

**The Bias of Markets:
A comparative study of the market form
and identity politics in English and
Danish compulsory education**

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THE BIAS OF MARKETS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
MARKET FORM AND IDENTITY POLITICS IN ENGLISH AND
DANISH COMPULSORY EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

The motivation for this study is based on the personal experience of working with teachers' further development of competences. Often, I got confronted with the situation that 'white flight' in various urban locations in Denmark caused conflicts among and between parents, pupils, teachers and managers. Not least when the remaining pupils from a school closed down were admitted in neighbouring schools previously lesser exposed to the cultural diversity of the wider society. These experiences gave me the impression of a profound opacity in the ways state authorities and local councils in Denmark sought to ensure a stable learning environment for all children while preparing them to live in a multicultural society.

First, my research interest was drawn to England since I wanted to explore policy approaches to school accountability in multicultural societies in a comparative manner. Due to its characteristics England seemed like an obvious context to include in a comparative study with Denmark. However, after a period I realized that the rhetorics of accountability and all of its various sideeffects of "what works", the belief in leadership and marketing strategies are merely tools which can be used for various purposes. In other words, the study became gradually more informed by the recognition that education policy is shot through with moral considerations which serves to simultaneously maintain and disguise the interests of particular groups. Against this background, the theoretical framework for this comparative study emerged.

The aim of the study is to explore how the market form in compulsory education in the two multicultural societies of England and Denmark take cognisance of ethnic minority pupils. To pursue this aim, the study discusses the ideas underpinning the regulation of the curriculum and access to schools in English and Danish compulsory education during the period when the market form was strengthened in the two contexts.

Three theoretical sets of ideas are involved in the analysis: neoliberalism, monoculturalism and multiculturalism. The neoliberal perspective is used to discuss the regulation of the market form while the two latter sets of ideas are understood as expressions of identity politics. Within this theoretical framework, the analysis seeks to pin down the amalgams between neoliberalism and identity politics underpinning the market form in England and Denmark.

The neoliberal perspective is applied to highlight the adoption of the market form in English and Danish compulsory education. The market form has been a prominent component in global education reform for some decades. While this convergence is to a large degree driven by supranational organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the European Union, this study focuses on the local adaptation of the market form in English and Danish school policy.

Basically, the creation of the market form rests on the introduction of market forces into the education system and indicates an increasing colonization of education by economic priorities. Even though some proponents see the market form as a 'value-neutral' mechanism for the efficient delivery of education, market forms are not in any sense 'free markets'. Rather, they are social constructions which must be adapted to the existing institutional framework and require continuous regulation by the state (Ball 2008, 25-46). In this way, the study explores various 'commonalities within difference' in relation to the market forms in English and Danish compulsory education which have been shaped and constrained by context-specific historic traditions and institutional frameworks.

The study focuses on particular time periods where the market form in education was strengthened with legislative provisions in the two contexts. Obviously, the highlighting of these particular time periods to some extent disguises the fact that in both contexts there have been long run-ups.

In the case of England, the study focuses on the late 1980s during the period when the Conservative Party was in office. This Conservative government was in power in the period 1979-1997 and introduced the market form in education with school choice policies, funding linked to number of pupils, a national curriculum and league tables of school performance. Even though there were continuities from the previous Labour government, the policies of the Conservative government marked a rupture in English school policy. The analysis will especially highlight the Education Reform Act 1988 which constituted a decisive break in education policy as it had been conducted in the period after World War II. The impact of the Education Reform Act 1988 is still highly evident since its framework for marketization has largely been retained (Ball 2008; Chitty 2004; Gorard et al. 2003; Jones 2003; Lawton 2005; Taylor et al. 2005; Tomlinson 2005).

In Denmark, the analysis focuses on the period 2002-2008 where the coalition government constituted by *Venstre*, the Liberal Party, and the *Konservative Folkeparti*, the “Conservative People’s Party”, strengthened the market form in education with a cluster of reforms (Hjort 2006a, 7-11). This government took power in 2001 and is still in charge in the beginning of 2011, as these words are being written.

The theoretical perspective of identity politics is applied in the study to explore the scope for cultural diversity in the particular market forms of English and Danish compulsory education. In that respect, the study draws on Parekh (2000, 9) who argues that the state in a multicultural society might enshrine the domination of one cultural community, just as the state in a class-divided society might institutionalize the rule of the dominant class. Hence, contemporary multicultural societies raise questions concerning the state’s relation to culture, such as whether it should privilege the dominant culture, ignore or give public recognition to the various cultures of communities in society. Against this background, the study will explore whether the English and Danish state authorities treat cultural diversity as a transitional or a permanent phenomenon.

Thus, the study will discuss the connections between neoliberalism and identity politics in the particular periods when the market form became entrenched in English and Danish compulsory education. Against this background, the study will show that the strengthening of the market form in both contexts was underpinned by the amalgam of neoliberalism and monocultural identity politics. This argument will be justified with regards to the development of the curriculum and access to schools. However, the amalgams of neoliberalism and monoculturalism manifested themselves in very different ways due to distinctive national traditions, including the background for immigration, the institutional frameworks and the official terminologies used to ascribe identities for the newcomers.

Methodology

The object of the comparative study will now be further clarified with the “Bray and Thomas Cube” (see figure 1), and its three dimensions concerning geographic/locational levels, aspects of education and of society and nonlocational demographic groups (Bray et al. 2007, 9).

In this study, the geographic/locational dimension refers to the level of the nation-states England and Denmark. In that respect, it should be mentioned that while the educational systems of England,

Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, which form part of United Kingdom, share a number of common features, each of them still has distinctive educational traditions shaped by various cultural, linguistic, religious and national identities (Green 1997, 93). Hence, for the purpose of clarity and focus, this study will address the English context.

The nonlocational demographic group in question is the group of ethnic minority pupils. This group will as a rule be understood as children born in another country or children whose ancestors were born in another country (Eurydice 2009, 3). However, the terminology in English and Danish policy-making differs and the clarification of the relevant categories in the two national contexts will prove fundamental for the conclusions of the study.

In this way, the study concerns the form of cultural diversity which Parekh (2000, 2-6) labels “communal diversity”. Hence, the study does not consider other forms of cultural diversity, such as “subcultural” (relatively unconventional lifestyles in terms of sexual orientation or occupation) and “perspectival” diversity (groups highly critical of some of the central principles in society, for example feminists, religious fundamentalists and radical environmentalists).

It should be stressed that education for the officially recognized indigenous German minority in South Jutland of Denmark (about 15.000-20.000 people) which has been granted the right to establish private schools with German as the language of instruction and receive subsidies from Danish state authorities will not be further discussed in the study. England has not given official recognition to any such national minority (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia 2004, 59-60).

Finally, the key aspects of education to be highlighted are the regulation of the curriculum and access to schools in compulsory education. Bray et al. (2007) argue that multilevel analyses in comparative studies would support multifaceted and holistic analyses. Certainly, the topic of the market form in education provides rich opportunities for multilevel analyses, from the global level to the individual level. However, rather than highlighting multiple levels, this comparative study puts emphasis on ‘multiple aspects’ since both access to schools and curriculum are discussed. The inclusion of both these aspects will provide a broader analysis of the ideas underpinning the particular market forms in England and Denmark.

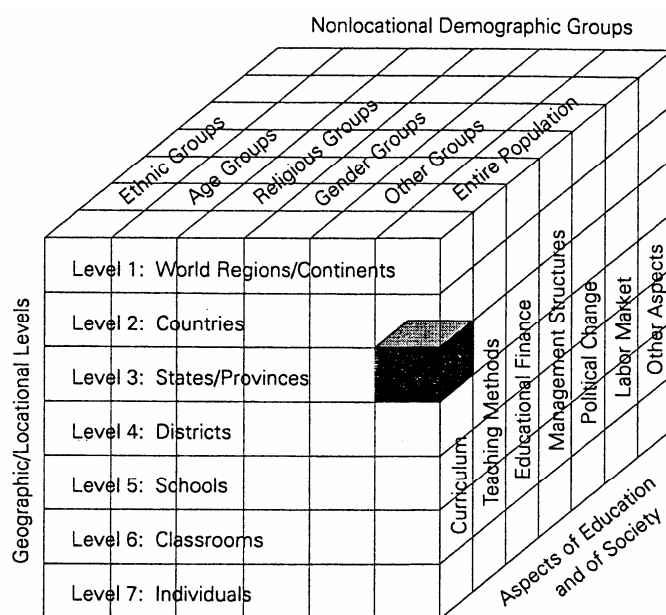


Figure 1. The “Bray and Thomas Cube”

The empirical material which provides the basis for the discussion of neoliberalism and identity politics is constituted by English and Danish legislative provisions and policy initiatives concerning the curriculum and access to schools. This material mainly involves acts and bills addressing general as well as particular provisions for ethnic minority pupils. In the case of acts, the empirical material also includes transcripts from the parliamentary readings where the provisions were discussed by members of the *House of Commons* and the Danish parliament *Folketinget*.

In that respect, the speeches by Members of Parliament (MPs) have been interpreted within the theoretical framework of neoliberalism, monoculturalism and multiculturalism. Due to the limited format of the study, the analysis of this study focuses on speeches from political parties supporting the particular bills. Hence, in the context of England, a number of MPs from the Conservative Party are mentioned, while in the case of Denmark, the spokespersons of the relevant parties are referred to. The speeches by the English Education Secretary (Kenneth Baker 1986-89) and the Danish Ministers of Education Ulla Tørnæs (2001-05) and Bertel Haarder (2005-10) are highlighted since they in various ways recapitulated the rationales underpinning the particular bills. Otherwise, the

methodological principle in the treatment of the transcripts from readings has been to accumulate the variety of rationales put forward by proponents of the bills during the readings. On this basis, the arguments presented in this study were formulated. It should be mentioned that all translations in the study from Danish to English language is made by the author.

The selection of empirical material is based on the argument that the inclusion of legislative provisions as well as transcripts of relevant readings provides a richer basis for the discussion of neoliberalism and identity politics. Especially important in this respect is that the readings presented a wider array of rationales compared to the more descriptive, 'pragmatic' and consensus-oriented tenor of legislation and bills.

In addition, the study stands on the shoulders of a vast research body which has fed the analysis and hence ultimately the conclusions of the study. Research findings have been employed in the analysis with two distinctive purposes. First, the effects of the provisions in the context of practice are discussed on the basis of research findings. Second, research findings about neoliberalism and identity politics, including the priorities and ideas of key policy-makers in the two contexts, are addressed in the discussion of ideas underpinning the market forms.

These findings add a deeper historical perspective to the analysis. In this way, the study follows the cultural tradition of comparative studies which pursue to understand other cultural points of departure and achieve deeper understanding of the values and norms often taken for granted within a socio-cultural context. Thus, the study adopts an ideographic approach by posing similar questions in relation to diverse contexts in order to make room for diverse answers. Accordingly, the purpose of comparison is not to deduce theories or explain regularities concerning the mixtures between neoliberalism and identity politics across contexts but rather to contribute to the understanding of each context, on its own terms, with a respect for its historic integrity (Winther-Jensen 2004, 52-68).

Against this background, it follows that the study is not concerned with positivist discussions about 'what works' in terms of 'social cohesion' and 'integration'. Indeed, with its ideographic approach and the associated emphasis on the importance of historical context in understanding education policy the study endorses a critical position towards notions such as 'what works' and the implied denial of contextual factors.

In this way, the study is based on the argument that apparently 'pragmatic' and good-natured notions such as 'best-practice' and 'equal opportunities' should be understood within the particular framework of political aims and the ideas underpinning them in order to grasp their contradictory character of such rhetorics and their role in creating and entrenching certain relations between social groupings.

CHAPTER 1. NEOLIBERALISM AND IDENTITY POLITICS

This chapter serves as the analytical framework for the study. The two main sections of the chapter introduce the theoretical perspectives of neoliberalism and identity politics as they will be understood in this study. In this way, the chapter provides the basis in terms of concepts and principles for the subsequent analysis of the school curricula and the access to schools in the two national contexts.

Neoliberalism

Since the meaning of neoliberalism and its manifestations are contested (see for example Ball 2008; Beck 2005; Giddens 1998; Harvey 2005; Mudge 2008), this study relies on two works by Milton Friedman (Friedman 2002, Friedman & Friedman 1980) in the identification of neoliberal ideas. Friedman (1912-2006) was economist at the University of Chicago and an influential proponent of neoliberalism worldwide throughout his career from the 1950s to the 2000s (Harvey 2005, 20-22; Mudge 2008, 718). The following presentation of neoliberalism will be followed by a theoretical discussion on the basis of research findings about neoliberalism in education policy-making.

This means that Friedman's ideas and the set of principles he recommends in education governance will be adopted as the theoretical framework to understand the ways neoliberalism has been promoted in English and Danish compulsory education. While this approach might be criticized for essentializing the ideology of neoliberalism, hence reducing the complexity, contradictions and tensions inherent to it, the analysis will show that Friedman's simple yet powerful ideas provide a viable framework through which to understand the rationales underpinning school policy in England and Denmark. In particular, the analysis will highlight the trenchancy of ideas like Friedman's as well as the similarities and differences between the market forms adopted in the two contexts.

The mid-1970s saw a turn towards neoliberalism in policy-making worldwide in the wake of the global recession. At this point, transnational networks primarily based in North America and the United Kingdom provided symbolic resources to political elites in the

form of explanations for the failures of Keynesian policies and neoliberal recommendations for economic recovery. In this way, the recession resulted in the breakdown of the hegemony in international politics of classical social democracy based on egalitarian, statist and Keynesian systems of thought. Via the US and UK governments, the *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD), *Freedom International*, the *European Communities/European Union* (EC/EU), the *International Monetary Fund*, and the *World Bank* neoliberalism came to be a global hegemonic force from the late 1970s.

Thus, neoliberalism has exceeded the politics of the ‘New Right’ often associated with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan and the ‘shock therapy’ in post-Communist and Third World countries. Actually, the most effective advocates of neoliberal policies have often been centre-left policy-makers, represented by the ‘third way’ and ‘new social democracy’ increasingly successful in the USA and Western Europe from the mid-1980s and throughout the 1990s (Harvey 2005, 2-31; Mudge 2008, 705-722).

In this way, neoliberalism has become a transnational ideology endorsed by the entire political spectrum. As Beck (2005, 80) points out politics on a global scale are currently being carried out by a set of ‘estranged twins’; the neoliberal ‘social democrats’ and the neoliberal ‘conservatives’ are in fact struggling in the same direction, namely towards the establishment of the neoliberal regime.

The philosophical base of neoliberalism can be traced in liberal ideas from eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain concerning the development of ‘open societies’ through *laissez-faire*. In that respect, it should be noted that Friedman (2002, 6) himself did not use the term prefix “neo-“ but described his philosophy as associated with liberalism, “in its original sense – as the doctrines pertaining to a free man”.

Accordingly, neoliberal proponents often refer to the ideas of Scottish political economist and moral philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790), especially his idea about the ‘invisible hand of the market’. This idea suggests that government should let ‘the invisible hand of the market’ rule since individuals who apparently pursue their own benefits are led by an invisible hand to un-intentionally promote the overall development of society.

The semi-religious endorsement of these propositions is for example apparent in the work of another chief ideological proponent of neoliberalism, the Austrian philosopher Friedrich August Hayek.

Characteristically, Hayek (1991, 117) interprets Smith's idea about the 'invisible hand of the market' as an recognition that the uncontrollable 'great society' based on market information represents a step forward in human evolution from the former 'archaic' society dominated by irrational and counterproductive face-to-face encounters:

... that men who were governed in their efforts, not by the known concrete needs and capacities of their intimate fellows, but by the abstract signals of the prices at which things were demanded and offered on the market, were thereby enabled to serve the enormous field of the 'great society' that 'no human wisdom and knowledge could ever be sufficient' to survey.

The ideological core of neoliberalism is thus the commitment to break the market loose in conceptual terms and elevate it to a level above politics as a non-political, non-cultural and machine-like entity. In this way, the basic market principles are essentialized and de-politicized as the best possible arrangement for satisfaction of individual and societal needs (Mudge 2008, 705-715).

Against this background, Friedman proposes that neoliberal government should seek to further voluntary and informed participation in market transactions in as many areas of societal life as possible. Thereby, government will promote the personal freedom of individuals, resulting in economic growth, individual responsibility and equality of opportunities. Accordingly, government should only intervene in cases where market transactions clearly have detrimental 'neighborhood effects' for third-part agents. In this perspective, neoliberal government should be regarded as a mere "instrumentality"; through withdrawing or facilitating market mechanisms neoliberal government seeks to ensure individual freedom. Thus, neoliberalism does not seek to promote a certain set of values. Rather, "a major aim for the liberal is to leave the ethical problem for the individual to wrestle with" (Friedman 2002, 1-13, quote 12).

Accordingly, Friedman & Friedman (1980) embed "equality of opportunity" in market mechanisms. They propose that everybody should have access to pursue their objectives and reap the benefits of success and suffer the consequences in the case of failure. Performance is the touchstone and equality of opportunity should thus be understood as "a career open to the talents". Hence, whenever individuals are denied access to positions on the basis of their

nationality, gender, ethnic background, religion, or “any other irrelevant characteristic” it is an interference with their right to liberty and pursuit of happiness (Friedman & Friedman 1980, 132).

However, they add that ‘equality of opportunity’ remains an ideal and cannot be fully realized. Rather, the functioning of market mechanisms takes precedence over regulatory responses to safeguard access. The rationale is that regulatory responses promoting ‘equality of outcome’ and ‘fairness’ violate the voluntary participation in market mechanisms which is the very basis for growth and the nurture of individual responsibility. Therefore, the patronizing effects of most welfare services should be dismantled and replaced by laissez-faire (Friedman & Friedman 1980, 128-140).

Neoliberalism in education

In the field of education, neoliberalism is concerned with the empowerment of parents as consumers. Hence, parents should be provided with a freedom to choose among schools. Thereby, the monopolistic ‘producer capture’ by the self-interested educational establishment is dismantled. The more dispersal of power to consumers the better; within neoliberal government, consumer satisfaction should settle *who* is involved in education, *what* should be learnt and *how* it is to take place. The ‘invisible hand of the market’ will subsequently ensure colour-blind equality of opportunity according to performance and innate talents.

Friedman (2002, 86) proposes that government should provide parents with redeemable vouchers worth a “general education for citizenship” to be presented in any school of their choice. In addition, parents should have the option to add supplementary payments according to the price of the chosen school provision. The role of the neoliberal state in such a system is defined by the following principles:

- *Common content:* Government should settle a minimum common content in the education programs since a minimum degree of literacy, knowledge and acceptance of a common set of values are necessary for a stable and democratic society.
- *Control of standards:* Government should ensure that schools meet certain minimum standards.
- *Decentralization and school diversification:* Government should withdraw and let all forms of organizations operate

schools on a competitive basis within a deregulated and decentralized school industry responsive to consumer demands. A real choice between different types of schools offering various specialisms would be enabled by linking school funding and salaries to demand.

- *School choice*: Government should empower parents as consumers through school choice, including rights to choose every school willing to accept their child, regardless geographical position. Catchment areas and referral of pupils should thus be abolished (Friedman & Friedman 1980, 152-171; Friedman 2002, 85-98).

In this study, these principles are considered core features of the 'neoliberal state' in relation to education governance. Accordingly, the analysis of English and Danish school policy will discuss the particular expressions of these principles in the two national contexts.

The remaining part of the section will discuss research findings about the expressions and effects of neoliberalism on education. The key argument is that the adoption of neoliberalism in policy-making does not necessarily involve the withdrawal of the state. Rather, the creation of the 'neoliberal state' implies that state authorities take on new functions in the shift from statist government to neoliberal governance. First, the neoliberal state is engaged in the 'creative destruction' of prior institutional frameworks through the mainstreaming of state activities and sweeping away of sector-specific traditions formerly protected from market competition. Second, the neoliberal state encourages a variety of public and private, national and international organizations, as well as consumers, to become engaged in the dispersed governance of activities (Dale 1997, 277; Harvey 2005, 3-4; Mudge 2008, 718).

Moutsios (2000, 50-59) proposes the concept 'bi-dimensional pattern of educational control' to characterize the functioning of the market form in education. This pattern is compatible with the principles outlined by Friedman (2002) since it is based on a combination of central authority and self-managing institutions. Hence, the role of intermediate levels like local education authorities is diminished in decision-making. Within the bi-dimensional pattern, the control of standards serves two needs. First, the accumulation of various forms of evaluation data that provides the central government with an overview of the system and the local variations. Second, the control of standards enables the dissemination of market information

to parents about school performance. Thus, the bi-dimensional pattern of educational control seeks to impose visibility in the way schools operate which allows for public comparison and informed choice, and the shift to a state which is both an evaluator and a mediator between institutions and consumers.

In the same manner, Ball (2008, 41-48, 150) argues that the market form is likely to involve systems of accountability which seeks to align all actors, parents, pupils, teachers, heads, state authorities and so on, to the common objective of improving national competitiveness. Such systems are based on achievement targets, prescribed curriculum objectives, performance indicators, league tables, inspections and various contractual obligations which link all levels of the school system in simultaneously-loose-and-tight chains of accountability.

Torrance (1997, 329) makes the important point that the shift towards accountability in terms of results or 'outputs' and the associated assessment tools are likely to have constitutive effects on the system, for example a narrowing of the curriculum. Against this background, a main issue concerning the curriculum emerges, namely whether the adoption of the market form has had implications for the curriculum.

Concerning the neoliberal principle of school choice, a number of researchers point out that such policies are likely to result in a relatively narrow range of choice opportunities for ethnic minority pupils (see for example Ambler 1994, Apple 2000, Burgess et al. 2006, Gillborn & Youdell 1999, Tomlinson 2008, Whitty et al. 1998).

Ball (2008, 118-119) uses the term 'local economies of pupil worth' to conceptualize that some children become 'value-adding' and attractive to schools since they are perceived to enhance school performance while others add negative value and therefore are avoided if possible through strategic 'cream-skimming'. Hence, the market form effectively increases the pressure on parents and pupils to align to the dominant values and norms in education.

In the same manner, Gundara (2000, 74) argues that the whole issue of school choice has been simplistically presented since schools choose parents as much as the other way around. Therefore, school choice and the associated classification of "good, adequate or sink schools" are likely to deepen school segregation and educational inequality. Against this background, Ball (2008, 118-119) argues that national and local authorities must often intervene in the emergent 'local economies of pupil worth' to counter the most overtly

detrimental effects of school choice policies and the market form in education.

Obviously, Friedman (2002) is opposed to such violations of market forces. Friedman insists that it mainly constitutes a transitional problem when the worst performing schools are rendered full of disadvantaged pupils and that governmental interventions would undermine the promotion of individual responsibility and freedom. Rather, the 'invisible hand of the market' will ensure that standards and equality of opportunities will increase in the long term, enabling talented pupils from poor backgrounds to pursue new routes in education, while parents will become educated as responsible consumers, capable of making informed choices. Particularly in relation to ethnic minorities, Friedman argues that school choice would support their integration due to the gradual eradication of group stereotypes brought about by the voluntary participation in market transactions. On the contrary, shortsighted intervention in market mechanisms for example through 'affirmative action' is likely to raise social tensions and deepen class and race segregation. Yet, Friedman adds that in segregated areas where market mechanisms are still limited, government must choose between two evils, namely the implicit accept of segregation through non-intervention or the enforcement of integration. Friedman suggests that only the latter alternative is a viable option (Friedman 2002, 108-118, 170-198).

Obviously, the enforcement of integration is controversial within the neoliberal paradigm where it constitutes an exception to the general principle that parents should exercise school choice for their child. In addition, subject to the particular approach, the practical implications of enforced integration might have a strong resemblance to governmental paternalism, that is, where government undertakes the hard but necessary decision to draw a line between 'responsible' and 'irresponsible' individuals. In terms of paternalism towards parents and children, Friedman suggests that parents are naturally assigned the responsibility for their children in the first instance. Yet, if parents fail in protecting them and assure their development, government must intervene since children have ultimate rights of their own, as responsible individuals in embryo and future citizens (Friedman & Friedman 1980, 32-33; Friedman 2002, 2-3, 33-34).

Against this background, two particular issues emerge in relation to the practical implications of neoliberalism on the curriculum and access to schools. Friedman claims that the adoption of neoliberal principles will be instrumental for the individual pursuit of freedom

within a framework of market competition and colour-blind equality of opportunities. Yet, research findings suggest that neoliberal restructuring in education might have effects on the curriculum as well as access to schools. This raises two questions which will be explored in the analysis.

First, whether the central definition of common curriculum content and the control of standards have had constitutive and narrowing effects on the curriculum.

Second, school choice policies do not necessarily function as a lever for equality of opportunities and gradual integration of ethnic minority pupils. Rather, such policies might in practice deepen segregation and circumscribe their choice opportunities due to the development of 'local economies of pupil worth'. Thus, school choice policies are likely to raise dilemmas about whether and how government should intervene and enforce integration, thereby depriving parents of their freedom to choose.

Identity politics

In this section, monoculturalism and multiculturalism are introduced as distinctive alternatives of identity politics. Together with neoliberalism, these concepts will be applied in the discussion of ideas underpinning the market form in English and Danish compulsory education. This choice of theoretical perspective is grounded in the research interest of the study, namely the exploration of the scope for cultural diversity within these particular market forms.

England and Denmark are both multicultural countries, in the sense that they are characterized by cultural diversity with various ethnic minority groups residing within the territorial boundaries. Parekh (2000, 7-9) argues that while multicultural societies have existed for millennia, the contemporary ones differ from the previous. First, Parekh maintains that segregation between the constituent communities within a nation-state no longer remains an option. Hence, they cannot lead isolated lives but are caught up in complex patterns of interaction with each other. Second, contemporary multicultural societies are embedded in economic and cultural globalization which further challenges traditional ideas of a uniform national culture. Third, contemporary multicultural societies in Western Europe have emerged after a long history of cultural homogenization within the nation-states. This homogenization has often succeeded to subordinate previous cultural communities within a

universalizing legal space where only individuals are recognized as bearers of rights.

Koopmans et al. (2005, 1-5) point out that post-colonial and labor migration contributed to the economical boost in many Western European nation-states during the 1960s. However, at this stage, they remained more or less 'invisible' in relation to political influence. When the migrants later turned out to be permanent settlers, they often became perceived as threats to national identity, the economy and welfare systems. Not least their struggles for political and social rights made it increasingly clear that the very presence of 'the other' put pressure on three core elements underpinning the Western European nation-states: the sovereign control over external borders; the regulation of access to citizenship; and the nation's cultural self-understanding, that is, its national identity. The pressure on these core elements triggered off various reactions such as nationalism, ethnic mobilization and xenophobic movements with various thrust in local and national policy-making.

Thereby, 'identity politics' becomes relevant as an object for study. Hall's (1996, 607-618) argument about the politicization of national identity will provide the basis for pinning down the meaning of the concept 'identity politics' as it will be understood in this study. Hall maintains that immigration and the development of multicultural societies are likely to further a politicization of national cultural identity by state authorities. In psycho-analytic terms (Hall refers to Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan) such reactions indicate that identification is a relational and defensive mechanism which especially becomes an issue during periods of crisis, due to experiences of discontinuity, estrangement, fragmentation, or in short, lack of fullness. In the exercise of identity politics, the nation-state with its institutional framework might hence be employed as a system of cultural representation to mobilize national identity. Through this system, various discourses of national identity can be negated, mobilized and furthered among the population according to how the subject is addressed or represented. 'National identity' and 'national culture' in these ways constitute discursive devices which represent difference as unity and therefore can be employed to feed the fantasies of fullness among the population.

Against this background, the term 'identity politics' will be used in this study to denote the responses of English and Danish national policy-makers and state authorities towards ethnic minority pupils in the particular areas of the school curriculum and access to schools.

Obviously, national policy-makers and state authorities interact with a vast range of individuals and collective actors (ethnic minority organizations, local education authorities, supranational organizations, unions, parents etc.) who also employ identity politics to further their distinctive visions of collective identities (see for example Zaretsky 1995). However, as mentioned before, this comparative study focuses on the particular identity politics exercised on the national political level in England and Denmark.

A fundamental issue in the study of identity politics and especially in comparative cross-national studies is that the discursive construction of national identity is likely to use various signifiers for immigrants and ethnic minority groups.

Koopmans et al. (2005, 16-22) point out that such cross-national variation depends on different conceptions of national identity and their crystallization in nation-specific integration and citizenship policies. Hence, policy-making is constrained and shaped by institutional frameworks and dominant terminologies in the political context. Therefore, the signifiers used in official terminology for immigrants and ethnic minority groups are neither coincidental nor inconsequential. Rather, they indicate particular constructions of the relationship between immigrants, ethnic minority groups and the receiving nation-state and have important consequences for the self-definition of these groups and for the identities and aims of other collective actors who support or mobilize against them. In other words, the particular denotations for various social groupings entail the creation of boundaries between them and thus shape the individual and collective perception of what is taken as common-sense social reality. The analysis of identity politics in England and Denmark will highlight the importance of this point.

Monoculturalism and multiculturalism

The study will employ Parekh's (2000) distinction between multiculturalism and monoculturalism in the discussion of the identity politics underpinning the market form in English and Danish compulsory education. Thus, multiculturalism and monoculturalism will be understood as two alternatives in terms of identity politics, that is, distinctive approaches to the politicization of national cultural identity to feed the desire for fullness among the population.

This simple typology will be enhanced with some concepts related to neoconservatism which in this study will be understood as an expression of monoculturalism. These concepts have been chosen

with the purpose to conduct a focused comparative analysis which highlights particular characteristics of the identity politics exerted by English and Danish state authorities.

Parekh (2000, 6) argues that multiculturalism and monoculturalism constitute two normative responses to the fact of cultural diversity in society:

A multicultural society, then, is one that includes two or more cultural communities. It might respond to its cultural diversity in one or two ways, each in turn capable of taking several forms. It might welcome and cherish it, make it central to its self-understanding, and respect the cultural demands of its constituent communities; or it might seek to assimilate these communities into its mainstream culture either wholly or substantially. In the first case it is multiculturalist and in the second monoculturalist in its orientation and ethos. Both alike are multicultural, but only one of them is multiculturalist. The term 'multicultural' refers to the fact of cultural diversity, the term 'multiculturalism' to a normative response to that fact.

In the same manner, Mahajan (1999) points out that the concept of multiculturalism differs from the merely descriptive terms of plurality and diversity. Thus, while plurality simply denotes the existence of different communities in society, multiculturalism points to the existence of many communities which are equal in the public arena.

Mahajan's argument brings up the issue of equality where the opposing ideological implications of monoculturalism and multiculturalism are also evident. Parekh (2000, 239-242) maintains that monoculturalism with its aim for cultural assimilation seeks to equate unity with homogeneity. Hence, equality translates into uniformity; human beings are treated equally in the respects in which they are similar but not in those in which they are different. Or more precisely: While granting individuals equality at the level of their shared human nature, equality is denied at the cultural level. Hence, with monoculturalism the idea of equality becomes an ideological device to mould mankind in a certain cultural direction.

On the contrary, multiculturalism proposes that the concept of equality should consider the interplay between uniformity and difference since human beings are at once both natural and cultural beings, sharing a common human identity, yet in a culturally mediated manner. Therefore, the multicultural notion of equality involves equal

freedom or opportunity to be different. When cultural differences are not relevant, equality entails identical treatment; when they are relevant, differential treatment is required. Thus, equal rights do not equate with identical rights since individuals with different cultural backgrounds might require different rights to enjoy equality on the cultural level. Parekh argues that the application of such a culturally sensitive notion of equality in practice raises dilemmas and therefore requires continuous deliberation and negotiation.

Against this background, Mahajan (1999) argues that the concept of multiculturalism contributes to the agenda of democratization since it locates cultural identity as a source of discrimination and advocates group-differentiated rights. As a philosophical perspective, multiculturalism hence raises the awareness about cultural majoritarianism within liberal democracies, how it disadvantages ethnic minority groups and thereby might enhance conflicts between the constituent communities of a society. In that respect, Mahajan argues that despite the claims for universal citizenship and equal rights, Western liberal democracies often contain a majoritarian bias in its cultural orientation, for example concerning the official language, declaration of holidays, permitted rituals, prescribed dress codes and curricula in educational institutions.

In relation to education, Parekh (2000) and Gundara (2009) agree with Mahajan in her evaluation of the democratic deficits associated with the widespread cultural majoritarianism and propose various concepts to grasp the cultural orientation of the curriculum. Together with the various notions of equality, these features will be employed in the analysis of monocultural and multicultural identity politics underpinning the market form in English and Danish education.

In his outline between the differences between a monocultural and multicultural orientation of the curriculum, Parekh (2000, 224-230, 331-333) argues that monocultural education is defined by a nationalistic or Eurocentric emphasis. This entails the maintenance of a hierarchical view of civilizations in which modern European civilization represents the highest form of life so far and therefore provides the standards by which to judge others. Accordingly, the curriculum cherishes the national and European civilization, Christianity, the mother tongue, literature and history. With its majoritarian bias, monocultural education is marked by self-sufficiency and the interdependence with others and their achievements are downplayed or ignored. Hence, the claims for

nurturing critical thought among students are undermined by the monocultural ethos of the education system.

On the other hand, Parekh maintains that multicultural education is a critique of the monocultural ethos of the majority of education systems. Multicultural education attends to that students are at once members of their cultural communities, future citizens of a political community and human beings. Against this background, multicultural education is an education in two inseparable forms of freedom; freedom from ethnocentric prejudices and biases and freedom to explore other cultures and perspectives. Therefore, the curriculum should promote that all pupils attain a sense of the ways in which the larger world has developed and the position of Western civilization within it, as a basis for exploring the similarities, differences and interconnections between them. As a narrow form of multiculturalism, ethnic minority pupils should as a minimum understand the history, social structure, culture and languages of their cultural communities in order to enable them to understand themselves better and find their way around in these communities. Ideally, a broad form of multiculturalism would involve that the language, religion and history of ethnic minority communities were not taught separately but be integrated into the mainstream curriculum so that they can find their proper place in the self-understanding of the society as a whole.

Gundara (2009, 1019-1021) makes a comparable distinction between centric and non-centric knowledge systems in his advocacy for intercultural education. Centric knowledge systems are defined as having a fixed - specified or non-specified – centre and operate with a singular narrative about knowledge and exclusive criteria in relation to the official school curriculum. On the contrary, a non-centric curriculum with multiple sources of knowledge and narratives of language, culture and history would enable teachers, students and other learners to develop the shared value systems which he claims are necessary for the development of democratic societies.

Finally, Parekh (2000, 331-333) proposes that multiculturalism implies an educational system accommodating different kinds of schools within a common national framework to sustain and increase the variety of societal life. Hence, families and religious communities who wish to set up their own schools should be allowed to do so provided they conform to certain curricular, pedagogical and other requirements prescribed by state authorities. These demands are more easily accepted when the state funds the schools in question. This

latter point will be considered in the analysis of access to schools in England and Denmark.

In addition to these characteristics of mono- and multiculturalism, the analysis will consider research findings about the relation between neoliberalism and neoconservatism. The expressions of neoconservatism are compatible with monoculturalism as outlined above. They will therefore be integrated in this theoretical perspective in the analysis. In that respect, a number of researchers argue that neoliberalism in the United Kingdom during the 1980s and 1990s was coupled with neoconservatism (see for example Giddens 1998, 11-15; Harvey 2005, 39-63). In the analysis, this argument will be explored in relation to the particular field of education.

To provide a basis for this later discussion, the general argument concerning the amalgam of neoliberalism and neoconservatism will be outlined in the following. Harvey (2005, 39, 79-86) suggests that neoliberalism with its market-driven 'permanent revolution' (an expression taken from Giddens 1998, 15) promotes an unbridled individualism and consumption ethic likely to undermine social solidarity. In that respect, neoconservatism with its emphasis on social order through the maintenance of values centred on cultural nationalism, Christianity and the nuclear family provides distinctive answers to the instability which neoliberalism creates. The amalgam between neoliberalism and neoconservatism is apparently contradictory since neoliberalism is principally a globalizing force of 'de-nationalization' where the state is primarily expected to set the stage for market functions while neoconservatism endorses a strong state. Yet, the amalgam represents a pragmatic compromise which aligns entrepreneurial citizens to shared objectives and thereby considers the creation of the stable business climate required to operate effectively as a competitive agent in the world market. For the grounding of popular consent, Harvey furthermore suggests that neoconservative identity politics might seek to (re-)construct a 'common-sense' in order to mask other viewpoints of reality, trading on long-standing practices of cultural socialization and national traditions to mobilize traditional views of the nation-state and threats to its existence, embodied by for example socialists and immigrants.

It follows that neoconservatism might involve the two-headed 'Janus-face of nationalism'. On the one hand, a kind of modernization is undertaken to prepare for a new stage of global capitalist competition. On the other hand, strength for the ordeal of development is gathered through the mobilization of a retrospective national

identity and the projection of it on to the future as a guiding light. In this way, national identity is glorified as changeless throughout all the changes (Hall 1996, 615). Nairn (1981, 348-349) recapitulates the rationales underpinning this two-headed creature in this way:

... nationalism can in this sense be pictured as like the old Roman God, Janus, who stood above gateways with one face looking forward and one backwards. Thus does nationalism stand over the passage to modernity, for human society. As human kind is forced through its strait doorway, it must look desperately back into the past, to gather strength wherever it can be found for the ordeal of 'development'. This is also the situation which helps us understand why, in a quite general sense, the 'irrational' could not help arising into the process.

In the field of education, Apple (2000) argues that the contradictory impulses between neoliberalism and neoconservatism may actually complement and even reinforce each other in practice. Neoliberalism and neoconservatism both uphold that the state should be strong in the centralization of curriculum standards and monitor the output results. This constitutes the basis for the market form in education where consumers are set free to exercise choice on the basis of 'perfect information' from assessment data. Neoconservatism would furthermore become expressed in a centralized curriculum centred on monocultural knowledge. On the contrary, any development in a multicultural direction is neglected or overtly oppressed through the construction of strong boundaries between 'us' and 'them', and 'our culture and language' versus 'their culture and language'. Another expression of neoconservatism is the 'blaming' of marginalized individuals or groups who are assigned the responsibility for their disadvantage and blamed for a lack of discipline, proper values and their degenerated culture. Blaming thus involves that the attention is directed away from the institutional frameworks and the majoritarian bias in the 'common-sense' ideas underpinning them (Apple 2000, 67-72).

Against the background of these arguments, the concepts of Janus-face of nationalism and blaming as well as the dynamics between neoliberalism and neoconservatism will be considered in the analysis of compulsory education in England and Denmark. The neoconservative emphasis on tradition and the blaming of those being marginalized by the majoritarian bias will hence be considered as

expressions of monocultural identity politics, that is, concerned with the mobilization of retrospective national cultural identities through the education system.

This theoretical chapter has outlined the analytical perspectives of neoliberalism and identity politics that will provide the points of reference for the analysis of ideas underpinning the market form in English and Danish compulsory education (see appendix A for an overview). It has been argued that neoliberalism in education is concerned with the promotion of the ‘invisible hand of the market’ through four main principles whereby the roles of state and local authorities, schools, parents and pupils are altered, with potential effects for the curriculum and the access to schools. Furthermore, the section on identity politics argued that state authorities might employ the education system for the mobilization of alternative forms of identities. Such identity politics were conceptualized as multiculturalism and monoculturalism, with distinctive implications for the ideas of equality reflected in education policy and the character of the curriculum.

Thus, neoliberalism implies the creation of the market form to empower the individual, but along with these claims for empowerment, the issues of cultural identity and cultural majoritarianism call for the scrutiny of these markets and their possible bias. Against this background, the main argument of the study will now be presented, followed by an outline of the basic characteristics of the two national school systems. Subsequently, the main argument will be justified in the two analytic chapters.

Main argument and the English and Danish school systems

The main argument of this study is that the adoption of the market form in English and Danish compulsory education has been underpinned by neoliberalism and monocultural identity politics. This argument implies that there has been a bias of cultural majoritarianism in the market forms of both national contexts.

However, the expressions of the amalgam between neoliberalism and monoculturalism vary between the national contexts due to the historical development of the school systems, including the provisions concerning ethnic minority pupils on the national and local level, and the terminologies used to ascribe identities for the newcomers. In the following, these basic characteristics of the two national contexts will

be outlined to facilitate the understanding of the subsequent analysis and the associated arguments.

In the case of England, ethnic minority pupils have been particularly affected by the intersectionality of 'class' and 'race'. In education, the class division in English society has in the post-WWII period been sustained by the tripartite system composed of grammar schools, technical schools and modern schools. Furthermore, 'church schools' affiliated with the Anglican and Roman-Catholic faith, as well as Judaism, have since 1944 been enabled to receive state funding and become either "voluntary controlled schools", that is, controlled by local education authorities (LEAs), or more autonomous "voluntary aided schools" (Taylor et al. 2005, 49-50).

The tripartite system sustained unequal access to the prestigious grammar schools which remained predominantly middle-class. In addition, the voluntary church schools which existed in most local authorities routinely selected children on the basis of faith and ethnicity. Even though the vast majority of LEAs moved towards a system of comprehensive secondary schools with universal access from the mid-1960s, this 'comprehensivization' remained unfinished in the late 1980s. As a result, a degree of school diversity and selection of pupils continued to exist. In addition, selection also took place through ability to pay and aptitude in the private "independent schools" catering for about eight per cent of the secondary students by the end of the 1970s (Gorard et al. 2003, 4-6).

Another characteristic of the English school system which has proved decisive for the provisions for ethnic minority pupils was that the curriculum from 1944 and until the Education Reform Act 1988 to a large degree remained to the discretion of the local level. State authorities did not intervene directly in local practices and rather sought to influence local practices through agenda-setting and consensus-building (Verma & Darby 2002, 16-19). As will be shown in the analysis, the scope for local autonomy was used to promote multiculturalism in education during the 1970s and 1980s. Both the scope for local curriculum policies and the continued existence of the tripartite system were enabled by the principle of decentralization enshrined in the Education Act 1944. This principle gave the 146 LEAs large degrees of autonomy in matters of curriculum, evaluation and organization of schools (Chapman et al. 1996, 2).

Finally, the identity politics in the English context have also been decisively shaped by the settlement patterns of immigrants and the discursive category of 'race' as the basis for the British citizenship

regime. In general, the legacy of the British Empire and its decline has influenced immigration to England in the period after the Second World War.

Immigrants from the former colonies of the 'New Commonwealth' began to arrive in England from the late 1940s. The colonial past meant that Britain as the 'mother country' initially provided the colonial subjects from the Commonwealth free entry and equal rights. Thus, the Nationality Act 1948 introduced the term 'Commonwealth citizen' as a means to effectively confer British citizenship with free rights of entry to the 'mother country' upon the 800 million subjects of the Empire and Commonwealth. Accordingly, British citizens of the 'mother country' formally became "citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies" and shared equivalent rights with citizens from the former colonies. However, the immigration legislation became more restrictive once the outer reaches of the former empire moved toward the centre. Thus, the Immigration Acts in 1962, 1968, 1971 and 1981 restricted the entry of the former colonial subjects and indeed removed the rights of citizenship which originally made the former colonial subjects formal British nationals. On the other hand, the Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968, 1976 and 2000 have been meant to reduce racial discrimination and support the opportunities for those ethnic minority groups already residing in Britain (Gundara 2000, 29-30; Joppke 1999, 100-101; Verma & Darby 2002, 11-16).

The immigrants primarily settled in urban centres, especially the Greater London Area. In 1991, about 45 per cent of the ethnic minority population lived in the Greater London area, and some London Boroughs, such as Brent, Newham and Tower Hamlets, had ethnic minority shares of 35-45 per cent (Joppke 1999, 237). This settlement pattern proved decisive in relation to local curriculum development during the 1970s and 1980s, a fact that will be highlighted in the analysis.

These immigrants and their children have to a large extent been identified and identified themselves as belonging to 'racial groups', for example 'Black Caribbean', 'Black African', 'Asian' and 'Mixed' with various subdivisions (Koopmans et al. 2005, 21). The prevalent use of 'race' and 'racial groups' in the British citizenship and immigration regime is decidedly ambiguous since 'race' as descriptor of human characteristics and differences between them has been abolished in mainstream research since the 1950s. Accordingly, researchers (see for example Michael W. Apple, David Gillborn and

Sally Tomlinson in the list of references), usually denote 'race' as a discursive construct and put the term in inverted commas. Gillborn (2008, 28) argues that it is misleading to talk of race as a reified object that can be measured as if it were a simple biological entity:

The social construction thesis holds that race and races are products of social thought and relations. Not objective, inherent, or fixed, they correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient.

Against this background, it might be seen as symptomatic of the English context that 'race' and 'racial groups' continue to be used to distinguish between social groupings in statistics, for example in the National Census carried out every ten years. In 1979, 3.7 per cent of the population was immigrants from the ex-colonies. The number considering themselves as belonging to a non-White ethnic group grew from 5.5 per cent in 1991 to eight per cent in 2001. By 2001, the largest ethnic groups were the Indian, followed by Pakistani, those of mixed ethnic backgrounds, Black Caribbean, Black African and Bangladeshi (Joppke 1999, 237; see appendix B). Accordingly, the number of ethnic minority children in the English school system has been steadily increasing since the 1950s to the current level of about 20 to 25 per cent. In that respect, the signifier 'race' has had spill-over effects in education, with distinctions between White, Mixed, Asian and Black pupils (See appendix C).

In Denmark, the expressions of the amalgam between neoliberalism and monoculturalism have been decisively shaped by the development of the public sector "Folkeskole", literally meaning the "people's school". The Folkeskole has historically catered for the vast majority of pupils in the school system. A keystone was laid already in 1903 when the "latin schools" (In Danish: "latinskoler") and "villagers schools" ("almueskoler") were merged into a coherent school system. Subsequently, the School Acts of 1958, 1975 and 1993 especially contributed to the development of a comprehensive school with universal access to mainstream classes, as part of a broader public welfare reform programme based on social solidarity. Correspondingly, decentralization and parent influence was steadily promoted with school governing acts in 1949, 1962, 1970, and 1974. The Danish School Act thus increasingly developed into a framework law with large degrees of autonomy for local councils and schools in

terms of curriculum variation and the control of standards, as long as parents' demands were recognized. The overall development of the Folkeskole has been influenced by the ideas of Danish priest and universal-historian N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783–1872). Especially his ideas of popular cultural identity, school autonomy and 'life enlightenment' can still be detected in the contemporary Danish education system (Dahler-Larsen 2006, 59-69; Winther-Jensen 2004, 153-168; Winther-Jensen 2007).

Grundtvig's ideas also provided a basis for the liberal 1855 School Act which gave parents the rights to establish private 'free schools' and employ teachers. The free schools would eventually turn out to be a popular alternative to the public sector Folkeskole. During the latter decades between ten and twenty per cent of pupils have attended such schools. Danish state authorities have during the 20th century supported the free schools with grant levels around 70 per cent per pupil compared to the Folkeskole. The free schools must live up to the general preamble of the Danish School Act but otherwise enjoy large degrees of autonomy, for example to lay down their own admission procedures. The schools have been based on various ideas, mainly those of Grundtvig and congenial school entrepreneur Christen Kold, complemented by schools based on for example Catholic and anthroposophical ideas. In addition, the Danish tradition for free schools came to provide opportunities for a more multiculturally based school system, cf. Parekh (2000), especially when schools based on Islamic ideas were established from the late 1970s (Winther-Jensen 2004, 153-168).

During the mid-1960s, labor migration to Denmark was triggered off due to the mixture of economic growth and a decreasing birth rate. When 19,000 guest workers from primarily Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan had arrived, the Danish state blocked for further labor immigration in 1973. Yet, from the mid-1980s immigration continued to increase due to re-unifications of immigrant families and a multiplication of refugees mainly from Sri Lanka, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and Somalia. Like in the English context, the ethnic minority groups have primarily settled in larger urban areas in Denmark. Accordingly, the share of the population in Denmark with a foreign citizenship increased from circa two per cent in 1985 to five per cent in 2000. At that point, 4.8 per cent of the population living in Denmark had origins in a non-Western country and 7.1 per cent of the population was either immigrant or descendant (H.K. Rasmussen 2008; see also appendix D).

The analysis will highlight that identity politics in the Danish school policy like in the English context have been shaped by the terminology used to denote ethnic minority pupils in schools. However, where 'racial groups' was dominant in England, the dominant categories in Denmark have been more focused on 'language'. Thus, in Denmark ethnic minority pupils have mainly been ascribed the identities of "pupils speaking a foreign language" (In Danish: "fremmedsprogede elever") and from 1996 "bilingual children" ("tosprogede børn"). The first crude statistics showed that by 1975 there were about 2,500 pupils with foreign citizenship in the age from six to sixteen years. In 1980, the number was 16,400 pupils, about two per cent of all pupils, with a composition reflecting that of the guest workers (UVM 1981, 29-45. In this study, UVM is adopted as abbreviation for Undervisningsministeriet, the Danish Ministry of Education). Subsequently, the share of ethnic minority pupils increased steadily until 2005 where it stabilized around the current ten per cent, that is, about 72,000 pupils. Descendants constitute about seven per cent and immigrants three per cent (Hornbek 2009; see also appendix E).

CHAPTER 2. CURRICULUM

This chapter argues that the adoption of neoliberal ideas in both England and Denmark has been accompanied by a strengthening of monocultural identity politics, or more precisely, an emphasis on ‘centric’ knowledge systems (cf. Gundara 2009) in the school curriculum. Accordingly, the scope for multiculturalism has been diminished. This chapter justifies this main argument on the basis of legislative provisions, parliamentary readings and research findings.

In addition, the chapter explores the distinctive expressions of the amalgam of neoliberalism and monoculturalism in the two contexts. In that respect, it will be shown that the main expression of monoculturalism in England was the diminished scope for the widespread local practices of multicultural and anti-racist education.

In the case of Denmark, the chapter will argue that the prime expressions of the shift towards monoculturalism concern the strengthening of Danish language learning and the effective undermining of mother tongue tuition for the vast majority of the pupils with origins outside the EU/EEA. Finally, the chapter will argue that blaming in England mainly addressed the professionals engaged in multicultural and anti-racist education, that is, teachers and employees of the local education authorities, while in Denmark the users of the school system with ethnic minority background have been the primary target for blaming.

England

The analysis of the English context will focus on the provisions of the Education Reform Act 1988 (hereafter ERA) and the profound changes they entailed in the governance as well as the cultural orientation of the school curriculum. As it will be shown, these two aspects are closely intertwined. In the following, it will be argued that these changes should be understood as expressions of neoliberal and monocultural ideas.

The ERA introduced a National Curriculum and an expansive framework for the control of standards. In addition, the ERA strengthened school choice as the guiding principle concerning access to schools, a point to be discussed in the next chapter. It should be

stressed that there was a long run-up to the ERA. In many ways the ERA had been anticipated since the mid-1970s. The Labour Party and the Conservative Party as well as agenda-setting organisations such as Her Majesty's Inspectors had for more than a decade been interested in re-gaining control over the curriculum and thus dismantle the principle of decentralization enshrined in the Education Act 1944. However, the particular degree of centralization, the orientation of the curriculum and the attitudes towards the need for consensus between various actors remained utterly contested (Ball 1990, 139-140; Callaghan 1976; Cox & Boyson 1977, 8; Kirk 1989, 20-22).

The ERA has proved to have a profound impact on English compulsory education due to the statutory character of many of its provisions. Indeed, it might be argued that the ERA largely introduced the framework currently in place. In the following sections, the provisions of the ERA will be discussed in detail.

Neoliberal curriculum regulation

The curriculum provisions of the ERA were based on the neoliberal principles that state authorities should be directly engaged in the definition of a centralized curriculum and the control of standards. Thus, the ERA abolished the principle of decentralization enshrined in the Education Act 1944 and gave the Education Secretary the authority to define a National Curriculum with ten foundation subjects, divided into three 'core subjects' and seven 'other foundation subjects' (See appendix F). The National Curriculum applied for all types of state-maintained schools (DES 1988, section 3). Thus, only the private "independent schools" were exempted from the National Curriculum.

In addition, the ERA involved the further development of systems of accountability with its clarification of responsibilities for the Education Secretary, LEAs, governing bodies and head teachers to secure that the "balanced and broadly" based curriculum satisfied the following requirements (DES 1988, section 1):

- (a) promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society; and
- (b) prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.

The interlocking character of the curriculum and the control of standards was reflected in the provision that the National Curriculum was to be defined by three elements (DES 1988, section 2):

- Attainment targets: “the knowledge, skills and understanding which pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have by the end of each key stage”.
- Programmes of study: “the matters, skills and processes which are required to be taught to pupils of different abilities and maturities during each key stage”.
- Assessment arrangements: “the arrangements for assessing pupils at or near the end of each key stage for the purpose of ascertaining what they have achieved in relation to the attainment targets for that stage”.

Concerning assessment, it was as a rule compulsory for all pupils at state-maintained schools (DES 1988, section 117). They were instituted in 1991 with tests in English, Math and Science at key stage 1, 2 and 3. The assessment arrangements for key stage 4 integrated the General Certificate of Secondary Education (hereafter GCSE). The GCSE had been introduced in 1986, merging the previous General Certificate of Education and the Certificate of Secondary Education (the latter established in 1965 for the less academically able) into a single examination system and sorting mechanism for post-compulsory education (Wolf 2002, 206-216).

The three elements of attainment targets, programmes of study and assessment arrangements were all to be centrally prescribed. The Education Secretary was given the duty to establish the National Curriculum by Statutory Orders and “to revise that Curriculum whenever he considers it necessary or expedient to do so”. The duty involved the specification in relation to each of the ten foundation subjects of attainment targets, programmes of study and assessment arrangements, “as he considers appropriate for that subject”. On the other hand, the ERA affirmed that the Statutory Orders must not specify time periods for the teaching in various subjects and their programmes of study at any stage (DES 1988, section 4).

The latter provision should be understood in the light of the critical responses to the consultative paper *A Framework for the School Curriculum* issued by the Department for Education and Science (DES) in 1980. The paper proposed the prescription of

curriculum contents as well as the proportion of the timetable to be spent on English, Math, Science, Modern Foreign Language and Religious Education. However, due to the amount of criticisms the proposals were never implemented and the allocation of time periods for the various subjects still remains to the discretion of the local level (Chitty 2004: 122-124).

Yet, by 1990 schools were struggling to cover the curriculum with its statutory programmes of study. This happened despite Education Secretary Kenneth Baker's claim that the National Curriculum would leave room for schools to supplement the statutory curriculum contents with other contents at their own option (House of Commons 1987, 773-775. The transcripts from the readings in the *House of Commons* are structured according to 'columns'. Accordingly, the references in this study to the second reading of the Education Reform Bill (House of Commons 1987) refer to these columns).

These were the main provisions of the ERA concerning the governance of the curriculum. The following sections will explore the ideas underpinning these provisions, including the reasons why the National Curriculum would prove to be overloaded as well as more monocultural in its orientation.

The contention between neoliberal and neoconservative ideas

This section argues that the curriculum provisions of the ERA were underpinned by an amalgam of neoliberalism and monocultural ideas. Thus, on the one hand, the market form in education was claimed to be a lever for individual responsibility, equality of opportunity and a much desired dismantling of 'producer capture'. On the other hand, these ideas were merged with the agenda of the neoconservative wing of the Conservative Party which entailed a broad, statutory curriculum within a monocultural framework.

These neoliberal and neoconservative ideas recapitulate the earlier mentioned argument put forward by Harvey (2005) and Giddens (1998) and its expressions in the particular field of compulsory education. In the following, the influence of neoliberal ideas on the ERA will first be shown, before moving on to the neoconservative rationales which would eventually become decisive for the character of the National Curriculum.

In his presentation of the bill, Education Secretary Baker unfolded the neoliberal ideas underpinning the ERA and summarized

the bill's 169 pages in three words: "standards, freedom and choice" (House of Commons 1987, 781).

Baker also launched the major theme of "producer capture". Baker declared that the National Curriculum would contribute to remedy the main problem of the school system, namely that the education system had become "producer-dominated" and unresponsive "to the demands for change" (House of Commons 1987, 771).

In the same manner, the Conservative MPs Norman Tebbit (House of Commons 1987, 810), James Pawsey (House of Commons 1987, 829) and Robert Key celebrated that the market form driven by the National Curriculum and the control of standards would diminish the influence of teachers and LEAs over the curriculum and expose schools to market competition. In addition, they claimed that the market form would promote national competitiveness as well as individual responsibility and freedom. Key suggested that the provisions of the ERA would develop a "new partnership" in education which would "spread power to the rim of the wheel ..., rather than have it stuck in the spokes" (House of Commons 1987, 847-848).

In this way, Key recapitulated the characteristics of the bi-dimensional pattern of educational control, that is, where the role of local authorities is diminished, while schools are 'set free' to compete for pupils and the state takes on new powers in the regulation of the curriculum and the control of standards.

MP Michael Heseltine recapitulated the links between public sector education, English society and the rigorous competition of the modern world. Heseltine suggested that the educational establishment had to align and give up its sector-specific traditions since the "more generalised, the more cosy and the less accountable days are over, in education as in many other aspects of British performance." Against this background, Heseltine suggested that the provisions would equip children to the standards of "a less comfortable world" where individual responsibility would be more important than ever:

... at every stage, therefore, from childhood to adulthood and in every part of the education process, individuals will have to carry a greater responsibility for their own performance.

Accordingly, Heseltine referred to 'equality' in its neoliberal sense; as equal opportunities to perform in an allegedly colour-blind

marketplace. In such a “much franker and more stimulating environment”, Heseltine argued that “those forgotten children of whom nothing is expected and who achieve little” would gain the most (House of Commons 1987, 820-821).

In this way, the core ideas of neoliberalism were invoked by the Education Secretary and Conservative MPs in their legitimization of the ERA and the NC. However, the contentions between the neoliberal and the neoconservative wing of the Conservative Party and its supporters would eventually result with the agenda of the neoconservative wing being mostly reflected in the curriculum. A useful starting point for this discussion is the four main purposes for the forthcoming National Curriculum outlined by the DES in 1987 (DCSF 2009b, 26):

- promote continuity, coherence in the curriculum of schools
- establish an entitlement for all pupils, irrespective of social background, culture, race, gender, and differences in ability
- raise standards by making expectations to the work of schools explicit to pupils, parents, teachers, governors, employers and the public
- promote public understanding and confidence in the work of schools

Together, these rationales constituted yet another expression of the interlocking character of curriculum and the control of standards in the ERA. The definition of common curriculum content enabled the control of standards which fed into systems of accountability, ‘upwards’ towards the state level and ‘downwards’ towards consumers. Within the market form all pupils would be individually responsible to perform according to their abilities while the influence of the LEAs and schools over the curriculum would be diminished.

However, the degree of state intervention in the curriculum and the perception of its role in compulsory education were disputed between the neoliberal and neoconservative wings of the Conservative Party. Together, these wings shaped the amalgam of moral and economic doctrines known as the ‘New Right’ ideology. In the case of the National Curriculum, the tensions were associated with the balance between the four purposes outlined above, or more precisely; how broad and specified the National Curriculum should be in order

to serve its purpose as a driver in the creation of market competition between schools.

In the House of Commons, MP Tebbit pinpointed the main divide in the 'New Right' ideology when he advised Baker not to "overdo" the curriculum. Tebbit thereby expressed the more neoliberal attitude, suggesting that there was (House of Commons 1987, 810):

... a narrow path between the danger of the national curriculum becoming set in concrete (...) and becoming just a matter of fudge and therefore totally ineffective.

It should be emphasized that the neoliberal and neoconservative wings in practice overlapped and actually should be understood as a continuum where key actors of the New Right such as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990), Education Secretary Keith Joseph (1981-1986) and his successor Kenneth Baker (1986-1989) adopted various positions. Sometimes their ideas merged, sometimes there was considerable tension. However, both wings were eager proponents of the market form and the idea of the National Curriculum (Ball 1990, 23-34; Lawton 1994, 94-95; Whitty & Menter 1989, 52-53).

Being worried about 'big government', the neoliberal wing relied on the idea of the 'hidden hand of the market'. In accordance with Friedman's ideas, they proposed that anything more ambitious than a strictly limited core curriculum was incompatible with the provision of greater choice and diversity. Thus, the curriculum should square the circle between providing a basis for the production of 'perfect market information' and be responsive to local consumer demands.

As an influential neoliberal ideologue of the Conservative Party as well as mentor of Margaret Thatcher (who also was particularly inspired by the writings of FA Hayek), Keith Joseph during his time as Education Secretary struggled to bring together these ideas in a coherent framework. Since he held the view that market mechanisms should determine the curriculum, Joseph advocated that the curriculum should be discretionary to schools in order to facilitate fair competition and equality of opportunity for all.

However, at the same time Joseph saw the LEAs, schools and parts of the DES as unresponsive to market-driven curriculum development due to their egalitarian and bureaucratic ideology. Joseph eventually settled for an assessment-led curriculum as a lever for standards and quality, rather than a content-led based on prescribed

curriculum contents. The introduction of the GCSE in 1986 should be understood in this perspective as well as the efforts in the mid-1980s to get the LEAs and schools to review the curriculum and make information available to parents about local curriculum policies (Ball 1990, 56-58, 139, 157; Chitty 1989, 213-214; Chitty 2004, 124-127; DES 1985, 3-5; DES 1986, section 17-18, 20; Lawton 1994, 51-61).

With Kenneth Baker as Education Secretary the approach moved from “influence” to “intervention”. While Baker was a more pragmatic politician than Joseph, he was also more oriented towards the neoconservative wing. This meant that Baker endorsed that a broad, specified and statutory national curriculum based on a monocultural framework and an expansive programme of assessment was not incompatible with the principles of a free market (Ball 1990, 146-156; Chitty 1989, 199; Chitty 2004, 124-131; Whitty 1989, 111).

For the neoconservative wing, the state was always an end, not a means to some other end. Therefore, while the neoliberal wing saw the establishment of the market form as an end in itself, the neoconservative wing saw the market form as a lever to strengthen the authority of the state. This resulted in different perceptions of the curriculum. Where the neoliberal wing saw a centralized curriculum as an opportunity to standardize performance criteria and facilitate school accountability and consumer choice, the neoconservative wing saw the curriculum as a lever to mobilize national identities and ensure social control.

In addition, the neoconservative wing took a clear monocultural position. They argued that English national identity was in crisis due to a breakdown in cultural transmission, furthered by the decline of the Empire, the arrival of immigrants and the integration within the European Communities.

Against this background, the neoconservatives argued that the education system should be employed as a terrain of cultural engineering. Through education, a particular notion of a common national identity based on English and Christian traditions should be furthered and ethnic minority groups assimilated into the national stock to ensure a common political loyalty. On the other hand, any notion of multiculturalism was dismissed as ‘misguided relativism’. In this way, the neoconservative wing employed the Janus-face of nationalism since the future of the nation should be saved by embracing a pastoral 'Little Englandism' and myths about the benign and civilizing world domination of the British Empire.

This neoconservative ideology shaped the curriculum provisions of the ERA and the subsequent formulation of the National Curriculum. Accordingly, the ERA resulted in a traditional, subject-based curriculum entrenching a range of subjects largely similar to that of the 1904 Secondary School Regulations. Furthermore, the statutory programmes of study were based on monocultural knowledge focusing on English language and literature, History and Christianity (Aldrich 2002, 231; Ali 1991, 202; Ball 1990, 23-34, 52-54; Ball 2008, 80; Chitty 1989, 213-214; Gundara 2000, 70; Jones 1989, 87-93; Lawton 1994, 51-61; Power & Whitty 1997, 6-7; Troyna & Hatcher 1991, 287-292; Whitty 1989, 111-112).

The following sections will explore the particular ways this amalgam of neoliberal and monocultural ideas would eventually have narrowing effects on the scope for multiculturalism in the school curriculum. Importantly, these effects should be seen against the background of the emerging multiculturalism in English education from the 1970s.

Multiculturalism and the blaming of local education authorities

The desire reflected in the ERA to align ‘the educational establishment’ of LEAs and schools should be understood in the light of the tensions between the Conservative government and a number of LEAs primarily controlled by Labour that were engaged in attempts to practice multiculturalism. In this perspective, the ERA marked the point where central government definitively abandoned the principle of non-intervention in such local curriculum development. The blaming of allegedly ‘radical’ LEAs during the 1980s and the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority with the ERA showcased the Conservative government’s desire to align schools and LEAs to a monocultural curriculum.

Multiculturalism in education emerged during the 1970s, in the wake of the focus on child-centred ‘progressive’ teaching methods and their questioning of curricular knowledge (Tomlinson 2008, 62-68). Until then, the curriculum had largely been based on a monocultural consensus among schools, LEAs and state authorities. While ethnic minority pupils from the 1950s were simply expected to assimilate without any support, state authorities in the mid-1960s began more actively to support the assimilation of immigrants. Especially “Section 11 funding” (Home Office 1966, section 11) introduced in 1966 proved in the following decades to be important for ethnic minority pupils. The analysis will eventually return to this

point. Section 11 funding supported schools and LEAs with grants in relation to supplementary English language teaching for “immigrants from the Commonwealth” in special centres and reception schools in order to facilitate the pupils’ eventual assimilation in mainstream classes (Figueroa 2004a, 999-1002; Kirp 1979, 40; Tomlinson 1987, 24-26; Verma & Darby 2002, 16-19).

At this point, debates about immigration and British (with a focus on English) national identity took place. This debate was polarized. On the one hand, Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins in 1966 suggested that integration in English society should not involve the assimilation of immigrants and their national characteristics and culture. Rather, Jenkins anticipated the shift from assimilation towards multiculturalism that became evident in the following decades when he advocated equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance (Joppke 1999, 225).

On the other hand, Conservative MP Enoch Powell became both popular and controversial during the late 1960s with his calls for the repatriation of immigrants from the ex-colonies to restore the fabled purity of ‘little England’ and reduce the risks for violent racial clashes (Nairn 1981, 256-266).

From the 1970s, education became the main site of official multiculturalism as part of a broader shift in public sector policy. Crucially, this shift was to a large degree driven by the local level. Thus, the DES merely invoked the principle of decentralization in the Education Act 1944 despite continuous calls for central intervention from official committees and research reports (Figueroa 2004a, 1008; Joppke 1999, 235).

The first step towards multiculturalism in education concerned language. Encouraged by demands from the ethnic minority communities, the focus shifted from assimilation through English language teaching towards mother tongue tuition in a number of urban LEAs. The European Economic Community Directive 77/486/EEC of 1977 provided a major impetus in that respect (Tomlinson 1987, 18-21, 103-115). The directive assisted the movement of migrant workers and their families and proposed that the EEC member states should “take appropriate measures” for the tuition in the majority language of the host country as well as the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin for those children “who are dependents of any worker who is a national of another Member State”. The purpose of these provisions was to facilitate initial reception and “their possible

reintegration” into the Member State of origin (Council of the European Communities 1977).

However, as Brook (1980, 239-50) observes, the phrase “Member States shall, in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems, take appropriate measures (...)” provided the EEC member states with opportunities for going their own ways. In England, the DES thus again invoked the decentralized character of the English school system and did not officially support mother tongue tuition in state-maintained schools. Rather, the DES gave support to the already existing mother tongue tuition undertaken by the ethnic minority groups themselves. Against this background, only a few LEAs and schools established mother tongue tuition as part of the school curriculum (Tomlinson 1987, 103-115). Since then, English state authorities have not committed themselves to offer mother tongue tuition to ethnic minority pupils (Eurydice 2009, 26-29).

Subsequent moves on the local level towards multiculturalism entailed ‘multicultural’ and ‘anti-racist’ education. The emergence of multicultural education in the beginning of the 1970s followed by anti-racist education about a decade later indicated that schools and LEAs believed that the presence of ethnic minority pupils in English schools should lead to more general curriculum change (Tomlinson 1987, 90-102). In the English context, the approaches involved curriculum development focusing on ‘race equality’ to counter ethnocentric prejudices and majoritarian biases in education. Both of them formed part of a broader development where local authorities in their social and labor market policies operated ‘race equality initiatives’ based on affirmative action, ‘race’-advisers and anti-racist training for staff (Joppke 1999, 236-245).

Multicultural and anti-racist education had a profound impact on school provisions for ethnic minority pupils, especially in the major urban centres. Most of all, multicultural and anti-racist education was a movement led by teachers and advisors employed in the LEAs. This was reflected in the vast production of teaching materials. A key principle was ‘curriculum permeation’ which meant that multicultural and anti-racist education would not appear like a subject on the timetable but would rather be treated as a cross-curricular dimension. By the beginning of the 1980s, twenty-five LEAs had employed multicultural education advisors and over 90 per cent of schools with large shares of ethnic minority pupils reported that all subjects came under review. By the end of the decade, 80 out of 115 LEAs had adopted multicultural or anti-racist curriculum policies. The Inner

London Education Authority (ILEA) was a pioneer in the field, along with the LEAs of the Greater London Boroughs of Haringey and Brent, Bradford, Berkshire and Manchester (Davies 1999, 128-130; Figueroa 2004a, 1010; Tomlinson 1987, 89-102; Tomlinson 2008, 85-95).

In practice, multicultural education often involved that children learned about the history, food, clothes and music of different countries. A narrow approach entailed that ethnic minority pupils were withdrawn from mainstream subjects in order to attend classes about 'ethnically relevant' topics, for example 'black studies' and Caribbean culture. The alternative broad approach meant that such 'ethnically relevant' topics were integrated in the mainstream curriculum and that all pupils would study them (Blair & Cole 2000, 69-71).

From the late 1970s, anti-racism emerged as a more radical alternative to multicultural education. Anti-racism was primarily informed by the politics of the left and was predicated upon the assumption of a unity of interest between those who were supposed to be the victims of a ubiquitous racism. Hence, 'black' became the dominant fighting term meant to unite all ethnic minority groups on the basis of their presumed common experience of racism and determination to oppose it. During the 1980s, such 'black' solidarity was to a large degree underpinned by common class interests. This explains why anti-racism was primarily (albeit not solely) endorsed in Labour-controlled local authorities (Ali 1991, 201-203).

Anti-racists criticized multicultural education for treating 'race' as a cultural phenomenon. Multicultural education was claimed to result in an ethnic bazaar rather than critically exploring the wider political culture, recapitulated in the accusations for the 'tokenism' of the 3 Ss: Saris, Samosas and Steel bands. Thereby, multicultural education affirmed the boundaries between the 'real British' and the 'immigrants' and came to provide opportunities for 'white' people to project a positive image about 'black' people without actually confronting the supremacy of 'white' people (Troyna 1992, 74-75).

Against this background, anti-racist education sought to establish a connection between institutional racism and inequalities of race, class and gender. Thus, the focus shifted from raising awareness about the cultural artefacts and traditions of distinctive ethnic minority groups towards discussing the existing oppression of 'black' people of which the White British majority was mainly to be held accountable (Mullard 1984, 37-38).

In response to the alleged shortcomings of multicultural education, a number of LEAs developed policies which had anti-racism as their primary goal. However, the distinction between multiculturalism, with its criticisms of ethnocentrism, and anti-racist education, with its implicit class politics, was often blurred in local education policy and in practice (Ali 1991, 201-203). Therefore, the extensive academic discussion about the compatibility of multicultural and anti-racist education was not discernible in the majority of LEA policy documents from the 1980s. In these documents the main issues remained broad, encompassing multiculturalism, social justice and 'race equality' (Troyna 1992, 64).

During the 1980s, the Conservative government came to focus on the charge that multicultural and anti-racist education represented everything which made 'producer capture' detrimental to traditional British culture, with its mixture of progressive, child-centred teaching methods, left-of-centre egalitarianism and group-differentiated rights. Hence, the Conservative government and its supporters as well as parts of the media continuously stirred up a 'moral panic' where multicultural and anti-racist education were blamed for being ideologically unsound, culpable and incompatible with established British traditions and values (Davies 1999, 128-130; Figueroa 2004a, 1012; Grosvenor 1997, 85; Hardy & Vielerporter 1990, 173; Jones 2003, 126-128; Tomlinson 2008, 85-95).

In many ways, this blaming epitomized the more general blaming of politically motivated teachers, LEAs and comprehensive schools which for example was launched in the agenda-setting *Black Papers*. This series of pamphlets issued in 1969-77 was written by prominent members of the 'New Right' and advocated the key neoliberal and neoconservative ideas which would later become partly realized by the Conservative government 1979-1997 (see for example Cox & Boyson 1977, 8; Sexton 1977, 86).

The blaming of teachers and LEAs rather than ethnic minority groups making claims for the recognition of their cultural backgrounds in education should be understood within the context of the Conservative government's more respectful and populist line towards ethnic minority groups from the mid-1980s. After changes to immigration laws during the 1980s, there was little electoral need to appease the white racist vote as they had done in the late 1970s, for example when Thatcher expressed her anxiety concerning that England would become "rather swamped by people with a different culture." Rather, the Conservative government recognized that there

was much to be gained in urban marginal constituencies from courting ethnic minority groups and Thatcher herself on the night of the general election in 1987 declared that the next target would be the inner cities. Against this background, the government chose to put emphasis on the neoliberal strand in its 'New Right' ideology and attacked the parasitic and socialist 'anti-enterprise culture' promoted by Labour and its offsprings such as multicultural education and anti-racism (Ali 1991, 195-211; Corner & Harvey 1991, 10-11).

Accordingly, the Conservative government blamed Labour-controlled local authorities for communist tendencies and economic wastefulness. Since the local councils were legitimately elected Thatcher first chose the indirect avenue of indicting their economic wastefulness. In June 1984, the government published a list of 18 local authorities required to reduce the rates paid by local residents (known as the so-called 'rate-capping'). Sixteen of them were controlled by Labour, including a number of those most engaged in anti-racism: ILEA, Brent, Camden, The Greater London Council, Hackney, Haringey, Lambeth and Islington (Joppke 1999, 236-245; Thatcher 1993, 591-613). These demands reduced the resources of LEAs and schools to support multiculturalism in education (Grinter 1994, 162-166).

Especially the ILEA had long been a favourite target of the Conservative government (Ali 1991, 205) and the ERA abolished it all at once by 1 April 1990 and replaced it with LEAs in each inner London council (DES 1988, section 162-163). These provisions should be seen in the light of that the ILEA since the publication of its policy on 'multiethnic education' in 1977 had been a leading proponent of multiculturalism. This policy proposed multicultural education and mother tongue tuition as part of the curriculum (Figuroa 2004a, 1008). In addition, the ILEA integrated the 1977 EEC Directive in its official language policy and suggested that mother tongue tuition should be developed for those pupils for whom English is not the mother tongue (Brook 1980, 243). Thus, the ILEA became a pioneer among those few LEAs who chose to offer mother tongue tuition in some form (Tomlinson 1987, 114). Six years later, the ILEA endorsed anti-racism with *A Policy for Equality: Race* (Joppke 1999, 242). As the largest LEA in the country, the ILEA during the 1980s retained its key role in setting an explicit and deliberate multicultural and anti-racist agenda in education. The efforts were backed by the ILEA Research and Statistics Branch which exceptionally evaluated the examination results of all ethnic

groups in the authority within the contemporary paradigm of 'school effectiveness' (Tomlinson 2008, 86-88).

The attacks on the ILEA throughout the second reading of the Education Reform Bill by Conservative MPs recapitulated the blaming of LEAs engaged in multicultural and anti-racist education. The blaming had been anticipated by Thatcher's introduction of the forthcoming Education Reform Bill at the Conservative Party Conference in 1987. Here, she declared that the opportunities of children in the inner cities were "snatched away from them by hard-left education authorities and extremist teachers" who taught them anti-racist mathematics, "whatever that may be" (Tomlinson 2008, 94-95).

However, rather than the explicit dismissal of multiculturalism in education, the Education Secretary and the Conservative MPs James Pawsey in the House of Commons accused the ILEA for low standards, economic excesses and failure in preparing children for later life. Thus, the bill was meant to indicate that the government finally took on their responsibilities to the nation after a period when some education authorities with the ILEA as the prime example had proved incapable in living up to their duties (House of Commons 1987, 780, 829).

According to the bill, the ILEA was not to be abolished all at once. Instead, the bill proposed that the Inner London Boroughs would be allowed to apply to opt out from the ILEA from April 1990. However, in the final ERA the ILEA was to be totally dismantled. In that respect, the MPs Heseltine and Boyson were major proponents for the swift abolishment of the ILEA (House of Commons 1987, 823, 842). Boyson had since the mid-1970s been criticizing the ILEA for economic wastefulness and "militant teachers" (Boyson 1975, 118-119).

Another chief opponent of the ILEA, MP John Bowis (Ball 1990, 55-56) recapitulated the blaming of the ILEA with the claim that the (House of Commons 1987, 839):

... abolition of ILEA would be to the general benefit of mankind - particularly mankind in inner London (...) ILEA is a heavy-spending authority and a heavily under-achieving authority. It is bottom of the league and bottom of the class.

In this way, the ERA with its direct intervention in local curriculum development and the particular blaming and abolition of the ILEA

anticipated that the forthcoming NC would rectify the 'misguided relativism' of multicultural and anti-racist education.

The monocultural curriculum

This section argues that the ERA circumscribed local curriculum practices with the National Curriculum based on monoculturalism. Thus, the main expression of the narrowing effects of the ERA on the scope for multiculturalism was that the National Curriculum subsequently crowded out multicultural and anti-racist education due to curriculum overload and a stronger focus on assessment.

The ERA established the governmental body of the National Curriculum Council (NCC). The NCC was meant to carry out the duty of the Secretary of State to specify the attainment targets and programmes of study of the NC (DES 1988, section 14). In the wake of the ERA, the NCC developed the idea that a broad and balanced curriculum should also include three forms of cross-curricular elements mostly to be taught through foundation subjects, including six 'skills', five 'themes' and two 'dimensions' (See appendix F). However, the status of these elements remained opaque or non-statutory in the following years, not least the dimension concerning the preparation of pupils to live in a multicultural society (Figueroa 1999, 290-291; Hughes 1997, 191; Pumfrey 1994a, 33, 47).

The NCC gave the task of specifying the attainment targets and programmes of study to subject working groups operating between 1988 and 1991. Their reports were subsequently translated into Statutory Orders meant to provide the basis for teaching in all state-maintained schools. These subject working groups were put under pressure by Thatcher, Baker and the Education Secretary Kenneth Clarke (1990-92). Especially the English and History groups were censored in their work. Clarke for example personally cut the bits he did not like in the History report (Arnot 1989, 24-28; Ball 1990, 185-198; Hughes 1997, 187-188; Tomlinson 2005, 61-64; Tomlinson 2008, 95).

As a result, the English and History reports turned out to be based on monocultural 'centric' knowledge systems which made them largely incompatible to curriculum approaches like multicultural and anti-racist education (Troyna & Hatcher 1991, 287-292). In addition, the Statutory Order of English was based on an Anglo-centric perspective and took English as the self-evident norm in relation to mother tongue. Thereby, the multilingual identities of ethnic minority

pupils within England were denied, apart for those of Welsh, Gaelic and Scottish origin (Verma et al. 2000).

Furthermore, the monolingual language policy became expressed with the provisions that the teaching of ethnic minority languages was limited to secondary education under the umbrella of Modern *Foreign Languages* (Anderson 2008).

The emphasis on monoculturalism also became expressed in relation to Religious Education. The ERA relied on the Education Act 1944 with its provisions that Religious Education should “reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian whilst taking account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain” (DES 1988, section 8).

In the House of Commons, Baker clarified the background of defining Religious Education as the only subject forming part of the ‘Basic Curriculum’ (see appendix F). Unlike the foundation subjects of the National Curriculum which were to be decided by secular bodies on a national level, the content of Religious Education would be defined locally among schools, LEAs and the churches in Local Standing Advisory Committees on Religious Education. Baker declared that this construction of the subject strengthened its status compared to the Education Act 1944 and was in accordance with the preferences of the church organizations (House of Commons 1987, 774).

In that respect, the ERA provisions were heavily influenced by the Bishop of London and Baroness Caroline Cox, a member of the neoconservative Hillgate Group (Tomlinson 2008, 96). Thus, with more statutory sections on Religious Education and the daily act of collective worship than any previous act, the ERA strengthened the position of religion in all state-maintained schools. In this way, the ERA effectively put Christianity at the centre of school education since its superior position in the curriculum as well as collective worship was not to be disputed (Gundara 2000, 70; Hargreaves 1993, vii-viii).

Therefore, the claims that the National Curriculum embodied a supposedly universal culture opposed to any particularities of ‘race’ or ‘class’ disguised that the curriculum was to be based on a monocultural framework (Figueroa 1999, 291-293; King 1993, 13; Troyna & Hatcher 1991, 287-292).

In addition, the Conservative government’s hostility towards multiculturalism became expressed in two ways at the stage of

curriculum formulation in relation to the cross-curricular multicultural dimension nominally included in the Whole Curriculum (see appendix F).

First, the non-statutory guidance about the multicultural dimension produced by a working group established by the NCC was never published (Grinter 1994, 162-166; Tomlinson 1993). Second, the treatment of the multicultural dimension in the Statutory Orders for the ten foundation subjects in the National Curriculum was flawed. The working groups were asked by the NCC to produce a section about the multicultural dimension but some of them refused, for example the Science and Math groups which argued that multicultural education caused confusion among pupils (Arnot 1989, 28). Furthermore, in the translation from reports into Orders the sections about multiculturalism produced by the remaining working groups were abridged into bland uncontroversial statements (Grinter 1994, 162-166).

Due to the absence of substantial guidance, the NCC referred to the less controversial cross-curricular theme citizenship when people made inquiries about multicultural education. However, like the other non-statutory cross-curricular elements citizenship education was also sidelined in school practices at this point (Chitty 2004, 179-183; Figueroa 2004b, 232-234; King 1993, 12).

The background was that the ERAs amalgam of neoliberalism, monoculturalism and subject working groups eager to promote their field resulted in an overloaded yet fragmented curriculum. In addition, the expansive assessment framework put pressure on school practices. Therefore, living up to the statutory requirements of the subject-based NC took precedence over the non-statutory cross-curricular elements in practice (Ball 1990, 190-193; Wolf 2002, 221-223).

Altogether, the ERA hence effectively crowded out multicultural and anti-racist education and the general scope for letting the curriculum reflect the cultural diversity in English society was diminished. In this respect, the reduced influence of LEAs in curriculum policy was an important factor since the advisers employed by the LEAs had previously played a key role in the development of multicultural education and anti-racism. During the two years following the ERA the shares of LEAs claiming to have policies about multicultural and anti-racist education dropped from two-thirds of LEAs to less than a sixth. A number of multicultural advisers in LEAs lost their jobs while the remaining had to align to the monocultural framework. Therefore, each school should take up the

issue on its own initiative without any guidance from central authorities. This was not likely due to the curriculum overload and the competitive pressures to perform within the monocultural framework (Chitty 2004, 127-131; Davies 1999, 130; Figueroa 1999, 293; Figueroa 2004a, 1013-1015; Grinter 1994, 162-166; Joppke 1999, 245; King 1993, 7; Kirk 1989, 37; Tomlinson 2008, 96, 115; Verma 1994, 8; Verma & Darby 2002, 19-22; Whitty et al. 1994).

In the same period, the narrowing effects of the ERA on the scope for multiculturalism in education were supplemented by the revision of the Section 11 funding arrangements. The revision took place around 1990 and resulted in a re-focused orientation towards English language learning and bound the funding system up with the curricular demands laid down by the ERA (Tomlinson 2008, 114). This development should be understood against the background that the scope of funded activities widened during the 1970s, in accordance with the emergence of multiculturalism on the local level. Thus, from its original narrow focus on supplementary English language learning to newly arrived children from the Commonwealth, Section 11 funding was also in practice used to support narrow and broad forms of multicultural and anti-racist education in mainstream classes as well as minority language learning. However, until the end of the 1980s, state authorities had little overview of the forms of activities Section 11 funding actually supported on the local level (Blair & Arnot 1993, 266-267; Figueroa 2004a, 1003, 1015; Verma et al. 2000).

In the end of 1988, a Home Office report concluded that a more clearly defined framework was required to ensure that Section 11 funding was “effectively” used. Furthermore, the definition of the target group was found to be outdated since non-Commonwealth ethnic minorities with similar needs were not formally included in the provisions. Subsequently, the Home Office in 1990 laid down “effectiveness” criteria with measurable targets oriented towards English language learning and the NC along with demands for strengthened evaluation on the local level (Julios 2008, 109; Pumfrey 1994b, 261-265).

Furthermore, in November 1992 the Home Office announced drastic reductions in Section 11 funding from 1994 (See appendix G). At the same point, it was reiterated that the sole aim of the funding system was to support English language learning for those children with another mother tongue than English. Accordingly, it was stressed that Section 11 grants was not considered appropriate for initiatives

aimed at the “maintenance of religious, artistic, cultural and linguistic traditions among ethnic minority communities” (Pumfrey 1994b, 264). In this way, the revised Section 11 funding arrangements effectively rendered curriculum projects meant to extend the ‘traditional English curriculum’ outside the scope of state funding (Blair & Arnot 1993, 266-267; Verma et al. 2000).

Thus, while the 1993 Local Government Act (Home Office 1993) realized the recommendations of the Home Office report from 1988 and formally expanded the target group for Section 11 funding to include all ethnic minority pupils, the scope of learning activities had already been aligned to the monocultural aims. With these arrangements, Section 11 funding continued to operate until New Labour replaced it with the “Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant” in 1998.

Therefore, the period around the ERA and its promotion of the market form also constituted the point where state authorities effectively undermined the development of a more multicultural curriculum carried out by schools and LEAs. Together, the overloaded monocultural curriculum, the alignment of Section 11 funded activities, the assessment arrangements and the exposition of schools to market forces effectively crowded out multicultural and anti-racist education. Hence, the scope for multiculturalism in the curriculum was diminished. This showcased that the equality of opportunity to perform within the market form was merged with the monocultural idea of equality as uniformity; while pupils were individually granted the freedom to perform at the level of their shared human nature, equality was reduced at the cultural level. In other words: pupils were set free to perform within a monocultural framework.

In that respect, it was crucial that multiculturalism and anti-racism became part of the left-right political struggle. The Cold War had still not come to its conclusion and the Conservative government successfully stirred up a ‘moral panic’ where those LEAs most engaged in multiculturalism were blamed for communist tendencies and being ‘looney lefties’. The fact that the Conservative government at the same time quite successfully courted the ethnic minority groups reflects that the Conservatives were skilful in employing the ‘New Right’ amalgam of neoliberalism and monoculturalism.

In that respect, the Conservative government took advantage of the problem inherent in anti-racism, namely the belief that a shared experience of oppression in England coupled with the recent experience of colonialism was sufficient to overcome the numerous

differences among 'black' communities. Actually, the campaigning against anti-racism began from within the ethnic minority communities as they became affected by the issues of class, gender and other pressures that had previously been more subordinated their common experience of marginality in English society. In that respect, the later renowned sociologist Tariq Modood in 1988-89 argued that the left was blind to its own brand of assimilation, that is, "become 'black' and fight racism", and that many opted for the Conservative form of assimilation with its emphasis on enterprise and individual responsibility in an allegedly colour-blind society. Symptomatically, a number of local councils by 1989 had dropped the usage of the term 'black' and the Commission for Racial Equality changed its ethnic monitoring categories, with Asian no longer being included as a subdivision in the 'black' category. Instead, Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Chinese became 'colourless' categories. It should be mentioned that on the other hand, anti-racism inspired some Conservative local councils to adopt 'race awareness' training. Official government information in the late 1980s also began to look like the material from Labour-controlled local authorities from the early 1980s with photos reflecting the cultural diversity of English society (Ali 1991, 195-211).

However, the adoption of such practices do not alter that the curriculum established with the ERA was basically monocultural and that the curriculum to this day remains an expression of cultural majoritarianism. The revisions of the Education Acts in 1996, 2002 and 2006 provide very little evidence of substantial multicultural developments in the curriculum (See appendix H for an overview over main revisions in the English school curriculum 1988-2006).

In this way, the mid-1990s marked the point from which both the Conservative Party and Labour sustained a consensus that the school curriculum should be slimmed down to emphasize the 'basics' of English literacy and numeracy and the core subjects of English, Math and Science (Figueroa 2004a, 1015; Julios 2009, 133-135; Tomlinson 2005, 83).

Denmark

This analytic section will justify the argument that the adoption of neoliberal ideas in the regulation of the Danish curriculum has been accompanied by monocultural identity politics, with the strengthening of Danish language learning and the effective undermining of mother

tongue tuition as the main expressions. Furthermore, blaming has mainly targeted ethnic minority parents while confrontation with the educational establishment has been rather subdued. In the justification of these arguments, the following sections will discuss the provisions of five acts passed in the period 2002-2006 (See appendix J for an overview) and the ideas underpinning them, namely Act 300 (2003), 313 and 572 (both passed in 2006), 412 (2002) and 477 (2004).

Neoliberal curriculum regulation

Like in the English context, there has been a long run-up to the adoption of the market form in Danish education, corresponding with the gradual transition from a centralized hierarchic model towards 'aim- and frame-regulation' in the Danish public sector from the 1970s. In education, the transition especially became expressed from the 1990s with the introduction of freer school choice and "taximeter regulation", that is, where funding to institutions follows the students (Finansministeriet 1996; Jensen 2007) (See appendix I for three models illustrating the shift towards aim-and-frame regulation). However, this section will show that the market form was decisively consolidated in the period 2003-2006.

This section focuses on the provisions of acts 300, 313 and 572 and shows that they reflect the neoliberal principles that state authorities should be directly engaged in the definition of a centralized curriculum and the control of standards. In this way, the regulation of the Danish school curriculum became further embedded in systems of accountability modelled according to the bi-dimensional pattern of educational control, that is, ensuring accountability of system output 'upwards' towards state authorities, and 'downwards' towards parents. Unlike the English context, the regulation of the school curriculum in Denmark has involved the state authorities' statutory allocation of time periods for various curriculum contents. On the other hand, the syllabuses still largely remain to the discretion of local councils and schools albeit the introduction of 'canons' is eroding this long-standing principle in the Danish Folkeskole.

Act 300 of 2003 involved a centralization of the Folkeskole curriculum. The Minister of Education was given the powers to lay down final as well as intermediate "Common National Objectives" (In Danish: "Fælles Nationale Mål") for all subjects in class 0-10. These objectives replaced the previous *statutory* final and *guiding* intermediate objectives (UVM 2003a, section 10, subsection 2).

Hence, Act 300 drew on the provisions of the 1993 School Act and the curriculum project “Clear Objectives” (“Klare Mål”) initiated in 2001 towards the end of the previous centre-left government. The 1993 School Act was in itself an expression of the shift towards the market form since it gave the Minister of Education the authority to define statutory final objectives within the “central knowledge and skills areas” (“centrale kundskabs- og færdighedsområder”) of various subjects (UVM 1993, section 10).

In this way, the 1993 Act entailed a centralization of the curriculum compared to the School Act of 1975 which only laid down a single statutory ‘central knowledge area’, namely that of the subject Christian Studies (“Kristendomskundskab”) which was to be centred on the Evangelical Lutheran Christianity of the Danish National Evangelical Lutheran Church. Otherwise, the 1975 Act defined the general preamble, a statutory range of fifteen subjects to be taught, the general purpose of each subject and the class levels in which to teach them. Thus, the definition of curriculum content within the subject range was to the discretion of the individual school which should draw up their own syllabus (UVM 1975, section 1, 4, 5, 16; See appendix K for an overview of the centralization of the Folkeskole curriculum 1975-2006).

Concerning the intermediate objectives, Act 300 drew on the curriculum project “Clear Objectives” which complemented the final objectives introduced with the 1993 School Act with *guiding* intermediate objectives on certain class levels, with the phrase “Expectations for what the pupils in general is able to and know within the area” (In Danish: ”Forventninger til, hvad eleverne almindeligvis kan og ved inden for området”. UVM 2001, section 1). Thus, Act 300 converted these “expectations” into statutory intermediate objectives (see appendix K).

Act 313 of 2006 supplemented the “Common National Objectives” introduced with Act 300 with two main elements to strengthen the control of standards: “National Tests” during the course of compulsory education and an elaboration of the already existing final exams in class 9. First, the “National Tests” would include six subjects, starting with Danish in class 2, and be mandatory for all pupils. The National Tests were not to be covered by Act 880 of 2005 (UVM 2005d) concerning the obligation of schools to publish final exam results, aims, pedagogical orientation on their websites. The bill stated that this reservation was linked with the potential deepening of school segregation. The analysis of access to schools in Denmark will

return to this important point. Second, the previously *optional* final exams in class 9 were converted into seven *mandatory* exams. All pupils should be assessed in seven final exams: Written exams in Danish and Math, and oral exams in Danish, English and Physics/Chemistry. The remaining two exams should be decided by lot. In that respect, History, Social Studies and Christian Studies were included in the range of possible exam subjects. Unlike the National Tests, the average results from these final exams should be published on school websites (Jensen 2009, 249-264).

Finally, Act 572 involved a range of further accountability "tools" for the control of standards modelled according to the bi-dimensional pattern of educational control, ensuring school accountability 'upwards' towards the state authorities, and 'downwards' towards parents. These provisions therefore made further inroads into the autonomy of schools and local councils. The systems of accountability were expanded with for example the Minister's annual preparation of a "National Performance Profile" ("national præstationsprofil"), showing the national average results from the final exams and the National Tests. While the profile must not be published for the public, the profile would serve to provide feedback to the local councils and school heads about the results of their particular schools, thereby enabling the comparison between the local schools and the national results.

In addition, local councils were given the duty to prepare and publish an annual "Quality Report" ("Kvalitetsrapport") with various categories of information determined by the Minister of Education concerning standards and evaluation. In that respect, the Minister of Education was given new powers to make demands to the local councils to produce action plans, in the case of poor quality in a school. Finally, written pupil plans outlining personal test results and the intended follow-up were introduced to make schools and teachers more accountable towards parents and vice versa (Jensen 2009, 273-281).

The period 2003-2006 thus saw a centralization of the Danish Folkeskole curriculum which is reminiscent of the introduction of the National Curriculum with the 1988 Education Reform Act in England. However, there are important differences in terms of curriculum governance.

The previous section showed that the three curriculum 'elements' of attainment targets, assessment arrangements as well as the programmes of study were all made statutory in England in 1988.

In Denmark, the “Common National Objectives” (the equivalent of the English attainment targets) and the assessment arrangements in Denmark are also statutory. However, the “syllabus” (In Danish: “læseplan”. The English equivalent would be the programmes of study) and the nearly identical “teaching manual” (“Undervisningsbeskrivelse”, that is, a description of the development in the tuition towards the intermediate and final objectives in each subject. In 2009, the syllabus and the teaching manual were merged into a single document) are still largely to the discretion of the school level.

Still, the syllabus is embedded in simultaneously-loose-and-tight chains of accountability since Act 300 in great detail clarified the obligations of school heads, school committees and the local councils in laying down the syllabus (UVM 2003a, section 40, subsection 3; section 44, subsection 8, point. 1; section 45, subsection 3).

In this way, the curriculum in Denmark appear less centralized (see appendix K for an overview) than in England in terms of legislation albeit the introduction of ‘canons’ is scooping out local autonomy in these matters, a point to be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

On the other hand, curriculum regulation in Denmark is more time-led since Act 300 constrained the local autonomy in defining the time distribution between subjects. The Minister of Education was given the powers to determine a minimum annual number of lessons in relation to stages (class 1-3, 4-6, 7-9) and clusters of subjects (humanities, science and practical-aesthetic). In addition, Act 300 gave the Minister the powers to define a minimum number of hours for Danish and Math in the first stage (UVM 2003a, section 16). Act 572 in 2006 furthered the central time regulation when the Minister was given similar powers in relation to History in the intermediate stage (UVM 2006d, section 16).

These were the main provisions concerning curriculum regulation in the period 2003-2006. In the following section, it will be argued that these changes which are in accordance with Friedman’s neoliberal principles were indeed underpinned by distinctive neoliberal ideas.

Consensus for neoliberalism

This section argues that there during the 2000s has been broad political consensus in the Danish context for the market form in compulsory education. However, it will be pointed out that there has

been some contention between the major political parties concerning the degree of centralization, eventually resulting in the increasing centralization of the curriculum and the control of standards. In addition, it will be argued that the involved dismantling of ‘producer capture’ has been draped in the rhetorics of ‘interest-convergence’.

The fundamental consensus about neoliberalism is indicated by that fact that the acts 300, 313 and 572 were all supported by a large majority of the two parties constituting the coalition government in power since 2001, *Venstre* (the Liberal Party) and *Konservative Folkeparti* (“Conservative People’s Party”; hereafter CPP), the government’s steady support party *Dansk Folkeparti* (“Danish People’s Party”; hereafter DPP) as well as the largest opposition party *Socialdemokraterne*. Indeed, except Act 412 (2002), the bills discussed in the analysis were all passed by this large majority (See appendix L for an overview of the support for these and other recent school bills).

However, there have been some tensions between, on the one hand, the CPP and the DPP, and, on the other hand, the Liberal Party concerning the degree of centralization in relation to the curriculum and the control of standards. This was showcased during the preparation of Bill 130, leading to Act 300, when the CPP and DPP demanded statutory syllabuses for all subjects throughout compulsory education. However, they withdrew this demand when all other political parties and the Danish Union of Teachers opposed it. Instead, the two parties demanded the statutory objectives which became part of Act 300 as Common National Objectives (Olsen 2002). Subsequently, when the agreement had been settled, the CPP called for further state engagement in the control of standards. However, at this point, in the autumn of 2002, Liberal Minister of Education Ulla Tørnæs (2001-2005) suggested that there were no plans to introduce statutory tests in relation to the new statutory intermediate aims (Djørup 2002).

The provisions of Act 313 and 572 clearly indicate that by 2006 the demands of the CPP to strengthen the control of standards were met. By the mid-2000s, the term “culture of evaluation” (In Danish: “evalueringskultur”) had become epidemic as the main rationale for the imposition of systems of accountability in education governance (Danish Government 2005; Hjort 2006a; Jensen 2009, 249, 265).

While the term was only made epidemic after the publication of the OECD Peer Review about the “*Quality and Equity of Schooling Outcomes in Denmark*” in June 2004 with its main recommendation

that the Danish school system should create a ‘culture of evaluation’ to raise standards and promote equity (OECD 2004, 67-68), Tørnæs two months earlier had anticipated the conclusions of the Peer Review when she expressed that the Folkeskole needed to develop a ‘culture of evaluation’ and that the government therefore would introduce National Tests (Dahler-Larsen 2006, 7-18).

While there thus has been some contention concerning the degree of curriculum centralization among the supporting political parties, the readings and bills associated with the acts 300, 313 and 572 showcased the broad commitment to neoliberal ideas in education. Here, the parties with various emphasis presented the application of neoliberal ideas as levers for national competitiveness (Jensen 2009, 179-184, 265), individual responsibility and colour-blind equality of opportunity (Folketinget 2003, 1, 59, 65; Folketinget 2006a, 22; Folketinget 2006b, 34, 61; Folketinget 2006c, 51; Jensen 2009, 179, 188, 249-250. The transcripts of readings in the Danish parliament Folketinget available on its official website are organized according to number of speech. In the analysis of the Danish context, the citations hence refer to the particular number of the speech in the reading).

Accordingly, the provisions were also claimed to support the equality of opportunity for ethnic minority pupils (Folketinget 2003, 38; Folketinget 2006a, 48; Folketinget 2006d, 30, 57). Hence, this study is in line with Jens Rasmussen’s (2008) argument that there has been a broad political consensus for the strategy of “accountability” in Danish education policy during the 2000s. However, it should be added that the range of seemingly ‘pragmatic’ rationales put forward for ‘accountability’ on a more general level all emanate from neoliberal ideas, in line with Beck’s (2005) argument concerning the major political parties acting as ‘estranged twins’ struggling in the same direction.

The main neoliberal arguments for the market form in education were recapitulated by Tina Nedergaard, the Liberal Party (later to become Minister of Education in 2010). Nedergaard coupled the control of standards with the future individual responsibility of pupils in the labour market and in everyday life, the prevention of schools becoming “small, closed systems”, and the needs of parents, who should be able to hold someone responsible for that their child is given appropriate challenges in schools, “regardless ethnic origin, social background, parent income, parents’ education etc.” Thus, Nedergaard argued that the provisions would ensure that teachers, parents and local councils would take on their particular responsibilities. Thereby,

all pupils would acquire the knowledge and skills preparing them for further education, also those pupils who had previously been failed by the education system (Folketinget 2006c, 1, 8, 10).

In this way, Nedergaard pinpointed the neoliberal ideas that the control of standards on the basis of an allegedly unequivocal curriculum will disperse power from the insular educational establishment to parents and facilitate the fair competition which will nurture individual responsibility and promote equality of opportunity.

However, whereas the previous section showed that the confrontation with the 'educational establishment' in the English context was very explicit, it has been rather subdued in the Danish context during the 2000s. The influential Minister of Education Bertel Haarder (1982-1993, 2005-2010) and Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen have earlier launched fierce attacks on the ubiquitous educational establishment for their socialist indoctrination, slavish mentality and complacency (see for example Fogh Rasmussen 1993, 49-54; Haarder 1980a, 155-156; Haarder 1980b, 3-5; Hårder 1973, 85) but such accusations have largely been absent during the current Liberal-CPP government.

Fogh Rasmussen stood for one of the few examples of blaming teachers in his inaugural speech of Folketinget in 2003 where he accused teachers for permissiveness, sloppy teaching methods and low standards (Fogh Rasmussen 2003). However, this strategy proved short-lived since the attacks were generally perceived unfair by the Danish electorate (Olsen & Redington 2003).

Instead, the reduced role of teachers and local councils implied with the promotion of the bi-dimensional pattern of educational control has been draped in the rhetorics of 'interest-convergence'. Thus, the "culture of evaluation" has been suggested to serve the common good and the interests of all involved actors. Accordingly, the diminished autonomy of teachers and local councils has mainly been legitimated by presenting the policy tools as helpful for teachers in their daily work (for example Jensen 2009, 188; Folketinget 2003, 38; Folketinget 2006a, 48) or praising the teaching profession for its role in improving school standards and safeguarding key values of the Danish school system while meeting new demands (for example Folketinget 2006a, 9; Folketinget 2006c, 1, 17, 32, 51, 76). Only rarely has the more confrontational strategy been adopted where teachers were told to focus on their freedom of method and otherwise align to the political realities where the vast political majority supports

the market form and the implied dismantling of ‘producer capture’ (Folketinget 2006c, 32, 76).

Strengthened monolingualism

This section argues that the strengthening of neoliberal ideas in curriculum regulation has been accompanied by monocultural identity politics and the blaming of bilingual parents for their lack of assimilation. More particularly, it will be argued that the main expression in the Danish context of the narrowing effects of the market form on the scope for multiculturalism in the curriculum concerned the undermining of mother tongue tuition supplemented by attempts to advance linguistic assimilation.

In this way, ‘language’ has remained the main category of contention in the identity politics exercised by Danish state authorities during the 2000s. This is in line with the long-standing tradition in Denmark where policy-makers, researchers and teachers have put emphasis on various forms of language learning in relation to ethnic minority pupils. On the other hand, terms such as multicultural education and anti-racist education have had no significant impact in Denmark (Kampmann 2006), albeit some teachers and advisers in urban areas since the 1980s have been engaged in developing such forms of education (Kristjánsdóttir 2006a, 199-266; Jørgensen 1990, 38-50).

The focus on language has been reflected in the identities ascribed ethnic minority pupils. After a period of bewilderment during the 1970s where various labels were used, including for example “foreign children” (In Danish: “udenlandske børn”) and “children of guest workers” (“gæstarbejderes børn”), “pupils speaking a foreign language” (“fremmedsprogede elever”) became the dominant term to denote ethnic minority pupils in Danish official terminology (Kristjánsdóttir 2006a, 144). Act 413 in 1996 replaced that term with “bilingual” pupils or children (UVM 1996, section 4a, subsection 2). This group thus became defined in the Danish School Act as follows (see appendix T, number 1, for quotation in Danish):

Bilingual children are children who speak another mother tongue than Danish, and who do not learn Danish until they come into contact with the surrounding society, e.g. through the school’s teaching.

Symptomatically, the replacement of terms in 1996 was contested even though the bill suggested that it was merely “technical” and did not imply any change to the main aim of Danish language learning (Jensen 2009, 118). However, the CPP who advocated the assimilation of ethnic minority pupils and hence the unequivocal status of Danish as the primary language in Danish society suggested that the terms “bilingual pupils” and “Danish as a second language” were “misleading and confusing” and “unacceptable”. The rationale given by the CPP was that the problems related to “pupils speaking a foreign language” were associated with their very lack of ability to speak Danish and thus to speak two languages (Uddannelsesudvalget 1996).

Against this background, it is remarkable that this particular section, including the definition of bilingual pupils, has recently been repealed from the School Act with uniform parliamentary support and instead become integrated within the legislation related to pre-school daycare centres. While the repeal was passed in the name of ‘deregulation’ (Kiær 2010, 13; Socialministeriet 2010), the remaining part of this section will justify the argument that the recently established absence of any group definition related to cultural diversity in the Danish School Act spells out the ambition to eradicate what is considered lingual mongrelization among bilingual pupils before they start schooling at age six.

Before the monolingual identity politics embodied in Act 412 (2002) and 477 (2004) will be discussed in more detail, the previous provisions for ethnic minority pupils will be explored in order to justify the argument that the entrenchment of the market form in Danish compulsory education has been accompanied by a shift towards monolingual identity politics.

In the period from the late 1960s to the 2000s Danish state authorities largely exercised monocultural identity politics towards ethnic minority pupils, with an emphasis on “danicization” through Danish language learning, socialization and the dispersal of ethnic minority pupils between schools (Kristjánsdóttir 2006a; Jørgensen & Hetmar 1991, 29).

Thus, Undervisningsministeriet (the Danish Ministry of Education, hereafter UVM) invoked the alleged reliance on bottom-up development to legitimate the lack of central action to develop the curriculum in any multicultural direction despite numerous recommendations from official committees and councils as well as national and international research. On the local level, curriculum development involving bilingual tuition and multicultural education

were initiated by a few local councils and schools from the 1980s in the major urban areas. However, Danish state authorities have managed to contain and suppress the dissemination of experiences from such bottom-up development as well as those emanating from large scale projects initiated by themselves during the late 1980s and 1990s when the experiences were not deemed compatible with the monocultural framework (Gimbel 1991, 183-184; Jørgensen 1990, 37-44; Jørgensen & Hetmar 1991, 25-29; Kristjánsdóttir 2006a, 147, 247-262, 380-382).

Yet, mother tongue tuition for ethnic minority pupils was established by state authorities in 1976 as a distinct expression of multiculturalism. The School Act 1975 gave the Minister of Education powers to lay down specific regulations for tuition in mother tongue (UVM 1975, section 4, subsection 6) and the following year it was made statutory for local councils to offer mother tongue tuition for “pupils speaking a foreign language that live in Denmark or will reside here in at least six months”. The provisions laid down that these pupils should be offered three to five lessons weekly in their mother tongue throughout class 1-9, in case there were twelve pupils speaking a similar mother tongue. However, mother tongue tuition was given a segregated status since it was not to be taught as part of the tuition in mainstream classes (Kristjánsdóttir 2006b).

Symptomatically, these provisions were introduced at a point where *Socialdemokraterne* dominated the general educational debate in Denmark. The party’s at that time egalitarian ideology was reflected in the two major policy documents of the period, the School Act 1975 and the major policy program *U 90* which questioned the monocultural identity politics of the Folkeskole (Central Council of Education 1978, 11, 110-115; Haas 2003, 65-70; Winther-Jensen 2007, 25-33).

It should be stressed that while the provisions concerning mother tongue tuition were not profoundly changed before 2002, the recognition of lingual minorities in Danish society was never backed by further official support in the form of guidance or encouragement of curriculum development. Rather, mother tongue tuition remained utterly contested by policy-makers, not least by the subsequent centre-right government 1982-1993 with Bertel Haarder of the Liberal Party as Minister of Education (Kristjánsdóttir 2006a, 262). Thus, UVM publications from the 1980s recommended local councils to strengthen Danish language learning to the detriment of mother tongue tuition. In addition, the continuous lack of official guidance and support

contributed to the very low status of mother tongue tuition in practice where it mostly has remained totally segregated from mainstream school activities. Characteristically, official curriculum guidance for mother tongue tuition remained absent until a few months before the Liberal-CPP government took power in 2001 (Kristjánsdóttir 2006b; Thomsen 2004).

During the 1990s, Danish state authorities began more actively to promote curriculum development for ethnic minority pupils in relation to Danish language learning. This agenda corresponded with the emergence of Danish national identity as a prominent topic in media debates, prompted by the integration of the EEC, immigration and the apparent failure of the Danish welfare society in meeting the needs and demands of the 'new Danes'. The centre-left government (1993-2001) with Poul Nyrup Rasmussen of the Social Democrats as Prime Minister reacted by attempts to strengthen 'Danish culture', assuming that the mobilization of national identity would empower the Danish people and make them more tolerant towards ethnic minority groups in Danish society (Winther-Jensen 2001, 179-183). From the mid-1990s, DPP put the major political parties under pressure with their explicit assertion of nationalism and restrictive attitudes towards immigration and cultural diversity in Danish society. In response, Prime Minister Nyrup Rasmussen in 1997 declared that Denmark never would become a multicultural society (Larsen 2001).

Against this background, curriculum policy during the 1990s put increasingly emphasis on the early acquisition of Danish language (Appendix M provides an overview of the efforts of Danish state authorities to strengthen monolingualism). The School Act of 1993 introduced supplementary "specially arranged tuition in Danish" "in requisite extent" ("i fornødent omfang") in class 1-9 for "pupils speaking a foreign language" in the mainstream classes of the Folkeskole (UVM 1993, section 5, subsection 7).

Before 1993, only those "pupils speaking a foreign language" in the "reception classes" ("modtagelsesklasser") for newly arrived immigrant pupils were considered in the curriculum. The UVM laid down in 1984 that the pupils with "inadequate knowledge of Danish language" ("utilstrækkeligt kendskab til dansk") to follow the tuition in mainstream classes could be referred to such "reception classes" (UVM 1984).

After 1993, provisions in 1996 and 1998 signalled that the efforts in Danish education policy to encourage Danish language learning were increasingly focused on the early acquisition through pre-school

language stimulation “with a view to that the children acquire Danish.” These provisions were added to the section concerning special needs education in the Danish School Act (UVM 1996, section 4a; section 5, subsection 7; UVM 1998, section 4a).

On the other hand, the tuition in “Danish as a second language” (which replaced the term “specially arranged tuition in Danish” in 1996) for ethnic minority pupils in the mainstream classes of the Folkeskole have remained contested since it was established in 1993. While many education professionals engaged in the tuition of ethnic minority pupils saw “Danish as a second language” as an opportunity to recognize the multicultural identities of ethnic minority pupils, state authorities and policy-makers have perceived “Danish as a second language” as a means to further assimilation. In school practices, the actual status of Danish as a second language has been surrounded by widespread confusion and haphazard implementation due to the opaque relation between the group classified as bilingual pupils (associated with “language at home”) in the School Act and the needs-based entitlement for Danish as a second language (defined by “in requisite extent”) (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut 2007; Kristjánsdóttir & Timm 2007, 107-122; Saarup et al. 2004).

Against this background, the aims of the current Liberal-CPP government have corresponded with the historic preference for monocultural identity politics in the Danish context. However, the government has strengthened the cultural majoritarianism, not least due to the government’s general dependency on the DPP as its supporting party. At the same time, it should be stressed that there has been a broad consensus for monoculturalism, as there has been for neoliberalism, among the four largest parties in Danish parliament, the Liberal Party, CPP, DPP and *Socialdemokraterne*. Only Act 412 in 2002 concerning mother tongue tuition was more contested since the Social Democrats did not support it (see appendix L). In the following, Act 412 (UVM 2002a) and 477 (UVM 2004) will be discussed to justify this argument with a focus on the ‘re-privatization’ of mother tongue tuition and the blaming of those parents not living up to the demands for assimilation.

Act 412 (UVM 2002a) laid down that the government withdrew the obligation of local councils to provide mother tongue tuition to bilingual pupils. The provisions involved an element of Eurocentrism, mainly on the grounds of the European Council Directive 77/486/EEC mentioned earlier. Thus, children with origins in the EU or the European Economic Area (EEA) and those affiliated with the Danish

national community, that is, the Faroe Islands and Greenland, retained their rights to mother tongue tuition. The Bill pointed out that the emphasis was now solely put on Danish language learning, with advanced efforts from three instead of four years of age in order to raise standards in the Folkeskole, in terms of subject knowledge as well as social competences. In addition, the provisions were meant to lead to a more goal-oriented cooperation with parents and strengthen their active role in supporting their children's language acquisition. Finally, the bill suggested that the provisions would set local councils freer to follow their priorities in their integration efforts. However, at the same time the block grant to local councils was reduced, on the basis of estimations of savings and costs concerning the abolishment of mother tongue tuition and the strengthened duties to provide language stimulation (Jensen 2009, 173-177).

In this way, the Liberal-Conservative government put pressure on local councils to align to the monocultural identity politics. The "tax stop" which was introduced by the government in 2001 contributed to this pressure since it involved that taxes, rates and dues on state, regional and local level were not allowed to increase (Regeringen 2001).

During the readings of Act 412, the supporting parties advocated the aims of monoculturalism. Minister of Education Ulla Tørnæs and Gitte Lillelund Bech, both of the Liberal Party, Carina Christensen, CPP, and Louise Frevert of the DPP with various emphasis explained that it should be clarified towards ethnic minority pupils and parents that they were demanded to take more responsibility for their performance in education and the labour market. This would help to keep the wheels spinning in Danish society and maintain national competitiveness. The main idea was that communication in education and the labor market best takes place on the terms of the Danes and their cultural norms, and the earlier this could be realized the better. In that respect, mother tongue tuition was deemed counterproductive and therefore it was time to 'find new ways' and focus on Danish language learning (Folketinget 2002a, 1, 6, 23, 55, 56, 105, 117; Folketinget 2002b, 30).

At the same time, Tørnæs, Bech and Christensen asserted that the provisions did not represent a showdown with multilingualism as such and that families were allowed to maintain their cultural identity in the domestic sphere without government intervention (Folketinget 2002a, 23, 56, 105, 117).

Actually, Bech insisted that the provisions did not entail the abolishment of mother tongue tuition since local councils could find the necessary resources and even expand mother tongue tuition if they only tried hard enough, despite the tax stop and the reduced block grants (Folketinget 2002a, 35).

Still, the effects of Act 412 were immediately felt as local councils began to abolish mother tongue tuition for pupils with origins in non-EU/EEA countries (Kristjánsdóttir & Timm 2007, 143-146). In 2008, about 7,500 pupils with EU/EEA origins were still granted the right to mother tongue tuition nationwide while the provisions for the remaining 62,000 bilingual children from non-EU/EEA countries were to the discretion of the local councils. A survey covering 79 of the 98 Danish municipalities reported that 4,631 of 58,000 non-EU/EEA bilingual pupils in 2008 were offered mother tongue tuition organized and paid by the public sector. For those children, 3 lessons a week remained the norm. However, nearly half of the local councils did not offer mother tongue tuition at all and the majority of the remaining councils did not offer mother tongue tuition for children from non-EU/EEA countries while EU/EEA children were offered free tuition. Thus, only five local councils with a small number of bilingual pupils offered mother tongue tuition for all bilingual pupils throughout class 1-9. The vast majority (about 4,254 pupils) of those bilingual pupils still being offered mother tongue tuition lived in fourteen municipalities (mainly Copenhagen and Aarhus, the two largest municipalities in Denmark) where tuition was merely provided until class 3 or 5. Alternatively, seven local councils offered mother tongue tuition to all bilingual pupils on unequal terms since children from non-EU/EEA countries should pay annual fees varying from 40-700 Euros. Against this background, Act 412 has apparently contributed to the establishment of new private sector alternatives providing mother tongue tuition. In 2008, such private initiatives existed in at least 27 municipalities. However, the quality and quantity of those initiatives still remain an uninvestigated research area in the Danish context (Timm 2008a, 4-12, 36; Timm 2008b, 3-7).

In this way, Danish state authorities have largely succeeded in 're-privatizing' mother tongue tuition. The remaining part of this section will argue that corresponding with the encouragement to dismantle tuition in minority languages paid by the public sector, the monocultural identity politics have become expressed with a strengthened emphasis on early Danish language acquisition. Accordingly, cultural differences are construed as deficits and

bilingual parents and pupils are encouraged to take on their personal responsibilities and assimilate. On the other hand, parents not preparing their children sufficiently for the monocultural school system are blamed. Thus, the problems of 'integration' stemming from the disparity between the institutional framework and the cultural diversity represented by its users are primarily attributed to the deprivation of those deemed deviant, as also pointed out by Horst & Gitz-Johansen (2010, 147) and Kristjánsdóttir & Timm (2007, 52-53).

Blaming was especially evident with Act 477 of 2004 which made language stimulation mandatory for bilingual children from three years of age if they were assessed to need it. In this way, it constituted another step in a development which has only pointed in one direction since the mid-1990s (See appendix M). The provisions meant that parents lost their previous rights to reject the assessment of 'need' and the 'offer' of Danish language stimulation. The provisions hence effectively made a number of bilingual pupils subject to compulsory school attendance from three years of age (UVM 2004).

The emphasis on individual responsibility and the associated blaming were hence followed up by paternalism towards those ethnic minority parents who did not take on their responsibilities to have their children prepared for the monocultural education system from the age of three years. Altogether, the provisions showcased the token character of the numerous claims put forward during the reading of Act 412 that parents would be free to develop their children's cultural identity according to their preferences in the domestic sphere without government intervention.

In Folketinget, Bech of the Liberal Party pointed out that the purpose of the provisions served to ensure that bilingual pupils would "not be behind on points" compared with majority children at school start and ultimately to prepare the children for the labour market (Folketinget 2004, 1; see appendix T, number 2, for original quotation in Danish):

Education and good knowledge of Danish are crucial for a successful integration. At the same time the possibility for education depend on whether you speak Danish. Without Danish no education and no integration. (...) By advancing compulsory education to the age of three years for bilingual children who according to an expert evaluation are estimated to be in need of language stimulation, we want to ensure that

all bilingual children can start school without language problems, which is a prerequisite of benefiting from schooling and subsequently to have wider access to education or the labour market.

In this way, the monocultural logic of the Danish school system and labour market implied new demands to Danish language competences filtering down to three years of age. Bech added that the measure of paternalism involved in imposing particular requirements to bilingual children for compulsory education from three years of age represented an individual approach, that is, where individuals would receive the offers which exactly matched them (Folketinget 2004, 14). Thereby, Bech recapitulated the effects of the neoliberal and monocultural amalgam on individual freedom in Danish compulsory education; those not able to perform within the monocultural framework are blamed for their irresponsibility and made subject to new demands which will constrain their freedom.

During the reading, the dominant theme in the blaming of ethnic minority parents concerned the upbringing of children and supporting them in ways which would be in their interest, that is, supporting their linguistic assimilation and preparing them for the monocultural Danish education system. In this way, the speeches by the MPs from the Liberal Party, CPP, DPP and the Social Democrats all expressed that the children in question ultimately were ‘our children’, in the sense of feeding the monocultural Danish knowledge economy, rather than the children of their parents. In this way, parental preferences and self-determination became subordinated the national interests of a single common language and Danish cultural values (Folketinget 2004, 10, 39, 58, 69).

Frevert of the DPP most explicitly spelled out the implications of the monocultural logic when she declared that there was no opposition between language stimulation being both a “good offer” and a “mandatory part of tuition”. Hence, Frevert dismissed it as a “delusion” that the provisions should represent the use of force towards “our children” (Folketinget 2004, 61, 63).

Accordingly, the self-evident need for assimilation justified a measure of paternalism where Danish authorities in order to safeguard ‘our children’ made clear towards those deemed irresponsible what ‘integration’ actually implied. In that respect, Bech declared that the government found it “wrong” when parents rejected the offer of language stimulation and thereby “isolated” their children. Therefore,

sanctions were justified if parents rejected the assessment of their child and language stimulation. First, the general procedures of the Folkeskole applied where the local council would try to explain by all means and persuade parents that language stimulation would be in the interest of their child (Folketinget 2004, 4, 12). Eventually, other sanctions could apply, for example withdrawal of welfare benefits. Indeed, Minister of Education Tørnæs suggested that the rejection of language stimulation could ultimately lead to the social authorities' forcible removal of the child. However, this suggestion was subsequently opposed by the Ministry of Social Affairs (Uddannelsesudvalget 2004).

This section has focused on the curriculum provisions concerning ethnic minority pupils in the Danish Folkeskole. It was argued that 'language' has remained a main category of contention in identity politics of state authorities towards ethnic minority pupils during the 2000s. In that respect, it was shown that monolingual identity politics have been strengthened and advanced along with the increasing marketization of Danish compulsory education discussed in the previous sections. Furthermore, the group of ethnic minority parents found not to align sufficiently to the monocultural paradigm was identified as a particular target group for blaming. Against this background, the next section will shift the focus to the mainstream Folkeskole curriculum and show that its development during the 2000s has followed a similar pattern.

The monocultural curriculum

This section will argue that besides the strengthening of monolingualism neoliberalism has been accompanied by a more general emphasis on 'centric' knowledge systems in the mainstream curriculum of the Folkeskole.

In that respect, the Janus-face of nationalism has been reflected in the Danish school curriculum since monocultural national identities have been mobilized in order to strengthen competitiveness in the global market place. Symptomatically, the curriculum changes of Act 300 and 572 and the revision of the preamble in the Danish School Act were included in the Danish government's major policy program of "Strategi for Danmark i den globale økonomi" ("Strategy for Denmark in the Global Economy"; Regeringen 2006, 12-16). In this way, the equality of opportunity for individuals to perform 'freely' in the marketplace has been increasingly demarcated by monocultural standards based on traditional views of Danish language and culture.

In the following, the monocultural ideas underpinning the curriculum changes related to the subjects Danish, History and Christian Studies will be discussed. First, it should be pointed out that the powers given to the Minister of Education with the acts 300 and 572 in relation to time allocation have been especially used to raise the number of lessons in Danish and History and thus to assert their relative status in the curriculum. It should be mentioned that the local councils have received state grants to implement the strengthening of Danish and History (Jensen 2009, 183-184, 269; See appendix N which provides an overview of the development in the relative status of the humanities and natural sciences in the Folkeskole curriculum during the period 1993-2006). This observation draws on Bernstein's (1975) argument that the relative status of curriculum contents is defined by the number of time units given over to it (Bernstein 1975, 79-81).

In addition, the emphasis on 'centric' knowledge systems in Danish and History has been strengthened with the introduction of national canons as statutory curriculum contents. As mentioned earlier, these canons circumscribe the long-standing local autonomy in laying down the school syllabus.

The national canons emanate from the project "Denmark's Cultural Canon" which entailed that the Danish Ministry of Culture in 2005 appointed eight expert groups to determine the content of altogether nine canons concerning for example literature, history, music, films, architecture and children's culture (Kulturministeriet 2011). From 2005, the 15 canonized Danish authors and works were included in the statutory final objectives of Danish, and in 2009 the term "canon of Danish literature" was introduced in the statutory curriculum provisions. The same year, the "History canon of the Folkeskole" was included as prescriptive content in the History curriculum as one of four central knowledge and skills areas (UVM 2005c, 2009).

Symptomatically, the Conservative Minister of Culture Brian Mikkelsen employed the Janus-face of nationalism in his presentation of the canon in 2006 when he declared that the canon of culture reflected the grand history of a "vibrant culture" developing through millennia and that the main purpose of the canon was to raise awareness about the values of Danish cultural heritage and its role in a globalized future (Mikkelsen 2006a, 2006b).

The Danish government and its supporting party of the DPP have also employed Christian Studies in the mobilization of national

identity and the preparation of Danish society for the global market place. While the time allocation for Christian Studies has been stable during the 2000s (see appendix N), its inclusion in the final examinations of compulsory education was celebrated by Carina Christensen, CPP, as an expression of the raised status of Christian Studies, and along with History, “the importance of these particular subjects in a globalized world” (Folketinget 2006a, 22). At the same occasion, Martin Henriksen of the DPP asserted that “the next natural step” would be to make tuition in Christian Studies compulsory for everybody (Folketinget 2006a, 17).

This ambition has hitherto not been realized. However, Act 360 in 2004 sought to reduce the number of bilingual pupils exempted from Christian Studies through strengthened monitoring of absence and exemptions from the subject and the clarification of school accountability. Thus, the Act clarified that schools were responsible for informing skeptical parents about the “non-denominational and informative” (In Danish: “ikke-förkyndende og kundskabsmeddelende”) character of Christian Studies and its purpose of serving as an orientation about Danish culture (Jensen 2009, 198).

Such claims for secularism appear somewhat token in the light of the mandate given to an officially appointed committee in the follow-up to the ‘globalization strategy’ (Regeringen 2006). The committee was meant to propose recommendations for “a more purposeful effort” of the “culture-supporting subject” Christian Studies in the light of its raised status as an exam subject. Their mandate involved the task to clarify that the Bible should remain firmly in the centre of the subject and that the denotation of the subject was hence not to be disputed. Accordingly, other religions to be treated in the subject remain “foreign” (UVM 2006c, 19-20).

Even more remarkably, the Liberal Minister of Education Bertel Haarder in 2006 asserted the trinity of Christianity, the Folkeskole and Danish democracy in an official UVM publication about citizenship education. Here, Haarder maintained the particular monocultural view that the denotation of Christian Studies and its ‘centric’ knowledge system reflect that religion is compatible with democracy. Effectively, he thus argued for a non-secular public school system as cornerstone in the liberal Danish democracy (UVM 2006e, 25-26).

The ideas maintained by Haarder were also discernible in Act 572’s revision of section 1 in the Danish School Act, the so-called preamble of the Folkeskole (In Danish: “Folkeskolens formålsparagraf”). As Minister of Education for more than fifteen

years (1982-1993, 2005-2010) Haarder has indeed been a crucial figure in recent Danish education policy. As such he has been an influential proponent of neoliberalism and monoculturalism. In terms of the latter, Haarder has continuously drawn on a Grundtvigian nationalromanticism, arguing that cultures can only thrive when they are framed by nation-states (Haarder 1997, 153). In addition, he already in 1990 called for the mobilization of Danish national identity through “cultural rearmament”. According to Haarder, cultural rearmament entails that schools must bring the pupils ‘home’ to their national community in order to strengthen the cultural and spiritual community of the Danish people after the ‘uncivilized school’ established by the centre-left educational establishment had effectively displaced pupils from their cultural community due to its emphasis on cooperation, instant democracy and trivia (Haarder 1990b, 102-110).

On the other hand, Haarder has advocated the neoliberal principle of free consumer choice as the generic tool to foster growth and societal development, suggesting that the voting paper and the bank note together constitute the most appropriate means to influence the economical and political market (Haarder 1990a, 9-10; Haarder 1990b, 59-65). In many ways, this mixture of monocultural and neoliberal ideas put forward by Haarder epitomizes the guiding principles of Danish school policy since the 1980s even though Haarder has not been in charge throughout the period.

Haarder was deeply engaged in the formulation of both the 1993 (UVM 1990b, 730-731) and the 2006 preamble of the Folkeskole. The 2006 revision remains the clearest expression of monoculturalism becoming emphasized in the mainstream Folkeskole curriculum. Indeed, the revision showcased the monocultural as well as the neoliberal ideas underpinning Danish compulsory education of the 2000s. In the following, this revision will be discussed (see appendix O and P where the preambles of the 1975, 1993 and 2006 School Acts are presented in English and Danish, respectively).

In the 2006 preamble, the strengthening of neoliberalism was reflected in the imperatives of the three subsections of what the school “in cooperation with the parents must give”, “must develop” and “must prepare”. Thus, in the first subsection concerning the acquisition of knowledge and skills, the development has gone from “opportunity to acquire” in 1975 and “further acquisition” in 1993 to the less ambiguous contractual transmission of what schools in 2006 “must

give” in cooperation with parents, regardless individual differences and location within the nation-state.

In that respect, the bill pointed out that the revision was meant to clarify that the main purpose of compulsory education was to “give” pupils knowledge and skills and prepare them for further education and labour market participation (Jensen 2009, 266). In this way, school practices became embedded in systems of accountability where the preset and allegedly more unambiguous “Common National Objectives” and the “National Tests” provide the basis for the expected transmission of knowledge and skills in schools that will feed the Danish knowledge economy, as also proposed by Hjort (2006b, 234-236).

The strengthened emphasis on monoculturalism became expressed in the first subsection of the 2006 preamble which entailed the emphasis that the knowledge and skills pupils expected to be “given” in schools must be defined by the discrimination between making pupils “familiar with Danish culture and history” and give them “understanding for other countries and cultures” (Jensen 2009, 266).

In this respect, the 2006 preamble built on the 1993 preamble which introduced the term ‘culture’ in the third subsection, with the phrase “The school must make the pupils familiar with Danish culture and contribute to their understanding for other cultures” (In Danish: “Folkeskolen skal gøre eleverne fortrolige med dansk kultur og bidrage til deres forståelse for andre kulturer og for menneskets samspil med naturen”). In retrospect, Haarder observed in 2002 (at this point he was Minister of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration) that the discrimination in the 1993 preamble was meant to clarify that the curriculum should be centred round Danish culture, literature and the Bible. He added that this sort of discrimination was natural since “the Danes” were to be in charge in Denmark. At the same time, he dismissed any notion of cultural equality and religious equality as nonsense (Larsen 2011). This argument was in accordance with his call in 1990 for cultural rearmament.

While the preamble thus has reflected monocultural aspirations since 1993, the ideas became explicitly linked with the curriculum in the 2006 preamble due to the removal of the phrase concerning “culture” from the third to the first subsection. According to the bill, this removal implied a change from being associated with the “school’s task in developing the pupils’ understanding and feeling of responsibility for other people as an active participant in a democratic

society” to the “school’s task in relation to the pupils’ acquisition of knowledge and skills” (Jensen 2009, 271-272).

Against this background, the 2006 preamble is an overt expression of the school curriculum becoming defined by strong boundaries between ‘Danish’ and ‘other’ culture. Furthermore, the addition of the terms “history” and “countries” to the existing collocations “Danish culture” and “other cultures” asserts a congruence between nation and culture since “culture” becomes associated with a territorial particularity associated with “countries” and their “history” (See appendix O and P). This corresponds with Haarder’s (1997) view of nations being the natural and exclusive platform for cultural development.

The 2006 preamble of the Folkeskole thus reflects the coupling between neoliberalism and monocultural identity politics in Danish school policy. Accordingly, it also epitomizes the trenchancy of the Janus-face of nationalism since the Folkeskole is employed in the projection of a retrospective Danish national identity on to the future. In that respect, the systems of accountability are meant to ensure the contractual transmission of knowledge which will feed the competitiveness of the Danish unit in the global yet emphatically inter-national knowledge economy as well as to align all actors, including teachers, local authorities, parents and pupils to the monocultural framework.

During the readings of Act 572 in Folketinget, these ideas were put forward by for example Haarder and Martin Henriksen of DPP who both explicitly asserted the need for a revised preamble which clarified that the transmission of monocultural knowledge and skills should be at the centre of school activities and the cooperation with parents (Folketinget 2006c, 32, 78). In particular, Henriksen recapitulated the features of the two-headed Janus-face of nationalism and actually seemed to have been inspired by Haarder’s notion of cultural rearmament introduced 26 years earlier (Folketinget 2006d, 57; see appendix T, number 3, for quotation in Danish):

School policy-making of earlier times has left many young people in an empty hole without skills and without knowledge of themselves, their own culture and history. This is now to be rectified. It has been a wish of the Danish People’s Party in a long time, and now, we take the step. We give the Folkeskole hope, and I will venture to assert that we look forward.

In this way, the 2006 revision of the preamble of the Danish School Act encapsulates the analysis of the Danish Folkeskole curriculum. The previous sections have shown that there has been a broad consensus among national policy-makers for neoliberal curriculum regulation and monoculturalism. Within the monocultural paradigm, 'language' has remained at the centre of identity politics and bilingual parents have been subject to blaming and paternalism due to their 'cultural deficits' and alleged irresponsibility in living up to the demands for swift assimilation to the monocultural Danish education system.

Against this background, it is symptomatic that 'putting turbo on integration' and 'turbo-Danish' by the end of the decade have become generic catchphrases in Danish policy-making (Boligen 2010; Folketinget 2010, 2, 77; Jonshøj 2009; Olsen et al. 2008; Skolestyrelsen 2010) while the (mono-)cultural armament has come to encompass a 'canon of democracy' (Udvalget til udarbejdelse af en demokratikanon og Undervisningsministeriet 2008).

A final point should be made about the implications of the shift to a bi-dimensional pattern of educational control within a monocultural framework. While 'interest-convergence' was argued to be the main characteristic of the political debate concerning 'the educational establishment' and the diminishing role of the local councils and teachers in curriculum policies, the effects of the reforms in Denmark remind of those in England around 1990 in relation to the role of local advisers particularly engaged in ethnic minority pupils and issues related to cultural diversity.

Among the members of FOKUTO ("Folkeskolens konsulenter for tosprogede børn og unge", the national "Association of Municipal Consultants for Bilingual Children and Youth") who represents the educational advisers employed in Danish local councils with a particular focus on the education of bilingual pupils the future is currently seen as opaque and causes concern (Personal communication per email with FOKUTO chairwoman Lene Vagtholm, May 28th 2010). During the last few years, the restructuring and the monocultural agenda set by the UVM and the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration have at once circumscribed their freedom of operation due to massive cuts in the local budgets and altered their role towards the administration of evaluation data bound up with the "Common National Objectives", along with a strengthened focus on cooperation between parents and schools and the dispersal of bilingual pupils between schools (Vagtholm 2010).

In various local councils, these changes have resulted in firings of the local advisers, with the abolishment in 2010 of the entire “Office for Integration and Diversity” (“Kontoret for Integration og Mangfoldighed”) in Copenhagen and the dismissal of its six educational advisers as the most obvious example (Aisinger & Pedersen 2010). While the analysis about access to schools in Denmark will return to the particular issue of dispersal, the arguments of the analysis above indicate that the changes experienced among the local education advisers are connected with pressures to align to the monocultural framework. In that respect, the neoliberal systems of accountability and the monocultural identity politics work in unison.

CHAPTER 3. ACCESS TO SCHOOLS

This chapter focuses on the regulation of access to schools in English and Danish compulsory education. It will be argued that an amalgam of neoliberalism and monocultural identity politics has underpinned this regulation in both contexts.

However, like in the case of the curriculum, this amalgam has become expressed in different ways in relation to school access due to the history of the two education systems, including the previous policies concerning ethnic minority pupils.

Thus, English and Danish state authorities have taken two various routes, indeed representing the alternatives outlined by Friedman: laissez-faire and enforced integration through intervention. In England, state authorities relied on a laissez-faire market form without any intervention. This approach proved to involve a bias of cultural majoritarianism. In Denmark, the gradual unleashing of market forces has been more cautiously conducted and involved the persistent encouragement of local councils to enforce integration, that is, assimilation, through the dispersal of ethnic minority pupils. These arguments will be justified in the following sections by the analysis of policy documents supplemented with the discussion of research findings.

England: Laissez-faire

The period from the Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA) and the following five years involved the establishment of a national programme of parental choice of schools. However, it should be stressed that the notion of 'parental preferences' was introduced in national legislation eight years earlier with the Education Act 1980. Furthermore, about a quarter of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) already by the late 1970s operated with parental choice. Yet, the provisions of the ERA entailed that all state-maintained schools became choice schools and not least paved the way for the publication of league tables with raw-score outcome figures of school performance. This 'market information' was published from 1992, based on key stage 2, 3 and 4 test results. In this way, the ERA managed to shape parental behaviour into a consumer direction since

the number of families selecting schools other than the local catchment school increased substantially during the 1990s as did the number of parents using their rights to appeal against the decisions of schools assigned to their children (Gorard et al. 2003, 3-6).

The Conservative government encouraged this competition for customers and attractive school places with various measures, for example the *Parents Charter* which was distributed to all parents from 1991. This charter informed about school choice in the state-maintained sector and free school places in independent schools. In addition, the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) was established in 1992 as a 'modernized' version of Her Majesty's Inspectors. Ofsted quickly came to provide incentives for competition with their agenda setting and school inspection reports which were made available to the public. Finally, the 1993 Education Act introduced the notion of 'failing schools' where low performing schools would be subject to 'special measures' inspections and ultimately closure (Tomlinson 2005, 54-80).

In many ways, the ERA established the foundation for these measures and thus shaped the access to schools within the English market form in compulsory education. The provisions of the ERA (see appendix Q) will be discussed in the following sections, highlighting the rationales for choice, school diversity and selection before turning to the argument concerning the bias of cultural majoritarianism in the English laissez-faire market form.

School choice, diversity and selection

This section argues that the Conservative government advocated neoliberal ideas in the regulation of access to schools. It will be shown that choice and school diversity were perceived to be instrumental in dismantling the 'producer capture' by LEAs and schools, empower parents, raise standards and promote equality of opportunity. In addition, the section will argue that a strengthening of selection were part of the Conservative reform agenda. In this way, the Conservative Party attempted to roll back the shift towards non-selective comprehensive schools encouraged by Labour from the 1960s.

When the Conservative government came to power in 1979, access to schools had become increasingly non-selective due to the use of catchment areas in the allocation of pupils. In relation to secondary schools, catchment areas had to a large extent replaced the previous use of 11+ examination results in the allocation of pupils. Thus, 51 per cent of LEAs in 1977 relied on catchment areas while a

mere three per cent used 11+ examination results in the allocation of pupils. Besides catchment areas and examination results, the use of 'feeder' or matched primary schools (19 per cent) and parental choice (27 per cent) had remained fairly constant throughout the 1970s (Gorard et al. 2003, 4-6).

The increasing use of catchment areas was linked with the shift towards non-selective comprehensive schools catering for pupils across the ability range. In 1981, 83 per cent of secondary school students went to comprehensive schools, a dramatic increase from the late 1960s where such schools catered for 8.5 per cent of students. This 'comprehensivization' had been encouraged by the Labour Party from the mid-1960s. At this point, Labour prompted LEAs to reorganize the more selective tripartite school system composed of grammar schools, technical schools and modern schools along comprehensive lines. On the other hand, the Conservative Party persistently sought to impede the 'comprehensivization', for example when Margaret Thatcher was Education Secretary in the beginning of the 1970s (Ball 2008, 68-70).

However, a degree of school diversity and selection of pupils continued to prevail by 1980 due to the reminiscences of the tripartite system and the existence of voluntary-aided schools. The latter were largely affiliated with the Church of England or the Roman Catholic Church. Such 'church schools' were subsidized by grants from the state and the church organizations and often maintained selective admissions policies. In addition, the private independent schools catered for eight per cent of secondary students. Finally, *Circular 83: Choice of schools* issued in 1946 actually remained the legislative basis for the regulation of access to secondary schools until 1980. This circular reflected the tripartite system entrenched by the Education Act 1944 and gave the heads of secondary schools the power to refuse admission on the basis of 11+ examination results and interviews with parents (Gorard et al. 2003, 4-6).

In relation to ethnic minority pupils and their access to schools, the tripartite system effectively sustained a bias of cultural majoritarianism. This bias was strengthened by the traditional class division of English society and hence the intersectionality of working class and non-White background. It should be stressed that various groups of ethnic minority pupils have coped differently within the system. Especially Black Caribbean children have continuously been in the bottom of the 'race' hierarchy while those from India, East Africa and East Asia have performed better, in many cases actually

outperforming White pupils (Ball 2008, 72; Tomlinson 2008, 176-177).

Furthermore, state authorities from the late 1960s recommended LEAs to disperse non-English speaking children. Remarkably, this encouragement corresponded with the moves towards comprehensive schools. The desirable quota of non-English speaking pupils was set at a maximum of 30 percent in order to facilitate their assimilation and to protect the character of 'normal' schools. However, dispersal never became a widespread practice before it was eventually ruled illegal in 1975. Thus, the two LEAs with the largest number of ethnic minority pupils, the ILEA and Birmingham, never adopted the practice. Still, eleven LEAs dispersed ethnic minority children by 1970. Characteristically, some of them dispersed all ethnic minority children even though less than a third of them actually received supplementary English language teaching (Tomlinson 1987, 16-18; Tomlinson 2008, 26-31).

Against this background, the Conservative government with the Education Act 1980 and the ERA increased school choice, diversity and selection to counter what they considered the apparent 'failure' of the comprehensive era. Like in the case of the curriculum, the key role of LEAs in the administration of funding and admissions should therefore be undermined. In that respect, the financial erosion of LEAs and the creation of schools outside LEA control was meant to foster competition between schools controlled by LEAs and self-governing schools. Funding advantages for the self-governing schools, giving schools more control over their admissions policies and the extension of parental preferences were all means to that end (Taylor et al. 2005).

Actually, Education Secretary Keith Joseph (1981-86) considered the feasibility of a national voucher scheme in line with Friedman's proposals and initiated a minor pilot scheme in Kent (a feasible location since Kent was one of the few LEAs which had refused to reorganize along comprehensive lines). However, Joseph came to the conclusion by the mid-1980s that it would be too expensive and unworkable in practice to roll back the comprehensivization with vouchers (Ball 1990, 63-69; Chitty 1989, 180-185).

Instead, the ERA facilitated school choice between self-governing schools within the state-maintained sector in order to circumscribe the previous key role of LEAs. In that respect, the provisions concerning the "Local Management of Schools" constituted an important basis for the unleashing of market forces. In

accordance with the bi-dimensional pattern of educational control, Local Management of Schools entailed the delegation of budgets and staff matters to school governors. Furthermore, incentives for competition between schools were created with funding schemes where school funding followed the number of students (DES 1988, section 33-51).

More directly in relation to school access, the ERA expanded the provisions of the Education Act 1980. The 1980 Act established that LEAs should make arrangements for enabling the parent of a child in the area of the authority to “express a preference as to the school at which he wishes education to be provided for his child.” The LEAs and the governors of voluntary-aided schools had the duty to comply with such parental preferences, subject to the consideration of “efficient education or the efficient use of resources” or when the particular admission arrangements to the school were based wholly or partly on selection by reference to ability or aptitude, for example in the case of voluntary aided schools (DES 1980, section 6).

Eight years later, the ERA abolished the consideration of “efficient education or the efficient use of resources” and instead strengthened the importance of the “standard number” of pupils in schools. Thus, admission could not be rejected until the standard number had been reached, subject to the consideration of admissions arrangements and selection. Hence, voluntary aided schools could reject to comply with parental preferences in the cases they were incompatible “for preserving the character of the school” (DES 1988, section 26-30; see appendix Q).

Furthermore, the ERA paved the way for the Greenwich Judgement in 1989 which implied that parents could express preferences for schools in other LEAs and thus effectively widened competition. The judgement entailed that state-maintained schools must not give priority to children for the sole reason that they live within the local authority (Select Committee on Education and Skills 2004).

The ERA also encouraged school diversity with the particular school types of the City Technology Colleges (CTCs) and Grant-Maintained schools. However, the enterprise-oriented CTCs have never had much of an impact in terms of school diversity since the ambitions to attract sponsors from the private sector were never realized despite generous funding from the Conservative government. Thus, during the 1990s and 2000s, there never existed more than fifteen CTCs nationwide and they now gradually seem to disappear

(Ball 1990, 113-119; DCSF 2009a, table 2; DES 1988, section 105; Gorard et al. 2003, 7-9; Taylor et al. 2005). Unlike the CTCs, the Grant-Maintained schools would eventually prove influential in the organization of schools. The ERA gave state-maintained schools the opportunity to opt out of LEA control after a parental ballot. Instead, they would become directly funded by the government as Grant-Maintained schools. These schools were allowed to either preserve or apply for the change of their “character” and their admissions arrangements (DES 1988, section 58, 62, 83, 104).

Finally, the ERA enhanced the provisions of the 1980 Education Act concerning the availability of market information enabling parents to exercise informed choices. The 1980 Act laid down that the LEAs should publish admissions arrangements and other information about schools (DES 1980: section 7-8). The ERA added that schools and LEAs should publish information concerning “educational achievements of pupils at the school” (DES 1988, section 22). These provisions provided the basis for the publication of performance league tables which was initiated a few years later and immediately became media events (Wolf 2002).

The second reading of the Education Reform Bill in the House of Commons clearly reflected that the provisions concerning parental preferences and school diversity was underpinned by neoliberal ideas, as also laid down by Friedman. Choice and diversity were embraced during by the reading by the Education Secretary Kenneth Baker as well as a number of Conservative MPs, for example Norman Tebbit, Michael Heseltine, Rhodes Boyson and Angela Rumbold (House of Commons 1987, 812, 820, 842, 855).

Thus, Baker (House of Commons 1987, 772) pointed out that Grant-Maintained schools, CTCs and Local Management of Schools had the purpose to “maximise parental choice” and give schools more freedom:

If we are to implement the principle of the 1944 Act that children should be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents we must give consumers of education a central part in decision making. That means freeing schools and colleges to deliver the standards that parents and employers want. It means encouraging the consumer to expect and demand that all educational bodies do the best job possible. In a word, it means choice.

Accordingly, Baker (House of Commons 1987, 771-778) elaborated that the LEAs should “face competition in the provision of free education, so standards will rise in all schools”. Characteristically, the Inner London Education Authority was yet again blamed for the introduction of “unnecessary barriers” to market forces since the LEA allocated pupils evenly between popular and less popular schools.

Importantly, the ERA signaled that the Conservative government encouraged school diversity and choice not merely to dismantle the role of LEAs but also to challenge the private independent schools (Fitz et al. 1989, 232-233).

Thus, DES Minister of State Rumbold (House of Commons 1987, 859) asserted that she wanted school diversity and parental choice “on the basis of sound information and without the intervention of authorities ... to be offered within our maintained sector of education.” The ERA hence marked a step away from the ‘creeping’ privatization represented by the Assisted Places Scheme (Fitz et al. 1989, 231-233).

Assisted Places was introduced with the 1980 Education Act and served “the purpose of enabling pupils who might otherwise not be able to do so to benefit from education at independent schools”. The Education Secretary would then reimburse the independent schools participating in the scheme for the charges involved in admitting able children from poor families in their secondary education programmes (DES 1980, section 17). With the scheme, the Conservative government in the following years encouraged growth in the private sector through massive economic support. In 1988, 26,899 pupils were holding assisted places in 226 English independent schools. At this point, some £70 million had been spent by the government on the scheme. Ultimately, the Assisted Places Scheme was abolished when New Labour took power in 1997 (Fitz et al. 1989, 231-233).

An important characteristic of the programme of school diversity undertaken by the Conservative government was that schools were given some degree of autonomy in organising their admissions. This meant in practice that the regulation of access to schools became determined by the principle set out by Stuart Sexton (1977, 87) in the *Black Paper* of 1977:

It will be seen that the interplay of ‘choice of school’ by the parent on the one hand, and ‘choice of child’ by the school on the other, with the elimination of bureaucratic direction between them, will result over a period of time in a flexible

response by the schools to the needs of the children and the preference of their parents. The parents will be 'voting with their feet' and schools will have to respond, or have no pupils.

In many ways, this rich statement epitomizes the choice, diversity and selection agenda of the Conservative government (Sexton would indeed later become adviser to the Education Secretaries Mark Carlisle (1979-1981) and Keith Joseph) where competition and selection were meant to apply for schools as well as for parents and pupils. Characteristically, Sexton's statement implies the features of the bi-dimensional pattern of educational control and envisions the neoliberal market democracy proposed by Friedman; colour-blind, performance-based and individualized albeit family-based. Against this background and the fact that the ERA proved to shape parental behavior into a consumer direction, the title chosen for Sexton's article ('Evolution by Choice') appears perfectly appropriate.

Accordingly, the ERA in principle widened the opportunities for pupils to get access to a range of schools. However, the ERA also strengthened the element of selection. Hence, the efforts undertaken in the vast majority of LEAs to become fully comprehensive and non-selective were rolled back (Taylor et al. 2005, 47-59).

In that respect, especially the Grant-Maintained schools had an impact (they were re-labeled 'foundation schools' by New Labour in 1998). While Margaret Thatcher's declared aim that all schools would opt out of LEA control was not fulfilled, over 1,000 of the 3,500 secondary schools in England had become grant-maintained by 1997. Thus, many of the voluntary church schools became grant-maintained and nearly all grammar schools, at this point about four per cent of all secondary schools in England also opted out of LEA control. These schools mostly retained their selective admissions policies as a means to 'preserve their character'. Often, their admissions policies would include interviews with parents where the less desirable customers were screened out. In addition, Grant-Maintained schools and CTCs, along with the specialist schools introduced in the beginning of the 1990s (which became ubiquitous during the New Labour government), were allowed in 1992 to select between ten and twenty per cent of their intakes on the basis of aptitude or ability in their chosen specialism (Ball 2008, 117-126; Gorard et al. 2003, 9; Taylor et al. 2005, 47-59; Tomlinson 2005, 58-60).

Laissez-faire with a bias of cultural majoritarianism

The market form in England furthered by the ERA was thus characterized by parental preferences, school diversity and a strengthening of selection. This section will argue that this particular market form was based on laissez-faire since the government did not intervene in the developing 'local economies of pupil worth', that is, apart from the meritocratic Assisted Places Scheme. However, this laissez-faire market form turned out to have a bias of cultural majoritarianism which showcased the token character of the claims for colour-blind equality of opportunities.

The reliance on laissez-faire was pronounced during the second reading of the bill by a range of Conservative MPs as well as Baker. MP Alan Amos (House of Commons 1987, 815) pointed out that the ERAs promotion of the market form was based on the belief that:

... peace and prosperity can best be achieved through a policy of equality of opportunity in an endeavour to build a meritocracy, a society in which everyone has a real chance to make of their lives what they will, regardless of who or what they are.

Against this background, Tebbit and Rumbold insisted that parental choice should be introduced without reservations to confront the widespread "arrogant paternalism" among LEAs and schools. While some parents were bound to "choose badly or irresponsibly" all parents should as a rule be trusted to be perfectly capable of exercising choice in a responsible manner (House of Commons 1987, 812, 854).

In this way, the Conservative MPs conjured up a colour-blind market place reminiscent of that envisioned by Sexton (1977), devoid of any implications related to attributes of cultural or class identity. In this supposedly just and atomized environment made up of family units, everybody was supposed to enjoy equality of opportunity to perform freely according to ones potential to the common good for society. On the other hand, the emphasis on individual responsibility and putting trust in parents implied that those parents not living up to the demands for responsible consumer behaviour were assigned the responsibility for their failure. Characteristically, Amos, Tebbit and Rumbold thus did not address the potential effects of the market form on school segregation of ethnic minority pupils.

On the contrary, Baker addressed such effects. Indeed, his Minister of State for Education, Lady Hooper, had declared earlier the

same year that increased racial segregation might be the price to pay for choice policies (Tomlinson 2008, 82). However, Baker merely insisted that the existing segregation did not justify neither the denial of choice to parents nor intervention in the market place (House of Commons 1987, 777):

No school, whether grant maintained, financially delegated or local education authority maintained, is allowed to select children on the basis of colour. To do so would be illegal. There are about one dozen schools in the United Kingdom where 100 per cent, of the children are drawn from ethnic minority communities, and there are a further 250 where about 75 per cent, of children are drawn from ethnic minorities. That has arisen because of the settlement patterns of immigrants coming to our country. Many schools with 75 per cent, ethnic minority children provide excellent education and many white parents are perfectly content to send their children there. I believe that they will continue to do so.

Thus, the market form characterized by choice, diversity and selection was meant to be based on *laissez-faire*. However, this approach subsequently proved to entail a bias of cultural majoritarianism in the competition among parents and pupils for school places, cf. the international research evidence about school choice mentioned in Chapter One. Against this background, this study argues that the adoption of neoliberal principles in the regulation of access to schools has had implications which might be understood as expressions of monocultural identity politics. In other words: the alleged reliance on a 'colour-blind' market form should be understood within the monocultural framework of the Conservative government.

The functioning of the monocultural identity politics in relation to school access can be understood as two movements, together constituting the amalgam of a strong state and a free economy identified by Gamble (1994) as features of Thatcherite 'New Right' ideology. This amalgam actually recapitulates Harvey's (2005) and Giddens' (1998) argument concerning the neoliberal and neoconservative ideology of the Conservative government and its particular expressions in the regulation of access to schools.

In chapter 2 it was argued that the state became stronger in England as it was rolled forward in the establishment of a monocultural curriculum (with the same being the case in Denmark).

In this chapter, it has been argued that the Conservative government rolled back the state and not least the LEAs in order to foster a 'free economy' in the form of a laissez-faire market driven by the interplay between self-governing schools and parental preferences.

When these two movements are seen together, the withdrawal of government in the regulation of access to schools might be seen as an expression for the deliberate employment of market mechanisms to further assimilation of ethnic minorities. As such, the Conservative government's school choice policies constitute more than a mere return to pre-comprehensivization and the de-centralized assimilationist policies of the 1950s and 1960s. Rather, the particular strong state/free economy market form implied the alignment of all actors for the common project of monoculturalism.

Accordingly, Gamble (1994, 35-43, 244-245) on a more general level argues that the 'free economy' of the market form should serve as a prop for a strong state and not the other way round. The state-maintained market form would thus be instrumental in speeding up the pace of change and making the whole of society more competitive and enterprising within a monocultural framework. In other words, the Conservative government perceived the market form as a means to resurrect individual responsibility as well as a distinctive British national identity, as pointed out by Parekh (2009, 66-67).

Thus, with its entitlement to a broad National Curriculum and the rights to express parental preferences within a laissez-faire market, the ERA merged universalism with a narrow conception of the individual as a consumer, seemingly divorced from attributes of class, 'race', religion and language (Hardy & Vieler-Porter 1990, 174; Tomlinson 1997, 64).

Against this background, the detrimental effects of the ERA on ethnic minority pupils might be understood as associated with an 'absent presence' of 'race' (Apple 1999). In other words, the monocultural identity politics underpinning the market place remained tacit and the detrimental effects did not accrue from particular policies associated with this group. Rather, the bias of cultural majoritarianism was the result of the very emphasis on universalism and the absence of reference to ethnic minority issues in the ERA and subsequent legislation under the Conservative government.

Apple (1999: 10-12) claims that the absent presence of 'race' makes it more powerful compared to a situation where 'race' is openly discussed. Its very implicitness means that it can remain more fully implicated in the 'common-sense' goals and concerns of the market

place. Thus, Apple argues that colour-blind policies tend to reproduce the status quo.

In the aftermath of the ERA, Apple's argument was confirmed by the bias of cultural majoritarianism in the access to schools, fed by the continuing fears of white majority parents to have their children admitted in schools with large shares of minority pupils and the resulting 'undesirability' of ethnic minority parents and pupils. Since the 1960s 'white flight' from schools in various locations in England had drawn considerable media attention. The Conservative government's reliance on *laissez-faire* and acceptance of potential effects of school choice on ethnic minority segregation might hence be understood as means to show responsiveness towards white majority parents eager to avoid schools with large shares of ethnic minority pupils (Tomlinson 2008, 90, 113). The ERA provided parents legitimate means and a wider scope for such 'racially informed' school choice (Gewirtz et al. 1995, 184-185).

Obviously, this strategy belies the claims put forward by neoliberal proponents such as Baker, Amos, Tebbit and Rumbold that the market form would support equality of opportunity. Rather, the freedom to choose held out the prospect for white parents of protecting their traditional English family life from being swamped by alien cultures, or in other words, a freedom to choose segregation. The Conservative government shared this intrepidity towards segregation with influential pressure groups like the Parental Alliance for Choice in Education who supported white flight in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire, as well as Asian parents in the same town wanting to establish an Islamic secondary school for girls (Ali 1991, 195-211).

In addition, the intersectionality of working class and ethnic minority background continued to render ethnic minority pupils particularly undesirable to schools. Thus, ethnic minority parents were in general less likely to get their children into schools with higher examination performance. Rather, they became disproportionately admitted in underfunded schools. In that respect, the preferences of middle-class ethnic minority parents mirrored those of white parents since they also tended to prefer selective schools with predominantly white pupils. Oversubscribed schools thus began choosing desirable parents and pupils and discouraging or excluding the undesirable ones via overt and covert strategies. The schools with control of their own admissions policies could overtly select students while covert selection took place through interviews with parents and pupils. During the 1990s, the market form therefore locally enhanced the

segregation of the predominantly white middle class from ethnic minority groups (Tomlinson 1997, 73; Tomlinson 2008, 98-124).

Against this background, five particular expressions of the bias of cultural majoritarianism in the English market form of compulsory education should be mentioned.

First, the notion of 'schools requiring special measures', that is, 'failing schools', introduced with the 1993 Education Act proved in the following years to primarily affect schools with large numbers of ethnic minority pupils. Symptomatically, Hackney Downs Boys school, with 80 per cent ethnic minority pupils, became the only failing school to be actually closed down (Tomlinson 2008, 102-104).

Second, the Greenwich Judgement in 1989 provided the basis for critical situations in urban areas where some children were crowded out from the schools in their LEA of residence due to the widened competition across LEAs. Ethnic minority groups were thus disproportionately involved in such situations. In Ealing some pupils had to be taught temporarily in a library as a result, and in Tower Hamlets within the Inner London Education Authority over 500 pupils mainly with Bangladeshi origins had no school place since they were denied a place at any school in the borough. As a profound manifestation of the new emphasis on individual 'consumer responsibility' in terms of school access, a subsequent court trial established that the ILEA could not be held responsible for the situation (Gorard et al. 2003, 19; Tomlinson 2008, 118).

Third, the Assisted Places Scheme, the sole effort to intervene in the laissez-faire marketplace, only supported a limited number of ethnic minority pupils, primarily Asian pupils of middle class background. This was due to the suburban location of the independent schools participating in the scheme (Fitz et al. 1989, 231; Tomlinson 1997, 70-72; Tomlinson 2008, 83).

Fourth, the cultural majoritarianism of the market form became expressed in the ways it encouraged schools to get rid of pupils who disrupted the smooth running of the school. In that respect, two strategies became increasingly popular during the 1990s: referral to special needs education and straight exclusion of pupils. Both affected ethnic minority groups disproportionately, in particular African-Caribbean pupils, in accordance with the pattern going back to the 1950s. During the 1990s ethnic minority pupils were thus four times overrepresented in the category of 'educationally subnormal' and as 'emotionally and behaviourally disturbed'. Concerning exclusions, African-Caribbean pupils in 1992 represented two per cent of the

school population but over eight per cent of school exclusions on a national level. The figures peaked in 1996 with 12,467. African-Caribbean pupils of both sexes remained disproportionately overrepresented, up to fifteen times locally (Tomlinson 1997, 69-70; Tomlinson 2008, 112-116).

Finally, the fifth expression of the bias of cultural majoritarianism in the access to schools concerned the continuous refusals by the Conservative government to allow Islamic faith-based schools within the maintained sector. From the beginning of the 1980s Muslim organizations in various local authorities, for example Bradford, requested for schools to be classified as voluntary-aided Islamic schools on the same basis as the church schools based on the Christian and Jewish faiths. The official rationale given for the refusals of those requests was that such schools were suggested to be divisive in terms of both 'race' and religion. This should be seen within the context of Islam and Muslim identity becoming increasingly contentious issues in England from the 1980s, not least fed by the controversy surrounding Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* in the period December 1988-May 1989, including Ayatollah Khomeini's death sentence on Rushdie and the public burning of the book in Bolton, Bradford and London. Against this background, Education Secretary Baker contributed to stir up the 'moral panic' towards the Muslim community when he declared that fundamentalist groups would not be allowed to take over schools (Appignanesi & Maitland 1989; Tomlinson 2008, 74, 95-97, 117-118).

Asad (1993, 239-241, 266-268) argues that such reactions most of all constituted symptoms of the crisis of British identity, worn-down by the decline of the British Empire, the integration within the European Union and ethnic minority groups making legal claims as citizens and tax-payers within the nation-state. Thus, Asad reminds that the protest activities organized by various Muslim communities were generally non-violent and hence perfectly legal. Against this background, the reactions seem out of proportions. Still, the Rushdie affair contributed to promote a new discourse on Britishness, national identity, 'social cohesion' and the need for assimilation. It was thus characteristic that when Labour MP Roy Hattersley at the height of the Rushdie affair advocated the principle of multiculturalism within the rule of law his statement was widely denounced as a craven appeasement of dangerous forces.

In the light of these implications of the 'absent presence' of 'race' for school access, the findings of Gorard et al. (2003) add an

interesting perspective of the effects of the ERA and the Conservative government's agenda of choice, diversity and selection. They point out that the local regulation of access to schools in England post-1988 to a large extent depended on the *status ante*, in terms of school diversity and the particular admission policies in operation.

However, where school diversity increased, so too did segregation. Areas with high levels of selective, voluntary-aided, grant-maintained or independent schools retained a high and relatively stable level of segregation compared with areas dominated by LEA-controlled comprehensive schools which especially in urban areas tended to have lower levels of segregation, in terms of class, ethnicity and language. The relatively muted impact of market-driven choice policies can be explained through the way in which the LEAs in some cases retained their key role as managers of the local admissions system. For example, LEAs continued to use catchment areas as the basis for school allocation although the use was diminished considerably due to the provisions of the ERA. Thus, while 61 per cent of LEAs in 1985 operated catchment area systems and 39 per cent used a system of parental preference, the number of LEAs still using catchment areas was 41 per cent in 1996 (Gorard et al. 2003, 20, 122-123, 187-191).

Against this background, it might be argued that if the agenda of the Conservative government had been more fully realized locally the detrimental effects of the laissez-faire market for ethnic minority pupils and their access to schools would have been worse. Altogether, the analysis of the regulation of school access in the English context shows that while neoliberal ideas of laissez-faire were adopted the state authorities remained in the driving seat as the guardians ensuring a bias of cultural majoritarianism.

Denmark: Intervention

This section will argue that the adoption of the market form in Danish compulsory education during the 2000s has involved more cautious choice policies due to fears of school segregation of ethnic minority pupils. In addition, Danish state authorities have continuously encouraged local councils to use various 'tools' to intervene in the local economies of pupil worth. It will be shown that these efforts, mainly focused on dispersal of ethnic minority pupils, are meant to further the assimilation of ethnic minority pupils.

Cautious school choice within the Folkeskole

During the 2000s, there has been political consensus concerning freer school choice and the Folkeskole as the dominant provider of compulsory education within the market form. This is an important point since access to the mainstream classes of the Folkeskole is as a principle based on non-selection. In addition, parents have retained their right to have their child admitted to the school in their local catchment area. At least, that was the condition until Act 594 in 2005 expanded the group of bilingual pupils excluded from those general provisions, a point to be discussed in the next section.

As mentioned earlier, the neoliberal agenda of empowering citizens as consumers in relation to welfare services has been a general priority in the modernization of the Danish public sector since the 1970s. Accordingly, school choice was introduced in 1990. In 2005, school choice was strengthened with Act 335 (UVM 2005a) which made it statutory for local councils to offer free school choice within and across local municipalities throughout compulsory education.

Thereby, it replaced the option given to local councils in 1990 with Act 435 (UVM 1990a) to introduce school choice among more or all public sector schools within the municipality. In addition, the previous rights of school heads to reject consumers on the basis of a “pedagogical assessment” (In Danish: “pædagogisk vurdering”) were abolished in 2005. While parents thus became empowered as consumers, admission was still subject to school capacity. In that respect, the local councils preserved their authority to lay down the capacity of schools and classes, along with the overall school structure, including catchment areas and number of schools (see appendix R).

In addition, there has been taken a number of other steps during the 2000s to unleash market forces in compulsory education. For example, the previous section on Denmark pointed out that major steps towards the commodification of the curriculum took place in the period 2003-2006. Furthermore, schools must publish information about for example final exam results, objectives, syllabuses and pedagogical profile on their websites (UVM 2002b; UVM 2005d). Liberal Minister of Education Bertel Haarder (2005-2010) pointed out that these provisions were meant to support parents in identifying good schools (Haarder 2005a).

During the 2000s, a broad political consensus has supported that school choice should be applied as a policy tool to strengthen the

Folkeskole as the main provider in compulsory education. The Folkeskole has thus been upheld as the foundation in the Danish education system meant to promote growth, common values and mutual tolerance to meet the challenges associated with internationalization of economy, culture and communication (Regeringen 2006, 12-13; Regeringen 2007, 8, 34, 58; Folketinget 2003, 38; Folketinget 2006a, 7; Jensen 2009, 179, 265). At the same time, the four major parties, that is, the Liberal Party, *Socialdemokraterne*, CPP and DPP, have all asserted the need for school choice while declaring that parents should rather choose the Folkeskole than the semi-private free schools (See appendix L for parliamentary support for the school choice policies of 1990, 2005 and 2008).

Act 335 of 2005 was thus based on the neoliberal idea that parents should be given free choice to empower them to exercise influence on schools and thereby their own life conditions. In this way, freedom to choose was suggested to further parental engagement in schools, raise standards and encourage schools to become more attractive (Folketinget 2005a, 1, 7, 9, 11; Jensen 2009, 217). Haarder recapitulated the key ideas in his elaboration on the beneficial democratic effects of choice and the transmission of power in the alleged zero-sum game between local councils and parents (Folketinget 2005a, 18; see appendix T, number 4, for quotation in Danish):

The bill is part of the gradual democratization of the public sector which has been taking place for some years with freer choice in more and more areas. The headline is: From politicians' rule to people's rule. The more areas the citizens themselves can dispose of the large share of the domestic product which is administered by the Treasury, the better. (...) if there were some local councils which now lose influence over things, then the influence is indeed taken over by parents. The amount of influence is constant in this world, and everything what the local councils might lose, is thus given to parents.

Yet, the marketization of Danish compulsory education has remained somewhat cautious. Seen in the context of the broad consensus for school choice and neoliberalism in general, this reluctance appears curious. For example, the Danish Competition Authority suggests that

the claimed benefits of choice policies (that is, quality improvement, efficiency, innovation, customer satisfaction and diversity in provision) are only fully realized when consumers actually exercise their choice rights. In that respect, Danish parents have apparently not (yet) adopted consumer behaviour. Thus, in 2005 the exercise of school choice by parents in Denmark was estimated to be among the lowest in Europe (Konkurrencestyrelsen 2005) even though 75 per cent of local councils at this point offered school choice to parents. In crude numbers, about nine per cent of pupils (5,400 pupils) were annually admitted in another school than the local catchment school while about one per cent of pupils (800 pupils) were rejected, mostly because of limited school capacity (UVM 2007a, 3).

Hence, while Hjort (2008, 130-135) is right in pointing out that the Danish welfare system is currently being transformed from its established basis in universalism and social solidarity towards an emphasis on competition, consumer rights and demands, this study argues that marketization of compulsory education is still rather cautious due to fears of school segregation of ethnic minority pupils. In that respect, five reservations should be pointed out.

First, Act 335 of 2005 entailed the reservation that the effects of school choice were to be evaluated due to fears of school segregation. Against this background, the provisions should be revised in 2007-2008 (Folketinget 2005a, 1, 7, 11, 18; Jensen 2009, 217-218). In 2008, this subsequent bill found school choice “to be working according to the intentions”, that is, not deepening segregation. At this occasion, the Liberal Party, the CPP and *Socialdemokraterne* reiterated the need for cautiousness (Haarder 2008, point 2; Folketinget 2008, 2, 4, 10). The resulting Act 476 (UVM 2008a) merely postponed the planned revision of Act 335 with three years due to the short period to identify any substantial effects (Haarder 2008).

Second, the provisions of Act 335 were directly linked with Bill 135 (the basis for Act 594) which one month later would propose the expansion of the group of bilingual pupils excluded from the general school choice regulations (Jensen 2009, 217-218; Folketinget 2005a, 18).

Third, the local councils have retained their authority to lay down the capacity of schools and classes, in sharp contrast with the English context where the control with “standard numbers” in schools was meant to facilitate school choice. 31 of 98 local councils thus reduced the capacity of schools in the wake of Act 335 (UVM 2007a, 15) and Danish state authorities have actually encouraged local authorities to

regulate the capacity of schools to further de-segregation (UVM 2008b).

The fourth reservation concerns the earlier mentioned reluctance in disseminating the results of the National Tests and the national performance profile as market information to parents. These reservations drew on the OECD (2004, 71) Peer Review which warned against the negative sideeffects of league tables on school segregation (Jensen 2009, 250, 276).

Finally, the consensus for the Folkeskole as the main provider in compulsory education and the associated lack of school diversification is also associated with fears of school segregation. Thus, the semi-private free schools have not been further employed during the 2000s as a means to challenge the dominant role of the Folkeskole. According to Friedman's neoliberal ideas, this otherwise seems like an obvious opportunity to encourage a school industry with a variety of providers. First, the free schools already enjoy increasing popular support. Thus, in the 1970s the free schools catered for six per cent of pupils, in the 1990s twelve per cent (Rangvid 2007, 8) and in the late 2000s sixteen percent of pupils (Hornbek 2009). Second, the free schools were indeed promoted as a state-supported alternative to the Folkeskole during the 1990s where the state grant level per pupil compared to the Folkeskole increased from 67 to the current 75 per cent (Jørgensen 2009, 2; Rigsrevisionen 2000, 39-45).

However, the support for free schools has during the 2000s been reluctant due to fears of school segregation. Particularly Islam and Muslim identity have been employed to stir up a moral panic concerning political subversion and religious fundamentalism in free schools. The strengthening of monocultural identity politics has thus especially targeted the free schools with some affiliation to the Islamic religious community, the 'Muslim free schools'. Since 1978, 30 of such schools have been established with grant support from the Danish state like other free schools. The Muslim free schools have become popular among ethnic minority parents. By the mid-2000s, 22 Muslim free schools with altogether 3600 pupils operated (See also appendix E).

In this way, the liberal Danish tradition for free schools established in the mid-19th century has come to provide a basis for a more multiculturally based school system. Free schools enjoy long-standing rights to deviate from the curriculum of the Folkeskole, for example with tuition in minority languages (for example Arabic and Turkish), the use of other denotations than 'Christian Studies'

(‘kristendomskundskab’) for religious education and confessional instruction as part of the curriculum. It should be pointed out that in addition to the Muslim free schools, a smaller number of schools affiliated with the German, English and Japanese communities residing in Denmark have also been established. However, the Ministry of Education (UVM) during the 1990s under the previous centre-left government (1993-2001) strengthened the monitoring of free schools in general and Muslim free schools in particular, corresponding with the general rise in the grant level to the free schools. At this point, a series of special inspections eventually lead to the withdrawal of grants from five Muslim free schools. During the 2000s, the pressure on free schools has increased with further demands to put emphasis on Danish language and culture in their curriculum and management as well as in the external control of their standards by parents and local authorities (Ihle 2007; Jørgensen 1990, 37).

The readings concerning mother tongue tuition and language stimulation (Folketinget 2002a; Folketinget 2004) discussed in Chapter Two also reflect these monocultural identity politics since the rights of free schools to expand and deviate from the monocultural curriculum of the Folkeskole were questioned during the readings. Across the political spectrum, these rights were suggested to feed segregation and Islamic political subversion. Especially Eyvind Vesselbo of the Liberal Party has coupled the retention of minority languages in Muslim free schools with the role of these schools as nesting boxes for Islamic fundamentalism (Folketinget 2002a, 60, 66).

Thus, the cautious marketization of Danish compulsory education should be understood in the light of the consensus among all political parties that the Folkeskole is instrumental in maintaining ‘social cohesion’ in Danish society and keep control of the school segregation of ethnic minority children. In the following section, the monocultural identity politics implied in these priorities will be discussed in a more detailed manner.

Monoculturalism through dispersal

This section argues that the Danish state authorities in line with the general fears for school segregation have coupled the cautious choice policies in compulsory education with the insistent encouragement of local councils to disperse ethnic minority pupils between schools. Two main expressions of monocultural identity politics will be discussed in that respect. First, the aims of assimilation associated with the

strengthened discrimination of bilingual pupils on the basis of language assessment, and second, the paternalistic circumscription of the parents' 'consumer rights' to exercise school choice and vote with their feet.

In 2005, Act 594 (see appendix R) expanded the group of bilingual pupils excluded from the general regulations concerning access to schools. While earlier provisions (UVM 1984, UVM 1996) merely made it possible for local councils to refer pupils with "inadequate knowledge of Danish language" to "reception classes" (In Danish: "modtagelsesklasser"), Act 594 (UVM 2005b, section 5, subsection 8) made it legal for local councils to disperse also those pupils who on the basis of an assessment of "language needs" ("sproglige behov") are found to "have a not unimportant need for language support" ("har et ikke uvæsentligt behov for sprogstøtte").

In other words, local councils were given the powers to disperse also those pupils who could participate in the mainstream classes of the Folkeskole when they were given additional support in Danish as second language a few hours a week. Before 2005, such pupils and their parents enjoyed the rights laid down in the general regulations. Accordingly, they were ensured the right to be admitted in a class according to their age level in the local catchment school as well as the rights laid down by Act 435 in 1990 to exercise school choice if the local council had adopted this practice.

The bill and readings associated with Act 594 reflect that the new provisions were underpinned by monoculturalism. Dispersal of ethnic minority pupils was thus meant to further their assimilation through socialization with Danish majority children. The bill recapitulated these basic ideas with its suggestion that the extent of "Danish impact" from native Danish speakers and bilingual pupils on the same level was "assumed to be evident" for bilingual pupils' Danish language acquisition. On the other hand, there was a risk of bilingual pupils in housing areas with large shares of immigrants and refugees not learning Danish language and the "unwritten norms and rules" of Danish society in their local schools. Dispersal was thus meant to prepare the pupils in question for further education and the labour market. In this way, dispersal with its promotion of shared values and mutual understanding would serve the common good of society. Against this background, the provisions gave the local councils powers to disperse more bilingual pupils. To support the local exercise of lingual discrimination, the UVM also took initiative to develop

language screening materials (Jensen 2009, 237-240, 244). Such materials were eventually published in 2007 (UVM 2011).

The bill thus suggested that dispersal will serve the equality of bilingual pupils in the long term, subject to their assimilation. Cf. Parekh (2000), this rationale is based on the monocultural notion of 'equality as uniformity' since the provisions of Act 594 entail that bilingual pupils are only granted equal access to schools as long as they live up to the demands for Danish language competences. Hence, Act 594 represented a strengthening of monoculturalism in terms of the denial of equality at the cultural level. Ultimately, the provisions reflect that the notion of equality within the monocultural paradigm of Danish compulsory education has become an ideological device to mould mankind in a certain direction.

In that respect, the aim of assimilation is apparently given preference over contemporary education research about language acquisition in multicultural societies (Holmen & Horst 2005). Accordingly, Act 594 sharpened the profile of the subject Danish as a second language as primarily a tool for the discrimination of bilingual pupils, rather than for their development of competences in schools. Thereby, the already marginal position (cf. Chapter Two) of the subject in the Folkeskole curriculum was furthered (Kristjánsdóttir 2006c, 96-97).

In Folketinget, Louise Frevert of the DPP spelled out the monocultural identity politics of Act 594. Frevert explained that the provisions formed part of broader efforts to ensure that cultural diversity is a transitional phenomenon in the Danish context, through pre-school language stimulation, free choice and dispersal (Folketinget 2005b, 9). Accordingly, Frevert asserted that "the primary language" should be Danish for all children, the sooner the better since "[I]t must be in the interest of society not to begin dragging it out in any way" (In Danish: "Det må være i samfundets interesse ikke at begynde at trække det i langdrag på nogen som helst måde") (Folketinget 2005b, 13).

Remarkably, Frevert at the same occasion (Folketinget 2005b, 9) called for the re-introduction of the term "pupils speaking a foreign language" as the official denotation for ethnic minority pupils in order to "bring people to their senses". With this attempt to knead 'common-sense' perception, Frevert advocated the return to more traditional ideas of what could be considered an appropriate mother tongue within a monocultural framework. As such, Frevert's statement constitutes yet another expression of 'language' being the main

category of contention in Danish identity politics. In this perspective, it was symptomatic for the debate that Frevert pleaded objections re-echoing those of the CPP when the term “bilingual pupils” was originally introduced in 1996 (Uddannelsesudvalget 1996).

It should be stressed that Act 594 in many ways was in line with Danish school policy where ‘language’ has continuously been employed to legitimate dispersal on the basis of common-sense conceptions about Danish language learning through mere socialization. Thus, the UVM has since 1981 encouraged local councils to disperse ethnic minority pupils (UVM 1981, 54). In the same year it gave local authorities the powers to allocate pupils to other schools than the local catchment area school to “ease the pupils’ integration in Danish schools” (Kristjánsdóttir 2006a, 152).

Furthermore, Danish state authorities have been engaged since the 1980s (in contrast to curriculum development where the principle of ‘bottom-up development’ was ritually invoked) in the dissemination of dispersal models developed on the local level (Kristjánsdóttir 2006a, 151, 193, 226). A consultative document issued in 1991 (UVM 1991, appendix) for example presented three models applied in the Greater Copenhagen Area as legal ways to regulate the distribution of pupils speaking a foreign language.

In addition, the UVM at the same point (UVM 1991, 9) encouraged school heads to reject “pupils speaking a foreign language” on the basis of a non-specified “pedagogical assessment” (In Danish: ”pædagogisk vurdering”) if it was estimated that the needs of such pupils could not be met in the school, that is, if it would serve the main aim of dispersal and assimilation. This encouragement should be seen in the light of the school choice provisions of 1990 (UVM 1990a) which widened the scope for such discrimination on the basis of the school heads’ intuitive common-sense estimations.

Against this background, Act 594 should be understood as the radicalization of the Danish state authorities’ long-standing interest in the dispersal of ethnic minority children. In addition, the employment in Act 594 of “language needs” as the basis for dispersal reflects the prominence of the category ‘language’ in the recent history of Danish identity politics. Thus, it was symptomatic in both respects that the bill (Jensen 2009, 240-242) with the notion of “objective reasons” (In Danish: “saglig begrundelse”) justified the discrimination on the basis of language in exactly the same manner as the bill for Act 413 of 1996 (Jensen 2009, 114-115) which merely referred to the pupils meant to be allocated to reception classes.

In that respect, both acts apparently drew on, with various implications, the response from the Danish Ministry of Justice to an enquiry from UVM in 1991. Here, it was suggested that while differential treatment on the basis of gender, abilities, nationality, faith or color was illegal, the normally illegal could be made legal if there were “objective reasons” for differential treatment, for example in the case of “lingual barriers” (Kristjánsdóttir 2006a, 260-261).

This observation has thus been crucial in the promotion of the dispersal agenda since it was employed in relation to both Act 413 and Act 594 (Jensen 2009, 114-115, 240-242) to justify differential treatment on the basis of language assessment and the associated circumvention of the Danish obligations to consider lingual and ethnic discrimination as established by the European Court of Human Rights, the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. Act 594 thus stretched the rationale since it excluded a larger group of bilingual pupils from the general provisions while claiming that dispersal would ensure that they could later enjoy human rights in education and the labour market.

Against this background, also the consideration of human rights in the Danish context might be argued to be subordinated the strengthening of monoculturalism. This argument is supported by the implied indifference of the provisions of Act 594 towards the legal position of bilingual parents. Characteristically, Haarder trusted the local councils to administer the transfer regulations in accordance with Denmark’s international obligations (Haarder 2005c) despite the well-documented lack of competences on the local level in that respect (DRC 2005; Holmen & Horst 2005, 45). Actually, the UVM had as mentioned earlier in this section themselves fed blatant discrimination in the regulation of school access with their encouragement of school heads to discriminate “pupils speaking a foreign language” on the basis of a non-specified “pedagogical assessment” (UVM 1991, 9).

Subsequently, the otherwise decidedly uncritical evaluation report concerning the segregation effects of school choice (UVM 2007a, 59) also pointed out that the opaque group definition was likely to result in various interpretations locally and hamper the opportunities for parents to make appeals against the decisions taken by local councils.

Yet, there has been a broad political consensus for dispersal and the involved paternalism towards bilingual parents due to the fears of school segregation along with the implied need for assimilation. The

Minister of Education Haarder thus recapitulated the spatial implications of the monocultural paradigm in a newspaper interview during the period when Act 594 was read in Folketinget (Uddannelsesudvalget 2005; see appendix T, number 5, for quotation in Danish):

We have to face that it is not the children of the Danes who are creating this problem. It is the children of the bilingual [*parents*] who are the problem, and therefore it is also more reasonable that they are the ones to move. Apart from that one cannot force the Danish children to move.

During the reading of Act 594, the Liberal Party, *Socialdemokraterne*, the DPP and CPP (Folketinget 2005b, 1, 3, 7, 9) all advocated that more bilingual parents should become subject to paternalism through the empowerment of local authorities to take over the parents' rights and responsibility to choose schools for their children in order to protect them and assure their future social and job careers in Danish society. On the other hand, contrasting sharply with the general choice agenda, the link between choice and parent engagement in schools was passed by in silence or, in the case of *Socialdemokraterne*, declared as an irrelevant topic.

Haarder pointed out that there were likely to be two approaches to the practice of paternalism. Both implied that the construction of needs undertaken by the local authorities took precedence over parental rights, leading to a *de facto* situation similar to that associated with special needs education. First, the preferable covert approach of consensus-oriented dialogue in "the spirit of the Folkeskole", and second, the use of overtly enforced integration in the case of objections from parents. With regards to the latter "residual group", Haarder conjured up the 'threat' of Muslim identity to stress the need for de-segregation and paternalism. Haarder thus ascribed a particular irresponsibility to this group, with their alleged desire for segregation fed by a strong Muslim identity, limited school background and fear that their child will become "too Danish" in a school where "their children socialize with non-Muslims". Characteristically, Haarder again invoked the particular need for Danish language learning (Haarder 2005b; see appendix T, number 6, for quotation in Danish):

In such cases we have to say that the necessity of Danish acquisition is so vital that it is necessary to get everyone

coming, also those, who do not immediately see the advantages. We have trust in the parents but we must also get the last ones coming.

In the wake of Act 594, the insistent encouragement of the local councils to apply their new ‘tools’ for dispersal has showcased the desire of Danish state authorities to exercise monocultural identity politics and thereby deprive more bilingual parents of their rights to choose (cf. the last paragraph in Chapter Two concerning the changes experienced by the FOKUTO members). This pressure on the local authorities is remarkable since it reflects that the authority of the state and its monocultural framework overrides other priorities like the consideration of human rights, the legal position of bilingual parents and language acquisition and learning outcomes for ethnic minority pupils.

This was for example evident in the official response to the evaluation report (UVM 2007a) anticipated by Act 335 in 2005. The report concluded that there were not yet any signs that freer school choice contributed to school segregation.

However, the report also suggested, in line with other studies of school choice and white flight in the Danish context (Megafon 2005a; Megafon 2005b; Rangvid 2007), that such effects were still likely in the longer term since bilingual pupils generally added negative value to the desirability of schools. The report thus argued that about fifty per cent of parents regardless their ethnic background applied the share of bilingual pupils as a key criterium in their exercise of school choice. This criterium was indeed considered more important than the average tests results of schools, especially by parents of Danish ethnicity.

Still, the report argued that bilingual pupils had generally benefited from Act 335, not least because they had previously been disproportionately affected by the now illegal practice (originally encouraged by the UVM in 1991) where school heads rejected pupils from other catchment areas due to the “consideration of the class”, with the tacit consent of local councils. At the same time, the report pointed out that “only” twelve out of the 42 local councils included in the survey gave it a high priority to influence the distribution of bilingual pupils within their territory. More particularly, six councils dispersed pupils according to the provisions of Act 594, and only one of them (the council of Aarhus) was among the twelve Danish

councils with the largest shares of bilingual pupils (UVM 2007a, 5-32, 48-58).

In his response to the report, Haarder used the latter conclusions to put pressure on the local councils. Haarder thus reiterated the need for swift action to further de-segregation, declaring that he was “worried that under a third of local councils gives priority to distribute the pupils better” (UVM 2007b).

In the same manner, the subsequent Bill 142 of 2008 (which merely postponed the revision of Act 335) pointed out that “many local councils play a too unobtrusive role in relation to many bilingual” pupils (Haarder 2008). Accordingly, the UVM in 2008 launched a campaign to encourage local councils to influence the distribution of bilingual pupils through dispersal, altering catchment areas and setting various limits for class sizes in schools, and voluntary distribution through reserving places for bilingual pupils on schools with low shares of bilingual pupils (UVM 2008b).

Altogether, these calls for intervention in the ‘local economies of pupil worth’ spell out that Danish state authorities advocate the consideration of de-segregation and assimilation rather than the unleashing of market forces. As such, they explain the relatively cautious school choice policies and the maintenance of the comprehensive Folkeskole as the dominant provider of compulsory education. Against this background, it can be recapitulated that neoliberal principles have indeed been adopted in Danish education policy concerning the regulation of access to schools. However, these principles have been deliberately merged with the encouragement of dispersal and other means of de-segregation to serve the main aim of monoculturalism.

CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSIONS

This study has explored the ways neoliberalism has been coupled with identity politics towards ethnic minority pupils in the two multicultural societies of England and Denmark. In the case of England, the study focused on the late 1980s and the early 1990s while the period 2002-2008 was highlighted in the case of Denmark. These particular periods were chosen since the market form was strengthened in the national compulsory education systems at these points.

The study has focused on two aspects of compulsory education to scrutinize the market form, namely the curriculum and access to schools. These aspects were analysed on the basis of official policy documents, primarily legislation, and parliamentary readings in the House of Commons and Folketinget. This empirical material was analysed within the theoretical framework of neoliberalism (primarily Friedman 2002, Friedman & Friedman 1980), monoculturalism and multiculturalism (primarily Parekh 2000). The latter two notions were conceptualized as distinctive alternatives of identity politics (Hall 1996).

In addition, the theoretical framework introduced characteristics of neoconservatism (Apple 2000, Giddens 1998, Harvey 2005) and nationalism (Nairn 1981) as particular expressions of monocultural identity politics. In this way, the study has scrutinized the rationales to introduce the market form in English and Danish compulsory education and whether those market forms entailed a strengthened bias of cultural majoritarianism at their inception. Finally, the study has also drawn on research findings concerning neoliberalism and identity politics in the two contexts to add a historical and critical perspective to the analysis as well as to discuss the effects of policies.

The main argument of the study is that the adoption of the market form in English and Danish compulsory education has been underpinned by neoliberalism and monocultural identity politics.

The analysis thus showed the profound trenchancy of neoliberal ideas like Friedman's in English and Danish education policy and their crucial role in the shift towards the market form. The analysis argued that Friedman's proposals concerning state engagement in defining common curriculum content, ensuring control of standards

and the empowerment of parents as consumers with a choice of schools have re-echoed in the national English and Danish education policies. Indeed, the similarity of the rationales is often so profound that Friedman's books appear to constitute a canon for contemporary policy-makers in England and Denmark.

In this way, the study has presented two national cases which support Beck's (2005) more general argument concerning the widespread consensus for neoliberal politics on a global scale. The study showed that neoliberalism first became clearly expressed in English compulsory education, highlighted by the Education Reform Act 1988, with Denmark following during the 2000s. This development indeed suggests a clear case of 'policy borrowing' from the English New Right in Danish education policy-making, confirming the key role of English context in setting a hugely influential agenda in terms of transforming neoliberalism into policy. However, it should be stressed that there have been gradual moves over at least a decade in both contexts before the market forms became entrenched. These long run-ups to some extent blur the argument of policy borrowing. Rather, they hint at a cross-national endorsement of general neoliberal ideas and their context-sensitive adaptation into policy.

Thus, while there certainly has been a trend of convergence between English and Danish compulsory education since the 1970s due to the neoliberal consensus, the study also showed that there are a number of differences in the adoption of neoliberal ideas in the two national contexts due to the institutional frameworks, long-standing educational traditions and continuous political contentions not least associated with identity politics.

In terms of identity politics, the study has argued that the entrenchment of the market forms in the two national contexts has involved the employment of the school system for monocultural identity politics. These identity politics have particularly aimed for the assimilation of ethnic minority pupils into the mainstream culture. In other words, the two particular market forms entail a strengthened bias in terms of the cultural orientation of the compulsory education systems. The study has thus presented two national cases of education systems which reflect Giddens' (1998) and Harvey's (2005) more general argument that neoliberalism often has been merged with neoconservative ideas.

The study has highlighted the adoption of neoliberal ideas in terms of the centralization of curriculum and school choice policies as

well as the expressions of monocultural identity politics in the English and Danish market forms (see appendix S for an overview). The particular differences between the two market forms have been shaped by the distinctive characteristics of the school systems and the responses to ethnic minority pupils on the national and local level before the market form was strengthened. This argument implies that the terminologies used to ascribe identities for ethnic minority pupils have indicated main categories of contention in relation to identity politics.

In relation to the curriculum, the study has identified a number of general similarities in line with the study's main argument. The study has thus argued that the adoption of the market form have had narrowing effects on the scope for multiculturalism in the English and Danish school curriculum. In a multicultural perspective, the study therefore confirms Torrance's (1997) tentative argument concerning constitutive effects of output-based accountability regimes on the curriculum. More particularly, the study has found that the systems of accountability modeled according to the bi-dimensional pattern of educational control (Moutsios 2000) have been accompanied by monocultural identity politics.

These identity politics have drawn on the two-headed Janus-face of nationalism (Hall 1996, Nairn 1981), based on the argument that the most appropriate way to prepare for the future is to look to the fabled 'good old days' where congruence between nation and culture supposedly ensured unity and social cohesion. Accordingly, curriculum policy has put emphasis on the transmission of knowledge according to pre-set standards as a driver to mobilize retrospective national identities and ensure their projection on to the future. English and Danish policy-making thus apparently endorse that compulsory education should prepare for an emphatically inter-national knowledge economy. In other words: the envisioned business model is based on culturally homogeneous nation-states acting as competitive agents in the global knowledge economy.

Besides this general common characteristic concerning the curriculum, the study has found that the particular expressions of the amalgam between neoliberalism and monoculturalism in England were closely associated with the introduction in 1988 of the prescriptive and monocultural National Curriculum with its statutory attainment targets, programmes of study and expansive assessment framework.

Thereby, the widespread practices of multicultural and anti-racist education were crowded out. These expressions of multiculturalism had developed on the local level during the 1970s and 1980s, supported by local curriculum policies and carried forward by teachers and advisers employed in the local education authorities responding to the increasing cultural diversity among the users of the education system. In addition, it was argued that the dissolution of the Inner London Education Authority with the Education Reform Act 1988 should be understood as a showdown with multiculturalism since this authority was among the leading proponents of multiculturalism.

In Denmark, the monocultural curriculum has been more time-
led. The Minister of Education has been given new powers in relation to central time regulation of the school curriculum. These powers have been used to promote especially the subjects of Danish and History. While curriculum legislation in principle still leaves the school curriculum to the discretion of the local level, canons in Danish literature and history have been introduced as statutory contents, thereby scooping out the last remains of the long-standing principle of decentralization. For ethnic minority pupils, the category of 'language' has remained central in the exercise of Danish identity politics. During the 2000s the main expressions of the monolingual identity politics have concerned advanced linguistic assimilation from three years of age and the effective undermining of mother tongue tuition for pupils with origins in non-EU/EEA countries.

As neoconservative means to ensure social order and reinforce traditional common-sense perceptions and stereotypes, the study has showed that blaming has been adopted in English and Danish education policy, with different groups being the primary targets.

In England, blaming mainly addressed local education authorities and teachers engaged in multicultural and anti-racist education, while in Denmark ethnic minority parents are blamed for their failure to assimilate.

In that respect, it was crucial that multicultural and anti-racist education became entangled in the left-right struggle in England. The Conservative government could therefore draw on the 'threat' of socialism, a particularly trenchant strategy during the 1980s, in their sidelining of multicultural and anti-racist education. On the contrary, there has been a broad consensus in Denmark across the political spectrum for the amalgam of neoliberalism and monocultural identity politics. This consensus has rendered ethnic minority groups in a vulnerable position and those parents not aligning to the monocultural

framework is blamed for 'cultural deficits' and irresponsible self-segregation justifying paternalistic means to make them toe the line. In that respect, especially the Muslim community has been subject to blaming during the last decade with allegations about political subversion and religious fundamentalism.

Concerning access to schools, English and Danish state authorities have taken various routes. In England, the study has argued that state authorities relied on a laissez-faire market form based on choice, diversity and selection without any interventions towards ethnic minority pupils. However, this laissez-faire market form proved to involve detrimental effects for ethnic minority pupils due to the increasing use of selection, referral to special needs education and school exclusions. These factors all disproportionately affected ethnic minority pupils.

In Denmark, the neoliberal idea of school choice remains more controlled due to fears of school segregation of ethnic minority pupils. Furthermore, Danish state authorities have encouraged local councils to disperse ethnic minority pupils in order to accelerate their assimilation. In that respect, the assertion of Danish language in identity politics has become expressed with new opportunities to discriminate ethnic minority pupils on the basis of language assessment. Thereby, more ethnic minority parents are becoming subject to paternalism and deprived their freedom to choose.

In relation to school access, the basic characteristics of the two national education systems might be understood as being crucial for the exercise of identity politics. During the 1980s and 1990s the Conservative government attempted to roll back the un-finished 'comprehensivization' undertaken by the Labour Party from the 1960s with the encouragement of school diversity and selection. On the contrary, the long-standing strong position of the non-selective Danish comprehensive Folkeskole has been retained.

The relatively fragmented and class-divided English school system meant that the Conservative government in England could rely on a neoliberal laissez-faire agenda of choice, diversity and selection to maintain a sense of traditional national identity among the majority population since ethnic minority pupils and parents were in general deemed 'undesirable' by schools. In England, the restoration of social order thus involved the freedom for the majority population to choose a pure place *from* the 'other'.

Otherwise in Denmark, where the Folkeskole is based on the principle of non-selection. Here, state authorities have adopted

paternalistic measures to encourage the dispersal of ethnic minority pupils in order to eradicate their 'cultural deficits'. In terms of identity politics, such paternalism serves to reassure the majority population that they are superior to ethnic minority groups, thereby feeding their complacent national identities. In Denmark, the monocultural identity politics have thus promoted a sense of social order through the encounter *with* the inferior 'other'.

Altogether, these conclusions indicate links between the central notion of the official terminologies and major fields of contention in English and Danish identity politics. The study has thus highlighted that the adopted terms for the denotation of ethnic minority pupils shape the expressions of identity politics and the associated struggles to knead common-sense perceptions of social reality (cf. Koopmans et al. 2005).

This is reflected both on a practical policy level concerning curriculum provisions and the regulation of access to schools as well as on the more abstract level of ideas and key rationales invoked by policy-makers. In both England and Denmark, the monocultural identity politics of state authorities have thus with various means sought to restore social order and purity within the national territories to feed the fantasies of fullness among the majority population.

In England, where 'race' has historically been prevalent in the denotation of ethnic minority groups from the former colonies, the emergence of multicultural and especially anti-racist education contributed to the Conservative government's drive to restore order and purity. With the introduction of an allegedly universal curriculum and the unleashing of market forces in education, the state authorities invoked the need for colour-blind policies when colonial and post-colonial racial discrimination in Britain became openly discussed in education.

In Denmark, where 'language' has remained the main category of contention in the identity politics exercised by Danish state authorities, the drives for purity and social order during the 2000s have focused on the eradication of lingual mongrelization among 'bilingual pupils' and the assertion of Danish as the self-evident norm in relation to mother tongue. In this perspective, the recent repeal in 2010 of the very definition of 'bilingual children' in the Danish School Act should be understood as the culmination so far of the deliberate efforts to impose congruence between nation and culture on the people living in Denmark.

Against the background of these findings, the study has argued that the numerous claims in England and Denmark that a 'colour-blind' market form would promote equality of opportunity have been merged with the monocultural idea of equality as uniformity in the formulation of education policy. In other words: Pupils have been 'set free' and given the responsibility to perform within a monocultural framework.

While pupils have thus been granted the individual freedom to perform at the level of their shared human nature, equality was at the same time reduced at the cultural level. Hence, the notion of equality has been adopted in both English and Danish education policy as an ideological device to mould mankind in a certain direction, corresponding with Parekh's (2000) theoretical argument about monoculturalism. In this way, the study has exposed the token character of the claims that the market forms would support colour-blind equality of opportunity. While neoliberal ideas have certainly had a huge trenchancy in both contexts, the neoliberal 'promises' of equality are belied by their embedding in monocultural frameworks.

In a multicultural perspective, the entrenchment of the market form in compulsory education has therefore entailed a de-democratization in both contexts. This argument is in line with Parekh (2000), Mahajan (1999) and Gundara (2009) who all observe that ethnic minority groups are often disadvantaged in western liberal democracies.

As such, the findings of the study reflect the widespread retreat from multiculturalism in European policy-making since the mid-1990s, also evident in for example France, Germany and the Netherlands (Joppke 2004). Orgad (2009) observes that this retreat entails a move from voluntary to compulsory cultural assimilation, especially evident in the 'culturalization', and associated 'securitization' (Huysmans 2000), of immigration and citizenship legislation. This study has argued that such a 'cultural wall' has also been raised in English and Danish education policy, reflected in the undermining, sidelining or repeal of the previous moves towards multiculturalism. In that respect, the English retreat in relation to education policy might be seen as having set a precedens to be followed by for example Danish state authorities.

Therefore, when Orgad (2009) argues that the resulting pressure for assimilation signal a 'paradox of liberalism' where illiberal policies are embraced in a number of European nation-states to preserve what is presented as a liberal regime, the similar argument

about English and Danish education policy applies. The study has thus explored the expressions of a 'paradox of liberalism' at work in two national contexts of compulsory education. The paradox concerns that the same values the English and Danish nation-states claim to protect are violated due to the strengthened bias of cultural majoritarianism. The monocultural education policies are constructed as acts of self-defence, protecting the freedom of Christian, native language-speaking families from any interference which might challenge their sense of social order and traditional national identity. On the other hand, ethnic minority parents and pupils are expected to assimilate and align to the monocultural education systems.

In these respects, the study has argued that in the case of England this strengthening was largely achieved through allegedly colour-blind universal policies and the associated 'absent presence' of 'race'. In Denmark, the overall 'cultural rearmament' and paternalistic policies towards bilingual parents and pupils has represented the illiberal means with the purpose to 'liberate' those deemed irresponsible due to 'cultural deficits'. While the 'paradox of liberalism' thus has found different expressions in the two contexts, the liberal idea of freedom as a negative concept, that is, as a freedom from interference (Jacobsen et al. 2004, 33-34), in both cases has been translated into ignorance and self-sufficiency for the majority and oppression for ethnic minority groups.

Concerning the shaping of these 'paradoxes of liberalism', the study has also thrown light on the impact of extreme right-wing parties on school policy in the two contexts. This is a particularly relevant issue to be discussed in the European context where the last few decades have seen the rise of right-wing political parties with restrictive policies towards immigration and ethnic minority groups as their common leading issues (Ivarsflaten 2008, 17).

In that respect, the English and Danish context differ from each other. Thus, in Denmark the right-wing *Dansk Folkeparti* ("Danish People's Party") established in 1995 has proven so successful that the party is currently the third largest party in parliament, winning 14 per cent of the popular vote in the latest election in 2007. On the contrary, extreme right-wing parties campaigning against immigration and multicultural society have remained marginal in English politics. The most prominent of these parties, the British National Party, has during the 1990s and 2000s gained some influence in high minority areas, especially at local elections and European Parliament (BBC 2009).

However, the party has failed to gain any seats at the national House of Commons (Taylor & Muir 2010).

This study has shown that the significance of *Dansk Folkeparti* in Danish education policy should not be exaggerated, in line with Joppke's (2004, 247-249) general argument about the actual impact of the recent rise of right-wing populism in Europe. The analysis showed that *Dansk Folkeparti* has traded on the long-standing monocultural ideas and agendas basically set by *Venstre*, the Liberal Party, and *Konservative Folkeparti*. *Dansk Folkeparti* has thus not added anything 'substantial' to the educational debate but focused on the mobilization of national identity through radical rhetorics. Indeed, the analysis of the Danish context pointed out that before *Dansk Folkeparti* became influential, the three main parties of *Venstre*, *Konservative Folkeparti* and *Socialdemokraterne* had already responded to the increasing debate about cultural diversity and Danish national identity with dismissal or ridicule of any development towards multiculturalism. Still, it should be stressed that *Dansk Folkeparti* with its votes and radicalized xenophobic rhetorics obviously has fueled the retreat from multiculturalism and especially the 'moral panic' surrounding immigration, cultural diversity and in particular the Muslim minority living in Denmark.

On the other hand, the study has argued that despite the absence of extreme right-wing parties in the House of Commons, multiculturalism was effectively sidelined in English education policy in the wake of the Education Reform Act 1988. In that respect, the absence of paternalistic measures towards ethnic minority groups might be understood against the background of the long-standing educational traditions for selection and school diversity. These traditions meant that the Conservative government could to a higher extent rely on the more subtle means of market mechanisms as a driver for monoculturalism, as pointed out above.

The conclusions of this study thus imply that Friedman's neoliberal ideas are considerably compromised by their adoption in English and Danish education policy. However, rather than using these findings to argue against the coherence of Friedman's contested ideas, it should be mentioned that English and Danish education policy does not live up to his liberal aspirations.

Thus, in both contexts the centrally defined common curriculum cannot be said to merely encompass a 'minimum common content' as proposed by Friedman. Rather, the study has shown that state authorities are deeply engaged in defining the entire curriculum for

compulsory education. In addition, the study showed that state authorities in both contexts seek to control the regulation of diverse school types according to their monocultural preferences. This high level of regulation is not in keeping with Friedman's ideas of a 'school industry' largely determined by consumer demand.

However, the study certainly shows that neoliberal ideas have been invoked to establish market forms which entail a bias of cultural majoritarianism. In this way, the study has highlighted the shortcomings of Friedman's key arguments when they are employed in multicultural settings to protect, entrench and not least disguise the dominance of particular social groupings. Especially his key ideas concerning liberal government as a mere 'instrumentality' with the purpose to serve individual freedom and leave 'the ethical problem' to the individual take on a particularly naïve character in the light of the majoritarian bias of the detailedly regulated market forms of English and Danish compulsory education.

As a final remark, I would like to suggest that the findings of this study should be understood within a broader societal context. Education systems remain embedded in broader patterns of stratification and discrimination, not least reflected in the implications housing policies have for the education system in terms of school segregation and the attempts to provide a real school choice (Gorard et al. 2003).

Education obviously cannot resolve all challenges associated with a multicultural society. Yet, this study took as a point of departure that education systems through the recognition and reflection about cultural diversity can contribute to a more peaceful co-existence. However, the study concluded that the English and Danish compulsory education systems have taken a different route since the national policies with overt and covert means seek to impose cultural uniformity. There is little evidence to suggest that such compulsory assimilation resolves the challenges associated with a multicultural society. Instead, the education systems of England and Denmark are more likely to be counterproductive and feed the potential for intercultural conflict and violence when minority groups 'under siege' react to what they see as a majoritarian arrogance threatening their own culture, or more precisely, their identities (Gundara 2009, 1013, 1017; Orgad 2009, 86-87; Parekh 2000, 224-230).

Against this background, English and Danish compulsory education, with their high levels of discrimination, blaming and

persistent construction of 'threats' are entangled in the conjuring up of enemies within and without the policed territory, rather than promoting 'integration'. The education systems are thus employed in identity politics where the constructions of difference nourish the occasional outbreak of violence. Due to the defensive and relational character of identification, such continuous creation of manageable enemies is an ideal means to feed national identification among the population and thus the very legitimacy of the nation-state as a political entity. Accordingly, the identity politics also serve to sustain the legitimacy of national policy-makers, their endeavours and identities. In this perspective, the study has showed that English and Danish compulsory education policy are based on a vision of a neoliberal global 'knowledge economy' where the individual yearning for a stable identity and a sense of fullness is met by the cultivation of national enemies.

ABSTRACT IN DANISH

Dette studie undersøger sammenhængen mellem neoliberalisme og identitetspolitik i den statslige engelske og danske skolepolitik. Det fokuserer på udviklingen af uddannelsesstilbuddene til etniske minoritetslever i relation til curriculum og deres adgang til skoler i den periode, hvor markedsformen blev styrket i de to nationale offentlige skolesystemer.

For Englands vedkommende drejer det sig om slutningen af 1980'erne under den Konservative regering, der sad ved magten 1979-1997. Med hensyn til den danske folkeskole er der særligt fokus på perioden 2002-2008 under koalitionsregeringen bestående af Venstre og det Konservative Folkeparti.

Den analytiske ramme udgøres hovedsageligt af Milton Friedmans neoliberale ideer (Friedman 2002, Friedman & Friedman 1980) samt Bhikhu Parekhs skelnen mellem monokulturalisme og multikulturalisme (Parekh 2000). Sidstnævnte bliver inden for analyserammen opfattet som udtryk for forskellige former for identitetspolitik. Derudover involveres andre teoretiske bidrag om neoliberalisme (Ball 2008, Harvey 2005, Moutsios 2000, Mudge 2008), identitetspolitik (Hall 1996), nationalisme (Nairn 1981) og neokonservatisme i uddannelsessammenhæng (Apple 2000).

Inden for denne analyseramme diskuteres de statslige skolepolitikker i England og Danmark på grundlag af det empiriske materiale, der består af centrale skolereformer fra de pågældende perioder og debatterne om dem i de nationale parlamenter. Derudover inddrages eksisterende forskning om neoliberalisme og identitetspolitik i de to kontekster til at understøtte specialets konklusioner. I overensstemmelse med specialets orientering imod den kulturelle og ideografiske tradition inden for international komparativ uddannelsesforskning (Winther-Jensen 2004) har særlige kendetegn for de to nationale kontekster, deres skolesystemer, nyere immigrationshistorie og tilgang til etniske minoritetslever været inddraget i analysen. Formålet med dette historiske perspektiv har været at respektere den enkelte konteksts integritet og opnå en dybere forståelse af, hvordan markedsformen har udviklet sig over tid, og hvilke ideer den har været præget af. Dette historiske perspektiv har været afgørende for specialets konklusioner.

Specialets hovedkonklusion er, at den stigende grad af neoliberal regulering af curriculum og adgang til skoler i både England og Danmark er blevet ledsaget af monokulturel identitetspolitik. Denne konklusion implicerer, at de særlige markeder, som de statslige skolepolitikker fremmer, er understøttet af ideer om assimilation ind i majoritetskulturen. Herved påpeges, at de lige muligheder, som markedsformen hævdes at fremme, trækker på en forestilling om lighed som enshed på det kulturelle plan. På denne baggrund argumenterer specialet for, at oprettelsen af markedsformen i England og Danmark bidrog til et yderligere demokratisk underskud i relation til curriculum og adgangen til skoler.

Mens neoliberalisme i både England og Danmark er kommet til udtryk igennem centraliseringen af curriculum, øget kontrol af standarder og mere frit skolevalg, har samspillet mellem neoliberalisme og monokulturalisme vist sig på forskellig måde.

I England var det primære udtryk for monokulturel identitetspolitik, at 'multikulturelle' og 'anti-racistiske' curriculumtiltag vidt udbredt på lokalt niveau i 1970'erne og 1980'erne blev umuliggjort ved indførelsen af et nationalt og monokulturelt curriculum med den banebrydende *Education Reform Act 1988*. Denne reform var samtidig afgørende for etableringen af et skolemarked kendetegnet ved laissez-faire, selektiv adgang og øget skolediversitet. I dette marked kom den statslige monokulturelle identitetspolitik til udtryk ved manglende intervention i det mere selektive engelske skolesystem. På den baggrund oplevede etniske minoritets elever en uforholdsmæssigt reduceret adgang til skoler, henvisning til specialundervisning og skoleeksklusioner.

I Danmark har den skærpede monokulturalisme primært vist sig ved et øget fokus på den sproglige assimilation af etniske minoritets elever. De mest markante udtryk for denne drejning var ophævelsen af tosprogede elevers ret til modersmålsundervisning i 2002 og den fremrykkede sprogstimulering til 3-årsalderen. Tilsvarende har det generelle skolecurriculum udviklet sig i en monokulturel retning. I den henseende har undervisningsministeren som et særligt kendetegn for Danmark fået nye beføjelser til at styre timetallet med hensyn til bl.a. fagene dansk og historie. Den statslige danske monokulturelle identitetspolitik er desuden kommet til udtryk igennem ny lovgivning, der giver kommunerne mulighed for at fordele tosprogede elever imellem skoler for at fremskynde deres assimilation, og de gentagne tilskyndelser om at tage disse 'redskaber' i brug. Således har den statslige identitetspolitik i reguleringen af

adgang til skoler tilskyndet til paternalisme og intervention overfor etniske minoritetsgrupper, modsat det engelske skolemarked, som har været baseret på laissez-faire og selektion.

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APPENDICES

A. Neoliberalism, monoculturalism and multiculturalism

	Neoliberalism	Monoculturalism	Multiculturalism
Main aim	Individual freedom and responsibility	Monoculturalism	Multiculturalism
Key idea	<p>The invisible hand of the market promotes growth, individual freedom, self-dependency and social mobility.</p> <p>Power should be taken from the 'educational establishment' and given to consumers</p>	<p>Assimilation of cultural communities into mainstream culture.</p> <p>Majoritarian bias and traditional views of common-sense The Janus-face of nationalism</p> <p>'Blaming'</p>	<p>Cultural diversity is central to the society's self-understanding.</p> <p>The cultural demands of constituent communities should be recognized.</p>
Notion of equality	Performance-based colourblind equality of opportunity	Equality as uniformity; equality is denied at the cultural level.	Equality involves equal freedom or opportunity to be different
Curriculum	<p>A minimum of common curriculum content should be defined by the government.</p> <p>Control of standards embedded in systems of accountability</p>	Monolingual and – cultural curriculum which maintains strong boundaries between 'us' and 'them'.	The culture of ethnic minority groups should be recognized, preferably integrated in the mainstream curriculum.
Access to schools	<p>Parents should be given rights to choose every school willing to accept the child.</p> <p>Market mechanisms take precedence over interventions in the 'local economies of pupil worth'. Enforced integration/paternalism where market mechanisms are limited</p>	Equality as uniformity and majoritarian bias	<p>Equality involves equal freedom or opportunity to be different</p> <p>A multiculturally based school system accommodating different kinds of schools</p>

B. Population by ethnic group in United Kingdom (2001 Census)

	Total population		Non-White population in %
	Numbers*	%	
White	51,154	92.1	-
Mixed	677	1.2	14.6
Indian	1,053	1.8	22.7
Pakistani	747	1.3	16.1
Bangladeshi	283	0.5	6.1
Other Asian	248	0.4	5.3
All Asian or Asian British	2,331	4.0	50.3
Black Caribbean	566	1.0	12.2
Black African	485	0.8	10.5
Any other Black background	98	0.2	2.1
All Black or Black British	1,149	2.0	24.8
Chinese	247	0.4	5.3
Other ethnic groups	231	0.4	5.0
All minority ethnic population	4,635	7.9	100
All population	58,789	100	

* Numbers in thousands. Numbers rounded to nearest thousand.

Source: Table modified from National Statistics (2004)

C. Pupils by ethnic group and first language in England (2009)

	Primary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	Pupils*	%	Pupils*	%
White	2,555	79.2	2,664	81.9
White British	2,410	74.7	2,539	78.0
Irish	11	0.3	12	0.4
Traveller of Irish heritage	3	0.1	1	0.0
Gypsy/Roma	6	0.2	3	0.1
Any other White Background	125	3.9	110	3.4
Mixed	133	4.1	106	3.3
White and Black Caribbean	42	1.3	37	1.1
White and Black African	15	0.5	11	0.3
White and Asian	28	0.9	22	0.7
Any other mixed background	48	1.5	37	1.1
Asian	300	9.3	250	7.7
Indian	80	2.5	81	2.5
Pakistani	126	3.9	93	2.9
Bangladeshi	52	1.6	38	1.2
Any other Asian background	41	1.3	38	1.2
Black	158	4.9	139	4.3
Black Caribbean	45	1.4	45	1.4
Black African	94	2.9	79	2.4
Any other Black background	18	0.6	15	0.5
Chinese	11	0.3	14	0.4
Any other ethnic group	44	1.4	37	1.1
Classified	3,200	99.3	3,210	98.6
Unclassified	24	0.7	45	1.4
Minority Ethnic Pupils**	790	24.5	671	20.6
All pupils	3,224	100	3,255	100

* Pupils in thousands. Numbers rounded to nearest thousand.

** The category Minority Ethnic Pupils includes all pupils classified as belonging to an ethnic group other than White British.

(Appendix C continued)

Pupils by first language in English primary and secondary schools (2009)

	Primary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	Pupils*	%	Pupils*	%
First language other than English	491	15.2	363	11.1
First language English	2,727	84.6	2,878	88.4
Unclassified	6	0.2	14	0.4
All pupils	3,224	100	3,255	100

* Pupils in thousands. Numbers rounded to nearest thousand.

Source: Tables modified from DCSF (2009a, table 4 and 5)

D. Population in Denmark, immigrants and descendants (2009)

Country of origin	Persons with Danish origin	Immigrants	Descendants
Danmark	4,987,656		
EU member states		122,437	13,179
Great Britain		11,812	1,495
Sweden		10,401	1,181
Germany		18,536	1,103
Other European countries		105,311	43,463
Africa		31,787	15,727
Somalia		6,039	2,279
North America		8,511	936
USA		5,823	332
South – and Latin America		9,026	864
Chile		479	34
Asia		124,931	52,000
Afghanistan		7,600	1,489
Iraq		13,414	3,484
Iran		3,923	366
China		6,749	408
Pakistan		5,435	1,458
Syria		674	94
Turkey		20,539	8,332
Vietnam		3,247	665
Oceania		2,112	151
Stateless		495	227
Unknown		493	135
Total	4,987,656	405,103	126,682
Total population in Denmark 2009	5,519,441		

Source: Table generated on the basis of data from Statistics Denmark.

E. Number of pupils by language and ethnic group in Denmark

“Pupils speaking a foreign language”/”bilingual pupils” in the Folkeskole

Year	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2004
Pupils	2,531	8,093	11,815	22,578	35,951	50,360	57,523
%	< 1	1, 1	1.80	4.10	6.90	8.90	10

Number of pupils in class 0-9 by origin, 2008/2009

	The Folkeskole	Free schools*	Special schools **	Total
Danish origin	519,132	112,391	10,625	642,148
Immigrants	16,180	2,424	380	18,984
Descendants	43,369	7,739	996	52,104
Unknown	956	1,473	149	2,578
Total	579,637	124,027	12,150	715,814

Ten most common countries of origin for ethnic minority pupils in compulsory education, 2008/2009

	The Folkeskole	Free schools *	Special schools **	Total
Turkey	10,028	1,272	236	11,561
Iraq	5,772	712	148	6,632
Lebanon	5,599	976	127	6,702
Somalia	3,813	562	109	4,484
Pakistan	2,952	100	52	3,104
Afghanistan	2,841	370	98	3,309
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2,807	121	37	2,965
Yugoslavia	2,469	130	54	2,653
Vietnam	2,096	426	20	2,542
Sri Lanka	1,838	472	30	2,340

* Free schools include independent residential schools (“efterskoler”) catering for class 8-11.

** Special schools also include day care treatment (“dagbehandlingstilbud”)

Sources: First table modified from Thomsen (2004). Second and third table modified from Hornbek (2009, Table 1, Table 5).

F. The Education Reform Act 1988 and the curriculum

Main curriculum provisions from the Education Reform Act:

The Basic Curriculum: Religious Education

National Curriculum consisting of ten foundation subjects:

Three core subjects: Mathematics, English and Science.

Seven other foundation subjects: History, Geography, Technology, Music, Art and Physical Education. In the third and fourth key stages also a Modern Foreign Language.

The National Curriculum was to be taught in all state-maintained schools and was defined by attainment targets, programmes of study and assessment arrangements.

Mandatory assessment after the four key stages:

- Key stage 1: Ages 5-7 (Years 1-2)
- Key stage 2: Ages 7-11 (Years 3-6)
- Key stage 3: Ages 11-14 (Years 7-9)
- Key stage 4: Ages 14-16 (Years 10-11)

The Whole Curriculum by 1990:

Basic Curriculum + National Curriculum

+ A range of cross-curricular elements:

Dimensions: equal opportunity and multiculturalism

Skills: communication; numeracy; study; problemsolving; personal and social education; and information technology.

Non-statutory themes: economic and industrial understanding; careers education and guidance; health education, education for citizenship; and environmental education

Sources: DES (1988), Pumfrey (1994a, 19-20)

G. Section 11 Grants: Expenditure on approved projects

Year	£	Year	£	Year	£
1967-68*	1.4	1978-79	31.1	1989-90	114.8
1968-69*	1.8	1979-80	33.1	1990-91	135.5
1969-70	3.7	1980-81	46.0	1991-92	113.0
1970-71	4.4	1981-82	52.2	1992-93	129.7
1971-72	5.5	1982-83	60.8	1993-94	131.2
1972-73	7.0	1983-84	76.2	1994-95	49.7
1973-74	9.4	1984-85	76.3	1995-96	54
1974-75	10.2	1985-86	63.4	1996-97	58.2
1975-76	13.8	1986-87	102.2	1997-98	73.4
1976-77	20.4	1987-88	93.0		
1977-78	24.6	1988-89	88.8		

£ in millions.

* Grant was paid at 50 per cent level during 1967-69.

Source: National Archives (2010)

H. The English school curriculum 1988-2006

Subject	1988	1996	2002	2006
<i>Basic curriculum:</i>				
Religious Education and collective worship	BS KS 1-4	-	-	-
<i>National Curriculum:</i>				
English	CS KS 1-4	-	-	-
Mathematics	CS KS 1-4	-	-	-
Science	CS KS 1-4	-	-	-
History	FS KS 1-4	FS KS 1-3	-	EA KS4
Technology	FS KS 1-4	-	-	EA KS4
Geography	FS KS 1-4	FS KS 1-3	-	EA KS 4
Information and communication technology			FS KS 1-4	-
Modern foreign language	FS KS 3-4	-	-	EA KS 4
Citizenship			FS KS 3-4	-

Abbreviations: Key Stage (KS), Basic Subject (BS), Core Subject (CS), Foundation Subject (FS), Entitlement area (EA).

In 2006, Technology was renamed Design and Technology.

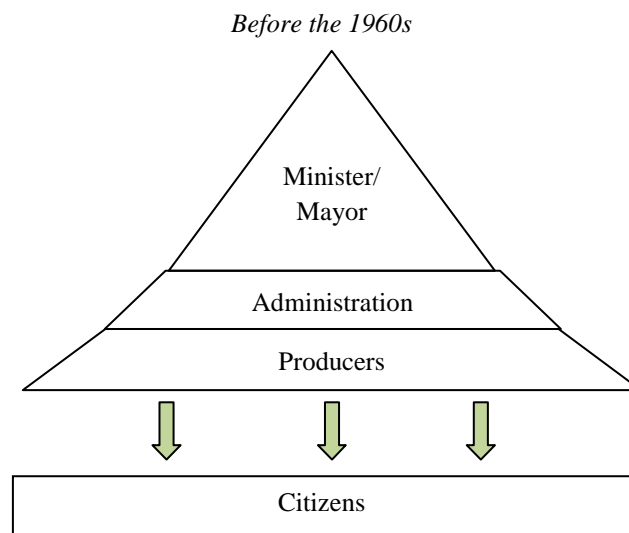
The subjects of Art, Music and Physical Education are not included in the table.

Sources: DES (1988, section 3); Department for Education and Employment (1996, section 352-354); Department for Education and Skills (2002, section 80, 84-85); Department for Education and Skills (2006, section 74)

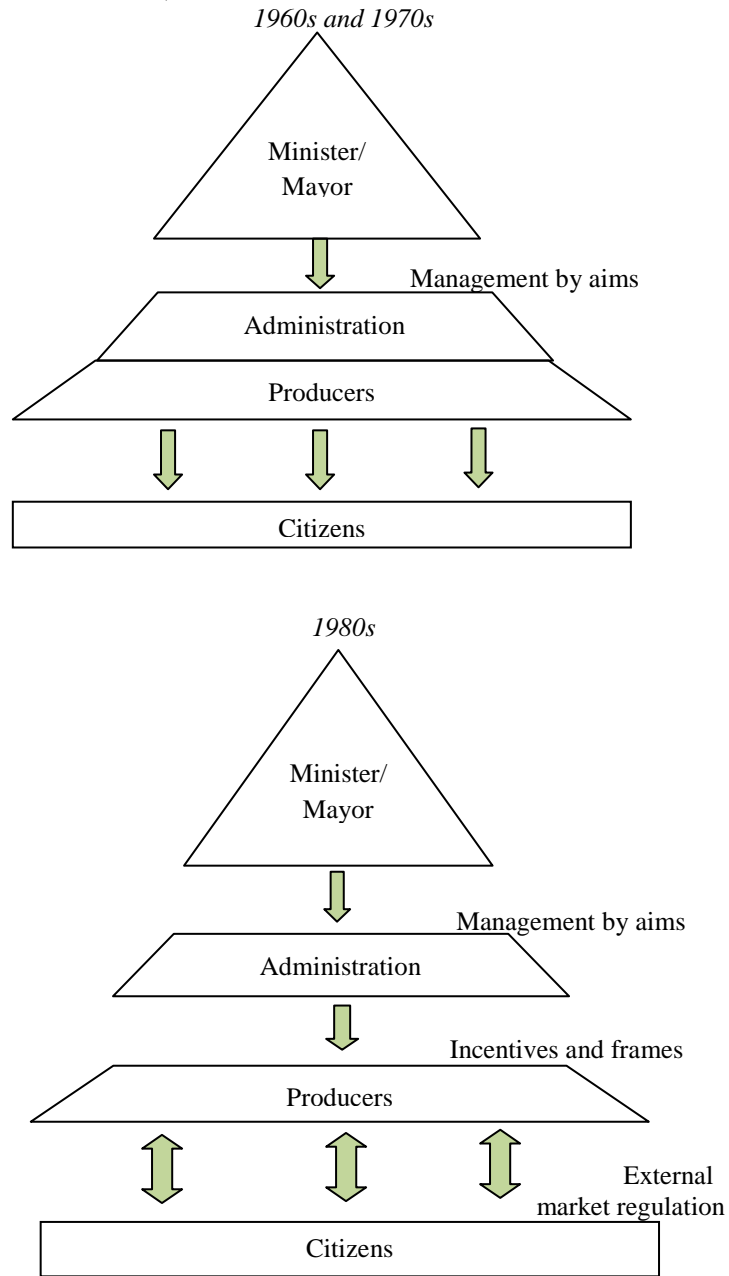
I. Towards aim-and-frame regulation in the Danish public sector

These three models illustrate the shift from top-down central hierarchic regulation towards aim-and-frame regulation in the Danish public sector. Aim-and-frame regulation combines the internal regulation through incentives and sanctions, with external market regulation through consumer choice exercised by citizens. Remark the arrows in the external market regulation of the 1980s.

Source: Finansministeriet (1996).



(Appendix I continued)



J. Curriculum provisions of five acts in Denmark 2002-2006

Act 412, 2002. "Mothertongue tuition and language stimulation"

- Local councils obliged to offer language stimulation for bilingual children from three years of age, instead of the previous 4 years, whether they attend day care or not
- The obligation of local councils to offer mother tongue tuition to bilingual children is withdrawn, except for children from the EU and EEA (Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway), the Faeroe Islands and Greenland
- Block grants to local councils reduced on the basis of estimated savings and costs related to abolishing mother tongue tuition and advancing language stimulation

Act 300, 2003. "Better inschooling and strengthening of the content in the instruction of the Folkeskole"

- Final and intermediate statutory "Common National Objectives" for all subjects in class 0-10
- The Minister of Education was given powers to establish a minimum annual number of lessons in relation to stages (1-3, 4-6, 7-9) and clusters of subjects (humanities, science and practical-aesthetic)
- Definition of minimum number of Danish (810 hours) and Math lessons (450) in class 1-3
- Curriculum changes: extra lessons in Danish and Math in class 1-3; English given extra lessons and introduced one year earlier in class 3; Biology extended to class 9 and added 30 hours from Nature/Technics; Physics/Chemistry; History extended to class 9 and given 30 hours extra, taken from Social Science; Social Science introduced one year earlier, in class 8
- The increased costs for the extra lessons in Danish, Math, English and Physics/Chemistry compensated in block grants to local councils.

Act 477, 2004. "Mandatory language stimulation of bilingual children who have not yet started schooling"

- Parents given the obligation to let their child attend Danish language stimulation from three years of age until school start if the child is assessed to have the need

(Appendix J continued)

Act 313, 2006. “Strengthened evaluation and use of national tests as pedagogic tool and compulsory tests etc.”

- “National Tests” referring to the intermediate aims in Danish, Math, English, Physics/Chemistry, Biology and Geography
- Mandatory final exams in class 9, and introducing History, Christian Studies and Social Science as exam subjects

Act 572, 2006. “Clarification of the pre-amble of the Folkeskole, extra lessons in Danish and History, pupil plans, publication of national test results, clarification of the municipal responsibilities and establishment of a new council for evaluation and quality development of the Folkeskole“.

- Revision of the preamble of the Danish School Act.
- Curriculum changes: extra lessons for Danish in class 1-3 and History in class 4-5
- The minimum number of hours for Danish in class 1-3 increased to 900 hours; definition of 180 hours as the minimum number of hours for History in class 4-6
- Publication of “national performance profile”, “quality reports” and individual “pupil plans”

Sources: UVM (2002a, 2003a, 2004, 2006a, 2006d)

K. Curriculum centralization in the Danish Folkeskole

	School Act 1975	School Act 1993	'Clear Objectives' 2001-02	Act 300, 2003
UVM	Preamble of the Folkeskole + statutory range of 15 subjects + the class levels in which to teach them + the general purpose of each subject + statutory "knowledge area" for Christian Studies	As defined by School Act 1975 + statutory "central knowledge and skills areas" for all subjects	As defined by School Act 1993 + guiding intermediate objectives	As defined by 'Clear Objectives' + 'Common National Objectives', including statutory final and intermediate objectives + minimum annual number of lessons in relation to stages (class 1-3, 4-6, 7-9) and clusters of subjects. + minimum number of hours for Danish and Math in class 1-3 and for History in class 4-6 (<i>the latter due to Act 572, 2006</i>)
Local council	The local council prepares "school plans" concerning local school organization	Approval of school syllabuses	Approval of school syllabuses and teaching manuals + Formulation of intermediate objectives for the subjects	Approval of school syllabuses and teaching manuals (<i>teaching manuals and syllabus were combined into one document with Act 50, 2009</i>)
School	Formulation of tuition plans with "central knowledge and skills areas" for all subjects	Preparation of proposals for syllabus	Preparation of proposals for syllabus and teaching manuals	School head prepares proposals for school syllabus and teaching manuals. School committee approves proposals for syllabus and teaching manuals.

Sources: UVM (1975, section 1, 4, 5, 16), UVM (1993, section 10), UVM (2001, section 1), UVM (2003a, section 10, subsection 2; section 16; section 40, subsection 3; section 44, subsection 8, point 1; section 45, subsection 3), UVM (2006d, section 16).

L. Support for selected school acts in Denmark 1993-2008

Act 435 (1990). "De-bureaucratization, deregulation etc. Including regulations for free school choice"

Passed with 94: Social Democrats (SocDem), the Liberal Party (LibP), Conservative People's Party (CPP), the Progress Party (ProgP), Centre Democrats (CD), the Social Liberal Party (SocLibP), Christian People's Party (ChristPP), MP Steenholdt of Greenlandic Party, MP Hugo Holm
Against 18: Socialist People's Party (SocPP)

Act 509 (1993). School Act

Passed with 94: SocDem, LibP, SocPP, ProgP, CD, SocLibP, ChristPP
Against 25: CPP, 2 MP of LibP.

Act 413 (1996). "Efforts for bilingual children, deregulation etc."

Passed with 93: SocDem, LibP, CPP, SocPP, ProgP, CD, Danish People's Party (DPP)
Against 4: Red-Green Alliance (RGA)

Act 486 (1998) "Reinforced integration of refugee and immigrant children"

Passed with 98: SocDem, LibP, CPP, SocPP, CD, SocLibP, and ChristPP
Against 15: DPP, RGA and ProgP

Act 412 (2002) "Mother-tongue tuition and language stimulation"

Passed with 59: LibP, DPP and CPP
Against 47: SocDem, SocPP, SocLibP, RGA and ChristPP

Act 300 (2003) "Better inschooling and strengthening of the subject content in the teaching of the Folkeskole"

Passed with 92: LibP, DPP, CPP and SocDem
Against 16: SocPP, SocLibP, RGA and ChristPP

Act 477 (2004). "Mandatory language stimulation of bilingual children who have not yet started schooling"

Passed with 90: LibP, DPP, CPP and SocDem
Against 14: SocPP, SocLibP, RGA and Christian Democrats (ChristDem)

Act 360 (2004). "Geography as exam subject, procedures for pupils' exemption from Christian Studies [...]"

Passed with 91: LibP, DPP, CPP and SocDem
Against 14: SocPP, SocLibP, RGA and ChristDem

(Appendix L continued)

Act 594 (2005). “Strengthened tuition in Danish as second language, including extended opportunities for transferring bilingual pupils to other schools than the catchment area school”

Passed with 90: LibP, DPP, CPP and SocDem

Against 21: SocPP, SocLibP, RGA

Act 335 (2005). ”Freer school choice within and across municipalities”

Passed with 98: LibP, DPP, CPP and SocDem

Against 20: SocPP, SocLibP, RGA

Act 313 (2006). “Strengthened evaluation and use of national tests as pedagogic tool and compulsory tests etc.”

Passed with 90: LibP, DPP, CPP and SocDem

Against 23: 5 members of SocDem, SocPP, SocLibP, RGA

Act 572 (2006) “Clarification of the pre-amble of the people’s school, extra lessons in Danish and History, pupil plans, publication of national test results, clarification of the municipal responsibilities and establishment of a new council for evaluation and quality development of the people’s school“

Passed with 86: LibP, DPP, CPP and SocDem

Against 23: 4 members of SocDem, SocPP, SocLibP, RGA

Act 476 (2008). Revision of Act 335 (2005)

Passed with 91: LibP, DPP, CPP, SocDem, SocLibP and New Alliance

Against 18: SocPP, RGA

Original names of political parties represented in Folketinget:

The Centre Democrats: Centrum-Demokraterne

Christian People’s Party: Kristeligt Folkeparti (from October 2003:

“Christian Democrats”: “Kristendemokraterne”)

The Conservative People’s Party: Det Konservative Folkeparti

Danish People’s Party: Dansk Folkeparti

The Liberal Party: Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti

New Alliance: Ny Alliance

Progress Party: Fremskridtspartiet

Red-Green Alliance: Enhedslisten

Social Democrats: Socialdemokraterne

Social Liberal Party: Radikale Venstre, Danmarks Social-liberale Parti.

Socialist People’s Party: Socialistisk Folkeparti

M. Curriculum provisions for ethnic minority pupils in Denmark

	Act 509, 1993	Act 413, 1996	Act 486, 1998	Act 412, 2002	Act 477, 2004
Danish language learning for ethnic minority pupils in main stream classes of the Folkeskole	Specially arranged tuition in Danish for "pupils speaking a foreign language," "in requisite extent". Class 1-9	"Danish as a second language" for "bilingual pupils," "in requisite extent". Class 0-10			
Pre-school language stimulation	Local councils given the <i>option</i> to offer language stimulation to children in pre-school age. Up to 15 hours weekly.	Local councils <i>obliged</i> to offer language stimulation from 4 years of age if child assessed to have the need. Up to 15 hours weekly.	Local councils <i>obliged</i> to offer language stimulation from 3 years of age if child assessed to have the need. Up to 15 hours weekly.	Local councils <i>obliged</i> to offer language stimulation from 3 years of age if child assessed to have the need. Up to 15 hours weekly.	Mandatory test. Compulsory from 3 years of age if child assessed to have the need. Up to 15 hours weekly.
Mother tongue tuition (established in 1976)		Optional 3-5 hours		Withdrawal of obligation for local councils to offer tuition for non-EU/EEA pupils. Block grant to local councils reduced.	

Sources: UVM (1993, section 5, subsection 7), UVM (1996, section 4a; section 5, subsection 7), UVM (1998, section 4a, subsection 1, 3, 4), UVM (2002a, section 4a, subsection 3, point 2; section 5, subsection 7), UVM (2004, section 4a, subsection 5)

N. The Folkeskole curriculum

Subject	Hours			
	<i>Act 509, 1993</i>	<i>Act 300, 2003</i>	<i>Act 572, 2006</i>	<i>+/- hours 1993-2006 (fully realized 2010/2011)</i>
Danish	1800 Class 1-9	1890 Min. 810 hours in class 1-3	1980 Min. 900 hours in class 1-3	+180
History	270 Class 3-8	300 Class 3-9	360 Min. 180 hours in class 4-6	+90, including 30 hours transferred from Social Studies
Social Studies ("samfundsfag")	150 Class 9	120 Class 8-9	120	-30, transferred to History
Christian Studies	300 Class 1-9	300	300	0
English	510 Class 4-9	570 Class 3-9	570	+60, including 30 hours taken from "Time of the Class"
Optional: German (or French)	330 Class 7-9	330	330	0
Math	1080 Class 1-9	1170 Min. 450 hours in class 1-3	1170	+90
Physics/ Chemistry	180 Class 7-9	210	210	+30
Biology	120 Class 7-8	150 Class 7-9	150	+30, taken from from Nature/Technics
Geography (Changes due to Act 360, 2004)	120 Class 7-8	120 Class 7-9	120	0
Nature/ Technics ("Natur/Teknik")	330 Class 1-6	300	300	-30, transferred to Biology

(Appendix N continued)

The control of standards in the Folkeskole

Subject	Control of standards (Act 313, 2006)	
	National tests	Final examinations, class 9
Danish	Class 2, 4, 6, 8	Mandatory from 2006 Optional before
History	-	By lot from 2006
Social Studies ("samfundsfag")	-	By lot from 2006
Christian Studies	-	By lot from 2006
English	Class 7	Mandatory from 2006 Optional before
Optional: German (or French)	-	By lot from 2006 Optional before
Math	Class 3, 6	Mandatory 2006 Optional before
Physics/ Chemistry	Combined test in Physics/ Chemistry, Biology and Geography in class 8	Mandatory 2006 Optional before
Biology		Mandatory 2006 Optional from 2003
Geography (Changes due to Act 360, 2004)		Mandatory 2006 Optional from 2004
Nature/Technics ("Natur/Teknik")	-	

The following curriculum contents are not included in the first table:

The practical/aesthetic subject range; the "time of the class" ("Klassens Tid"); three compulsory topics established in 1993; the cross-curricular "Project assignment"; additional optional subjects in class 8-9; approved optional subjects not leading to exam, for example Spanish, Immigrant Languages ("Almindelige indvandersprog"), Everyday French, Everyday German, all approved with Order 716, July 2008.

The first table is based on both statutory provisions and guidance. However, the provisions of Act 300 and 572 constrained the actual scope for variation from the numbers included in the table.

Sources: Blaksteen et al. (1995, 119), UVM (2003b, section 1, 2), UVM (2006b), UVM (2006f)

O. Preambles of the Folkeskole in English language

School Act 1975*

§2. The task of the school is in the cooperation with the parents to provide the pupils with the opportunity to acquire knowledge, skills, working methods and forms of expression, which contribute to the individual pupil's versatile development.

Subsection 2. The school has to seek in all work activities to create such opportunities for experience and self-occupation that the pupil can enhance one's inclination to learn, unfold one's imagination and train one's ability to independent assessment and taking a stand.

Subsection 3. The school prepares the pupils for living participation and co-influence in a democratic society and for co-responsibility for solving communal tasks. Hence, the education and everyday life of the school have to be based on freedom of spirit and democracy.

School Act 1993

§1. The task of the school is in co-operation with the parents to further the pupils' acquisition of knowledge, skills, working methods and forms of expression, which contribute to the individual pupil's personal versatile development.

Subsection 2. The school has to seek creating such conditions for experience, initiative and absorption, that the pupils develop cognition, imagination and inclination to learn, so that they achieve confidence in own opportunities and a foundation to take a stand and act.

Subsection 3. The school must make the pupils familiar with Danish culture and contribute to their understanding for other cultures and for the interaction between human and nature. The school prepares the pupils for participation, co-responsibility, rights and obligations in a society with freedom and democracy. Hence, education and everyday life of the school have to be based on freedom of spirit, equality and democracy.

(Appendix O continued)

School Act 2006

§1. The school in cooperation with the parents must give pupils knowledge and skills that will prepare them for further education and give them the inclination to learn more, make them familiar with Danish culture and history, give them an understanding for other countries and cultures, contribute to their understanding of the interaction between human and nature and further the individual pupil's versatile development.

Subsection 2. The school must develop working methods and create conditions for experience, absorption and initiative so that pupils develop cognition and imagination and achieve confidence in own opportunities and a foundation to take a stand and act.

Subsection 3. The school must prepare the pupils to participation, co-responsibility, rights and obligations in a society with freedom and democracy. Hence, the activities of the school are to be characterized by freedom of spirit, equality and democracy.

(My translation)

*In 1975, the preamble was mentioned in section 2, following the clarification in section 1 that the Act covered the municipal public school. In 1993 and 2006, the sections are put in reverse order.

P. Original preambles of the Folkeskole

School Act 1975

§ 2. Folkeskolens opgave er i samarbejde med forældrene at give eleverne mulighed for at tilegne sig kundskaber, færdigheder, arbejdsmetoder og udtryksformer, som medvirker til den enkelte elevs alsidige udvikling.

Stk. 2. Folkeskolen må i hele sit arbejde søge at skabe sådanne muligheder for oplevelse og selvvirksomhed, at eleven kan øge sin lyst til at lære, udfolde sin fantasi og opøve sin evne til selvstændig vurdering og stillingtagen.

Stk. 3. Folkeskolen forbereder eleverne til medleven og medbestemmelse i et demokratisk samfund og til medansvar for løsningen af fælles opgaver. Skolens undervisning og hele dagligliv må derfor bygge på åndsfrihed og demokrati.

School Act 1993

§ 1. Folkeskolens opgave er i samarbejde med forældrene at fremme elevernes tilegnelse af kundskaber, færdigheder, arbejdsmetoder og udtryksformer, der medvirker til den enkelte elevs alsidige personlige udvikling.

Stk. 2. Folkeskolen må søge at skabe sådanne rammer for oplevelse, virkelyst og fordybelse, at eleverne udvikler erkendelse, fantasi og lyst til at lære, således at de opnår tillid til egne muligheder og baggrund for at tage stilling og handle.

Stk. 3. Folkeskolen skal gøre eleverne fortrolige med dansk kultur og bidrage til deres forståelse for andre kulturer og for menneskets samspil med naturen. Skolen forbereder eleverne til medbestemmelse, medansvar, rettigheder og pligter i et samfund med frihed og folkestyre. Skolens undervisning og hele dagligliv må derfor bygge på åndsfrihed, ligeværd og demokrati.

(Appendix P continued)

School Act 2006

§ 1. Folkeskolen skal i samarbejde med forældrene give eleverne kundskaber og færdigheder, der: forbereder dem til videre uddannelse og giver dem lyst til at lære mere, gør dem fortrolige med dansk kultur og historie, giver dem forståelse for andre lande og kulturer, bidrager til deres forståelse for menneskets samspil med naturen og fremmer den enkelte elevs alsidige udvikling.

Stk. 2. Folkeskolen skal udvikle arbejdsmetoder og skabe rammer for oplevelse, fordybelse og virkelyst, så eleverne udvikler erkendelse og fantasi og får tillid til egne muligheder og baggrund for at tage stilling og handle.

Stk. 3. Folkeskolen skal forberede eleverne til deltagelse, medansvar, rettigheder og pligter i et samfund med frihed og folkestyre. Skolens virke skal derfor være præget af åndsfrihed, ligeværd og demokrati.

Sources: UVM (1975, 1993, 2006d)

Q. The Education Reform Act 1988 and access to schools

Choice

- Parents could express a preference for schools, also in other local authorities.
- Open enrolment: Admissions procedures changed since schools had to enrol pupils at least up to a “relevant standard number” based on numbers in 1979-1980. Schools were thus denied the right to refuse anyone entry until the standard number had been reached.
- Unsuccessful applicants retained the right to appeal against unwanted school placement as established by the 1944 Education Act (section 26-32).
- Information on the curriculum, syllabus, all assessment results, annual reports prepared by the governing body to parents etc. should be made available for parents by schools or LEAs. Results of individual pupils must generally only be made available to parents (section 22).
- Local Management of Schools entailed delegation of budgets through a formular worked out in each LEA and approved by the Education Secretary. School governors were given powers to manage the school budget and hire staff. Most of the funding to schools followed students per capita, making this effectively a voucher scheme (section 33-51).

School diversity

- Grant-maintained schools: All secondary and primary schools with more than 300 pupils could opt out of local authority control and become GM schools. GM schools were financed directly by central government and with particular admissions arrangements. Ballots of parents to be held to decide whether the school should opt out of LEA control (section 52-104)
- City Technology Colleges: the Secretary of State was given powers to enter agreements with private sponsors of CTCs and colleges for arts and technology (section 105)

Source: DES (1988)

R. Access to the Folkeskole

Act 335, 2005. "Freer school choice within and across municipalities"

- Throughout the course of compulsory education parents can demand that their child is admitted to a school according to their choice in the municipality of residence, or in another municipality.
- Parents preserve their right to have their child admitted into the local catchment school.
- With the provisions, it is made statutory that local councils must provide school choice and the parental right to exercise school choice is expanded to include schools in other municipalities.
- Requests can only be refused when the school capacity, as laid down by the local council, renders admittance impossible. Thus, the previous opportunity for the school head to reject pupils on the basis of a 'pedagogical assessment' is abolished and the chosen school does not longer have to declare itself willing to admit the child.
- The local council must lay down regulations for admissions and the criteria to follow when the number of applicants exceeds school capacity. The criteria must be objective, like distance to school or brother and sisters, the citizens residing in the municipality before citizens residing elsewhere, etc.
- The Act should be revised in 2007-08 due to the potential effects of choice on segregation and ghettoisation.

Act 594, 2005. "Strengthened instruction in Danish as second language, including extended opportunities for transferring bilingual pupils to other schools than the catchment area school"

- Local councils given the option to transfer bilingual children to other schools than the local catchment school when they are assessed to have "a not unimportant need" for Danish language support.

Act 476, 2008. Revision of Act 335

- The planned revision of Act 335 was postponed to 2011-2012.

Sources: UVM (2005a, 2005b, 2008a)

S. Neoliberalism and monoculturalism in England and Denmark

	Neoliberalism	Monocultural identity politics
England	<p>“National Curriculum” defined by statutory attainment targets, programmes of study and assessment arrangements</p> <p>Choice between a diversity of state-maintained schools and a strengthening of selection</p>	<p>Monocultural curriculum</p> <p>Sidelining of multicultural and anti-racist education</p> <p>Laissez-faire market involved a bias of cultural majoritarianism</p> <p>Blaming schools and local education authorities engaged in multicultural and anti-racist education</p>
Denmark	<p>Statutory “Common National Objectives” and “National Tests”</p> <p>Statutory time allocation for especially Danish and History</p> <p>Cautious school choice policies within the non-selective Folkeskole</p>	<p>Monocultural curriculum with a particular focus on Danish and History</p> <p>Withdrawal of local obligation to offer mother tongue tuition for pupils with non-EU/EEA origins and strengthening of pre-school Danish language learning</p> <p>Enforced integration through dispersal</p> <p>Blaming ethnic minority parents</p>

T. Original quotations in Danish language

1. 'Bilingual children' in the Danish School Act: "Ved tosprogede børn forstås børn, der har et andet modersmål end dansk, og som først ved kontakt med det omgivende samfund, eventuelt gennem skolens undervisning, lærer dansk."
2. Gitte Lillelund Bech, *Venstre* (Folketinget 2004, 1): "Uddannelse og gode danskundskaber er afgørende, hvis man skal have en vellykket integration. Samtidig er muligheden for uddannelse afhængig af, om man kan tale dansk. Uden dansk ingen uddannelse og ingen integration. ... Ved at udvide undervisningspligten til fra 3-års-alderen for tosprogede børn, der efter en sagkyndig vurdering skønnes at have behov for sprogstimulering, ønsker vi at sikre, at alle tosprogede børn kan begynde i skolen uden sproglige problemer, hvilket er en forudsætning for at få udbytte af skolegangen og derefter at få videre adgang til uddannelsessystemet eller arbejdsmarkedet."
3. Martin Henriksen, *Dansk Folkeparti* (Folketinget 2006d, 57): "Tidligere tiders skolepolitik har efterladt mange unge mennesker i et tomt hul uden færdigheder og uden kendskab til sig selv, sin egen kultur og historie. Det får vi nu rettet op på. Det har været et ønske fra Dansk Folkeparti i lang tid, og nu tager vi skridtet. Vi giver folkeskolen håb, og jeg vil faktisk vove den påstand, at vi ser fremad."
4. Bertel Haarder, *Venstre*, Minister of Education (Folketinget 2005a, 18): "Lovforslaget er et led i den gradvise demokratisering af den offentlige sektor, som har været i gang i nogle år med friere valg på flere og flere områder. Overskriften er: Fra politikerstyre til folkestyre. Jo flere steder borgerne selv kan bestemme over den store del af nationalproduktet, der administreres via de offentlige kasser, jo bedre. ... hvis der var nogle kommuner, som nu mister indflydelse på tingene, så overtages den indflydelse jo af forældrene. Mængden af indflydelse er konstant her i verden, og alt, hvad kommunerne måtte miste, det får forældrene altså."
5. Bertel Haarder (Uddannelsesudvalget 2005): "Vi er nødt til at se i øjnene, at det ikke er danskernes børn, som skaber dette problem. Det er de tosprogedes børn, som er problemet, og derfor er det også mere rimeligt, at det er dem, som flytter sig. Rent bortset fra, at man ikke kan tvinge de danske børn til at flytte sig."

6. Bertel Haarder (Haarder 2005b): "I sådanne tilfælde må vi sige, at nødvendigheden af danskindlæringen er så stor, at det er nødvendigt at få alle med, også de enkelte, som ikke umiddelbart kan se fordelene. Vi har tillid til forældrene, men vi skal også have de sidste med."