

Teacher Education Diversified?

Critical realism and praxeological-constructivist educational research.

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Part I

Introduction to the oral discussion at the conference :

From the point of view of the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu the critical-realist stand in matters of theory of knowledge/theory of science is not a philosophical stand, but a scientific/epistemological one. The epistemology of the human/social sciences, complement of a sociology of these sciences, is not answering an autonomous philosophical question, but a reflexivity internal to practical human life and to the sociological discourse. The critical-realist stand is not a stand for or against an ontology of Being or Knowledge, but the result of a reflection upon the conditions of human practical life and scientific explanation. In the same way Bourdieu's constructivist position is not like most social-constructionist positions basically a philosophical-ontological one, but a consequence of the critical-realist position presupposed by a certain type of empirical science.

Critical realism means for us that everyday practical knowledge as well as scientific knowledge of the self, the society and the world is part of an involvement in the world able to reconstruct the world from within and nevertheless objectively, since it is in this involvement that the world manifest itself, on the condition that the involvement is reflexive, that is to say even reconstructs its own social and logical conditions of operation. This stand will be illustrated by theoretical-empirical research work upon higher education for the semi-professions in Denmark and abroad.

Spontaneous realism takes the life world for granted as a natural fact ;social constructionism takes the life world for being a social-subjective invention at will ;critical realism reflects the objectivity of the world faced by the social subject because it is the objective and subjective sediment of internalisation/externalisation.

The present paper presents an outline of a study of restructurations in teacher education, more specifically of the idea of competency involved in the established and the new models, compared with the social and cultural background of the participants. The paper outlines an epistemological, a sociological and an educational framework for this study. In so doing the positions of Popkewitz, Archer, Godelier and Bourdieu are discussed in as much they combine epistemological, sociological and political reflexivity in stead of offering a philosophical position that does not reflect the political, social and cultural presuppositions of its speculations.

Staf Callewaert & Jette Steensen .

Part II .Paper on the substantial research problem .

I. Introduction

II. Transition, reform, change and restructuration

- III. Restructuration and neo-liberalism: from state to market
- IV. Towards a theory of educational change
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I. Introduction

This presentation is part of my ph.d project, the aim of which is to understand and explain how current trends in restructuring of education affect motives, attitudes and strategies of students entering the education for the teaching profession in the age of globalization where international discourses swiftly carry new trends and ideas at the same time as neo-liberal economic imperatives cross borders and make an impact upon particular national scenes. Originally I started out with an empirical investigation carried out by means of questionnaires theoretically as well as methodologically inspired by the sociological works of Pierre Bourdieu in e.g. "*Homo Academicus* and "*Distinction*"¹, the main idea being that we cannot say much about the future of teaching until we know more of the "habitus" of the future teachers. However, in order to be able to understand and interpret their reactions and strategies when confronted with the new world of teaching affected by educational restructuring, the thematic itself called for a more thorough analysis of the social world of the first order to come to grips with the often discussed trends, the results of which seemed mixed and often contradictory when looking at them in a comparative perspective. In other words it seemed to be necessary to try to find more solid concepts and ways of analysing what was happening. These considerations have led to more fundamental questions about the relationship between structure and culture, between state and market and not least between the intertwining of discourses and practices.

Thus the focus of the present presentation is on exploring a theoretical framework working towards a theory of educational change.

At the outset it seemed obvious to make the project comparative in trying to come to understand and explain restructuring. Comparison between educational systems is often carried out in quite a pragmatic way, as mere case studies describing for each country a selected part of the educational system noticing the differences and similarities. It is, however, quite obvious that apart from a first wonder arising from confrontation with strange ways of organising things, such comparisons are of limited value, because they miss the necessity of digging below the surface to discuss the more basic conditions constituting similarities as well as differences.

A thorough comparison must therefore try to include the historical, economic and social conditions in which education is embedded. I know that this is easier said than done, it is, however my ambition to try to avoid mere description in order to be in line with Durkheim's advice for sociology: "*Comparative sociology is not merely a particular branch of sociology;*

¹ Pierre Bourdieu(1996);*Homo Academicus*", Brutus Östlings Bokförlag, Stockholm
Pierre Bourdieu(.....): *Distinction*.....

it is, rather, identical with sociology itself to the extent that it ceases to be purely descriptive and aims to account for the facts.”²

A comparative approach is also a question of epistemology. In line with the recommendations for a “*Reflexive sociology*” I need to transform my direct involvement in teacher education into a platform that tries to keep distance to the field. Comparison is one of the important tools to achieve this conversion from participant observation into participant objectivation and this means. comparison in time , retracing historical changes as well as comparison in space between countries and regions operating on different conditions.

In the comparative part of the project I am looking into three main directions. First I look for detailed explanations of similarities and differences between Sweden and Denmark . The neighbouring nordic countries are often mentioned together when welfare, education and equality are mentioned, still the educational systems are strikingly different, when one looks at the organisational and structural level , not least within teacher education. Secondly I look for international (read: anglo-american) discourses and trends when trying to find ways of distinguishing between more or less substantial points of view. Such an international perspective seems unavoidable today when national educational policies are increasingly influenced by ideas put forward in international organisations like the OECD, the EU, the WTO. Thirdly I shall try to look at the issue of teacher education in a third world context .

Macro analyses will thus be used in order to delineate the general framework of international, national and institutional constraints in which teacher education and teachers are embedded, macro analyses are, however, by no means the whole story, and they are dangerous in that you are easily seduced into overgeneralization when you are desparately reaching out trying to get the whole picture. When looking at trends at a distance you are more easily led into the trap of mistaking discourses for practices. Therefore comparative macro discussions must be supplemented by quantitative as well as qualitative, empirical investigation of concrete national arenas, as only this will bring us closer to an understanding of real life changes which are more than discourses and passing trends. Here I revert to my original starting point. The empirical part of the project is based on the assumption that education to some extent is formed and changed by its participants as they act on and react to restructuring. Therefore the habitus , combining the incorporated and objectified resources of the individual is essential. In literature on teacher identity and teacher thinking ,there has been a consistent tendency in discursively projecting teachers in homogenised and generalised ways which are not enough analytically elaborated to be able to account for their situated realities. Instead it is necessary to point to the importance of incorporating theoretically a more complex understanding of the diverse elements that make up teacher identity. This is of crucial importance in shaping the teacher ’s identity and professional role. With regard to the habitus ,(adding social class to the enumeration, I want to underscore with Carrim³ the interplay of the teachers’ general way of life and professional identity , saying that

“ Teachers are not just workers or professionals. They are raced, gendered with different sexual orientations , religious beliefs and their daily lived experiences on these levels also need attention.”

² Durkheim Emile (1986): *Les règles de la methode sociologique*, 22 e edition. Paris: PUF , p. 137

³ Nazir Carrim (2001) *From teachers to educators: homogenising tendencies in contemporary South African educational reforms* in International Journal of Educational Development, Pergamon, vol 21,no 1 pp45 - 52

Thus theoretical analyses of restructuring tendencies discussed in their international as well as their local, cultural and historical context combined with detailed empirical analyses of the habitus of a new generation of teacher students are expected to provide elements of understanding concerning the future directions of educational change in general and in view of teacher education, accepting Durkheim's (1938/ 1977)⁴ observation that there is no situation in which theories of reform have been implemented as the theorists intended.

II.Reform, change and educational restructuring

Having said that educational change is in focus, the next question will be what exactly is meant by "change". A definition of the concept is very often overlooked and the underlying motives and reasons forgotten.

*" A certain irony is apparent in contemporary U.S. studies of educational change in that no one articulates what is to be considered "change"Change is viewed as intrinsic to movement or activity, but little attention is paid to change itself."*⁵

First the concept of " change" must be separated from the concept of "reform". In connection with discussions about education and third world countries "reform" is most often termed "development", because the concept of reform has a certain connotation of improvement, change towards something better. In a previous article ⁶ which was a first effort to come to grips with current trends in teacher education, I concluded that this is not necessarily the case.

The concept of " restructuring" does not in the same way signify any direction and can be used interchangeably with the concept of change, but it seems to be a very "trendy" concept carrying a message of (post)-modernisation being used very often in relation to educational change during the past decade under circumstances which I would rather chose to label "neo-liberal".

What is so conspicuously dangerous and confusing in this connection is that changes often come slowly, indirectly and individually, sneaking around the corner , and there is none to whom you can protest, because no-one but market competition seems to have decided, admirably correctly described by Carlgren (1994):

"The process of change is like removing the tent pegs without telling anybody the intention is to tear down the tent".⁷

I thus try to use the concept of "change" when talking about more fundamental changes in the social structure which I see as closely connected to educational changes.

Changes in the social structure are based on displacement among social classes due to changing tasks , activities and job profiles. Artisans and skilled workers are becoming new

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⁵ Thomas H.Popkewitz(1991):*A political Sociology of Educational Reform*"Teachers College , Columbia university New York and London. P. 17

⁶ Jette Steensen (2001): " Udkast til *seismologisk analyse af læreruddannelsen*" in Karin Anna Petersen(red):*Praktikker i erhverv of uddannelse*, Akademisk Forlag

^{7 7} Ingrid Carlgren(1994):*Curriculum as Social Compromise or Accident ? Some Reflections on a Curriculum Making Process*,in: Daniel Kallós & Sverker Lindblad: *New Policy Texts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom*, pedagogiska rapporter 42/1994, Umeå Universitet, Sweden, pp 1-34

middle class, or middle layers, the group of unskilled workers is reduced (in western industrialised nations), new groups enter the new middle classes or middle layers and the intellectual middle class is becoming bourgeois, in the sense of more and more oriented towards the bourgeois ruling class.

I have got some inspiration to look at social changes and restructuring from a perspective indicating that societies may change **either** to stabilise their existing structure (late capitalism) or are undergoing a transition from one type of society to another which is radically different (e.g. from premodern kinship society or feudalism to modern capitalism). In order to analyse the concept of change Godelier⁸ points out that one should consider whether the issue is stabilisation or transition, and that this is more fruitful than just using the concepts of development (or reform) with a special view to changes in developing countries., but I will try to adopt this perspective to discuss changes in western countries as well.

" A period of transition" can be defined as a particular stage in a society's evolution when it encounters increasing internal and /or external difficulties in reproducing the economic and social relations on which it is based and which gives a specific logic to the manner in which it operates and evolves "(Godelier 447)

The basic idea is inspired by Marx in that he points out that societies in a state of equilibrium are able to reproduce themselves. In spite of minor changes in order to adapt to changes in the surrounding environment, or internal changes produced by the accumulation of goods and experience, there is a certain stable balance of power which maintains the existing equilibrium i.e. produces the conditions for its own continued existence. Changes might be either the consequences of internal development as well as adaptations to external influence within the existing basic structure. A totally different thing happens with changes in the basic structure itself, the main point being that when the well-established order can no longer handle its given tasks adequately, and the established social relations prevent rather than support dynamic solutions, there is an explosive accumulation beneath the surface which sooner or later will cause the break down of the established order, and it will be replaced by something new.

In " Reproduction" Bourdieu describes the role of the teaching corps in the same way . Their main task is to keep the school running, and thus the teacher reproduces both the need for his own services and by the same token he reproduces human beings as well as subject knowledge needed for society .When discussing the concept of " pedagogical work" Bourdieu also shows that structurally there is no difference between so-called "progressive" pedagogics and conservative pedagogics, they are only two versions of the teaching job within the same framework the aim of which is to maintain the reproduction of the school as well as society in general. Of course this does not mean that there is no difference between the two in practice, only that the difference between them does not cause a break down of the reproductive circle.

Public school was originally started to ensure a homogeneous socialisation of children in the interest of the modern national state with a focus on the social control of the lower classes and the socialisation into subjective individualism . The history of schooling has

⁸ Marice Godelier(1987):*Introduction: The analysis of transition processes* in Godelier(ed) *The process of transition: Anthropological case studies*, Oxford Blackwell

shown that this happened before the generalisation of industrial society created the need for the expansion of literate and educated labour force. It was a public school , compulsory, free of charge and common to all, but also caught in a web of tacit cultural and social differentiation. A break down of the established order might happen if "symbolic" violence is openly replaced by a more visible differentiation, as public is being replaced by private and the mechanisms of "the exclusion from within" are being disclosed. The ongoing restructurations often point in that direction. However, we have not come so far yet.

- In the present discourse about changes in schools the concept of " restructuring " is usually applied without touching upon this problem. In much current debate symptoms are registered without further investigation of their causes or consequences. Whether they are merely arbitrary and only loosely connected or whether they form a more distinct pattern which follows a certain logic which added together and in the long run will result in more fundamental structural changes is only rarely subject to debate.
- It is my general opinion that the present changes and restructuring within teacher education as well as in the educational system in general form a coherent pattern(although I have far from traced all the patches yet) which might lead to a transition into another type of society .

III. Restructuring and neo-liberalism : from state to market .

III.1 General trends in society: Complexity and Contradiction

When discussing neo-liberal policies I would, however, like to point to the following changes on the economic, political, ideological, and social level as well as those on the educational level which I assume can be contributed to a general and global political shift of climate towards neo-liberalism.:

On the economic level

1. Capitalism is the accepted mode of production worldwide.
- 2 Globalisation of parts of the economy especially trade, stock markets and currency transactions
3. Privatisation of public services and regulation by market procedures
4. Changing balances of power between different economic sectors and their employees. The productive sectors are replaced by the service sector, traditional branches within the productive sector loose out to electronics.

On the political Level

1. The rise of the uncontested hegemony of the United States after the collapse of the Soviet Union and its allies
2. The expansion and strengthening of the European Union, in other regions of the world other unions are been set up in order to match its strength.

3. Increasing influence of global financial institutions like the OECD, The World Bank, The WTO and the International Monetary Fund .⁹

On the discursive level

1. The ideological climate changes socio-liberal welfare to neo-liberal market.

On the social level

1. The expansion of the new middle class and the decrease of the working class and petty bourgeoisie in the advanced countries
2. The rise of a class society in previous pre-modern countries
3. The increase of social and cultural inequality in all types of societies
4. Drastic changes in the working conditions of labour
5. Drastic changes in the power relationships between labour and capital to the advantage of capital
6. World regions and peripheries are systematically drained to the advantage of the centers.

III.3.Neo-liberalism and educational restructuring

Many articles in current literature on education discuss the concepts of globalization, marketisation and public choice in education pointing to neo-liberal policies as the main origin of change (Brown & Lauder 1996)¹⁰ Dale (1994)¹¹, Dale (1997)¹², Kallós & Lindblad (1994) Whitty (1997)¹³. And it seems easy to demonstrate that restructuring has taken place in the different formal public education systems.

Neo-liberal policies seem to be implemented by right-wing as well as centre-left governments in many countries all over the world, although not with the same enthusiasm, at the same speed and in the same manner everywhere, and it should be pointed out that there is no automatic one way different nations respond to the global economy. This often leads to confusion as to the causes, effects and direction of restructuring.

A recent book on restructuring of education in the Nordic countries (Klette, Carlgren, Rasmussen, Simola and Sundkvist 2000) states:

"... it is our point of departure that neither the discourse about professionalization and empowerment nor the discourse about neo-liberal economization but rather a view of

⁹ The World Bank in particular has played a decisive role through forcing a certain economic policy upon industrialized as well as developing countries, a policy which has negative effects upon the public educational system,

¹⁰ Philip Brown & Hugh Lauder (1996): *education, globalization and economic development, journal of Education policy, 1996, vol 11, NO.1,1 - 25*

¹¹ Roger Dale (1994): *Marketing the Educational Market and the Polarisation of Schooling*, in *New Policy Contexts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom*, Pedagogiska rapporter 42/1994, Kallós & Lindblad (eds) Umeå, Sweden pp. 35 -65

¹² Roger Dale (1997): *The State and the Governance of Education: An analysis of the Restructuring of the State-Education Relationship in Profession* in Halsey, Lauder, Brown and Wells, Oxford university press pp.273 - 282

¹³ Geoff Whitty (1997): *Marketization, the State and the re-formation of the Teaching Profession* in Halsey, Lauder, Brown and Wells, Oxford university press pp.299-310

restructuring as different responses to societal changes and thus a part of the transition to late modernity."¹⁴

In contrast to the above point of view I would like to emphasize here that neo-liberal restructuring is not just another discourse, but a point of fact resulting from the deregulation of the state following from the policies of late capitalism.¹⁵ The heart of the matter is that due to increasing finance-led globalisation most governments face economic challenges, they politically decide to meet by a so called neoliberal model, liberalising trade and monetary transactions, and cutting costs especially for social welfare and education. At the same time most western countries declare that they want to move education on top of the agenda, because they feel that they are forced to compete with each other and with emerging third world countries on knowledge acquisition. They all declare that they want the "world's best educational system". More high quality education at lower costs is supposed to be the solution. However, there does not seem to be a complete agreement as to the actual effects of these intents.

The questions, however remain :

How is restructuring being effected in individual countries ? at what level? And how do macro and micro forces interact in the field ?

Before moving on I want to stress that what is often described as internationalisation or globalisation to some extent is biased in that educational discourses and research are heavily dominated by the USA and other English speaking industrialised countries. Therefore it is worth remembering that internationalisation in education as in other fields, may be tantamount only to the "universalisation of a particular world view"(Casanova 1993)¹⁶. Having said that, there is at the same time no doubt that ideas and discourses from supranational organisations like IMF, WB; UNESCO, OECD, WTO and also the EU have great influence among bureaucrats and government agencies close to the centre. Not only because what is actually being said, but also because planners and researchers are consciously and systematically being educated on all levels. The question is how these international discourses will be modified on their way through legislative procedures, decentral negotiations with unions, municipalities and other stakeholders until they are presented as realities to the practitioners.

IV. Towards a theory of educational change

Discussions of globalisation and its effects upon the welfare state and the educational system lead to more fundamental questions about the causes of educational change and more specifically the changing relationship between the state and education. I recognize, however, that the differences between educational systems may be explained from very different perspectives. Often differences between educational systems are explained from an ideational

¹⁴ Kirsti Klette, Ingrid Carlgren, Jens Rasmussen, Hannu Simola and Maria Sundkvist(dec .2000):*Restructuring Nordic Teachers: An Analysis of Policy Texts from Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway*, University of Oslo, Institute for Educational Research p. 18

¹⁵ Ingrid Carlgren(1994):*Curriculum as Social Compromise or Accident ? Some Reflections on a Curriculum Making Process*, in: Daniel Kallós & Sverker Lindblad: *New Policy Texts for Education: Sweden and United Kingdom*, pedagogiska rapporter 42/1994, Umeå Universitet, Sweden, pp 1-34

¹⁶ Casanova,P(1993):"La World Fiction: Une fiction critique." *Liber, Revue Européenne des livres*, 16 December 1993, pp 111 - 115

perspective (e.g. Winther Jensen 2001¹⁷) stressing the importance of the original ideas of great men women. According to this tradition change in the Danish educational system will always be heavily related to the Grundtvigian heritage often without further analysis of what this actually means.

What I am interested in here is, however, to work towards a more **sociological** understanding and explanation of changes within education, and teacher education in particular. This is why I look at economy and politics, the role of the state and demographics in order to avoid as far as possible the usual inside explanations and discourses. The important focus points will instead be the relation between the educational system, the subfield of teacher education and society at large, nationally as well as globally.

Looking for sociological explanations, I distinguish between at least three major traditions.

Functionalism regards society as an organic whole and assumes that if the organism as a whole is functioning, then the individual elements are functioning as well. Often society is assumed to be provided with a feed-back mechanism which assures that the equilibrium is restored if internal or external factors disturb it.

Functionalism has been criticized because it does not say anything about who will be the initiator, the force behind the working of the organism. It does not point to neither social actors nor institutions or ways and methods which bring about change. Functionalism just ascertains that there is an interrelationship between the individual elements of the organism. From a structural-functionalist perspective Archer (1979) focuses on the social origins of Educational Systems and discusses change in centralized and decentralized systems respectively.

By contrast various types of **marxism** have in common that from a materialist perspective, they focus on the importance of the economy and the changing modes of production (Godelier/Marx¹⁸).

And they see a causal relationship between the economic and political basis structure in society and the way this structure is organised and perceived by the other social and cultural fields. Archer and other more structurally oriented objectivist theorists who are inspired by Weber do the same, they are, however, more reluctant in pointing to the specific origins of change and try instead to define each case in its own right in order to determine the actual causes of change.

Godelier's idea which can also be found in Bourdieu and Marx is that changes must be studied primarily in situations of transition from one type of society to another, when basis as well as change at the same time to reach a new equilibrium For every change one can try to establish how the prevailing form is broken by the forces which cannot be adapted to it.

From a Foucault- inspired focus on **political discourse** mainly as interpreted and used by Popkewitz (1991, 1992, 2000. Michel Foucault's theoretical elaboration on power, government and discipline¹⁹ has been used by many researchers to define and explain restructuring from a new angle. This new theory of power and government will here be

¹⁷ Thyge Winther Jensen (2001) : Unpublished manuscript, Institute for Education, Philosophy and Rhetorics, University of Copenhagen

¹⁸ Maurice Godelier (1987): *Introduction: The Analysis of Transition processes*, international social Science Journal, vol. 39, no 4 , pp. 114 - 457

¹⁹

discussed against the background of an approach based upon Marx, classical sociology and specifically Bourdieu.

Popkewitz(2000) makes use of Foucault's ideas of governmentality , because he assumes that there are no such coherent transitions from one type of society to another from one educational system to the next. Instead he argues that dynamics develop across and between sectors and for many different reasons. Foucault was specifically interested in understanding the exercise of economic , political , social and cultural dominance in different types of societies.He criticized the concept of power as mainly consisting of dominance, and dominance mainly consisting of patriarchal centralised absolute government by violent imposition or repression .He invented the concept of governmentality , or government by governing mentality.Governmentality presupposes that everybody has capacities : power is everywhere and with everybody. It presupposes a regulation that operates by providing a framework of self understanding and commitment where everybody recognizes and regulates himself.

The concept has been used by researchers in order to theorize about tendencies like regulation not by rules but by goals, to rely upon teachers professionalism, to promote teachers autonomy etc

The problem may be that this use of the concept may not at all have been intended by Foucault; because it may misrecognize the aspect of dominance still implied by class relations and state relations.Nevertheless the theory may point to new aspects in the discussion about the state..

In relation to the educational system, Popkewitz points out that the state is not a system of one way command, but a network of relations where social actors, (politicians, administrators, teachers and parents) are authorised to organize, classify and administer certain practices which again authorises etc. The state is nothing but a network of institutions, practices, discourses which contribute to the formation of subjectivities which govern themselves. The central concept is not government, but governmentality (government of mentalities)

Popkewitz's idea is to account for the relationship between changes in the economic, political, social and cultural system and the educational system by applying Foucault's multidimensional use of the concepts of power and government to understand the tendency towards decentralization in the educational system. Advanced bourgeois-parliamentary capitalism may be centralized or decentralized, it may exercise power as a sovereignty or via governmentality, but changes do not come about as the result of commands or constraints, but through observing that similar sensibilities are spreading across all domains where they cause similar practices.

Popkewitz also refers to Bourdieu, but it seems that he misinterprets him to a certain extent in that he presupposes that all structures and dispositions are already there and he is only interested in interaction, negotiations, constructed and constructing identities, but Bourdieu is not the same as pure social constructivism, and I would like to stress that the administrative reforms replacing rule steering with goal steering are framed by state legislation and budgets which again are decided in a class society with the usual unequal distribution of economic and cultural resources. All this is contributing to the formation of the habitus and the field and it is not just discretionary knowledge.

In order to achieve a more balanced view of restructuring as interpreted by Popkewitz, his views will be confronted him with Bourdieu's more radical critique of the neo-liberal

restructurations²⁰. In his substantial work "The Weight of World"²¹ Bourdieu demonstrates that what is really at stake is not just a new way of state regulation, but rather a de-regulation enforced by the ruling classes, the main point being that the state withdraws from more and more areas in order to leave the field open to the market and uncontrolled capitalism, and in this connection cultural values are dissolved.

Popkewitz does notice that subjectivities are constructed unequally, i.e. excluding and including. The very important thing to remember here with relevance for the subject of recruitment into teacher education is that in "The Weight.. Bourdieu emphasizes that one effect of the educational system to day is that the excluded are still kept within the system, there is an exclusion from within, and this applies to all levels of the educational system and contribute to destabilize the demand for education

I want to close this presentation and discussion of the Foucault-Popkewitz point of view versus Marx/Bourdieu/Godelier stressing that Teacher Education is not primarily dependent upon a network of freewheeling discourses, but primarily dependent upon socio-political power, specifically state power and state government at different levels: European Union, nation state, local authorities, municipalities, government of colleges and schools, at the same time The state works via regulations of institutions and sanctions and not just as a socialising factor. So it is not a question of power as sovereignty **or** as a function of knowledge, **but both**.

At the same time, it is necessary to maintain the existence of class dominance as the basis of the very nature and operation of an educational system. That is to say to ascertain the existence of oppression in politics and economy as well as symbolic violence in the cultural transmission.

One of the lessons learned from Popkewitz and others who operate in the modern jargon of discourses and constructed and constructing identities and who keep repeating that everything is operated by governmentality is that in order to say something more definite about the effects of neo-liberalism, it is not sufficient only to investigate discourses and constructed identities. There is a need for a more detailed investigation of the logics of the different subfields and the mechanisms used, in order to say something more definite about future educational changes.

Bourdieu completes the range of explanations by offering explanation from below, so to speak. He tries to connect cultural phenomena to the structural characteristics of a society and shows how the culture is produced by the structure and in turn helps to maintain it. In his concept of habitus change might come about by individuals and groups of individuals whose embodied history lead their strategies e.g. in choosing their future job and education according to the openings presented in the way that might give them the best advantage balancing their ambitions, skills and desires in an unconscious way. In a situation of fluctuation and market orientation like the present day state of affairs, changes might thus also be initiated from below through the choice of the habitus of the actors which might register very fine imbalances not yet acted upon at the institutional or legislative level., this in turn might again lead to new legislative initiatives etc.

It is well known that Bourdieu developed the concept of symbolic violence by which an arbitrary culture is imposed upon the population by e.g. the educational system, operated by the state. In the first pages of "Reproduction", where he states this thesis, Bourdieu discusses

²⁰ Bourdieu: "Moteld"

²¹ Bourdieu: "The Weight of the World"

theories of power.²² He maintains that for Marx power is primarily exercised by the dominant class over the dominated, the power exercised by the state being just one of the expressions of class dominance.

For Durkheim power is a general societal external constraint on everybody. But both emphasize power relations as objective collective entities, different from the individual exercise of influence or dominance. Marx does not give much importance to the ideological factor, like the recognition of the legitimacy of dominance by the dominated, which is very important for Weber and for Bourdieu. Weber on the other hand underestimates the fact that this legitimacy is the product of misrecognition of the objective violence that accepts representation of dominance as legitimate.

Bourdieu imagines society as a space of social positions on the basis of economic, political and cultural distribution of power. These positions are scattered in space structured from very much to very little capital and from mainly cultural to mainly economic-political capital. This social space contains many relatively autonomous cultural fields functioning according to their own logics but homologous with social space.

Homologous means that the same type of relations will be repeated between two positions in the social space and in a cultural field, still with another content. The employee is to the employer as the pupil is to the teacher. A certain type of relations is reproduced.

Although these approaches differ in a certain sense they may be combined as there is no doubt that structure interacts with culture adding to the complexity of the situation. . In a wide sense discourses might be interpreted as culture and the discourse point of view is thus quite close to the ideational perspective although the power aspect behind the discourse analysis is absent in the ideational interpretation .What all the above theoretical complexes seem to have in common is that they all have their basis in the concept of modern society as a class society including state as well as civil society(In contrast to the premodern features of most developing countries).

On the one hand this means **differentiation**, a society with a political and economic basic structure and then a large number of more specialised fields within reproduction (education and healthcare), culture (art, religion and ethics) and power (the army, police, courts, media etc) The point is that to a certain extent these fields operate according to their own logics and they are not directly determined by the surrounding environment. Habermas e.g distinguishes between the *systemworld* comprising the market economy and the bureaucracy of the state but functioning in a very rational manner, and the *lifeworld* comprising the remaining human life regulated by communicative activities .

On the other hand it is a **society divided into social classes** and fractions with different access to resources and power and consumption of goods and services in the private as well as the public sector. This basic idea of unequal access to limited resources is found as a major thread in the works of Godelier as well as Bourdieu. They both acknowledge that the economic and political structure of society is of crucial importance to the other fields even though the relation between the basic structure and other fields is thought to be that of homology rather than causal determination. Foucault goes a step further in stressing the relative autonomy of the various fields, and he would consider economy and politics fields among other fields of power, and the relation between them would be that the mutually constitute each other within

one set of things which can be changed tomorrow quite arbitrarily and without any trace of continuity.

Thirdly it is a society governed by a special type of power called the **state**. State power is different from other types of power in that it is exercised through its own legitimate basis, in the head of state, parliament, the courts and the bureaucratic administration, a monopoly of physical as well as symbolic violence. In the course of time the modern state has expanded and adopted a whole range of activities at various administrative levels e.g. schools, health, transportation and infrastructure, the media, energy supply of energy etc.²³

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²³ for a further discussion of state and civil society, see e.g. Jean Cohen & Andrew Arato (1992): Civil society, Esping-Andersen:

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