinnon, 2010). In this section I will briefly address four key b/ordering tendencies at work that are critical to how we understand education today. These are de/re-statisation, de/re-nationalization, de/re-sectoralisation and re/depoliticisation.

De-re-statisation describes transformations in the role of the state in modern societies, broadly the result of neoliberal policies which have reworked the borders between the state, civil society and economy. This has led Sassen (2006: 222) to argue that “states today confront new geographies of power”. The historically constructed and formalized division between an (imagined) apolitical private domain and a constructed political public realm was one of the key elements of national capitalism and a highly valued norm of liberal democracy. A central category

that has been reworked is *public authority* – that combination of power and authority for which we see the state and its authority as emblematic.

Forms of authority, once exclusive to the public realm, are now shifting to or being constituted in the private sphere of markets, with a corresponding normative recoding (efficiency, competitiveness, entrepreneurship and so on). This of course raises the issue of the public private divide, the location of this divide, and the extent to which they are part of ushering in the global. Cutler (2008) has referred to this as the rise of ‘private authority’. What is analytically required is that we look at categories, like public and private, using an historical lens. How, why, by whom, and with what outcomes have these two domains or categories been constructed? How is the divide managed? Through what legitimating norms? And so on. The modern western evolution of these two domains tended to expand, and value the public realm. Indeed we could argue that the development of the (private) market was enabled by a strong public realm and a strong concept of the national interest.

It would be wrong to suggest that the voices and messages that have historically defined the private and the public spheres as separate and distinctive have been obliterated. The national state continues to have important capabilities (authority). However, the national state is also deeply implicated in advancing a reconstruction of the public private divide, including an expansion of the private domain. This transformation has been fuelled by three processes. First, since the early 1980s, we have witnessed an expansion of the private domain as a result of the absorption of state authorities, and through the formation of new kinds of private authority. Second, we can observe the formation of new kinds of public-private arrangements that blur the public-private divide (for instance, are supply teachers who are working for private firms but employed to deliver classes in public schools covered by public or private law?). Third, we can see a change in the character of the private interests that insert themselves into public policy making, and thereby shape critical components of the content of the public domain. It is now the market that is presented to us as superior for organizing all aspects of social life, including education. Yet the market and market actors are also presented as apolitical, and hence best managed by market mechanisms, such as contracts and legal regimes, with the citizen-education relation mediated by the idea of individual freedoms, contract, guarantees of contract, and law. The globalization of major firms and markets that began in the 1980’s, and which in the education sector have accelerated over the past decade, have been accompanied by projects and pressures at different scales to institute freedoms and guarantees for foreign firms to cross borders and to situate themselves inside national territories with access to once strictly policed national public resources.

We can identify at least five distinct dynamics involved in distinct activity leading to the growth of private authority;

- (i) the proliferation of private agents who originate rules and norms to handle what was once an exclusive government activity (Lumina, Standards and Poors, Economist Intelligence Unit);
- (ii) the marketisation of public functions at the national and international scales,
- (iii) the weight of private agents in internationalizing private authority (Microsoft; Laureate, Kaplan);
- (iv) the circulation of private norms and aims through the public domain of the national state so that what is represented as public is, in fact, private; and
- (v) the shift of regulatory services from the public to the private realm – such as legal, accounting, and other order making and maintenance actors (e.g. research functions from Ministries of Education which have been moved to private accounting firms, such as PriceWaterHouseCoopers). In this process, their message systems or logics are moved from servicing the public good to servicing the private good, and at that, a particular form of the private good.

Two moves are involved here. A shift out of the state, and a second ‘denationalising’ (Sassen, 2006) move, where the state’s key sectors, such as education, are busy reorienting their policy and programme work and broader agendas toward the requirements of the global economy, even as they continue to be coded as national.

De-(re) nationalisation involves processes where the national scale – including the state’s political and economic capacities as we have outlined above - are being territorially and functionally reconfigured along a series of spatial levels – sub-national, national, supranational, and trans-local. Thus the meaning of the ‘national territory’ and ‘state authority’ is assuming new meanings. There are several ways in which denationalising are occurring in education system – through the insertion of new logics and norms, through challenging public-private divides as noted above, and through the development of global and regional law. For instance the logic and norms of global capital markets are increasingly circulating through the public domain where it then emerges as state policy. For instance the International Finance Corporation, one of the financial arms of the World Bank Group with a mandate to lend to the private sector, has constructed education as an emerging market that will return value to investors. The highest returns are viewed as coming from higher education, though this has not stopped the IFC from providing loans to advance low cost schooling, particularly in those parts of the world seeking to address EFA issues. A very powerful way in which national education systems are exposed to global agendas is through mechanisms, such as PISA, global league tables, comparisons of what it means to be competitive (numbers in HE, R&D, patents and so on)

A second example is the way universities are seeking to address the rising costs of high education in the face of expanding students, and funding that is being ring-fenced to certain kinds of

activity (STEM areas in particular). Some elite, but state-funded, universities in the UK are considering following their US counterparts and raising capital through selling bonds. This would not only remove this highly prestigious university from its dependence in state funding (aside from other endowments), but it would also limit the demands that the state can make around questions of access and equity in terms of who is admitted from what social strata, and so on. A third example is the way in which national systems are exposed to law making (in particular soft law) and regulations that are negotiated and put into place at a different scale. The Bologna Process, for instance, which operates across Europe and beyond (47 countries plus those countries like Australia who have formally linked themselves to the Process) is a degree architecture for the universities that extends well beyond Europe as a formal sovereign entity.

De-(re) sectoralisation refers to a set of institutions and actors whose activities are bundled together and are given coherence at the level of representation (such as who can practice as a professional) and at the level of practice (such as norm setting). And it is the boundaries, or boundary setting and their management—or bordering—that defines what is inside and what is outside that which comes to call itself ‘the sector’. Bordering, boundary management and internal norm setting and the reproduction of norms, helps make visible who can be counted as a legitimate actor and who is to be excluded. The collapse of the boundaries around the post-war ‘education sector’ as a result of neoliberal policies (such as decentralisation and devolution policies, the removal of school zones, enabling state-funded schooling available to international students at full-fees), together with the emergence of an array of new actors operating in the sector and parallel sectors where regulations currently preclude these actors being represented, have resulted in significant de and re-sectoralisation. Through strategies such as ‘agenda expansion’ and ‘mission creep’, new private actors target operating along boundaries in order to erode frictions, making these boundaries more porous (and therefore who can be involved, how, and so on). These strategies in turn destabilise the meanings and claims that those within the sector are able to make. For instance, in the competition for students, some institutions are expanding their boundaries so that they reach into adjacent sectors, for instance when diploma and technically-oriented Colleges take on teaching university degree courses, thereby expanding their offerings and clientele.

De-(re) politicisation refers to processes that remove from view interests and power, such as the quantification and representation of quality (as in league tables and rankings) so that political questions are presented as technical or objective processes), or where the publicness of a policy, programme or practice, is uncontestable. This arises as a result of “...a form of economic constitutionalism that gives a juridical cast to economic institutions, placing these institutions beyond politics” (Jayasuryia, 2001: 443). Jayasuryia (ibid: 443) argues not only is sovereignty transformed, but the very nature of these governance changes results in a transition from political

constitutionalism to a kind of economic constitutionalism. Put another way, contracting out public education services to the private sector and community not only constructs them as economic relationships, thus depoliticising them, but they are legally protected 'beyond' politics. Mahony et al's (2003) research on the way private contractors in the education sector in the UK claim commercial sensitivity, thereby blocking public scrutiny, is an example here. The transformation of education, through commodifying and rescaling, also has direct implications for the rights of citizens and their capacity to make claims. Taken together, these developments are undermining key features of the state-citizen-education relation, particularly around the idea of the public, and what that means for claims-making. Is it possible to advance claims at a different scale, particularly in relation to education. But there are no adequate framings for claims-making at the global or supra-regional levels (aside from ideas like global cosmopolitanism, references to education as a human right, a weak if not unconstitutional mandate for education at scales like the EU).

Nor are there sites of legally institutionalised power that - might enable a system of multi-scalar claims- corresponding to the encoding of citizenship regimes across scales. For the moment, then, the current state of affairs is more likely to privilege transnational capital and other powerful political actors at the - expense of citizens, or those citizens who are successfully able to reconstitute themselves as entrepreneurial subjects. There has in response been a call for a reclaimed citizenship (Magalhaes and Stoer, 2006).

Sassen (2005) and others are confident there has been an opening up of citizenship and thus possibilities for claims-making through the unravelling of the nationality-citizenship relation. Indeed, Fraser (2005) has gone so far as to call for new transnational politics of representation, arguing that claims-making is still largely located in nation-states. However, given that there has been a redistribution of the labour of education across scales, moving claims-making upward to the transnational scale simply relocates the space for claims-making to the global. This would overlook the distribution and transformation of the elements of citizenship regimes across scales. What follows from this insight is the importance of interrogating more closely the politics of the reconstituted spaces for claims-making that are now emerging, for these seem to me to be rather limited in their possibilities for delivering social justice and democracy.

(New) Theoretical Challenges for Comparative Education

In his Presidential address to the US-based Comparative and International Education Society in 2000, Robert Arnove (2001) argued that as it headed into the 21st century, as a field of study, comparative education faced a new set of challenges to "...our knowledge base, our approaches

to the study of education and society, and what we do with that knowledge” (p. 477). Aronov also pointed to the need to engage with globalization as a meta-narrative, and the assumptions which tended to accompany this discourse – particularly those that have promoted neoliberalism as a political project. Since then, comparative education researchers have taken up this challenge, from Marginson and Mollis’ (2001) plea to widen the lenses and sites for scrutiny, to Steve Carney’s (2009) recent provocative and generative work on reconceptualising comparative education by building on the work of Appadurai (1996) and his attention to flows and scapes – and his notion of policyscapes. For Carney, this has led him to developing a more innovative approach to field, place and site, the analytical units for study, and to a focus on rupture. Carney’s effort to move comparative education forward are important, in that he also challenges the methodological nationalism and statism that has clearly been an issue for social scientists more generally and for comparative educators in particular. However, by privileging flows, ruptures and instabilities, Carney pays insufficient attention to the new ways in which borders are being constructed, territories are being made, and new identities ordered. There is, I would argue, considerable mileage for comparative education researchers in developing analyses of bordering and ordering practices. In other words, we need to also address *bordering and ordering* as forms of power and control that constitutive; they sit within, and produce, a set of ‘rules of the game’ – or third face of power). In other words, we need to not just concerned with “what is”, but with *how* “what is” is, through the ways in which fields, place and site come into existence, are made visible, and are reproduced.

Comparative education could gain a great deal from developing a critical approach to border studies, precisely because what is being compared are categories or analytical units (nations, sectors, institutions, groups, individuals, codes, values, interests, identities, etc), (and most importantly) the role of borders and bordering in constituting these differences (not just bridges between two different social formations, and how to engage in a translation of difference), in the meanings that subjects both experience and give to these processes, and in the political, contested and dynamic nature of these processes. The question of ‘how’ for comparative educators means taking the border seriously not only as the line that draws our attention to that which is **enclosed**, but in *how* the social relations and spatialities of power are stabilised and reproduced over time, in whose interests, with what outcomes. It means placing bordering work at the centre of our academic questions and conversations as comparative education researchers, and educators. Only then might we understand these processes sufficiently to make bordering and ordering work visible, and the objects of a more critically-informed set of social and political actions.

References

- Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Arnone, R. (2001) Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Facing the Twenty-First Century: Challenges and Contributions, in *Comparative Education Review*, 45 (4), pp. 477-503.
- Balibar, E. (2002) World Borders, Political Borders, *PMLA*, 117 (1), pp. 71-78.
- Balibar, E. (2009) *Europe as Borderland, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 27, pp. 190-215.
- Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Bernstein, B. (1990) *The structuring of pedagogic discourse, Volume IV*, London: Routledge.
- Bernstein, B. (1999) "Vertical and Horizontal Discourse: an essay", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20 (2), 157-173.
- Bernstein, B. (2000) *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity*, (Revised Edition) Rowan and Littlefield Publishers Inc., Maryland, USA.
- Bernstein, B. (2001) "Das Pedagogias aos Conhecimentos", *Educação, Sociedade e Culturas*, 15, 9-17.
- Brenner, N. (2004) *New State Spaces*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brenner, N. (2009) Open questions on state rescaling, *Cambridge J of Regions, Economy and Society*, 2 (2), pp. 123-139.
- Brighenti, A. (2010) On territoriality: toward a general science of territory, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 27 (1), pp. 52-72.
- Bude, H. and Durrschmidt, J. (2010) What's wrong with globalization? Contrad-flow speak – toward an existential turn in the theory of globalisation, *European J. of Social Theory*, 13 (4), pp. 481-500.
- Carney, S. (2009) Negotiating policy in an age of globalisation: exploring educational 'policyscapes' in Denmark, Nepal and China, *Comparative Education Review*, 53 (1), pp. 63-88.
- Cutler, C. (2008) Transnational law and privatized governance, in M. Pauly and S. Coleman, (eds) *Global Orderings*, Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Dunn, K. (2010) Embodies transnationalism: bodies in transnational spaces, *Population, Space and Place*, 16, pp. 1-9.
- Elden, Stuart. (2005) Missing the point: globalization, deterritorialization and the space of the world., *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30 (1). pp. 8-19
- Fraser, N. (2005) Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World, *New Left Review*, 56, Nov Dec. pp. 69-88.
- Harvey, D. (1999) *The Limits to Capital*, [New Ed.], London and New York: Verso.
- Harvey, D. (2006) *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Toward a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*, London and New York: Verso.
- Ingold, T. (2008) Bindings against boundaries: entanglements of life in an open world, *Environment and Planning* 40, pp. 1796 -1810

- Jayasuriya, K. (2005) *Reconstituting the Global Liberal Order: Legitimacy and Regulation*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Jessop, B. (1997) Capitalism and its future: remarks on regulation, government and governance, *Review of International Political Economy*, 4, pp. 561-81.
- Jones, R., Goodwin, M., Jones, M. and Pett, K. (2005) Filling in the state: economic governance and the evolution of devolution in Wales, *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 23 pp. 337-60.
- Kampol, B. and McLaren, P. (1995) *Critical Multiculturalism: Uncommon Voices in a Common Struggle*, Westport, USA: Bergen and Garvey.
- Kenway, J. and Fahey, J. (2008) *Globalising the Research Imagination*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Koh, A. (2010) *Tactical globalisation*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Lukes, S. (1986) Introduction, in S. Lukes (ed) *Power*, Oxford: Blackwells.
- Naisbitt, J. (1994) *Global Paradox: the Bigger the World Economy the More Powerful its Smallest Players*, London: Brealey.
- Magahlaes, A. and Stoer, S. (2006). Knowledge in the bazaar: pro-active citizenship in the learning society, in M. Kuhn and R. Sultana (eds). *Homeo Sapiens Europoeus? Creating the European Learning Citizen*, New York: Peter Lang.
- Mahony, P. Hextall I. and Mentor, I. (2004). Building dams in Jordan, assessing teachers in England: a case study of edu-business, *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 2 (2), pp. 277-96.
- Marginson, S. and Mollis, S. (2001) The door opens and the tiger leaps: theories and reflexivities of comparative education for a global millennium, *Comparative Education Review*, 45 (4), pp. 581-615.
- Mittelman, J. (2004) *Whither Globalisation: The Vortex of Knowledge and Ideology*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Newman, D. (2006) The lines that continue to separate us: borders in our 'borderless' world, *Progress in Human Geography*, 30 (2), pp. 143-161.
- Omhae, K. (1990) *The Borderless World*, New York: HarperCollins.
- Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, USA: Duke University Press.
- Pacione, M. (1985) (ed). *Progress in Human Geography*, London: Croom Helm.
- Power, S. Whitty, G. Edwards, T. and Wigfall, V. (2003) *Education in the Middle Class*. Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Rizvi, F. (2005) International education and the production of cosmopolitan identities, *RIHE International Publication Series*, 9.
- Robertson, S. (2008) Globalisation, education governance and citizenship regimes: new democratic deficits and social injustices, in W. Ayers, T. Quinn and D. Stovall, (eds) *Handbook of Social Justice in Education*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Robertson, S. (2009) Unravelling the politics of Public Private Partnerships in Europe, in R. Dale and S. Robertson (eds.), *Globalisation and Europeanisation in Education*, Oxford: Symposium Books.

- Rumford, C. (2006) Theorising borders, *European J. of Social Theory*, 9 (2), pp. 155-169.
- Sack, R. (1986) *Human Territoriality: its Theory and History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Santos, B, d. s. (2007) Beyond abyssal thinking: from global lines to ecologies of knowledges, *Review*, XXX (1), pp. 1-66.
- Sassen, S. (2005) When national territory is home to the global: old borders to novel borderings, *New Political Economy*, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp.
- Sassen, S. (2006) *Territory, Authority, Rights*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Scholte, J-A (2005) *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, [2nd Ed.], New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shamir, R. (2005) Without borders? Notes on globalization as a mobility regime, *Sociological Theory*, 23 (2), pp. 197-215.
- Shaw, J. and MacKinnon, D. (2010) Moving on with 'filling in'? Some thoughts on state restructuring after devolution, *Area*, 2010, pp. 1-8.
- Turner, B. (2007) The enclave society: towards a sociology of immobility, *European J. of Social Theory*, 10 (2), pp. 287-303.
- Urry, J. (2000) *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Waters, J. (2006) Geographies of cultural capital: education, international migration and family strategies between Hong Kong and Canada, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31 (2), pp. 179-92.
- Weiss, L. (1998) *The Myth of the Powerless State*, Ithasca, New York: Cornell University Press.