

FREEDOM TO LEARN FOR THE 21ST CENTURY
(EDUCATION AS IF PEOPLE MATTERED)

BY

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Abstract

The thesis provides a model for freedom in learning by developing a person-centred approach to education consolidated within a more sociological account of power relations in contemporary Higher Education. The growth and decline of humanistic and person-centred approaches in the face of a globalising and marketized education system are described. A more substantial sociological theory of power and the institutions of power is developed by making connections between the work of Carl Rogers, Martin Heidegger and Paolo Freire. Heidegger's critique of technology is used to reveal deeper structures behind contemporary educational processes which show that education has been increasingly occupied by a technological enframing, by way of assessment and the culture of efficiency, eclipsing models of education which prioritise the person in the process. Heidegger's wider philosophy, centred around Dasein, is used to restore person-centred humanism defining the heart of education as human flourishing and liberation. Rogers' focus on the person and his individualistic notions of 'power' and 'power over' are contrasted to Freire's focus on the community and his Marxian awareness of and resistance to oppressive hierarchy. The theoretical framing for humanistic and empowering learning is supported by virtual, institutional and alternative educational initiatives and a call for a robust and sustainable model of education to empower the person in the process and to let learn.

For my dad who has been love

Acknowledgements

I write in order to change myself and in order not to think the same thing as before (Foucault, in Faubion, 2000: 240)

The process of writing this doctoral thesis from the philosophies of Carl Rogers and Martin Heidegger has been creative, transformative and liberating. It has changed my world. But, both men are dead. So here are some of the yet-living I'd like to thank...

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within which to follow my thoughts and I couldn't ask for more. One rather hurried meeting with Graeme and Nick, for example, which I thought was of no particular import, led me to realise that education is *mit sein*, just a being-with, a sharing of time, of space, of thought, of togetherness, of dreams... I have been fortunate indeed that the standing reserve ordered and sorted me as Nick's supervisee. In particular, his style of supervision is Heideggerian to its core in that he lets learn. This freedom to explore, to make mistakes, but to feel confident that I could follow the thesis where it went, has allowed me to develop something deeply of myself, my being-in-the-world. Nick, you gave me space and helped me find my voice. Thank you.

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Thanks to Martin Heidegger, my Dasein is more aware of the thrown quality of existence and I have prioritised my life projects in the space now remaining between something and the nothings; this doctorate is complete because it is one of those prioritised projects.

And Carl Rogers. Even from beyond the grave. His humanity, his warmth, his fearless, piercing, no-nonsense genius have touched me profoundly, helping me to become more open to experience, more accepting of my self and the selves of others and increasingly genuine in my encounters with others. Carl Rogers made it his life's work to promote freedom for persons, including in education, and it is still needed.

And I am grateful without end for seeing and being seen in the soft blue light of communion with my best human, Professor Josie-Anne Elizabeth Crescent-Moon: poppet, your limitless humanity both grounds me and makes me soar.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Motivations for writing the thesis: education as if people mattered

Close your eyes for a few seconds.

This darkness you experience, this inside space that you inhabit, can you measure it? You can't, can you? It is without dimension, without boundaries, immeasurable. This is your limitless imagination, your humanity. And this is the very stuff education claims as its subject.

But, education now makes measuring humanity its central and most important work. Yet measuring humanity is impossible. So when education measures humanity, because it is impossible, it limits, reduces and eventually conceals humanity from itself.

262 million people are expected to attend universities world-wide by 2025 (Maslen, 2012). Each and every one is a unique person, with their own personal motivations, dreams, desires, hopes and expectations. Yet, we have a higher education system that boils each and every one of them down to a single figure, a statistical cipher for a human being.

In 2007, I began working at the University of B*rm*ngm¹ one of the UK's 'elite' Russell Group Universities – at the same time as the beginning of a radical process of institutional 'restructuring'. The university began to discard the last vestiges of Newman's collegial idea of the University and put on the suits and values of corporate market capitalism, abandoning in the process a concern with people. I do not think most people in the university really understood just how dramatic an impact these changes would have on them – indeed, it was spoken of as yet another restructuring, which would be reversed in the next cycle. It is apparent now that this is not the case and that the changes are fully a part of the zeitgeist, of neoliberal globalization, which emphasises image, hierarchical authority and control in its branch institutions.

It now seems that universities are more concerned with branding and 'positionality' than with the enhancement of learning or with living, breathing human beings. This begins with student-customers trapped into lifetimes of debt and climaxes in privately-owned and for-profit databases that fill up league tables with data that spuriously claim to show the best, the brightest, and the biggest educational institutions and players in the world.

Historical trends in education have thus served to increasingly ~~in~~instrumentalize, professionalize, vocationalize, corporatize, and ultimately *technologize* education”

¹ Anonymised to protect brand image

(Thomson, in Peters, 2002: 124) to the extent that Henry Giroux calls the corporate university ~~the~~ ultimate expression of a *disimagination machine*” (Giroux, 2014: 5). However, history unfolds on a much deeper level than we contemporaries can ever grasp, as Heidegger shows us in *–The Question Concerning Technology*” (1977), where he describes the longer ~~–~~subterranean ontohistorical logic guiding the development of our educational institutions” (Thomson, 2002: 130). The emphases in the preceding quotations – *technologize, machine* – begin to point us to the dehumanising role of technology in the development of our educational institutions, revealing us to be in thrall to and at the service of the very technology that we have created. This is not technology‘ common to our everyday understanding, but rather a way of revealing the world to us. The central technology‘ in education is the examination, the nexus point of education as product, and the lynch-pin of that deeper ontological structure of what Heidegger calls the enframing‘, which reduces humans to nothing more than resources to serve and perpetuate the system itself.

If this analysis is correct, and I hope to show that it is, what is the cost to our humanity?

And what do we do about it? As educators, what *can* we do about it?

My original thesis was concerned with the development of communities of practice‘ in learning and teaching and even though I read widely and tried to engage at a deep level, I never really connected with the theory, finding a forbidding coldness (perhaps pointing to its intellectual roots in artificial intelligence) in something ostensibly applied to the warmest, most human of traits: learning. Communities of practice has become the theory

of choice for workplace education and it has a corporate feel about it – indeed, Etienne Wenger says that the concept of Communities of Practice “...has been adopted most readily by people in business” (Wenger, 2006). It is my belief that the increasing corporatisation of UK higher education, the focus on systems and processes, rather than on human beings, has found its ideal theory, which focuses not on communities of ‘humans’ but on their ‘practice’, thus essentially distancing human beings from the community they should be a full part of. The question needs to be asked, why has communities of practice been so influential in the corporate world (Roberts, 2006: 1), which is now indeed Wenger’s main focus? Perhaps corporate management find it hard to resist the idea of channelling employees via what they see as the ‘knowledge management’ mechanism of the community of practice.

After discussion with my supervisor, and having expressed my own unformed view about education’s purpose as something like ‘growing human beings’, I was guided to the humanistic approaches of Abraham Maslow and, ultimately, Carl Rogers. Without my knowing, this is something that had already had a tremendous influence on both my thinking and my professional practice – I began my working life as a practitioner in higher education during the 1990s, which was a time when concepts such as ‘facilitating learning’ and ‘student-centred learning’ were gaining currency. I certainly found the concepts persuasive and practical at the time and incorporated both into my thinking about educational practice. Having now gone back to the source of these concepts, I not only realise that the concepts themselves are the results of Carl Rogers’ own work, but I

have found myself inspired by a deeper engagement with the original work, not only as a theory or a set of practical educational techniques, but as a whole democratic belief system, as a way of being.

Rogers' passion for an education that engages with the whole person and with their experience shines through the pages of *Freedom to Learn*. Rogers himself says: —“When we learn in that way, we are whole” (Rogers, 1983: 20). The humanistic approach is based on an optimistic view of human nature – which I find convincing - and the theories of both Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers centrally include the concept of ‘self-actualization’ as the motivation present in human beings to develop our potential to the fullest extent. Thus, the job of the educator is to ‘facilitate’ that inherent motivating tendency, to help people grow towards their full potential - growing to learn; learning to grow:

Education is learning to grow, learning what to grow toward, learning what is good and bad, learning what is desirable and undesirable, learning what to choose and what not to choose (Maslow, 1975)

This thesis explores how an education obsessed with measurement has become damaging to humanity and attempts to show ways in which education might embrace limitless humanity and nurture human growth as if people mattered. Schumacher subtitled his famous book, *Small is Beautiful*, —“A study of economics as if people mattered” (1973). For me, this focus on people has a particular resonance in the higher education context, as I have been researching the person-centred approach to education for the last few years and some of the trends take us away from an educational system that has people as its

central concern. Everything I have experienced in educational institutions, everything I have learnt from my research, and everything I feel to be right tells me that education is not working if it does not have people at its centre. A new set of values are needed; or, rather, a return to a set of values which have people as their central concern, an education that is humanistic and person-centred.

I first encountered the person-centred approach through the central, seminal text, *Freedom to Learn for the 80's* (Rogers, 1984). The person-centred approach developed as a part of the humanistic education movement predominantly in the 1970s and 1980s. It prioritises the values of personal freedom, choice and motivation, whereby significant learning only takes place in a context of freedom *from* fear, stress and panic and freedom *to* choose what and how to learn and to be. I will show just how radically different this is to our inherited educational system, which is based fundamentally on power relationships.

However, person-centred and humanistic education disappeared from view some three or four decades ago and there is now little evidence of its existence in contemporary educational discourse. It seems the model was, for all intents and purposes, either ignored or rejected in higher education.

1.2 Research question and focus of the study

My central research question is: What prevented and prevents the person-centred approach to education from flourishing in contemporary Higher Education?

In more detail, has the person-centred model vanished because it ceased to be educationally effective or did wider, systemic and structural forces prevent the model from flourishing? And if the latter, might the model be revived in the face of the top-down target-setting culture that has followed the corporatisation of higher education?

There is considerable evidence for the efficacy of the person-centred approach in education yet little evidence of its continued existence. So, the aim of this thesis is to explore whether the person-centred model of education can be updated in order to make it more resistant to the forces which cast it aside.

I shall describe Rogers' person-centred model, but also suggest ways in which the model might be made more rigorous and perhaps offer a way forward for a progressive education which empowers the person in the process. Rogers makes a case for freedom in learning, which implies an empowering, anti-authoritarian, collaborative and democratic educational system. To what extent does higher education meet these ideals? This necessitates asking what is a university for? and I shall show that the goal of a neoliberal education system is to promote the global neoliberal project, moving focus away from persons and towards systems.

However, Rogers himself reports on the inability of person-centred experiments in his own time to sustain themselves, so there is something missing in the theory. I believe the

missing element is what might be called the sociological imagination, theories of power and structure. The person-centred approach in education is *person-centred*, and education happens inside bureaucratic institutions, which are *system-focused* and run by people in particular power relations.

Rogers was a great admirer of Paolo Freire, and both had a vision of education where teachers and students are co-creators in a collaborative process in which all grow.

However, Freire developed a model of education which incorporated those sociological elements not present in Rogers, challenging in particular the “banking concept of education” (Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 2000: 51) and talking of “education as the practice of freedom – as opposed to education as the practice of domination” (*op cit*: 81). So, Freire can help us address power relations between people, but how do we organise educational institutions in a way that empowers persons both educationally and politically? This, too, is addressed.

While it is possible to present a unified person-centred model of education in order to represent Carl Rogers’ theories of education, it would neither be possible nor desirable to build some kind of monolithic construct from the addition of Heidegger’s metaphysics of being or critical pedagogy’s theory of critical consciousness – especially as there are conflicting elements in and between the different stand-points. Rather, I attempt to draw complementary and mutually reinforcing relationships among the different theories in order to suggest at least the hint of a glimpse of the possibility of something constructive and hopeful in education.

1.3 Nur ich: research ethics

The purpose of this section is to clearly explain the context for the choices I have made in conducting the research design and the data collection of this thesis. It establishes a foundation for understanding the following chapters and the threads of my argument. In particular, my experience of working in higher education puts me at front and centre of this discussion, so it is essential that I offer a reflexive account of the influence of researcher positionality on the research process that necessarily arises from my position as an insider researcher.

‘Nur ich’ is German for ‘just me’ and the heading is a useful pointer to my concern here to give an account of myself and make myself visible to you, the reader. The use of the German usefully indicates the extent to which Heidegger’s ideas have influenced my own being-in-the-world as part of the process of writing this thesis. As Dasein, a being ‘thrown’ into the world, ‘I’ have always already been embedded within a particular family, within particular social, cultural, historical and political structures. As a researcher, it is thus my ethical responsibility to offer an account of myself in acknowledgement of such positionality. Even if, as Judith Butler affirms, “My account of myself is partial, haunted by that for which I can devise no definitive story” (Butler, 2005: 40), it is imperative that the attempt be made:

For research ethics, an open approach to education ... seems more apposite to an interrogative approach. Such a research ethics would demand that researchers understand their own grounding - their own situatedness within a nexus of ideas, historical context and institutional apparatus (Flint & Peim, 2012: 129).

Therefore, the following is an account of my own grounding, my being-in-the-world, which encompasses my being, including my positionality and orientation, and the world it is in, especially the world of education.

1.3.1 Reflexivity

In order to create a dialectic relationship between audience and actors, Bertold Brecht developed techniques to make the familiar strange. This section attempts to do something similar by revealing some of the mechanisms behind the writing so that the process itself becomes part of the story. Reflexivity is a deliberative self-awareness on the part of the writer (me!) as I reflect reader (you!) attention back onto myself and try as much as I can to reveal the hidden mechanisms in the research process and open the text up as dialogic process.

Traditionally, the insistence in academic writing, including for research, was on a supposed ideal of detached objectivity. I did not have to look far to find that such ideas are still around - a quick Google search finds the following advice on WikiHow:

*For formal writing, such as research and argumentative papers, use the third person. Third person makes your writing more objective and less personal. For academic and professional writing, this **sense** of objectivity allows the writer to **seem** less biased and, therefore, more credible. (available at <https://www.wikihow.com/Write-in-Third-Person>, accessed 25/01/18 - my emphasis,)*

Such commonly-available advice promotes a ‘sense’ of objectivity, allowing the writer to ‘seem’ less biased and more credible. This is dishonest, a rhetorical device where the sleight of hand is to make the writer themselves disappear. But, anyway, which third person pronoun to use?

I draw heavily upon Michel Foucault’s work in this thesis, and for good reason, as he lays bare some of the hidden workings of surveillant culture and the disciplinary mechanisms of dominance and power in human relationships and (educational) organisations. Nevertheless, Foucault himself uses the default male pronoun throughout such a work as *The Order of Things*, which is (ironically enough) an analysis of the underlying epistemological assumptions in scientific discourse. One example:

*Man’s mode of being as constituted in modern thought enables **him** to play two roles: **he** is at the same time at the foundation of all positivities and present, in a way that cannot even be termed privileged, in the element of empirical things (Foucault, 1970: 375 – my emphasis)*

So, ‘Man’ is at the same time the knowing subject and the object of study. However, in the process of expressing this profound truth, women are made invisible, excluded from this particular version of ‘man’ and Foucault (even Foucault, one might say, given his

own sexual positionality) is found not immune from the particular lack of awareness of gendered writing that reflects his own times. And that is the point. When we write and when we speak we do not do so as though an all-seeing god, but from a particular historical and cultural standpoint. A reflexive approach to academic research attempts to make the writer *appear*, fully grounded and in full self-awareness.

1.3.2 Positionality I: education and me

Merriam et al argue that positionality is —...determined by where one stands in relation to ‘the other’” (2011: 411). Attending to positionality is a fundamental step in the ethics of the research process, an attempt to show our own role in the operation of power dynamics. I will therefore outline the significant aspects of who I am and where I stand, and how these aspects inform relations with ‘the other’ in this thesis. I begin by contextualising the more subjective aspects of my personal life history and early experience of the education system, which was primarily of disconnect between my expectations and the lived reality. As bell hooks says:

From grade school on, we are all encouraged to cross the threshold of the classroom believing we are entering a democratic space - a free zone where the desire to study and learn makes us all equal (hooks, 1994: 177).

My experience differed significantly to this, as school turned out to be a place of implacable authority and arbitrary discipline - corporal punishment was not only allowed, but used on a daily basis. If I learnt to chant the times tables and write in italics, I also

learnt deeper lessons in resistance to authority for its own sake and a lifelong mistrust of unequal power relations. Again, hooks catches my experience well:

Students who enter the academy unwilling to accept without question the assumptions and values held by privileged classes tend to be silenced, deemed troublemakers (hooks, 1994: 179).

I essentially withdrew myself from the education system aged 14; when I was not twagging it' (absenting myself from school), I would either be disengaged or disruptive in the classroom. This was of little concern to my white, working class parents, as they had presumably experienced the same kind of dispiriting education' as me and it held little value for them. I found employment as a pipefitter apprentice aged 16, immediately after my release from school, with some satisfaction from my parents, as getting a job was the single most important thing a person could do in that culture.

After just over a decade as a skilled manual worker, my dissatisfaction with my schooling less raw, and dissatisfied with the dreary flatness of unchallenging employment, I abandoned the workplace for education once more, this time, as a mature student, enrolled on a Diploma of Higher Education, which encompassed history, sociology, psychology, philosophy and English. This turned out to be the first significant constructive educational experience of my life. The course was designed specifically for mature students, disillusioned survivors of the education system, and it was engaging, intellectually demanding and run by highly principled people who really cared about their

work. I responded with energy to this charged and encouraging context and grew emotionally and intellectually as a person.

I was later recruited to teach on the same course and from that starting point, I eventually ended up working at three universities here in UK, as well as in Oman and Poland. Over that time – almost twenty years – the higher education system has gone through significant change, which has deeply influenced the way learning is (en)framed.

From 2007, I worked as an educational technologist at an English University and I eagerly took the opportunity to embark on doctoral study, supported financially by the university - although with no time put aside for it (which says something about access to education in our culture, that it was only possible for me to complete this thesis because I gave up my job a few years ago in order to become an unpaid full-time Carer for my dad).

Whilst there is no direct cause-effect relationship between all of the things that come to make me who I am and my particular view of the world, the more culturally ascribed aspects of my positionality (race and gender, for example) may well predispose me to a particular viewpoint, impacting on my Being and so my Being-with-others. Therefore, I can clearly describe these elements in that I am a northern English white working class straight cisgender male. Positionality in this regard reflects the viewpoint I have chosen to adopt in this study, how I am perceived and the implications of that perception.

1.3.3 Positionality II: inside (outside) research in the academy

Insiders are the members of specified groups and collectivities or occupants of specified social statuses: Outsiders are non members (Merton, 1972: 21).

Universities here in UK are trenchantly monocultural, specifically white, male and middle class (Wride, 2014; Grove, 2015; Addo, 2017). So, the question here in regards to my positionality relative to this culture is am I an insider or an outsider researcher and does either position me more advantageously? I have worked in, or been deeply engaged with, academia, on and off, for thirty years and the official employment position I held within my own university clearly offer me a lived familiarity of the culture and its groups. My skin colour and gender similarly place me advantageously in the dominant cultural orientation. However, my working class background and that I do self-define as working class loosens the ties of membership, pushing me more towards a qualified insider status.

Research by the Social Mobility Commission finds that —while those from working-class backgrounds may secure admission to elite occupations, they do not necessarily go on to achieve the same earnings, or levels of success” (Friedman et al, 2017: 5). University of Birmingham academic Chris Allen clearly shows the power dynamics in operation in ‘the academy’, as he relates —.being described as more akin to a 'car salesman' than an academic, being told that I might want to consider having elocution lessons, and being told to leave academia entirely because that academic has never really seen me as 'an

academic'. (Allen, C, "On Being A Working Class Academic: A Personal Reflection", 27/01/2017, available at <https://goo.gl/FWwQaQ>, accessed 27/01/2018).

Note that there is an on-going, unresolved debate on the relationship between identity-based oppression and capitalism, asking whether 'working class' is a part of that marginalisation of identity or if it is rather a mechanism of oppression (Jibrin and Salem, 2015). I feel that we have to fully recognise all of these aspects of our humanity, and always from the point of view of the particular human, but that we can transcend our biology, too. In the end, for me, the politics of solidarity is bigger than the politics of identity and we transcend our biological limits in solidarity, standing together with the oppressed.

My philosophical choice to stand in solidarity with the oppressed encourages me to move to reveal the mechanisms of power and authority in the thesis. A significant power bloc in the contemporary corporate university is the layer of university administrators which now dominate university managerial structures. I failed entirely to locate much research on their class background, suggesting that this might be a useful area for further research. However, my sense and my lived experience is that these are quite solidly working class people up to and including middle management. One might think it a cause for celebration as the working class advances into the groves of academia – indeed, at my own university, they have occupied the oldest, the most enigmatic, 'academic', area of the university. But, no, the corporate uniforms indicate the corporate mentality and their

work is precisely part of the instrumental mind-set that is damaging to education and damaging to humanity.

So, my class background makes me less insider, more of an outsider to middle class academic culture, although I am sympathetic to certain of the values of that culture (particularly academic freedom); and more insider and less outsider to working class administrative culture, although I have antipathy to many of the values therein (authoritarian instrumentalism, for example). Such a position offers me the standpoint of understanding and empathising with the experiences of both academics and administrative groups, enabling a level of critical detachment to afford unbiased study.

The extent of my connection with the Social Science Centre is worth exploring in terms of insider/outsider research. I am in complete solidarity with their stated aims and with their radical process. Indeed, I was a member for a while, until money became tight for me. So, it may well be that, because the values of the Social Science Centre resonate so well with my own, I am more of an insider researcher here than in the institution of the university itself. On top of this the Social Science Centre community was welcoming and mostly treated me like an insider – I had no sense of that class differential. Therefore, my account of the project might be seen not to be objective. Given objectivity's troubled history in research, as touched on earlier, I suggest that the account should rather be seen as something more like a co-construction, the work of a forward-looking educationist in solidarity and an authentic account enhanced by a clear and honest picture of my own positionality.

1.3.4 Positionality III: values and Being-in-the-World

Another aspect of positionality follows on from the earlier discussion of ‘objectivity’ and recognises that as researcher I am not, and cannot be, separate from the social world. An important part of the process of transparency and self-disclosure, then, is to acknowledge the influence on the research of my own views and positions, my own subjectivity.

The most important thing to know about this thesis, and about me as a person, is that the person-centred approach is not a set of techniques, but a way of Being. And it is my way of Being. I found something profound in Carl Rogers’ writing and especially in his conditions for fostering freedom in the classroom. It turns out that they are also excellent precepts by which to live a life: trust the organism (value your own judgement), be genuine (no masks, no façades), accept and empathise with the others (be open and share love).

So, Rogers’ principles have come to form my own way of Being, or of ‘Being-in-the-world’, because Martin Heidegger has also impacted on my *weltanschauung* and his hyphenated formulation points directly to the epistemological elements in the current discussion. From the very moment of our thrownness, we are in the world and the world is in us. And in this Being, and in this world, we have a choice to make: whether to live the inauthentic life of the They or to live authentically, to take full and open responsibility for our Being. I choose authenticity and this is where I stand resolutely to view the world. Likewise, Heidegger’s concept of *enframing*, central to the argument throughout, is a call for humans to reject the instrumental attitude which has led to such

damage to individual and collective human lives, to animals, to ecosystems, our planet, our home. In its place, kindness and compassion, an awareness of the underlying connectedness of all things and the revolutionary knowledge that “What will survive of us is love” (Larkin, ‘An Arundel Tomb’ in *The Whitsun Weddings*, 2012).

The research here has been carried out with a scientific attitude: systematically, sceptically and ethically. Nevertheless, the thesis is polemical. I am partisan. I take a stand. I stand on the side of freedom, of human emancipation and against all forms of oppression. Ideologically, this means I support democratic public ownership of the education system and the development of as yet unimagined forms of social and political life which have human freedom as their primary purpose. I also resist the uncaring, oppressive and exploitative corporate neoliberal project. Finally, I agree with Marx’s dictum that interpreting the world is not enough and that we have a duty to *change* the world for the better. Anarchist author Karl Hess identifies both the problem and the way forward:

The leaders have failed. Before that failure becomes fatal, it could be erased by the new age of fully participatory social organization...of one stateless world, of privilege ended and responsibility begun...of self-management...The leaders have failed. Leadership has failed. Now it is our turn.

Inherited forms of authority and hierarchy and all that goes with them in terms of deferential attitudes, unconscious acceptance of conventional world-pictures and an unwillingness to question and challenge have brought us to a very difficult point in

human history. We badly need an alternative and Hess's 'our turn' could well indicate, amongst other things, the timely re-emergence of the social formation of the cooperative, which works to effect social change not from elites acting through state (disciplinary) mechanisms, but from below, with people empowered to act directly on society themselves. This is why Lincoln's Social Science Centre is central to this thesis, because it is a living example of an alternative, free and democratic cooperative education.

1.3.5 Methodology

The major methodological decision I took was to forego empirical research, which I had believed was intended to form a part of this kind of 'professional' degree (so there was pressure to tread that path). I wanted to approach the present day educational field in the light of the history of a now historical alternative educational movement and then work out how elements of that movement might be practically useful and sustainable in our own times. However, once I'd clarified my research objectives, I just could not see how it might benefit the thesis. I found this troubling.

For example, the thesis summarises the research on the efficacy of person-centred education, particularly work carried out at the height of the humanistic education movement (Aspy & Roebuck, 1965; 1969; 1971; 1972; 1974; 1977). I could have replicated or extended the work that Aspy & Roebuck carried out. However, the political turn to the right across the western world meant that this kind of education was no longer available for study and also the conceptual frameworks from within neoliberal education are considerably changed to those of the experimental humanistic educators. I suppose

that in itself might make quite a fruitful study, but it is not the one I have been focused on. More importantly, an empirical study carried out primarily to satisfy the procedural requirements of the degree would be a box-ticking exercise of exactly the sort I discuss here; part of that enframed bureaucratic mind-set.

On top of this, I was carrying out the doctorate whilst working full-time and my work context changed and became much more restrictive (due to many of the structural/ideological changes documented in the thesis). Then, part way through the doctoral process, I became a full-time Carer for my dad, giving up my job and moving to a location far removed from my University. This meant that my movements in the world were much curtailed and research in the field would have proven to be extremely problematic.

All of this concerned me for a considerable time and when I took it to my new supervisor I was highly relieved to be told that it was fine not to do empirical research if it does not fit the research intention. My thesis cast off its chains and really took off from that point on. Therefore, the chosen methodology is a desk research study. It is a work of synthesis, drawing together ideas from secondary qualitative data, from books, articles, newspapers, blogs and websites to present an analysis of the place of person-centred education in the contemporary higher education landscape. The work here does not constitute research as a contribution to educational ‘_improvement’, but rather is tentative and exploratory, without end-use in mind. However, if this is not ‘_applied research’, applied research may well be based on some of the arguments and threads here.

The structure of the thesis emerged from the research questions. Having started from the person-centred model, I then needed to contextualise it in higher education and the background to Rogers' own education - and it made sense to place those in order before the model itself. That examination of the neoliberal university begged the question what's really going on at a deeper level here and Heidegger seemed to have a powerful way of addressing this. The necessary examination of aspects of power in the person-centred approach led seamlessly into Freire and critical pedagogy, especially as Rogers himself had fêted Freire, and at various points to Foucault. And educational technology and the institutions themselves are where education is played out in our times, so any discussion of a sustainable person-centred education must needs address these aspects.

Centrally here, I marry the phenomenological perspective with the humanistic perspective. Person-centred research means research with people, rather than research on people" (Reason, 1986: 293). It can be argued that the essence of person-centred research is phenomenological, an examination of lived experience, what does the experience of learning mean to the learner themselves? One of the assignments I carried out as part of the Doctorate in Education was in the phenomenological tradition, a depth interview to ascertain the presence or otherwise of Rogers' variables and of the different levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs - the phenomenon in question being the concept of self-actualisation. I based my procedure on Moustakas' Heuristic Research" (1990), which is itself foundationally based on phenomenological method and encourages total immersion in the research experience.

As with much else, Heidegger troubles this relationship to phenomenology. That word ‘essence’ running throughout Heidegger’s ‘Question Concerning Technology’ shows the influence of Husserl and his phenomenological method - the search for essences or *Eidos*. But, for Heidegger, the world is not ‘out there’ and separable from our experience, so that the starting point is not consciousness of ‘the things themselves’ but Dasein in its Being. This ontological phenomenology is a focus not on the descriptive analysis of experience, but on the analysis of Dasein, a method therefore of accessing Being. However, Moustakas describes the method of Heuristic research as ‘finding a path’ through questions (1990: 342) - ‘heuristic’ comes from ‘finding’ or ‘discovery’, the Greek *Eureka!* - which reminds very much of Heidegger’s own questioning/thinking and the path to the clearing. Similarly that ‘The heart of the heuristic interview’ is dialogue.” (Moustakas, 1990: 345) brings Paolo Freire to the forefront of thinking in this regard.

So, the thesis is determinedly theoretical, especially in the sense of the Greek root word *theōría*, meaning ‘contemplation’ – it is a looking at and a thinking about the deepest aspects, very often the hidden aspects, of what we have come to know as ‘education’. The thesis is also, especially, interrogative. I provide questions not answers; by asking these questions I hope to reveal something previously concealed, perhaps prompting further questions. In this way I proceed down a path of thinking, an endless way which nevertheless is in pursuit of the deeper truth of human existence. As Heidegger says ‘...questioning is the piety of thought’ (Heidegger, 1977: 238). And yet the philosophy

here is not abstract and otherworldly - Heidegger's phenomenology is a description of us humans in our average everyday existence.

Apart from a single exception, there are no research participants, so there is little potential for harm, stress or anxiety for participants. That single exception is an interview with Professor Mike Neary, from which I used a single paragraph as a quotation to reinforce an argument about his *Student as Producer* project. This was very much a convenience sample, as I happened to be attending one of the Social Science Centre workshops and Mike and I were having a chat, when I simply asked if I could interview him on the record. The text from the interview is in no way central to the thesis and is there to add a little colour to the writing. It could just as easily have been left out, but as it is included, it is important to discuss ethical and methodological issues that inevitably arise from it.

I have tried to make it very clear how I see myself in this reflexive account of the research. So, how might this particular research participant view me and what are the implications of this? Certainly, it could not be said that my position as a working class researcher offers me an advantageous position – the interviewee is a university professor of established reputation (Professor of Sociology, formerly Dean of Teaching and Learning, Head of the Centre for Educational Research and Development, Director of the Graduate School as well as being a Principal Fellow and National Teaching Fellow of the Higher Education Academy). Whilst his avowedly progressive activism as *scolaire provocateur* (Neary, 2012) and his gentle way of being in the world helped me to know

he was friendly, nevertheless, in this context, his was a position of advantage in cultural-hierarchical terms: his singular activist voice is one that is *heard* in the academic community (or at least in certain progressive sections of it).

There was no pre-intention to even carry out this interview, so there was no consent form available. However, I obtained Mike's consent and cooperation at the time via a verbal agreement to use his words in my research. A further ethical step may well have been to make later email contact with the opportunity for his informed refusal. However, Mike is also a seasoned academic and researcher, highly experienced in the ethical aspects of research interviews, so there might well be an expectation of informed consent operating fully and transparently in this case.

The point of this self-reflexive account in the research has not been to claim some kind of special access to The Truth. Rather I hope I have offered enough background information about me, the investigator, in order for you, the reader, to be able to draw your own conclusions and implications about the ethical and systematic nature of this inquiry and to better understand the values that lay behind it.

1.4 Limitations of the thesis

My focus is on education broadly, but higher education in particular. I do not suggest specific teaching' practices or techniques, but rather outline a philosophical approach to education and a way of being that offers the hope of rediscovering the person in the process.

Much of the source material on humanistic and person-centred education is written using American English spelling, so the original is honoured in all cases in direct quotations, for instance as “person-centered” and British English is used in the main text, for instance ‘person-centred’.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

1.5.1 In a nutshell

There is convincing evidence for the efficacy of the person-centred model in education, so what prevented or prevents the model from flourishing? The first two chapters offer context for the model and begin to address that question by looking at contemporary globalized higher education and the development and decline of humanistic education. The model itself is presented next, after which comes the deeper, and more troubling, ontological context of the enframing of humanity by technology. The last three chapters explore ways in which the model might be adapted and strengthened in order to find ‘paths to the clearing’ in the technological enframing.

1.5.2 Chapter Two: Globalizing Higher Education

This chapter begins to contextualise the thesis by looking at the broad canvas of higher education, those wider systemic and structural forces within which a model of person-centred education must operate. It offers a critical analysis of the literature to provide the historical and global political context of higher education up to the current state of globalized neoliberal higher education. To what extent does higher education meet the ideals of an education which is empowering, anti-authoritarian, collaborative and

democratic? In particular, the chapter describes the shift towards a global neoliberal education system whose over-riding goal is to promote the global neoliberal project. This results in a marketized and commoditized higher education system, which moves the focus away from persons and towards systems. This undemocratic remaking of homo studentus as homo economicus reveals the need to address the central question ‘what is a university for?’

1.5.3 Chapter Three: The Context of Freedom to Learn

The third chapter provides the context of person-centred education from within a century or more of progressive (and largely reactionary) American education. The chapter outlines the growth and the decline of both early Twentieth Century progressive education and the later humanistic education movement. The chapter concludes by exploring the ways in which Rogers’ own educational background shaped his thinking.

1.5.4 Chapter Four: The Person-Centred Model of Education

This chapter presents a graphical illustration of Carl Rogers’ person-centred model of education with explanation and development of the various elements in the model and the relationships between them. It then outlines the characteristics of a person-centred education, and what it might look like. Finally, evidential support for the model is presented from both educational research and from the perspective of neuroscience. There is also a unique annotated bibliography of Rogers’ writings on education in the appendix.

1.5.5 Chapter Five: Education Enframed

The technology of the examination, as representative of assessment more broadly, channels students as resources. Its associated grades, standards, targets and so on, have become a valorised principle as part of the discourse of improvement, a closed loop whereby talk of improvement leads only to a solipsistic fine-tuning of existing systems. The chapter thus focuses on the exam, which is approached through ideas of ritual and through Foucault's concepts of discipline and heterotopic spaces. This discussion helps to ground Heidegger's powerful thinking about the essence of technology and our relationship to it. All of these concepts and ways of thinking point up the way in which the technology of the examination represents a control mechanism eroding human freedom, including the freedom to learn.

1.5.6 Chapter Six: Paths to the Clearing I: Pedagogy

After examining Heidegger's notion of the clearing, this chapter begins to explore ways in which the person-centred model might become more robust and more relevant in our contemporary world. In particular, the critical pedagogies of Freire, bell hooks and Giroux are examined, as well as Rogers himself on notions of power and power over. If you read closely enough, I even tell a joke.

1.5.7 Chapter Seven: Paths to the Clearing II: Technology

This chapter explores the danger and the saving power of technology. The danger of our use of technology is that we believe we are its master when really we are in its service; the danger is that we cannot see its essence, its true purpose, which is to enframe humans

as no more than resources to be exploited by systems. This is illustrated by reference to Big Data, the (extremely) large-scale capture of human behaviour and interactions, increasingly used in education to ‘improve efficiency’ in ‘learning’. The remainder of the chapter explores tentative ways in which technology might begin to open ‘paths to the clearing’, spaces of possibility for freedom in education.

1.5.8 Chapter Eight: Paths to the Clearing III: Institutions

This concluding chapter explores the place of institutions in supporting and promoting higher education as if people mattered. If existing institutions undermine the aspiration towards education built on dialogue, community and democratic participation, then what would alternatives look like – and how might they sustain themselves?

1.5.9 Conclusions

The conclusion recaps and draws out key aspects of the literature, making clear connections between the findings and the research question, including the main contribution of the thesis.

1.5.10 Coda: Do We Dare?

The main thrust of the thesis is an echo of Rogers’ simple question: ‘Do we dare?’

1.5.11 Critical Discussion

The thesis is bookended with critical reflection on the process of writing the thesis as a doctoral research project, including how I have been affected as a scholar committed to the practice of freedom in learning, the implications and further research.

Chapter Two: Globalizing Higher Education

This thesis describes a model of education with the person at its centre. This chapter sets out the context within which the model attempted (and attempts) to operate. The thousand year evolution of higher education is traced as a way into a description of our current politicized, marketized and commoditized higher education system which has become a barrier to a person-centred education by moving its focus away from persons and towards systems and profit.

2.1 The Historical University

Although the thesis begins from the standpoint of the person, it ultimately arrives at a big, central underlying question: what is education (for)? As the emphasis here is higher education, that question inevitably brings us to the role of universities and, as Deem et al point out, —the debate about the role of universities depends partially for its inspiration on what was seen to be the purpose of universities in the past” (2007: 80). Therefore, in order to clarify what might be the purpose of a university today, this section summarises the evolutionary growth and purpose of universities.

2.1.1 The Medieval University (1150-1500)

Our 21st Century universities reach back a thousand years into history, responding to and reflecting oft-times turbulent and dramatic historical conditions. The first universities emerged from the monasteries in Christian Medieval Europe - although, they were

relatively autonomous from external powers, ruled neither by Pope nor King. The first universities to occupy a formal space were those of Bologna (1088), Oxford (1096) and Paris (c. 1160–70). They began to follow a formal, seven-subject syllabus, based around particular books, and composed of the preparatory trivium (grammar, logic and rhetoric) and the quadrivium (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music), known as the seven liberal arts at the heart of the idea of a liberal education.

Initially, the university was not a physical space, rather it was a coming-together of individuals (in rented spaces in the town), as ‘scholars’, in a scholastic guild.

Scholasticism was the dominant philosophy (and method of learning) in the Medieval University and it became “the key to understanding the visible world of men and things and the invisible worlds of Christian revelation and Platonic ideas” (Perkin, 2007: 162). It was based on dialectical reasoning but was essentially a defence of Christian dogma, “the pursuit of [divine] truth and learning” (Chaplin, 1977: 3208).

These scholarly medieval guilds were known as the ‘Universitas’, which was designated as a corporation of students and masters. The word ‘corporation’ is from the Latin for ‘body of people’ – note-worthy, given contemporary concerns about different notions of corporatisation in Higher Education. By the end of this period, universities had grown in size and power and were influential at all levels of medieval life, considered as arbiters and “almost a separate ‘intellectual estate,’ a third force between church and state” (Perkin, 2007: 170).

2.1.2 The Early Modern University (1500-1800)

This overall period is properly a longer period of six or seven hundred years, however, this latter period is a significant time of consolidation when universities began to absorb powerful historical influences such as renaissance humanism, the age of enlightenment and the protestant reformation. Still, universities of this period were not necessarily progressive in their engagement with their wider world, as they became rigid oligarchies "opposed, in large part, to the Reformation, unsympathetic to the spirit of creativity of the Renaissance, antagonistic to the new science" (Kerr, 2001:8). Despite that narrow inwardness, the early modern period did see humanism taking root in universities, challenging Scholasticism with its emphasis on free will, ethical values and individualism.

This was also a time when that relative autonomy of the medieval period began to be eroded as universities became increasingly incorporated into nation-states, which led to the university becoming the primary model for higher learning globally. And it was the need to service these industrialising nation-states that prompted the next stage of development.

2.2 The University in the Industrial Age (1800-1945)

In England, for instance, there was a considerable gap after Oxford and Cambridge until Durham and London were established, followed by the 'redbrick' universities, in the 19th Century. The promotion of scientific thought from the Age of Enlightenment had already encouraged Oxford and Cambridge to focus increasingly on science and research – which

became more pressing in response to industrialisation. Of particular significance is the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810, which became known as the first of the ‘Humboldtian’ universities, whose philosophy and structure gave shape to contemporary universities.

2.2.1 The Humboldtian University (1810)

Over just one year and four months as the Prussian Education Minister, Wilhelm von Humboldt enacted reforms which would come to shape much of university education around the world, up to and including our own times. Building on the work of theologian and philosopher, Friedrich Schleiermacher (Rüegg, 2004: 5), his ideas were exemplified in the University of Berlin, which he established, and which was based on three influential principles (Perkin, 2007: 177):

1. The unity of the research and teaching missions confirmed the importance of original scholarship;
2. Academic freedom, for both students (*Lernfreiheit* - “freedom to learn”) and teachers (*Lehrfreiheit* - “freedom to teach”);
3. The centrality of the arts and sciences raised the academic status of the liberal arts, thus also elevating pure research.

The dramatic shift in purpose away from the prescriptive scholasticism of the Medieval University to an open model of scientific inquiry is clear from this quote in an 1895 book about the German universities, whereby:

...the German university professor no longer regards it as his business to hand down a definite sum of generally accepted truth, but rather to impart the results of his own researches (qv., Scott, J., 2006: 21)

The purpose of the Humboldtian University was to advance knowledge through critical investigation and this became — the characteristic form of the university idea until the growth of mass higher education in the late twentieth century” (Anderson, 2010).

However, another notable Nineteenth Century figure built on Humboldt’s focus on advanced knowledge, but prioritised the teaching of the liberal arts in preference to organised research.

2.2.2 Newman's idea of a University (1852)

"Observe then, Gentlemen, I have no intention, in any thing I shall say, of bringing into the argument the authority of the Church, or any authority at all; but I shall consider the question simply on the grounds of human reason and human wisdom." (Newman, 1996: 24)

Although a representative of the authority of the church, John Henry Newman’s idea of a University is without recourse to authority other than that of a community of scholars.

This modern idea of a University found clear voice in Newman’s Dublin lectures in the 1850s but was a distinct development of the Berlin model from the turn of the eighteenth century. Newman was an important figure in that he helped detach education from the Church. However, his central idea of a University is essentially a teaching-only institution, with reduced focus on the creation of new knowledge through research, which is properly out of the reach of both teachers and students. Chapter five of *The Idea of a*

University is entitled ‘Knowledge its own End’, which neatly sums up Newman’s idea of the purpose of a university:

—...*the high Protecting power of all knowledge and science, of fact and principle, of inquiry and discovery, experiment and speculation.*”

(Newman, 1996: 459)

So, Newman argued strongly for the teaching of existing knowledge as the purpose of a university. However, this meant —the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement” (Newman, 1996: ix). He therefore retained insistence on the authority of the teacher within which the pastoral teacher-student relationship was central.

Admittedly, Newman’s idea was of the *essence* of a university, what a university might be at bare minimum, but *essentially* it is the liberal concept of the university, reproductive but not creative of knowledge, a place to teach the liberal arts as opposed to a place of organised research, which was something best pursued outside universities.

2.3 The Modern University (1963)

Universities were not spared the disruptions of the twentieth century’s wars and in particular responded to societal currents of democratisation in a transition from an elite to a mass higher education system after World War II, which saw —...the greatest expansion of higher education since the 12th century” (Perkin, 2007: 192). The Robbins report was the catalyst for change in the UK.

2.3.1 The Robbins report: the age of expansion

The modern period has seen the attempt to end an elite system by expanding student numbers. As Anderson says, in the early 1960s, “university education still reached only four or five per cent of the age group, and led chiefly to the professions or public services” (Anderson, 2010). Just over fifty years ago the Robbins committee on higher education began the process of broadening the social base of university students through expansion of student numbers and through the clearly-stated intention of the 'Robbins principle', that university places "should be available to all who were qualified for them by ability and attainment" (Robbins, 1963).

The report also considered the nature of a university education and concluded with four main "objectives essential to any properly balanced system” (Robbins, 1963), which show a clearly defined purpose for university education in the last half of the twentieth century, a purpose that builds on Humboldt and Newman. The first two objectives seek to achieve a balance between a specialist and a generalist education; the third makes a case for maintaining a connection between teaching and research; and the fourth is based on the assumption that there is such a thing as a common culture to transmit. Anderson argues that the ideals of the Robbins report are indeed descended from Newman, however they represent a “very English 'idea of the university' ... a luxury university model, based on Oxbridge”, which was ultimately financially unsustainable (Anderson, 2010).

Only 5 per cent of young people attended university in the UK. As a direct result of the Robbins report, the path to expansion saw that figure reach 15 per cent in the 1980s -

often seen as a tipping point from elite to mass higher education - and almost 50 per cent in 2013. So, the Robbins report was the beginnings of the path to ‘massification’ - expansion in the teeth of not inconsiderable opposition, supposedly on the basis of a ‘more means worse’ argument, but really it was class-based, as Robbins’ evidence demonstrated.

Robbins can be seen as heir to Newman’s idea of a university, especially with its focus on the community of scholars, but it was also the inheritor of the Berlin model of the research university. Clark Kerr offered a third ‘mission’ to those of teaching and research: public service as part of what he called the ‘Multiversity’.

2.3.2 The Multiversity: the idea of a public university

Published in the same year as the Robbins Report and based, like Newman’s, on a series of lectures, Clark Kerr’s influential book, *The Uses of the University*, proposes the ‘Multiversity’ as the pluralistic culmination of those previous developments - incorporating the teaching and research missions but —not Oxford nor is it Berlin” (Kerr, 1982: 1) with its added aspect of service to society:

...the university is being called upon to produce knowledge as never before - for civic and regional purposes, for national purposes, and even for no purpose at all beyond the realization that most knowledge eventually comes to serve mankind. (Kerr, 1982: viii)

Kerr is surely right when he says that —the distribution of power [in universities] is of great importance” (Kerr, 1982: 26) and he traces the different custodians of university

power and influence over time and space, from students to faculty, to external influences, such as press and trades unions, through to the point at which the institution becomes so large and complex that the role of the administration becomes more central, so that —the managerial revolution has been going on also at the university” (Kerr, 1982: 28). Indeed, it seems that Kerr had already realised the changes that were beginning to shape universities in our own time, citing administrators and ‘leadership groups’ as the main practitioners in his ‘Multiversity’ (Kerr, 1982: 8).

And this is just the context within which the person-centred approach was operating through the decades of its growth in the 1960s, ‘70s and ‘80s - a growing emphasis on administration in the university, on system, and away from persons, which will be the focus of the final sections of this chapter, which show how the university has become an agent of a globalized neoliberal ideology.

2.4 The Liquid Modern University

This section describes and analyses the current and future idea of a university within the context of globalization. The Medieval idea of the university changed considerably in response to the needs of modernity. That idea has already changed in response to what Bauman identifies as Liquid Modernity, more widely known as globalization:

The passage from heavy to light capitalism, from solid to fluid modernity, may yet prove to be a departure more radical and seminal than the advent of capitalism and modernity themselves, previously seen as by far the most crucial milestones of human history at least since the Neolithic revolution (Bauman 2003: 126)

In order to understand what is happening in a globalizing higher education, it is important to clearly define the concept itself. Bauman's inspirational use of the metaphors of *liquid/solid*, *light/heavy* are of significant help in thinking through complex, often vague, abstract concepts in mental pictures much more readily available. Ritzer (2011: 2) follows Bauman closely in his definition of *globalization*, which is the one used here:

Globalization is a transplanetary process or set of processes involving increasing liquidity and the growing multi-directional flows of people, objects, places and information as well as the structures they encounter and create that are barriers to, or expedite, those flows.

Some of the terms in the definition – liquids, flow, structures, barriers - are central to an understanding of the processes of globalization and thus to understanding the processes impacting the development of the “people, objects, places and information” that make up Higher Education. Therefore, each will be discussed in turn.

Note that, wherever possible, the word *globalizing* is used here in preference to *globalization* because it more clearly suggests the ongoing *process* of Ritzer's definition, rather than an *outcome* that is complete and settled. The globalizing process is very far from complete and keeping that in mind leaves the possibility of challenging and changing that process (including in Higher Education) in directions that better benefit both humanity and the planet itself. And words are important. Noam Chomsky pointed out in 2002 that:

... the term "globalization" has been appropriated by the powerful as an ideological weapon. They want it to be used to refer to a specific form of international economic integration, designed in the interests of investors and financial institutions (Chomsky, 2002)

More on this below, but it is clear that globalization is unavoidably politicized, which may explain why universities seem to prefer the word internationalization a decade or more later - to mean much the same thing, as internationalization strategies abound in universities. Indeed, internationalization can be seen as the university mission of our globalizing age (Scott, P., 2011: 5).

2.4.1 Metaphors of liquids and solids

In brief, Bauman identifies eras before globalization as solid, the globalized era as liquid. Following the logic of each metaphor, something solid can be a barrier, something liquid will flow – this is the way the metaphors are used in conceptualising globalization.

2.4.2 Solidity and Barriers

The idea the metaphor of solidity conveys well is principally that of a lack of movement, people fixed and hardened into the place where they were born, objects used where they were produced and information mostly limited to locales. In particular, the solid world was one of barriers, mostly created by nation-states, and deliberately preventing free movement of these things. A prime example is the Berlin Wall, which acted to freeze, to solidify, the previously more fluid movements between East and West.

2.4.3 Liquidity and Flow

There are still and will continue to be barriers and other solid structures in place, nevertheless, it is the quality of liquidity that increasingly characterises our globalizing world. Places and people, objects and information, once solid, like blocks of ice, are melting, becoming liquid. And if movement for solids is restricted, liquids *flow*. Globalized time and space are in flux, in movement, difficult to stop, overcoming everything in their path:

... global financial transactions ... the globality of transactions and interactions ... on the Internet, and the difficulty in halting the global flow of drugs, pornography, the activities of organized crime, and illegal immigrants ... the nation-state and its borders (Ritzer, 2011: 6)

2.4.4 Heavy and Light

If something is heavy it is difficult to move; such is the quality of, for instance, workers, workplaces and products in industrial and pre-industrial society. Developments in technology and transport have made these things lighter – smaller, easier to move. The Internet extends the metaphor of lightness almost to weightless.

2.4.5 The university melting

The Medieval University was a solid entity. It had a clear spatial dimension with its cloisters and towers and clocks this is likely to be the image that most picture on hearing the word university. It also downgraded the significance of time, holding its shape over a thousand years of history and in numerous countries. Changes in the structure and purpose of universities in the previous two centuries and especially in the last few

decades are beginning to melt these solids: “The most critical fact regarding higher education in the recent past is its phenomenal global world war II growth” (Manicas, 2007: 463) – and it is accelerating. At the turn of this century, 99.4 million students were enrolled in higher education world-wide. It is forecast that there will be 414.2 million students enrolled by 2030 (Calderon, 2012). This process has been accelerated because “...the broader economic effects of globalization tend to force national educational policies into a neoliberal framework” (Curtis & Pettigrew, 2010: 129). What does this mean for the structures of Higher Education and what happens to persons inside liquid universities? These are the questions addressed in the following section, which describes the emergence of neoliberalism and its impact on education.

2.5 The Neoliberal University: the financialization of everything

Keith Joseph smiles and a baby dies² (John Cooper Clarke, 1980)

Neoliberalism is —political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites (Harvey, 2005: 19). The *neo* in neoliberalism talks of how the project began to transform the world around 1978-80 (often branded as ‘globalization’), as well as signalling adherence to the free market principles of neoclassical economics (Harvey, 2005: 1, 20). It was ‘new’ because it was a

² Keith Joseph was the ideologue driving the neoliberal project in Britain.

modern reworking of an older ('liberal') ideology and its foundational assumptions stem directly from the economic theories of nineteenth century writer Adam Smith. The central idea in his *Wealth of Nations* (2016) is that wealth is generated not by the state, but by the mutually beneficial free exchange of profit-driven entrepreneurs (Clarke, 2005:

1). Neoliberalism rests on:

... the elementary yet frequently denied proposition that both parties to an economic transaction benefit from it, provided the transaction is bilaterally voluntary and informed (Friedman, 1962: 19).

Thus, the central aim of neoliberal ideology is to prevent or remove any and all barriers to free trade between individuals, as well as to encourage conditions for (free) market expansion as the trading context. Harvey describes the project:

...human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices (2005: 2).

As Harvey points out, "Neoliberalization has meant, in short, the financialization of everything (Harvey, 2005: 33). So, if markets do not exist in a particular sector, then they must be created – and so the age of the neoliberal university began with "the reduction of higher education 'products' to 'commodities' and a single-minded commitment to efficiency and submission of allocation decisions to the logic of the market" (Manicas, 2007: 463). This section outlines some of the more significant shifts in our understanding

of higher education world-wide, around funding (from public to private), purpose (market-oriented) and governance structure (collegialism to managerialism).

2.5.1 Funding: privatized

–Higher education in most of the world, until the recent past, was supported by public funds” (Manicas, 2007: 463). A globalizing higher education has seen that burden increasingly shift from the public to the private sector, especially in the form of tuition fees and commercialized research. Increasingly, universities are developing ‘for-profit’ models of finance. Figure 1 (below) gives a good overview of the characteristics of both public and private universities in terms of purpose, funding, control and norms.

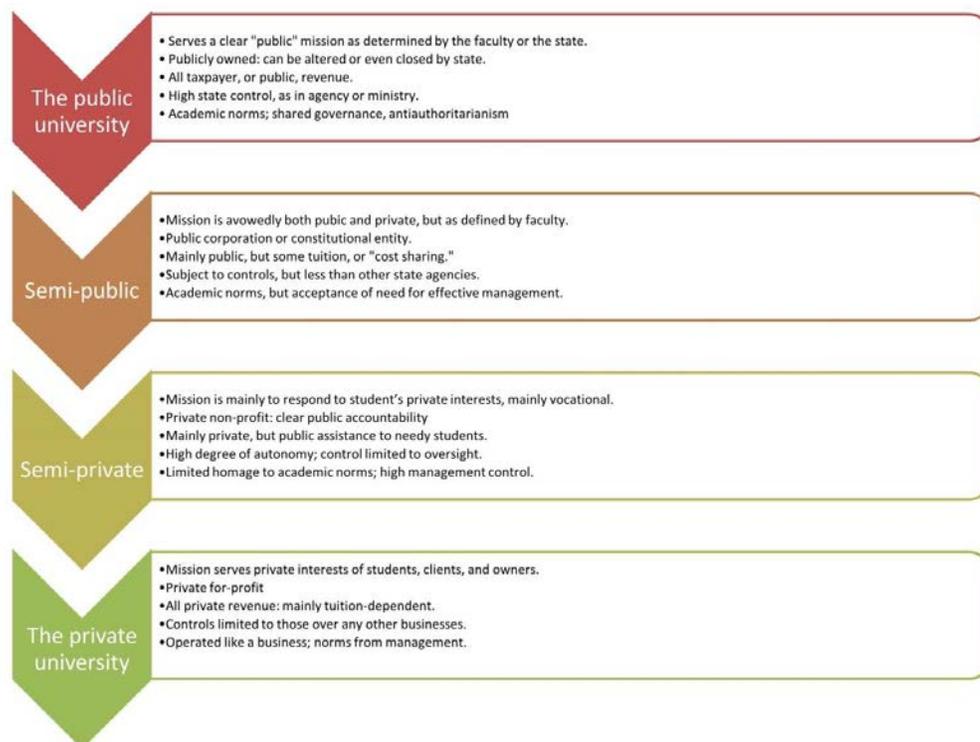


Figure 1: The Public-Private Continuum in Higher Education (adapted by the author from Johnstone, 2000)

As Johnstone (2000) says, increasing privatization “connotes a greater orientation to the student as consumer, including the concept of the college education as a ‘product’.”

Tuition Fees

The principle mechanism for privatizing universities in the UK has been the Browne Review into the future direction of funding of the University sector, which recommended removing limits on fees charged by universities, leading to students being charged up to £9,000 a year for their annual tuition costs (Browne, 2010). Arguments from (the ‘top’) universities were predominantly based on ideas of competition and markets but which Docherty sees as a “massive failure of imagination [representing] a determined exertion of a political will, and one that is profoundly undemocratic, deeply reactionary and driven by an ideological dogma that sustains inequalities in our society” (Docherty, 2011: 162).

The main criticism of tuition fees is that it is exclusive to those who can afford them – which perhaps marks the beginning of a return to higher education as an elite experience, this time on a global scale. The signs are already there in England, where the drop in the number of mature first-year undergraduate students has been dramatic, falling by 37 per cent between 2008-09 and 2012-13 (HESA, 2014). As Neary points out, “Debt creates a negative response for people whose lives are already undermined by mortgages as well as credit card and other loan repayments.” (2013a). Elsewhere, Neary shows the true impact of what Williams (2006) calls the ‘pedagogy of debt’:

Debt is more than a financial constraint; it is a powerful learning environment. Debt teaches students that money is the supreme social power enforcing lifelong work as the unavoidable fate of humanity, with ‘employability’ its most sacred principle. Debt indoctrinates students with the dogma of mainstream economics and the consumerist discourse on which it is based. (Neary, 2013b)

So, the shift in the burden of state funding to students and their families in the form of debt recasts students as consumers exerting their freedom by way of ‘market choice’ (see *Student as Consumer* below).

Commercialized research

‘Technology Transfer’ has been the jargon underpinning the commercialization of scientific research, whereby private research contracts can generate incredible amounts of money (\$1 billion for John Hopkins alone in 2001). This revenue is valued by the institutions, but at what cost to research autonomy and the public, as opposed to private, good? For example, Bok emphasises the dangers of ever-increasing corporate subsidies of medical education, which risks “losing the public’s trust in the objectivity and reliability of medical teaching and in the professional advice that is based on this teaching” (Bok, 2009)

Private Universities

Globally, education has been valued at around \$4.5-\$5.1 trillion (Bank of America Merrill Lynch, 2013) and, as Lorenz points out, “the functioning of free markets assumes the existence of companies that are privately owned” (Lorenz, 2012: 602). Huge transnational companies are already major investors (and profit-takers) in education, as

can be seen from the eye-watering revenues in Figure 2 (and note that the word ‘education’ does not appear in the title of the particular government department responsible for the report data):



Figure 2: Largest private providers by their global 2011 revenues from education (Source: International Education - Global Growth & Prosperity, Department for Business, Innovation and Skills)

Lorenz further outlines the wider political impact of such developments: “The dogma of the private company implies that the job of the state is to remove all obstacles to private ownership of companies, in particular former state-owned companies. All former state activities in the domains of education, social security, and health care can be privatized and commodified so that they can be made efficient and profitable.” And this last points to the reason why the development of private universities ought to be vigorously challenged – the ultimate purpose of such institutions is to make money, a ‘return on investment’. Therefore, their every action, their every policy is inevitably designed to maximise profit, whatever the rhetoric about, for example, the ‘student experience’. And

this will always be at the expense of individual students who do not have the resources to support their privately-funded educational experience.

2.5.2 Purpose: market-oriented

The main consequence of wholesale adoption of ‘market forces’ in higher education is an unswerving focus on industrial-like ‘efficiency’, whereby students are units to be processed in great numbers, and the university is a bank from which students withdraw ‘knowledge’ after paying the requisite amount of money into the bank. Under such a system, the over-riding priority is to maintain the value of the university’s market brand.

Higher education as product

Various governments now regularly produce statistics purportedly showing the economic value of education as a trade-able sector, worth billions and competing alongside coal and iron ore exports, as can be seen in Figure 3, part of a Universities UK report making a case for universities as a ‘core strategic asset to the UK’:

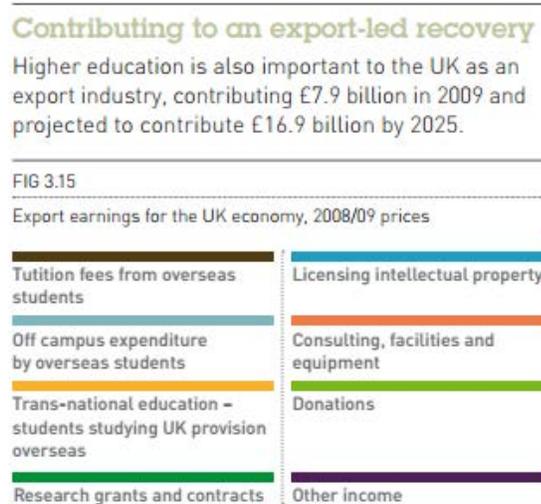


Figure 3: UK Higher Education as an Export Industry, Universities UK, 2011 (Source: Universities UK, 2011: „H E in Focus: Driving Economic Growth“)

In keeping with the graphical presentation of the data as shopping bags in Figure 2 (above), Campos further defines the nature of the ‘product’ of education, suggesting that it is akin to a Louis Vuitton handbag:

In economic terms, higher education is a positional good: It is valuable to have a college degree because other people don't have one. It is also to a significant extent a Veblen good: Sending one's children to college, and most especially a prestigious (meaning expensive) college, is a way of signalling social status via the conspicuous consumption of a luxury good (Campos, 2014).

Here in UK, raising tuition fees to £9,000 makes higher education an extremely expensive proposition. However, apart from certain ‘market segments’, demand keeps on rising. So, it may seem that such an argument is credible, especially within the confines of a discussion about market mechanisms and other assorted neoliberal jargon. However, the key and unchangeable counter to this is that education is a process. It is a process of growth, of learning about the world from the point of view of each and every individual person that is engaged in ‘education’. It is not product, it is not a thing, not something to consume. Education is something that living, breathing, important human beings experience personally and existentially over time and to reduce education to a product to be branded, sold and shipped out to those that are able and willing to pay is to reduce humanity itself to a commodity. Once that happens, in a very real sense, we lose our humanity. The mechanism for higher education’s ‘positionality’ are league tables, which appear to have become the driver for university strategies the world over.

Privatisation of technology: university ranking

The practice of ranking ... as a technology of classification, hierarchization and valuation ... hastens the transformation of universities into capitalist institutions that must compete against one another in an uneven market in order to survive (Amsler, 2014: 158).

University league tables were introduced in the UK 25 years ago, ostensibly to produce quantitative indicators to rank institutions according to the quality of their teaching and research. The introduction and steep rise in student fees spurred ministers to provide more information about what the public can expect from a university education. The government department responsible for higher education in UK produced a White Paper claiming to put “Students at the heart” of the higher education system (Department of Business, Innovation and Skills, 2011):

So we will empower prospective students by ensuring much better information on different courses. We will deliver a new focus on student charters, student feedback and graduate outcomes. We will oversee a new regulatory framework with the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) taking on a major new role as a consumer champion.

A whole raft of sources of information by which choices might be made, but perhaps the hidden agenda here is indicated by the fact that within the space of one paragraph, ‘prospective students’ have become ‘consumers’. And in keeping with this kind of ‘audit culture’ approach to justifying decisions made on the basis of the cash nexus, it is the technology of ranking of universities that is driving higher education right now.

University ranking has generated an industry all of its own, with Wikipedia listing eighteen different global ranking mechanisms (<http://goo.gl/n4QU1>, accessed 15/11/2014). The latest of these, ‘u-multirank’, speaks directly to ‘students’: “Find universities that match what you want” (<http://www.umultirank.org>, accessed 15/11/2014) and it assumes that students are in a position to judge, when their main contact with the university is through teaching and learning, yet rankings are predominantly a measure of research and reputation. One might ask to what extent such a deluge of information is really empowering persons in the progress of their education – to the extent that these ‘guides’ to a university education need their own guide for ‘anxious parents’ (Ratcliffe, 2013).

And, then, how true is the picture of higher education presented by the glossy magazines and slick websites which deliver this data? Woodhouse suggests barely at all:

The great majority of league tables fail the normal tests of reliability and validity, including statistical validity, that one would expect of any serious social science enterprise. Differences between the scores of two institutions may be statistically insignificant but they appear in a linear scale which exaggerates the differences. (Woodhouse, 2008).

The complex picture that ranking claims to present is in fact superficial, rankings measuring things that are easily measured rather than things that are meaningful. And the inexorable ranking and comparing process has been enabled by technology to such an extent that anybody can now go to a website such as the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development: <http://www.oecd.org/edu/eag.htm>) and

compare ‘Education at a Glance’ by country – presumably to see which country is ‘best’ and ‘worst’ at exporting their product of ‘education’ inside the ideology of consumerism.

Even apart from the deception inherent in quantifying something as complex as human learning – as Illich neatly puts it, *personal growth is not a measurable entity* (Illich, 1971: 30) - into a neat and tidy statistic, the damage this does to real living human beings is tangible (if not measurable...), “an act of symbolic violence and a mechanism of social exclusion” (Amsler, 2014: 155). League tables and standardized testing now drive the direction of higher education - beginning with the student taking their exam, the grade from which contributes significantly both to the particular student’s job prospects and to the overall quantification of the worth of individual academics, departments, universities and nation states. Poor performance ranking can and does result in life-changing consequences for students who ‘fail’ to achieve their expected grades, academics are laid off, departments reorganised or closed.

And because so much is at stake, in the same way that ‘teaching to the test’ is a result of the focus on individual student grades, then ratings can and will also be manipulated by institutions orienting strategy to the ranking criteria. Education itself thus moves away from a focus on learning to an obsession with satisfying targets based on ranking and comparative position – universities are no longer in control of their own value systems or development. To ask ‘what is a university for’ is to be directed to one of many external league table comparators of educational ‘quality’ in the “University of Excellence” (Readings, 1996), where “Critical questions about ontology, politics and above all social

justice have been transformed into problems of methodological fetish” (Amsler & Bolsman, 2012: 292).

Finally, even if one were to put aside all of these concerns and make the case that all the ranking process needs is better governance in order to produce valid information to empower educational consumers – it would not be possible, as they are all in the hands of private, unaccountable, for-profit companies. As Robertson points out,

These changes raise fundamental questions around the governance of higher education, the relationship between knowledge and democracy, and how these emerging developments should and could be regulated.
(Robertson, 2012: 9)

Student as consumer

One of the more depressing of globalization’s dramatic cultural shifts in higher education is that students very often now see themselves as ‘consumers’. Thomas reports the following evidence from research with new students about their primary goals:

Primary Goal	1966	1990
‘to develop a meaningful philosophy of life’	84	44
‘to be very well-off financially’	44	84

Table 1: Primary goals of new students 1966 & 1990 (Source: Thomas, 2004)

This startling volte-face over twenty five years represents a significant move away from previous ideas of a university and certainly from Newman’s Liberal Arts idea of a

community of scholars. In “The Pedagogy of Debt”, Williams points to student debt as the mechanism for this transformation of the experience and perception of higher education into a consumer service. It is a pay-as-you-go transaction, like any other consumer enterprise, subject to the business franchises attached to education”:

All the entities making up the present university multiplex reinforce this lesson, from the Starbucks kiosk in the library and the Burger King counter in the dining hall, to the Barnes & Noble bookstore ... as well as the banking kiosk (with the easy access Web page) so that they can pay for it all. We might tell them the foremost purpose of higher education is self-searching or liberal learning, but their experience tells them differently.
(Williams, 2006: 94)

Docherty describes the way in which the mechanism of the ideology of consumerism operates in universities, beginning from (neoliberal policy-driven) government funding via HEFCE, directly answerable to the Minister for Education. Thus, university Vice-Chancellors (and now their equally powerful Registrar-Managers) become government agents; deans become agents of the vice-chancellor; heads of departments become agents of the dean; and lecturers become (reluctant) agents of the institution under the sway of the administration itself, which itself becomes the determining and, importantly, the controlling centre of the University’s authority.” (Docherty, 2011: 115). The last link in this terrible chain of agencies is that students themselves become unwitting agents of government policy:

Their 'task' becomes one where they are expected to use their University education in order to help fulfil a role in forms of employment that are sanctioned and legitimized by the State: their task is to contribute, directly as a result of their study, to the economy in whatever happens to be the approved fashion. This becomes a tacit requirement, in fact: they must make 'business', vaguely conceived, more wealthy through the generation of more economic activity. In a fee-paying regime, further and with a cruel irony, they act as this kind of agent of government, but they are now also expected to pay, themselves, for the 'privilege' of fulfilling the role, as agent of governmental ideology, thus given to them (Docherty, 2011: 115)

This is the commodification of education itself. Noble defines a commodity as "something created, grown, produced, or manufactured for exchange on the market" and the commodification of higher education is therefore ~~the~~ deliberate transformation of the educational process into commodity form, for the purpose of commercial transaction (Noble, 2002: 28). And there are damaging consequences:

By making students need more and more money to finance their education they are being encouraged - explicitly, by governments, it's not a secret - to see their education as what it might bring them in income later on. This leads them to being extremely instrumental about how they study, it leads them to being extremely deferential so that education is losing the notion of discovery, inquiry, criticism, that is fundamental to a dynamic society. While on the one hand, we're being told we want more entrepreneurs but are in fact, in HE, producing more dutiful yes men and women. (Crouch, 2014).

All of this is essentially education as ideological apparatus: students absorb a private, individualistic ethos of competition, learn to set up businesses, to value making money, to be ‘entrepreneurial’, to promote their very own brand of me (rather than public notions of community solidarity, for instance). And business-like institutions need business-like management, which is where we turn now.

2.5.3 Governance Structure: managerialist

The removal of state funding from UK universities since Browne has only increased the already-growing perception of education as a product whose pricing, branding and marketing is best carried out by a more business-focused management, prompting significant reorganisation in university management. As shown above, the original university, at least in the West, was a corporation – this gave the university substantial autonomy and protection from outside interference. However, a different kind of corporatism has grown in universities, namely a market-oriented managerialism.

An ESRC report as far back as 2000 found that “the UK higher education system was now highly managerial and bureaucratic, with declining trust and discretion.” (Deem et al, 2001: 3). Lorenz finds that neoliberal policies in higher education “have been and are being implemented by a new class of managers who justify their approach with reference to free market ideology but who at the same time have introduced an unprecedented network of controls” (Lorenz, 2012: 600). Manicas (2007: 471) discusses the ‘for-profit’ to indicate where a globalizing higher education is headed in the near future:

On the one hand, with clear goals, ‘managers’ can manage and faculty can teach. Similarly where there is a clear ‘product’, outcomes can be assessed and the institution can reproduce itself only if people will pay the price for securing the ‘product’.

One result of increasingly tight managerial control over academics and departments is what Lorenz calls “a culture of permanent mistrust” (2012: 609), drawing uneasy parallels with authoritarian systems of state communism. Marina Warner draws comparisons between Chinese communist corporatism and higher education:

... where enforcers rush to carry out the latest orders from their chiefs in an ecstasy of obedience to ideological principles which they do not seem to have examined, let alone discussed with the people they order to follow them, whom they cashier when they won’t knuckle under. (Warner, 2014).

There is clearly something going on here for experienced academics to be drawing such disturbing conclusions about the level of control and surveillance by the new class of neoliberal higher education managers (see also Docherty, 2011 and Brandist, 2014).

Lorenz argues that the introduction of managerialism into institutions previously run by academics “guarantees chronic job dissatisfaction” (2012, 614), so that the - not unintended - outcome is a demoralised, demotivated and increasingly depressed academic staff (Shaw & Ward, 2014). Which means that these custodians of a thousand years of our higher education can now only watch seemingly helpless as the neoliberal project is completed.

The culture of efficiency

As Lorenz points out, “the functioning of free markets assumes well-organized companies. Well-organized companies are in the interest of all shareholders because optimal management results in optimal efficiency and thus in optimal shareholder value” (Lorenz, 2012: 602). However, higher education is not truly a market and universities do not really have a ‘product’ to sell, so in place of any kind of market mechanism is the notion of efficiency based on ‘rational’ management and performance assessment (testing). Fourteen years ago, Deem showed how the ‘efficiency model’ of managerialism - doing more with less – had significantly permeated universities (Deem et al, 2002: 12). In 2017, it is clear that the managerial culture of efficiency to a great extent now defines the culture of the university.

The manager’s job is to make the processes in the system run as efficiently as possible. It is immaterial that these processes might well be distancing persons from significant learning or from their own well-being - as long as the system itself runs smoothly. So, how has this come about?

Howard Hotson, discussing his co-authored manifesto, “In defence of the public university” (2011, available: <http://goo.gl/fb7Q9G>) argues that UK higher education reforms have no basis in reality, that there was never any need for them – so that they are driven by something else entirely:

One can read the two documents foundational to these reforms – the Browne Review of 2010) and the higher education White Paper of 2011 – without ever encountering either a sustained argument or any substantial

body of empirical evidence explaining why it is that the UK university system requires radical reform. All one finds is an argument grounded in the unsubstantiated assumption that markets are the most efficient ways of distributing scarce resources and therefore that marketising the university system will make it more efficient. (Hotson, 2012).

In fact, this single-minded commitment to efficiency and the market are outcomes of global processes hijacked by an ideology which is identifiably altering higher education so that a university can become, in a chilling phrase, “a factory for the efficient production of consistent conformity” (Docherty, 2011: 162)

The idea of ‘service’ as a major theme runs through their evolving and changing purpose over time:

From medieval to postmodern times, service is the keynote. All universities were and are social organizations designed to provide higher educational services such as teaching, research, and a host of other academic services to the church, governments, individuals, public, and in the future, perhaps, the world. (Scott, J., 2006: 4)

Thus, teaching was the main service carried out up until the nineteenth century Humboldtian university which prioritised original inquiry and integrated research with teaching. That ‘service to the world’ is the final cadence in the above quotation points to the importance of exploring our own historical conditions and thus the possible futures for the place of the person in the context of an unprecedented growth in higher education worldwide. Of particular relevance here is the discussion of the advent of democratic societies and the impact on universities, whereby ‘service’ is defined as “service to the

individual of the nation-state” (Scott, J., 2006: 4). This is, I think, a useful way to consider the purpose of education in a democratic age, bringing the focus back to individuals, back to persons.

However, neoliberalism seemingly arrives from nowhere in the picture here, so the next chapter serves two purposes: first of all to provide more detailed context for Rogers’ model of person-centred education; secondly, to show the roots of this neoliberal turn in education, and in particular the beginnings of the culture of efficiency.

Chapter Three: The context of *Freedom to Learn*

The central component of this thesis is Rogers' model of person-centred education.

Before presenting the model, this chapter contextualises it by considering the development of American education in the twentieth century. It also serves to show the foundations of neoliberalism in conservative movements over the same century. The chapter starts with the pivotal figure of John Dewey and describes the decades of the growth of progressive education in the early Twentieth Century and those of humanistic and person-centred education into the 1960s, 70s and 80s. It also describes the sudden decline of these experimental educational movements, precipitated by conservative reaction. The chapter ends with an overview of Rogers' educational background, significant in the development of various elements of his person-centred model.

The metaphor of a pendulum is often used to describe trends in American education – and it is a useful visual representation, as movement created counter-movement, from progressive to conservative and back. Rogers acknowledges the pendulum swings himself, seeing it as “a natural thing that we must expect and live with” (Rogers & Lyon, 2013: 62). The arc of the pendulum also transcribes competing views of the purpose of education: either academic/vocational preparation for college/work or meeting the social and psychological needs of individual human beings. Although many of these movements were global (albeit ‘Western’) the focus here is almost exclusively on education in the United States, as this is the context within which Carl Rogers developed his person-

centred model. The chapter begins with an examination of the educational philosophy of John Dewey, first of all because Dewey is central to progressive education, but also because Rogers was much influenced by courses he took at Teachers College, the professional education school of Columbia University, with William Heard Kilpatrick, Dewey's student and ~~the~~ greatest translator and popularizer of his teacher's philosophy" (Kirschenbaum, 2007: 47).

3.1 John Dewey and progressive education

—It is impossible to prepare the child for any precise set of conditions. To prepare him for the future life means to give him command of himself; it means so to train him that he will have the full and ready use of all his capacities; that his eye and ear and hand may be tools ready to command, that his judgment may be capable of grasping the conditions under which it has to work, and the executive forces be trained to act economically and efficiently" (Dewey, 1897: 2)

The quotation from Dewey's influential *My Pedagogic Creed* gives a strong flavour of the radically holistic and child-centred ideas behind the progressive education movement, clearly distinguishing it from the pedagogically narrow and elitist existing classical curricula - or as Dewey himself puts it, ~~the~~ purveying of intellectual material to a certain number of selected minds" (Dewey, 1902: 2). The nineteenth century had already seen a vast increase in free, compulsory state education and this was especially marked after the 1890s, which saw the beginning of the Progressive era in American

politics and cultural life, a period marked by social activism and political reform – and a period marked, in education, by the theories and practical work of John Dewey.

Dewey was born before the advent of public schooling in the United States and came to maturity just as publicly funded education emerged in response to vast changes caused by mass urbanization, industrialization and immigration. As a socialist, he was committed to the reform of a vastly unequal developing capitalist society and believed that education plays a central role in a genuine democracy. For Dewey, democracy is more than a form of government, it is a way of life, what he called “a mode of associative living” (Dewey, 1916). Learning is thus also a social, cooperative enterprise:

–Education fails because it neglects this fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life. It conceives the school as a place where certain information is to be given, where certain lessons are to be learned, or where certain habits are to be formed” (Dewey, 1897: 2).

So, for Dewey, education should be person-centred, cooperative and democratic - in the service of the wider society. These were (and are) powerful ideas, but Dewey’s particular importance to educational development is that he grounded his theory in the world through his laboratory schools during ten years at the University of Chicago (from 1894). These were intended to be “miniature communities” or “embryonic societies” and he saw them as a strategic path for advancing democracy through the public schools. In “School as Social Centre” (1902) he promotes the idea of the school as a community centre where continuous lifelong learning takes place and people can communicate across race and caste and class.

In 1905 Dewey moved to Columbia, where he continued to write, but now purely as a theorist, without his experimental schools. However, he had already provided inspiration for the movement tagged as the Pedagogical Progressives (Tyack, 1974). Labaree argues (2005) that at the heart of Progressive Education was a struggle between two factions: Administrative Progressives and Pedagogical Progressives. Administrative Progressives won this struggle, allowing them to shape the curriculum to this day; whilst the Pedagogical Progressives, although they “failed miserably”, did at least shape the way we talk about schools to the extent that theirs became the “ruling ideology” in schools of education:

The movement for progressive education was the primary force that shaped the modern American system of schooling and which institutionalized this system in a form that has endured to the present day. (Labaree, 2005: 276)

So, this progressive approach to education provided the dominant language of American education by the 1950s (educational jargon that we still recognise such as ‘child-centered instruction’, ‘discovery learning’ and ‘learning how to learn’) and this is the period that shaped Carl Rogers’ own understanding and development of person-centred education, so it is informative to explore these foundational currents and crosscurrents.

3.1.1 Pedagogical Progressives

A loosely defined movement since the 1890s, it coalesced in the period immediately after the First World War when professional educators, private school teachers and administrators formed the Progressive Education Association (PEA). They drew

inspiration from Dewey, whom they regarded as their elder statesman and his *Schools of Tomorrow* (1915) became the signal text of pedagogical progressivism. However, they also distorted Dewey's ideas, especially through the 1920s and 1930s, by focusing doggedly on one aspect of his pedagogical theory – child-centredness – and largely ignoring the rest of it. Unlike pedagogical progressivism, Dewey's theory recognized the importance of subject matter, as both a means for problem solving and as a building block for future learning.

In its extreme focus on child-centredness, pedagogical progressivism began to be stereotyped as unplanned, unstructured, unguided and dependent on children's whims for the curriculum and Dewey found himself criticizing what he saw as a one-sided approach to education in the child-centred school. He saved his strongest criticism for what he saw as the concomitant lack of focus on the wider world: "Only schools which take the lead in bringing about [a critical, sociological] education can claim to be progressive in any socially significant sense" (Dewey, 1930: 206)

The central thrust of the Pedagogical Progressives is a Rousseauesque focus on the unfettered growth of the natural child in a holistic setting. This romantic vision was not shared by the strictly utilitarian Administrative Progressives, a rival movement in the mainstream of American public education whose focus was on social efficiency, the application of business principles to the governance of schools and classroom management - ideas of efficiency that are recognisable to this day.

3.1.2 Administrative Progressives

Administrative progressives wanted to educate the millions of newly-arrived American immigrants efficiently and economically and they applied social efficiency principles, of which there were two main elements. The first strand can be found in the industrial and business principles of Taylor and his scientific management techniques for efficient labour productivity; the second was provided by behavioural psychologist, Edward L. Thorndike, who developed innovative instruments for differentiating the curriculum, for testing and sorting young people into curricular tracks, and with programmes tailored to their likely career destinations. Thus, educational Taylorism worked in tandem with Thorndike's psychological approach to education, breaking tasks into learning goals which led to the distinction between curriculum and instruction. Because it was based on statistics, this was seen as the perfect way of 'objectively' sorting students into career groups – ostensibly scientific and free of bias.

3.1.3 Thorndike won and Dewey lost

While the Pedagogical Progressives were giving children in the classroom their full and undivided attention, the systems-focused Administrative Progressives were busy consolidating small school districts into larger units and centralizing control of school districts in the hands of very powerful school boards - staffed, of course, with professional administrators (Labaree, 2005: 282). A top-down, vocationally-oriented curriculum was the crowning imposition of this social efficiency movement, designed to

socialize students for their working (or home-making) adult lives, elevating ~~the~~ interests of society and school administrators over the interests of students” (Labaree, 2005: 283).

More insidiously, this curriculum reproduced institutionalised social inequality by encouraging the sorting of students based on ability testing. As Labaree points out, this created a system in which ~~educational~~ differences followed from and in turn reinforced differences in class, gender and race” (2005: 284). The following reasons show why the Administrative Progressives were so successful and it is instructive in exploring currents in Higher Education in our own times:

1. The promise of efficient organisation and the elimination of ‘waste’ in education was seductive to business and political leaders;
2. The utilitarian promise to make schools work to serve society’s needs easily won the more complex, romantic vision of authentic and natural learning;
3. It’s science! A deluge of tests, statistics and surveys provided ‘empirical’ support for the claims of the Administrative Progressives, whereas child-centred learning and projects are much more diffuse and difficult to reduce to statistics.
4. They exerted real political and administrative power – including over the very administrative and curriculum structures within which the Pedagogical Progressives had to function. Even the most child-centred of teachers was

limited by bureaucracy to a vocationally-oriented curriculum, thus effectively limiting radical classroom practice to token techniques (Labaree, 2005: 285).

Before Edward Thorndike's intervention, educational focus was primarily on process, whereby curriculum was regarded as a means to develop mental faculties so that content became of comparatively less importance. Thorndike shifted the focus to content, influencing educational thinking to see curriculum as the substance of learning. This meant that the targeted design of curriculum itself became the means by which education was to progress, matching occupational roles with student ability. Dewey's pragmatic vision for an education directed towards social justice and educational engagement was in competition with social efficiency, an ultimately more successful set of ideas about education which centrally promoted "vocational education that prepares the 'rank and file' to become efficient 'producers'" (Labaree, 2010: 164).

By 1918, the principles of social efficiency had become enshrined in law and further reinforced by an influential report on standardised education (*The Cardinal Principles of Education* of 1918, which was based on the central tenets of social efficiency). American education - and one can easily argue, 21st Century globalised Higher Education - has been shaped by these principles to a very great extent (Labaree, 2010: 164, 169). In a debate with social efficiency proponent David Sneddon, Dewey shows that the competition between the two sets of ideas was not (is not) merely technical, but rather is highly political:

The kind of vocational education in which I am interested is not one which will adapt workers to the existing industrial regime; I am not sufficiently in love with the regime for that. It seems to me that the business of all who would not be educational time-servers is to resist every move in this direction, and to strive for a kind of vocational education which will first alter the existing industrial system, and ultimately transform it (Dewey, qv., Labaree, 2010: 168)

Dewey's educational experiments were an attempt to discover ~~how~~ a school could become a cooperative community while developing in individuals their own capacities and satisfy their own needs" (Cremin, 136). His focus is on individual learners but also incorporates community and cooperation in an integration of the psychological and the sociological. Human beings are social animals and learning is a social practice.

Comparing the two models of education, social efficiency is a weed that can grow almost anywhere:

—Erratic funding, poorly prepared teachers, high turnover, dated textbooks - all of these may impede the socially efficient outcomes of education but they do not prevent reformers from putting in place the central structure of social efficiency in the school system" (Labaree, 2010: 185).

The pedagogically progressive vision of education, on the other hand, is a:

—...hot house flower - child-centred, inquiry based and personally engaging ... won't thrive unless conditions are ideal, since ... it requires committed, creative, energetic and highly educated teachers ... and it

requires broad public and fiscal support for education as an investment in students rather than an investment in economic productivity.” (ibid).

This analysis of Dewey and the Pedagogical Progressives is prescient when thinking about the necessary conditions for the success of Carl Rogers’ later ideas about educational reform. Dewey rejected social efficiency’s separation of students by academic ability because it restricted their human potential. He also rejected social efficiency schooling as anti-democratic in both its practice and its outcomes. But, neither Dewey’s theory nor pedagogical progressivism gained a foothold in American public education and this was because of the dominance of the administrative progressives, whose model of education has been the enduring model to our own day. However, Dewey’s ideas of freedom grounded in social action were to underpin a new generation of progressive educationalists, known as social reconstructionists.

3.2 Social Reconstructionism

The world is on fire, and the youth of the world must be equipped to combat the conflagration (Rugg, 1932: 11)

Harold Rugg was the author of a successful and widely influential series of elementary textbooks which revealed the social inequalities of the capitalist system. George S. Counts set a similarly provocative challenge in his manifesto for teachers to become activists for democratic education and social change: *Dare the schools build a new social order?* (Counts, 1932). This was a manifesto for a Deweyan view of education as engine for democratic change, of community-minded citizens working cooperatively and using

the method of science to solve pressing social problems. Both Rugg and Counts wanted teachers to become activists fighting for a new social order, Counts believing that teachers must assume responsibility for the "courageous and intelligent reconstruction of economic institutions" (Counts, 1932: 53). In the context of Roosevelt's New Deal, and following the shock of the Depression, this was a persuasive and influential argument.

Such a transparently political programme of reform drew increasing fire from its conservative detractors, especially in the light of the widespread popular anxiety over the spread of international communism. The focus on the way society works in, for instance, Rugg's textbooks came to be portrayed as un-American and subversive (Reynolds & Martusewicz, 1994: 227). This only increased during the Cold War, seeing many Social Reconstructionists shift their focus from fear of capitalist exploitation to fear of totalitarianism (Tozer & McAninch, 1987:15). Dewey himself was supportive but not completely persuaded, seeing schools as just one part of a much wider educational system. His support for the project was because he saw the school as "a necessary condition of forming the understanding and the dispositions that are required to maintain a genuinely changed social order" (Dewey, 1937: 414). In any case, the Social Reconstruction movement had become widely repudiated by the late 1950s and a singularly significant historical event saw it disintegrate as an identifiable movement.

3.3 Education in the Cold War

Opposition to social reconstructionism was gradual but its end can be timed to the second: 10:29 p.m. (Moscow time) on 4th October 1957, when the world's first artificial

satellite was launched - by the Soviets, not the Americans (to add insult to injury, the beeping sounds of Sputnik could be heard passing over America several times a day by anybody with the right equipment). The technological Super-Power had been caught seriously off-guard and the televised failure of their own satellite launch in the same year prompted an intensive period of investment at all levels of education in science, engineering and mathematics, in order to supply the needs of the military industrial complex (and, sadly, there are resonances in our own times with the current technocratic focus on STEM subjects, Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics). A significant part of the solution was to exclude teachers and schools from curriculum development by funding subject ‘experts’ to create the curriculum, thus at a stroke disrupting the influence of the social reconstructionists.

Clearly allied to and part of the pedagogical progressives, the 1930s social reconstructionists however criticised and largely abandoned the child-centred education that had been a strong component of the previous period of pedagogical progressivism, seeing it as lacking a theory of social welfare and thus supporting the inequality of the status quo. However, child-centred education emerged again in the 1950s as one part of ‘Life Adjustment Education’, which saw an awkward compromise between the pedagogical progressives’ child-centredness and the favoured testing and tracking of the administrative progressives. This hybrid of social efficiency and child-centred progressivism would itself be attacked and fail as being anti-intellectual and anti-American.

But those earlier pedagogical currents of child-centred education had not gone away and they re-emerged in the late 1960s in direct reaction to the Cold War's 'new curricula', this time under the banner of humanistic education, which saw the purpose of education as providing the conditions to allow persons to flourish.

3.4 Humanistic Education: the person in the process

One consequence of the post-sputnik drive for scientists and mathematicians was a more rigid atmosphere of control in the classroom, prompting a number of books whose very titles describe their unease and critical intent: *Compulsory Miseducation and the community of scholars* (Goodman, 1964); *How Children Fail* (Holt, 1967); *Death at an early age* (Kozol, 1967); *Schools without failure* (Glasser, 1969); and *Crisis in the classroom* (Silberman, 1970). This last was a Carnegie Foundation-funded report which followed a three and a half year study into over one hundred schools and it reported:

The pervasive atmosphere of distrust, together with rules governing the most minute aspects of existence, teach students everyday that they are not people of worth, and certainly not individuals capable of regulating their own behaviour (Silberman, 1970: 134).

Once again, a reactive movement in education prompted its own counter reaction and the humanistic education movement emerged during the late 1960s and 1970s, supported by a great many books and articles, three of the most significant being Rogers' *Freedom to Learn* (1969), Aspy's *Toward a Technology for Humanizing Education* (1972), and Patterson's *Humanistic Education* (1973). The focus began to shift towards the affective elements of learning in concert with creative experiments in the organisation of learning,

such as open schools and classrooms and flexibility in module and elective choice (Reynolds & Martusewicz, 1994: 229). The shared aim of the humanistic educators was the development of self-actualizing persons. Patterson expresses this well, when he says:

The problems that society faces today require more than intelligence and technical know-how for their solution. They are basically problems of living together, of human relationships, of cooperating in making planet earth a place where people can live in peace. We need people who can understand others as well as themselves, who are honest and responsible – all characteristics of self-actualizing people (Patterson, 1987: 2)

Combs also focuses on human relationship in education, what he calls elegantly “the person in the process”, and wonders whether humanistic education is “too tender for a tough world”, finding instead that:

The standard curriculum is no longer enough to prepare today's youths for the world they will enter; adherents of humanistic education believe that our public schools must pay far greater attention to the human condition. A new focus on the person in the process is needed. (Combs, 1981: 447)

In terms of educational practice Fairfield compares the old, behaviourist, paradigm, which emphasises “content and ‘right’ information” with the new, humanist, paradigm, which “stresses learning how to learn as well as contexts of learning” (Fairfield, 1988: 106). He goes on to outline major aspects of both paradigms, expressed in Table 2:

The Old Paradigm (Behaviourism)	The New Paradigm (Humanistic)
Learning is PRODUCT	Learning is PROCESS
Rigid structure - prescribed curriculums	Flexibility - there are many ways to teach and learn
Compartmentalized	Whole-brain
Guessing and divergent thinking is discouraged	Guessing and divergent thinking are part of the creative process
Emphasis is upon the analytical, linear, labelling, norms, book knowledge	Individual performance is seen in terms of potential
Classrooms are designed for efficiency, convenience, resistant to community input	Classrooms reflect concern for lighting, colour, air, the physical, and there must be room for both privacy and dynamic interaction.
Teaching is to inculcate minimum skills	Learning is a life-long process
Learning is technologized and dehumanized - teachers have „the Truth“	Technology is to enhance human relationships between teacher and learner...each learning from each.

**Table 2: Behaviourist & Humanistic Education Compared
(adapted by the author from Fairfield, 1988: 106)**

As Fairfield points out, this is probably too dichotomous, but it is a useful comparison to determine where teachers and learners are located on any number of continuums, as between authoritarianism and individualism, between dehumanism and humanism, between elitism and egalitarianism, between distrust and trust” (Fairfield, 1988: 106). These continua point to some of the most significant features of humanistic education.

Elsewhere, Combs indicates another highly significant feature of humanistic education when he says that:

[it] ... is not a gadget, a gimmick, a technique, or a method. It is not even a way of organizing or administering. It is a point of view about the nature of human beings and the processes of learning with vast implications for every aspect of educational thought and practice. It is a person-oriented frame of reference for education (Combs, 1978: 115)

With a focus on process, on learning as a way of being, on authority and trust, both writers here show the strong influence of Carl Rogers' ideas about education. However, Rogers was also prescient about the growing fear of change in American society which was to curtail the activities of these 'new persons', these bold adventurers in humanistic education:

Change threatens, and its possibility creates frightened, angry people. They are found in their purest essence on the extreme right, but in all of us there is some fear of process, of change. So the vocal attacks on these new persons will come from the highly conservative right, who are understandably terrified as they see their secure world dissolve, but there will be much silent opposition from the whole population (Rogers, 1977: 280-281)

3.5 What happened to humanistic education?

As far back as 1987, Patterson asked "Does Humanistic Education Exist?" and concludes, sadly, that "Humanistic Education no longer exists as an element in our educational system" (Patterson 1987: 2). Willers' research confirms this view:

The 1971-72 Education Index listed articles for the first time under Humanistic Education. This innovation plus the fact that humanism disappeared as an indicator after 1974 will go down in the history of education as a little noted but highly significant event (Willers, 1975: 39)

As I will show, humanising education is both desirable and attainable. Yet, even though I have spent considerable time exploring various aspects of humanistic education, I have had almost no success in finding more than a couple of isolated (and far-flung) contemporary examples of the practice, or conferences or workshops to visit, or associations to join. So, what accounts for the end to all of this hopeful and progressive experimentation in education that focuses on the flourishing of human beings?

The pendulum swing away from progressive education this time round, dubbed the ‘conservative restoration’ (Reynolds & Martusewicz, 1994: 229), was in gestation at the very same time as humanistic education was beginning to develop and grow. Nixon’s re-election signalled a deliberate programme to move away from affective and person-centred education and saw the elimination of educational reform and experimentation by way of a curriculum oriented towards work discipline and job training (Reynolds & Martusewicz, 1994: 229). So, once again, the focus was on technical knowledge, not on persons or democracy. This was reinforced and sealed by Reagan’s election, as Nixon’s ‘silent majority’ became the crusading ‘moral majority’, incorporating the powerful voice of the religious right (Reynolds & Martusewicz, 1994: 231).

The humanistic education movement acknowledged the reality of the changing climate, as can be seen in the *Report of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum*

Development Working Group on Humanistic Education (Combs, 1978), which was an attempt to make humanistic education ‘measurable’ in the face of ‘back to basics’ and ‘accountability’ by translating humanistic concepts into behavioural concepts. However, as Colangelo (1979) points out, the level of compromise with behaviourist education results in the neglect of the very humanistic education that it is trying to promote: “In using this booklet one would be able to write and assess an objective related to humanistic education rather than possess a substantial understanding of the concepts” (Colangelo, 1979: 44). Indeed, the report itself might be seen as marking the end of humanistic education as a force in education, the point at which a philosophy becomes little more than a classroom technique.

Also, universities were a particular target for conservatives after the student protests of the 1960s, when they were seen as the bastions of progressive thought. According to O’Hara (one of Rogers’ ‘new persons’ in humanistic education):

The turmoil of the late 1960s, which at times appeared as if it would result in revolution, deeply offended and scared the daylights out of the conservatives. . . . They believed - deeply believed - that America and the world were threatened by the ideas then in currency on the campuses and within the various social movements. The Religious Right ... identified secularism, progressive movements in general and humanistic psychology as part of that, as forces that were undermining the status quo in American life—the authority of Christian morality, patriarchy, the structure of families, white supremacy, private property, individual freedom and responsibility, and capitalism. (O’Hara, qv., Elkins, 2009: 275)

There are echoes of earlier battles in this rightward shift, as it was prompted once more by external forces (economic competition from Japan and Germany) and based on evidence from testing - a direct link to the administrative progressives and their cult of social efficiency. This time, the 'evidence' was highlighted in an extremely influential report, *A Nation at Risk: the imperative for educational reform* (1983), which argued that a twenty year decline in SATs scores must lead to the refocusing of education on the core curriculum once again. The alarmist title of the report gives an indication of the fears of the political right and it fed legislation for a standardised educational system in service of the economy and, again echoing that earlier reaction, teachers themselves were the main targets. This time it was by way of 'professionalisation', of encouraging teachers to focus on mechanical classroom techniques to the exclusion of concern with the philosophical aspects of teaching. On top of more (and more) testing, the principle mechanisms were competency-based teacher education and a standardised, skills-based, work-focused curriculum - which was itself 'teacher-proofed' (scripted lessons with quizzes and tests prepared by text-book publishing companies). Subsequent administrations have also followed *Nation at Risk* in its concerns that schools are not meeting the economic interests of the country.

It is noteworthy that, by this point, the British education system was catching up fast with its American cousin and in directly comparable ways, indicating the emerging consensus we now know as neoliberalism. First of all, student revolts in Paris in 1968 and sit-ins

and protests in universities (and schools) across Britain brought a political reaction which culminated in the educational policies of the Thatcher government of 1979.

The extent of the developing consensus, and the move to the right in British politics, can be seen in a speech by the previously left wing Labour Party's leader, James Callaghan, called *Towards a National Debate* (1976). Reflecting the rhetoric of his 'new right' Conservative rivals, Callaghan talked of "complaints from industry that new recruits from the schools sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job that is required" (Callaghan, 1976). Although he did also speak of "the need to cater for a child's personality to let it flower in its fullest possible way", his announcement that he would not "keep off the [educational] grass" signalled an interventionist turn in educational policy across the political spectrum. The general tenor of the subsequent 'Great Debate', which was "neither great nor a debate" (Hall, 2015), was that Britain's economic woes were directly attributable to an education system based on progressive ideas and the solution was to be found in the market, precisely the arguments coming from the other side of the Atlantic.

The 1988 Education Reform Act consolidated these currents, introducing competition between schools (which were to be removed from local authority oversight and run as businesses), national testing and league tables. Once again the American experience is echoed, as the autonomy of teachers was increasingly stripped away in favour of the micromanaged delivery of a narrowly-based 'traditional' National Curriculum. Not only did this limit the flourishing of progressive education in state schools, it also laid the

ground for the increasing privatisation of education, marking a significant change in the view of education as a private and not a public good. The introduction of student fees and loans in higher education fits this neoliberal view of education as private good, where only the individual is the beneficiary and so should shoulder the burden.

John Dewey presented enlightened thinking about the relationship between school and society which resonates even into the 21st Century. The pedagogical progressives emphasised diversity and critically and socially engaged citizens. Humanistic education focused on the flourishing and growth of the whole person. However, the global neoliberal turn of the capitalist system has developed an instrumental model of education as product which results in an educational experience alien to fundamental ideals of human growth and development. The dominant philosophy in American, British, perhaps now global, education has been to encourage cultural uniformity and dutiful citizens. Social efficiency in educational terms means that the main purpose of education is to turn out productive workers, which means a curriculum designed to sort and order human beings, principally through the mechanism of testing.

Dewey's ideas in particular support the development of human beings as democratic citizens, respecting both the diversity of human beings and our need for social engagement, something that is even more necessary at a time when society has never been more unequal in its distribution of resources and life opportunities. Returning to Polanyi is instructive:

To allow the market mechanism to be sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment ... would result in the demolition of society (Polanyi, 1944: 73)

Thatcher's famous pronouncement just four decades after Polanyi, that "there is no such thing as society" (*Women's Own* magazine, October 31: 1987), shows that the 'demolition of society' is fully a part of the neoliberal project. The promotion of that market mechanism to the position of sole director in educational institutions has meant emphasis on university administration and management, on systems in thrall to economic forces - and away from a consideration of 'the person in the process'.

Whatever happened to humanistic education was not due to its own internal contradictions. Rather, this was a viable, flourishing educational movement which lost its power and influence because its focus above all on human freedom was seen as threatening by authoritarian ideological conservatives. Before presenting a deeper exploration of humanistic education by describing Carl Rogers' model of person-centred education, the final section here focuses on the significance of Rogers' educational background in the development of this model.

3.6 Carl Rogers and the development of person-centred education

Rogers' schooling, in the second decade of the twentieth century, was predictable and routine, even irrelevant to him (Kirschenbaum, 2007: 14). However, life on his father's farm played a significant part in his ideas about education. Indeed, the roots of Rogers'

interest in self-directed education may well have begun when he was thirteen as he developed a passion for studying moths:

I began my first independent study project, as it would be termed today. I obtained books on moths, I found and raised their caterpillars. I hatched the eggs and raised caterpillars through their whole series of moults, into the cocoons, until the 12-month cycle was complete and they emerged again as moths ... in my own very small and specialized field I became something of a biologist. (qv, Kirschenbaum, 2007: 12)

It is notable that he did not share his excitement about his moth project with his teacher or fellow students, because –This consuming project wasn't in any way a part of my education. Education was what went on in school. A teacher wouldn't be interested..." (Rogers, 1973: 2).

His first years at University of Wisconsin similarly made little long-term impression. Again, activities outside formal education were found to be most meaningful, particularly the experience of one leaderless voluntary group that was encouraged to make its own decisions, offering Rogers an early example of facilitative leadership (Kirschenbaum, 2007: 18).

It is also significant to note that Rogers was a religious young man, having grown up in a strict and uncompromising religious and ethical family atmosphere and that much of his early University education was in a religious education programme. In 1924, aged twenty-two, Rogers took a course of study at Union Theological Seminary in New York, a college intended to prepare its students for ordination into the church. However, it

seems that Rogers chose it because ~~it~~ was the most liberal in the country and an intellectual leader in religious work” (Kirschenbaum, 2007:43) and reports later that it was ~~—~~incredibly free” (Russell, 2002: 86).

The turning point in his religious life seems to have been a five-month long trip to China in 1922, during which his religious views liberalized considerably, along with much else, as he acknowledged much later: ~~—~~from the date of this trip, my goals, values, aims, and philosophy have been my own.” (Rogers, qv. Kirschenbaum, 2007:25). Once again, though, his significant learning was from his personal experience of the world and away from formal educational settings.

A year later, he registered for several courses at Teachers College, Columbia University, including a Philosophy of Education course run by William Heard Kilpatrick, a student of John Dewey and famous in his own right as a progressive educator. Here, Rogers experienced small group discussions and group problem-solving approaches, which he immediately put into practice in the religious education classes he oversaw as director of religious education for a church at weekends.

In 1926, Rogers moved fully over to Teacher’s College in order to study clinical and educational psychology (permanently leaving formalized religion at the same time). As Rogers’ biographer, Howard Kirschenbaum says, ~~—~~although he did not turn again to education as a primary focus for several decades, it is apparent how deeply Rogers’ own teaching style and his subsequent educational thinking were rooted in the progressive tradition” (Kirschenbaum, 2007: 48).

Given his record of learning from *experience* - the moths project, the China trip, the discussion groups and so on - this was the basic premise he took from Dewey's philosophy of education and, beginning as a psychological counsellor working with students, Rogers learnt, slowly, from his own experience, that giving advice and explaining facts did not help. He learnt that if he trusted them as essentially competent human beings, was truly himself with them, and tried to understand them as they felt and perceived themselves from the inside, then a constructive process was initiated. Rogers found that his classrooms became more exciting places of learning, as (he) ceased to be a *teacher*" (Rogers, 1983: 26). He developed these ideas, testing them in practice, over several decades, until he began writing about them in the 1950s and much more so in the 1960s, which began his period of greatest influence in education.

Rogers' special contribution to humanistic education is his explication of the conditions that facilitate personal growth:

"When a facilitator creates, even to a modest degree, a classroom climate characterised by all that she can achieve of realness, prizing and empathy; when she trusts the constructive tendency of the individual and the group; then she discovers that she has inaugurated an educational revolution." (Rogers, 1983: 128)

These conditions emerged directly from both his clinical experience and from his research as a psychotherapist, during which he quickly began to see how the changes he encountered in persons in therapy - significant learning - could be transferable to other contexts. For instance, in 1959, he writes that "some adaptation for education of the

learning process which takes place in psychotherapy seems like a promising possibility" (Rogers, 1959: 233). He developed this 'promising possibility' over the next two decades or so into a substantial and robust model, presented at length in *Freedom to Learn* (1969, 1983). However, Kirschenbaum suggests (2007: 383) that the basis of Rogers' philosophy could be summarized in one sentence from his very first writing about education:

"We cannot teach another person directly, we can only facilitate his learning" (Rogers, 1951)

It is a point well-made and it brings us to the centrality of the relationship between facilitator and learner in creating the climate for freedom to learn, which is explored in detail in the next chapter, which considers Rogers' person-centred model of education.

Chapter Four: The person-centred model of education

...the empowering of persons, the encouragement of self-direction, and the enhancement of learning by the whole person ... constitute a profoundly revolutionary approach to education in this society (Rogers, 1983: 250)

This chapter presents a graphical illustration of Carl Rogers' person-centred model of education with explanation and development of the various elements in the model, the relationships between them and its characteristics. Evidential support for the model is presented from both educational research and the neuroscience perspective.

4.1 Carl Rogers' person-centred model of education

Rogers neatly summarises the key elements of his model:

When a facilitator creates, even to a modest degree, a classroom climate characterized by all that she can achieve of realness, prizing, and empathy; when she trusts the constructive tendency of the individual and the group; then she discovers that she has inaugurated an educational revolution (Rogers, 1983: 128).

The dramatic result of creating such a classroom climate is that:

Learning of a different quality, proceeding at a different pace, with a greater degree of pervasiveness, occurs. Feelings – positive, negative, confused – become a part of the classroom experience. Learning becomes life and a very vital life at that. The student is on the way, sometimes

excitedly, sometimes reluctantly, to becoming a learning, changing being
(Rogers, 1983: 128).

This is illustrated in Figure 4, which borrows some aspects of the quantum mechanical atomic structure model to point up the dynamic complexity of Rogers' model:

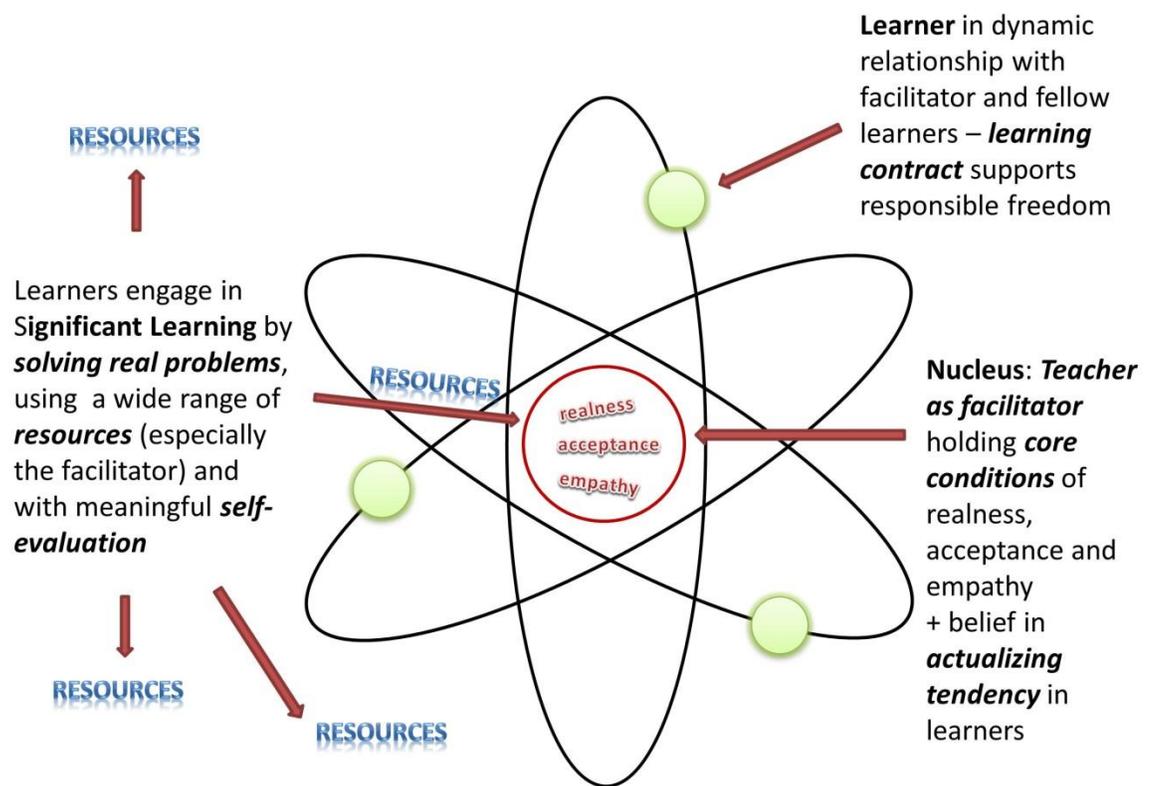


Figure 4: the person-centred model - creating the climate for freedom to learn

Our world is as it is because of the way atoms are arranged, because of atomic structure.

The world of education is as it is because of the way relations between persons are

arranged. Just as atoms are the building blocks of the universe, relationships are the building blocks of the person-centred approach to education. This atomic model of 'relationship' shows it as not fixed but adaptive and additive: a model of growth - and also of potential energy:

We are working hard to release the incredible energy in the atom and the nucleus of the atom. If we do not devote equal energy – yes, and equal money – to the release of the potential of the individual person then the enormous discrepancy between our level of physical energy resources and human energy resources will doom us to a deserved and universal destruction. (Rogers, 1983: 132)

The nucleus of the person-centred model is the facilitator holding the *core* person-centred attitudes of realness, acceptance and empathy. A dynamic constructive climate is created which fosters human flourishing and so the freedom to learn. Motivation to learn springs from the actualising tendency (see below) of the learners, which is triggered and developed experientially by permitting learners the freedom to solve problems that are meaningful to them and by offering a wide variety of available resources, including the facilitator herself.

The term 'person-centered' was adopted specifically because Rogers recognised that, although he was applying the significant elements of his client-centred therapy in the field of education, it was not therapy. The new term helps to point up the difference, permanently emphasising the central focus on persons in education (Rogers, 2002: 253).

Finally, it is important to point out that the graphical representation might seem to place the facilitator at the centre of the model. This is not the case. The facilitator is central to creating the climate of growth within which the learner experiences a freedom to learn, but it is absolutely clear that —*the learner is the center*” (Rogers, 1983: 190).

The following explanatory sections examine each of the different elements of the model principally by reference to Rogers’ 1959 article —*Significant learning in therapy and in education*”, which is a direct comparison of the conditions in psychotherapy and education and as such is the most comprehensive early expression of Rogers’ model of person-centred education. This is followed in most cases by reference to *Freedom to Learn for the ’80s* (Rogers, 1983), which is his most recent comprehensive formulation of the model. Such a strategy will attempt to show what, if any, are the refinements and changes in the model over time in order to present a complete picture.

4.1.1 The actualising tendency

Rogers holds a positive philosophical view of human nature as —*basically trustworthy organisms, trustworthy persons*” (Rogers, 1978: 250) and his model is fundamentally driven by the *‘actualising tendency’*, seen as the basic and constructive motive underlying all human action:

...the most impressive fact about the individual human being seems to be the directional tendency toward wholeness, toward actualisation of potentialities (Rogers, 1978: 240)

The one, single goal of person-centred education is to create an atmosphere that promotes a person's actualising tendency: —The teacher is attempting to develop a quality of climate in the classroom and a quality of personal relationship with students that will permit these natural tendencies to come to fruition” (Rogers, 1983: 127). This means that the facilitator relies on the actualising tendency, hypothesising —that students who are in real contact with life problems wish to learn, want to grow, seek to find out, hope to master, desire to create.” (Rogers, 1959: 238) So, the facilitator is crucially important in the model because she creates the conditions for significant learning, the process by which learners grow and fulfil their potential.

4.1.2 Significant learning

Significant learning is the outcome of the model, a process of change and growth experienced by learners:

By significant learning I mean learning which is more than an accumulation of facts. It is learning which makes a difference - in the individual's behavior, in the course of action he chooses in the future, in his attitudes and in his personality. It is a pervasive learning which is not just an accretion of knowledge, but which interpenetrates with every portion of his existence. (Carl Rogers, 1959: 232)

In this early statement of his person-centred approach as applied to education, Rogers highlights the full extent of change in a person when significant learning takes place: —learning which makes a difference”. Almost a quarter of a century later, Rogers

reinforces that early encapsulation and prioritises feelings and emotions as part of the educational goals of personal change and growth:

Significant learning combines the logical and the intuitive, the intellect and the feelings, the concept and the experience, the idea and the meaning. When we learn in that way, we are whole. (Rogers, 1983)

He also offers the following elements in this more precise later definition (Rogers, 1983: 20):

- It has a quality of personal involvement (the whole person)
- It is self-initiated
- It is pervasive
- It is evaluated by the learner
- Its essence is meaning

Significant learning involves feelings and ideas, it is owned and evaluated by the learner and it makes a difference to the learner because it is meaningful. This is the opposite of the passive, transmission view of education, which Rogers calls ‘jug and mug’ (Rogers, 1983: 187) and Freire calls the ‘banking’ concept of education (Freire, 1970: 72). Rather, as long as the conditions that promote growth are present, learners engage with the learning process at every level of their being.

4.1.3 The conditions for significant learning: facilitative attitudes

Having considered how significant learning occurs in therapy, Rogers finds that "an overall implication for education would be that the task of the teacher is to create a facilitating classroom climate in which significant learning can take place" (Rogers, 1959: 236). A classroom climate focused on growth is the means to the end of significant learning, so the central focus of the teacher's effort is to develop a relationship, an atmosphere, conducive to self-motivated, self-actualising, significant learning. Of the conditions that facilitate learning, the most important is the attitudinal quality of the interpersonal relationship between facilitator and learner:

If you trust them, they will respond to that trust. If you can openly be your real self, they will respond to you as a person. If you nourish their exploring, they will grow. If you feed their curiosity, they will learn. If you care for them as persons, they will return that caring. If you can understand their feelings, it will expand and blossom and bloom, and then they will learn more in reading and math, in all the subjects. They will learn to think for themselves, they'll find ways of solving problems, they will speak for themselves as independent persons, they will respond with hard, disciplined work to the climate you have created. They will begin to discover the enormous strength and potential that resides within each one of themselves. (Rogers et al, 2013: 188)

The three core attitudes are realness, acceptance and empathy and these are considered next. However, note that terminology for the facilitative attitudes is expressed differently at different times as Rogers' theory develops, in particular as he tries to moderate such psychological language as congruence or unconditional positive regard in order to

speak more directly to the world of education. As each of the three facilitative attitudes is considered here, their alternative nomenclature is also noted (as A.K.A. or ‘Also Known As’). Usage of ‘realness’, ‘acceptance’ and ‘empathy’ here should be understood as shorthand for the sake of visual clarity in the graphical visualisation of the model and that dominant usage follows Rogers’ final formulations in *Freedom to Learn for the 80’s* (1983): (1) realness; (2) prizing, acceptance, trust; (3) empathic understanding.

Facilitative attitudes (1): Realness

- A.K.A. congruence, genuineness, transparency, freedom from façades.

Learning will be facilitated, it would seem, if the teacher is congruent. This involves the teacher's being the person that he is, and being openly aware of the attitudes he holds. It means that he feels acceptant toward his own real feelings. Thus he becomes a real person in the relationship with his students. (Rogers, 1959: 237)

Thus if the teacher feels angry, sensitive, sympathetic, "because he accepts his feelings as *his* feelings, he has no need to impose them on his students, or to insist that they feel the same way." (Rogers, 1959: 237) The teacher is above all else a *person*, ~~not~~ a faceless embodiment of a curricular requirement, or a sterile pipe through which knowledge is passed from one generation to the next" (Rogers, 1959: 237). Rogers sees realness or genuineness as the most basic of the facilitative attitudes: —~~W~~hen the facilitator is a real person, being what she is, entering into a relationship with the learner without presenting a front or a façade, she is much more likely to be effective" (Rogers, 1983: 121). Encounters with learners are authentic and directly personal and, as Lyon says —~~w~~hen this happens, we begin to allow people to be." (Rogers, 2013: 1).

Facilitative attitudes (2) : Acceptance

- A.K.A. Unconditional positive regard, prizing, trust, caring, nonpossessive caring.

–Significant learning may take place if the teacher can accept the student as he is, can provide an unconditional positive regard” (Rogers, 1959: 237). Rogers admits his difficulty in accurately naming this attitude in the later formulation, so he uses several terms - prizing, acceptance and trust:

–I think of it as prizing the learner, prizing her feelings, her opinions, her person. It is a caring for the learner, but a nonpossessive caring. It is an acceptance of this other individual as a separate person, having worth in her own right. It is a basic trust – a belief that this other person is somehow fundamentally trustworthy ... The facilitator’s prizing or acceptance of the learner is an operational expression of her essential confidence and trust in the capacity of the human organism” (Rogers, 1983: 124).

Underlying this attitude is a trust in the human organism, its capacity for developing its potential, given the freedom so to do.

Facilitative attitudes (3) : Empathy

- A.K.A. Empathic understanding.

–The more empathic and understanding a therapist or teacher is, the more constructive learning and change is possible” (Rogers, 2013: 139).

The teacher who –can understand the feelings the student possesses ... and who can empathize with the feelings of fear, anticipation, and discouragement involved in meeting new material, will have done a great deal toward setting the conditions for learning”

(Rogers, 1959: 237). The likelihood of significant learning increases “when the teacher has the ability to understand the student’s reaction from the inside, has a sensitive awareness of the way the process of education and learning seems *to the student*” (Rogers, 1983: 125). This is very different to the usual evaluative understanding and is usefully thought of as “standing in the other’s shoes, of viewing the world through the student’s eyes” (Rogers, 1983: 125). Empathy is thus trying to understand how the process of education, of learning, seems to the learner. It is not judging, but rather understanding the student from their own point of view.

If the fully developed model with the facilitative attitudes described here at its centre looks clear, simple even, that is no accident. Rogers has synthesised and applied practical and theoretical lessons from research and from his considerable experience into clarifying the essence of what really works in order to free up the learning process for persons. However, this simple model is by no means easy to apply and takes real effort on the part of the would-be facilitator – as Rogers says “A new approach to education demands new ways of being” (Rogers, 1978: 80). For instance, the core attitudes “do not appear suddenly, in some miraculous manner, in the facilitator of learning. Instead, they come about by taking risks, through *acting* on tentative hypotheses” (Rogers, 1983: 127). Rogers is clear, however, that if the facilitator is not feeling especially empathic or accepting, then realness is the most important: “. . . if one has little understanding of the student’s inner world and a dislike for the students or their behaviour, it is almost certainly more constructive to be *real* than to be pseudoempathic or to put on a façade of

caring” (Rogers, 1983: 126). But, even this is difficult and ~~only~~ slowly can we learn to be truly real” (Rogers, 1983: 127).

4.1.4 A further condition: perception of these attitudes

Because students are so used to educators adopting a façade and playing a role as part of a system of surreptitious control, they are ~~even~~ more suspicious than clients in therapy” (Rogers, 1974: 273) and thus are sceptical about teachers who are real, accepting and empathetic with them. Rogers therefore identifies ~~a~~ further condition for learning by the whole person, which is especially important in education: the students must, to some extent, perceive that these attitudinal elements exist in the teacher” (Rogers, 1974: 273).

4.2 Characteristics of person-centred education

The main part of this section considers the characteristic features of a person-centred education. However, these are given clarity by first of all comparing our inherited educational system with the person-centred model, and by clarifying what person-centred education is *not*, something Rogers did quite early in his writing about education (see especially Rogers, 1959).

4.2.1 Two models of education compared: freedom and control

Rogers compares traditional and person-centred education, using the metaphor of a continuum of freedom to learn at one end and power and control at the other, and along which ~~every~~ educational effort, every teacher, every institution of learning could locate itself at some appropriate point...” (Rogers, 1983: 185):



Figure 5: the continuum of freedom and control

Conventional education is primarily about power and control over learners. The person-centred mode is at the opposite end of the continuum, prioritising trust in the human organism's potential to flourish and grow in conditions of freedom to learn. For Rogers, freedom is –essentially an inner thing, something which exists in the living person, quite aside from any of the outward choice of alternatives which we so often think of as constituting freedom (Rogers, 1962: 51). He talks of freedom *from* and freedom *to*, where –a close, warm, understanding relationship” fosters –freedom *from* such things as threat, and freedom *to* choose and be” (Rogers, 1962: 53).

4.2.2 Education as we know it: passive, authoritarian and fearful

Rogers is consistently clear about the implications of his model for the prevalent arrangement of education: –This is a direction which leads sharply away from current educational practices and educational trends” (Rogers, 1959: 240). He makes two main specific points in this early work. First of all that lectures, talks or expositions are acceptable, but only if requested by learners, certainly not if imposed. More startling is that, secondly, he includes no programme of external evaluation, no exams:

I believe that the testing of the student's achievements in order to see if he meets some criterion held by the teacher, is directly contrary to the implications of therapy for significant learning. In therapy, the examinations are set by life (Rogers, 1959: 239).

He allows that requirements for life situations demand passing some test or examination and that, indeed, "the natural place of evaluation in life is as a ticket of entrance" but that it should never be used –as a club over the recalcitrant" (Rogers, 1959: 239).

A more direct statement of Rogers' views on what education is *not* was made even earlier, in 1952 (and not published until five years later, see Rogers, 1957), in a deliberately provocative speech to a conference at Harvard Business School:

My experience has been that I cannot teach another person how to teach ... we would do away with examinations ... grades and credits (Rogers, 1957: 152-4).

Billed as a demonstration of 'student-centered teaching', Rogers' simply-stated convictions presented a challenge to the entire edifice of conventional education and prompted a tumultuous reaction, becoming in the process one of his "best known, most widely quoted and reprinted treatises on education"(Kirschenbaum, 2007: 384).

In a later piece, Rogers describes the major characteristics of –conventional education as we have known it for a long time" (Rogers, 1977: 295), as follows:

1. The teachers are the possessors of knowledge, the students the expected recipients.
2. The lecture, or some means of verbal instruction, is the major means of getting knowledge into the recipients.
3. The teachers are the possessors of power, the students the ones who obey.

4. Rule by authority is the accepted policy in the classroom.
5. Trust is at a minimum – the teacher does not trust the students to work well without supervision and constant checking, students distrust the teacher's motives, honesty, fairness, competence.
6. Students are best governed by being kept in a state of fear – not any more physical punishment, perhaps, but fear of being seen as 'not good enough' and a constant fear of failure.
7. Democracy and its values are ignored and scorned in practice.
8. There is no place for whole persons in the educational system, only for their intellects.

Rogers elaborates in the article, but I would contend that even this bare list shows recognisable aspects of our own 21st Century education system, evoking an image of perfectly ordered rows of students, all doing the same thing at the same time, passively waiting for The Teacher to educate them and trying their best not to do anything 'out of place' for fear of the consequences. The place of the learner is defined by The Authority and the student is subordinate in the power-relation. This is the dominant education system as we have come to know it, "the tragedy of education in our time" (Rogers, 1962: 65).

4.2.3 Education as it might be: building freedom

Rogers asks "If you want to give your students a freedom to learn, how can you do it?" and then proceeds to offer a number of –specific approaches, methods, techniques for "the teacher who wishes to step into the chilly waters of classroom innovation" (Rogers, 1983: 147). However, he is careful to add that the best procedure is to –develop a growing methodology of your own" (Rogers, 1983: 147), an important reminder that the person-centred approach to education is not a set of techniques or a method for teaching, but rather a way of being:

—...we are not talking about a method or a technique. A person-centered way of being in an educational situation is something that one grows into. It is a set of values, not easy to achieve, placing emphasis on the dignity of the individual, the importance of personal choice, the significance of responsibility, the joy of creativity. It is a philosophy, built on a foundation of the democratic way, empowering each individual." (Rogers, 1983: 95)

Bearing this in mind, however, there are a number of characteristics that might typify the person-centred approach and five of the most typical are presented in this section.

Teacher as facilitator

People are just as wonderful as sunsets if I can let them be... When I look at a sunset, I don't find myself saying, "Soften the orange a bit on the right hand corner"... I don't try to control a sunset. I watch with awe as it unfolds. (Rogers, 1969)

This quote points to the underlying philosophical difference between teaching and facilitating in the person-centred model, where –the most difficult thing in teaching is to

let learn". Because much of the power in the model resides with students, teachers must realise that they are not dominant in the learning process and must be comfortable with sharing power in this non-authoritarian role (Rogers, 1983: 306). Rogers sees teaching as ~~a~~ "vastly over-rated function" (Rogers, 1983: 119) which only makes sense in an unchanging environment. In our constantly changing world, ~~C~~hangingness, a reliance on *process* rather than upon static knowledge, is the only thing that makes any sense" (Rogers, 1983: 120) and therefore ~~the~~ *facilitation of change and learning*" (Rogers, 1983: 120) becomes the goal of education. So, if educators will allow themselves to be trusting and open, this will help create a nurturing climate within which every student will realise their potential and grow to be all that they can be (Rogers, 2013: 186).

Solving real problems

In addition to the facilitative conditions, "significant learning occurs more readily in relation to situations perceived as problems" so that "the first implication for education might well be that we permit the student, at any level, to be in real contact with the relevant problems of his existence, so that he perceives problems and issues that he wishes to resolve" (Rogers, 1959: 236). Problem-solving is an effective alternative to the transmission model of education because it allows meaning to be constructed from the previous experience of the learner: ~~S~~tudents are often insulated from the real problems of life. If they are to be free, then they must be allowed to face problems that are real to them and relevant to the course at hand" (Rogers, 1983: 148).

The use of resources

—Instead of spending time organising lesson plans and lectures, facilitative teachers focus on providing relevant and imaginative resources and supporting their effective use” (Rogers, 1983: 148). A wide number of resources would therefore be offered for use in order to resolve the problems that learners attempt to solve. This use of resources is central to the person-centred model of education, because "In therapy the resources for learning one's self lie within ... in education ... there are many resources of knowledge, of techniques, of theory, which constitute raw material for use" (Rogers, 1959: 237). Rogers gives examples – books, articles, laboratory room and equipment, tools, maps, films, recordings and so on – but emphasises the availability of the knowledge and experience of the person-centred facilitator as —the most important resource” (Rogers, 1983: 149).

Contracts and responsible freedom

Contracts between students and facilitators are an open-ended device that help "to give both security and responsibility within an atmosphere of freedom ... a sort of transitional experience between complete freedom to learn... but that is within the limits of some institutional demand or course requirement" (Rogers, 1983: 149). Contracts thus help to assuage the uncertainties and insecurities of the facilitator whilst allowing students to share in planning decisions, including evaluation and grading.

Self-Evaluation

The locus of evaluation ... resides definitely in the learner. Its essence is meaning. When such learning takes place, the element of meaning-to-the-learner is built into the whole experience. (Rogers, 2013: 62)

Responsibility in learning is a central element of the person-centred model and self-evaluation is key: “It is when the individual has to take responsibility for deciding which criteria are important to him, what goals must be achieved, and the extent to which he has achieved those goals, that he truly learns to take responsibility for himself and his directions” (Rogers, 1983: 158). Therefore, instead of the essentially meaningless activities of grading and routine testing there should be some degree of self-evaluation, because:

“Even when the impetus or stimulus comes from the outside, the sense of discovery, of reaching out, of grasping and comprehending, comes from within. It is pervasive. It makes a difference in the behavior, the attitudes, perhaps even the personality of the learner. It is evaluated by the learner. He knows whether it is meeting his need, whether it leads toward what he wants to know, whether it illuminates the dark area of ignorance he is experiencing” (Rogers, 2013: 62).

In addition to these five characteristic elements of a person-centred model of education, Rogers suggests using the learning resources of the community, student peer-teaching, facilitator-learning groups and encounter groups (this latter assumes central importance in Rogers’ later work and writing, but is beyond the scope of this thesis). He also somewhat unexpectedly turns to Skinner’s operant conditioning to suggest the ‘programmed instruction’ of teaching machines, which might well be used tactically to fill knowledge gaps within a context of freedom to learn - but used cautiously so as not to become “a substitute for thinking in larger patterns” (Rogers, 1983: 157). Provision should also be made in the model for those who prefer to be instructed and guided: “It does not seem

reasonable to impose freedom on anyone who does not desire it” (Rogers, 1983: 154). As Rogers points out, there is a wealth of ideas and procedures, a number of books and articles written about person-centred or humanistic education, so it is worth reiterating at this point the centrality of the attitudes of the facilitator: "None of the methods ... will be effective unless the teacher's genuine desire is to create a climate in which there is freedom to learn." (Rogers, 1983: 157)

4.3 Supporting evidence: the facts are friendly

...the facts are always friendly, Every bit of evidence one can acquire, in any area, leads one that much closer to what is true. And being closer to the truth can never be a harmful or dangerous or unsatisfying thing (Rogers, 1961:25).

Like Dewey, Rogers was essentially a pragmatist and his single criterion was —“Does it work? Is it effective?” (Rogers, 1967: 358). Rogers never saw evidence and the humanistic approach to be incompatible – indeed, he is seen as having “revolutionized research in psychotherapy” by making use of early sound recording equipment and recording and evaluating his therapy sessions (Aspy and Roebuck in Cain, 2002: 247). The development of his various theories over time always sprang from this abiding concern for evidence and he consistently called for verifiable evidence to support his hypotheses. However, for Rogers, evidence of educational effectiveness was more likely to be phenomenological than experimental evidence – for a study of human beings, the most important information was what a learner’s experience meant to them (Aspy and

Roebuck in Cain, 2002: 247). Despite this, he did encourage other, more conventional, researchers, as —~~to~~ facts are *always* friendly”.

It is notable that in the first comprehensive expression of his model in education (Rogers, 1959), he several times points to a lack of evidence for his theory at this point in time.

The second edition of *Freedom to Learn* (Rogers, 1983) includes a chapter, which Rogers cites as one of the most important in the book, reporting on extensive research into person-centred education carried out in the years after publication of the first edition.

This section, then, outlines significant empirical research over the last sixty years on the effectiveness of the person-centred approach in education.

4.3.1 Initial research

When he published his landmark 1957 article on —The necessary and sufficient conditions of therapeutic personality change”, Rogers offered a theoretical framework that was amenable to testing. A study by Barrett-Lennard (1962) is an early attempt to do this. It uses a ‘relationship inventory’ to investigate the effect of the attitudes (genuineness, acceptance and empathy) held by the therapist on personality change and tentatively confirms the hypothesis that client perception of the attitudes facilitates constructive personality change. Rogers expresses certainty that this would also be true in an educational context, allowing us to predict —~~which~~ classrooms would contain learners, and which would contain prisoners” (Rogers, 1974: 277). He also reports (Rogers, 1983: 128) on a number of similarly supportive small studies that began to accumulate in the early 1960s, but by far the most significant research is that by Aspy and Roebuck In the

United States and other countries, and replicated later by Tausch in Germany. Rogers calls this research “the overwhelming research confirmation” of the effectiveness of the person-centred approach (Rogers, 1983: 190).

4.3.2 Research confirmation

Rogers begins the *Freedom to Learn* chapter reviewing this research by making a case for the data-averse reader to read on because the research on the person-centred approach to education:

1. shows that students learn more, attend school more often, are more creative and more capable of problem solving;
2. provides the facts and support to convince skeptical administrators or boards of education (Rogers, 1983: 197).

Aspy and Roebuck

Working as the National Consortium for Humanizing Education (NCHE – the Consortium consisted of educators and school systems which spanned North America and was created to promote, develop and implement humanistic education), David Aspy and Flora Roebuck carried out a substantial number of both large and small field studies and research projects over the course of seventeen years in order to investigate relationships between Rogers’ attitudinal conditions and the learning process. “Is person-centred education effective?” is their basic research question and their chosen model focuses on some aspects of interpersonal relationship that could be defined, quantified and analysed, including Rogers' facilitative conditions of empathy, congruence and

positive regard. The model then allowed a move from subjective data to precise measures, mediated by judgements about statistical reliability and predictive validity.

Rogers helpfully summarises some of their many published articles, which show that “the levels of these interpersonal conditions can be measured with reasonable objectivity”

(Rogers, 1974: 277):

- It has been shown that [the interpersonal conditions of realness, acceptance and empathy] are significantly and 'positively related to a greater gain in reading achievement in third-graders (Aspy, 1965);
- They are positively related to cognitive growth (Aspy, 1967; Aspy, 1969; Aspy & Hadlock, 1967); to levels of cognitive thinking and to the amount of student-initiated talk (Aspy & Roebuck, 1970).
- Aspy has shown that it is possible to select, quite accurately, teaching personnel who possess those interpersonal qualities that have been shown to be specifically facilitative of whole-person learning (Aspy, 1971).
- Aspy has shown that the attitudinal qualities ... can be assessed by the teacher for himself or herself, or by others. He also has demonstrated that a school can use such measures to increase the effectiveness of the learning climate in its classrooms (Aspy, 1972).

Aspy and Roebuck offer their own succinct overview of their research, that “In multiple-data sets from schools in 42 states and seven foreign countries, we found consistently that students do better when their teachers provide high levels of empathy, congruence and positive regard” (Aspy and Roebuck in Cain, 2002: 247).

Tausch

Reinhard Tausch (with Anne-Marie Tausch) very thoroughly replicated the Aspy and Roebuck research in Germany over a decade and reported similar results. They extended their investigations to include counsellors, parents and, interestingly, textbook materials. They investigated teacher-pupil interaction and in all of their school studies the facilitative conditions were proved to have significant positive outcomes. They also investigated the encounter group as a means of helping teachers and found that the experience of extended encounter groups led to long-lasting positive changes in teacher's personalities, leading to changes in their teacher-behaviour towards higher empathy and trust. As Rogers points out, the replicated study in Germany agrees with the Aspy and Roebuck studies in all essential respects, validating the outcomes (Rogers, 1983: 219).

4.3.3 Further support

Hattie

John Hattie's *Visible Learning* (2009) is not research into person-centred education per se; rather it is one of the largest collections of evidence-based research about what works best in education (15 years' research covering 80 million students, using 800 meta-studies and 50,000 smaller studies). Hattie reports that almost anything works, so the trick is to find out what works best – and not everything here looks person-centred. However, one

important aspect reported under “Teacher-student relationships” is the development of person-centred ‘skills’ such as “listening, empathy, caring and having positive regard for others” (Hattie, 2008: 118).

Cornelius-White

Jeffrey Cornelius-White and Adam P. Harbaugh’s *Learner-Centered Instruction:*

Building Relationships for Student Success (2010) is another meta-analysis, but this time of person-centred teaching. The research covers significant studies from 1948 to 2004 and reports that person-centred methods are “highly associated with student success” (Cornelius-White, 2010: 5).

Lyon

Harold Lyon (Rogers, 2013) reports on his own (with others) research in two German medical Universities from 2009-2011, which builds solidly on the earlier Aspy and Roebuck research, but focuses on low-cost interventions to encourage teachers to become more person-centred (which he shows is very possible).

Although the emphasis varies and some of the terminology differs among these empirical studies, all agree that there is a strong positive correlation between teachers’ levels of realness, acceptance and empathy and student development. Students learn more when the person-centred attitudes are present. Current neuroscience research reinforces these findings, particularly in regard to the integration of the cognitive and affective domains.

4.3.4 Evidence from neuroscience

In his overview of humanistic education, Patterson states that it is not restricted to cognitive learning as a goal of education:

It includes as goals the development of good attitudes and feelings – it is the education of the emotions, the fostering of adequate emotional development as a legitimate and desirable goal of education. (Patterson, 1973: 14)

Four decades on, we can ask whether the movement of humanistic education was right to devote such focus on human emotions in learning, or whether it was simply a reflection of its times, of that time of inward-looking spirituality, of creativity and innovation. What is the empirical evidence?

As far back as the 1820s Pestalozzi tested out his theory that emotional security underpins significant learning and that institutions must take full account of this (Gutek, 2012: 238). Dewey and the progressive educators built on Pestalozzi with concern for meeting the needs of ‘the whole child’. In the 1970s, Aspy and Roebuck analysed 200,000 hours of classroom interactions in order to explore the relationship between self-concept enhancement (the affective domain) and cognitive development. They found that the conditions that enhance self-concept promote both cognitive and emotional growth (Purkey and Aspy in Cain, 2002: 252). Humanistic educator, Arthur Combs, was especially prescient, saying that:

The process [of learning] is both cognitive and affective. It requires knowledge or new experience, of course, but feeling and emotion about these experiences as well. It is deeply influenced by such human factors as students': beliefs about themselves (self-concept), need to know, experiences of threat, challenge, belonging, and relevance" (Combs, 1978: 116)

With the demise of progressivism and the humanistic education movement, educational research focus has shifted away somewhat from whole person learning – however, current research in neuroscience fully supports these earlier findings, particularly in regard to the integration of the cognitive and affective domains. This section presents findings from three significant neuroscience writers and discusses their implications for education.

Sousa

David Sousa reviews a number of research findings from the advent of fMRI scans in the 1990s and presents the following implications that “could have an impact on pedagogy” (Sousa, 2010: 9-24):

1. Movement enhances learning and memory - movement brings extra fuel-carrying blood to the brain and allows the brain to access more long-term memory areas;
2. Emotions have a great impact on learning - teachers need to understand the biology of emotions, especially stress, and that learners need to feel physically safe and emotionally secure.

3. The social and cultural climate affects learning – here Sousa presents the things that affect an individual’s self-esteem (and should be strengthened): Openness of communication, level of expectations, amount of recognition and appreciation of effort, involvement in decision-making, degree of caring.
4. The brain can grow new neurons - brain growth (neurogenesis) can be enhanced by good nutrition, regular exercise and low levels of stress.
5. The brain can rewire itself - neuroplasticity happens faster than previously thought, as a result of environmental input – and throughout the human lifespan.
6. Short-term memory is not so temporary – essentially consciously processed information can be held for some weeks in the working memory, but that sense and meaning are the brain’s key criteria in deciding what to encode into the long-term memory, so teachers should “focus on strategies that enhance retention of learning and on curricula that students perceive as relevant to their lives” (Sousa 2010: 18).

Sousa’s findings very clearly support the person-centred model with its focus on the affective domain, emotional security, emotional climate, personal relevance, openness, caring, and so on. As Rogers says, —No child should ever experience the sense of failure imposed by our grading system, by criticism and ridicule from teachers and others, by rejection when he or she is slow to comprehend” (Rogers, 1983: 137).

Damasio

In his writing on education, Rogers criticises a system that privileges parts of people rather than whole people, arguing that it dehumanises human beings. This separation of mind and body goes back at least to Descartes and his famous statement of mind-body dualism, *‘I think therefore I am’*. Neuroscientist Antonio Damasio calls this *‘Descartes’ error’* and begins to overturn this idea of the disembodied brain by researching how our brains, our bodies, our minds, our thoughts and our feelings are so interwoven by system upon system that they cannot be separated.

Damasio’s influential *‘somatic-marker hypothesis’* posits a *pre-reason* mechanism whereby, as we review our options to solve a problem, we experience a gut feeling which then *‘marks’* the option we should either choose or avoid. The feeling itself is about the *body*, hence *‘soma’* (Greek for *‘body’*). This suggests that our emotions act as a kind of *‘rudder’*, allowing us to guide judgment and action, a basic form of decision-making that allows people to respond appropriately in different situations (Damasio, 2010: 173).

Damasio makes the following very clear statements stemming from his research:

1. The human brain and the rest of the body constitute an indissociable organism;
2. The organism interacts with the environment as an ensemble: the interaction is neither of the body alone nor of the brain alone;
3. The physiological operations that we call mind are derived from the structural and functional ensemble rather than from the brain alone: mental phenomena can be

fully understood only in the context of an organism's interacting in an environment (Damasio, 2010: xxvii).

Immordino-Yang

Affective neuroscientist Mary Helen Immordino-Yang's research spans the difficult divide between neuroscience, psychology and education. Along with Damasio, she talks of emotion as evolution's way of helping us navigate and survive an ambivalent world and that "modern biology reveals humans to be fundamentally emotional and social creatures" (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007: 3). Those cognitive aspects used most heavily in education – learning, attention, memory, decision-making, motivation – are profoundly affected by emotion and subsumed within the process of emotion: "neither learning nor recall happen in a purely rational domain, divorced from emotions..." (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007: 9).

So, our emotions are integral to our thinking and our learning – yet we seem to take very little note of the affective domain in education. The educational environment itself is frequently marked by threat, which limits or negates our ability to learn. By trying to minimise the emotional aspects of learning, educators may in fact be encouraging students to develop the sorts of knowledge that inherently do not transfer well to real-world situations (Immordino-Yang & Damasio 2007: 9). In contrast, the person-centred model creates the very conditions for reducing threat in learning, as well as freeing learners to fully utilise the emotional aspects of their being:

Significant learning combines the logical and the intuitive, the intellect and the feelings, the concept and the experience, the idea and the meaning (Rogers, 1983: 20).

Based on her research, Immordino-Yang has proposed a number of strategies to help teachers use emotions in classroom learning that reflect how our organisms truly function. However, it seems to be the assumption that the suggested strategies will be implemented within the existing directive, controlling and hierarchical educational system which in its essence militates against the recognition of emotions in learning. The danger is that they would become just another educational technique and the overall functioning of the educational system itself would remain an insurmountable barrier to whole person learning. Rather than ‘implementing strategies’, teachers would be better to simply allow their students the freedom to learn which would naturally foster emotional connection within a constructive person-centred emotional climate.

The overwhelming weight of evidence supports Rogers in this bold assertion:

The day is now past when teachers or administrators can dismiss the person centered approach as an impossible mode of conducting education or as ineffective in promoting learning. The facts are all on the side of a person-centered approach (Rogers, 1983: 190).

The model of person-centred education has been shown to work. Students grow cognitively and emotionally, they think better and relate to others better, they learn more, are better readers, attend school more often, are more creative and more capable of problem solving. Students just do better.

Lyon states that with the person-centred approach –you can integrate the cognitive with the affective” (Rogers, 2013: 11). Neuroscientists Damasio and Immordino-Yang prove that not only can you integrate them, but that you have little choice, as our emotions are integral to rational thinking, guiding both judgment and action. The person-centred model is experiential if it is anything, fully allowing that the subtle dance between brain and body, rational thought and emotions has to be wholly included in education:

As recent advances in the neurobiology of emotions reveal, in the real world, cognition functions in the service of life-regulating goals, implemented by emotional machinery (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007: 9)

So, the most straightforward argument in favour of the model is that it works – people learn when they are free to learn, whereas, when the educational process is focussed on the needs of teachers or administrators, the needs of the system to control, for ‘discipline’ for its own sake, then people learn less well, if at all. One of the real strengths of the person-centred approach is that it helps people learn how to *be* in the classroom, and thus in their lives. Rogers also shows how we can *be* as educators in order to set the emotional climate for significant learning - he also indicates a number of approaches which have been used by teachers to build freedom in learning.

And yet, given all of this, it is hard to see where person-centred education exists today. As shown in previous chapters, the global neoliberal turn in education is one significant factor in this. However, there are other reasons for what Rogers himself called –a pattern of failure” in implementing the person-centred model (Rogers, 1983: 227) – and perhaps

there is also a damaging weakness in the model itself which made it unable to sustain itself in the face of unfavourable conditions.

This will be the subject of all that follows. Given that the model did not thrive and that conditions are no more favourable now, how might the model best flourish? What conditions are needed? What are the unfavourable conditions that need to change? Significantly, there is an attempt to propose a revised version of the model to encompass a more robust analysis of power.

However, the evolution of higher education as a full partner in the neoliberal experiment is at the opposite end of the continuum of freedom which enables significant learning for persons. Therefore, the next chapter considers just how much of a trap this has become for persons and for education, with reference to the central technology of the examination in the culture of efficiency and to Heidegger's concept of the enframing of Being.

Chapter Five: Education Enframed

This chapter presents the exam as symptomatic of the educational system as a whole. Fully a part of the culture, the ritual of the exam serves principally to discipline individuals towards standardised norms. This reading of the exam as a disciplinary technology is deepened by exploring Heidegger's special use of 'technology' in "The Question Concerning Technology", which does not try to say what technology is, but describes humanity's orientation to it – a central consideration from a person-centred approach. The chapter then illustrates Heidegger's powerful ideas by returning to the examination, a key educational 'technology' in what Heidegger calls 'Enframing', revealing the true essence of technology and the ways of thinking that lie behind and under it.

The two preceding chapters set the context for the person-centred model of education, describing the historical development of the university and the development of American education. Both areas clearly converge during the last few decades of the twentieth century, revealing a trend towards 'efficiency'. What follows here argues that it is the 'technology of efficiency' that brings the administrative progressives and the neoliberal managerialists together, presenting the imperative to explore technology. Having experienced the role of 'educational technologist' at a Russell Group University in the UK, I might seem well placed to offer specific insight into this. However, turning to Heidegger, we find that the essence of technology is not technological (Heidegger, 1977:

4) and that there is something deeper going on, something social, something historical, something concerning human Being itself.

The particular technology of the exam has become a foundational basis of and driver for the competitive and marketized global higher education system. Therefore, as a way of grounding Heidegger's thinking about the essence of technology, the exam is singled out for discussion, illustrated first of all by reference to ideas of ritual and with reference to Foucault's concepts of discipline and heterotopia.

5.1 Shush! The exam as ritual

A semi-serious feature in the Guardian newspaper called "What I'm really thinking: the exam invigilator" begins with the following description:

I see a lot of stress. Undergraduates who have crammed into the small hours and arrive looking gaunt, pale and anxious. Some simply can't cope and we have to let them out before their distress has an impact on others; some wander in looking confident, only to be visibly shaken when they turn over the exam paper and the reality of their lack of preparation becomes all too apparent ... I've seen it all: youngsters walking out, throwing up, even breaking into giggles. This is the sharp end of the educational treadmill: three years of study distilled into a few hours of pure pressure. (<http://goo.gl/762JcC> accessed 9/11/ 2015)

The sardonic indifference of the exam invigilator in this account serves to create emotional distance from the distress of the candidates, the very fact of which distress cannot help but shed light on the importance of the exam to its victims – why else would

they put themselves through an experience that is so damaging that it has been linked to a rise in mental health problems and may be a contributive factor in suicidal behaviour (Sharp, 2013: 7). The centrality and importance of the exam to the whole system of education similarly cannot be understated, to such an extent that its procedures have taken on aspects of the sacred, of time-honoured ritual, and so, in human terms, are essentially incontestable - everybody in the tribe participates in and supports this ritual.

Rituals are characterised by formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule governance, sacred symbolism and performance (Bell, 1997: 138). Applying this schema to the examination the first of these is a formal speaking style, the special and unfamiliar gestures and words of examinations, such as ‘_ubric’ and ‘_invigilator’, here illustrated by ‘Cambridge International Examinations’ who produce a document entitled ‘What to say to candidates in an exam’ (<http://goo.gl/oNJ8fU> accessed 10/11/2015), which bears hierarchy and authority by precisely speaking only the standardized words of hierarchy and authority, speaking power from the mouths of each and every exam invigilator:

Do not open the question paper until I instruct you to do so. You are now under exam conditions and must follow the rules detailed on the ‘_Notice to Candidates’ posters you can see in the room. You must not communicate with, ask for help from, or give help to any other candidate in the exam room. If you have a question at any time you must raise your hand and wait until an invigilator comes to you.

The previous chapter on the development of American education also speaks to the emergence and eventual dominance of testing in education, the lure of scientific

measurement leading to our current age of unprecedented testing. It always already speaks to ‘tradition’ which is mythic in its invariance when we realise that everybody who reads this has played their own part in the timeless repetition of the exam ritual at some point in their lives. Rule governance is also important here. Rules impose norms on the chaos of behaviour, setting the limits of what is acceptable. As one example from many, the University of Exeter has an especially clear and concise list of fifteen YOU MUSTs and YOU MUST NOTs for candidates to conform to (<http://goo.gl/XtEvYf> accessed 10/11/2015) . Other university documentation is much more dense but equally forbidding. And there are a wide variety of sanctions for rule-breaking, for example, one university has a financial penalty of £50, where another threatens a ‘charge’ of ‘serious academic misconduct’.

The final characteristic of ritual is performance, presenting a theatrical-like frame around the ritualistic activities. The exam very often takes place in sports halls or concerts halls, community spaces set apart as ritual space where the structured environment shapes all possible movement, all communication. Silence descends on the hall-as-theatre as the show begins, always on time. The roles of ‘candidate’ and ‘invigilator’ are assumed and played to the full and in all seriousness.

The main function of the invigilator is of course their vigilance, meaning constant surveillance, to include bodily patrolling of the sacred space, overseeing the ‘candidates’ hunched over their bare and carefully spaced desks, and perfectly representing the vast gulf of mistrust between the players. The special role of the ‘invigilator’ nowadays

requires its own special training and rules and there are many full-time job roles as assessment officers and lots of paid-by-the-hour work as casual invigilators (main qualities: must ~~be~~ "able to remain calm under pressure"). Indeed, our sardonic exam invigilator (above) completes his description by saying "So am I a fan of exams as a method of assessment? Yes, sure. Without them, I wouldn't have a job"). As for candidates, the regulation of time and space disciplines their behaviour. Above all they **MUST** be silent, and **MUST** subdue and control their emotions, where, remember, ~~breaking~~ "into giggles" is the worst of transgressions for our exam invigilator.

Candidates subject themselves to a process of self-discipline as if constantly watched by the invigilator/watcher – who may or may not be watching. For a candidate to set about watching the watcher is to draw unwarranted attention, so the gaze of the candidate is ever downwards; to look over at other candidates is even more dangerous, risking the ultimate charge of cheating. This is social control through surveillance with the invigilator as the panopticon guard in the tower:

Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power (Foucault, 1977: 201)

The exam as a rite of passage is a validation of being at Uni, involving the suspension of everyday life, the ritual framework supported by families, friends and peers. And this is not only during the exam period itself - the shared and arduous enterprise of revision suspends the normal ebb and flow of everyday life in favour of late nights and early

mornings of study’, which very frequently involves rote memorisation of academic content’. And the importance of the exam to students cannot be over-emphasised. Given that students are encouraged to, and do, see their degree as their route to paid employment, they are expected to give the event their full, unwavering attention.

The university takes measures to protect the theatrical sacred space. The exam hall is approached with hushed reverence and ritual worthy of any religious service. The machine mowing of grass, building work on important new university assets’, both are on hold until the sacred exam period is concluded. Numerous signs outside exam halls warn anybody not directly involved in the ritual that they must respect the ritual in devoted silence. And this is indeed a sacred space where, in our always-on, always-connected digital world of smart phones, smart watches and tablets, the use of these electronic devices is momentarily suspended, having them on one’s person expressly prohibited. In another call to tradition, the older technology of pen/paper is deemed to be appropriate.

Having sat in an office opposite a UK University’s examinations office, the frenetic level of activity at exam time must be seen to be believed, a constant stream of exam couriers’, given the privilege of overseeing delivery of papers from the secure office to the hushed chambers of the examination hall (and rewarded not only by having this time away from their usual job function but also by the valorisation of involvement in this sacred and important rite). And because of the significant economic value now attributed to a university degree, marks are money and students are increasingly willing to make

recourse to legal procedures to ensure their return on investment as fee-paying consumers. This means that universities implement ever more legalistic procedures around exam appeals in the ostensible interests of ‘transparency’, but in reality they are protecting the all-important university ‘brand’.

The rite of passage of the exam ritual promises initiation into the group known as ‘university graduates’ and marks out the exit point from time spent in the education system. As rite of passage it also contains unavoidable elements of humiliation: “the situation where a competent adult is put before his elders to be tested and is put in a submissive situation is inevitably a humiliating experience” (Munitz, 2007: 214). Yet, this ritualized ordeal is accepted because successful initiates are moved to their new status of ‘graduate’, a process completed nowadays in the ritualised throwing of medieval graduate caps in the air for the photo shoot, thus confirming the ‘graduates’ in their new identity and community. Such rituals combine to preserve and maintain the centrality of the exam, of the generation of a single, grade/number/statistic to represent – mythically, symbolically – each ‘candidate’ processed, thus maintaining the order of the system.

Established religion has always understood the importance of ceremony, ritual, repetition, to convey and reinforce messages of power and authority. Universities echo these lessons in the ritual of the exam and help construct students who are passive – unwitting and willing – receivers of a way of being that foregrounds incorporation of the values of individualistic competition and compliance with authority.

5.2 The exam as discipline and heterotopia

This is, then, a technology of discipline concerned exclusively with the exercise of power. And of all the mechanisms of discipline, such as army barracks, hospitals and prisons, it is the examination which is highly ritualized, because of all that it contains:

The examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgement. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. (Foucault, 1977: 174)

The “small penal mechanism” at the heart of the “simple instrument” of the examination is the “imperative of qualification” (Foucault, 1977: 170-177). This is the reason why people subject themselves to examination, but it should be made clear that the combination of disciplinary elements in this technology of power are designed to fabricate individuals, to train their behaviour, to produce their very way of being in relation to the norms of society. This is education as ‘governmentality’, a dispersed form of government embedded in ‘everyday’ life for the single purpose of regulation. The purpose of education has thus become one of disciplinary surveillance, an “extended panopticon” (Flint & Peim, 2012: 88) where individuals are objectified and controlled through the various disciplinary mechanisms exemplified by the technology of the examination.

Foucault also talks of heterotopic spaces, real physical or mental spaces that act as other spaces alongside existing spaces. In this sense, the exam hall acts, as we have seen, as a

heterotopia of ritual or purification. This is a space which is not freely accessible, where permission from the invigilator/gatekeeper is needed to enter and where norms of behaviour are suspended. It is marked by enclosure, a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself. It is the protected place of “disciplinary monotony” where individuals are distributed and partitioned in space (Foucault, 1977: 141). The exam hall is transitory and yet is a place structured by time and simultaneously out of time. Importantly, the exam hall is not a space that is disconnected from other spaces. Rather, it sits at the heart of the educational institution:

The last trait of heterotopias is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory ... Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled. This latter type would be the heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation... (Foucault, 1986: 6)

The unfolding of the exam hall reveals it as a space of well-arranged and perfect meticulousness, a space that stands as compensatory for the educational system itself, a utopia made in its own image, controlled and ordered, and minimising the chaos of human intrusion. And yet it is at the same time an illusory space, a space that will remain other, and which is reflective of the true nature of that very educational system.

The ritual of the examination articulates the ideals of the education system. By the exam is the system validated. Thus, it matters not if something called ‘learning’ is being

measured, or can be measured, as long as the university can record the process and *something* is measured and gives up a statistic, making an irrefutable call to the objectivity of data flowing through the exam space which is gathered and stored. These data can then go on to form the basis of ubiquitous league tables, encouraging yet more *'efficiency'* in order to nudge the department/university/nation-state a point or two up the tables of data comparison. These processes are entirely rational within the unconstructive and misaligned parameters of the globalized system of higher education. Students are thus ritualized into consenting to the entire neoliberal project.

Ritual has been described as —the social act basic to humanity ... the act that at the dawn of human history, and even today, socializes the merely human into true humanity” (Rappaport, 1999: 31). In what follows, I contend, rather, that the ritual of the exam provides the ultimate technology in the ranking and ordering of humanity and gathers the *'merely human'* only into the standing reserve as part of the educational Enframing.

5.3 The exam as technological enframing

Heidegger's essay, “The Question Concerning Technology”, is a vital contribution to understanding our relationship with technology and may have significant implications for human interaction with technology (including in education). Heidegger shows human beings entrapped inside a system of thinking that controls and orders Being itself.

Education might well be a key to encouraging a greater awareness of this entrapment, of revealing to persons their existential situation – and the technology of assessment is the fulcrum around which this encompassing imprisonment of Being turns. Therefore, this

section reports on a deft unconcealing of the controlling structures of the technology of assessment with the intention of beginning to show how education might be redesigned to overthrow the imprisoning Enframing.

5.3.1 The essence of technology

Heidegger's writing is poetic, a mode which is necessary to his project, offering a fresh approach to questions of Being, but which nevertheless means that understanding the essay is not without its difficulties. Therefore, this first section attempts to provide an exposition of and tease out relations between the key concepts in the essay with the aim of clarifying Heidegger's teachings about the essence of technology. Key to understanding are the concepts of *bringing-forth*, *challenging-forth* (to *standing-reserve*) and *enframing*.

Bringing-forth

Bringing-forth is a mode of revealing that corresponds to ancient craft, the *technology* of production. Heidegger begins by stating what are the accepted definitions or understandings of *technology* and states that it is not (only) instrumental. By way of comparison with *modern technology*, he illustrates the notion of *bringing-forth* by reference to Aristotle's four modes of revealing in ancient craftsmanship: material, formal, final and efficient. Each of these *causes* is equally co-responsible for the craft-item produced - Heidegger calls them "The four ways of being responsible [which] ...bring something into appearance. They let it come *forth* into presencing" (Heidegger, 1977: 6). Thus, the technology is not created by the craftsman - rather it is *revealed* or *unconcealed*. Significantly, humans are just one important element amongst others.

Challenging-forth (to standing reserve)

The essay takes an altogether darker turn with *challenging forth*, which is the way in which *modern technology* *reveals* – it is a different kind of thinking to *bringing-forth*, because *challenging-forth* is to *set-upon*, which can mean both ordering, setting a system upon, and setting upon rapaciously, as with wolves, for example. In *bringing-forth*, humans controlled one out of the four elements – *challenging-forth* represents a sea-change in our relationship with technology in that humans *control* the productive process in its entirety.

The associated aspect to production as *challenging-forth* is that this way of thinking reveals objects as part of *standing-reserve*, a kind of storehouse of objects which are reduced to disposability in the sense of being easily ordered and arranged and also disposable as in replaceable, interchangeable, like razor blades or nappies:

Everywhere everything is ordered to stand by, to be immediately at hand, indeed to stand there just so that it may be on call for a further ordering. Whatever is ordered about in this way has its own standing. We call it the standing-reserve (Heidegger, 1977: 17)

Our relationship to nature is one of dominance, extracting what is efficient and profitable and this then becomes a mode of thinking, a way of being, so that we are also transformed into standing-reserve: "If man is challenged, ordered, to do this, then does not man himself belong even more originally than nature within the standing-reserve?" (Heidegger, 1977: 18).

Enframing

*We now name that challenging claim which gathers man thither to order
the self-revealing as standing-reserve: —Gestell" [Enframing]
(Heidegger, 1977: 19)*

Technology's forward motion is driven by humans, so that we are fully a part of ordering as a way of revealing. However, ~~the~~ unconcealment itself, within which ordering unfolds, is never a human handiwork" (Heidegger, 1977: 18). The "challenging claim that gathers man with a view to ordering the self-revealing as standing reserve" is *Enframing* (*Ge-stell* in German). This, then, is the essence of modern technology, which challenges humans ~~to~~ reveal the real, in the mode of ordering, as standing-reserve" (Heidegger, 1977: 20). So, it is not technology itself that is the problem. Indeed, ~~the~~ essence of modern technology ... is itself nothing technological" (Heidegger, 1977: 20). Rather, in our orientation to technology, we are trapped into a way of revealing that sees everything as there for our use, categorisation, manipulation and control. We are thus ordered, commanded, entrapped by the Enframing and it becomes our default state of Being. We are the masters of the universe.

However, this way of thinking is not indigenous to human Being – it is the Enframing that motivates humans to think in this way. Rather, humanity is the ~~shepherd of Being~~" with the power to reveal the world in certain ways (Heidegger, 1977: 42). Trapped in the Enframing we reveal in challenging-forth but we can choose to reveal in bringing-forth. By understanding the ways of thinking behind technology we can grasp the saving

power, we Shepherds of Being can *choose* to bring forth or to challenge forth. We can become fully aware of our existence with all its choices and possibilities.

There are issues of provenance with some of Heidegger's claims. For example, *'bringing-forth'* is based on Aristotle and Plato, but Waddington (2005: 570) points out craftsmanship is not a central concern to these thinkers and their attitudes towards both the craftsman and craftsmanship are at best ambivalent. In fact, Waddington goes on to show that very little of the evidence for the idea of *'bringing-forth'* is historically authenticated and that —far more likely conclusion is that the idea of bringing-forth had its primary origin in the mind of Martin Heidegger" (Waddington, 2005:571).

Heidegger's claim that *'challenging-forth'* is unique in modern times is similarly unsubstantiated – it is reasonable to suppose that humans have always wanted to have full control over, for example, the supply of food and so, over nature. However, he is surely correct in that it is modern technology through processes such as industrialisation that has given humans the means. Heidegger's example of the dam and hydro-electric power in the essay really makes the point that the technology is *'monstrous'* because it *reduces* the river to standing reserve.

The awful point here is that the river has taken on a new and lesser meaning. It does not *stand on its own* – in much the same way as a slave does not. The river, like the slave, is a piece of property, disposable. The river is our slave-object, controlled, dominated. In this way, under the material and conceptual control of human subjects, it loses its dignity.

Whatever is reduced to standing reserve is no longer an *object* because it has been completely subsumed under the material and conceptual reign of the *subject*. A kind of *objectlessness* results, whereby objects only gain significance through their status as property of the subject.

Once the objectlessness of standing-reserve prevails, the next target for reduction to material and conceptual slavery is other subjects: human beings. Heidegger himself points to the notion of *human resources*, which is a familiar departmental name in organisations in our own times, whereby it is the economic imperative that *directs* *human resource* departments so that the focus is not on the persons' Being - their care, their creativity, their energy - but on where they 'fit' in the 'organisation' (Heidegger, 1977: 18). Persons are then reduced to their economic use to the extent that I have not infrequently heard people at my own workplace discussing persons in terms of 'a grade 5' or a 'grade 8', their boundaries being set by a job description with no reference to the person that they are and in fact making the person disposable.

And then we come to *ge-stell*, and the complications only deepen. This is a concept that, if we accept it, points to something that en-frames us, forms the complete framework of the conceptual world we inhabit, which means that we are unable to describe it without stepping outside of that same Enframing – which is surely why Heidegger's task – and that of the reader - is such a difficult one, why clarification is not an easy task. In the modern cliché, Heidegger is literally helping us to *think outside the box*.

So, in some way, ge-stell is non-human in origin – metaphysical - on top of which it is seriously difficult understanding just what Heidegger really *means* by this concept.

Finally, what does ge-stell add to the other concepts in the essay? Heidegger's notion of Being may help to clarify some of this. For Heidegger, Being - or *Dasein* - is something like an energy with a mind of its own that reveals itself to us in different ways; ge-stell is the dominant way in which *Dasein* is revealing itself to human beings right now, in our epoch.

But, if the Enframing happens —“either exclusively in Man, nor decisively through Man” (Heidegger, 1977: 24), how does it happen? Waddington (2005:575) points us to *Being and Time*'s concept of *the they*, which is:

...a true dictatorship. We enjoy ourselves and have fun the way they enjoy themselves. We read, see, and judge literature the way they see and judge.
(Heidegger, 1962: 119)

Humans are *always already* lost, *always already* enframed to see ‘world’ through *their* eyes – rather like the science fiction film *They Live*, in which aliens have secretly taken over the world and only by way of special glasses are people able to see the truth of their existence. Enframing is the predominant element of *the they* of our age and Heidegger provides us with existential seeing glasses. Enframing is just the way things are and we humans are *always already* enframed:

It is not the case that a Da-sein, untouched and unseduced by this way of interpreting, was ever confronted by the free land of a _world' merely to look at what it encounters' (1962, p. 159)

So, “The Question Concerning Technology” is a difficult essay. Heidegger’s notion of _bringing-forth‘ is seemingly an arbitrary creation. The idea of revealing pre-existent objects is implausible. However, Heidegger’s entire project is concerned with unconcealing Truth in its relation to Being and there are deep currents of movement happening in our world, and in the world of education, beyond the purview of our limited human vision. Heidegger offers the tools to at least be able to begin to get close to perceiving these deeper elements which have a direct, shaping impact on education and on human Being. The next section applies these tools to an analysis of education, revealing the deeper movement of forces within which a person-centred education would expect to operate and revealing “the extraordinary hold that assessment exerts on education” (Flint & Peim, 2009: 343).

5.3.2 The vicious circle of improvement

In “Festing Times: questions concerning assessment for school improvement” (2009), Flint & Peim deconstruct the _discourse of improvement‘ which frames much of the contemporary debate about education. When we talk of educational improvement, we think perhaps of the methods by which institutions are administered, the effectiveness by which administrative systems process the things that must needs be processed in order to reach the targets and achieve standards of excellence and equity. However, this has become a “vicious circle”, a closed loop where talk of improvement leads to fine-tuning

of a valorised principle of assessment, grades, standards, targets and so on. This, in turn, feeds back in to and provides the rationale for the national educational discourse as represented in such terms as ‘excellence’ and ‘equity’ in a ‘vicious circle of improvement’, as can be seen in Figure 6:

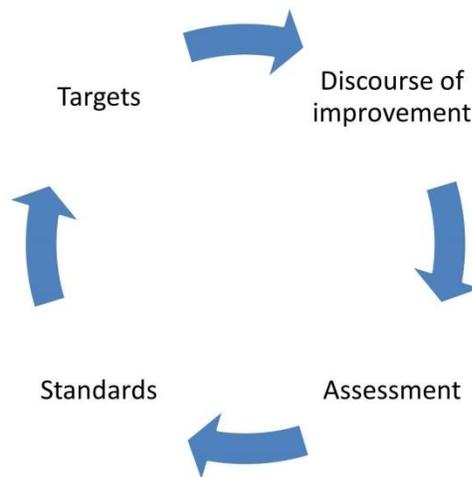


Figure 6: the vicious circle of improvement
(source Flint & Peim, 2009; diagram by the author)

Inside this dismal closed loop, questions about the purpose of education are of necessity excluded and the whole purpose and drive of the system is solely to tweak the various parts of the existing system in the interests of ‘improvement’. Or, rather, it is implicit that the pre-determined goal of education is national economic development, the ‘growth’ of the economies of the world, and questions of purpose are moot. In the closed loop of a means-ends challenging-forth educational framework, students are consumers, teachers provide content, universities provide buildings and bureaucratic structure. Thus, the regulation of these parts becomes the process to the ends and what is revealed is

education as enframed ordering, as Gestell. And being itself is therefore concealed from individuals, who are set upon as standing reserve, resources for capital growth.

5.3.3 The sovereignty of assessment and the question of Being

Nothing of educational value ... is without assessment

(Flint & Peim, 2012: 63)

Education in our times is not only for assessment, but also —foundational relation with assessment organises contemporary education” (Peim & Flint, 2009: 342). Rather than assessment fitting into an overall —enlightenment ideal of complete development”, it is instead —organised by and for assessment” (ibid). This is ultimately because the principle of assessment is one aspect of the dominant principle of reason, which, according to Heidegger, limits our relationship with Being. As the authors say, —In modern education the object stands before us as focus for improvement rather than as a possibility for Being” (2009: 344). This leads to a situation where assessment is synonymous with reason and in great part defines the identities of teachers, learners, administrators, schools, colleges, universities and even domains of knowledge. Despite — or perhaps because of — the disciplinary and surveillant nature of assessment, there is a convincing (and unsettling) link between rational improvement and an unrelenting focus on standards via assessment (as seen in Figure 6 above), which —threatens to overwhelm the field of practice” (2009: 346). Improvement and assessment remain sovereign, impervious to attack.

Flint & Peim articulate Heidegger's ontological approach to problematize the improvement-assessment nexus as a manifestation of Enframing:

The world of the improvement/assessment nexus constitutes a systematic representation that has become the order of the day in education. In the field of education, it represents Being as... ' in its own terms. (Peim & Flint, 2009: 348)

Thus, this familiar, everyday, *constricted* hegemony of the principle of assessment is rendered as questionable in order to reclaim education as (once more) related to Being:

In education, targets, grades, criteria, measures of performance, tables, for example, all constitute such objects of Enframing—all are established objects within a specific technology of knowledge. Subjects on the curriculum—with their detailed specifications, attainment targets, normative levels—constitute powerful complex objects of Enframing. The professional institutions and their hierarchies that provide legitimacy for assessment and that enable its processes are similarly expressions of Enframing. In Heidegger's terms, Enframing is the adaptation of Being that generates all these things, naturalises ' them, gives them the authority of unquestionable categories. (Flint & Peim, 2009: 350)

This adaptation of Being is both revealed and concealed by technology. For example, a student's identity is defined by ~~the~~ "the identity system of grading" (Flint & Peim, 2009: 349) ~~as~~ *being* within a particular category, say, Level 2 or Level 3" (ibid. 351) so a kind of Truth is revealed about the student - but at the same time, other kinds of Truth are concealed. The assessment is not all there is to know about the student and yet the assessment is - unquestionably - what defines the student. The student is brought to

presence only within the framework of Being of assessment. So, then the question has to be asked: “who or what ... manages and controls this system that determines and delimits what counts as the Real?” (Flint & Peim, 2009: 352). And the answer is found in Heidegger’s concept of ‘_Enframing’, whereby education is institutionalised “in accordance with Enframing that works towards ordering and ranking of knowledge” (Peim & Flint, 2009: 353), which:

...desires the separation of all questions into determinate domains of knowledge, fields and subjects, each partaking of the general ‘_technology’ of identity that belongs to the social machinery of education. In other words, in the contemporary world of education the very possibility of the question of Being has been partitioned off, or sequestered by ‘_the Enframing’ (Flint & Peim, 2009:353)

So, as we have seen, in a very real sense, nobody controls this system, nobody manages this system. Rather, all within the Enframing are challenged forth, allocated their identity, ranked and ordered, categorised and graded and represented as ‘_empirical’ data as specialised entities in a “metaphysics of presence” (Peim & Flint, 2009: 353). Therefore, as part of Enframing, assessment - the *technology* of assessment - is ultimately about control, about determining and closing down possibilities for Being: “the productivity of assessment is in fact concerned with Enframing of education” (Peim & Flint, 2009: 354). Figure 7 (below) is a reconsideration of the ‘_vicious circle of improvement’ (see Figure 6 above) by reference to Heidegger and showing the enclosure of education via assessment:

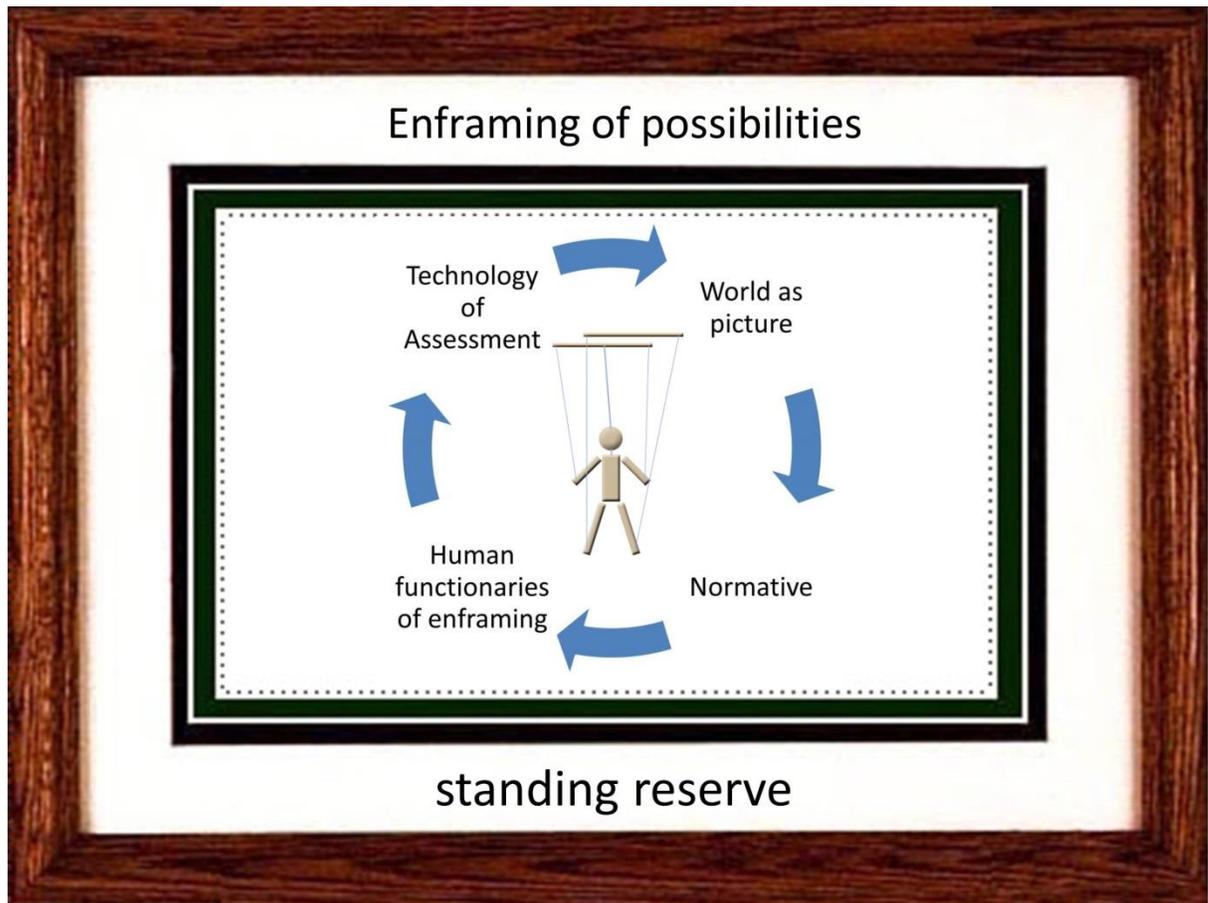


Figure 7: the technology of assessment
 (source Flint & Peim, 2009; diagram by the author)

In the technology of assessment, there is a challenging-revealing which ‘sets-upon’ everything, requisitioning everything for its use as ‘standing-reserve’, whereby the only meaning of all things lies in its service to one end: getting everything under its control. The human becomes subject and assumes dominion, objectifying and controlling everything. Things get regarded as objects whose only important quality is their readiness for use.

In an attempt to control and order, the manager of education objectifies ‘world’ as ‘picture’ which then becomes normative, becomes ‘thereal’, *the way of seeing, the way of Being* for institutions, practices and agents. This extends to the elision of questions concerning the meaning of being in, for instance, teacher education (Flint & Peim, 2012: 173). Humans assume a privileged place at the centre of this world-as-picture - but this is hubris and the human is instead a marionette, a limited functionary of Enframing who employs the technology of assessment to rank and order whilst in turn being ranked and ordered as part of standing reserve, which “equates the productive work of education as a technology within modern industrial economies of energy” (Flint & Peim, 2009: 355).

So, there is an ontological paradox at the heart of the Enframing for human being: enframed individuals are little more than puppets in the standing reserve and yet believe they are masters of the universe. Bauman discloses the paradox in the term ‘creative destruction’:

The overwhelming and ineradicable, unquenchable thirst for creative destruction (or of destructive creativity, as the case might be: of 'clearing the site' in the name of a 'new and improved' design; of 'dismantling', 'cutting out', 'phasing out', 'merging' or 'downsizing', all for the sake of a greater capacity for doing more of the same in the future - enhancing productivity or competitiveness) . (Bauman, 2000: 28)

For Illich, it is ‘irrational consistency’, which:

... mesmerizes accomplices who are engaged in mutually expedient and disciplined exploitation. It is the logic generated by bureaucratic

behavior. And it becomes the logic of a society which demands that the managers of its educational institutions be held publicly accountable for the behavioral modification they produce in their clients. (Illich, 1971: 49)

For both, this is irrefutably the culture of improvement, the internal workings of the corporatized entity that also applies to students and to curricula, to teaching, and to the inevitable corollaries of teaching to the test, gaming the NSS and league tables – leaving us —governed by bureaucracy that is coercive and carceral.” (Docherty, 201: 35).

Docherty touches on this mechanism with reference to the class of university _managers‘:

It’s a bit like any mercantile system: no single individual is in charge; but nonetheless, there are classes of people that rise to the top. In this case, the class in question is the managerial class, the bureaucrats who devise the systems, but never claiming any conscious agency. They see themselves – with good reason – as being slaves to, or at least honest servants of, the systems as well (Docherty, 2011: 148).

This is the standing reserve incarnate. He goes on to ask:

Are we allowed now to have our own thought? When everything we do is to be assessed, and when we need to keep ourselves under surveillance to ensure that we can guarantee that we are doing things according to the presiding published and transparent criteria (or _grade-descriptors‘), then we have lost the sense of ourselves as private individuals entirely. We are now (at best) representatives of something else, something more abstract: we become _agents‘ of the existing social order (ibid.)

That _somethingmore abstract‘ again reveals the mechanisms of the Enframing. We have what we might like to think of as _ourown thought‘, but with a combination of false

consciousness and surveillance - or even better, self-surveillance, as Docherty indeed sees - this is the dynamic and mechanism of domination, which Foucault rediscovered and re-presented as a paradigm of modern power, an architectural solution to ‘control’. So, we exist sorted, sifted and subdued inside education by the essence of technology revealing the Enframing which gathers together the neoliberal way of being as standing reserve.

5.4 The person-centred model, the exam and the Enframing

The person-centred model of education refutes the sovereignty of assessment. As long ago as 1957, Carl Rogers outlined the consequences of his thinking about education (Rogers, 1957: 303):

- a.) Such experience would imply that we would do away with teaching. People would get together if they wished to learn.
- b.) We would do away with examinations. They measure the inconsequential type of learning.
- c.) We would do away with grades and credits for the same reason.
- d.) We would do away with degrees as a measure of competence partly for the same reason. Another reason is that a degree marks an end or a conclusion of something, and a learner is only interested in the continuing process of learning.

He admits to a slight shudder –at the distance [he has] come from the commonsense world that everyone knows is right” (Rogers, 1957: 303) but nevertheless is insistent

about the truth of the implications from his emerging person-centred ideas about education. For Rogers, always and for all times –the locus of evaluation ... resides definitely in the learner” (Rogers, 2013: 62). And Rogers was not alone. Historian of technology, science and education, David Noble, consistently refused to grade his students, arguing that this act:

...shifts academic attention from evaluation to education, where it belongs. When skeptical colleagues protest that it is not fair for me to give the same grade both to people who work hard and to people who fail even to show up, I remind them that these people are not getting the same reward because the people who work hard also get an education. _Oh, yeah, ‘ they say, remembering as an afterthought what should be at the forefront of their profession (Noble, 2007: 30)

However, this is one particularly bold and unusual case of resistance to what _everyone knows is right‘ and the growth-oriented person-centred model of education remains ontologically impossible within enframed education because –any tendency towards self-emergence is ... overruled and absorbed into forced production” (Fitzsimons, 2002: 185). The student becomes an object, a resource to enable the ordering of the system and, as object it could be said there is no subjectivity and hence no agency. The person-centred model requires human agency and this is precisely what is lost in our ordering. In such a system, even to ask the question _what is a university for?‘ is futile, as all thinking is framed by _improvement‘ toward ends, not about essence:

In this world, there is no shelter and no dwelling outside the system from where self-revealing might emerge. The very hint of a deviation or

possible self-emergence from, or outside, the system is a signal that activates pressures to draw that deviation into the system. (Fitzsimons, 2002: 186)

In a closed loop discourse system as seen in the ‘vicious circle of improvement’, the purpose of education is utterly neglected leading to a prioritising of system over human Being. Even explicit expressions of purpose by universities are reduced to rhetoric, empty of meaning:

The discourse of evaluation and curriculum planning is also circular in another sense. While it talks endlessly about children’s or society’s needs, the only needs and goals that are articulated are those that can easily be stated in behavioural terms and within an instrumental method. This confinement of instrumental rationality implicitly delimits how the school can be thought of and acted upon (Saari, 2012: 591)

So, our thinking is limited to a dangerous and damaging means-ends instrumentality.

Education is limited to a dangerous and damaging means-ends instrumentality:

Education, as we now know it, seeks to enfold beings in order to transform them in its own image, to render them productive and useful according to its own account of these things (Peim, 2012: 226)

Not only is the person lost in the process, but the process itself is endlessly circular, self-perpetuating and self-destructive. This is the danger of our situation. However, Heidegger quotes Hölderlin (1977: 28) to reveal the possibility of a saving power, which is explored in the next section:

*But where danger is, grows
The saving power also.*

5.5 Education and the saving power

Hölderlin's words reveal two opposing orientations in the enframing. The danger is our instrumental way of Being – exemplified in education by the technology of the exam, the fulcrum around which the enframing turns:

...an education that mechanizes (and thus tranquilizes) thinking by attempting to enframe it in prespecified and often highly instrumental structures, thus closing down its open possibilities (Bonnett, 2002: 241)

The fundamental concept in the question of being for Heidegger is ‘Dasein’ - ~~‘this~~ Being which we ourselves in each case are and which includes inquiry among the possibilities of its Being” (Heidegger, 1977: 254). Authentic existence for Dasein involves recognising ourselves as individual entities and pursuing our own unique potential for unfolding in the world, whilst at the same time understanding the presence of others, because Dasein is always already being-with others. The opposite of this is inauthenticity, wherein Dasein foregoes individual meaning and possibility and instead is swallowed up in the anonymous ‘They’ of the public everyday world. And yet this is precisely what happens in an exam in enframed education, whereby Dasein is anonymised, separated and silenced, circumscribed by the assessment criteria and ~~‘~~rendered unable to be authentic” (Flint & Peim: 255).

However, there is, within this very danger, of Dasein isolated and anonymised within the enframing, also the possibility that Dasein becomes aware of the enframing itself, of humanity's enframed orientation to the world, and learn to orient ourselves differently to technology, to Being and to Being-in-the-world:

We shall be questioning concerning technology, and in so doing we should like to prepare a free relationship to it. The relationship will be free if it opens our human existence to the essence of technology (Heidegger, 1977: 3)

An education which encourages an existential awareness of the Enframing and resists the measuring and categorizing of the technological enframing – a ~~re~~-ontologization of education” (Thomson, 2001: 125) - could be the saving power and offers the possibility of rediscovering the person in the process, set upon and concealed by the Enframing:

...at the heart of an understanding and an education that is to be truly relevant to our time lies the man/Being question. We must, and an education must help us to, begin to see technology from the perspective of a more adequate understanding of the relationship between man and Being (Bonnett, 1983: 24)

Heidegger was ~~a~~bove all a teacher” (Guignon, 2011: vi) and it is possible to tease out of his work a number of insights which suggest an – ontological - education towards ~~u~~nderstanding of the relationship between man and Being.” The first of these might be to forego the endless drive to efficiency, what Fitzsimons calls: ~~—~~theumore and more‘ that produces the Enlightenment illusion of progress and a further search for umore and more‘ again” (Fitzsimons, 2002: 185). Instead, we can accept that we are receivers of Being:

We might be tempted to think that we can prevent the destruction of the world through efficiency in its control (as Enframing demands). But since Being cannot be mastered through human agency, such control is not available. The manifestation of such control would be merely a furtherance of the technological condition of Being; the very attempt at control as an example of Enframing. If we actually ever did arrive at a technological solution to all human problems, that would indicate that Enframing had allowed us to forget completely that we are receivers of Being (Fitzsimons, 2002: 184).

The ontological issue concerning education is well described as “a turning away from fundamental questions and a forgetting of the question of Being” (Peim, 2012: 236).

Reformulated, this becomes the central thrust of an education concerned with the very grounds of our thinking as a turning *towards* fundamental questions to include the question of Being concerning education. The form of this philosophising might be understood as ‘radical questioning’, open-ended questioning, with no pre-conceived answers, “questioning of who or what we are, the questioning of our *Dasein*” (Milchman & Rosenberg, 1977: 90). It is no accident that Heidegger concludes “The *Question Concerning Technology*” with a peroration on questioning itself:

The closer we come to danger, the more brightly do the ways into the saving power begin to shine – and the more questioning we become. For questioning is the piety of thought (Heidegger, 1977: 238)

Our thinking misses questions about technology because we define it only as instrumental or anthropological – in this way are we limited in our thinking. So, we should open up the ontological grounds of our thinking about technology, about Being and about education.

In order for this to take place, to avoid presenting fixed ideas with pre-ordained conclusions, then we have to abandon the ‘challenging forth’ of prescribed ‘content’ in education and allow for ‘bringing forth’ (the Latin ‘educare’ means ‘to bring forth’) or, as Heidegger puts it, to let learn:

Teaching is even more difficult than learning ... and why is teaching more difficult than learning? Not because the teacher must have a larger store of information, and have it always ready. Teaching is more difficult than learning because what teaching calls for is this: to let learn. The real teacher, in fact, lets nothing else be learned than – learning (Heidegger, 1968: 15)

However, this is not a standing away from engagement – just the opposite, in fact:

To let be – that is, to let beings be as the beings which they are – means to engage oneself with the open region and its openness into which every being comes to stand (Heidegger, 1993: 72).

For Heidegger, this is also the principle of ‘mitsein’ or ‘being-with’ and is an essential mode of Being for Dasein, because “what we are is always already predicated on being with others” (Flint & Peim, 2012: 83). Paradoxically, therefore, to let be is to be with. However, mitsein, this authentic way of being-with, is set upon by the enframing in education, which always favours the unfolding of isolated individuals (Flint & Peim, 2012: 239).

The 'open region' is the essence of truth in the disclosure of Being, which is also the essence of freedom, which Heidegger refers to as the mystery of 'the clearing' of Being where "freedom reveals itself in letting-things-be" (Gur-Ze'ev, 2002: 71):

As a mustering into appearance, the essence of education is thus inextricably bound to the meaning of being with the result that the university emerges as a clearing in which the relation between teacher and student takes on different shapes and forms. In a movement of transcendence, Dasein is torn and dislocated from its world by entry into the clearing of the university (qv, Allen & Ares, 2002:30).

So, ultimately, the 'saving power' is found by opposing the calculative, mastery mode of thinking and Being, by bringing forth and not challenging forth, a stance of "co-operation with nature and culture" (Bonnett, 1983: 27). This points to the contrasting mode of "a more receptive poetic or meditative thinking which is marked by an absence of such self-assertiveness such that a more direct involvement in the gathering of things is possible" (Bonnett, 1983: 30). Heidegger speaks of *poiesis*, a mode of Being which unconceals the mystery of world:

Poetically dwells man upon this earth (Heidegger, 1977: 34)

This is a non-instrumental, artistic way of being in an education which avoids becoming habitual, institutionalized. Heidegger is specific on this point in his extraordinary deposition before the committee on de-Nazification: "the learning process extends without limit before an open horizon of radicalization, as each succeeding generation brings its own fund of experience to bear on interpreting such notions of fundamental

import to the leading of a life" (qv, Allen & Ares, 2002:30). This is an education –conceived as initiation into what it is to be human in some founding sense" (Bonnett, 2000: 239) and poetic thinking is central to it, as recognised by a 1924 guide to the art of living: –Living has yet to be generally recognized as one of the arts" (De Schweinitz, 1924). We find a free relationship to technology by becoming open to the essence of technology, by questioning and by becoming the artists of our own lives.

5.6 Understanding the essence of education enframed

The technology of assessment, of the exam, is a –discipline-mechanism" (Foucault, 1977: 209) implemented by education as a foundational part of the culture of efficiency in the Enframing. Its rituals embed it fully in the culture, fix it into place and make it immovable even as it disciplines docile bodies and gives them up to the standing reserve. Despite the processes of liquid modernity, our inherited educational system and its technologies display –a great force of inertia" and persist because of their disciplinary and normalizing purpose in the interests of globalizing neoliberal commerce in the apparatus of production (Foucault, 1977: 305).

The Enframing has a powerful hold over human Being. However, it is concealed from us. It is therefore very hard indeed to gain even a sense of it, despite, or because of, its all-consuming power - never mind find a way to save ourselves from its danger. Heidegger reveals the Enframing as the mode of Being for our times and helps us to think more clearly about our relationship to technology and to Being. Given this insight, it is

incumbent on educators to find a way towards ~~an~~ education that is to be truly relevant to our time” (Bonnett, 1983: 24).

With regard to a dynamic and sustainable model of person-centred education the question then must be is it even possible? Flint and Peim’s fifteenth thesis edges cautiously towards at least a glimmer of hope:

“Technological Enframing’ in discourses and practices of improvement is not some unavoidable fate, a truth visited upon us by the gods that we simply have to endure. While it is a powerful force in our contemporary world, it is nevertheless subject to a deconstructive resistance that can take many forms, with many possible effects. (Flint and Peim, 2012: 278)

Fitzsimons points out that —~~For~~ Heidegger, it is the essence of our technological way of being rather than mere equipment that is the problem. What we need to do instead is to understand the essence of the education framework in its *Enframed* state” (Fitzsimons, 2002: 184). Carl Rogers’ model of person-centred education does just that, offering a way of being’ within the educational system, but one which rejects the principle of assessment. Perhaps some kind of combination of Rogers and Heidegger could light one potential path to the clearing?

In this account, I have been struck by the common ground shared by Heidegger and Rogers in thinking about an education that should be holistic, empathetic and genuine, with a focus on human flourishing. Granted, Heidegger’s non-technological education is not human-centred, as such; however, Rogers would fully support Heidegger’s challenge

to recognise a more wholistic and less analytically orientated conception of intellectual development and of the relationship between man and Being, and a call to re-examine the whole notion of a liberal education” (Bonnett, 1983: 27). Further, Rogers was sharply critical of our inherited educational institutions and would surely also agree with Heidegger that the university "is constructed to be hierarchical and authoritarian", representing the instrumentalism of the relations of production, ~~the~~ source of everything awry with the university today” (qv, Allen & Ares, 2002:35).

The person-centred model of education has the facilitative attitudes of genuineness, empathy and trust at its core and there are echoes of these in Heidegger. First of all, Heidegger echoes Rogers’ insistence on a non-hierarchical and *genuine* facilitator/teacher:

If the relation between the teacher and the taught is genuine, therefore, there is never a place in it for the authority of the know-it-all or the authoritative sway of the official. It still is an exalted matter, then, to become a teacher which is something else entirely than becoming a famous professor (Heidegger, 1968: 15)

Similarly:

...in contrast to the machinery of periodic monitoring and standardized assessment of learning to achieve quality, the poetic teacher-pupil relationship would be highly reciprocal and based on trust, which preserves both the integrity of the learner and of the material (Bonnett, 2000: 240 – his emphasis).

Lastly, Heidegger's focus on poetic living is described as "empathetic responsiveness" (Bonnett, 1983: 27) and specifically within education can be characterised as "empathetic challenging" in which, from out of her sensitivity to the concerns of the learner ... the teacher can suggest, challenge, provoke in ways that both respect the integrity of this engagement and deepen and refine it" (Bonnett, 2000: 241).

Heidegger's plea "to let learn" reverberates over Rogers' whole educational project of freedom to learn, especially in its conjoining of let learn and mitsein, putting relationship at the centre of educational thinking. Bonnett argues that the implications of a 'poetic' education in Heidegger's sense "locates the teacher-pupil relationship at the very heart of education" (Bonnett, 2000: 238). Ultimately, both Heidegger and Rogers explore what it means to be fully human and an education that incorporates their ideas cannot be calculative or prescriptive. Rather, it must allow for human flourishing in the openness and freedom inherent in Dasein, an education for human Being, with less focus on efficiency and improvement and more on human relationship and the freedom to be and to learn. The following chapter explores some of the forms and possible effects that a "deconstructive resistance" might take in education, as part of the search for a dynamic and sustainable person-centred education which includes the question of Being.

Chapter Six: Paths to the Clearing I - Pedagogy

*Here's the small
gasp
of this clearing
come ~~upon~~ "again"*

("The Way" by Rae Armantrout)

This chapter explores some of the forms and possible effects that a deconstructive resistance' might take in education, as part of the search for a dynamic and sustainable person-centred education as an authentic way of Being in our contemporary world. How and where might such a possibly contradictory, yet potentially hopeful, education be possible? We have examined the university and found it wanting, in terms of its neoliberal reproductive ideology and its normative technologies. And yet, for Heidegger, the university remains the most favourable educational space, with the caveat that —the defining trait of the university lies in its self-assertion from the social powers that are bent upon bringing it to heel" (Allen & Ares, 2002:31). In order to clear a space for the freedom to be it is clearly necessary to resist such social powers'.

The chapter turns to critical pedagogy to find out how its radical perspective might contribute to the person-centred model as part of a theorized ontological education. It examines and synthesises the work of three significant figures in that movement, Freire,

hooks and Giroux, as well as Rogers' own writing on power – whilst at the same time taking note of Heidegger's warning:

To grasp the task of education is thus already to know something essential about the structure of the university, that it cannot be an instrument of social engineering or, more generally, simply a means to an end, without ceasing to educate (Allen & Ares, 2002:30)

If critical pedagogy (and perhaps person-centred education) can be considered 'social engineering', then is there a way past this, a way in which its important elements might translate to the model as described here without ceasing to educate? We begin by examining what Heidegger calls 'the clearing', an important concept related to both truth and understanding in his ontological project and which therefore has implications for freedom and Being in education and so for this reconsideration of the model.

6.1 The clearing as a space of possibilities

—...the path of thinking, speculative and intuitive, needs the traversable clearing" (Heidegger, 1993: 321)

So, this is the problem: we are trapped into a system that we can neither see nor escape from; we are hidden from the light and the light from us; we are in the dense forest of the enframing. Does Heidegger show us a way? In a way. In his way. Prescription is the antithesis of Heidegger's project, so there is little of direct statement. However, remember that, above everything, Heidegger is a teacher and teaching is a fundamentally hopeful activity, helping succeeding generations to experience their being, their time, to

be in and care for their world authentically. He talks frequently throughout his later work of 'the clearing', an ontological metaphor of landscape which, I suggest here, offers a way out of the enframing. The way out is indistinct and thus difficult, but is nonetheless a way out: there is – has to be - a path to the clearing.

The German word *lichtung* (clearing) comes from *licht* (light), but now means a clearing in a forest. Heidegger restores the older meaning and reads it as 'light(en)ing' or 'to light(en)'. In reconnecting 'light' to the meaning of the clearing, Heidegger connects us also to Plato's analogy of the cave, where the cave-dwelling prisoners find truth and being in the light of the sun (Inwood, 1999: 238).

The metaphor of the clearing imagines a space in the forest which is always already there and which is illuminated by the sunlight shining from above, in stark contrast to the darkness of the forest. In metaphysical terms, the clearing is a place of existential clearing and presence, where what is hidden by darkness can become present in the light, a place where beings presence themselves by coming into the light. The clearing is thus a revealing, the possibility of something unforeseen:

There is a clearing within which an understanding of being or essence can prevail when incompatible possibilities of being are concealed or held back ... This is not a spatial domain or physical entity, or any sort of entity at all. It is something like a space of possibilities (Wrathall in Dreyfus & Wrathall, 2008: 340).

This clearing, this space of possibilities' is the process of becoming clear, of becoming (en)light(ened). However, it can only prevail when ~~in~~compatible possibilities of being are concealed or held back". So, this clearing is not the violent clearing of deforestation, it is not the clearing of refugees from the 'jungle' at Calais and it is not the clearing of a transaction in banking (education). In fact, the path to this clearing must exclude all of those things that come together to enable the technological enframing and the neoliberal culture of efficiency so that it can create a space of possibilities where "things show up in the light of our understanding of being" (Dreyfus, 1991: 163).

Just as in Plato's allegory of the cave, the purpose of education in Heidegger's metaphor is to turn the unenlightened towards the light, to help them closer to the truth, to enable the first steps on the path to the clearing and its space of possibilities'. The next section therefore turns us toward critical pedagogy as one way of revealing the reality' behind the shadow play of the enframing neoliberal ideology.

6.2 Critical pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is a radical approach combining education and critical theory. It ~~operates~~ from an understanding that the basis of education is political" (del Guadalupe Davidson, 2009: 31). This politics is oppositional and transformational, focusing on the structural nature of oppression which operates in the interests of a dominant class and at the expense of the powerless. It begins with Paolo Freire and continues with writer/educators such as Ira Shor, bell hooks, Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren, and Michael Apple. This section outlines the significant points of critical pedagogy, by reference to

Freire, hooks and Giroux, especially those elements that might offer paths toward a more resilient and sustainable model of education for the twenty first century.

6.2.1 Critical pedagogy: an overview

Reaching towards a definition of ‘critical pedagogy’ Stommel describes the majority of teaching in education as prescriptive and untheorized transmission teaching, distinctly non-pedagogical —...instruction, classroom management, training, outcomes-driven, standards-based, content delivery (Stommel, 2014). ‘Pedagogy’, on the other hand:

...starts with learning as its center, not students or teachers, and the work of pedagogues is necessarily political, subjective, and humane. (ibid.)

So, a mood and a position is established, and the standpoint is ‘critical’, which means abandoning the pretence of objectivity and “implicitly and explicitly critiquing oppressive power structures” (ibid.). Thus, ‘critical pedagogy’ is a kind of praxis, “insistently perched at the intersection between the philosophy and the practice of teaching” (ibid.). Heidegger might not find too much controversial in that or in the idea that “Critical Pedagogy is concerned less with knowing and more with a voracious not-knowing” (ibid.).

‘Critical pedagogues’ view the tidy, bureaucratic efficiency model of education as *dehumanizing*, the polar opposite of humanistic education, which, like critical pedagogy is:

...work to which we must bring our full selves, and work to which every learner must come with full agency (ibid.).

Therefore, the aim of the ‘critical pedagogue’ is to foster agency and empower learners, echoing both Heidegger’s *Mitsein* and Rogers’ dynamic, non-hierarchical model, prioritising co-construction of knowledge, dialogue and collaboration. This can be seen most clearly in the work of Paolo Freire.

6.2.2 Paolo Freire

There are 143 occurrences of the word ‘transform’ and its variants in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, offering a strong indication of Freire’s radical purpose and that of an education for liberation - his educational project for the transformation of Society by fostering “fuller humanity” (Freire, 2000: 47). He echoes Rogers’ ideas in *Freedom to Learn* to the extent that human freedom and growth are located within the individual:

Freedom is not an ideal located outside of man; nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion (Freire, 2000: 47)

However, for Freire:

Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly (Freire, 2000: 47)

This is different. Both Rogers and Freire focus on the relationship between student/learner and teacher/facilitator, but Freire brings in the missing third element of (oppressive) society in a Marxist class analysis. To achieve freedom the oppressed must

rise above their oppression by *critically* recognising its causes. However, simple awareness is not enough; the oppressed must both become aware of their oppression *and* confront it in an informed combination of theory and practice, or *praxis*:

Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other (Freire, 2000: 72).

If Freire opens out the pedagogical focus from individuals to social groups, he also opens out Rogers' insistence that "the learner is the center" (Rogers, 1983: 190) by placing the oppressed *group* at the centre (and note also that this educational project is necessarily ontological):

At all stages of their liberation, the oppressed must see themselves as women and men engaged in the ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human. (Freire, 2000: 65).

In particular, Freire is in direct confrontation with the dehumanising 'banking' concept of education, where the bank-clerk teacher makes a deposit of information to be stored in the passive student's account (and where, to extend the metaphor, exams are a means of checking the balance sheet to see how much is in the bank):

In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing (Freire, 2000: 72).

So, this is the philosophical nub of Freire's radical pedagogy and his fundamental methodological concepts, for our purposes, are 'conscientização', 'problem-posing education' and 'co-intentional education'.

Conscientização

At the heart of Freire's liberatory education is the concept of *conscientização*, or critical consciousness, which is:

...learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Freire, 2000: 35).

Within *conscientização* learners' awareness is fostered through dialogue by way of a critical questioning of their situation, and in the goal of shaping a democratic society.

Problem-posing education

— 'the posing of the problems of human beings in their relations with the world' is Freire's counter to iniquitous banking education. Reminding of Heidegger's ontological education, it principally involves asking questions, including those that demythologise and explore the grounds of our existence:

Whereas banking education anesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality (Freire, 2000: 81).

Co-intentional education

A fully humanising liberatory pedagogy must express the consciousness of the oppressed themselves in a dialogue which Freire calls 'co-intentional education':

Teachers and students (leadership and people), co-intent on reality, are both Subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of re-creating that knowledge. As they attain this knowledge of reality through common reflection and action, they discover themselves as its permanent re-creators. In this way, the presence of the oppressed in the struggle for their liberation will be what it should be: not pseudo-participation, but committed involvement (Freire, 2000: 69).

Co-intentional education thus involves a rejection of the hierarchical forms of authority of banking education and favours instead an egalitarian and collaborative approach to education:

Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow. In this process, arguments based on "authority" are no longer valid; in order to function, authority must be on the side of freedom, not against it (Freire, 2000: 80).

6.2.3 bell hooks

...engaged pedagogy where space is created for everyone
(hooks, 1994: 188)

Strongly influenced by Freire's concepts of critical consciousness and praxis in education, hooks draws additional attention to the personal space of identity, the lived experience of gender and race relations, opposing and confronting –imperialist, white

supremacist, capitalist patriarchal culture” (hooks, 2003: 136). Her ‘engaged pedagogy’ is pedagogical and political, well expressed in the title of her book *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. In an echo of Heidegger’s ‘open horizon of radicalization’ hooks calls on universities to encourage teachers and students to cross boundaries of identity, authority and tradition and –confront the realities of sex, race, and class, the ways they divide us, make us different, stand us in opposition” (hooks, 1989: 25). Talking of the pressure on working class people to conform to dominant middle class behaviours, hooks rejects this ‘choice’ and suggests that “they must creatively invent ways to cross borders” and live comfortably in both worlds (hooks, 1994: 183). This is transgression as empowerment. She deliberately employs “pedagogical strategies that create ruptures in the established order, that promote modes of learning which challenge bourgeois hegemony” (hooks, 1994: 185):

One such strategy has been the emphasis on creating in classrooms learning communities where everyone's voice can be heard, their presence recognized and valued. (hooks, 1994: 185)

Interestingly, she also (re)introduces elements to critical pedagogy that are familiar from those earlier discussions of progressive and humanistic education:

Progressive, holistic education, 'engaged pedagogy', is more demanding than critical or feminist pedagogy ... it emphasizes well-being. This means that teachers must be actively committed to a process of self-actualization that promotes their own well-being if they are to teach in a manner that empowers students (hooks, 1994: 15).

6.2.4 Henry Giroux

...the belief that education is fundamental to democracy and that no democratic society can survive without a formative culture shaped by pedagogical practices capable of creating the conditions for producing citizens who are critical, self-reflective, knowledgeable, and willing to make moral judgements and act in a socially responsible way (Giroux, 2011: 3)

Thus Henry Giroux states his objectives at the very beginning of *On Critical Pedagogy*. Like Freire and hooks, Giroux sides with the oppressed and marginalised against their oppressors. His focus is avowedly political with an insistent focus on inequality and injustice and a deep concern with youth. He speaks in particular to public and higher education and the impact of the ongoing attack from the neoliberal ideology. However, he not only describes the impact, he also suggests how it might be challenged and resisted through a hopeful critical pedagogy which draws attention to questions regarding who has control over the conditions for the production of knowledge, values, and classroom practices” (Giroux, 2011: 5). He hopes to reconstruct education towards the promotion of a transformative radical democracy where the university functions as a democratic site of resistance.

Key to such a project is the redefinition of progressive educators as “engaged public intellectuals capable of teaching students the language of critique and possibility as a precondition for social agency” (Giroux, 2011:78). For Giroux, academics should

—become more than they are now” (Giroux, 2011: 72), reformulated as radical public intellectuals working to keep democratic culture alive:

...educators at all levels of schooling should be addressed as public intellectuals willing to connect pedagogy with the problems of public life, a commitment to civic courage, and the demands of social responsibility (Giroux, 2011: 6).

Importantly, Giroux sees "culture as the site where identities are constructed, desires mobilized, and moral values shaped" (2000: 132). He therefore expands the scope of critical pedagogy to be informed by cultural studies. The wider culture, especially media culture is pedagogical, —necessitating a new language for understanding popular culture as a teaching machine” (2011: 7). Culture and pedagogy should not be seen as separate entities and critical pedagogy needs to incorporate these elements into its forms of resistance in which education becomes a safe haven from the pedagogy of the culture industry.

Like hooks, Giroux calls for a 'border politics' —where individuals cross over and struggle together for social justice” (Kellner, 2001: 13). The alternative is what our current education system is becoming or has become: an uncritical, unreflective education which serves to perpetuate the current dominant ideology of neoliberalism. In such a system, pedagogy itself is instrumental, reduced to mere techniques where —matters of justice, values, ethics, and power are erased from any notion of teaching and learning” (Giroux, 2011: 3). Giroux calls on educators to fight, to show that the world can be made otherwise, for radical scholars to show neoliberalism as the social construct that it is and

that it is promoted by vested interests. In this way, Giroux's project, however depressing its analysis of the situation might be, is nevertheless —part of a discourse of educated hope" (Giroux, 2011: 6) offering the possibility to connect education to democracy, to make the world other, more equal and more democratic.

6.3 Power and the person-centred approach

In his book, *Carl Rogers on Personal Power* (Rogers, 1977), Rogers explores power and control in and around the person-centred approach, including in education. In the introduction, he discusses this sentence, which flashed into his mind unbidden (Rogers, 1977: xi):

I walk softly through life.

For Rogers, the sentence characterises his lifelong way of being and the quietly revolutionary power of the person-centred approach to alter —the thinking about power and control in relationships between persons" (Rogers, 1977: xii). Note that the focus is on relations between individuals, what he calls —the politics of interpersonal relationships" (Rogers, 1977: 3). Power is thus the power for individuals to grow and to be, with little or no reference to institutional or social context. Rogers includes a thoughtful chapter on —The person-centered approach and the oppressed", where he discusses Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (published just one year after *Freedom to Learn*) and draws similarities with his own approach: —the principles [Freire] has come to build his work on are so completely similar to the principles of *Freedom to Learn* that I find myself open mouthed with astonishment" (Rogers, 1977: 106).

Maureen O'Hara worked closely with Rogers and also met Freire and discussed humanistic approaches to emancipation with him. Her finely wrought comparative study (O'Hara, 1989) of the similarities and differences between the work of the two men is thus uniquely helpful here. Though Rogers and Freire start from very different places, their end-point is indeed remarkably similar: "they are both radical humanists" (O'Hara, 1989: 13) with a shared "utopian" wish for human emancipation" (ibid: 14) in which Rogers' "jug and mug" and "self-actualization" correspond closely to Freire's "banking education" and "humanization". Methodologically, both thinkers are determinedly against the manipulation of people, because critical consciousness is something that cannot be given, it must be worked towards.

However, O'Hara makes a very important point when she says that the methods and principles that they share in common are "rooted in different views about the nature of human reality" (O'Hara, 1989: 15) hinging in particular on two different concepts of "person" and very likely reflecting their very different social and political contexts, Rogers' middle class, Euro-American dominant culture, and Freire's dominated illiterate South American peasants.

Rogers empowers individuals to "become a person", where persons are "individually autonomous and radically free to allow the authentic expression of an actualizing tendency". Freire "considers the oppressed as 'beings-for-the-other'" who learn to become "beings-for-themselves" through a critical education that helps them "read reality for themselves" (O'Hara, 1989: 17). Rogers' "person" is "distinct from society, separate,

individual ... Rogers has an individualistic or egocentric concept of personhood”.

Freire’s view is ‘sociocentric’, and his ‘person’ is seen as both ‘individual center of consciousness and as a social reality’. Rogers ‘focuses on the disparity between the individual and various groups - family, community, culture’ and Freire ‘focuses on the disparity between dominant and dominated groups’ (O’Hara, 1989: 19).

Both men ‘are committed to creating a society in which each human being is supported to become his or her full self’ (O’Hara, 1989: 19), however it is in Freire’s focus on the enslaving impact of dominant social groups on individual consciousness that the nature of power and who holds power is fully problematized, rather than simply recognised.

Freire’s pedagogy raises awareness of larger social forces at play in disciplining and constructing persons with a view to emancipation, to both individual and *social* change. ‘Rogers’ emphasis is personal; it is on the individual human being. Freire’s focus, by contrast, is on the workings of human collectives, or societies’ (O’Hara, 1989: 27).

The strength of the person-centred approach is in its view of human beings as essentially trustworthy organisms and in the focus on constructive attitudes held as part of a supportive and empowering relationship. And, as reported earlier, Aspy and Roebuck have clearly shown this growth-promoting approach to be effective across all kinds of measures. As Rogers says:

In short, whether at the elementary, high school, college or graduate level, person-centered attitudes pay off, changing the politics of education in the process (Rogers, 1977: 89)

Amongst other things, ‘politics’ for Rogers has to do with the *locus of decision-making power*: who makes the decisions which, consciously or unconsciously, regulate or control the thoughts, feelings, or behavior of others or oneself” (Rogers, 1977: 4). But, what if the locus of decision-making power is unshakably in the hands of the institutions that shape students as consumers, as part of jug and mug or banking education? What if there is no prospect of the managers in control of those hierarchical institutions sharing their power - because they completely and sincerely believe that their ‘traditional’ model of education is more effective and more *efficient*? Such a situation would undermine even the adoption of the constructive attitudes by facilitators and so defeat attempts to create a constructive classroom climate.

Speaking of the success of the person-centred approach in resolving “almost every variety of inter-group tension”, Rogers says that “When the world is ready, we can say tentatively and with humility that we are ready to begin” (Rogers, 1977: 138). All that I have found and written about here tells me that the world of education, at least, is not ready. Until it is, a more robust focus on the political level of institutions may be necessary.

“Where power is relatively equal, either party can provide the conditions for change.

Where power is unequal, or where one is *perceived* as more powerful ... the first steps must be taken by the perceived leader, the perceived power” (Rogers, 1977: 139).

However, the contemporary university is fully ideological. It is based on all of the principles of the neoliberal ideology, so that not only is it not neutral, it represents and

reproduces the same mind-set that can allow 8 men to hold the equivalent wealth of half the global population (Oxfam, 2017). Not even Carl Rogers would be able to bring these men together in encounter with eight representatives of the dispossessed, or persuade the various, similarly ideological governments of the rich 'first' world to pursue equitable wealth distribution policies - because the situation is essentially political, it is about power and who holds it.

When Rogers talks of 'politics' he really means 'interpersonal politics', rather than the kind of institutional and social politics integral to Freire's concept of conscientização. In the mid-1960s, as part of a proposal for him to try out his ideas in the public school system, Rogers published an article which finished with 'any takers?' His intentions were expressed as follows:

A way must be found to develop, within the educational system as a whole, and in each component, a climate conducive to personal growth, a climate in which innovation is not frightening, in which the creative capacities of administrators, teachers and students are nourished and expressed rather than stifled. A way must be found in the system in which the focus is not on teaching, but on the facilitation of self-directed learning. Only thus can we develop the creative individual who is open to all of his experience; aware of it and accepting it and continually in the process of changing (Rogers, 1983: 233).

There were takers and he did indeed develop person-centred education across institutions – however, none of these experiments sustained over any length of time. Rogers is, as always, honest about describing the points of failure of the person-centred approach,

especially its lack of longevity. He dedicates a whole chapter of the second edition of *Freedom to Learn* (1983) to —“Pattern of Failure” where he gives a number of thumbnail sketches of failed person-centred institutions:

It may have been evident that there was a significant omission in the many examples of the effectiveness of the person-centred approach. There was no description of a whole educational institution built around such an approach sustaining itself successfully over a period of years. This is because humanistic, innovative educational organizations have a poor record in regard to permanence (Rogers, 1983: 227)

The reasons for the impermanence of person-centred institutions are identified by Rogers (1983: 245-250) as the threat to conventional institutions, a limited available pool of person-centred people, creeping bureaucracy and routinization and the lure of ‘Power over’, the unwillingness of people in powerful roles to give up that power. However, he offers no way forward from this point. Similarly, when Rogers discusses educational institutions and power, he generally compares an authoritarian ‘traditional’ education with one “infused with a person-centered approach” (Rogers, 1977: 69) - and demonstrates clearly the incompatibility between them. He does not say how a person-centred institution might come about.

I am reminded of the old joke: how many psychotherapists does it take to change a light bulb? Only one, but the bulb must genuinely want to change... The point is that the dominant group in universities, the group who hold the locus of control in education are now for the most part the new ‘efficiency’-driven (and obsessed) managerial class and it

is very hard indeed to see how they might wish to change themselves to become person-centred, giving away their power and authority and trusting students to be responsible for their own learning, abandoning the protective facade of the 'professional' and supporting the development of person-centred education over 'traditional' exam-driven banking education. O'Hara talks of Freire's scepticism about psychology and his belief in the danger of extrapolating psychological knowledge to the wider society (O'Hara, 1989: 27) - borne out, I think, in Rogers' discussion of institutions.

This is reinforced by a "Best University Workplace Survey" (Times Higher Education, 2016), which reports on "two parallel universes" between academics and 'professional and support staff' - a complete lack of communication at the heart of the university. The neoliberal university culture of efficiency means that "most academics feel overworked, exploited and ignored by management" with half of academics "worried about redundancies related to metrics-based performance measures". This is disastrous for each academic on a personal level in terms of the effects on physical and mental health, but also for any prospect of rediscovering the person in the educational process within the institution, because these are the very (tired and disillusioned) people who must needs adopt the constructive attitudes essential to person-centred education.

In his chapter on Freire, Rogers outlines his own experience working with oppressed groups and addresses accusations from contemporaries that the person-centred approach is too 'weak' to deal with oppressed minorities (Rogers, 1977: 105). Rogers states that the person-centred approach is "basically revolutionary process, subversive of any

authoritarian structure” (Rogers, 1977: 108). It surely is. But, of course, the approach itself must be allowed to take root before it can flourish. Rogers states that the person-centred approach to education is contingent upon the *precondition* of ~~a~~ leader or a person who is perceived as an authority figure in the situation is sufficiently secure within himself and in his relationship to others that he experiences an essential trust in the capacity of others to think for themselves, to learn for themselves” (Rogers, 1977: 72). If this leader is antipathetic to the whole philosophy of person-centredness, then the very possibility of its existence is unimaginable within the institution.

This lack of a supportive person-centred institutional context was perhaps also the case even in Rogers’ own more educationally adventurous times, as he talks of alternatives to the ~~tr~~aditional picture of education”:

A decade ago, only a few lonely, quiet pioneers offered an alternative to the traditional picture. Today, in every major city in the United States, there are dozens of alternative schools, free schools, universities without walls in which humanistic, person-centered, process-oriented education is taking place” (Rogers, 1977: 72).

So, his alternative to the traditional picture is mainly outside the academy and it is notable that Rogers himself permanently abandoned his position in formal education in 1963, when he joined the Western Behavioral Science Institute (WBSI), ~~a~~ non-profit organization devoted to humanistically oriented research in interpersonal relationships” (Kirschenbaum, 2007: 326). In making this decision, Rogers asked himself what a university could offer him:

I realized that in my research it offered no particular help; in anything educational, I was forced to fit my beliefs into a totally alien mold ... WBSI offered complete freedom with no bureaucratic entanglements ... the opportunity to facilitate learning without becoming entrapped in the anti-educational jungle of credits, requirements, examinations, more examinations, and grudgingly granted degrees” (qv Kirschenbaum, 2007: 326).

Rogers talks of the failure of person-centred institutions to sustain themselves over time - and, yet, it may well be that the very world-view, the focus on the *person*, of the person-centred approach meant that it was always unaware of movements at the institutional and social level that essentially removed the context within which the approach could fruitfully operate. This reminds of that same debate outlined earlier between educational progressives and administrative progressives where only the latter were concerned with the mechanics of institutions and so their view of education was the one that ultimately thrived within institutions. Educators have to be concerned about the institutional picture, the wider social and political picture, as otherwise progressive education cannot find any place to develop and grow.

Rogers himself recognizes this need, as he gives his wholehearted approval to a non-profit organization formed in 1975 called “Self-Determination: A Personal/Political Network” (their logo nicely demonstrates their egalitarian intent:

A $\frac{\text{Personal}}{\text{Political}}$ Network) and which Rogers describes as “giving a new emphasis to the importance of persons in the process of political action” (Rogers, 1977: 276). The “humanistic network” describes its aims as:

...changing ourselves and society ... facilitating personal and political consciousness-raising, by educating about the political dimension of personal vision, and about the human dimension of political lives and social issues (qv, Rogers, 1977: 276-7).

This is, of course, close in intent to my own reconsideration of the person-centred model to include, essentially, political consciousness. Rogers asks —“Can these individuals survive in our culture? What kinds of opposition can be expected?” and answers by saying —“The emergence of these new persons will be opposed ... It would take a massive - and perhaps unlikely - awakening of the American public” (Rogers, 1977: 278-9).

Ultimately, Rogers’ belief in the small, but significant, revolutionary change initiated by the person-centred approach is based on its effectiveness (Rogers, 1977: 286). Despite that, the approach was all but swept away in the turn to the right in his times, which turn has been consolidated globally in our own as part of the neoliberal hegemony.

Despite his later international work in highly charged political contexts, Rogers’ articulated view is essentially individualistic, humanizing society by changing consciousness one person at a time. O’Hara extrapolates from Rogers’ workshops and encounter groups, especially those at the international level, in order to resolve the contradiction between his individualistic core theory and his later attention to broader social questions. It is a bold and creative move, deserving of further research, but as yet unsubstantiated in the writing.

However, I am in full agreement when she suggests the exciting possibilities of the person-centred approach —grounded in the work of Carl Rogers and sharpened by the

thinking of Paulo Freire” (O’ Hara, 1989: 33). This is precisely the revision of the person-centred model being suggested here, beautifully expressed by O’Hara: “Freire’s conscientização, personalized by the psychological insights of Carl Rogers” (O’Hara, 1989: 33).

6.4 The model reconsidered

*Before I go on with this short history, let me make a general observation the test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind at the same time, and still retain the ability to function. One should, for example, be able to see that things are hopeless and yet be determined to make them otherwise (F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Crack-Up*, 2009: 1).*

There are opposed ideas in this attempt to develop an educational methodology that takes full and hopeful cognisance of the person in the process. For example, methodologically, Rogers was determinedly non-directive, stemming from the logic of his overall thesis that persons must have the space to self-actualize themselves; critical pedagogy is explicitly and politically directive because “What critical pedagogy does insist upon is that education cannot be neutral” (Giroux, 2011: 159):

Far from innocent, pedagogical practices operated within institutional contexts carry great power in determining what knowledge is of most worth, what it means for students to know something, and how such knowledge relates to a particular understanding of the self and its relationship to both others and the future (Giroux, 2011: 123)

A model of education that can be aware of and resistant to such coercive institutions is going to be something more than non-directive in its approach, so to what extent does this begin to move us away from person-centred education? Although Rogers remained sceptical, Kirschenbaum cites evidence that more directive ‘teaching’ can be “highly consistent with the core conditions” (Kirschenbaum, 2007: 603). Additionally, critical pedagogy itself does not necessitate the ‘social engineering’ of indoctrination or propaganda which would damage a properly ontological education.

Indeed, it is ‘neoliberal pedagogy’ which offers a fixed view of a world that is beyond change as students are “subconsciously educated to accept cynicism about the ability of ordinary people to change the conditions under which they live” (Lipsitz, qv Giroux, 2011: 146). Critical pedagogy, on the other hand, empowers students by embracing robust and open political dialogue which connects education with democratic public life. Like the person-centred approach to education, critical pedagogy “provides the conditions for individual autonomy” but it adds the collective goal of “liberation and the practice of freedom” (Giroux, 2011: 154).

hooks offers another potential way out of the problem of directivity by focusing not on content but, much like Rogers, on the attitude held by teacher-scholars and scholar-teachers:

...different, more radical subject matter does not create a liberatory pedagogy, that a simple practice like including personal experience may be more constructively challenging than simply changing the curriculum

*... One of the most misunderstood aspects of my writing on pedagogy is the emphasis on VOICE ... In regards to pedagogical practices we must intervene to alter the existing pedagogical structure and to teach students **how to listen, how to hear one another** (hooks, 1994: 148-150)*

In this way, hooks begins to build a bridge between critical pedagogy and person-centred education, between the focus on the person and the focus on the community:

When I enter the classroom at the beginning of the semester the weight is on me to establish that our purpose is to be, for however brief a time, a community of learners together (hooks, 1994: 153)

For hooks, power is not itself negative; rather, it depends what one does with it: "It was up to me to create ways within my professional power constructively, precisely because I was teaching in institutional structures that affirm it is fine to use power to reinforce and maintain coercive hierarchies" (hooks, 1994: 188)

In the introduction to *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Macedo writes about —educators who misinterpret Freire's notion of dialogical teaching” and his harsh judgement also catches what has been absent from the person-centred model: a refusal —to link experiences to the politics of culture and critical democracy, thus reducing their pedagogy to a form of middle-class narcissism” (Macedo, 2000: 18). However, accurate though such a judgement may be, it was missing for reasons that are congruent to Rogers’ theory, especially with regard to directivity, which is considered as a form of authoritarianism. So, there is a dilemma at the heart of this reconsideration of the model: critical acknowledgment of the politics of culture and democracy are needed to help sustain the

educational approach, but in as non-directive way as possible. The following attempts to resolve this dilemma in a consideration of dialogue and conversation, ontological questioning, *mitsein* and the sociological imagination.

As already shown, there is much in common between person-centred education and critical pedagogy: both are holistic, focus on well-being and foster human flourishing. Freire's model, like Rogers', is forward-looking and hopeful: "Problem-posing education is revolutionary futurity. Hence it is prophetic (and, as such, hopeful)" (Freire, 2000: 84). In terms of Rogers' core attitudes, Freire is in accord with the first two. For example, of realness (the refusal to take on roles or *façades*) he says that "the convert who approaches the people but feels alarm at each step they take, each doubt they express, and each suggestion they offer, and attempts to impose his "status," remains nostalgic towards his origins" (Freire, 2000: 61). Of the second, acceptance/trust: "A real humanist can be identified more by his trust in the people, which engages him in their struggle, than by a thousand actions in their favor without that trust" (Freire, 2000: 60).

However, Smith challenges the third of Rogers' conditions, empathic understanding, suggesting instead "dialogical - rather than person-centred, practice":

...in conversation, the task is not so much to enter and understand the other person, as to work for understanding and commitment. This is not achieved simply by getting into the shoes of another. (Smith, 2001)

He draws on Gadamer's "dialogic structure of understanding", where "conversation involves working to bring together the insights and questions of the different parties; it

entails the fusion of a number of perspectives, not the entering into of one” (Smith, 2001). This is not dialogue based on one person entering the private world of another, but one that begins with the proposition that "to understand means to come to an understanding *with each other*" (Gadamer, 2004: 180, my italics). Dialogue is the centre and the starting point for Freire:

Problem-posing education does not and cannot serve the interests of the oppressor. No oppressive order could permit the oppressed to begin to question: Why? While only a revolutionary society can carry out this education in systematic terms, the revolutionary leaders need not take full power before they can employ the method. In the revolutionary process, the leaders cannot utilize the banking method as an interim measure, justified on grounds of expediency, with the intention of later behaving in a genuinely revolutionary fashion. They must be revolutionary—that is to say, dialogical—from the outset (Freire, 2000: 86).

Indeed, ~~no~~ one can say a true word alone - nor can she say it for another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words (Freire, 1972: 88). Rather, dialogue is the encounter where ~~there~~ are neither ignoramuses nor perfect sages; there are only men who are attempting, together to learn more than they now know” (Freire, 1972: 90). However, ~~true~~ dialogue cannot exist unless the dialoguers engage in critical thinking” (Freire, 1972: 92) – and thinking demands questioning:

The real nature of the sudden idea is perhaps less that a solution occurs to us like an answer to a riddle than that a question occurs to us that breaks through into the open and thereby makes an answer possible. Every sudden idea has the structure of a question (Gadamer, 2004: 360)

A question occurs to us that breaks through into the open and thereby makes an answer possible. This ‘_open’ is the clearing itself, that space of possibilities where the path is strewn with questions: “The art of questioning is the art of questioning ever further—i.e., the art of thinking. It is called dialectic because it is the art of conducting a real dialogue” (Gadamer, 2004: 360). So, dialogue is necessary in order to be able to even see the path to the clearing, which is questioning-thinking and the attempt “together to learn more than [we] now know”:

... the example of Socrates teaches that the important thing is the knowledge that one does not know ... All questioning and desire to know presuppose a knowledge that one does not know; so much so, indeed, that a particular lack of knowledge leads to a particular question (Gadamer, 2004: 301)

The aim would be for ‘_learners’ to be “able to transform their lived experiences into knowledge and to use the already acquired knowledge as a process to unveil new knowledge [in order to] be able to participate rigorously in a dialogue as a process of learning and knowing” (Macedo, 2000: 18).

Echoing Rogers when he warns of the danger of using the person-centred model as a simplistic technique, Freire’s ‘_dialogic practice’ is not a method, but rather “... dialogue characterizes an epistemological relationship” (Freire, 2000: 17) – Freire thus brings us back to relationship as the centre of the model, adding society to teacher and student, in “... a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed” (Freire, 2000: 68).

This reconsidered model, with an understanding of the influence of power on persons in education, suggests the possibility of paths to the clearing, but is yet not sufficient to acknowledge the even deeper influence of the technological enframing which continues to hide those paths and deny the open space of possibilities. For this, we need to return to ~~the~~ “the most proper Being of Dasein – ontological understanding” (Heidegger, 1977: 24).

Freire did see a reality ‘hidden from humanity, but for Freire this was created by the oppressors in order to maintain their rule: —objective social reality exists not by chance, but as the product of human action” (Freire, 2000: 51). He qualifies this somewhat by saying that ~~One~~ “One of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge human consciousness” (Freire, 2000: 51). This might seem to be closer to Heidegger’s view, but, as we have seen, the enframing is something mysterious and beyond the ability of humans to influence: ~~the~~ “the unconcealment itself, within which ordering unfolds, is never a human handiwork” (Heidegger, 1977: 18).

Freire said that his ontological vocation ‘~~is~~ to be a Subject who acts upon and transforms his world, and in so doing moves toward ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively” (Shaul, 1972: 32). For Heidegger, the transformation is not one-way, but mutual, so that in transforming world, Being is also transformed:

Heidegger's deconstruction of education is not to destroy our traditional western educational institutions but to "loosen up" this ~~hardened~~ tradition and dissolve the concealments it has engendered, in order to "recover" from the beginning of the educational tradition those primordial experiences" which have fundamentally shaped its subsequent historical development (Thomson, 2001: 123)

In light of this, Flint & Peim call for an ~~ethical~~ engagement ... directed towards fundamental ontological questions" (Flint & Peim, 2012: 129). Talking specifically of researchers, but I would contend that it is nonetheless true for all engaged in the being-in-the-world of education, they call for an open, questioning approach to education which ~~seeks~~ to understand the role of education in contemporary social life" as well as a reflexive account of their own grounding, ~~their~~ own situatedness within a nexus of ideas, historical context and institutional apparatus" (Flint & Peim, 2012: 129).

Would critical pedagogy's focus on the politics of power and on group relations and social context make a difference to the picture of education as here so far described? Possibly not. The corporate neoliberal university is on the ascendant, a powerful and growing force and difficult to challenge, whilst academics are isolated and dispirited and students encouraged to take an instrumental approach to education. However, at least all directly involved in and engaged with education would be *awake* to their situation allowing at least the possibility of resistance. Giroux captures the idea well:

Education is at the centre of politics ... [it] has to be reclaimed, has to have a very different mission, a very different purpose ... it's not about methods, it's about educating people in ways to enhance their sense of critique, ways to expand the critical imagination, to lead them to believe ... that in order to act otherwise they have to think otherwise – and it also suggests that they have to do it collectively, that they can't do it individually” (Giroux, 2014)

The person-centred model is certainly not at the extreme of Bennett's “all agency and no structure” (qv Giroux, 2011: 140) – however, it is clear that to survive in the swirl of neoliberalism and the enframing, an updated person-centred model does need to be more robust than its earlier incarnation. The suggestion here is that this might be achieved by incorporating the lessons from critical pedagogy and from Heidegger. However, the danger is that such changes would overwhelm the model, turning it into a kind of pick and mix of simplistic techniques. Therefore, whatever emerges here must remain true to the *essence* of the person-centred approach whilst acknowledging any contradictions – it must retain the ability to function.

I therefore resist the temptation of naming the reconsidered model, as any combination feels unsatisfactory, arbitrary. Humanistic education is historically fraught with difficulty; radical humanism kind of works but is tainted by that same confusion over terms (especially the deliberate conflation with atheism); ontological critical education is clumsy... A focus on the deepest purpose of education gets us closer, liberation education or better education for liberation (not pedagogy, as this focuses on the teacher overmuch). Then we have the original construct of freedom to learn and

Heidegger's let learn, where freedom to learn might well become learn for freedom or learning for freedom or learning to be free or simply learning to Be. In the end, I am happy here to applaud Freire's formulation of "Education as the practice of freedom—as opposed to education as the practice of domination" (Freire, 2000: 81).

The question of freedom is at the heart of Heidegger's central task, which is ~~to~~ *let unconcealment show itself* in the mystery of the clearing of Being (Krell, in Heidegger, 1993: 62):

...if the essence of the unconcealment of beings belongs in any way to Being itself, then Being, by way of its own essence, lets the free space of openness (the clearing of the There) happen, and introduces it as a place of the sort in which each being emerges in its own way (Heidegger, 1993: 120).

In educational terms, Dasein is the clearing, so that to let learn is to let Dasein's natural light shine through in Being. Rogers offers a way of being that is constructive and offers also freedom to learn. It is not a stretch from let learn to freedom to learn, or from mitsein to community, where ~~more~~ more conscious beings create a more conscious world. And a more conscious world creates more conscious beings" (O'Hara 1989:19). The paths and the clearing in this chapter are metaphors of space: imaginary, unreal places which nonetheless possess the revolutionary power of ideas, of questioning-thinking, of possibility.

The quiet heart of the clearing is the place of stillness from which alone the possibility of the belonging together of Being and thinking, that is, presence and apprehending, can arise at all (Heidegger, 1993: 321)

The challenge for an education that wishes to pay attention to these ideas is to imagine a non-hegemonic, heterotopic space that would allow the ideas to flourish in and around the lived experience of free Beings, education for human and social flourishing. This is the focus of the following, which explores the potential of the paths to the clearing of virtual space, institutional and alternative educational space in their possibilities to empower the person in the process, to foster freedom and democracy and to let learn.

Chapter Seven: Paths to the Clearing II – technology

But where danger is, grows

The saving power also

(Hölderlin, qv Heidegger, 1977: 28)

The subject of this chapter is ‘technology’ as it is more commonly understood, typified, not so long ago, perhaps, by the ‘personal computer’, now by the smart phone and tablet. However, ‘technology’ does not exist in a vacuum and it finds meaning in relation to human beings, which brings us inescapably back to what stands behind technology:

Technology is not equivalent to the essence of technology ... the essence of technology is by no means anything technological (Heidegger, 1977: 4).

The danger of our use of technology is that we cannot see its essence, wherein is revealed its true purpose as agent of the standing reserve, which is concealed by the enframing that it serves. Speaking in the context of Freire and critical pedagogy, Shaull clearly sees the technological enframing: —“Or advanced technological society is rapidly making objects of most of us and subtly programming us into conformity to the logic of its system” (Shaull, 1972: 33). And he sees also the hopeful possibility that —“the same technology that does this to us also creates a new sensitivity to what is happening ... the new media together with the erosion of old concepts of authority open the way to acute awareness of this new bondage” (Shaull, 1972: 34). The chapter thus follows Heidegger, in presenting the paradox of the danger and the saving power of technology, whilst understanding that —“technology is not or should not be, at the heart of man's life, that Being cannot be understood in a purely technological manner” (Peters, 2002: 203).

7.1 Technology and learning

It is a great time to be a learner thanks in no small part to new technologies: the Internet, the World Wide Web, ubiquitous mobile phones and other devices. These technologies offer us exciting opportunities for learning new things in new ways with new people, for extending capacity and access

(Watters, 2014: 67).

Recent developments in technology have aided my doctoral research in a number of practical ways. The word processor enables me to capture and sort ideas, to cut and paste text and quotations with great ease. Wikipedia is an amazing place to begin research from, to get overviews of books and authors and philosophical positions and movements, as well as clues to where an argument might go next. The ability to import references from Google Scholar into my reference management software allows me to store, manage and present my references seamlessly. Online access to journal articles has speeded up what used to be a slow and fairly intricate process (delays from inter-library loans, hours poring over microfiche cards and readers in a library). Reading downloaded articles on a tablet computer is both convenient and environmentally friendly. I have learnt significantly from a number of free online courses. My unexpected need to research atoms and molecules and so on to create my earlier person-centred graphical model led me immediately to YouTube and Wikipedia. Not to mention the privilege of being able to watch and listen to Foucault, Heidegger, Rogers, Freire, Chomsky et al speaking direct to camera on YouTube. We now have access to information on a scale unimaginable in previous generations. It is a great time to be a learner. However, there is a price to be paid.

No secret police organisation in history – no KGB, no Gestapo, no Stasi – has collected as much information as Google; and this information is not only collected from our browser

search history, but from the data linked between multiple sources. For example, Google Maps on your phone extracts additional data from your contacts and that data is traded to advertising and other data collection companies, as well as being stored in perpetuity on Google's servers.

The scope and extent of the collection of personal data can be disconcerting. I found to my horror that the 'Timeline' feature in Google Maps had, without my knowledge, compiled quite detailed information from my location history giving a precise picture of my movements around the country over the last few years - where I was, when and, often, with whom. My home address, my work address, places I frequent, the routes I took to get there and photos I took at these places (<https://www.google.com/maps/timeline>). It was also deeply unsettling to find out that each time I instruct my phone with the "Okay Google..." voice command and give some innocuous instruction, to time my breakfast eggs, say, which I had thought was a passing, transitory event, Google records and stores my voice – my voice! This very intimate and personal aspect of who I feel that I am (<https://history.google.com/history/audio>). Most of us are unaware of this and do not give our informed consent – and of course almost nobody reads the scores of terms of agreement that we all move past so readily. This data is not under your control and ALL data stored online is vulnerable to attack for purposes of sale, theft or vandalism, never mind the purposes that we now know that state organisations such as GCHQ and NSA put it to (<http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/the-nsa-files>).

However this is dressed up – as social networking, as light-hearted fun, as consumer choice – and whatever uses are claimed for it, this monitoring of behaviour is clearly an expansion of surveillance into all of our lives, and it is different to those older ways of data collection because we are doing it ourselves; Facebook and Google are doing the same thing as the Stasi,

but we allow them to, something de La Boétie identified centuries ago as “voluntary servitude” (de La Boétie, 1975). And along with surveillance goes discipline; when we sense we are watched we act differently. When our Google search is monitored by state organisations it alters our behaviour, it restricts our thinking. One report found a 10% reduction in Google searches using “high government trouble-related search terms” after Edward Snowden’s June 2013 surveillance revelations (Marthews & Tucker, 2015: 1). This makes technology a profound contribution to the enframing (*gestell*) because, more than ever before, “reality is largely digitally mediated” (Lambeir, 2002: 103) and thus “strikes us at our innermost life” (ibid, 106). As Lambeir points out, “the extraordinary relationship we have with digital technology makes the enframing an even more demanding reality” so that every search through Google is down the rabbit hole of Gestell and its call on us to standing reserve:



Figure 8: Google/Gestell

As Feenberg points out, “...the pretension to control everything ultimately leaves human beings helpless before the technological processes they set in motion” (2011: 812). We are challenged-forth in our relation to technology and our approach to technology has always

already been made, because of the enframing of Google/*Gestell*. In a very real sense, we have, willingly or unknowingly, ourselves become data called to be part of the standing reserve of the technological enframing:

Technology has led to the gratification of desire on an unprecedented scale but also paradoxically to an underlying meaninglessness. It has created a world in which we are caught up in a never-ending busyness where no one seems to be fully in control and where, while some may ponder the significance of this, we are generally lulled into a tranquillised acceptance of technology's values (Standish, 1999: 448-9).

And this is nowhere more so than in ‘_Ed-Tech’, in the use of technology within the education system, the subject of the next section.

7.2 The Danger of technology in education

7.2.1 Big Data: We care. We are watching you.

The candidate sits expectant in the hush of the examination hall: a data point. The eighty other students sitting in the same hall: 80 data points. When they finish, more candidates sit in the same hall: exponentially more data points. In more halls, in more colleges and more countries the world over: data points girdle the globe. This is Big Data in education (capitalized throughout to emphasise the phenomenon under discussion) and Big Data loves nothing more than a single tidy figure to represent things in the world, to represent - by reducing - those non-standard humans and their messy and chaotic learning processes. If only the education system were standardized using a prescribed curriculum ‘_constructively aligned’ with ‘_learning outcomes’, tests and exams, then technology which automatically tracks every action as data, which can be stored and analysed using algorithms, would be able to precisely measure and more efficiently deliver ‘_learning content’. It would be so much better if all of

this took place online, so that every keystroke, every change of screen and every downloaded file could be produced as constant and irrefutable evidence towards improving learning’.

This is indeed the current direction of education technology’, as inexorably driven by Big Data, which is ~~a~~ loosely defined term used to describe data sets so large and complex that they become awkward to work with using standard statistical software” (Snijders et al, 2012:1). Information is extracted from these huge data sets (measured these days in petabytes: 10^{15} or 1,000,000,000,000,000 bytes) by data mining’. The mining metaphor is suggestive of powerful machinery digging and tunnelling uninvited and with brute force into the earth in order to violently extract whatever is decided to be of value there. Data mining similarly uses powerful computational machinery to extract whatever is decided to be of value from data generated as part of the system of education. The Big Data companies (there are many and they clearly see Big Profits – see Feinleib, 2016) use methods such as data mining’ coupled with learning analytics’ and claim to be able to analyse efficiency’, by measuring such key performance indicators’ (KPI) as enrollment, accreditation, effectiveness, research, financial information, and metrics by class and by department (ibid).

The word efficiency’ is a clue to what is really going on here; Big Data in education is in fact the inevitable outcome of the long coming together of the cult of efficiency with technology in education. Compared to the cost, coarseness and inflexibility of even national census data, ~~Big~~ Data is characterized by being generated continuously, seeking to be exhaustive and fine-grained in scope, and flexible and scalable in its production” (Kitchin, 2014: 2) – an efficiency cultist’s dream come true, then. If revolutions could begin with superlatives then there is indeed a revolution afoot here:

The explosion in the production of Big Data, along with the development of new epistemologies, is leading many to argue that a data revolution is under way that has far-reaching consequences to how knowledge is produced, business conducted, and governance enacted (Kitchin, 2014: 2).

Add to this, such bold claims as “a new era of empiricism” and “the end of theory” – even a new research paradigm (ibid), then there are clearly plenty of true believers flying the Big Data flag in education. Kitchin reports on Walmart —“generating more than 2.5 petabytes of data relating to more than 1 million customer transactions” and it is easy enough to imagine an audible gasp!‘ as the writer then italicises *every hour* (ibid). So much data, and so quickly! The models for Big Data are the big global technology companies, but education has the potential to outstrip even these in terms of generating data:

We literally know everything about what you know and how you learn best, everything ... We have five orders of magnitude more data about you than Google has ... We literally have more data about our students than any company has about anybody else about anything. (Ferreira, 2013)

This bombastic statement is from the CEO of Knewton, an adaptive learning company‘. Below the YouTube video, it reads:

Jose Ferreira, CEO of Knewton, shares his vision for a future where every student receives a truly personalized curriculum best suited to his or her needs. Knewton collects millions of data points about student users in order to provide them with more effective timing and content to enhance learning (ibid).

The Knewton adaptive learning‘ platform has ostensibly been developed, then, to personalize‘ educational content, because more data makes for better‘ education. Audrey Watters (whose earlier quote *It is a great time to be a learner* was out of context and out of keeping, as she proudly bears the tag of ed-tech‘s Cassandra‘ <http://audreywatters.com>) is

worth quoting at length on this as she asks the important questions that arise about student data and privacy:

We have to ask who owns student data, who controls it, who profits from collecting and analyzing it. (Spoiler alert: the answer here isn't ~~the student.~~) We have to ask more questions about the collection and analysis of student data that is feeding algorithms that promise —personalization.” What do technology companies actually mean by ~~personalization~~”? We have to consider if we are reducing students from people to profiles. And we must ask these questions, knowing full well that education institutions have never really done a good job recognizing students as people. How might the marketing promise surrounding ~~personalization~~” steer us away from self-direction and into pre-determined, pre-ordained pathways? (Watters, 2014: 73)

Writing from the crest of that earlier wave of humanistic education, Patterson made a similar call for a humanistic education and also cautioned against dependence on an impersonal technology in education, pointing out that:

...writers confuse individualization of instruction with personalization, and state or imply that machine instruction is personalized, a clear misuse of the term. Instruction can only be personalized by a person (Patterson, 1973: 6).

The kind of personalization enacted by Big Data is really the opposite of person-centred self-actualization and freedom to learn because it actively, and continually, *constructs* the person by categorizing both their performance and identity according to externally prescribed norms, which are destructive towards humans in their intent, as the profiles they create are based on a presumption of guilt. As Watters says, *“These systems do not care”* (Watters, 2015: 143). Despite the claims of the Big Data companies invariably focusing on the pastoral *—best suited to his or her needs”* - the effect is instead powerfully disciplinary: *—We care. We are watching you”* (Flint & Peim, 2012: 32).

An investigation into the impact of surveillance on student learning behaviours found that students' browsing behaviours, the range of topics discussed and the writing style of their contributions made to asynchronous discussion forums are influenced by the degree to which such activities are perceived to be surveyed by both the institution and teaching staff' (Dawson et al, 2005). Just like the chilling effect on thinking after Snowden's revelations about government surveillance, when students are online in an institutional environment they know they are monitored and modify their behaviour accordingly.

It is not only students who are surveilled; in the wake of 'learning analytics' comes 'academic analytics', which 'encapsulates all the activities in higher education affecting administration, research, resource allocation and management' and which 'will be an essential component of the future' (Daniel, 2015: 912). Academic analytics:

... provides overall information about what is happening in a specific programme and how to address performance challenges ... reflects the role of data analysis at an institutional level ... combines large data sets with statistical techniques and predictive modelling to improve decision making (ibid.)

And so on. The only 'challenges of implementation' are cost and the cardinal sin of a lack of standardization - the rather inevitable solution being more standardization of data collection with and between institutions (Daniel, 2015: 916). In this brave new technological world of 'adaptive learning', who exactly is doing the adapting? The irony is that in order to customize educational content and delivery 'best suited to his or her needs', the education system itself has first to be customized in order to define those needs for the individual learner and produce statistical data sets. In adaptive learning, the ones doing the adapting are the human beings, called to the ultimate version of the enframing - the *digital enframing* - where students are

points of data, and academics, also points of data, oversee the correct running of automated education systems, managed by business-oriented administrators in thrall and on call to the neoliberal cult of efficiency.

In an educational system where students pass exams in order to get jobs, it is not learning that is being measured, rather it is the ability to pass exams that generate numbers for Big Data. Teachers teach to the test, students cram just enough information to pass the test. This is the gold standard of banking education, where informational content is determined from above, delivered to the student-receptacle, which is nudged towards being able to capture the information for a sufficient amount of time in order to show that information capture has indeed taken place.

The Big Data companies may well be able to analyse efficiency in learning – in their own sense of measuring outcomes from pre-set targets - but it is clearly unrelated to that earlier discussion about the kind of education that acknowledges the *essence* of technology, which demands an education that will —.let beings be as the beings which they are” (Heidegger, 1993: 72). Rather, the data mining gold rush constructs a kind of busyness that looks like learning because that is what they have conspired to call learning, based on knowledge performance indicators (KPI), targets, learning outcomes and assessment of those same learning outcomes. However, as stated earlier, Big Data equals Big Profits, so that, in an increasingly privatized education system, data mining and learning analytics will increasingly drive the direction of educational development. And Big Data in education will get bigger.

For example, McKinsey & Company is an \$8.3 billion global management consulting firm who, amongst others, work with American Express, IBM, the Bank of England, Mitsubishi, Siemens and various governments (Wetfeet, 2009). They work across multiple sectors,

including (to name but a few) Aerospace & Defense, Financial Services, Healthcare Systems & Services, Metals & Mining (appropriately enough) and Oil & Gas (<http://www.mckinsey.com>, accessed 29/03/16). Their report, “Big data: The next frontier for innovation, competition, and productivity” states that “While all sectors will have to overcome barriers to capture value from the use of big data, barriers are structurally higher for some than for others ... For example, the public sector, including education, faces higher hurdles because of a lack of data-driven mind-set and available data” (McKinsey, 2011). A more recent report (Bryant and Sarakatsannis, 2015) begins to explore weaknesses in those structurally high barriers to Big Data, stating that “The pressure on schools to deliver a higher-quality product is intensifying” and sets out the potential profits for their client corporations: “. . . education is a \$1.5 trillion industry and growing at 5 percent annually” (*ibid*).

In the introduction to Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Shaull reminds us that:

There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world (1972: 34)

The same can be said of Big Data in education: “Data is not neutral. Data – its collection, storage, retrieval, usage – is not neutral” (Watters, 2014: 99). Johnson elaborates:

The constructed nature of data makes it quite possible for injustices to be embedded in the data itself. Whether by design or as unintended consequences, the process of constructing data builds social values and patterns of privilege into the data. Where those values and privileges are unjust, the injustice is then

a characteristic of the data itself; no amount of openness can remedy such injustices, just as no amount of statistical processing can undo inaccuracies in the original data. “Garbage in, garbage out” is a central concept in data ethics (Johnson, 2014: 265).

Standish links the ‘efficient’ systems that deliver data in quantified education to the difficulty of ever seeing these injustices, bringing us immediately back to the essence of technology in education, which is hidden from view in our enframed way of being:

Witness the common difficulty of even seeing a problem with current preoccupations with efficiency and effectiveness. Cybernetic systems have had the effect of levelling and of encouraging a predisposition towards quantification and accounting (Standish, 1997: 448).

Using a highly specialised term, one (of the many) definitions of ‘Cybernetics’ is "Based on the Greek 'kybernetes', meaning steersman or governor, cybernetics is the science or study of control or regulation mechanisms in human and machine systems..." (<http://www.asc-cybernetics.org/foundations/definitions.htm> accessed 29/03/16). Control. Regulation. The hierarchy and power implied by ‘the governor’. Such concepts bring us back to the question of who does the adapting in ‘adaptive learning’, human or machine systems, and the ultimate danger –that our very human qualities adapt to the dominant machine-like logic in ‘the enframing’”, thus reducing Dasein to the level of controlled, regulated and passive cybernetic organisms or ‘cyborgs’ (Flint & Peim, 2012: 53-4). The next section looks at the principal cybernetic systems in use in education.

7.2.2 Ed-tech is but a vehicle and a disarming disguise

“...universities are not simply undergoing a technological transformation. Beneath that change, and camouflaged by it, lies another: the

commercialization of higher education. For here as elsewhere technology is but a vehicle and a disarming disguise" (Noble, 1998: 3)

Despite the possibilities of the open web being used as a space of limitless resources in the way that the person-centred model calls for, the most significant platforms in education are Learning Management Systems (LMS – Virtual Learning Environments or VLEs in UK) and Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), both of which are acceptable within the enframed neoliberal education system because they operate as both content delivery and tracking systems, enabling ‘education’ to be marketed as a product as well as providing data sets for ‘improving’ that product. Watters traces the longer development of this form of educational technology:

Here we can see the origins – the original aspirations, even – of ed-tech: the idea that some sort of mechanism could be developed to not only deliver content ... but to handle both instruction and assessment. ... You can draw a straight line ... between Thorndike and behaviorist B. F. Skinner, the name mostly commonly associated with “teaching machines” and the person who coined the phrase “programmed instruction” (Watters, 2014: 139).

This is the same history outlined in an earlier chapter: while the pedagogical progressives focused on human values, human growth and development, the administrative progressives were developing more and more efficient ways to organise and deliver education - and what is more efficient than a machine? So, machines and technology in education became and continue to be deeply imbued with the values of the culture of efficiency.

The LMS

At the level of the classroom, the Learning Management System (LMS) “imposes limitations” and its purpose is to “manage resources ... based on managerial and administrative tasks centered on instructor efficiency” (Lane, 2008: 2). Elsewhere, Lane states that LMSs are not

–pedagogically neutral shells for course content. They influence pedagogy by presenting default formats designed to guide the instructor toward creating a course in a certain way” (Lane, 2009:1). This is also the case for more ‘constructivist’ systems, like Moodle (Lane, 2009:1). Essentially, the built-in pedagogy of the big systems is based on traditional approaches to instruction dating from the nineteenth century: presentation and assessment” (2009, p.2). Van Weigel adds to this, stating that it “re-analyzes our collective creativity by forcing eLearning technologies into the familiar classroom categories of lectures, discussions, and exams”, thus reinforcing “uncritical acceptance of the traditional features of the classroom model” (Weigel, 2005: 55).

Watters draws a broader, much more insidious, connection: “I think we’re witnessing here a new sort of imperialism – at the level of technology, at the level of infrastructure” (Watters, 2014: 149). And, like imperialism, like the enframing, it constructs views of the world:

The learning management system has shaped a generation’s view of education technology, and I’d contend, shaped it for the worst. It has shaped what many people think ed-tech looks like, how it works, whose needs it suits, what it can do, and why it would do so. The learning management system reflects the technological desires of administrators – it’s right there in the phrase. –Management.” It does not reflect the needs of teachers and learners (Watters, 2014: 151).

Although the LMS is internet-based, there is a clear sense of defined and delimited location for users as the technology is tightly controlled by the particular higher education institution that implements it. In 2008, a different kind of technology was shown to be possible in education, one that seemed to open up this walled-off educational space and open it up to possibility: the MOOC. The next section considers the MOOC’s development and asks if it

has lived up to this possibility or to what extent it continues to fulfil Big Data's demand for product delivery and data mining.

The MOOC

MOOC is an acronym for 'Massive Open Online Course' and while it is tempting to 'explain' this fairly recent development in educational technology by dissection, this only presents a partial picture, as some of the courses are neither massive, open or online (Watters, <http://2015trends.hackededucation.com/moocs.html> accessed 05/04/16). So, definition of the MOOC is contentious and the significant point to be made is that recent developments in Internet connectivity and broadband speeds have enabled a number of features such as multiple choice testing, interactive forums and especially the ability to stream and download high quality audio-visual media on demand.

The MOOC does differ from the LMS in that it is, in theory at least, not a 'walled garden', locked down by an individual university, but rather 'open' to anybody with the requisite equipment and skills to make use of it. However, rhetoric around their emergence has been inflated with 'unfulfilled promises':

MOOCs will democratize education, MOOCs will be free, MOOCs will decrease the cost of college, MOOCs will improve universities' brand (and enrollment) (Watters, <http://hackededucation.com/2015/12/14/trends-moocs>, accessed 05/04/16).

This is just three years after the New York Times declared 2012 'The Year of the MOOC' (<http://goo.gl/QZe0s>, accessed 05/04/2016). Others at the time saw 'The End of the University as We Know It', using the red-in-tooth-and-claw language of 'free' markets to declaim: 'The higher-ed business is in for a lot of pain as a new era of creative destruction produces a merciless shakeout of those institutions that adapt and prosper from those that stall

and die” (<http://goo.gl/LMnXCV>, accessed 04/04/16). More recent pronouncements have been more measured indicating that —MOOCs have scaled back their ambitions, content to become job training for the tech sector and for students who already have college degrees” (Watters <http://goo.gl/KX1kxD> accessed 05/04/16). However, the ‘big three’ MOOC companies (Udacity, Coursera, and Udemy) have now raised \$219 million between them, with Udacity being valued at \$1 billion (Watters <http://goo.gl/KX1kxD> accessed 05/04/16). Profit-making ventures do not invest without the promise of a return on their investment, so why are they investing so much?

Especially because, apart from being ‘open’, MOOCs are also ‘free’ (more on ‘open’ below, but both terms are contentious enough to be placed inside disinfectant quote marks).

However, they are ‘free’ in the same way that Google and Facebook are ‘free’. Google (and Facebook) are “tapping, mapping and colonizing the networks wiring our lives”

(<http://goo.gl/dCeRXB>, accessed 05/04/16); in order to use gmail, or search, or to connect with others online, you agree to share your data with them, which they then sell at a profit to advertisers - who in turn are able to ‘personalize’ your online experience by customizing and targeting the advertisements you see. It is at least theoretically possible to avoid this ‘payment’ by surfing anonymously, not using a smartphone and never logging into a web service. However, personalization in education is drawn directly from the same concept and it is not feasible for a student to refuse to engage with online elements of courses which they have already paid for and agreed to take – and every time this captive audience engages, the MOOC platform ‘aggregates’ their data as Big Data and stores it in a ‘data warehouse’ for further processing by way of ‘data mining’ and ‘learning analytics’.

In a presentation from an EdX MOOC about why data mining did not emerge in the 1980s, one of the main reasons is given as –getting data on learning processes and learner behaviors, in field settings, required methods like: quantitative field observations, video recordings, think-aloud studies... *none of which scale easily*" (Baker, 2013 - my italics). And this is the point. It is done now because it is can be done easily - and especially because it can be done bigger. It is done because the technology can do it. Education is now systemically organised in order that automated technology can shape more and more humans to its need to collect and process more and more data. And it is control of that data that holds the promise for return on investment for companies, because this process:

...is not the work of teachers or students, the presumed beneficiaries of improved education, because it is not really about education at all. That's just the name of the market (Noble, 1998: 4).

As education is driven towards a model of data capture and processing, as everybody in education is driven online, towards privately-owned platforms, as education becomes a product to be sold to consumers, then shareholders in the companies who own the platforms where all of this takes place are in prime position to extract profit from that process. Pearson is the biggest education company in the world. They have 40,000 employees in over 80 countries, a turnover of \$8 billion and a profit of \$1.3 billion (Unwin and Yandell, 2016). Their corporate tagline - –Always Learning” – has been a mildly satirical hostage to fortune online:

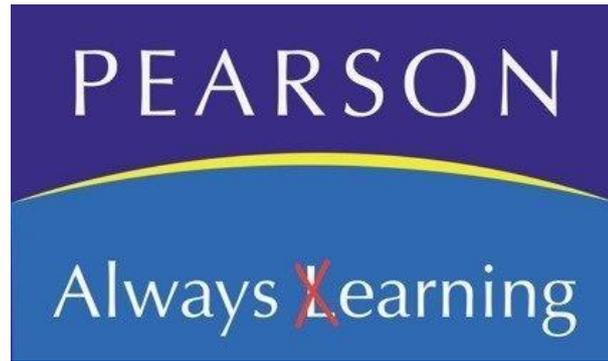


Figure 9: Pearson – Always earning

However, their impact on education is very serious indeed. All around the world, Pearson is –simultaneously influencing educational policy and providing solutions for the problems which it identifies (and thus creating opportunities for further profit-making interventions” (ibid.). For example, Pearson invests heavily in Bridge International Academies (BIA) and their business model is based on a radically standardized, ‘Academy-in-a-box’ model, which has:

...a scripted curriculum, providing instructions for and explanations of what teachers should do and say during any given moment of a class, is delivered through tablets synchronized with BIA headquarters for lesson plan pacing, monitoring and assessment tracking (Junemann & Ball, 2015: 19).

This is the ideal data framework, a perfect and perfectly malleable world where all decisions are based on the evidence of data and there is little to be gained from too much human involvement. With tablets replacing teachers, this is the highpoint of enframed neoliberal education, with the market ideology of product delivery to the fore - not hidden, not implicit or underlying, but explicitly marketed as standardized product to be delivered (and then monitored and measured for ‘accountability’ and ‘improvement’). The model relies for its development, of course, on the cost effectiveness and economies of scale made possible by the combination of technology and data analytics - Big Data. The grammar of Big Data is:

...about verbs and what we can do with it: predict; steer, shape; harvest, harness, mine; sort, store, synthesize; track and trace; innovate and transform; optimize, maximize, visualize; and so on. So many of those verbs are about maximizing the capacity to model human behavior: intervening, faster and more efficiently than ever before. (Uprichard, 2014: 1)

‘Big Data’, as a hyponym of ‘data’, whose Latin root means —“this given””, encapsulates a developing system of education which deliberately – cynically - moves persons away from control over their own data and over the learning process, thus denying engagement —. .with the open region and its openness into which every being comes to stand” (Heidegger, 1993: 72). And if, ultimately, —“The LMS is a piece of administrative software” (Watters, 2014: 34), then the MOOC fares little better:

One of my great ed-tech fears: seeing MOOCs, hailed as the —big new thing” in ed-tech, build their online classes on technologies that look exactly like the LMS. That is: a student signs up for a course. A course that has a beginning date and an end date. Despite the adjective —open,” the course is behind a wall. Everything is meant to take place therein. At the end of the course, the student loses access to the material and to any of the content or data they’ve created. Indeed, the latter is often signed away as part of the Terms of Service. There is one instructor. Maybe two. Maybe some course assistants. They grade. They monitor the forums. The instructors are the center.

The content is the center.

The learner is not the center.

The web, of course, does not work this way (Watters, 2014: 155).

So, the MOOC claims to be ‘open’ but everything takes place behind a metaphorical wall.

Wiley goes further and says that MOOCs:

...have done more harm to the cause of open education than anything else in the history of the movement. They have inflicted this harm by promoting and popularizing an abjectly impoverished understanding of the word –open”
(Wiley, 2014).

That impoverished understanding of ‘open’ is based on an older model of open education provision, exemplified by the Open University, which allowed anybody to enrol on their courses, regardless of prior academic achievement. Thus, in education ‘open’ meant ‘open entry’. Subsequently, additional meaning has been provided to ‘open’ due to institutions making their ‘content’ freely available online (an Internet search on ‘university’ + ‘open’ + ‘courseware’ is instantly illustrative of the point – there are hundreds of very rich sites returned). So, this understanding of ‘open’ embraces copyright-free, ‘open licences’ so that users can retain, reuse, revise, remix and redistribute as they see fit. And the distinction is important. By basing ‘open’ only on ‘open entry’, MOOCs ‘deliver’ fully copyrighted courses (en)framed by draconian terms of use which are closed off to all at course end, the antithesis of a space of possibility.

Companies like Knewton and Pearson, private, profit-making companies who are now driving much change in education focus a significant amount of their attention on the business school concept of ‘Disruptive Innovation’, a term coined to capture the way in which ‘technology’ has been able to displace established commercial enterprises (Christensen, 1997). It has been applied with relish to the ‘business of education’, especially by those with a stake in that ‘business’, who talk freely of ‘democratizing education’, even ‘revolutionizing education’. But, as Audrey Watters makes clear, ‘disruption’ means ‘shifting power’ – and this application of technology does not shift power at all:

We're supposed to cheer for the Mark Zuckerbergs and Travis Kalanicks of the world, even though, upon closer inspection, we notice that they're still affluent white guys funded by investment dollars from even more affluent white guys. When Silicon Valley —disrupts” things, power and privilege don't magically get re-distributed to all of us or even to new groups of people (Watters, 2015: 141).

Research supports this: —168 massive open online courses (MOOCs) offered by Harvard and MIT, students with greater socioeconomic resources enrolled and earned certificates at higher rates” (Hansen & Reich, 2015: 1). Injustice inherent in the wider social system is perpetuated by education technology.

The combination of the neoliberal university and Big Data has exponentially intensified the enframing of humanity – the danger is always already upon us. At the outset of this thesis, I was primarily concerned about rediscovering the person in the process of education; now, it seems, persons are just so much data in service to the standing reserve. It is notable that UK universities have responded to the call by deliberately excluding humans from their policy documents about ‘_human labour with technology for learning’ (Hayes & Jandrić, 2014: 195). So, is there a better way? How *does* the web work and does it – can it – open up a space of possibility for the kind of education that does not take power away, but empowers and liberates?

7.3 The saving power of technology in education

The humanistic approach is broadly non-technological in its essence, especially in its formulation in Rogers' model, which focuses in its entirety on the person – but not to control, to order to position as part of standing reserve, but rather to offer the freedom to (let) learn. It prioritises the search for existential truth as against façades in persons. However, just like the

institutions that further the enframing through the culture of efficiency, educational technology deepens the enframing by capturing humans as data.

As Illich points out, —Technology is available to develop either independence and learning or bureaucracy and teaching” (Illich, 1971: 55). We have already seen which path education has chosen: —Education technology is, despite many of our hopes for something else, for something truly transformational, often a tool designed to meet administrative goals” (Watters, 2015: 66). So, the danger is already upon us. The digital enframing is the danger of technology’s path in education which drives humanity towards standing reserve.

So, what of the saving power? The path to the clearing is a different path to those that lead to the technological enframing and the culture of efficiency, it is one which can create a space of possibilities where "things show up in the light of our understanding of being" (Dreyfus, 1991: 163). The following is a tentative exploration of some ways in which the open space of possibility might be found in education with technology.

7.3.1 The MOOC as dwelling in possibility

*Of Visitors – the fairest –
For Occupation – This –
The spreading wide my narrow Hands
To gather Paradise –*

(Emily Dickinson, I dwell in possibility)

MOOCs are part of the danger; but perhaps the saving power grows there also. To take one by way of example, ModPo (Modern & Contemporary American Poetry‘:

<https://www.coursera.org/learn/modpo>, accessed 06/04/16) offers insight into American poetry – but it also edges towards a sense of belonging, encouraging participants to become

part of their writers' community. Not only do they present overviews of poems and poets and movements, they have video recorded extended round-table 'community' discussions about the same elements, during which the remote participant gets a genuine sense of what it is to conduct a close reading of a poem, to respond to poetry, to be part of a writers' group. In one fascinating community discussion, they spend ten minutes reflecting on the pedagogical platform of the MOOC itself and offer deep, personal insight into their own engagement with the medium and their sense of how it might be for people accessing the course virtually.

In this way, some sense of place is created in which we can all dwell, allowing a further human connection that enhances the unfolding of being and becoming. This in turn leaves open the possibility of a bridge to even further imaginative spaces of possibility, because "only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build" (Heidegger, 1971: 160).

Although I accessed the course online, the sense of unbridled enthusiasm for the subject and the desire to share with good humour and humanity are infectious and welcoming and suggest at least one way forward for a renewed focus on the person in the process – and on community - in educational technology. They manage to significantly lessen the sense of distance for the remote student with a warm sense of community, of real people in a real place in which we can dwell (the Kelly's Writer's House on campus at the University of Pennsylvania). The tutor avows his own generous principles in making the MOOC as Dickinsonian, allowing people to (somehow) crawl through the "More numerous of Windows" there (Emily Dickinson, "I dwell in possibility"). We are told that the entrance to the (physical) Writers' House has a plaque with that same Dickinson poem, and the tutor concludes by saying:

I realised that the Writers' House needed to be open, but it wasn't until ModPo that I realised what open could be ... (the ModPo MOOC means) everyone can

come in the door of the Writers' House ... The spreading wide my narrow Hands/To gather Paradise – ' ... we finally proved what the Writers' House was all about - to be radically open. (Filreis, On ModPo as a MOOC)

So, despite concerns over the ideology inherent in the platform, it is – perhaps - possible to offer a level of resistance to that ideology with an imaginative combination of reflection on the educational process and platform and by being bold enough to risk sharing self in a community driven by radical openness. In addition, if such an experience were to be hosted on an open source, not-for-profit online course platform like EdX (<https://www.edx.org> accessed 12/04/16), then some of those issues about 'power over' and ownership of data might be further ameliorated. But, only partially. EdX do collect user data, and this MOOC is anyway hosted by venture-backed, for-profit Coursera and despite the best of intentions of radical openness, MOOCs will continue "to serve the missions of the elite colleges and universities" which they were designed to undermine (Downes, 2013)

Thus, even despite such generosity of intent, the technological enframing yet continues to reduce everything to available resources in the standing reserve, limiting thinking to certainty, to calculative rationality and reducing humans to sets of data. The clearing, that space of possibility, must then be something that more fully embraces uncertainty and perhaps mystery, that opens thinking, that simply lets learn. So, perhaps there is another path to a space of possibility with technology in education, where power is rather decentralized and distributed.

7.3.2 The open web and the essence of mystery

Technology's simultaneous revealing and concealment is of the essence of mystery and to this we must be open (Heidegger, 1977).

Your domain. Your space on the Web. A space you can control. (Watters, 2015: 143).

Ubiquitous technology use means that there is less separation now between ‘education’ and ‘society’, less of the walled garden or the ivory tower, which have anyway been taken over by neoliberal ideology, served by the technology giants:

...higher education in the information age now interfaces with the larger culture (Giroux, 2011: 123)

Therefore, the larger culture also now “functions as a mode of permanent education” (op cit, 135) which in many ways has superseded institutionalized education (op cit: 137). Thus, it is important to examine the implications for education of these extended sites of pedagogy. The open and participatory infrastructure and ethos of the worldwide web, built upon open source technologies, does, in theory, offer one possible pathway to the ‘promise’ of a decentralized, distributed ‘participatory culture of learning’:

The promise: the Internet—and the Web in particular—enable a readable and a writable platform, where a multitude of voices can express themselves as creators not just consumers and not just through text but through a multitude of media—audio, video, still images, code. These new wires have powerful implications for self-organized learning, some argue—a new participatory culture of learning that need not be managed or monitored by formal educational institutions or by traditional sources of information. These new networks, like the Web itself, ostensibly act as this very postmodern sort of technical infrastructure whereby power is decentralized, distributed (Watters, 2015: 56).

This picture of decentralized and distributed power would demand that data belongs not to the centre, to the institution, the company, but to each person and to each community of persons:

We need to consider ... what data looks like in communities' hands, in students' hands, what information students would want to collect on themselves, for themselves, who they would want to share it with and why. And in doing so, we need to recognize the messiness of our learning, of our data and not normalize that for the sake of analysis, not open it for the sake of control (Watters, 2014: 100).

There is a template for such considerations. The University of Mary Washington (UMW), a small liberal arts public university in Virginia, USA, have been running the 'A Domain of One's Own' (DoOO) project since 2012 (<http://umw.domains>, accessed 13/04/16):

The DoOO project allows UMW students, faculty, and staff to register their own domain name and associate it with a hosted web space, free of charge while at UMW. With their Domain and corresponding web space, users will have the opportunity and flexibility to design and create a meaningful and vibrant digital presence.

Students take responsibility for their own web space, which is fully integrated with broader educational programmes, to experiment with online tools, to blog and to construct portfolios of their work. Importantly, they own the domain on graduation – it is their work, their data to take with them and to do with as they please. Referencing Woolf's essay about the limitations on women to become writers, the DoOO project helps students overcome some of the limitations on personal liberty imposed by 'traditional', centralized educational technology. Instead, the web becomes a distributed and empowering space of possibility where students develop digital literacy and fluency, and explore the implications of owning their online identity.

The move away from unwieldy institutional technology in education is also happening at other places, particularly in 'indie ed-tech', which locates itself pedagogically, politically and

philosophically as oppositional to authoritarian and disciplinary neoliberal technology in education:

...indie ed-tech underscores the importance of students and scholars alike controlling their intellectual labor and their data; it questions the need for VC-funded, proprietary tools that silo and exploit users; it challenges the centrality of the LMS in all ed-tech discussions and the notion that there can be one massive (expensive) school-wide system to rule them all; it encourages new forms of open, networked learning that go beyond the syllabus, beyond the campus. It's not only a different sort of infrastructure, it's a different sort of philosophy than one sees promoted by Silicon Valley – by the ed-tech industry or the (ed-)tech press (<http://hackededucation.com/2015/12/21/trends-indie>, accessed 12/02/2017).

Audrey Watters offers us a tongue-in-cheek acronym for an indie ed-tech technology that might provide a smaller scale, more human version of the LMS or the MOOC - the SPLOT:

The arc of the ed-tech universe is long and it bends towards the bloated LMS. Ideally, indie ed-tech should be SPLOT: the —Simplest/Smallest Possible/Portable Learning/Latest Online/Open Tools/Technologies.” (ibid.)

The serious intent with playful tone is characteristic, but Watters offers as politically aware and person-centred an approach as I have seen attached to a discussion of educational technology, which is usually blinded to the essence of its ostensible subject (thus, few heed the prophecies). This is perhaps also why it is difficult to see larger scale implementation of these bold educational possibilities provided by the space of the open web. As Watters says, —In education and in society more broadly, we've come to confuse surveillance with care” (<http://2015trends.hackededucation.com/data.html>, accessed 16/04/16). She asks —What space will we leave for growth, for vulnerability, for trust?” (ibid.) and ed-tech replies once again: —We care. We are watching you” (Flint & Peim, 2012: 32).

So, whilst the open web has always offered the possibility of the saving power, the danger is also clear:

The world wide web has increasingly facilitated the global spread of misogyny, the hate crime of revenge porn, corporate and state surveillance, bullying, racism, the life-ruining, time-wasting, Sisyphean digital servitude of deleting spam, the existentially crushing spadework of fatuous finessing of those lies, one's Facebook profiles (Jeffries, 2014)

So, it is not democratising - and it is not even open:

...our technical infrastructure is controlled by a small number of powerful corporations, alongside—in terms of support, censure, and surveillance—the world's governments (Watters, 2015: 59).

Therefore, anything on that network – everything on the Internet - is channelled or obstructed, surveilled or restricted in some way. This is not anything to do with technology. This is not anything to do with education. This is about global power and control. This is about the enframing - and how a mechanizing and tranquilizing system and its technology close down the open possibilities of education. So, the danger once more. And yet, also – still - the possibility of the rise of the saving power which grows there, the possibility of a place where truth happens:

Heidegger's questioning ... articulates our bond with technology and enables us to keep some distance now and then. In becoming aware of the role the digital machine began to play in our life, a different kind of techne opens up ... a place where truth happens, where nature reveals itself, speaks to us, and remains silent. And since the computer does not need to be our iron lung, it is safe to turn it off from time to time (Lambeir, 2002: 120)

Turn the computer off from time to time. Or from another perspective, stop the forward march of Big Data in education. In a major international conference of Big Data companies, Cegłowski likens data to radioactive waste:

...information about people retains its power as long as those people are alive, and sometimes as long as their children are alive. No one knows what will become of sites like Twitter in five years or ten. But the data those sites own will retain the power to hurt for decades (Cegłowski, 2015).

He advises the representatives of the Big Data companies what (not) to do with their toxic data: “Don’t collect it ... don’t store it ... don’t keep it” (op cit). And he is surely right also that “The current model of total surveillance and permanent storage is not tenable.” However, he is asking those who are called to standing reserve to be able to see their own enframing, which is unlikely. Rather, their calling is to the culture of efficiency, and they will continue on their endless drive to ‘scale up’ and ‘drill down’ for data and to mine patterns of ‘learning’ that they can ‘improve’. However, it is by asking these questions concerning technology that begins a resistance against the measuring and categorizing of the enframing, and brings us closer to rediscovering the person in the process. This leaves the possibility of opening human existence to the essence of technology and “In becoming aware of the role the digital machine began to play in our life, a different kind of techne opens up ... a place where truth happens” (Lambeir, 2002: 120).

7.4 Technology and the flight from thinking

This chapter is ostensibly about ‘ed-tech’, about the use of technology in education. However, when we narrow the focus to talk only of ‘ed-tech’, we lose the context within which ‘ed-tech’ operates and do not see that it is not value-neutral:

...everything we do via digital technology does involve ~~data~~.” *The photos we take: data. The manuscript we write: data. The film we capture: data. And that data is layered with even more data. Where were you when you snapped the photo: geo-data. How long did it take you to write the manuscript: metadata ... It’s your work. It’s your data (Watters, 2015: 143).*

But it is not your‘ data. Technology in education generates data and ~~Whoever~~ controls that data has power over you, whether or not they exercise it” (Cegłowski, 2015). For Noble, ~~...technological~~ development has come to resemble and ratify the hegemonic capitalist ideology of technological necessity and progress” (Noble, 1983: 10). This is a mystifying combination of technological determinism - the domination of the present by the past - and technological progress - the domination of the present by the future, which ~~have~~ combined in our minds to annihilate the technological present” (ibid). Noble’s solution is to "reclaim the present as a locus of action - while there is still time to act” (ibid). But, this was thirty five years ago. Is there *still* time to act?

That power over‘ is the same power over‘ that Carl Rogers also spoke about many decades ago within the traditional, authoritarian, hierarchical education system. The expansion of surveillance through technology constructs internalised and self-regulating behaviour. It is disciplinary, it gets users to behave‘ - it grooms‘ students for a lifetime of surveillance (Irwin, 2014). And it pushes us to engage as much as possible with that grooming and disciplinary technology – this is where learning‘ takes place, because this is where the data can be trawled and mined. And in this process, in this enframing, we lose sight of the essence of technology, leading us to the supreme danger:

Everywhere we remain unfree and chained to technology, whether we passionately affirm or deny it. But we are delivered over to it in the worst

possible way when we regard it as something neutral; for this ... makes us utterly blind to the essence of technology (Heidegger, 1977: 218).

Technology in education, used as tracking, used as power over, used as the deep mine for Big Data reinforces the culture of efficiency; but it is not caused by the technology itself but rather its enframed context, the hidden intention behind it, which encompasses the entirety of the education system:

I can't really put all the blame here on the shoulders of Blackboard or the technology sector. They sold a product, but schools bought it. And they bought it because these systems matched some of the very traditional visions of how education should work (Watters, 2014: 154).

Standish outlines the dire consequences in his own educational institution of the technological neoliberal enframing, concluding that “Spontaneity, imagination, and the encounter with the unknown are suppressed for both teacher and learner” (Standish, 1997: 453). This points to deeper concerns, about how we choose to live as human beings – or whether we are choosing, or are able to choose to live in a particular way. Uprichard asks, rhetorically, “Do we really want to live in a world ruled by metrics and indices and classifications determined by automated algorithms?” (Uprichard, 2014: 3). The anticipated answer might well be Of course not, we choose spontaneity, imagination, and the encounter with the unknown – and yet:

We collect data and follow each other like a trail of ants, building bigger infrastructures in the form of data-driven services, hardware and software services, automated data processes, all of which exhaust and alienate us (Uprichard, 2014: 3).

There are bright spots in the gloom, glimmering possibilities of the sight of the clearing. As already shown, MOOCs can be organised as open source and with engaged and engaging

communities, the open web itself is not yet a historical event, not quite yet, and there are possibilities in indie ed-tech, in spaces that users themselves own and manage, beyond the discipline and control of neoliberal educational technology.

And if the danger is in Big Data, then that is also where the saving power grows. In its ambition to collect *everything*, Big Data has itself made possible the freeing actions of Wikileaks, of Edward Snowden and of the recent ‘biggest leak (or hack) in history’, of 11.5 million files in the ‘Panama Papers’, leading to the possibility of increased transparency and political movement towards fairness across the globe. This would not have been able to happen if not for the enframing, for this hypnotic call to technology as a solution to everything - we collect and store everything because we can. As Heidegger tells us, the danger AND the saving power - Big Data may well prove to be Big Data’s undoing in the enframing.

So all is not (yet) lost to the enframing, but the saving power requires the same determined resistance and reflexivity that was posited in the previous chapter – an ontological, questioning worldview, an explicit focus on social justice and the rediscovery of the person in the process. Just because a space is ‘virtual’ does not mean it is any less real to us, that its impact is any less disciplinary, that it is any different to other spaces in our world, and there is the same need for resistance to retrogressive and damaging forces, forces that shape people into readiness for standing reserve.

Watters captures well the loss of humanity in the flight from thinking that Big Data represents, the way in which technology has managed to –so captivate, bewitch, dazzle, and beguile man that calculative thinking [has] come to be accepted and practiced as the only way of thinking” (Heidegger, 1969: 56):

We confuse ~~innovation~~” with ~~progress~~” and we confuse ~~technological progress~~” with ~~progress~~” and we confuse all of that with progressive politics. We forget that ~~innovation~~” does not give us justice. ~~Innovation~~” does not give us equality. ~~Innovation~~” does not empower us. We achieve these things when we build a robust civic society, when we support an engaged citizenry. We achieve these things through organization and collective action. We achieve these things through and with democracy. And we achieve – or we certainly strive to achieve – these things through public education (Watters, 2014: 63).

Neither education nor technology are separate from wider political struggles. So we do not only need to rethink the use of technology in education, we need to rethink education itself, as part of its social and political local and global context. The next chapter considers the forms of educational institution that might best support and sustain a democratic and progressive education for justice, equality and empowerment.

Chapter Eight: Paths to the Clearing III - institutions

If we value independence, if we are disturbed by the growing conformity of knowledge, of values, of attitudes, which our present system induces, then we may wish to set up conditions of learning which make for uniqueness, for self-direction, and for self-initiated learning

(Rogers, 1961: 292)

Independence is at the heart of this thesis, which is written from and disturbed by the context of a system-induced conformity that has grown to an extent that would have horrified Rogers; it is now a global phenomenon attempting to mould and shape every human on the planet into its own damaging way of thinking and being. At its heart is the enframing calling people to standing reserve in servitude to a system which feeds from the humans in the stockpile. In order to find a way out of this abysmal situation, this thesis is calling for an education that might best support “conditions of learning which make for uniqueness, for self-direction, and for self-initiated learning” - and in this chapter, the focus is on the institutions that host educational processes.

Foucault’s concept of ‘governmentality’ is used to show how existing institutions are inimical to the growth of persons and communities. ‘Governmentality’ is a form of analysis which helps to uncover “taken-for-granted ways of doing things and how we think about and question them are not entirely self-evident or necessary” (Dean, 2010: 31). Government is “the more or less deliberate attempt to shape the actions of others or of oneself” (Dean, 2010: 250) and its analysis provides us with a way of talking about the operation of power relations in institutions, of the coercive forces shaping human beings. The chapter especially focuses on one bold and fully theorized attempt to provide a space of possibility within the existing

system - Student as Producer (<http://studentasproducer.lincoln.ac.uk>, accessed 08/02/18). It explores non-coercive alternative and heterotopic educational spaces where, if governmentality yet, and perhaps unavoidably, operates, it is primarily and explicitly in the interests of fostering people's own power to speak for themselves - rather than creating endless variations of *homo economicus* (a view of humanity developed from within neoliberal ideology, which sees individuals as rational, self-interested, profit-oriented consumers).

8.1 Govern(mentality): the conduct of conduct

It seems to me that the real political task ... is to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them
(Foucault, 1984: 6)

This section outlines Foucault's concept of governmentality, where government, rather than something concerned with the administrative or political structures of the state, becomes a way of arranging things tactically in populations so that laws are implicitly obeyed as part of an internalised discourse, instead of being directly enforced. This means that in institutions of education, there is in constant operation a hidden tactics of government (Foucault, 1978: 139), expressed by Foucault as ~~pro~~cedures for directing human conduct" or ~~the~~ conduct of conduct" (ibid: 503). There is, therefore, a power relation in the structure and bureaucracy of institutions which shapes and reshapes the conduct of all those within their purview towards normative standards.

Miller & Rose (1990) have extended Foucault's own definition of governmentality by taking the main components of the word itself at face value as govern + mentality or the mentality of government. This was not the origin of Foucault's concept (which focuses more

on the art of governing, in the same way as the word *musical* becomes *musicality*), but it is a useful way to envisage how governmental technologies operate internally to individuals and populations as a way of thinking imposed from outside and above which becomes part of human self-governance. It also says something important about the way in which those who govern think about the activity of governing, which is always *rational*, and which "...privileges systematic ways of thinking over symbolic, mythic or poetic modes" (Dean, 2010: 24). As Dean makes clear, governmentality "...seeks to connect questions of government, politics and administration to the space of bodies, lives, selves and persons" (Dean, 2010: 20).

Governmentality's principal mechanisms are technologies of power, those "technologies imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope of producing certain desired effects and averting certain undesired ones" (Rose, 1999: 52). In neoliberal institutions, which now includes most if not all universities, the technologies of governmentality shape, direct, measure and evaluate sets of behaviours towards the formation of *homo economicus* as a self-directing, self-governing aspiration for individuals and as competitive enterprise culture for groups. As Lolich point out, "neoliberalism subordinates and trivialises education that has no market value" (2011: 272) – and favours and promotes specific technologies which work to promote the idea of the entrepreneurial self, "where individuals calculate the risks and invest in themselves at critical points of their life cycle" (Peters, 2009). Vocabulary is central to these calculations in framing the discourse of this particular governmental technology:

Words like entrepreneurial, innovation, commercialisation and enterprise culture are key words in the new discourse of HE which allows students to think about themselves and others in new ways (Lolich, 2011: 276).

And these new ways are the ways of the market, whereby persons weigh up the market value of their success as a human and make every effort to increase that value in a ~~never-~~ending project of self-improvement (where) you can never stay still; you have never arrived..." (Lolich, 2011: 277). This, then, is a perfect fit with institutions which are driven by their own always-busy culture of improvement. And the courses themselves thus eventually become market-oriented, as —Most students will self-regulate themselves in selecting those courses that favour the market. They understand that this is the key to survive in a capitalist society. This in turn reinforces the notion of the economic citizen and devalues the notion of the affective and interdependent citizen" (Lolich, 2011: 279). This is the vicious circle of improvement outlined earlier.

However, Dean points out that —the neoliberal critique of the welfare state is not first an attack on specific institutions but is a problematization of certain ideals of government, diagrams of citizenship, and the formulas of rule they generate" (Dean, 2010: 43). This holds true also for the neoliberal critique (and takeover) of education - and institutions are the battleground where the attack takes place. As also shown earlier, the disciplinary power inherent in the technology of the examination regulates and orders people in educational regimes of practice, the ~~routine-~~ritualized way we do ... things in certain places and at certain times" (Dean, 2010: 31). Governmentality extends that disciplinary efficiency towards the enframing whereby individuals are regarded as no more than resources to be maximised. As Dean states, —Programmes and programmes of conduct are all the attempts to regulate, reform, organize and improve what occurs within regimes of practices in the name of a specific set of ends..." (Dean, 2010: 43). The programmes and codes of conduct of neoliberal educational institutions are therefore a central control mechanism of governmentality and are the polar opposite to a non-directive, person-centred education. Thus, it may be that there can be no

freedom to learn in educational institutions as currently formulated, as any idea of shaping conduct, of directing persons, is anathema to a way of being that values human flourishing and independence. Nevertheless, Dean makes a very clear case for this analysis of governmentality in educational institutions:

By becoming clear on how regimes of practice operate, we also become clear on how forms of domination, relations of power and kinds of freedom and autonomy are linked, how such regimes are contested and resisted, and thus how it might be possible to do things differently (Dean, 2010: 49)

What follows, then, further develops the analysis by exploring educational spaces and ways of thinking that might make it possible to do things differently. This is illustrated by a fully theorized contemporary holistic approach to education developed and played out within the University framework.

8.2 One foot in: Student as Producer

I would prefer not to. These are the first spoken words of Bartleby the Scrivener, in Melville's eponymous short story (1853: 17). Bartleby is "pallidly neat, pitiably respectable, incurably forlorn" (16) and yet these words of resistance contain enormous power, stunning the lawyer-narrator authority figure into silence. It is significant that the subtitle of "Bartleby the Scrivener" is "A story of Wall Street" and Bartleby's refusal, in one reading, is a form of opposition to economic control, to the conduct of conduct in his working environment. His allocated role is to become a part of the engine which creates wealth for the owners of capital; his refusal represents a serious challenge to the same governmental mechanism. Bartleby's opposition is an enactment of resistance from within an institution but, heroic as it is, there is only one outcome possible – Bartleby fades away and dies.

Can a challenge to the neoliberal ideology from within be any more successful than Bartleby's? Can there be freedom to learn from within the neoliberal institution? As shown earlier, experimental attempts to prioritise the person in the process in educational institutions have largely been swept away by a widespread shift to the right politically in the 1980s and consolidated in what we now know as the ideology of neoliberalism which has overtaken most of our educational institutions as corporate managerialism within the culture of efficiency. As we have also seen, these movements are part of the greater historical ontological sweep of the enframing, which disregards personhood in its call to Being as standing reserve.

Nevertheless, there are contemporary efforts that claim to adjust institutional power towards students in the educational process, projects such as 'Students as Change Agents' at Exeter University and the broader institutional development known as 'Student Voice', which seems to draw from Hirschman's analysis of consumer choice (*Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*, 1970) – a particularly apt model to draw on in a context where students are being shaped as consumers. Hirschman offers the binary choices of 'exit' or 'voice', of withdrawing from the organization or of repairing whatever is perceived as not beneficial from within the organization itself. This section focuses on 'Student as Producer', a university-wide programme which operates as 'voice' from within the University - especially because it is designed explicitly to challenge the very idea of students as consumers.

The @studentproducer Twitter Feed describes itself as —@IEAcademy funded project at @UniLincoln to embed research-engaged-teaching across the curriculum.”

(<https://twitter.com/studentproducer>, accessed 14/02/2017). So, despite the name, the first thing to state about 'Student as Producer' is that it is not about students, rather it is about the

meaning and purpose of universities (Neary, in conversation, 19th July 2014, Lincoln). The

‘Student as Producer’ website elaborates:

Student as Producer restates the meaning and purpose of higher education by reconnecting the core activities of universities, i.e., research and teaching, in a way that consolidates and substantiates the values of academic life.

(studentasproducer.lincoln.ac.uk/, accessed 14/02/2017)

This is a clear and unapologetic act of resistance to the ‘student as consumer’ in the neoliberal university, attempting to create a “new form of social institution” – a new entity where the old ways of being are not reproduced:

Student as Producer emphasises the role of the student as collaborators in the production of knowledge. The capacity for Student as Producer is grounded in the human attributes of creativity and desire, so that students can recognise themselves in a world of their own design. (ibid.)

This is a model of education that springs directly from persons. The radical intent behind the project might well be discerned from the prominent word ‘manifesto’, evident on flyers and posters, consciously referencing and echoing previous manifestos through history, with political battle-cries of revolution and liberty (from the communist manifesto through to a cyborg manifesto) and as flag-bearers for artistic movements, such as futurist, vorticist, dadaist, surrealist and symbolist, the vorticist design of the flyers itself reinforcing its manifesto status, as in Figure 10 (below):

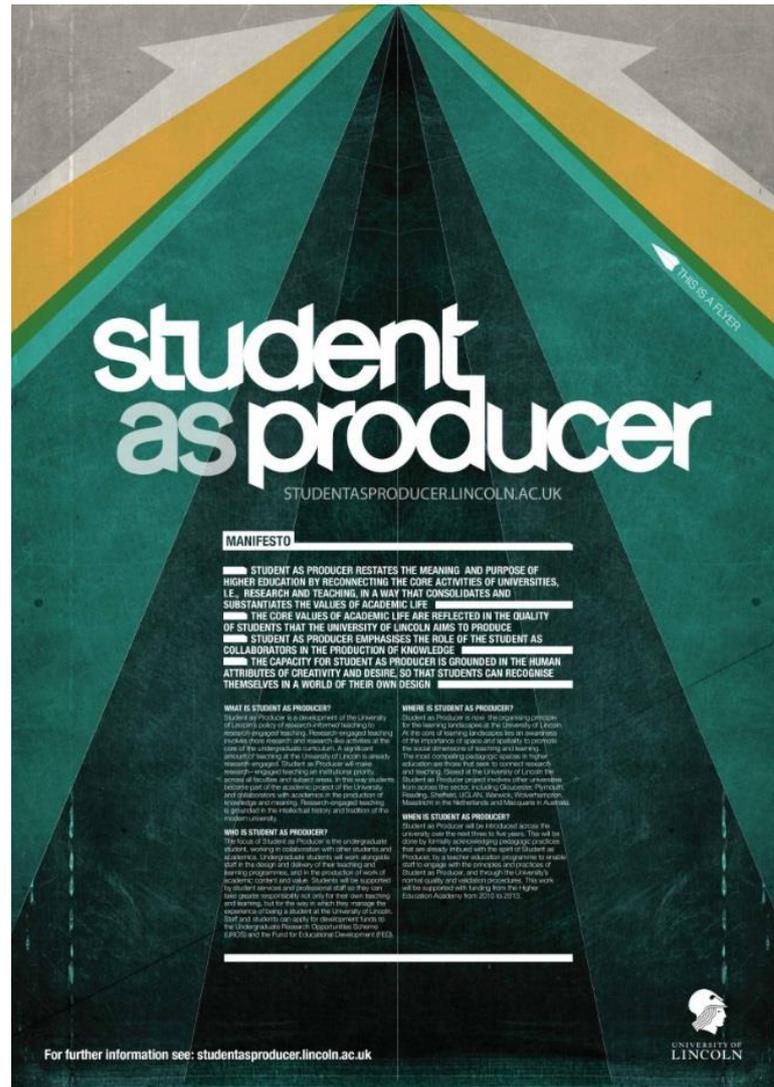


Figure 10: 'Student as Producer' Flyer

That the programme is indeed radical says much about how far the university has moved away from its core principles, because it is essentially a revisiting of the Humboldtian ideal of the unity of the research and teaching missions. Prominent on the 'Student as Producer' website is Paul Klee's painting, Angelus Novus, Figure 11 below:

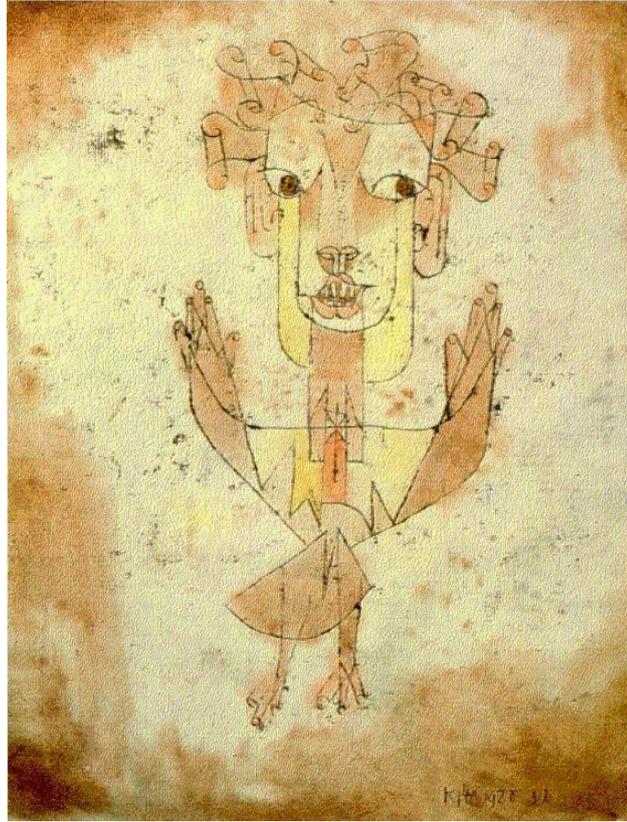


Figure 11: Angelus Novus by Paul Klee (1920)

This points to a key influence on the Student as Producer project, Walter Benjamin, who wrote the following about the work:

A Klee painting named Angelus Novus shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress. (Benjamin, 1940)

The Student as Producer website also hosts the painting and Benjamin's words about it, and I think this says more about the concept than any number of academically-framed discourses. In *Author as Producer* (1934), Benjamin disturbs the positionality of actors in the productive realm, talking of the place of the intellectual and deciding that —“the place of the intellectual in the class struggle can only be determined, or better, chosen, on the basis of his position in the process of production” (Benjamin, 1934: 4). He further troubles institutional relationships by drawing on Brecht’s Epic Theatre, which —“went back to the original elements of the theatre”, echoing Heidegger’s observation about the origins of the university:

...we have repressed the memory that the university is but a chance meeting-place of roads in the open (Heidegger, in Allen & Ares, 2002:32).

Applied to education, this represents a call for self-reflexivity on the process of education itself, of the position of students (and teachers) in relation to production, the interruption and revealing of the illusion of the ‘reality’ of student as consumer. As Benjamin says, —“the epic theatre does not reproduce situations, rather it uncovers them (Benjamin, 1934: 7). The core of Benjamin’s argument is the shift from product to production and this goes to the heart of the current debate about marketised education. Neary says Benjamin’s ‘author as producer’ concept represents a —“progressive programme for action” in a higher education in crisis, which includes:

...finding ways to enable students, readers, and audiences to become teachers, writers and actors – as producers of their own cultural and intellectual products. The wider political point was for passive consumers of culture and knowledge to transform themselves into the subjects rather than simply the objects of history and to recognise themselves in a social world of their own design. (Neary, 2011)

Student as Producer deftly incorporates those progressive and person-centred elements from Dewey, Rogers and Freire, and reaches back to substantial roots in the wider history and tradition of the modern university. Curriculum development has a core focus on “research-like activities” and “research-engaged teaching” is prioritised across the institution (studentasproducer.lincoln.ac.uk, accessed 08/02/18). Learning is based on versions of ‘discovery’ learning, which encourages and empowers students to co-collaborate and to co-produce their teaching and learning and academic content along with staff, including involvement in assessment design. Both physical and virtual spaces are fully considered in terms of their potential for openness and collaboration. Student as Producer is an idea of the university as progressive political project, concerned with “the expansive production of knowledge and meaning” (Neary, 2011).

The project has had considerable financial support from HEFCE and significant institutional support from Lincoln University. It has become the organising principle for all teaching and learning across that University and has influenced programmes in the United States, Canada and Australia (<http://studentasproducer.lincoln.ac.uk/files/2010/09/Student-as-Producer.jpg> accessed 14/02/2017). It is deeply, persuasively theorised, practical and necessary. However, the question is how can it survive within an educational space driven by neoliberal priorities? Does, or can, Student as Producer resist the governmental conduct of conduct that shapes students as consumers in the neoliberal university? Or is the subtitle of Student as Producer ‘a story of neoliberal governmentality’? Asked about the impact of Student as Producer, its originator, Mike Neary, said:

The cultural climate in the institution has perhaps been modified, there has been impact at the sectoral level, lots of interest by academics and researchers. But, Student as Producer is a failure. Lincoln is still a neoliberal university

and working within these structures replicates the values of the structures.
(Interview with Mike Neary, 19th July 2014, Lincoln).

Docherty points to these structures as he quotes Jacques Rancière about identity politics, whereby “a voice is given to people solely within the framework of an identity that they would have to realise or even to express” (Docherty, 2011: 32). This resonates also for university-approved student ‘empowerment’ programmes, which authorise prescribed identities and not, as Docherty says, “that of an experiential subject, caught in their action ... the individual becomes purely and simply a representative of a more abstract generality, with its prescribed characteristics and qualities” (ibid.).

More damning still, Docherty argues that the thinking behind ‘student experience’ is informed by the same kind of marketization as that of the holiday camp or theme-park business. The business model is exactly the same. Lecturers have become the moral equivalent – or, more precisely, the commercial equivalent – of Redcoats in this business model. The activities of learning and teaching become simply one among the now wide-ranging ‘suite’ of facilities that constitute a specific institution’s ‘offer’, as it is called.” (Docherty, 2011: 61)

Docherty says that universities and theme parks are not the same thing - however, Heidegger’s critique suggests that there is little difference between them, they both serve the challenging-forth and both enact a kind of entrapment of the self, where “The self is presented essentially as a developmental project, within established norms that are more and more specified and publically circulated, endorsed and enforced” (Flint and Peim, 2012: 39). The great difficulty here is that it is very likely that only inside the institution will there be found the networks and resources for people to write about the enframing itself, to bring the enframing to appearance, to disclose it - writers referenced here, such as Flint and Peim,

Bonnet, Dreyfus, Heidegger himself. At some level there will always be clearings within the enframing – the problem is that these people who help us see this are few in number, their audience is specialist and, as Flint and Peim themselves say, the enframing enframes (conceals) thinking that attempts to disclose the enframing (2012: 1), a phenomenon seen clearly also by Freire:

Unfortunately, those who espouse the cause of liberation are themselves surrounded and influenced by the climate which generates the banking concept, and often do not perceive its true significance or its dehumanizing power. Paradoxically, then, they utilize this same instrument of alienation in what they consider an effort to liberate (Freire, 2000: 79).

And this points to the central problem of liberating education from within education, that the founding identity of these institutions is formed around a regime of governmentality and that –This founding identity could not be shaken off by the desires or intentions of would-be reformers” (Peim, in Flint and Peim, 2012: 5). Or, as Neary says, —Revolutionary education cannot be provided by the capitalist state” (Neary, 2013). Freedom and authenticity demand different educational spaces where beings can flourish –outside the calculus of objectives and of objective measures of improvement” (Flint and Peim, 2012: 48). And this brings the argument back to the person-centred model of education which holds the personhood of the student at its core and which is unspecified and unforced, where humans are not means to any end other than their own existence, and where it is up to each and every one of us together to decide how to live, to learn and to be.

It is germane to remember that the major period of Rogers’ own writing on education was outside of academia; in writing of educational alternatives, Rogers felt constrained by educational institutions. And in fact, he acknowledged the reason why: —. the whole

viewpoint I represent is deeply, deeply subversive of all our institutions. It is democratic to the very limit ... it does believe in empowering the individual, in trusting the group ... that it doesn't need to be guided, directed, controlled and so forth ... it is very threatening to educational institutions to think that students can be trusted." (Rogers, 2001: 234)

The person-centred approach is concerned with the growth of the self but not as part of a governmental *'moral technology'* (Peim, 2012: 229) which forms and fashions the self against prescribed norms – if this is the *'deep grammar'* of the containing educational institution then this undermines a person-centred education. In the shifting structures of liquid modernity, university managerial culture echoes the wider world's governmentality in its concern for provision of *'services'* oriented towards norms of positive development, prompting the question Flint and Peim ask of schools (2012: 159):

What if the university is unredeemable?

It is perhaps a shocking question. What if the university has become little more than a ritual, hollowed out of meaning and only serving to reproduce existing society? What do we do about *'higher education'* then? And what happens when educationists choose the option of *'exit'* from the institution? Does this negate governmentality and the conduct of conduct? Does it make freedom to learn possible? These questions are addressed in the next section.

8.3 One foot out: counter-conducts and doing things otherwise

I have days when I think that educational institutions at all levels are doomed, and perhaps we would be well advised to bid them farewell ... and let true learning begin to blossom outside the stifling hallowed walls (Rogers, 1974: 268)

“Universities are increasingly becoming dead zones of the imagination”
(Giroux, 2014: 3)

They voted with their feet (Lenin, qv Wintringham, 1935)

An analysis of government(ality) ~~will~~ not amount to a global emancipation” and ~~All~~ organised social existence, including practices of liberty, presupposes forms of the conduct of conduct“” (Dean, 2010: 46). We should be very clear, then, that analysis of governmentality will not free us - and that we can never be free from governmentality. In fact, the critical power of Foucault’s analysis shows us how ~~the~~ capacities and attributes of subjects and the kinds of freedom which they make possible are shaped within regimes of government” (Dean, 2010: 47). Therefore, we need to acknowledge the existence of governmentality in all educational institutions, including in alternative educational institutions, whilst at the same time considering forms of social existence that hold the values of emancipation and human flourishing at their heart.

Dean counsels against using analysis of government to distinguish between good and bad forms of government (2010: 47). However, bad forms of government abound in our contemporary educational landscape, so it is incumbent upon progressive educationists to adopt a position which offers resistance to the neoliberal assault as well as offering an alternative vision, a way of being in education that prioritises the person in the process. In particular, we need to acknowledge that some institutions exhibit what Foucault calls ~~—sites~~ of domination” typified by ~~relations~~ that are hierarchical, irreversible, fixed and durable” and that within such institutions - *pace* the neoliberal university - the model of education being developed here simply cannot sustain itself. The alternative path follows the later Foucault, who favoured exercising power ~~with~~ a minimum of domination” (Foucault, 1988) where

institutional government would be typified by “relations of power that are open, mobile and reversible” (Dean, 2010: 47).

Elsewhere, Foucault discusses the idea of ‘counter-conducts’ (2007: 202) as a possibility for organisations who want ‘a different form of conduct’ whose purpose is “not to challenge or overthrow but to influence the society of which they are a part” (Dean, 2010: 21). Such governmentality might either enhance self-government or rather “seek to diminish specific ‘states of domination’” (Dean, 2010: 49). Such a strategy allows for “examining the points at which regimes of government meet forms of resistance and counter-conducts that can reveal and embody possibilities for doing things otherwise” (Dean, 2010: 49).

If reform is really not possible from within, then recourse would seem to be outwith the institution - and, perhaps, generational - as Illich points out:

We cannot begin a reform of education unless we first understand that neither individual learning nor social equality can be enhanced by the ritual of schooling. We cannot go beyond the consumer society unless we first understand that obligatory public schools inevitably reproduce such a society, no matter what is taught in them ... Only a generation which grows up without obligatory schools will be able to recreate the university... (Illich, 1971: 28-9)

This section therefore explores various attempts to do things otherwise, to recreate the university, some of which have already failed to sustain themselves, others of which will have ceased to function by the time this thesis is published, but all of which are driven by the idea of the university as an empowering space of possibility. The section begins with a consideration of Lincoln’s Social Science Centre and moves on to explore the idea of the heterotopic university and ways in which education negotiates form and space.

8.4 Social Science Centre

Change life! Change Society! These ideas lose completely their meaning without producing an appropriate space. A lesson to be learned from soviet constructivists from the 1920s and 30s, and of their failure, is that new social relations demand a new space, and vice-versa. (Lefebvre, 1991: 59)

(We) might be able to disrupt the institutionalized form of the university, currently constituted as the capitalist knowledge factory, so as to be created in another form, as an institution of the commons, understood as an intensely revolutionary theoretical and practical project (Neary, 2013).

The original subversive intent of Student as Producer indeed ultimately came to be denied (Neary, 2016: 92) causing Neary and others to move outside the university (whilst remaining a university employee, so actually with one foot in and one foot out) in order to establish —a new form of social institution” (ibid), the Social Science Centre (socialsciencecentre.org.uk accessed 08/02/18). The Student as Producer website uses four questions to describe that project. I do likewise here to give an account of the main activities of the Social Science Centre.

What is Social Science Centre? The (transitional) form of this new social institution emulates that of a worker cooperative. It is run as a not-for-profit and organises (non-certificated) study and research at all levels in the core social science subjects. Central to the practise of Social Science Centre is the research and problem-solving approach to teaching and learning found in Student as Producer along with critical pedagogy and popular education (ibid). Courses to date have included the Social Science Imagination, the history of Co-operative education, as well as documentary photography and poetry projects (Neary & Winn, 2017: 4).

Who is Social Science Centre? The Centre was established by academics previously involved in developing Student as Producer. It is run by students (predominantly mature) and academics, all of whom are known as ‘_scholars’. There are around 20 members and 50 associate members (from all around the world). The Social Science Centre has no institutional connection to existing higher education provision, but is linked to other alternative education providers.

Where is Social Science Centre? Based in the city of Lincoln, Scholars make use of available public facilities, reminding strongly of Heidegger’s university as “enhance meeting-place of roads in the open” (Heidegger, in Allen & Ares, 2002: 32). Unlike Student as Producer, Social Science Centre has no online educational provision.

When is Social Science Centre? Now. And since 2011, so at time of writing the Centre has been running for around seven years.

If we make acquaintance with the remainder of Kipling’s honest serving men (Kipling, 2010) and ask ‘_why’ and ‘_how’ is Social Science Centre, we are invited to engage with Marx’s critical social theory, as, just like Student as Producer before it, the Social Science Centre is explicitly involved in the revolutionary reinvention of higher Education. Marxist-oriented sociologist, John Holloway, argues that:

— .it is crucial to understand the class character of the state as a form of social relations and to develop our own distinctive asymmetrical forms: forms that move against-and-beyond the fetishisation characteristic of capitalist forms (2005: 40).

Thus, the Social Science Centre wishes to — .reconnect humanity with the natural world so as to be part of the creation of one science: communism, as the avoidance of biospheric

catastrophe ... the Promethean attitude to nature” (Neary, 2012: 3). This is that argument against instrumentalism in higher education described here by way of Heidegger’s *enframing*, as well as an argument for —.a curriculum for practical revolutionary action” (Neary, 2012: 10). Capitalist higher education is based foundationally on alienating and depersonalised relationships underpinned by the exchange nexus which positions (sells) education as product and student as consumer. Social Science Centre works to transform this set of circumstances with a view to a post-capitalist education which reimagines student as *producer* where:

... the focus of transformation is production, not exchange, and is achieved through different forms of collaborative arrangements resulting in different forms through which products can be appropriated (Neary, 2012: 5).

This subversive focus on the social relations of the production of knowledge can be sustained by maintaining a constant critical engagement with revolutionary ideas (Neary, 2012: 7).

Foucault said that —Marxism exists in nineteenth century thought like a fish in water: that is, it is unable to breathe anywhere else” (Foucault, 2002: 285). So, Foucault is not (at this point at least) Marxist. But he thought of his work as a conceptual tool-box to be drawn from whenever useful (Foucault, 1997) and he offers a rethinking of the conditions of modern life that is compatible with Marx.

For example, Foucault’s concept of heterotopia is a revealing of the layers of meaning and the networks of relationships that are usually beyond the line of sight. His critique of institutions rejects the notion of power residing only at the top - the king, the state. Rather, power is dispersed and works as decentralised networks of institutions where professionals have the right to classify individuals through categories. Disciplinary power is power over the body by way of panoptical architectures of power and surveillance and can be seen most clearly in an exam situation, which is of course the university’s main classification technology for its

docile bodies, who become self-monitoring, self-disciplined subjects. In this way, the lines of power become enfolded in the docile bodies of ourselves. Foucault lays bare the mechanisms by which the enframing reduces humanity to standing reserve, the ways in which subjectivities are controlled in modern society, in education - and thus how we might resist those controls.

So, the ideals of the Social Science Centre are boldly, refreshingly radical: “the possibility of democratically owned worker-student forms of association saturated with social value: everything for everyone and nothing for ourselves” (Neary, 2016: 93). Neary posits that “We might call this new institution for higher learning the University of Utopia” and links to a website (<http://www.universityofutopia.org>) discussing the Centre in the context of Thomas More’s Utopia and Robert Hutchins’ 1953 book *The University of Utopia*.

However, ‘Utopia’ is a ‘non-place’, a fiction, it does not exist. And the push to global standardisation through league tables is shaping universities as ‘non-places’ “that are essentially interchangeable, without distinctiveness ... which tend to render humans anonymous” (Toope, 2014). As we have seen, the neoliberal university is a governmental space where humans are marked out and measured in terms of their economic value – and yet:

Even at its apparently most bureaucratic and managerial, or its most market-inspired, government is a fundamentally Utopian activity. It presupposes a better world, society, way of doing things or way of living (Dean, 2010: 45).

The university of utopia site of course recognises the fiction of ‘utopia’; however, given the above, it may be that a more useful concept is Foucault’s ‘heterotopia’, which points us to a real space of otherness, a space of opposition. Heterotopic spaces are not solely oppositional - they are also “real, disquieting spaces that violate coherence” (Beyes, 2008: 265), thus

becoming unprescribed spaces of non-directive possibility - including the possibility of allowing people to speak for themselves. Docherty sketches some of the detail of this other university space, this other educational community, as “something linked intrinsically to a special kind of mobility or, more precisely, to the possibility that fundamental transformations may occur” (Docherty, 2011: 17). He continues:

The University is an idea, so to speak, first and foremost; but it is not just an abstract idea, divorced from material history: it is indeed something that happens or that takes place, and assumes its place in a social formation.”
(Docherty, 2011: 17).

The Social Science Centre is just one radical heterotopic formation of the university. There are (many) others, other spaces of possibility, other ways of being in/out of education, both online and in real world - notably, the Independent Working Class Education network (IWCE), Philosophy in Pubs, the Anti-University, the University of the People, the Ragged University, the UnCollege, many examples of ‘Free’ schools and universities (an online public map offers a global picture of “a counter-cartography to mainstream higher education ... attempting to link groups that are thinking critically about higher education provision and are attempting to offer alternative models”: <http://bit.ly/2kmbYXC>, accessed 14/02/2017).

Each of these heterotopic social formations is nonetheless connected to the larger outside space whose illusory nature it unmasks by its very existence as other, thus revealing the true project of education in the neoliberal university: governmentality and the conduct of conduct, where “everything in this ready-to-wear approach serves to obviate thinking”. (Freire, 2000: 76). The newer Other-spaces, however, open up “a line of contestation, transformation and invention” which leads to the possibility of alternative forms of social government (Dean,

2010: 260), including a reconfigured governmentality which allows people to speak for themselves, thus potentially, at least, rediscovering the person in the process.

Conclusion: A turning away or a gathering to the sheltering

A turning away from fundamental questions and a forgetting of the question of Being concerning education, as Heidegger might have it, is everywhere evident in the geography of educational spaces (Peim, 2012: 236).

It is proper to every gathering that the gatherers assemble to coordinate their efforts to the sheltering; only when they have gathered together with that end in view do they begin to gather (Martin Heidegger, qv. Krell, 1993)

What prevents the person-centred approach to education from flourishing in contemporary Higher Education? This thesis has found that a culture of efficiency based on the technology of assessment dominates the contemporary university leaving little or no room for the person in the process. The vicious circle of improvement reveals the operation of the educational enframing which traps us into an instrumental way of thinking and Being. Authoritarian and disciplinary neoliberal technology further closes down the open possibilities of education.

In the quest to reshape the approach for our 21st century environment, I have introduced a more substantial sociological theory of power, making connections between Rogers, Heidegger, Freire, Foucault, Dewey, hooks and Giroux, to provide a philosophical approach to education that offers the hope of rediscovering the person in the process. And I (we!) have walked along three paths to the Clearing: a critical pedagogy of resistance and enlightenment, an exploration of online spaces of possibility, and institutions built on dialogue, community and democratic participation.

The person-centred approach to education is effective and desirable, but it is not sustainable in its original form because it is individualistic and lacks a theory of power. Critical pedagogy

offers the possibility of building robust awareness of and resistance to oppressive power and coercive institutions, adding the collective, community-focused goal of liberation and the practice of freedom.

Questioning/thinking concerning technology begins a resistance against the measuring and categorizing of the enframing, and brings us closer to rediscovering the person in the process. This leaves the possibility of opening human existence to the essence of technology. A participatory, decentralized and distributed open web offers a space of possibility that opens thinking and lets learn.

Challenge from within disciplinary and governmental institutions falls short because the structural values of the neoliberal institution are inevitably replicated. Radical heterotopic formations like the Social Science Centre open up a line of contestation, transformation and invention which leads to the possibility of alternative and empowered forms of social government.

Are these answers to my question? Can the person-centred model of education be revised in order to make it more resistant to the forces which cast it aside? The Clearing is a space of possibilities where freedom reveals itself in letting-things-be. Are these, then, paths to the Clearing? Remember, the path to the Clearing of Being is strewn with *questions* and the art of questioning is the art of questioning ever further. And fostering a full and conscious awareness of calculative thinking in the educational enframing also means addressing foundational questions along the way. Such as, what is a university for? What is education for? What is learning? Where is freedom to be found? What is it to be human? What is it to be? Let's start with the first: what is a university for?

Institutions of higher education reflect their own historical conditions over time. The development of our own higher education will reflect our own historical conditions. In an earlier age, the university was likened by its detractors to “~~a~~medieval ruin occupying valuable space in a busy market place” (Hutchins, 1953: 13); now the university *is* the market place, in thrall to the vicious circle of improvement in the educational technologies of the enframing, clearly signposting a ~~t~~urning away from fundamental questions and a forgetting of the question of Being”. The vehicle for our contemporary experience of the enframing is the ideology of neoliberalism, which (en)frames:

...human wellbeing in economic terms. It defines happiness as the freedom to sell and buy in free markets. Humans are seen as rational, calculating individuals who know what is best for them and engage in transactions to obtain what they want (Lolich, 2011: 273).

However, markets are not ‘free’ and humans are not rational Beings. Rather, Dasein is thrown into the world and takes care of itself and of the world, because without care nothing can be organised, there can be no thinking. As Lolich suggests, it is neither desirable nor achievable to force people to care for each other – however, it is possible to ~~e~~stablish the conditions in which caring relationships can thrive” (2011: 272). But, perhaps the university as it has evolved is no longer compatible with anything other than a focus on its own growth, its own aggrandisement:

Driven by an audit culture and increasingly oblivious to the demands of a democracy for an informed and critical citizenry, it now devours its children, disregards its faculty, and resembles an institution governed by myopic accountants who should be ashamed of what they are proud of.

(Giroux, 2014: 5)

Giroux believes that higher education can be ‘taken back’:

The university needs to be reclaimed as a crucial public sphere where administrators, faculty and students can imagine what a free and substantive democracy might look like and what it means to make education relevant to such a crucial pedagogical and political task. This could be a first step in taking back higher education as a precondition for developing a broad-based social movement for the defense of public goods, one capable of both challenging the regime of casino capitalism and re-imagining a society in which democracy lives up to its promises and ideals. (Giroux, 2014: 5)

So, the structures will change in response to globalization but at present those changes are being forged in the heat of ‘_competition’ and ‘_position’ and ‘_league-tables’ and ‘_markets’ and ‘_commerce’ – whereas a return to the purpose of higher education would enable universities to become liquid in response to the needs of their learners. And yet, simply to ask once more, What if the university is unredeemable? What if...

...education is always already an instrument of the political regime it serves ... to argue for the reformation or even salvation of education means having to forget the ontology of the apparatus and its historical development in modernity and beyond (Peim, 2016: 99)

I have argued here for an education that *resists*, that is *against* forces that limit human imagination and reduce human potential; ideological forces that are reshaping institutions across the globe, with institutions playing their own part by allowing and encouraging the free play of governmentality and Big Data to shape humans in their turn as standing reserve. I have argued *for* an education that is humanistic and person-centred, dialogic, critical, sociological and takes full and ever-vigilant notice of the ontology of the apparatus. This last is centrally important for education in the enframing, where its only purpose is to support authentic existence of being, to let learn. I have argued that the person-centred model offers

one potential way of achieving this, as long as it is somehow protected from the influences of power and fosters unencumbered thinking and Being.

However, no solutions are offered towards the end of this thesis, other than to encourage a gathering together... with a view to gathering together. Is it possible that in the act of gathering together we may find a way out of the enframing, perhaps to the clearing of Dasein, perhaps to the flourishing of the person in the process?

Certainly, we must acknowledge that we are trapped into the enframing and we all feed it, this nightmare scenario, all of us giving ourselves up to the standing reserve. In education, this call to efficiency is Freire's banking theory, for Rogers the more homely - the more Heideggerian - jug and mug; but it is the same thing, it is education as product and it can feel like there is no way out. But there is a way out, because we just have to say stop. Somebody has to say stop being this way, stop this way of Being in the world - and who is going to say stop but us. All of us. How this happens, I do not know, but I know that somebody must say stop, so perhaps I will say stop. And then perhaps somebody else will say stop. We can do it singly. Or we can do it together as a cooperative enterprise of change, of *mit sein*, Being together, working towards helping other people to see this, this enframing, which is destructive to humanity itself. We need to find another way of Being and maybe Rogers offers one way of being that is more authentic for humans – but we also have to look towards sustaining that way of Being and this brings us to the spaces and places of education.

I asked What is a university? However, the better question is What is education and is it necessary? If it is necessary, is it an essential good or is it the case that ~~the~~ unexamined deification of education is untenable? (Peim, 2012: 226). If we can even agree on the idea of education, where should/might it take place? These are questions without answers, but it is

worth asking them regardless. Peim asks —Hsn't this —reframing” become an irreversible world order?” (2012: 227). This is important. Education has become valorised, an unchallengable monolith, a key technology in the calling of humans to the stockpile of standing reserve. It is hard to envisage a way out of this enfolding of humanity. But, there are good, kind, honest people who gather together believing that another world is possible. If they are wrong, at least they are searching for the path to the clearing. And, who knows, maybe they will find a path.

And things do change. Just as the post-war consensus was ended by the neoliberal experiment, that same experiment, that dry, stony neoliberal ideology based on the primacy of the market over human well-being, may already be past its sell-by date; it may be that we are already seeing at least ~~the~~ start of the long death of an ideology” (Chakraborty, 2016). And even in the midst of neoliberalism’s blitzkrieg on education, on all public services, some still have the imagination to think otherwise, to envisage another world, organised in a way that encourages the growth of humans, the flourishing of communities of humans based on the core human values of love and trust.

And more questions: What is education, what is learning? On the one hand there is education – so there is school, so there is university. But...

School teaches us that instruction produces learning. The existence of schools produces the demand for schooling. Once we have learned to need school, all our activities tend to take the shape of client relationships to other specialized institutions. Once the self-taught man or woman has been discredited, all nonprofessional activity is rendered suspect. In school we are taught that valuable learning is the result of attendance; that the value of learning increases with the amount of input; and, finally, that this value can be measured and documented by grades and certificates (Illich, 1971: 29).

Education leaves humanity wanting; or, rather, leaves humanity *needing*, because education reinforces the need for the very institutions that call themselves ‘education’, as ‘this is where you learn’. And that ‘learning’ is the central focus is the Big Lie of Big Education:

In fact, learning is the human activity which least needs manipulation by others. Most learning is not the result of instruction. It is rather the result of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting. Most people learn best by being "with it," yet school makes them identify their personal, cognitive growth with elaborate planning and manipulation (Illich, 1971: 29).

And that elaborate planning and manipulation is nowadays directed towards students consuming the educational product supplied by the educational service provider, killing honest challenge and debate stone dead along the way:

What we have witnessed in our own time is the death of universities as centres of critique. Since Margaret Thatcher, the role of academia has been to service the status quo, not challenge it in the name of justice, tradition, imagination, human welfare, the free play of the mind or alternative visions of the future. We will not change this simply by increasing state funding of the humanities as opposed to slashing it to nothing. We will change it by insisting that a critical reflection on human values and principles should be central to everything that goes on in universities, not just to the study of Rembrandt or Rimbaud. (Eagleton, 2010).

For Rogers, an ideal type of person-centred institution is a “collective organism” built, of course, on realness, acceptance and empathy and typified by altruism, responsible autonomy, creativity and innovation (Rogers, 1977: 91). This looks remarkably like a cooperative organisation, which may well be the optimum organisational solution towards a liberatory person-centred education. This would include important organisational levers to redress power imbalances, such as at my own university, for example, where the vice chancellor takes

home twenty times the salary of the average local wage (McKinney, 2016), in comparison to the cooperative Mondragón University, where the differential is limited to 4.5 times the salary of the lowest paid in the institution (Kasmir, 1996: 35).

Foucault's distaste for political theory is because it "attends too much to institutions, and too little to practices" (Burchell et al, 1993: 4). Even though I devoted a whole chapter to institutions, I am inclined to make the same argument here. Higher education attends too much to its institutions, at the expense of persons and their practices and, although the structure and functions of institutions are vital in order to sustain a person-centred education, I would also argue that "changes in the rationale and meaning of the practice of [education] are prioritized over transformations in the structure of [educational] institutions" (ibid).

This is especially important when thinking about freedom to learn in education and about liberty as a more general concept, because, as Foucault points out, liberty is a practice:

The liberty of men is never assured by the institutions and laws that are intended to guarantee them. This is why almost all of these laws and institutions are quite capable of being turned around. Not because they are ambiguous, but simply because 'liberty' is what must be exercised . . . I think it can never be inherent in the structure of things to guarantee the exercise of freedom. The guarantee of freedom is freedom. (qv., Rabinow, 1984: 245).

Freedom is not to be found in the institutions themselves but in the practices played out in the institutions. Our educational institutions can "guarantee" liberty but this will really depend on the exercise of liberty, which must be based on a practice of education which examines its own grounds, a philosophical education, which will "call into question the current global, governmental sovereignty of education" (Peim, 2012: 227).

And underlying that sovereignty is the fact that —p to the present we have not yet found a way to respond to the essence of technicity” (Heidegger, 1966, The Spiegel Interview: 26). The English version of Heidegger’s interview with Der Spiegel is pessimistically subtitled "Only a God Can Save Us"; however, Heidegger also approvingly quotes a French poet who locates possibility in poetic thinking:

...the uprooting of man that is now taking place is the end [of everything human], unless thinking and poetizing once again regain [their] nonviolent power" (ibid). In particular, he encourages us to "think forward without prophetic claims into the coming time in terms of the fundamental thrust of our present age that has hardly been thought through [at all]" (op. cit., 60).

Each of the questions I have asked here bring us ultimately to the question of what it is to be human, what it is to Be, to Be-in-the-world, and what it is to have awareness of that fundamental existential aspect of our humanity – including those dimensions of autonomy and self-realisation in education that most concern Carl Rogers and the person-centred way of Being. And what if we do move closer to understanding ourselves and our own place in the universe, how do we enhance our experience of Dasein and Mitsein? We do have choices. One choice is to do nothing and continue on the path we are now on, to —un with open eyes, as it were, down a path whence there was no other issue than destruction” (Gadamer, 2004: 546). Or we can actively seek out and, perhaps, find the path to the clearing, the space of possibilities, by choosing authenticity and growth so that we can become all that we can Be, all that we would like to Be:

In the long run men hit only what they aim at. Therefore, though they should fail immediately, they had better aim at something high.

(Henry David Thoreau, 1906: 24)

Coda: Do We Dare?

Rouse up O Young Men of the New Age! set your foreheads against the ignorant Hirelings! For we have Hirelings in the Camp. the Court. & the University: who would if they could, for ever depress Mental & prolong Corporeal War (William Blake, "Milton: a Poem")

And indeed there will be time/To wonder, —Do I dare?" and, —Do I dare?" (T.S. Eliot, The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock)

Rogers concludes Freedom to Learn by outlining the challenge of the book, and by showing how all persons are respected in a climate of responsible freedom in which students respond with an avid interest in learning in the spirit of democracy:

We have set forth openly the risks, the difficulties of adopting such an approach and the obstacles society places in its way. To be fully human, to trust in persons, to grant freedom with responsibility — these are not easy to achieve. The way we have presented is a challenge. It involves change in our thinking, in our way of being, in our relationships with our students. It involves a difficult commitment to a democratic ideal. (Rogers, 1983: 307)

He ends the book with a simple question that I believe we must ask, individually and collectively, of education: “Do we dare?” It follows an earlier paper, formed principally of five questions in the form of “dares”, which signal —“possible move toward the enhancement, the deepening, the enrichment” (Rogers, 1973). I end by echoing Rogers’ dares, here with regard to education, of how we work to enhance, deepen and enrich our own lives and the lives of future generations of humans for existential flourishing on and with our beautiful blue planet.

Dare we listen to the open expression of our feelings?

...if we are truly aware, we can hear the silent screams of denied feelings echoing off every classroom wall and university corridor. And if we are sensitive enough, we can hear the creative thoughts and ideas that often emerge during and from the open expression of our feelings (Rogers, 1973: 370).

Don't tell the management but learning cannot be measured! Pause to hear the whole metrics-based educational system come crashing down under the shock of this realization. Do we dare to imagine an education system sensitive to the creative thinking and ideas emerging from the open expression of feelings? Dare we see learners rather than prisoners, producers rather than consumers and authentic Dasein rather than inauthentic entities feeding the standing reserve? Dare we accept ourselves as whole persons, not as ~~m~~minds walking around on stilts, or headless feelings muttering wild cries to one another" (Rogers, 1973: 374)? Dare we embrace a growthful, person-centred way of being and organise education towards constructive change and growth in humans? Instead of fetishizing efficiency and objective measures of human improvement, dare we create a climate in which there is freedom to learn with the learner at the centre? Dare we let nothing else be learned than learning?

Dare we walk softly through life?

It is not that this approach gives power to the person; it never takes it away" (Rogers, 1978: xii)

Dare we give up power over and risk ourselves in relationships? Dare we build an education based on cooperation and not competition? Dare we put relationship and dialogue at the centre of educational thinking? Dare we foster people's power to speak for themselves? Dare we be co-creators, teacher-students and student-teachers openly engaged in collaborative

communities of learners? Dare we oppose the challenging forth in the mastery mode of thinking and being? Dare we become open to the essence of technology? Dare we live in cooperation with nature and culture and dwell poetically upon this earth? Dare we become the artists of our own lives?

Dare we recover the question of Being?

Dare we forego the more and more, the endless drive to efficiency and abandon the hubristic idea that we are the masters of being? Dare we instead accept ourselves as the shepherds of being? Instead of turning away from the fundamental question of being, dare we become more questioning of who or what we are? Dare we foster an education that examines its own grounds? Dare we ask questions and unveil reality? Dare we encourage thinking that discloses the enframing? Dare we question what it is to be human and light up the ways into the saving power? Dare we let beings be as the beings which they are?

Dare we transform our world?

Dare we call into question the global, governmental sovereignty of education? Dare we unmask the political violence of institutions? Dare we turn the angel of history around to face a hopeful future? Dare we wake up to our situation in order to resist? Dare we transgress and cross borders to experience education as the practice of freedom? Dare we create hopeful spaces of possibility? Dare we embrace open political dialogue connecting education with democratic public life? Dare we consign homo economicus to history? Dare we shift education from product to production? Dare we exercise power with a minimum of domination? Dare we do things otherwise? Dare we reinvent the university as a chance meeting-place of roads in the open?

Dare we disturb the universe?

Do I dare

Disturb the universe?

In a minute there is time

For decisions and revisions which a minute will reverse.

(T.S. Eliot, The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock)

Take one minute and just sit and think. Imagine. Just for a minute. Imagine an education that rejects the shaping of human beings as consumers and instead encourages the practice of freedom. Imagine an education that resists ossification and embraces constructive change as part of the human process of growth. Imagine an education that opens up thinking and asks questions about the fundamental nature of our existence in the universe. Imagine an education that provides what is essential to the authentic Being of Dasein. Imagine an education that places the person in the process at the heart of its every endeavour in order to foster the growth of community-minded, independent, self-actualised persons. The minute is up. Now, dare to disturb the universe.

Critical Discussion

The locus of evaluation ... resides definitely in the learner. Its essence is meaning. When such learning takes place, the element of meaning-to-the-learner is built into the whole experience. (Rogers, 2013: 62)

I have presented a neglected model of education that I think offers a genuinely alternative way of educational being. Further, I challenged the model in order to propose something more robust in our changed circumstances. Finally, I have also critiqued our systems-focused measurement-obsessed educational culture, particularly in terms of its spaces, both online and in the world, in order to contribute to the debate about how we can begin to break free of the (neoliberal) enframing and find better ways of Being.

Reflecting on my findings, the litmus test for me is how authentic does this feel, does it ring True? I have to say that yes it does and I am proud of the work and I stand passionately by every word. I have also asked others to read it through and I have trusted their judgement when they tell me how much they like it. I like it. I have a sense, as do others, that I have asked some important questions that might be helpful should higher education begin to move away from the neoliberal enframing. Therefore, I can say that these findings are correct because for me they are correct. Because I feel it to my deepest core that what I am saying is a kind of Truth.

Of my findings, there is not one in particular that stands out, but rather the way in which they pull together, the concordance of these differing approaches has surprised me: the echoes of Heidegger in Rogers, the similarities between Rogers and Freire which so astonished Rogers, the way all three theorists explore what it is to be fully human, to live authentically in freedom, the way in which relationship is at the heart of education.

The weakest part of the thesis is, oddly enough, the central chapter of the person-centred model itself, and its associated contextual educational history chapter. Not because there is anything wrong with them - I don't think there is. It is just that there is very little tension in these chapters. The strong chapters are those following the person-centred model, where the model is challenged and tested and reimagined.

In terms of the process of researching and writing a doctoral thesis, the key term in my experience has been 'part-time'. I am in solidarity with anybody reading this who is similarly trying to juggle work, home, family – life! – with the very high time and attention commitment of a doctorate. I got hold of a camper van at one point so that even if I was giving up many of my life commitments, at least I could go and find nice surroundings to sit and work in. And, as I've said earlier, the key factor in my successful completion was actually giving up my job to become a Carer – which brings its own demands, but has also provided the opportunity to spend more time sitting at a computer and writing. If I were to offer advice to a research student entering this process, or this area of research, I would probably just say 'Listen attentively to your supervisor, follow the administrative guidelines and then be authentic: question everything, write from the heart and fearlessly'.

One of the most unexpected events in the process was the Viva. I prepared diligently for my interrogation by two experienced academics and, because I was well prepared, I found that I thoroughly enjoyed the experience. And I was elated to have passed. However, I was very surprised by the amount of further modifications I had to carry out *after* the Viva. As far as I know, this is not so unusual, but, having thought I had more or less finished, it made me a little bit grumpy for a while. After my initial cursing subsided, I set down to it and I found that this shorter process reflected the previous process, in that I thought I could carry on with

life and fit academic work in here and there. Not so. I ended up deferring many of my commitments in the world in order to pursue the completion of this work.

The Viva/modifications process has been something like a developmental editing process where my interrogators offered their time, vision and experience in the service of improving my near-complete draft to publication standard. And, in the end, I find that I have even enjoyed this shorter period, too. First of all, it was satisfying to feel confident in my abilities to carry out this extra work. Secondly, the modifications have in fact improved the thesis overall, they have made the work clearer in its intent and execution. And finally, I have encountered issues and thinkers that I had not encountered in a deep way previously and some of these have been enriching (of particular note were the two Davids, Noble and Harvey and all of the issues around reflexivity in research).

I found the work of Ansgar Allen interesting in that he writes about the structure of assessment (and utopias) in similar ways to myself. However, I did not include his work in the body of my thesis as much of his argument is differently oriented to my own. I find myself in agreement when he talks of the impossibility of extracting assessment from an educational system that is fundamentally constituted by it (Allen, 2012, 2013) but I also come to quite different conclusions to Allen in other ways and ultimately I found myself, despite all the detailed Foucauldian analysis, objecting to what I felt was a shallow reading of the possibilities in education. For example, in —Cultivating the myopic learner” (2012), Allen discusses —the shared project of high and low-stakes assessment” as if these were the only options available. As shown here, Rogers would do away with examinations because they measure the inconsequential type of learning. David Noble similarly refused to grade students, thus shifting academic attention from evaluation to education. And assessment for

Freire would have to involve a completely new standpoint that embraces praxis as dialogue and cooperation. Additionally, the work of Freire and his followers has shown that education as praxis can be empowering and emancipatory for oppressed communities.

In terms of relevance and interest, the work might benefit those interested in the political and philosophical aspects of Higher Education, perhaps those who see problems with the way we do higher education and are searching for ways to make change happen. I am not sure that this work fits so easily into a specific single category, so I suppose as a catchall that might include: researchers into the future of Higher Education; if (when!) research is carried out into person-centred or humanistic education by others; those who are concerned with applications of philosophy of education in Higher Education practice (a bit of a niche, but you never know); student voice researchers looking for a position from which to critique student voice, perhaps.

However, the work is especially relevant to practitioners, as it is based on practice, especially Rogers' and Freire's - and my own. Rogers shows a way forward in the classroom, Freire in the community. It is not an easy path and there will be resistance, as reported in *Freedom to Learn* - and also critical pedagogy is at times resisted by both students and teachers. But, it is a non-violent, democratic, kind, human way of practising education.

The next steps for this research are in the world because interpreting the world is only a start - the point is to change it. I have been working to engage with and promote education and empowerment in the community. Recently, I started a community group (www.eastmarshunited.org) in resistance to the violent conditions of austerity in the second most multiply deprived area of the UK: the East Marsh of Grimsby (see <https://goo.gl/yqbsst> for context, accessed 03/03/18). I am not tribal and reject tribalism outright as a political

position, but returning to my reflexive positionality as a researcher these people *are* my people, it is where I was born and where I have lived for most of my life. They, too, reject their marginalised condition and carry deeply the spirit of resistance to systemic forms of power. They are also already deeply engaged in our shared project to develop democratic capacity and critical consciousness through education.

This work in the community shows how my thesis is not ‘academic’ (in the sense of only theoretical interest) – it is already being followed up in the world and it is being funded by the national lottery and various other rather undemocratic but available ‘social enterprise’ funding pots. Additionally, there have already been four separate opportunities for funded research in our area and with our group that, now my thesis is complete, I will have time to engage with. I see a very definite possibility of developing academic work in the community, especially by applying phenomenological and person-centred social research methods allied to community concerns and needs.

What I gained from this research process is an understanding of how to go about an extended piece of academic research. I understand a significant proportion of the state of the art in my area and the directions in which it could be extended - and I feel capable of making such extensions. I have gained a wider and deeper understanding of the history and philosophical grounds of education in its political and cultural contexts across a century and especially over the last three decades of globalizing neoliberalism. I also gained insight into just how a truly effective education system is impossible without asking foundational questions about purpose, of universities, of the education system and of Being itself.

Heidegger is right when he says we have forgotten the question of Being. Why *are* we here? What gives meaning in our lives? Why do we live the kinds of lives that we live? What

alternatives might there be? And Freire might add, why do we accept oppression, inequality and injustice? Education is one way of thinking about these fundamentally important questions, of finding a path to the clearing for humanity, for us to shed light on our Being-in-the-world. How do we pass on our traditions our ideas our ways to live a good life to subsequent generations? Education offers the potential for humanity to change and improve the world and develop better ways of living for all living creatures and for the planet. Ultimately, any other way of organising education is worthless - if education is simply geared to making its own destructive systems more and more efficient, then it is worse than pointless, it has nothing to do with humanity and authentic lived experience any more and deserves to be overthrown.

As far as person-centred education goes, just compare this model with the high-pressure, high-stakes testing regime in education where young people are being damaged by stress and performance-enhancing ‘exam drugs’ in order to get through exams - all to pass a test! The person-centred approach takes account of the whole person and how we relate to whole others. The conditions of genuineness, empathy and trust all serve to break down barriers between people, serving to reduce or eliminate fight/flight responses that shut down learning and help people open themselves to experience, feeling positive and hopeful while they learn - the only true conditions for human learning to take place.

The processes of globalising higher education mean that the neoliberal enframement is dominant across the world, so my conclusions about the neoliberal university not offering a home to ways of being that prioritise the person in the process is very likely true in other populations than I have learnt about or experienced. I would also say that wherever there are humans, Rogers’ conditions reduce the distance between people and so foster freedom to learn, and

Freire's philosophy and method foster dialogue and enlightenment for oppressed communities across the globe. In the time since completing the thesis my view of the research topic deepens almost by the day. All that I witness happening in the culture, in the social polity, in my own area of my home town reinforces the need for those attitudes of person centredness, for institutions that are not disciplining and governmental and for all of us to ask the forgotten questions of Being.

Appendix: Annotated Bibliography of Carl Rogers on education

1951: Student-Centered Teaching (in Rogers, 1951, Client-Centered Therapy)

"We cannot teach another person directly, we can only facilitate his learning" might well be the basis of Rogers' educational philosophy and it is found in this, his first major writing about education, in which he describes his evolution in thinking about both therapy and education. Rogers' model of person-centred education is essentially here in its entirety – the permissive, non-directive climate, the use of resources, the focus on the attitudes held by the teacher (although at this point they are not specified clearly and do not have their later centrality). However, the chapter was not influential in education because it was read principally by psychologists and therapists – which does show in some of the language ('differentiated perception of the field of experience', 'distortion of symbolization'). Also noteworthy is that it is written in the impersonal third person ('If we...', 'Let us say...') which was abandoned in favour of the more intimate first person in all of the rest of Rogers' educational writing.

1957: Personal Thoughts on Teaching and Learning (in Kirschenbaum, 1989, The Carl Rogers Reader: 301; in Rogers, 1969, Freedom to Learn: 151; and in Rogers, 1961: On Becoming a Person: 273)

This short article was originally a speech to a conference at Harvard Business School in 1952 and was not published until five years later. It is deliberately thought-provoking from the outset. In what was billed as a demonstration of 'student-centered teaching', Rogers' simply-stated convictions about the teaching-learning process - for example, 'my experience has been that I cannot teach another person how to teach', 'we would do away with examinations ... grades and credits' - prompted a tumultuous reaction and Rogers' 'brief remarks' became one of his "best known, most widely quoted and reprinted treatises on education" (Kirschenbaum, *The Life and Works of Carl Rogers*, 2007: 384).

1959: Significant Learning: in therapy and in education (in Rogers, 1961, On Becoming a Person: 279 and at <http://goo.gl/I0fwel>)

This was written not long after "The necessary and sufficient conditions of therapeutic personality change", Rogers' influential statement of the core conditions for constructive personality change to occur in therapy. Here, he identifies a similar set of conditions in education which lead to 'significant learning', learning which makes a difference in the learner's behaviour, not just an accretion of knowledge. The conditions for significant learning in education are that the learner chooses a meaningful problem to work on; the teacher is genuine and congruent, accepting and understanding; the teacher provides resources. The central focus of the teacher's effort is to develop a relationship, an atmosphere, conducive to self-motivated, self-actualizing, significant learning. The article also discusses what education is not, such as lectures imposed on students and examinations. It is notable that Rogers several times points to a lack of evidence for his theory at this point in time - something which he is keen to include in later formulations.

1962: “Learning to be free” (in Person to Person, 1967: 47)

Rogers begins by describing a central process in psychotherapy, the experience of freedom to be one's self, including the characteristic features of this experience. Likewise in education, when students are permitted to be in contact with real problems, when resources are made available and when the teacher holds the facilitative attitudes, significant learning occurs. This is an exciting process in which initiative, creativity and inner freedom are released. By this point in his educational writings, Rogers clearly demarcates the facilitative attitudes as realness, acceptance and empathy. The dynamics of inner freedom are thus possible in educational institutions, despite the contemporary trend away from freedom.

1967: The Interpersonal Relationship in the Facilitation of Learning (Kirschenbaum, 1989, The Carl Rogers Reader: 304; Rogers, 1969, Freedom to Learn: 103)

Rogers argues for a shift in our focus on *teaching* to the facilitation of *learning*. We know the conditions that facilitate learning, one of the most important being the attitudinal quality of the interpersonal relationship between facilitator and learner. The attitudes are realness, trust and empathy. He presents the accumulating research evidence for the efficacy of the approach as well as illustrating what it feels like for the learner when learning is free, self-initiated and spontaneous. This is the last significant journal article before Rogers collected his thoughts on education together in *Freedom to Learn*, which includes a revised and enlarged version of this article, which Rogers says he likes very much –“because it expresses some of the deepest convictions I hold regarding those who work in the educational field.” (Rogers, 1969, *Freedom to Learn*: 103).

1969: Freedom to Learn: a view of what education might become (Book).

The subtitle is positive and forward-looking, but it also suggests what education is not and Rogers sees the whole education system at a crisis point where desperately important choices are to be made. He therefore wishes to make his own experience available, opening as follows: –“I am writing this book because I want to speak to teachers, professors, educators, administrators of schools, colleges and educational institutions.” The goal of education is to create the psychological climate of freedom to learn, from which can emerge the fully functioning person – “a person functioning freely in all the fullness of his organismic possibilities” (295). The book is divided into five sections: 1 & 2 are practical channels for teachers to risk themselves in experimentation with classes; 3 offers a conceptual basis for those experiments; 4 explores the personal and philosophical ramifications of the approach; and 5 and the epilogue suggest a programme for self-directed change in the educational system.

1973: Questions I would ask myself if I were a teacher (at: <http://goo.gl/tpDEg9>)

This is a revision of a talk Rogers gave to a conference for the gifted and the talented in the same year. It is one of the first after publication of the influential *Freedom to Learn* and he includes here correspondence inspired by the book to provide evidence of the efficacy of the approach. He begins by admitting his inexperience in teaching in such a context, so he proceeds simply to ask and address a number of questions he would ask if given responsibility for the learnings of a group of children: Can I let myself inside the inner world of a growing, learning, person? Do I dare to be myself in an intensive group relationship? Can I discover the interests of each individual and permit him or her to follow those interests wherever they may lead? Can I help young persons preserve their curiosity about themselves and the world around them? Can I be creative in providing resources of all kinds which stimulate their curiosity and feed their interests?

1974: Can Learning Encompass both Ideas and Feelings? (in Rogers, 1980, A Way of Being: 263)

The title announces the central theme, which is “the value of combining experiential with cognitive learning” (‘experiential’ in this context is equated with ‘affective’ or ‘feelings and emotions’ or the frequently used combination ‘affective-experiential’). This chapter illustrates a definition of whole person learning with examples and presents more of the steadily accumulating research on the efficacy of person-centred education. It also offers a plan for a radical change in teacher education based on the development of realness, acceptance and empathy in student teachers and facilitated institutional focus on whole person learning.

1977: The politics of education (in Rogers, 1983, Freedom to Learn: 185; and Kirschenbaum, 1989, The Carl Rogers Reader: 323)

Rogers explores the politics of education by outlining two sharply different approaches to the learning process – traditional and person-centred. The two approaches can be thought of as two poles of a continuum. Traditional education is hierarchical, authoritarian, passive, distrustful, fearful and anti-democratic. The growth-promoting climate of person-centred education is trusting, shares responsibility, actively experiential, self-initiated, self-disciplined and self-evaluated. Because the person-centred approach to education is threatening to rigid power structures in conventional education, it may develop strong roots in alternative educational institutions before it impacts on larger teacher-training institutions.

1977: Beyond the Watershed: And Where Now? (in Rogers, 1980, A Way of Being: 292 and at <http://goo.gl/Pw0Qnj>)

This article sees Rogers in an optimistic frame of mind, looking confidently towards a humanistic future in education. The ‘watershed’ of the title implies that a turning point has been reached and previously resistant forces are now working *for* that same future. This also means that this new education must be more clearly defined, evidence of its effectiveness presented and its future direction of travel suggested. These are the topics Rogers addresses in the article. He also discusses the politics of conventional education in contrast to that of humanistic education, making the point that the person-centred approach is threatening to conventional educators because it refuses to exert power over. He reports Aspy & Roebuck’s 1974 published research on the effectiveness of humanistic education: “the more the psychological climate of the classroom is person-centered, the more are vital and creative learnings fostered.” Finally, with “some trepidation”, Rogers concludes the article by saying that the exploration of inner space will be “the next great frontier of learning”.

1978: Power or Persons: two trends in education (in Rogers, 1978, Carl Rogers on Personal Power: 69)

Rogers examines the politics of education, the system which has most influence on a person’s interpersonal politics. He compares education as it is with the politics of systems infused with a person-centred approach. The politics of the traditional school is experienced as hierarchical, passive, authoritarian, distrustful, fearful, anti-democratic and inhuman in its neglect of emotions in learning. The precondition for growth-promoting person-centred learning to develop is a leader or a person who can trust the capacity of others to think for themselves. This allows the facilitative person to provide a facilitative climate (of realness, caring and understanding listening), to share responsibility for the learning process, to provide learning resources and to enable the student to develop their own programme of learning, self-discipline and self-evaluation. Rogers then explores the question why people take such a “revolutionary about-face from the politics of traditional education”, citing his own

experience and those of x case studies. He states that —new approach to education demands new ways of being.” Finally, he cites Aspy & Roebuck’s research as well as his own practical experience of implementing a person-centred approach in medical education to show that, at every level, *person-centered attitudes pay off*, changing the politics of education in the process.”

1978: The person-centred approach and the oppressed (in Rogers, 1978, *Carl Rogers on Personal Power*: 105)

In the context of his book, *Carl Rogers on Personal Power*, Rogers addresses the charge that the person-centred approach is a middle class luxury and meaningless to oppressed minorities. He draws extensively on Freire’s *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) to counter the accusation and point up the remarkable similarity between his and Freire’s principles on education: opposition to authoritarian, passive ‘banking’ education; building trust as ‘sympathetic observers’ with an attitude of understanding; a change in power relationships through dialogue (not Freire’s pedagogy, but that of the oppressed). Both Freire’s and the person-centred approach are revolutionary because subversive of authoritarian structure. Rogers describes his own experience working with a group of ‘health consumers’ from the urban ghettos and the rural underprivileged. He finally presents his ‘if-then’ conclusions about situations involving minority groups, the oppressed or anyone who feels powerless, drawn from Freire’s work and his own experience.

1979: Learnings in Large Groups: their implications for the future (in Rogers, 1980, *A Way of Being*: 316)

This chapter in *A Way of Being* reports on a series of large-group workshops – called ‘ciclos’ – run by Rogers and his staff from The Center for Studies of the Person in Brazil in 1977. The workshops ran over two afternoons and two evenings and participants varied between 500 and 800 people. The ciclos had no agenda and began with confusion and some chaos, after which the group begins to learn how to use its own strength and there emerges a middle portion of the process exhibiting a willingness to listen and to express feelings to the group. The final portion of the process gives a sense that ‘we are together’ and the whole group is able to give its undivided attention to one person, should it be necessary. Rogers writes about the meaning of these experiences for the future of education in a global culture which is marred by increasing inequality and alienation which will not be fixed by principles from the past. He argues that the situation demands ‘drastic changes in the purposes, the values, the behaviour, the guiding principles of our lives’ and that the large groups in Brazil present a hopeful small model for achieving this vision of what education might become.

1983: Freedom to Learn for the 80’s (Book: 2nd Edition)

This edition is a significant rewrite, losing about half the chapters from the first edition in favour of chapters aimed specifically at school teachers and teachers in training. It also includes a chapter, which Rogers cites as one of the most important in the book, reporting on extensive research into person-centred education carried out in the years after publication of the first edition. It is perhaps significant that Rogers wrote *Freedom to Learn* from the turbulent period of social and educational experimentation of the 1960s and his updated edition *Freedom to Learn for the 80’s* from the period of resistance to those same ideas. This may well explain the differences between editions, especially the new material from educational practitioners as evidence of the efficacy of the model, perhaps showing Rogers reinforcing his own ideas in the face of political attacks from the ascendant conservative right.

1989: Carl Rogers Dialogues with B.F. Skinner (in Kirschenbaum, 1989, Carl Rogers Dialogues: 79)

Published for the first time in Dialogues, this is the transcript of a two-day debate held in 1962 at the University of Minnesota between Rogers and B. F. Skinner, fellow psychologist and pioneer of behaviourism. The debate was entitled “A dialogue on education and the control of human behaviour” and it sharply reveals the differences in the two approaches, humanism and behaviourism. For Skinner, the debate hinges around the question of inner experience and its place in human behaviour – which he sees as fictions, as only observable external behaviour can be accounted for. Rogers counters this by saying that we can only live subjectively and we experience rich inner lives which give us self-will, freedom and choice. Skinner maintains his position, positing that this inner life is only there because it has been put there. This is the central philosophical debate regarding education in the debate - that knowledge has been implanted, not something drawn out (Skinner’s representation of the humanist position). Rogers maintains that to provide the right psychological climate for learning enables individuals to become more free in choosing and more self-directing in their goals. Ultimately, the difference between the two positions is not reconciled and Rogers portrays Skinner’s position as “automated figures moving inexorably in preordained paths”, which is scientifically fruitful but not a total world view. He concludes by stating his aim as “to provide conditions for optimal release and growth, rather than being primarily aimed at control” (Rogers’ representation of the behaviourist position).

1994: Freedom to Learn: Third Edition (Book) with H. Jerome Freiberg

This posthumous update, requested by Rogers’ daughter, Natalie, offers new evidence of the efficacy of person-centred education. There are five new chapters: learning from children who love school; researching person-centred issues in education; developing the administrator’s role as a facilitator; building discipline and classroom management with the learner; and person-centred views of transforming schools. Statistical evidence in favour of the person-centred approach to education is again provided in a chapter which summarises Aspy and Roebuck's *Kid's Don't Learn from People They Don't Like*.

2013 On Becoming an Effective Teacher: Person-centered teaching, psychology, philosophy, and dialogues with Carl R. Rogers and Harold Lyon (book)

This book about person-centred education is organised into four parts, each of which begins with a previously unpublished dialogue between Rogers and Harold Lyon. The main sections of the book cover such issues as person-centred freedom, person-centred learning and teaching, person-centred methods and the philosophical implications for person-centred education. Author Hal Lyon has worked in high-level educational administration in the United States and wrote the important humanistic education book *Learning to Feel – Feeling to Learn*. He continues to promote the person-centred approach in his teaching and this perspective informs a rich seam running through the book which is one of the central dilemmas in promoting and developing the person-centred approach in education – that it is *person-centred*, and education happens inside bureaucratic institutions, which are *system-focused*. Lyon also very usefully pulls together little-known but important empirical research over the last 50 years on the person-centred approach in education, each of which shows a strong positive correlation between teachers’ levels of empathy, genuineness, and acceptance and student development. Finally, the definitive bibliography (2002) on person-centred philosophy and Carl Rogers is included as an appendix (and is hosted by Natalie Rogers and available online at <http://www.nrogers.com/CRRBiblio.pdf>).

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