Introduction

The Anthropological Study of Schools

Presenting European Anthropology of Education

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The aim of this anthology is twofold. First, it collects and presents European anthropological studies of education, seeking to highlight their contributions to the broader field of anthropology of education. Second, by focusing on studies of how difference and sameness are constructed and done in European schools, the anthology sets out to explore how anthropological perspectives offer insights into the diversity of European schools; their everyday interactions between pupils, teachers, parents, and communities; and their entanglement in state projects, cultural processes, and societal histories, projects, and conflicts—thus providing insights into contemporary European societies.

It is indisputable that the subdiscipline of anthropology of education is dominated by US American anthropologists and associated with studies of the US American context. This dominance was probably promoted by the rapid solidification and institutionalization of anthropological studies of education in the United States through the Council on Anthropology and Education, which was founded as a section of the American Anthropological Association in 1968, and through the journal *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, which started as the council's newsletter in 1970. By contrast, national borders, language barriers, separate and self-contained university systems, as well as disinterest in studies of education in anthropological environments, have limited the spread and consolidation of a European anthropology of education. As an example of this lack of institutionalization, anthropology of education is not repre-

sented among the forty-six networks in the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA).[1] Meanwhile, parallel to but independent of the development of an anthropology of education in the United States—albeit later inspired by this tradition—academic environments, small groups of scholars, and individual anthropologists all over Europe have engaged with the subject. This is also the case in many other countries, such as Japan, Mexico, and Israel (Apodaca 2012; Bekerman 2016; Gomes and Gomes 2012; Rockwell and González; Shlasky, Alpert, and Ben-Yehoshua 2012).

This anthology collects a range of contemporary European studies of these anthropological strands. The aim is not to assume or propose any "European" character or homogeneity among them, but to present and explore this subfield in addition to the various contributions to anthropology of education from European scholars shaped by different academic traditions and, not least, different field contexts. While anthropology of education in Europe has a much wider scope and embraces a broad understanding of education, the book focuses on studies of schools in Europe and various ways to construct and handle difference and sameness among pupils in these schools, as this is a common interest among European anthropologists of education. We hope that others will take up the mantle and further explore various aspects of the broad field of European educational anthropology. Another reason for our choice to focus on schools is that, as we will argue, they offer a poignant window to processes of cultural reproduction and production, and wider societal dynamics. One of the strengths of anthropological explorations of schools is that ethnographic fieldwork allows the anthropologist to go beyond educational policies and discourses and to highlight everyday practices and interactions in and around schools, including the consequences of these policies and discourses. Another strength is the anthropological commitment to contextualize such fieldwork and explore the relations between the micro level of the classroom, the meso-level structural conditions of the school system, and the macro level of broader societal and cultural processes. Studies of highly diverse European schools can thus provide broader insights into European societies, histories, and politics.

The US American branch of anthropology of education has made an essential contribution to the field of anthropology of education, developing theories and analytical perspectives drawn upon by many European scholars. But due to their general focus on educational settings in the United States, they also reflect a US American context, with its particular demographics, historical background, social and

racialized structures, and political struggles. The European context is different and, not least, highly diverse, with a range of different nations, school systems, historical conditions and population groups, migration processes, political systems, and conflicts, all of which have an impact on and are influenced by schools. This calls for a focus on European anthropological studies of schools that can illuminate this diversity and explore how differences and similarities are created in various European schools—and what this tells us about European societies.

We are aware that many splendid studies from other fields engage with this topic of diversity in European schools. Likewise in many European countries, sociologists and educational scholars have conducted ethnographic studies of education (Anderson-Levitt 2012; Delamont 2012; Henze 2020). Henze has suggested these affiliated areas of ethnographic studies be thought of as "a big tent where disciplinary boundaries are becoming more porous" (2020:5). We agree, and in this light and spirit, the aim of this anthology is not to draw boundaries demarcating anthropology of education; we explore the various and varied anthropological studies of education that this tent contains and focus on their contribution to the field.

In the following we will first describe in more detail why the school and education in general is an important topic for anthropology. We will then take a further look at the US American studies of anthropology of education, followed by a presentation of research within anthropology of education in Europe and a discussion of Europe's diverse schools. The introduction will be concluded with an outline of the chapters.

Why Should Anthropologists Study Schools?

Despite the early consolidation of anthropology of education in the United States, it still required an effort to establish the field within US American anthropology, and even today most anthropologists do not include schools and other educational institutions in their research. Regardless of its global reach, the school is thus an understudied institution within anthropology—a shortcoming that the existing educational anthropological research has not yet remedied. In 1999, Levinson (1999: 597) argued that this "relative neglect" of schools and education may be caused by anthropologists' focus on groups and societies "outside the symbolic borders of the institutional West," and this may still hold true. As the school, and other

forms of formalized education, is seen as a Western construct and part and parcel of the modern nation-state, it has been perceived as belonging to the field of sociology and not a proper or suitable subject for anthropologists. Gupta and Ferguson have suggested that some fields are too close to home and too unexotic to be perceived as a "real field" in anthropology's "hierarchy of purity of field sites" (1992: 12–14). Thus, schools are seemingly too "domestic" and "well known" to be considered anthropologically interesting (Levinson 1999: 598). According to Levinson, another reason may be that anthropologists take the effects of schooling for granted and, due to adultcentrism, expect to know the outcome of socialization in schools or find it less prestigious to study the institutions attended by children (598). As a result, many researchers have overlooked the great insights that studying education and children and young people can provide into fundamental processes and conflicts, how cultural patterns both endure and change, and how social imaginaries, practices, identities are formed.

Levinson and Holland (1996) have argued that studying schools and other forms of in/formal education in both the Global North and South is of central importance for anthropologists. Some kind of collective education is found in all societies, often in institutional forms such as schools, to produce "the educated person" as this is defined in accordance with the knowledge and behavior valued within that culture. While mass schooling was part of the formation of Western states, as part of colonialism a wave of mass "Westernized" schooling has swept the world. Mass schooling has been part of nation-states' quest for development and modernization, lauded by missionaries, colonialists, development aid projects, and, not least, UNESCO's global program Education for All. Consequently, today, more than 90 percent of the world's children attend a school of some kind (Unicef.dk 2023).

However, local forms of schooling existed in all parts of the world long before the spread of mass schooling, and schools continue to assume many different shapes. At its core, a school is any institutionalization of cultural transmission, in which typified activities recognized as "teaching"—that is attempted cultural transmission—are conducted by typified actors recognized as "teachers" for typified actors recognized as "pupils" (cf. Berger and Luckmann 1967). Whereas an informal and nevertheless often organized transfer of knowledge, skills, and values from the older to the younger generation takes place in all families and in all societies, schools are essentially extrafamilial institutions that demonstrate an interest in the cultural molding of the child on behalf of the larger collective or society. According to

Durkheim (1956), the community of any society cannot risk leaving children's upbringing to the parents. To maintain social order, its labor force, and its cultural foundation, a society depends on the new generation's reproduction of an integrated community and must therefore engage in its upbringing and education (Durkheim 1956). This is specifically the case for the state, which, as Foucault (1977) has described, is characterized by a dual interest in the collectivity of citizens and the individual subject. Being specifically apt for reaching both the collectivity and the individual, the school is one of the state's primary bodies of power (Foucault 1977). Likewise, schools are the most critical institutions in modern nation-states, as they tend to inculcate in their citizens the essential images of the glorious past, the national territory, the united people, and the idea of a common culture that constitutes the nation (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1984). As Baumann (2004) has argued, similar images and ideas, but now of a shared "civil culture," are inculcated in school pupils within the multiethnic postnationalist nation-state. From an Eliasian perspective, one can argue that due to its long chains of interdependencies, the nation-state is especially concerned with the civilized—predictable, productive, responsible, and socially acceptable—conduct of its citizens; and makes great efforts to ensure such conduct through a fine-grained system of educational institutions (Elias 1994; Gilliam and Gulløv 2014, 2017). As future citizens, children's conduct and development of skills are in focus—they are "society-in-the-making" and must be carefully cultivated, developing necessary skills and learning how to contribute to society and act appropriately in contexts outside the family (Gilliam and Gulløv 2022).

Meanwhile, questions of what constitute necessary skills and what it entails to contribute to society and act appropriately are always the focus of debate, negotiation, and even struggle; they are only temporarily settled and routinized. All societies and states consist of a broad spectrum of groups and actors with different interests and degrees of power and influence in determining what skills, cultural forms, and kinds of citizens the school should cultivate. According to Levinson and Holland, "schools and education often become sites of intense cultural politics" (1996: 1), as the upbringing of new citizens arouses different political, regional, ethnic, religious, gendered, and class interests. While dominant groups often win these struggles and come to define the project of the national school, schools change continuously through these negotiations of aims, ideals, and content. Often these struggles result in the establishment of different schools that cater to the needs of various communities, such as dif-

ferent religious groups. Such processes make the school of particular interest to anthropologists. Looking at schools, their educational and civilizing projects, and the struggles about how children should be educated provides a window to fundamental ideals and internal conflicts within the societies in question. These are often related to historical processes and to local situations, national relations, and global structures (Gilliam and Gulløv 2022). As can be seen in widespread debates about the integration of migrants in schools, about how to teach young people to use social media, and about how to handle the environmental crisis, children and the educational settings that mold them into citizens are vessels of intense dreams, hopes, and fears for the future and the nation (Gilliam and Gulløv 2022). A whole range of actors are engaged in the production and discussion of these hopes and fears. Policies are negotiated in the UN, EU, and among national and regional politicians, and are appropriated in schools by principals, teachers, parents, and pupils (Levinson and Sutton 2001; Shore and Wright 2003). Interrogating schools thus gives us great insight into the societies, ideas, and processes we explore as anthropologists.

Constructing Difference and Sameness in Schools

Yet, schools are not just interesting due to the insights they can give us into central social and national ideals and imaginaries and the related ongoing struggles. Also of interest are what children, young people, parents, and teachers do and experience in schools, molding them as individuals and how this contributes to the shaping of societies.

One of the main characteristics of the school is that it separates children from the context of their family and, in ways similar to the total institutions described by Goffman (1961), attempts to "isolate" them in a separate context, "neutralize" their social origins, and "standardize" them as "pupils" in order to transform them. As such, every school is somewhat of a world of its own: a physical place in a specific local context and a social community with particular children and adults who have encompassing qualities. In the words of Waller: "the world of school is a social world. Those human beings, who live together in the school, though deeply severed in one sense, nevertheless spin a tangled web of interrelationships; that web and the people in it make up the social world of school. It is not a wide world, but, for those who know it, it is a world compact with meaning" (1961 [1932]: v).

Among the most central meanings communicated and produced in schools are ideas about what constitutes significant social subjects

and categories and the meanings, characteristics, and assessments as-
cribed to them. As a social world where children spend a large part
of their everyday life during their formative years, the school is one
of the main contributors to our social imaginaries, that is, "the way
ordinary people 'imagine' their social surroundings . . . carried in im-
ages, stories and legends" (Taylor 2002: 106–7). An important part
of these social imaginaries is what constitutes "relevant kinds" in the
world (Goodman 1978), and thus what constitutes meaning-laden
differences between people, but also who are considered to be "the
same" and thus of the same "kind." Schools construct and teach chil-
dren about these differences and samenesses in two ways. First, they
sort children into relevant kinds. As contemporary European schools
typically subscribe to ideals of equality and democracy, they often
seek to neutralize variations in children's backgrounds and treat them
as equal "pupils." Instead, children are categorized according to the
differences that are rendered important or pedagogical in school (Jae-
ger 2021). As soon as children enter schools, they are divided into
classes according to age and often also into tracks according to their
assessed abilities (Alexander 2020; Gillborn 2005). While coeduca-
tion is the norm in European schools, within their classes, pupils are
typically addressed or even divided into "girls and boys" and, often
in more subtle ways, into ethnic, racial, religious, linguistic, and so-
cial class categories, all of which are ascribed specific cultural mean-
ings. Second, in textbooks, in the division of subjects, in the teaching
and teachers' praise and reprimands, different categories of people,
societies, and skills are presented and described, in ways that com-
municate available social positions and subjectivities. Moreover, they
give important lessons on social worth, moral hierarchies, the ethos
of interaction, and divisions between "insiders and outsiders" (Con-
nell 1996; Gilliam 2017; Schiffauer et al. 2004). Through these prac-
tices, certain differences, such as ethnic differences, are constructed
as insurmountable boundaries; other possible differences are muted
and may even disappear, with people described with these categories
depicted as "the same" as a sign of community, solidarity, or stigma
(Alba 2005; Barth 1998 [1969]; Gullestad 2002; Wimmer 2013).

Schools thus not only inculcate knowledge and skills but pres-
ent children with a social and moral landscape of social categories
and subjectivities that they may internalize, negotiate, or resist, but
which have significant consequences for their perceptions of self,
others, and society. Children and young people participate actively
in the construction of this landscape of social categories and often
engage in the production of new cultural meanings and identities.

Yet these meanings and identities are partly shaped by the school's structures, curriculum, and teaching, and by what are presented as important differences and sameness in schools—whether based on age, gender, ethnicity, "race," language, abilities, neighborhoods, or other distinctions. One of the central projects of the school is to reproduce and enhance the nation and inculcate national identity in children (Bénéï 2008; Reed-Danahay 1996). Nationality, ethnicity, religion, and "race" are thus often at stake in children's relationships, becoming important boundary markers in their constructing, doing, and handling of difference, sameness, and identity (Connolly 1998; Gilliam 2009, 2019; Kromidas 2016; Lewis 2003; Mannitz 2004b). Culturally marginalized children who are on the periphery of the imagined nation due to their lower social class background or stigmatized neighborhood—or who are not perceived as proper national citizens due to their ethnic minority background—are often seen as a particular cause for concern, resulting in efforts to civilize (Gilliam and Gulløv 2017). The responses of such children vary greatly, ranging from assimilation and emulation to opposition and cultural inversion (Ogbu 2004). Likewise, differentiation related to age, gender, and abilities are part and parcel of the schools' internal structures and are often translated into children's own relations in ways that both enhance and subvert these lines of division (Alexander 2020; Connell 1996; McDermott 1996). Moreover, children, young people, and teachers also inhabit other worlds and draw on and interpret themes from their local surroundings, from national or social media, or within their social relations in school (Jaffe-Walter 2016; Jaeger 2021; Kromidas 2016). Stigmatization of ethnic and religious groups, class distinctions, or neighborhood divisions are channeled into the social world of school, shaping teachers' expectations and assessments, and influencing whom children become friends with and whom they want to avoid. As Kromidas puts it: "The school is itself a social space, a web of 'intersecting relational geographies' (Massey 2005) . . . [It] has spatio-temporal contradictions of its own that kids interpret, struggle with and contribute to" (2016: 41).

As shown by studies of "student cultures" in schools, colleges, and universities, positions related to perceived gender, class, and ethnic difference or sameness often provide access to distinct social or informal groupings in the school world. These exist parallel to the school's formal organization and form an important part of the school world's social and cultural structuring (Eckert 1989; Kipnis 2001; Levinson 1992; Mac an Ghaill 1994). In addition, these groups are often formed through experiences with school and schoolwork—

of failing or succeeding at school—that are frequently shared by children from the same positions both inside and outside the school setting. As such, children and young people tend to create an "informal structure" within the formal institutional structure of the school through which they produce meanings and identities that mediate their relationships with teachers and parents (Levinson 1992: 214). These communities have consequences for children's schooling and enculturation—as Wenger suggests, often having a more significant impact than the school's educational project. "Despite curricula, discipline, and admonition, it turns out that the most personally transformative learning is the learning associated with membership of these communities of practice" (Wenger 1998: 133). Exploring how schools, teachers, children, and young people perceive, co-construct, and do differences and sameness in the social world of school can tell us about values and divisions in society and about processes of social and cultural inertia and change.

Studies of Schools in US American Anthropology of Education

Before examining the various strands of research in schools within European anthropology of education, we will first outline how studies of schools and differentiation evolved in US American anthropology of education, in acknowledgment of their great contribution to the research conducted in Europe, including our understanding of the role of schools.

While anthropologists have had an interest in education since the late nineteenth century, 1920–45 is usually defined as the formative period for the anthropology of education (Eddy 1985). In this period, many anthropologists, including Bronisław Malinowski, Franz Boas, Meyer Fortes, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Gregory Bateson, Melville Herskovits, and Edward Sapir, engaged in explorations of the enculturation of children and/or the formalized system of education. In the United States, these studies were further encouraged by generous funding of research into social issues of race, immigration, intercultural contact, and the education of colonized native communities (Eddy 1985: 85–86). In addition, the cultural relativism approach established by Franz Boas engaged anthropologists in a critique of the eugenics movement's description of human behavior as biologically founded and of new universalist psychological theories of child development that ignored cross-cultural variations (87).

The establishment of anthropology of education as a subdiscipline in the 1950s was highly influenced by Boas's cultural anthropology and especially the Culture and Personality school and its exploration of how culture is learned and transmitted and shapes individual personalities. Anthropology of education thus emerged with a strong psychological dimension, an interest in language and cognition, and a broad concept of education. While George and Louise Spindler, the founders of anthropology of education, continued the legacy of Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict by maintaining this broad interest in all learning and transmission of culture, they also turned their attention toward exploring the role of schools, engaging students of both anthropology and education in the endeavor (McDermott 2008; Spindler 1955). The Spindlers were interested in the constitution of the individual, as well as examining cultural systems through their teaching and learning techniques and calling for a sociocultural contextualization of education and the use of ethnographic methods (Harrington 1982; Henze 2020; McDermott 2008). In contrast to earlier functionalist approaches, culture was here perceived as changing dynamically in the process of transmission (Yon 2003).

A new dimension was added to this interest in schools in the wake of the civil rights movement, where many US American anthropologists began to study inequality among Black, ethnic minority, and Native American communities within the United States. An obvious focus was the "ethnic school failure," with academic achievement of minority pupils continuously lagging behind that of the majority White pupils. The dominant explanation for this "failure" had hitherto been genetically based intelligence deficiencies of minority pupils. Breaking with these racial and racist explanations, the anthropologist Oscar Lewis's (1959) theory of the Culture of Poverty and similar theories of cultural deprivation, instead blamed socialization within families for not providing children with the skills, language, and knowledge they needed to do well in school (e.g., Riessman 1962). Based on ethnographic fieldwork in communities and schools, anthropologists of education challenged these theories, pointing to "cultural differences" instead of "deficiencies and deprivation" to explain the poor school results of minority children. Drawing on ethnographic knowledge of the ethnic groups in question, these anthropologists conducted micro-ethnographic studies to explore differences and conflicts between the majority culture in school and the communication style and linguistic, nonverbal, and cognitive forms within the children's minority communities (e.g., Cazden, John, and Erickson 1987; Hymes 1972; Trueba 1988). Later, this "cultural

difference approach" was criticized for essentializing the culture of minority groups and for failing to address the larger structural, historical, and power-embedded processes through which these differences were produced (Foley 1991; Ogbu 1987).

Among their starkest critics was anthropologist John Ogbu, who called for macro-ethnographic studies of these processes and closer examination of the minority groups that did well in school despite the cultural differences between their home context and the school (Gibson 1988; Ogbu 1987, 2004;). Through thirty years of comparative studies of minorities in schools in the United States and in countries such as Britain and Japan, Ogbu and his colleagues found that racism and structural discrimination led to the development of oppositional identities, survival strategies, and secondary cultural differences through cultural inversion of the majority culture among what he termed "involuntary minorities" (such as Black, Latin, and Native American communities). Transmitted to their children, these strategies, identities, and differences became barriers to their success in school, with the side effect that these pupils held each other down, sanctioning peers negatively that were "acting white" (Fordham and Ogbu 1986). By contrast, "voluntary minorities"(such as Punjabi Indians and Chinese Americans) tended to develop a strategy of "accommodation without assimilation," adopting the necessary cultural forms to succeed in school but remaining socially within their ethnic group (Gibson 1988; Ogbu 1987).

This interest in the complex dynamics between children, young people, and their communities on the one hand and the (majority) school and state on the other hand became a central aspect of anthropology of education. Inspired by critical and in some cases Marxist-inspired sociological theories of inequality in education—such as those developed by Althusser (1971), Baudelot and Establet (1971), and, not least Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) theory of cultural reproduction in education—anthropologists of education began to focus on the effects of schooling and the relationship between the school system and capitalist society. Yet, ethnographic studies in educational institutions highlighted less deterministic and more complex processes than mere social and cultural reproduction (Levinson and Holland 1996). Children, young people, and suppressed social and ethnic groups were not just passive recipients of capitalist ideology, symbolic violence, and a "hidden curriculum"; they actively interpreted and contributed to school culture and their own predicament. This was highlighted in Willis's (1977) study of the "counter-school culture" of working-class boys at a British secondary school,

which focused on the cultural production that takes place in schools. This classic work and the influence from the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies sparked many studies of agency and resistance among pupils and of the social world of school, as well as explorations of how ideas about "the educated person" and phenomena such as "school failure" and "disability" are culturally produced and "accomplished" in schools (D'Amato 1993; Foley 1991; Jacob and Jordan 1993; Mehan 2000; Levinson, Foley, and Holland 1996; Reed-Danahay 1996; Varenne and McDermott 1998;). In these studies, children and young people were taken seriously as social actors and contributors to the nation's social and cultural fabric, but also as research participants with a voice that should be heard.

In comparison to the original interest in the transmission of culture, the focus of much US American anthropology of education became the production of culture in educational settings and how local contexts and family relations, as well as social, ethnic, racial, and gendered structures, were drawn into and (re)produced by educational institutions (e.g., Ferguson 2000; Lewis 2003). In contrast to the holistic concept of culture that characterized the early studies, from the influence of Marxism and critical sociology and onward, a more conflictual concept prevailed in which culture was understood as "competing and conflicting interests constituted by, and within, unequal relations of power," and later as a hegemony and habitus created and recreated from within through schooling (Yon 2003: 418). A key focus has been how schooling, despite its promises, not only reduces but, in complex ways, also bolsters social inequality. By exploring these dynamics, many anthropologists hoped to promote social justice. More recently, poststructuralist feminist and postcolonial theories have highlighted new aspects of this phenomenon, as well as ambivalence and discontinuities in the production of subjectivities and processes of gender inequality, racialization, and othering. Such theories have furthermore shown how ethnographers of schooling themselves take part in this production through their descriptions and texts (Yon 2003).

Anthropological Studies of Schooling Outside the US and Europe

Apart from the studies of schools in the US and the European studies we present here, many anthropological studies have been conducted at schools in other parts of the world. An early focus of

such studies was the impact of mass schooling and the import of missionary or "Western" and "modern" state schools into local societies characterized by other forms of educational practices. The schools were often introduced by national governments or forced through as requirements for loans from the World Bank, and intended to bring about modernization, progress, economic growth, national unity, democratization, and gender equality. The studies demonstrate that, despite good intentions and positive results, such as the improvement of livelihoods and increased gender equality for many girls, the schools often had other, more negative effects. They show how mass schooling eroded cultural diversity, changed livelihoods, and altered established processes for the transfer of life skills, forcing nomadic people to become sedentary, changing the spatiotemporal organization of communities, and deskilling children by removing them from local learning environments. Moreover, the schools transformed family relations, removing young people from the community and the family workforce, altering authority relations between parents and children, and changing their subjectivities by introducing categories of "children" and "citizens" in addition to new artifacts, ideals, and dreams for the future (e.g. Froerer 2012; Meinert and Kølner 2010; Nieuwenhuys 2003; Rival 2000; Valentin 2006). A theme in many of these studies is how children's relations, local funds of knowledge, and forms of citizenship often persist alongside or entangle with the norms and practices of formalized national education (e.g. Bledsoe 1992; Coe 2005; Lorimer 2003; Sørensen 2008). Other studies have looked at the role of schools in citizen-making during and in the aftermath of conflict, and in societies in decolonizing processes. The findings highlight conflicts about the content of teaching, the ongoing boundary work, and the potential for reconciliation and for children to challenge dominant discourses (e.g. Bekerman and Zembylas 2016; Trujillo 1996; Spyrou 2002, 2011; Sørensen 2008).

Many anthropological studies have examined school's promise of social mobility and its aspirational nature, while others have studied the effects of testing and tracking of pupils, ranking of schools, and, more recently, the audit culture of neoliberalism. While the majority of such studies are focused in the US and Europe, anthropologists have also addressed these issues in countries such as South Korea, India, and China. Here, studies have shown how high aspirations and competition among pupils and their families in some contexts become an all-consuming obligation and necessity, resulting in the majority of pupils "failing," while high educational ambitions among

non-elitists family in other contexts are shamed as a way to keep traditional hierarchies (Cho 1995; Mathew 2018). A central aspect here is that audit culture and the kind of governmentality it reflects is not necessarily a neoliberal phenomenon imported from the capitalist West, but can be seen as a Confucian or "socialist" approach to education (Cho 1995; Kipnis 2008).

Other Themes in the Anthropology of Education

While the school has been a topic of continuous interest for many anthropologists of education, as we have emphasized, the field of anthropology of education is based on a broad concept of education, exploring all contexts and practices where learning and socialization occurs. This includes studies of families, parenting, language socialization and literacy, childcare practices, sibling relationships, youth cultures, gangs, universities, workplaces, apprenticeship, educational policies, staffrooms, sporting associations, activist communities, religious institutions, social media platforms, nursing homes, and a wide range of informal communities as well as unrecognized learning contexts such as street life, prostitution, child labor, etc.

As anthropologists are generally dedicated to an interest in the point of view and situated experience of actors, many educational anthropologists are also engaged in the anthropology of children and childhood. This subdiscipline is preoccupied with the cross-cultural exploration of the categories of "children" and "childhood," children's position in society, their experiences and contributions to the fabric of society and culture. It regards children as social actors that, while restrained by their subordinate position in most societies, also participate actively in social dynamics of reproduction and change and have a central societal position due to the many dreams and fears that are vested in them (Gilliam and Gulløv 2022; James and Prout 1990; Lancy, Bock, and Gaskins 2010; Montgomery 2008; Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998). Meanwhile, as can be seen from the themes above, anthropology of education is not only concerned with children. Studies also explore teachers and teachers' education, university life and reform, adult education, political ideas about "lifelong learning," eldercare, and the making and appropriation of educational policies. In other words, anthropology of education includes all phenomena that have to do with learning, the transmission of knowledge and culture, and with efforts of transforming other people.

Anthropology of Education in Europe

In the following, research within the anthropology of Europe in selected European countries will be traced and outlined while making no claim of presenting a complete or in-depth account. The description is based on our own exploration of existing European research, insights from the book's contributors, Kathryn Anderson-Levitt's anthology on "Anthropologies of Education" (2012), and the country reports from the TRANSCA[2] project.

As will become obvious, European studies within the anthropology of education reflect a highly diverse body of research, different educational systems and terminologies, and variations in the content of anthropology departments and historical backgrounds in European countries. In Europe, anthropology of education has many faces, depending on political, historical, and social factors, but also on developments within universities in the respective regions. As such, it is impossible to do them all justice.

Italy is one of the European countries with a long tradition for research within anthropology of education (Callari Galli 1975; Gobbo 2012). As early as the late 1960s, anthropologists were addressing questions of literacy in Sicily, criticizing the naturalizing approach to school that failed to consider its cultural production and arguing against an ethnocentric perspective (Galli and Harrison 1971, 1974). Furthermore, the great migration of Italian families from less developed regions to the industrialized northwest of the country during the 1960s and 70s (described by e.g. Goffredo Fofi, Francesco Alberoni and Guido Baglioni) spawned a new strand of critical research into "the monocultural trend" of schools (De Mauro 1963; Gobbo 1977; Saggese 2007; Simonicca 2007), owing to a culture of education engaged in building a national identity with a common language and culture, "against the typical Italian traditions of political fragmentation and plurality of cultural centers" (Simonicca 2007: 244). The anthropological perspective on education gained new relevance due to the new flows of immigrants and refugees in the 1990s and an interest in the school experiences of the children of Sinti and Roma minorities – both the Italian ones and those migrated from former Yugoslavia – as well as the children of Italian religious minorities. This research was often done in collaboration with educators and focused on issues relevant to "intercultural education" – such as cultural diversity, individual and group identity, cultural changes, etc. (e.g. the work by Francesca Gobbo [2015], Carlotta Saletti Salza, Leonardo Piasere, Girogia Peano and Federica Setti).

In Britain, while ethnography of education and the study of educational institutions has to a large extent been dominated by sociologists, anthropologists have studied schools in Britain since the early 1980s. Yet, while anthropologists' ethnographies of education have mostly been conducted as "anthropology at home" (eg. Alexander 2020; Connolly 2004; Delamont and Atkinson 1995; Lanclos 2003), they also include studies from the Global South (Ansell and Dungey 2022; Froerer 2012). Reflecting societal challenges in the United Kingdom, an explicit discourse on class and race, and the legacy of Paul Willis and British Cultural Studies, UK-based anthropologists have tended to focus on social class, race, and gender in the context of schooling, highlighting issues concerning *white* working-class youth; Black and ethnic minority pupils and postcolonial relations; new public management policies; as well as ethnicity, age, and racism (e.g., Connolly 1998; Delamont 2012; Evans 2006; Gordon, Holland, and Lahelma 2000; Winkler-Reid 2017).

In Spain, anthropology of education emerged as a field in the 1990s, primarily adopting the US American paradigms of cultural transmission and acquisition (Jociles and Poveda 2014). By the mid-2000s, the field had become fairly institutionalized, with the establishment of several research groups (especially at the universities of Madrid and Barcelona), university courses, and conferences, supported by funding from the national research council and regional governments (2014: 118–21). During the same period, educational programs of pedagogy began to incorporate courses on anthropology. Besides advocating for an ethnographic approach to studies of education (Jimeno Salvatierra 2000; Poveda 2003;), the anthropological research within the field has focused on the experiences in the formal education system of pupils with migrant biographies. These studies have explored issues such as language, multilingualism, multiculturalism, and diversity, providing alternatives to the "cultural deficit" approach, such as a Spanish adaptation of Ogbu's theoretical framework (Alcalde and Pons 2011). The research also covered the topics of childhood, family, gender, and school environment; it included a range of minority groups, such as San Román's (1980) pioneering work on the historical Gitano community, and research on Roma children and South American migrant children—in Bereményi (2011), Paniagua-Rodríguez and Bereményi (2019), and the work of Silvia Carrasco Pons, Maribel Ponferrada Arteaga, and Rita Villà Taberner. Since the mid-2000s, Spanish anthropologists have also increasingly focused on the educational practices taking place out of school, such as in children's peer relations in neighborhood communities, processes of international

adoption, social service programs directed toward minority women and psychiatric patients, and in associations for transsexuals (Jociles and Poveda 2014).

In Germany, the field of educational anthropology has followed a different developmental trajectory than in many other European countries as it was largely independent from the US American tradition. Thus, a field of "pedagogical anthropology" had already developed in Germany in the 1950s, emerging as a central domain of educational knowledge characterized by pluralism and diversity. Christof Wulf, one of the most prominent figures within this strand, has explained the difference between this tradition and Anglo-American educational anthropology in terms of the regional orientation, and the epistemological-methodological orientation. While Anglo-American educational anthropology is primarily characterized by ethnographic field research, German pedagogical anthropology is oriented toward historical-philosophical traditions for exploring education with a prominent focus on the study of rituals in and surrounding the school (Wulf et al. 2004; 7–8; Wulf 2015). In addition to this historical-philosophical tradition, however, other strands have developed in Germany since the late 1990s characterized by a strong interdisciplinary orientation and focus on the ethnographic study of everyday practices. Notably, German anthropologists Werner Schiffauer and Sabine Mannitz collaborated with scholars from England, the Netherlands, and France to conduct a large-scale and unique comparative ethnographic project on "civil enculturation" in schools in Berlin, London, Rotterdam, and Paris (Mannitz 2004b; Schiffauer et al. 2004;). The resulting book by Werner Schiffauer, Gerd Baumann, Riva Kastoryano, and Steven Vertovec has become a central work within European educational anthropology. In the same period, ethnographic methodology became increasingly popular in educational sciences and the sociology of education in Germany (Tervooren et al. 2014). Furthermore, German anthropologists have conducted fieldwork in schools, observing the ways in which social identifications develop or how sameness and diversity are presented (e.g., Weißköppel 2001).

Denmark is the only European country in which anthropology of education has been institutionalized to the extent of having its own department, at the Danish School of Education at Aarhus University. Since 2001, the department has hosted a postgraduate degree program on pedagogical anthropology for approximately one hundred students, with a sister program on educational anthropology and globalization established in 2005. The department has around twenty

researchers, mostly doing research in Danish settings, but also in Singapore, Nepal, Britain, Norway, Greenland, and Zambia (Gulløv, Nielsen, and Winther 2017). These researchers work with broad concepts of "pedagogy" and "education," exploring topics including childhood, youth, childcare, and schools (e.g. Anderson 2008; Clemensen 2019; Gilliam and Gulløv 2017; Gulløv 2008; Valentin 2006); parenthood, families, and siblings (e.g. Bach 2016; Dannesboe et al. 2018; Gulløv, Palludan, and Winther 2015); migrants and minorities in childcare and schools (e.g., Bundgaard and Gulløv 2008; Gilliam 2009, 2014; Larsen 2018); as well as language and literacy (Lars Holm, Nana Clemensen), policies, higher education and mobilities (Gritt B. Nielsen, Susan Wright, Hanne Kirstine Adriansen, Karen Valentin), workplaces, organizations, learning and technology (Jakob Krause-Jensen, Cathrine Hasse, Maja Hojer Bruun).

In Norway, Sweden, and Finland, anthropology of education is not an established subdiscipline in the same way. Yet, within the last decades more anthropologists have engaged in exploring education, an especially how primary and secondary schools deal with gender and ethnic differences (Ambjörnsson 2004; Eriksen 2013; Nielsen 2009; Overa 2013; Seeberg 2003; Smette 2015). Especially in Norway, the seminal work of anthropologist Marianne Gullestad (1992, 1996, 2002) on childhood, minorities, and nationhood as well as Frederic Barth's (1998 [1969], 1994) highly influential work on ethnicity seem to have established an interest in studying childhood, parenthood, upbringing, schooling, and minorities in the context of the nation and the welfare state (Aarset 2016; Bendixsen and Danielsen 2020; Lidén 2005; Smette 2015;). In the Scandinavian countries, anthropological studies of education are generally shaped by the political and historical framework of Nordic welfare states and their explicit and strong focus on providing a "good childhood" and equal opportunities for their citizens. Reflecting this educational anthropologists' primary concern is not schooling, but the "pedagogical" projects of the welfare state, its childhood institutions, workplaces and integration efforts, as well as the perspectives of the "recipients" of these projects; the children, young people, parents, ethnic minorities, and employees (Anderson, Gulløv, and Valentin 2012).

In the Netherlands, despite a quite extensive array of academic studies of schools within a variety of disciplines, ethnographies of schooling and schools represent only a small fragment of this field of study but also within anthropology. Problems with accessing schools and privacy regulations (which are stricter when working with minors) may account for this rather limited field; as argued by Mielants

and Weiner (2015), it may also be related to a lack of independent funding that limits researchers to government funds and a widespread denial of racism in the educational system, as well as previous critical research on Dutch education. Some anthropological studies of Dutch schools were conducted in the 1990s; for example, by Barritt who argued that anthropologists should explore "the look and feel of a single school" (1996: 12) and Kromhout and Vedder (1996) who, inspired by Ogbu's theories of "involuntary minorities" and "cultural inversion," analyzed the differences between the educational trajectories of white children and children from ethnic minority groups.

During the same period, the aforementioned comparative project on civil enculturation involved Dutch anthropologists Gerd Bauman and Thijl Sunier as well as researchers from Germany, England, and France (Schiffauer et al. 2004; Sunier 2014). Comparing four countries, including the Netherlands, the researchers examined how national civic cultures are materialized and represented, and how difference is constructed, in and through schools. Three approaches characterize the small body of contemporary anthropological studies of schools and schooling in the Netherlands: ethnolinguistic identity formation, inspired by the Netherlands-based Belgian anthropologist Jan Blommaert (Dong and Dong 2013; Spotti 2014; Van de Weerd 2020, 2022); ideologies and practices of belonging, race/ethnicity/nation (e.g., Coenders and Chauvin 2017; Krebbekx 2018, Kuik 2013; Stam 2018; van der Pijl and Guadeloupe 2015; Weiner 2015); and pedagogical approaches that facilitate children's engagement in learning (Azevedo and Ferreira 2013).

In East European and post-communist countries, research within anthropology of education is limited. The term "post-communist society" is commonly used to describe those states that experienced a major political shift between 1989 and 1991, characterized by the end of the exclusive rule of various national communist parties. The resulting far-reaching transformations included changes to national education systems. The research that could be classified as within the field of anthropology of education, often focused on local cultural phenomena, often in the form of studies of folklore (Sárkány 2002). For example, it is especially difficult to locate examples of anthropology of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as anthropology and ethnology was not established until 2018 (Kuspjak and Katić 2019). In Croatia, many ethnology and anthropology graduates find employment in museums, devoting themselves to educational work. However, very little research is done on educational institutions and there is not a coherent body of work that could be called anthropol-

ogy of education. As in many other countries, sociology of education dominates social scientific research on education (Kuspjak and Katić 2019).

In Slovenia, one anthropologist and school director stands out when it comes to anthropology of education: Andrej Gregorač (2012). Gregorač was committed to introducing and establishing ethnological knowledge in school curricula. To this end, he designed an elective subject for eighth- and ninth-grade students under the name "Ethnology—Cultural Heritage and Ways of Living" (implemented in 2009). Slovenian anthropologists have explored educational settings, some focusing on the history of education in a policy context, while others perform museum work and engage with folklore. Gregorač (2006) distinguished himself somewhat from other anthropologists in Slovenia by also exploring the reproduction of morality in educational institutions and their institutional practice.

The Czech Republic has traditionally preferred a quantitative approach in the field of education, involving a deductive or normative discourse. Qualitative approaches are perceived as too open-ended, too costly in terms of both time and money, and with uncertain outcomes, making it more difficult to obtain funding for such research. In the 1990s, the Prague Group of School Ethnography applied ethnographic and anthropological approaches to explore and describe what was happening in schools (e.g., Bittnerová, Doubek, and Levínská 2011). The overarching principle was to view school events "through the eyes of the native," that is, the pupil. This group (including Miloš Kučera, Miroslav Klusák, Miroslav Rendl, Stanislav Štech, Ida Viktorová, Alena Škaloudová, Lenka Hříbková, Věra Semerádová, Dana Bittnerová, David Doubek, Markéta Levínská, Irena Smetáčková, and Vladimír Chrz) was based at the Department of Psychology, Faculty of Education, Charles University in Prague during the period 1991–2005, and its members have continued working within this field. A number of researchers based in Masaryk University in Brno and the University of Hradec Králové continue to include anthropological perspectives in their research on topics such as ethnicity and gender equality in classrooms and the inclusion of Roma in education.

In Bulgaria, until World War II, ethnography was primarily used for folklore studies and there was no department in sociocultural anthropology during its years as a socialist republic. Yet, since 1992, there has been an anthropology department at the New Bulgarian University where there is a growing engagement with contemporary societal, cultural, and social issues, especially regarding challenges re-

lating to the education of Roma children (Manos and Sarikoudi 2019: 13).

In Russia, education is a topic predominantly studied within the fields of sociology, education science, history, and economics, mostly using quantitative methods. Within anthropology (or ethnology and/or ethnography, as it is more commonly called in Russia), which is both an old and a new discipline in Russia, education remains a marginal subject. The few existing school ethnographies come either from Western anthropologists (Markowitz 2000; Bloch 2004) or from Western-trained local anthropologists (Suleymanova 2018, 2020). Anthropology in Russia has its roots in the discipline of ethnography, which emerged in the Russian Empire and became established as a separate discipline within historical science during the Soviet era. For the most part, ethnographers have studied Russia's internal ethnic, linguistic, and regional diversity, specifically material, folklore, and other aspects of "traditional" culture (Sokolovski 2002; Ssorin-Chaikov 2019). In recent decades, various post-Soviet social phenomena like migration (predominantly from central Asia but also from federal republics of Russia), religious movements and desecularization, and youth culture have been extensively studied by Russian anthropologists, including urban anthropologists, as well as by sociologists using qualitative and ethnographic methods. This occasionally includes the study of school-based education—mostly when analyzing linguistic, migrational, or religious practices (Baranova 2014; Ładykowska 2018; Luehrmann 2011), but rarely in its own right.

Greece is another country where anthropology of education until recently has remained largely unknown as a research field. One reason is the late consolidation (since the late 1980s) of anthropology as a discipline in Greek higher education. Nevertheless, today, courses in anthropology of education are taught in undergraduate and postgraduate programs at departments of anthropology and education at Greek universities. The existing body of publications within anthropology of education consists of studies from the last decades. These have argued that educational practices and learning is not limited to activities inside "classrooms" (Sotiropoulos 2002), and that scholars should explore the cultural codes that govern interpersonal and collective relationships in the school environment (Plexousaki 2003). Other researchers have argued for ethnographic research in educational systems where students with different cultural identities interact and as an approach to understanding students and teachers' perceptions and views (including Leonidas Sotiropou-

los, Vassilis Dalkavoukis, Ioannis Manos, Mariangela Veikou, and Efi Plexousaki).

Another body of scholarship examines aspects of education in relation to the Muslim minority in northern Greece, the children of Albanian immigrants, and Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian Roma (e.g., Plexousaki 2006). Other scholars look at recently arrived groups such as refugees from the Middle East, immigrants from the former Soviet Union, and refugees and other Roma groups from former East European countries (e.g. Daskalaki 2005, 2018), and the practices and strategies for the education of young refugees and their acquisition of communication skills through language (Argyriadis 2021; Daskalaki and Leivaditi 2018). Similarly, the role of gender perceptions has been studied among refugees and among immigrant groups from Albania as a factor in gender-based violence in the school environment (Bouna and Papanis 2021; Plexousaki and Topali 2018; Rezaian, Daskalaki, and Apostolidou 2019).

In Austria, there have been isolated studies in the field of anthropology of education during the last twenty years (Binder 2004; Fillitz 2003), but an institutionalized research tradition is only just starting to emerge. Several studies concerned with the representation of minoritized and racialized groups in schools have analyzed textbooks in the tradition of critical discourse analysis, focusing on the reproduction of racist, exoticizing, sexist, and colonizing strategies—and doing fieldwork in schools to uncover perceptions of the content of these textbooks among students and teachers (Hintermann 2010; Markom and Weinhäupl 2007, 2011, 2012). Others have interrogated practices of differentiation and hierarchization in everyday interactions among pupils and teachers (Ströhle 2017) or explored the interplay between teachers and social anthropologists (Markom and Kraitt 2022; Sturm 2022).

In the research project *Migration(s) in the Textbook* (2011–13) the researchers considered the students' perceptions and reception of information in textbooks, providing greater nuance to the understanding of how dominant discourses are (re)produced and contested in schools (Hintermann et al. 2014). The limited number of studies and researchers in the field of anthropology of education in Austria, such as Binder and Streissler at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna, stands in sharp contrast to the growing interest in such topics among students at the department (Binder, Klien, and Kössner 2013).

In Switzerland, as in Austria, anthropology of education became institutionalized rather late with the establishment of a working

group within the Swiss Anthropological Association in 2014. The work done by Zurich-based anthropologists concerning integration and segregation in different Swiss cities (Wimmer 2004) provided a foundation for this development of anthropology of education in Switzerland. The same can be said of the research carried out at the University of Teacher Education in Bern, for instance launching the project *Multicultural Schools in Western Bern* as well as a first special issue of *TSANTSA*, the journal of the Swiss Anthropological Association, focusing on Swiss schools and migration in 2006 (Oester, Fiechter, and Kappus 2005). The University of Teacher Education in Bern has remained a focal point for Swiss educational anthropology ever since, conducting ethnographic research on governmentality (Hangartner and Svaton 2014), with unaccompanied young refugees (Lems, Oester, and Strasser 2020), and on multiculturalism and global education (Stienen and James 2013). At present, educational anthropologists work mainly at universities of teacher education in interdisciplinary teams, such as at the Zurich University of Teacher Education where there is a particular focus on pedagogical practices of differentiation and everyday school culture (Jaeger 2021; Knoll and Jaeger 2020; Sieber Egger and Unterweger 2018). Another example is researchers at the Fribourg University of Teacher Education who have studied cosmopolitanism and the privatization and economization of education (Bolay and Rey 2020).

In France, researchers have generally been skeptical about the importance of culture in educational research. According to Raveaud and Draelants (2012), the field of educational anthropology (or ethnology, as the discipline has traditionally been termed) is largely nonexistent in France, and research in education is primarily dominated by sociologists, some of whom have applied ethnographic methods in their research. Notably, the "republican ideology" has had a major influence on schooling as well as on research in schools, with education expected to unite the nation across linguistic, religious, and local specificities through dominant ideals of secularism and egalitarianism. This has resulted in assimilation of minoritized groups, especially migrant and refugee communities, becoming a primary focus and objective (Raveaud and Draelants 2012: 132). Meanwhile, other strands of research have recognized differences, discrimination, and segregation as key issues, and the discipline of anthropology has increasingly contributed to educational research (Delalande 2001; Filiod 2007).

While this overview of research within anthropology of education across Europe is not exhaustive, it shows that many of the studies

can be characterized as "anthropology at home," focusing on schools and other formal educational institutions within the national context of the researchers. On one hand, this entails exploring schools as anthropological objects in which cultural processes, identity and gender formation, and structural reproduction take place; as well as viewing educational endeavors as central aspects of the human condition. On the other hand, it often entails looking at what is in most European national contexts constructed as "the cultural Other" within and thus ethnically minoritized populations. Such studies have especially flourished since the 1990s, presumably sparked by the general acknowledgment that the migrants and refugees coming to Europe from across the world "were here to stay" and inspired by the contemporary work from US American anthropologists of education and in the field of British cultural studies. Issues related to migrants, refugees, and national minorities and questions of ethnic difference are generally seen as the domain of anthropologists, and this is also the case in relation to education, such as questions of intercultural education or challenges schools experience in accommodating minority pupils. Consequently, anthropologists of education are often called upon to suggest educational solutions and, as can be seen from the subjects described previously, also engage actively in matters of social justice and applied research.

Moreover, European anthropologists also offer important knowledge and (ethnographic) methods to explore, substantiate, and challenge the hidden processes and taken-for-granted understandings, for example related to explicit and implicit perceptions of nationality, culture, knowledge, and competences in educational and political contexts. In this sense, there are many similarities across different countries and regions of Europe—and European approaches also resemble the US American tradition for anthropology of education. Nevertheless, the language barriers, the heterogeneous national contexts, their political and colonial histories, their educational systems, and the various groups of minorities that have settled in these societies may result in even greater diversity within European research on educational anthropology than found in the United States. As Anderson-Levitt elaborates in her introduction to *Anthropologies of Education*, regions tend to establish specific research interests depending on historical and political developments (2012: 8–20). As an example, a lot more work has focused on schooling and social class in the United Kingdom than in other European countries, while the Scandinavian countries have provided a wealth of research on the role of the welfare state and the institutionalization of childhood (2012:

10–11). Likewise, and as the contributions in this anthology reflect, the interest of anthropologists is also shaped by the state projects that influence educational policies and practices—such as the egalitarian state projects of the Scandinavian welfare states versus the patriotic state projects of Greece and Russia. This results in studies of the very different consequences these state projects have for teaching and the lessons taught to children about their own and other citizens' position in society. In the following section, we will take a closer look at the diversity of European schools and societies that lie behind these differences and similarities.

Europe and Its Diverse Schools

As will become evident from the chapters presented in this book, European schools are very diverse, both across and within national settings and within the individual institutions. The book's focus on difference and sameness is chosen to highlight how some of these differences, but also ideas about what constitutes differences and sameness, are (re)produced within schools through policies, textbooks, teaching, and informal interactions. Meanwhile, variations between schools and school systems are first and foremost a product of the differences between and within European societies. Europe encompasses societies that vary greatly in terms of size, geography, and political systems. While most of these countries are characterized by welfare states and democratic institutions, the welfare models and the relationship between the state, civic institutions, and the private sector take very different forms and, in some cases and increasingly so, democracy is arguably under threat. Furthermore, the histories and positions of the European countries in relation to colonialism and the world wars are highly diverse, entailing different collective memories and national images of past success and grandiosity or defeat and humiliation. Europe has been divided by religious wars, by two world wars, and later by the iron curtain and oppositional political systems and positions during the Cold War. All of this has shaped social structures, cultural forms, lives, and, not least, collective narratives and identities. Sectarian conflicts and independence movements have divided European countries and regions. The founding and expansion of the European Union (EU) has had an integrating and, to some extent, standardizing effect on European societies, giving rise to new collaboration. Yet the EU has also been the object of and reason for much division and polarization between and within member states,

as well as in relation to nonmember European states. European countries also differ in their composition of ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups and their migrant populations. Some countries, like Switzerland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Spain, and Russia, have a long history of linguistic diversity and recognized language groups. While descendants of Jewish migrants, internal European migrants, and migrants and refugees from all parts of the world are present in most European countries, some minority groups are concentrated in specific geographic regions. Thus, countries like Britain, France, and the Netherlands have large populations of descendants from former colonies while, due to their geographic position and EU policies, countries like Greece, Italy, Spain, and Turkey have large populations of recently arrived migrants and asylum seekers from Africa and the Middle East. Meanwhile, minority groups in areas including Germany, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries are primarily descendants of "guest workers" from the former Yugoslavia, Poland, Turkey, Pakistan, and Morocco and refugees from wars in the Balkans, Lebanon, Syria, and Afghanistan, as well as Somalia, Iraq, and Iran. Apart from migrants and refugees, Norway, Sweden, and Finland have a Sami minority, while countries like Romania, Hungary, Greece, Spain, and Italy have large Roma populations. How this ethnic and religious diversity is perceived and governed, and not least how the diverse majority population constitutes itself as a unity and a norm, depends on the histories and political cultures of the specific countries, as well as their approaches to integration, citizenship, and the relationship between state and religion.

Schools are one of the key institutions in addressing diversity, unity, and nationhood. The historical baggage, the different societal forms, and various demographic changes have a major impact on the educational systems in different European countries, as well as on efforts to educate and socialize children and young people in schools. This results in both similarities and differences across European schools and their educational projects. In addition, the role of schools is drawn into current discussions about globalization, migration, integration, inclusion, the EU, the reemergence of war in Europe, the threat of terrorism, recent and future changes in conditions and demands for the production of goods, changes in the collaboration and dependencies between states, new technological advances and challenges, and the environmental crisis. These discussions all feed into discussions about education, about what children should learn in school, and about what kind of citizens schools should produce and what kind of schools are needed to ensure this.

The educational systems have also developed in distinct ways in each country. Most have a public school system supplemented by a plurality of often semi-subsidized private schools, including denominational schools, schools based on alternative pedagogies, and international schools. However, there are important differences in how these systems are organized and financed, the distribution of children, and the autonomy of private schools. Moreover, school systems differ in terms of when children start school, the number of years of mandatory education, and whether or not children are divided into streams or tracks according to ability in all or most subjects. They also vary in relation to the division of schools into primary and secondary/middle schools or comprehensive systems—and whether and when children are divided between academic and vocational tracks or institutions. This diversity is a result of the historical origins of the schools, adaptations to societal changes, and political and cultural conflicts about their aims. Within the last half century, first the EU and later the increasing influence of globalization have had a standardizing effect. While a central tenet of the EU has been the autonomy of member states, including the right to maintain a distinct education system, the EU has subtly influenced European school systems through closer coordination. In addition, both the EU and the supranational Council of Europe have promoted a focus on European identity and citizenship, supplementing national identities in European schools. More consequentially, an increase in international comparisons and supranational monitoring of education, as exemplified by OECD country reports and the so-called PISA tests, has generated stronger competition between nation-states and a tendency toward standardization of national education systems. In many countries, neoliberalism, marketization of education, and a rise in audit culture have had a significant effect on schooling, educational inequality, and pupils' subjectivities (Brathwaite 2017; Gillborn and Youdell 1999; Shore and Wright 2015).

In most European countries, the increase or change in migration and refugee movements, as well as a fear of terrorism, have influenced educational systems. Schools are generally seen as the central state institution in promoting integration, tasked with providing new young members of society with the skills and competences they need to become productive, self-sufficient, and engaged citizens (Gilliam and Gulløv 2017; Schiffauer et al. 2004; Sunier 2014). This has been an ongoing task for schools all over Europe—a task which they have approached in different ways, with various attempts at establishing a pedagogy of inclusion and multiculturalism, an ethos of secular-

ité like in France, or assimilation to a national monoculture (Keaton 2006; Mannitz 2004a; Schiffauer et al. 2004). After Islamic terrorist attacks in England, Spain, France, Germany, Turkey, Denmark, and Austria, and European foreign fighters traveling to fight in the Syrian war, a fear of fundamentalist Islam and a more general Islamophobia have spread throughout Europe, making Muslim children and Muslim schools a new topic of concern. To this end, schools, teachers, and educational authorities have generally been mobilized to ensure the proper civilizing and democratization of these children, with a suspicious eye to especially Muslim faith schools (Gilliam 2019, 2022; Jaffe-Walter 2016; Keaton 2006; Mac an Ghaill and Haywood 2017; Shain 2011).

All these events and concerns, both historical and more recent, but also dreams of a better future have an impact on the kinds of difference and sameness that are constructed and handled by teachers and children in European schools, presented in textbooks, outlined in policies, and discussed in public debates about schools. The following chapters will take us on a tour around Europe, providing ethnographic explorations of these constructions of difference and sameness in European schools.

Outline of Book Chapters

The contributors and contributions to this anthology have been chosen to present a number of diversities. First of all, we have tried to present research from both North and South, Central, East and West Europe; we have also chosen studies looking at different themes and categories of difference, both in-school and out-of-school contexts, as well as children of different age groups. Second, we wanted the anthology to include both young and new, senior and renowned scholars of the field, as well as older, well-known studies and analyses of newly conducted fieldwork. Thus the studies cover the time period from 2007 to 2022. Hence, while the readers are free to make their own analyses, the aim is not to attempt comparison across the European countries or studies. Instead, we present a diversity of studies within European anthropology of education and hope that they will demonstrate the qualities of an anthropological perspective to education, schools, and diversity and how it adds to our understanding of European societies.

In the first part of the anthology, four chapters explore the everyday interactions, negotiations, and constructions of differences and same-

nesses in school; how they relate to logics and social and moral projects of the school and larger society; and how the interaction, negotiations, reactions, and strategies of children and teachers contribute to and at times subvert the outcomes of these logics and projects. In the first chapter, Ursina Jaeger explores the pedagogical doing of sameness and difference in relation to the youngest pupils in the Swiss schools, the four- to seven-year-old pupils in kindergartens, which were included in compulsory schooling in Switzerland in 2008. Based on an ethnographic fieldwork in a kindergarten in a multi-ethnic Zurich neighborhood, the chapter addresses how the teachers attempt to create a neutralized comfort zone—perceived as a "moral hypergood" (Taylor 1989)—in order to deliver caring education to their diverse, stigmatized and poor pupils. Exploring everyday pedagogy, Jaeger shows how they do this by creating new categories of sameness and differences—such as "caterpillars" and "butterflies"—and by a simultaneous detachment and involvement in the children's out-of-school life. This allows teachers to render the differentiation from outside-school "pedagogical" and thus something they can select and draw in as problems that can be acted upon and presented as "non-Swiss."

In her chapter, Laura Gilliam looks at a similar strive toward a neutral sameness in Danish public schools (*folkeskoler*) and how they handle what is constructed as important differences between children. Since its establishment as the pivotal cultural institution of the emergent Danish welfare state in the 1950s, it has been a central aim of the Danish school to gather children of different backgrounds into the same classrooms to ensure the social integration and equality of Danish society. Yet Gilliam's ethnographic fieldworks in four classes in schools with different socioeconomic and ethnic constellations of pupils, show that more fundamental differences between children and youth in these classes are generally toned down, while their similarities are celebrated. The chapter explores the moral lesson this offers different children. It does so by analyzing the pedagogical work to make children "social" in two grade 0 Classes; the way a multi-ethnic school teaches their Muslim pupils in an eighth grade that it values "relaxed Muslims;" and how their teaching in a ninth grade of privileged majority Danish pupils implicitly include them in a civilized "we" opposed to different uncivilized Others of other nationalities, religions, and class positions.

In chapter 3, by Ingrid Smette, the empirical focus is the final year of two urban lower secondary schools in Oslo and their fifteen-year-old pupils. Doing fieldwork in two schools that had 20 percent and 60 percent minority-language pupils respectively, Smette realized

that the schools and teachers dealt with cultural differences within their group of pupils in very different ways. Exploring this as two different kinds of "school ethos," one of control and one of care, she challenges a common perspective in the anthropology of education, that a nation's approach to social and cultural difference can be identified in any state school. Instead, she argues that anthropologists are equipped to explore and explain these divergences between schools of the same nation and even the same city. Analyzing the organization of teaching and everyday interactions between pupils and teachers of the two schools, she contends that the different approaches reflect a tension between the school institution's universalist and meritocratic aims or regimes. Yet though their local history, the relationship to the population they serve and the relationship between the actors of the specific schools, different regimes have come to dominate the two schools over time.

In chapter 4, Christa Markom explores the phenomenon of silencing and being silent that she observes among the six-to-fourteen-year-old children in her fieldwork in four Austrian schools. She hereby focuses on children's responses to Austrian schools' handling of diversity and especially to its marginalization of pupils who differ from the "normal" and idealized pupil, whether in terms of ability, gender, class, ethnicity, language, sexuality, or health. Outlining the history of the Austrian schools, she pinpoints the many ways the schools have been organized around hierarchies of different human characteristics, often marking and marginalizing the nonvalued children, even when explicitly aimed at "integrating" and "including them." Through four case studies with a child-centered perspective, Markom depicts how children experience a silencing of the marginalized in the everyday of schools, and how they in response use a strategy of being silent about the parts of themselves that do not align with the "normal" pupil to protect themselves against discrimination, sanctions, and teachers' and parents' clumsy interferences.

The chapters in part 2 follow another interest of anthropological studies of education, that is the impact of the structures, policies, and curriculum of the school on the pupils and teachers who are organized and taught according to them. In chapter 5, Patrick Alexander explores a fundamental kind of differentiation in all schools—age and its intricate link to a linear model of cognitive and emotional development. Taking a historical look at the age-based organization of school, he shows how the category of age supported by psychological science has become an innate quality of the structure in schools and a strong driver behind mass education. Alexander argues that the

English school system has a particularly rigid approach of organizing schooling around age, which reproduces the age-based and gerontological structures of wider society, while creating hierarchies and categories of sameness and difference that shape children's lives. Employing the concept of "age imaginaries," to encapsulate the varied discourses of age in the complex school life, Alexander analyzes how age becomes an aspect of relevance for how the mainly white British pupils in the school of his fieldwork are explained and disciplined by teachers, but also how they identify themselves in terms of abilities and class and negotiate belonging and their position in school.

In chapter 6, Markéta Levínská, David Doubek, and Dana Bittnerová touch upon the important subject of how education and inclusion of the "others"—the minority Roma children—are perceived as a problem in the Czech Republic. This chapter describes the changing policies regarding Roma children, which have marginalized and stigmatized them in altering ways, but generally as learning disabled and misbehaving—even during the present politics of "inclusion." Based on long-term fieldwork in "excluded localities" inhabited by Roma families, the authors examine the cultural schema of "children do what they want," which both pedagogical and psychologist experts and Roma parents use to depict Roma parenting, yet understand in radical different ways. Thus, whereas the schema denotes to the experts an unstimulating family environment, sociocultural handicap, and behavioral disorders, to the Roma mothers, it expresses an unconditional acceptance and respect of the child's innate individuality and potentials, not least in response to the stigma of the surrounding world.

Chapter 7, by Dilyara Müller-Suleymanova, discusses the impact of processes of centralization from above and regionalization from below regarding education policy dynamics in post-Soviet Russia. Based on fieldwork in secondary classes in two schools in the Republic of Tatarstan, during a period where Putin slowly dismantled Russian federalism and recentralized power, Müller-Suleymanova depicts changes in curriculum, aimed at removing ethno-regional subjects and minority languages, and fostering patriotism in children and youth. Along the specific example of the historic narrative of the conquest of Kazan, central to the Tatar national identity, Müller-Suleymanova argues that education is not only about textbooks and curriculum but is also closely related to the emotional or personal experience of teachers, which can provide pupils with other narratives, as well as a symbolic and emotional basis for constructing another sense of ethnic, religious, and regional belonging.

Also discussing the role of teachers and curriculum, Jamal Ahajjaj, Martijn de Koning, and Thijl Sunier dedicate their chapter to the contested fields of religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity in the Dutch context, focusing on citizenship education in Islamic schools. The authors pose the question: If Islam and, by extension, Islamic schools are seen as a problem in terms of the ideal nation-state and good citizenship, then how do these schools engage with the obligation to teach active citizenship? Describing three cases raised by teachers in citizenship classes during fieldwork in four Islamic primary schools, the authors analyze how the teachers handle the delicate issues of citizenship and tolerance of diversity, to young people who often experience to be "citizen outsiders," that they are not tolerated by majority society and to be associated with an intolerant religion. The cases show how teachers create a safe space where they can teach children "discursive competences" to dis/engage with the dominant discourses about Muslims to develop their own ideas about how to be Muslim in Dutch society and what it means to be a good citizen.

In chapter 9, Ioannis Manos discusses the teaching of the modern history curriculum and commemoration events in Greek primary schools, arguing that the state-controlled education in Greece produces simple notions of sameness and otherness and "pedagogizes" its citizens through the ideology of patriotic nationalism. Through a reading of the modern history curriculum and textbook taught to twelve-year-old pupils, Manos highlights its presentation of the Greek as brave, skilled warriors victimized by the cruel and inhumane Muslim Turks—the main Other. Exploring the approach of teachers to the teaching of history in primary school classes, Manos shows how the teachers generally agree with and adapt to the pedagogy of patriotism. Yet some also fear the reactions of parents and the public if they choose to discuss other presentations of the national community or of the Turks in the lessons, and a few of the teachers introduce opposing viewpoints to display the multiple interpretations of the past.

Part 3 contains two chapters looking back at important contributions to European anthropology of education and the afterword. The first is undertaken by Francesca Gobbo, who played a crucial role in the development of educational anthropology in Italy, by her lifelong contribution to the topic of intercultural education and her continuous fieldworks in several multicultural contexts. In chapter 10, Gobbo discusses how diversity and identity can be approached through the lens of anthropological concepts—for example "rites of passage"—for young children entering school. She also illustrates

the findings and representations of the school experience of Roma pupils and students that are provided by the ethnographies of Giorgia Peano and Federica Setti by elaborating on how unsuccessful school experiences are reduced to static considerations of ethnic identity, sociocultural positioning, or even Roma mistrust of education in general.

A further second review is conducted by Sabine Mannitz and Thijl Sunier. Here they engage once again with the well-received book and important contribution to European anthropology of education *Civil Enculturation* (Schiffauer et al. 2004), in which they developed the concept of "civil culture" in a comparative school ethnography to describe the normative ideologies about civil society and civil exchanges related to the national imaginary in Germany, France, the Netherlands, and the UK. In the chapter, Mannitz and Sunnier discuss the comparative ethnographic methods employed in the project and the aim of analyzing differences in civil cultures through school ethnographies. Looking closer at the original analysis of how the school in Berlin and the school in Rotterdam dealt with ethnic and cultural differences among their pupils, they demonstrate the strengths of both approaches and the important insights from these studies. Last, they discuss how the situation has changed since their fieldwork in schools in the late 1990s, due to sociopolitical occurrences such as terrorist attacks, new migration policies, and the backlash against multiculturalism. They consider what influence these changing conditions could have on European schools.

As the last chapter of this section, Spyrou Spyros's afterword takes us through the themes and discussions raised in the chapters and, referring to Ingold's (2017) point that anthropology is educational, and discussing the potential and promise of an anthropology of education in Europe.

The chapters of the volume underline the point that schools thus not only inculcate academic skills in children, but through teaching, everyday practices, structures, and policies, present them with a social and moral landscape of social categories and subjectivities. The authors engage with various of these categories and aspects of how they are constructed and handled in different European schools. While the categories and context differ, the chapters show how the categories of broader society – filled with cultural and political meaning - sieve into school, but are also refigured in schools and rendered pedagogical (cf. chapter by Jaeger). Meanwhile institutional logics of the school also create categories of difference and sameness, that children may carry out into the broader world. Through ethno-

graphic accounts of everyday interactions and meaning making, the chapters show how the children may internalize, negotiate, or resist these moral lessons about difference and sameness in school, but that they most often have significant consequences for their perceptions of self, others, and society. The chapters thus show how anthropology of education adds nuance and insights into the interaction and practices in schools, their connections to political relations and social imaginaries in the different European societies, as well as their impact on children—the new citizens—and society.

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Notes

1. There is a Teaching Anthropology Network (TAN) within EASA that was established in 1996 in Barcelona, making it one of the oldest EASA networks. However, the network is concerned not with educational anthropology but with how anthropology is taught across Europe.
2. Translating Sociocultural Anthropology into Education (TRANSCA) was an Erasmus+ project that worked across regional contexts—with all their historical, political, demographic, educational, and linguistic differences—to bring anthropological methods and insights to teacher education (www.transca.net).

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