Towards a postcolonial and decolonising educational administration history

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Towards a postcolonial and decolonising educational administration history

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ABSTRACT
This article examines the increasing postcolonial and decolonising literature as it relates to non-Western countries and the history of their educational systems undergoing internationalisation and globalisation. The first section reviews a number of historiographical developments in the twentieth century that laid a foundation for a more cultural and global view and to include marginalised populations. The second section examines the critiques of educational history from postcolonial and decolonising perspectives, and the colonisation of mind critiques, including the recent indigenous research methodology movement. The third section explores two main challenges for the field of educational administration history are discussed: developing ways of understanding countries that operate under very different paradigms than Western states, and which are undergoing societal changes and stresses that Western states are not experiencing; and a revised research and methodology that captures problems of recolonisation/neoimperialism, the subaltern personality, and struggles to maintain indigenous cultures and roles. In order to respond to these conditions, educational administration, like other fields has to generate new models, theories, and modes of practice that derive from the conditions that postcolonial developing states face including identity formation, values, role construction and institutional arrangements.

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Introduction: the problem

Significant changes have been taking place in many disciplines due to internationalisation and globalisation as well as changing global conditions that directly inform educational administration and indirectly through its foundational disciplines and fields. They affect the way we perceive and think about education and its administration and leadership. Direct influences include comparative educational administration (Dimmock and Walker 2005), the internationalisation of curriculum (Clifford and Montgomery 2013), and diversity studies (Lumby and Coleman 2007). The indirect effects are both more pervasive and challenging for the field. This includes the rise of cultural (e.g. Shweder 1991) and cross-cultural psychology (e.g. Berry et al. 2002) important in leadership and organisation behaviour, comparative and global sociology (e.g. Cohen and Kennedy 2000) for leadership and organisation studies, and comparative philosophy that influences our
understanding of knowledge and alters our understanding of the historical intellectual relationships between other parts of the world and the West (e.g. Hafez 2000). Globalism has advanced in a number of fields like political sociology (e.g. Steger 2005, James 2006) that examines contending societal systems and ideologies, the new global history (Mazlish and Iriye 2004), internationalism in international relations (Long and Schmidt 2005), constructivist theories in security studies (Williams 2007) and New Public Governance theory (Osborne 2010). Related research approaches and methodologies have also arisen such as indigenous (Chilisa 2011) and culturally sensitive research methods (Thomas 2008).

To some extent these developments are a reaction to the political ideology change that took place in a number of Western countries towards neoliberalism and its New Public Management ideology. It brought with it not only the ‘leadership’ movement in administration (Samier 2001) that infused the public sector including education but also fuelled globalisation and thereby the export of educational as well as other ‘commodities.’ These have produced a substantial neoliberalism critique (e.g. Slaughter and Leslie 1999) that has continued to increase up to the present day (e.g. Gupta et al. 2016). The critique of globalisation (Stiglitz 2002), including its perception as a form of neo-imperialism and neo-colonisation (Quist 2001) has also spread internationally. Even though the critiques intensify, their impact does not seem to have slowed down these socio-economic forces, leading one to wonder whether Max Weber was correct in suspecting that there may be no exit from the ‘Iron Cage’ of modernity, which an economic and quality assurance permeation of all social institutions is the most extreme form (Samier 2001).

Accompanying these global forces is a West-nonWest dichotomy that is problematic in its overgeneralising and homogenising of both categories (Dabashi 2013). Three books that exemplify a progressivist view of history adopting a hegemonic attitude to much of the world have produced narratives that assume a legitimacy of domination, economically, politically and culturally: Fukuyama’s (1992) The End of History (1992), Ferguson’s (2011) Civilization: The West and the Rest (2011), and Huntington’s (1997) Clash of Civilizations. Despite considerable criticism, they have reinforced a discursive practice that has become popularised and infiltrated conceptions of the world, affecting educational practices through globalisation and policies. Essentially, these views constitute epistemic violence, a term originally used by Foucault (1965) in the history of the concept of insanity in Europe, and adopted by Spivak (1988) and Teo (2010) to refer to the selection and interpretation of data that assumes and demonstrates, however implicitly or unconsciously, an inferiority of the Other where viable information and interpretation exists for alternative interpretations.

One reason for these intellectual developments is the changing world we inhabit, very different from that in which educational administration formed and perspectives on its history were initially developed. Among the changes is the dissolution of the Soviet empire propelling former Soviet controlled regions through varying degrees and types of ‘transition’ and many countries the Middle East and Africa have seen civil war, invasion, mass slaughter, and regime changes producing large numbers of refugees and increasing population migration. The rise of the Seven Tigers in world trade (China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan) has also shifted the world economy requiring a significant modernisation of their educational systems. Many kinds of terrorist groups have come and gone in the West and in the Middle East, and some have reemerged. The Arab Spring has taken place, successfully in some
countries and in others leading to devastation, most recently causing mass refugee migration from Syria, whose consequences for education are multiple: radicalisation in some territories, complete destruction, and in others accompanied by the deaths of teaching and administrative staff and students.

The large immigration and refugee migration into many countries has contributed to increasing multiculturation, particularly in Europe, requiring educational support and crisis response with recent backlashes fuelling an expanding rightwing political reaction. The world has become much smaller and less delineated politically and socially, although deep gaps have formed between many Western and Islamic countries but considerably overstated in the media and in domestic and foreign policy (Kurzman 2011). The world is highly internationalised and globalised and becoming increasingly technologised and securitised with the rise of the surveillance society (Gillion and Monahan 2013) and the security state (Ripsman and Paul 2010).

Currently internationalisation and globalisation are two of the most important topics in educational administration, along with the reemergence of comparative administration (Barbules and Torres 2000, De Bary 2010, Maringe and Foskett 2010, King et al. 2013).

In effect, the changing theoretical foundations of many disciplines and fields from which educational administration and its history derives, are subject to a historical reality that affects the structure and our understanding of knowledge, social relationship, social institutions and the nation state. Also brought into question are the histories we have assumed and written with fundamental perspectives and worldviews in the West challenged outside Western contexts that will fundamentally alter future history. Of most importance to the Journal of Educational Administration and History is a recasting of educational administration and its international influences that requires an evaluation of past history and how we proceed in writing history in the future in a globalised context.

The major change that has to continue to develop is an increased shift away from ‘Eurocentric’ conceptions. For Wallerstein (1997) there are five main criticisms of social sciences being ‘Eurocentric’ in their conception and application: (1) a historiography of Western dominance in achievements during the early modern to modern period that began to experience a paradigmatic shift toward a more critical and less exclusive view of progress; (2) assuming a universalism that was grounded in a misperceived and often criticised value-neutral and objective researcher and a Whig view of history that the past has inevitably led to the present in stages of societal development; (3) a definition of civilisation based on Western criteria that also justified a civilising mission of the rest of the world that is bound up with modernisation and development [‘they will learn’] and secularism, a nineteenth century conception of ‘la mission civilisatrice’ through colonial conquest that takes the current form of globalisation and Western models of modernisation; (4) an on-going orientalism that still, although perhaps less explicitly, pervades the social sciences through constructs that do not match full empirical reality, abstract too much from societal complexities and are still ‘extrapolations of European prejudices’ (p. 100); and (5) a progressivist ideology that underpins much social science in not only understanding the world but aimed at prescriptive measures through think tanks, advisory bodies and government or lobby-group research. Nader (2013) argues that this civilising process is still pervasive in the West and is at times carried out as a ‘degradation ceremony,’ for example in the unstated idea that Arabs should learn to behave like Europeans.
The intent of this essay is a ‘radical’ critique, in the Kant (1960) sense of going to the root of things – the underlying conceptions and values that philosophically form the theories and models we use in writing educational administration history. One form this takes in the purpose and value of professional history is in countering prevailing ideologies and mythologies about the past and how overcoming them contributes to responding to current conditions. The focus here, historiographically, is reviewing the developments in history that have successively broadened its scope to other voices, experiences and systems of value. The first section below discusses critically important changes in historiography, mostly in the West that aimed at a larger social inclusion of those who had been marginalised from the historical record, and which foreshadow later developments discussed in the next section, ‘the future past,’ in allowing for a global pluralism that more authentically captures the lives and minds beyond the ‘West’. The last section builds upon the previous critiques to identify characteristics of a decolonised educational historiography.

**twentieth century historiographical advances: groundwork to a future history**

This section reviews some of the most important changes in history in the first half of the twentieth century that broadened the educational administration field and give it a social action or reform purpose, changes that to some extent foreshadowed the later postcolonial challenges that have emerged. First, the New Historians in the US, known as the Progressive historians, saw the discipline serving a role in social, political and economic reforms to the point of becoming advocates for change based on historical evidence based in an allegiance to democratic political philosophy (Breisach 1994):

> This kind of history would be a democratic history because it would lift the masses out of undeserved obscurity; it would be an activist history because it would grasp the ‘real’ forces governing history and then teach people how to use them. Since the search for the ‘real’ forces must go beyond the limits of political history, the New Historians called for an alliance of history with sociology and economics. (p. 317)

For Breisach, the perceived failure of ‘scientific’ studies due to post-World War scepticism about ‘an’ objective empirical view of human events led to movements in historiography in the mid-twentieth century that rejected ‘grand schemes and structures, including progress, the value of rationality, one coherent reality, and one ascertainable truth’ (p. 324). It was during this period that social history, sometimes referred to as ‘the history from below,’ took a more dominant role in Marxist social history emerging from the American Progressivist movements and the German *Historische Sozialwissenschaft* that took as its primary subjects ‘the daily life of workers, servants, women, ethnic group, and the like’ (Hunt 1989, p. 2; Iggers and Wang 2013), an example of which is Bowles and Gintis’s (1976) *Schooling in Capitalist America*.

The French Annales school, contrastingly, took a larger scale view of the system of a society examining temporal, spatial, social, cultural, and economic dimensions, and, relevant also to education, ‘mental dimensions’ and relationships with climate, biology and demography (Stoianovich 1976), all of which examined daily life in great detail but as shaped by larger social forces and structures in societies and material conditions
(Breisach 1994). In part it is this movement that influenced Riche’s (1960/2006) Education and Culture in the Barbarian West that uncovered neglected history of medieval European education. Through its ‘mentalité’ approach, pluralistic conditions and cultures could be accommodated. Because it focusses on capturing ‘a shared way of looking at the world and reacting to happenings and actions by others, distinctive from other groups’ (Little 2010, p. 196), it can be used to reflect indigenous and non-Western educational administrations.

‘Mentalité’ consists of the shared ‘ideas, representations, and values within a given people’ (Little 2010, p. 195) that are both shaped by conditions and influence experience of the world and action as well as conceptions of identity and the social norms practiced. In other words, it is the ‘socially shared mental system’ distinctive to each group. It is composed of the composite mental state of moral framework, ideology, emotions and worldview, the narratives of identity in the group, and the motivational which shapes social, cultural and political action as performative. These affect all aspects of educational administration from policy, through social relationships, curricular and pedagogical practices to the conceptions of the roles and responsibilities of administrators and how the educational system is both a reflection of and formation power in national identity and societal continuation encompassing formal, informal and nonformal forms of learning (e.g. Dror 1994). It also has the potential as a critique of globalisation and recolonisation in reconstituting indigenous educational practices and its administration.

One of the non-scientific approaches is narrative history in the mid- to late-twentieth century using rhetorical devices of narrative as structuring and interpretive techniques, with what Breisach (1994) calls a more ‘radical linguistic’ turn with a focus on languages of the historical subject. At the same time, feminist history developed drawing on many of these influences in addition to a Marxist foundation, although departed from a domination ‘centre in the economy and the state’ for an examination of institutions (including educational), culture and language as ‘instruments of power and domination’ (Igers and Wang 2013, p. 280). These influences shifted the focus towards groups usually marginalised from the centre of administration and leadership that can be extended from groups in Western societies to a global level aimed at marginalised countries and regions.

During this period, the New Cultural History became prominent, derived initially from Marxist cultural history of the working class, a growing interest in the language of various social classes and its relevance for social consciousness and ideology from the Annales school, and Foucault’s influence through the history of culture (Hunt 1989). Foucault’s influence has been pervasive in educational administration laying a foundation in the problems of knowledge as a power issue that can be extrapolated internationally in examining those with the power to determine which forms of knowledge prevail and which are most influential in forming identity. The main aim for historians from a Foucaultian perspective is to examine the structures of power that shape knowledge and institutions (Breisach 1994) that applies as much in the international context as it does in the national. Even though there are disputes about the validity of postmodern practices, particularly post-structural forms, generally what the postmodern did to history is to bring into question epistemological hegemony creating spaces in which other perspectives could be legitimated under globalisation, particularly as a cultural colonising force.

Beginning in the 1970s and growing in influence is postcolonial history, reassessing the imperialist roles of countries like Britain in India and in a number of African states and critiquing Western institutional penetration into the world market and the beginnings
of globalisation (Iggers and Wang 2013). Three of the most influential have been Said’s (1978) *Orientalism* which moved the decolonisation and neo-imperialist debate to international standing (Freitag 1997), the Indian subaltern studies group and Wallerstein’s (2004) Marxist world systems analysis. These were accompanied by subaltern studies in Latin America, and the retrieval of pre-colonial history in Sub-Saharan Africa producing the eight volume UNESCO General History of Africa, which tackled educational history through a non-Eurocentric view and is oriented heavily towards nation-building (Iggers and Wang 2013). Possibly of most direct influence on educational administration history is Said’s work which drew from a broader range of disciplines that are common to the field, analyses of discourse and power, and his focus on the construction of knowledge and mythologies (Freitag 1997) which directly implicate educational systems, policies and practices (e.g. Rhein 2016).

Later events that had an impact on history as a discipline are the ending of the Cold War and the shifting hegemonies and roles that shape events and the social institutions of nations. Iggers and Wang (2013) have summarised the main movements in historiography that have come to prominence during this period and which build on previous historiographical schools, some of which are discussed above. These include trans-national, international and global history (reviving interest in classical historians like Ibn Khaldun), particularly cultural dimensions and impacts, pluralist histories of minorities and regional studies in contrast to nationalist histories, environmental and ‘human geography’ studies of ‘nomadic modes of existence’ which will likely increase given the recent groups of refugees in the Middle East, and alternative modernities (e.g. Eisenstadt, 2000) that explore forms that differ from Western modernity, giving rise to neo-imperialist history, decolonisation studies and indigenous historiography. However, some parts of the world, like the Middle East, are still actively pursuing nationalist history given the nation-building status of many states. All of these provide potential in the history of educational administration for a broader, pluralistic and trans-national perspective, in both reconsidering the history past and future history.

There are still a number of basic assumptions made in educational administration that need to be discarded or at least recognised as country specific: a progressivist view of educational development predicated upon Western models; the reassertion of good administration instead of leadership, which is derived from the neoliberal managerialism movement; assuming stable nation state conditions instead of the political realities of many countries undergoing significant transitions, destabilisations and disintegrations (Samier 2013); and universalist assumptions about the configuration of social institutions that politically, culturally and legally reflect Western bias.

**Towards the future past**

While there is a significant body of international and comparative research, the majority of literature still assumes on overarching paradigm that is primarily grounded in Western conceptions (although there is little representation of Continental European educational history, the Soviet-style command system which still influences a number of countries, and those in Central and Eastern Europe transitioning towards a more ‘Western’ model). The major conceptions, theories and models are constructed from Westminster systems (the UK, Canada, and Australia) and US jurisdictions. Even less literature reflects
the Confucian tradition which still influences many East Asian states (Lee 2001, Walker and Dimmock 2002, Dimmock and Walker 2005). Islamic education is beginning to receive more attention, due in part to increasing research and publication from Middle East states (e.g. Bajunid 1996, Bahgat 1999, Shah 2016) and Muslim communities in the West (e.g. Berglund 2015), but is not sufficiently represented in educational administration history. Indigenous and traditional societies are also starting to be represented in the literature including those in the Middle East and Africa (e.g. Wiseman 2009).

The major challenge is a broadening of worldviews, a far more pluralistic range of conceptions, and potentially a paradigmatic shift involving postcolonial and decolonisation critiques both for international and comparative purposes and on national and regional levels of the ‘non-West.’ Such a global view will necessitate greater interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary work more suitable to the complexity of educational systems and cultural and political changes taking place (Arnove and Torres 1999, Crossley and Watson 2003). Even the conception of the nation-state as a unit of analysis needs to be reconsidered (Dale 2000).

Dabashi (2013), among many others in postcolonial and decolonising studies, argues that changes need to occur on philosophical and conceptual levels in order to transcend the ‘regimes of knowledge’ that privilege Western forms that are not only dominating but also perpetuating false binaries like religion and secularism, and Islam and the West. Not only is epistemology a problem, but a perception of the West as ‘an ontological a priori’ that ‘narrate[s] the rest of humanity in terms conducive to that primacy (p. 4). Shahjahan (2016), for example, examines how international organisations like the OECD and the World Bank ‘promulgate one-size fits all’ policies and practices that reproduce global inequalities and coloniality in higher education. On a hermeneutic level, language meaningful in many Western contexts is taken as a universality (p. 4). Dabashi proposes for Muslims their own identities and values similar to that of decolonising scholars from other parts of the world: ‘the restoration of Islam back into its worldly disposition, remembering its conditions of pre-coloniality to deliver itself from the conditions of post-coloniality’ (p. 10). For Muslims to recapture authentically the cosmopolitan character of Islamic civilisation in its literary humanism and multicultural urbanism, these fundamental symbolic, discursive and institutional need to be reconstituted:

Having been for over two centuries at the receiving end of European and American imperialism, and having turned their faith into a singular site of ideological resistance to those empires, Muslims will now have to retrieve that habitual dialogue, though not from a position of power but from a position of care – care of the other, of the world, that will in turn redefine who and what they are. (2013, p. 10)

There are a number of levels on which the history of education and its administration can be used both as critiques of dominating systems and as a reconstituting power in assisting many countries and groups to recapture the underlying conceptual, ontological and epistemological foundations of indigenous and traditional education while preparing them for the contemporary world. This requires a shift towards diversity and pluralism from having an ‘educational administration’ towards recognising a number of ‘educational administrations,’ each with validity, value, meaning and social order.

The future of educational administration and its history requires overcoming the universality fallacy of knowledge originating in Western countries when education is society
specific. Bajunid (1996), for example, argues for an ‘indigenous corpus of knowledge’ for educational administration that is consonant with the society, culture and jurisdictional context, all of which can affect basic and foundational concepts such as ‘excellence.’ Malaysia, Bajunid’s case example, has its own historical tradition reflecting indigenous ‘cognitive and affective structures and behaviours’ that resonate better with the administrator’s local clientele and has more meaningful value in ‘defining individual and national intellectual and professional identities’ (p. 52). He identifies a number of values that should guide thoughts and actions including a number that are relevant to administrative roles like dedication, accountability, truthfulness, proficiency, and conscientiousness which have been applied to a ‘Twelve Pillar’ scheme for civil servants, in effect, a professional ethic which for education is accompanied by an educational vision. While the core values are not that different from many Western sets of ethics that incorporate higher order principles, like the idealist tradition, they are framed within an Islamic worldview and are interpreted and applied within Malaysian culture, practices and jurisdictional criteria, Islamic values and norms, and a growing body of Islamic management literature.

There are also important epistemological issues that educational administration history will need to address. The popular notion of history as an unquestioned and ‘objective’ presentation of what has happened has little resemblance to the many historiographies which view ‘what has happened’ differently. Even what is considered to be what happened varies. For example, Ansary (2009) demonstrates quite clearly that one’s position geographically in in the centre versus the periphery is dependent upon one’s location: the West regards the region between Europe and East Asia as the Middle East if one is positioned in Western Europe, but is the Middle West if standing in the Persian highlands. The content of ‘history’ sequentially is also different, with a different sense of teleology – the ‘Western’ culminating in a democratic society, and the ‘Islamic’ in a dialectic progression of values, as Ansary (2009, pp. xix–xx) demonstrates in his discussion represented in the comparative table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Islamic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Birth of civilisation (Egypt, Mesopotamia)</td>
<td>Ancient Times: Mesopotamia &amp; Persia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Classical age (Greece, Rome)</td>
<td>Birth of Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The ‘Dark Ages’ (rise of Christianity)</td>
<td>The Khalifate: Quest for Universal Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Rebirth: Renaissance &amp; Reformation</td>
<td>Fragmentation: Age of the Sultanates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Enlightenment (exploration, science)</td>
<td>Catastrophe: Crusaders &amp; Mongols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Revolutions (democratic, industrial, technological)</td>
<td>Rebirth: The Three-Empires Era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rise of Nation-States (Struggle for Empire)</td>
<td>Permeation of East by West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>World Wars I &amp; II</td>
<td>The Reform Movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Cold War</td>
<td>Triumph of the Secular Modernists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Triumph of Democratic Capitalism</td>
<td>The Islamic Reaction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally the ‘Golden Age’ of Islamic scholarship is by-passed in intellectual and educational history although formed a large part of the European Renaissance with influence from Averroes (Ibn Rushd) and Avicenna (Ibn Sina) on the early Enlightenment (Tolan et al. 2013). An Islamic view of the history of education differs considerably from the ‘Western’: the Khalifate period is rich with the establishment of schools, the establishment of the university before it developed in Europe, and enormous strides made in all disciplines including medicine and engineering (Tolan et al. 2013). One of the crowning glories of Islamic scholarship and education is the Bayt al-Hikma, or House of Wisdom, in Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate serving as a library that supported
teaching, research and the translation of scholarship from Greek and Persian into Arabic, and as a central part of the Abbasid administration with full-time translators and administrators on staff (Freely 2011). It is during this period that great scholars like Ibn Khaldun developed societal studies that incorporated sophisticated historical, sociological, psychological and cultural aspects that were not rivalled until Max Weber. Accompanying the techniques of textual analysis and historical verifiability was an interpretive and hermeneutic tradition that laid the foundations of what we would recognise now as qualitative research. Another important development in educational history is the concerted effort in eleventh century Italy and twelfth century Spain to translate Arabic texts into Latin, a practice continuing for two more centuries (Tolan et al. 2013, p. 90).

Ze’evi (2004) questions the periodisation of history assumed by most authors regarding when modernism began. The premise that it began with secularism and industrialisation in the West, and grounded in a telos of ‘redemption by progress,’ was, and still is, used to measure societies that were ‘perceived to be in an earlier stage of evolution’ (p. 74). This assumption underpins current development initiatives through the World Bank, OECD and many Western governments and educational organisations. In effect, the current globalisation ‘mission civilizatrice’ expressed in modernist education is a function of Orientalism, however subtle, implicit or unconscious. As Ze’evi argues, modernity in the Middle East is taken to be dated from Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt in 1798. In other words, modernity is the invasion and colonisation of the Middle East by Western states. Assumptions about modernity in the Middle East are part of the knowledge transfer mythology that has become formal policy through globalisation, whereas Hourani (1961) has amply demonstrated in his study of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century that it was already well underway in governmental and bureaucratic structures and practices and the devolution of political control, a process that would have produced its own full modernity without the incursion of European forces (Ze’evi 2004).

Ze’evi (2004) proposes four elements that need to be considered in the Middle East’s relationship with the West in reconstructing a history of modernity that is not Orientalist, that would apply to other regions: first, modernity in the West arose partly out of colonialism, which he refers to as ‘Europe’s domination of or major intrusion into the rest of the world’ (p. 86); secondly, the impact of the West is not a superficial challenge and response, but an invasion of epistemological space; thirdly, that a change of mind-set gives rise to different kinds of modernity; and finally, part of history is the understandings one achieves of the historical subjects’ concepts of periodisation. In the same way Indian historians have challenged the British periodisation of India’s history (in Hindu, Muslim and British periods) that initially were adopted by nationalist historiographers, including the assumption that whatever has been valuable in the origins of civilisation began in Greece (Prakash 1990) which underpins many Western notions of education and its history of administration and development.

Postcolonial and decolonial approaches

Colonisation is not only a material and physical process but a much deeper incursion into mind, spirit, and identity that affects how the history of educational administration is conceived and written, particularly in evaluating sources and conducting interviews and writing biographies. One form of mind colonisation is what Cohn (1996) calls
‘epistemological space’ – the forms and structures of knowledge that one uses, which, for example, under British colonisation in Egypt transformed what was recognised and recorded as knowledge. In redefining colonial history (past history) it is easier to recognise the impact of globalised education on the developing world now (future history) as a colonisation of mind, in effect, a form of epistemic violence (Foucault 1965), or a form of what Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) call ‘symbolic violence’ which is ‘exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity’ where the colonised accept that they are less educated, have no understanding or knowledge of value, other than that provided by the coloniser. This is a condition in the Middle East referred to often as the ‘foreigner complex’ (uqdet el khawaja) (Atiyyah 1993). In the colonisation of mind, the ‘symbolic violence accomplishes itself through an act of cognition and of misconception that lies beyond – or beneath – the controls of consciousness and will’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, pp. 171–172).

Decolonisation of mind has also been examined by the symbolic anthropologist Schwimmer and can be drawn from Habermas’s concept of life world colonisation. For Schwimmer (2004), colonisation and the reconstructive work of preserving and recapturing traditional culture – consisting of identity, self-worth, histories, language, rituals, art, philosophies, and social power – is primarily an ontological process where colonisations render groups powerless, currently in globalisation to economic rationalisation in the forms of marketisation and commodification (Clammer 2008). In Schwimmer’s critique it is partly through education and Western-style schooling that much of the colonisation of mind has taken place, affecting knowledge, conceptions, values and language as well as social institutions like law and economics. This approach requires a decolonising re-write of the history of educational administration, providing a foundation also for contemporary history as ways of capturing the ‘negotiations’ between cultures that have and are taking place upon which to build a recovery of indigenous knowledge and identity. For Clammer (2008), this approach complements Habermasian lifeworld theory, but cast into the postcolonial view of multiple realities and understandings beyond the ‘rational and self-contained individual’ (p. 165). Although Clammer views Habermas’s (1987) work as too rationalist, he proposes extending it through its critique of ‘rationalised, dominated and colonized … distorted communication’ (p. 165). An example of how historiographical language colonises mind is Ze’evi’s (2004) account of how Western historiography of the Middle East changed Egyptians’ understanding of language through school texts that socialised new generations into an Orientalism.

There are significant socio-cultural developments theoretical and critically in postcolonial critiques that can inform educational administration history. One of the most fruitful is Bourdieu’s work, although many have critiqued the piecemeal way in which Bourdieu is used, taking major conceptions out of the context of his theory or misrepresenting them (Lareau and Weininger 2004, Wacquant 2004) or ignoring his critique of the social forms and cultural processes of colonialism from which his sociology originated (Wacquant 2004, Go 2013). The appropriation of Bourdieu to a Eurocentric social science, primarily as a sociologist of class (Puwar 2008), ignores the cultural analysis of colonialism in his early anthropological writings when his sociology of practice formed (Heilbron 2011) and from which his sociology arose. Bourdieu’s work on colonial critique contributes both insights into how to understand colonialism and the postcolonial perspective, and a decolonising practice. Field, for example, is a comprehensive concept of relational sociology referring comprehensively to a whole or total situation, which in a colonial context
consists of a caste system of colonial dominant and subordinate positions characterised by struggle and conflict that shapes the habitus of the colonised, hybrid cultures and conflicted identities of colonised peoples creating new subjectivities composed of ‘ruptures, ambivalence, and tension’ (Go 2013, p. 60). These Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Sayad 2015) described as ‘cultural sabirs’, maintaining that the colonised do not become modernised or acculturated to the societies of Western colonisers, but live between their traditions and Western modernities. Achieving a decolonising perspective involves for Bourdieu (1990) a reflexivity that places the researcher consciously into the colonial context requiring that the ‘unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought’ (p. 178) be made visible by recognising that the colonial situation consists of economic and cultural dimensions of relationship.

The historiography of educational administration will have to broaden its scope in two respects. First it should recognise more explicitly the contributions the ‘developing’ world has made in the past producing the history the West and how Western powers have practiced hegemony, requiring a revision in its own history. Secondly, it will need to recognise others’ values and experience and increase its hermeneutic depth of understanding of non-Western nations and cultures, allowing, in a grounded theory sense, for indigenously authentic histories to form. The definition of ‘education’ and its ‘administration’ have to expand substantially to reflect societies whose social institutions are structured differently. Ajayi (1985) has observed that different conceptions of education and the practices and roles associated with it have to be rethought:

By educational process we mean much more than the content of education and the activities taking place within educational establishments. We are concerned with the whole process of the acquisition and transmission of knowledge and culture in its broadest connotation within different African societies. We are concerned with the philosophies underlying education; the different systems of education and the values and world view they inculcate; languages, acculturation and socialization, and the whole elaborate and complex ways in which education and values interact with society; and, finally, the cumulative impact of these over time on contemporary African societies. (pp. 11–12)

One of the approaches developed through postcolonial studies, especially in the historical sociology field, is a postcolonial critique that is combined with the emerging indigenous research methods literature. This poses at least two challenges for educational administration history: (1) developing ways of understanding countries that operate under very different paradigms than Western states, and which are undergoing societal changes and stresses that Western states are not experiencing; and (2) a revised research and methodology that captures problems of recolonisation/neocolonialism, the subaltern personality, and struggles to maintain indigenous cultures and roles. In order to respond to these conditions, educational administration, like other fields has to generate new models, theories, and modes of practice that derive from the conditions that postcolonial developing states face including identity formation, values, role construction and institutional arrangements. Bagchi et al. (2014) argue that histories of education need to go beyond that of the nation state in order to examine the transnational and cross-cultural forces that accompany globalisation, including transfers of influence and practices from the eighteenth century, drawing on other fields that have produced concepts and approaches to critique new forms and meanings of colonisation that have resulted.
A number of related approaches to colonisation have developed including that of Said (1978), Bhabha (1994), and Spivak (1987, 1988) which are primarily cultural in orientation predominantly from the Middle East and South Asia. Bhabha’s (1994) critique focusses on social ethics, subject formation and the representation of inequalities and the historical conditions under which they form and interrelate. His central thesis is that not only the narratives of history need to be changed, but our conception of its subject – ‘our sense of what it means to live’ (p. 256) with an aim to ‘interrupt the Western discourses of modernity through … displacing, interrogative subaltern or post-slavery narratives and the critical-theoretical perspectives they engender’ (p. 199).

The problem with representing authentically other cultures that have been under colonisation is transcending the colonised self that is created in the process. Spivak is one of the most influential of postcolonial writers, whose notion of the ‘subaltern’ has permeated much of the literature. What is often lost in the discussion, though, is the historiographical importance of the subaltern, summarised by Spivak (1987) as consisting of two different views on change that are a ‘theory of consciousness or culture rather than specifically a theory of change’ (p. 198): (1) change is pluralised into confrontations instead of a transition as part of ‘histories of domination and exploitation rather than within the great modes-of-production narrative,’ and (2) these changes are indicated by a ‘functional change in sign-systems,’ for example from the religious to the militant or bondsman to worker (p. 197). Even earlier, Nandy (1983) examined people’s concept of ‘self’ under colonialism and how Western categories of hierarchy became transposed in India, which also caused a reaction against the West which also distorted Indian culture and thereby its knowledge systems.

A number of other authors have now investigated the problems of colonised peoples in terms of their sense of identity, values, conceptual constructs through which knowledge is created such as Thiong’o (1987) whose Decolonising the Mind focusses on an internalised form of imperialism in which education is a primary colonising medium:

But the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which I furthest removed from themselves, for instance, with other peoples’ languages rather than their own. (p. 3)

The later modernity/coloniality school aimed at decolonisation from Quijano (2007) and Lugones (2007) in sociology and Mignolo (2000) in semiotics focusses on socio-economic issues and is linked to world systems theory from South America. Habermasean critical social theory in development and underdevelopment critiques (Bhambra 2014) is also a fruitful approach. What they share are arguments for a broader range of perspectives in ‘unsettling and reconstituting standard process of knowledge production’ (Bhambra 2014, p. 115) requiring a more explicit discussion and account of socio-cultural and historical forces on educational organisations and their administration. Bhambra (2014) also sees in Said’s (1978) questioning of what were taken to be universal perspectives a ‘bifurcation’ of the world and then an elision of the ‘other’ from producing history, reducing the ‘other’ to passivity and docility. This resulted in history becoming ‘the product of the West
in its actions upon others ... In so doing, it also naturalised and justified the West’s material domination of the “other” (p. 116). Lugones (2007) focusses on coloniality’s shaping of concepts of race, gender and sexuality and Mignolo’s (2000) critique aims at the heart of the argument of this paper – how colonisation of the mind and knowledge excludes the original sources and geo-political locations of knowledge, and thereby appropriating all forms of valuable knowledge to modernity.

Abusulayman (2007) identifies two main ‘afflictions’ of higher education in Muslim countries: first, imitation and replication of Western universities that are based on different values and cultural practices that do not take into consideration important Islamic intellectual traditions and a spiritual end to education; and secondly, a distortion of the Islamic worldview among Muslim populations preventing it from creating and dissemination knowledge and educate people properly in the Islamic intellectual tradition. One example of this is a Western bifurcation of reality into the religious and the secular, a binary that is not part of a Muslim worldview (Dabashi 2013). Colonisation aims at silencing other voices, for example, ignoring the intellectual heritage of Islam, including its strong humanist tradition that informed early European disciplines.

For Bhabha (1994), a new historiography is ‘re-inscribing “other” cultural traditions into narratives of modernity and thus transforming those narratives – both in historical terms and theoretical ones – rather than simply re-naming or re-evaluating the content of these other “inheritances”’ (p. 116). Bagchi et al. (2014) propose a number of ways in which the historiography of education can be developed to pursue postcolonial practices of transnational and cross-cultural education:

• first, the field needs to draw on world and transnational history and historiography that capture colonial and national discourses as well as new conceptualisations of historical actors and spatial dimensions that transcend ‘nation’ to look at denationalisation and change in territorial boundaries as well as forms of transnational history of education – requiring two processes and structures: diffusion of influence and the aggregate of the regional and global. While a number of these have appeared since 2000, the field is still dominated by national studies;
• secondly, case studies need to be written exploring cross-cultural transfers within a colonial context that take into account the mutual influences on coloniser and colonised, hybrid educational cultures and practices they create, and even changes adopted by the coloniser – going beyond much of the history of education that tends toward a uni-directional process and monolithic establishment of a foreign educational system;
• thirdly, studies on indigenous and traditional education and its resistance to foreign systems need to be conducted in historical context where adaptation, modification and recontextualisation of imported knowledge and policies, and where colonial education itself equips resistance activists;
• finally, the changing role of women in education, including roles and conflicts relating to tradition versus modernity, and voice, all of which involve agency and autonomy and may lead to social reforms.

Given the economic nature of globalisation and imperialism, its historical character and effects require a broad social science interdisciplinary approach that can trace non-state actors, territorial regimes, relations and dependencies, and the way that trade, culture
and migrations affect educational systems (Fuchs 2014). Fuchs (2014) identifies a number of methodological challenges: sources that have been produced through national perspectives; extensive linguistic [and cultural] competency; comparative education that uses pre-determined concepts and units of analysis; adopting the ‘cultural transfer’ method used in German studies that looks at mutual exchange and influence; and transforming many of the quantitative social science analyses into qualitative data collection and interpretation. Consideration also has to be given to some of the more extreme political and economic conditions that educational administration and leadership have not yet tackled.

According to Scott (1999) one of the main tasks after decolonisation is the construction of authentic representations of reality to replace inauthentic representations under colonialism follows from the new conceptual ‘tools’ provide by Said and other postcolonialism writers and their reframing ‘of the relationship between colonial power and colonial knowledge’ (p. 12). A study of the postcolonial is also a replacement of material practices of exploitation and profit associated with previous periods of imperialism with ‘a structure of organized authoritative knowledge’ (p. 12) – in other words epistemic and conceptual colonisation associated with globalised education. One purpose of educational administration history is to allow others to re-construct their own national identities, a role that the discipline of history played in Western countries during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the advent of professional history, which served a strong nationalisation and legitimisation role (Wang and Iggers 2003). Ze’evi (2004, p. 90) argues that the history of the Middle East, like many regions whose histories have been the product of overt and covert imperialism, have to be rewritten – in other words historians need to find perspectives from which ‘Orientalism’ is finally expunged through a new philosophy of history and historiography, beginning with periodisations that are constructed, and recognising that modernity is not wholly a European creation, but that its roots lie in many parts of the world from which the ‘West’ was recipient.

**Conclusion**

The aim of professional history according to Oberländer (2009) is a ‘broad multilateral discourse marked by an honest desire to understand and to respect the historical memories of others’ (p. 14). Additionally, Aldrich (2003) has examined a number of the duties to the field of educational history and those it records through three main responsibilities. The first is to the people of the past in recording and interpreting events ‘as fully and as accurately as possible’ (pp. 134–135) by filling in gaps of those whose voices have not been heard such as women and children and those engaged in informal or non-formal forms of education where the bias has been to write the histories of schooling. The second is to the historian’s contemporaries in order to teach and inform through government agencies and higher education to bring greater understanding, inform decision making and advance causes where contexts and perspectives are important, particularly in engaging in educational change and reform. And finally, historians have a responsibility and duty to search after truth which has an objective reality that is discoverable governed by verisimilitude and consensus among historians while remaining tentative and ultimately aimed at an investigation of human existence and values.

In postcolonial and decolonising contexts these responsibilities and duties require an authentic representation of cultures and countries with very different societal systems,
whose histories have to varying degrees been silenced or distorted, and are undergoing a
broad range of changes through external forces like internationalisation and globalisation
and internal dynamics that range from stable nation-building or postcolonial restructuring
through instabilities to the destruction and devastation of war. Over the past several years,
many fields have been challenged to modify their approaches or develop new ones that
require contextual understanding and which have their own historical and indigenous
character (see Bourdieu 2013).

One challenge for the educational administrator responsible for curriculum and peda-
gogy policy, in addition to those discussed above, is the globalised technology of infor-
mation that has affected conceptions and practices of knowledge creation and use. Rat
inoff (1995) identifies a number of problems with the explosion of information and
data available that will become increasingly problematic as a topic that the history of edu-
cational administration will need to grapple with: the international impact on subordinate
and marginalised cultures and their knowledge; an increasing problematic of validity in
disseminated ‘knowledge’; the loss of a ‘unity of perception that is broken into a changing
kaleidoscope of fragmented expediency strategies’ replacing ‘comprehensive views and
encompassing goals’; and information saturation that reduces complexity to unintelligibil-
ity and a greater demand for simplicity that ‘deprive objective of any meaningful content’
(pp. 163–165).

Globalisation has also contributed to an international stratification of countries that is
predicated upon material progress that pays little attention to local factors since ‘power is
directly conferred by the operations of the global economy’ (Ratinoff 1995, p. 157). Its
effects are a reduction in ‘the capacities of local elites to deal with the challenge of blending
fairness with efficiency’ and ‘restricted local public commitments and undermined the
very idea of a constituency of responsible citizens sharing the burden of a common
fate’ (p. 159). On an individual level it compromises the ideal of citizenship by reinforcing
‘self-centred objectives’ that are ‘replacing the ideal of participating in a wider covenant’
with ‘the morality of competition and affluence’ creating the ideal of the ‘detached
citizen’ (pp. 160, 161).

The duties and responsibilities of history as a discipline and the individual historian
have to reflect the interests and perspectives of others. First, our responsibilities to
those of the past whose perspectives, values and rights were ignored or expunged
require more than representing their lives, but in more authentically representing the
social systems and institutions in which they lived, by which they may have been sup-
pressed, oppressed or coerced. This may include social classes and status groups in
their own societies but for many peoples it includes imperialist and colonising powers
that create and occupy privileged strata in society with considerable influence and
power, in Foucault’s (1988) sense, over knowledge and its production. It is not only
gaps, but reinterpretations that allow gaps to appear, which challenge received knowledge,
for example, of indigenous and colonised peoples. What is considered ‘education,’ which
tends to be interpreted in the field as ‘schooling,’ excludes many forms of informal and
non-formal education that play a much larger role in more traditional societies, particu-
larly those with extended family structures, a more collectivist society and where commu-
nity is critically important.

Secondly, the search for historical truth is not unitary, nor has it been even in the
ancient world when history formed as a discipline at the time of Herodotus and his
fellow historians, each of whom had different perspectives, foci, and methods. Since that time, the range of representations has increased – in many cases the plurality of interpretations and representations complementing each other to collectively provide a deeper and more comprehensive account of human civilisation and to redress, on human rights grounds, the right to one’s culture and history.

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Notes on contributor
Eugenie A. Samier has taught in Canada and Dubai, and has guest lectured in many universities in Europe and the Arabian Gulf. She is editor of several books with Routledge and a contributor to Handbooks and Encyclopaedia in the field, as well as author of many articles and chapters on the psychology, sociology and politics of educational administration and on international comparison in the field.

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