THE NETWORK SOCIETY AND THE DEMAND OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGES

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INTRODUCTION

Staf Callewaert and Sverker Lindblad

The papers offered in this volume are the product of the meeting between two postgraduate schools of educational research, one at the Department of Education and the Teacher Training College of the University of Uppsala, and one at the Department of Education of the University of Copenhagen in collaboration with the Viborg Research Center.The papers are written by doctoral students of research education programmes organised at these schools.

There are different programmes of research education operating at these institutes. But there are mainly four of them directly involved in this collaboration and the publication of this book. All the programmes were interested in problems related to either the professionals in the reproductive sector and their professional activity, like teaching, nursing, social work (Uppsala), or to undergraduate and graduate education of these categories of professionals, at universities, teacher training colleges, schools of nursing (Copenhagen). All have been especially interested in direct observation studies in natural settings. All have studied the ongoing restructuring of both professional education and professional work in these sectors, its causes and effects. All have worked in a research tradition in educational research that gives much importance to the sociological study of the societal framework of educational practice, but also to the elaboration of a theory of action for educational practice. At the same time, epistemological and methodological reflexivity has characterised this work as much as a differentiated but explicit positioning in the debate on politics of education. Due to the different environments of their educational research, the two schools also have their own distinct profile because of their history and the impact of their directors.

The School of Uppsala comprehends in fact three programmes. Sverker Lindblad has been the monitor of one of the Uppsala programmes for many years. The research programme UTKIK (Education: Culture – Interaction – Career) started twenty years ago. It was to a large extent inspired by research approaches such as "New Sociology of Education" especially in relation to symbolic interactionism

and the parallel lines of ethnographic studies and life histories. Here, Andy Hargreaves and Ivor Goodson have been communication partners. Furthermore, British conceptions of resistance theory presented by the so called Birmingham School and the works of Stuart Hall and Paul Willis have also been important. The UTKIK research programme is often conceived of as part of the Swedish Curriculum Theory tradition, since it has dealt with relations between education and society in relation to classroom interaction. In the Swedish Curriculum Theory tradition the Frame Factor Model has had a predominant position through the works of Urban Dahllöf and Ulf P. Lundgren. Starting from research about the effects of the designs of comprehensive schools, the Frame Factor Model developed into a general theory of teaching and learning, and of schooling as societal activity. The UTKIK research approach is different from research carried out within the Frame Factor framework in three ways. First, it focused on the actors and their different perspectives, experiences and actions rather than the implementation of reforms and curriculum changes. Second, in the Frame Factor Theory the limit for interaction is based on external limits such as time available, while the UTKIK programme mostly studies constraints as something constructed in interaction. And third, today the approach is to a large extent inspired by social constructionism, while the framefactor model had a more structural approach. Today the UTKIK research programme has three pillars in its research: (a) Studies of Life histories as a combination of life stories and structural and historical contexts, where the works of Daniel Berteaux and Elliot Mishler are frequently referred to, (b) Education policy studies with a specific focus on restructuring of education and governmentality. Here the cooperation with Tom Popkewitz has had a large impact, (c) Interaction studies – to a large extent in terms of organisation of interaction and conversation analysis – in order to capture the working of institutions and individuals. Here texts by Erwing Goffman and Emanuel Schegloff have an important position. Another branch is working under the label of UPP. Since a couple of years it has been oriented by ass. prof. Karin Anna Petersen, a transfuge of the Copenhagen/Viborg group, who is a specialist of the Bourdieu-paradigm applied to the whole range of problems of education and nursing, from the level of curriculum reform to the transformation of professional knowledge into science. This branch has a specific interest because of the allocation of the social science part of the Uppsala School of Nursing at the Department of Education under the responsibility of Petersen. Professor Staf Callewaert from the Copenhagen Department of Education where he was working side by side with Petersen in research education, collaborates with the UPP group. During the Spring 2003 the UPP group and the SEC group will partly maintain their own doctoral seminars, partly integrate their work.

The other Uppsala programme started in Stockholm with Prof. Donald Broady, (www.skeptron.ilu.uu.se/broady/sec) now at Uppsala Institution of Education of the Teacher Training College, under the label SEC, and interferes to some extent with the groups coached by Lindblad. Broady represents the second wave of Bourdieu inspired research in Sweden. He has coached vast research projects and research education on Social and Cultural Reproduction, analysing the fields of university students and senior secondary schools in Sweden, with special attention to register studies of total populations, analysed by the Correspondance Analysis method. Like Callewaert´s programme in Copenhagen/Viborg the SEC programme also comprehends doctoral students from other disciplines, faculties and universities, and embraces a section on Education and a section on Health Care, (www.skeptron.ilu.uu.se/karinap). SEC cooperates closely with the UPP group.

The Copenhagen group started already at the beginning of the 90s, and grew out of the group of doctoral students tutored by Staf Callewaert at the Department of Education. From the beginning it was situated at the crossroad where a Bourdieu-inspired sociology and theory of education began to develop an alternative and complementary theory to the established Critical Pedagogy, inspired by different versions of Frankfurter Critical Theory. This alternative was inspired by the first and continuing reception of Bourdieu in education coached by Callewaert first in Lund and later on in Copenhagen. Typically the group included an important number of people from Education in nursing, supported by the input of Karin Anna Petersen, later on Uppsala, and by the Viborg Center. At The Viborg Center, support for both curriculum reform, capacity building for staff, Master´s Degree, and a local extension of the Copenhagen doctoral seminar under the direction of Callewaert and Petersen operated side by side.

The programme has very much concentrated on the learning of a Bourdieu working method based on the in depth study of the texts, and the implementation of theoretical-empirical studies, resulting in ph.d dissertations. The last five years a similar effort to learn from Foucault has been organised, focusing rather on the classic main works of Foucault published in France.

The groups have organised some common workshops on for example class room observation and social class analysis, and have organised common sessions at the yearly conferences of the Nordic Educational Research Association (NFPF).

Since the beginning of 2000 people from these different environments collaborate in two comparative Sweden-Denmark research projects on respective Teacher Education (LÄROM: Sverker Lindblad, Finn Calander, Donald Broady, Mikael Börjesson, Lena Larson, Uppsala Universitet; Staf Callewaert, Jette Steensen, Frede Kröjgaard, Köbenhavns Universitet, Peter Gill, Carola Jonsson, Gävle högskola,

Hugo Wikström, Karlstads Universitet (www.ped.uu.se/larom) and Nursing Education (OMOM: Staf Callewaert, Karin Anna Petersen, Gerd Halskov, Mikael Börjesson, Uppsala Universitet)

The papers assembled in this book are in principle papers first presented at the Conference of Stockholm in March 2001, but have been reworked on different occasions unto this final version.

The paper of *Staf Callewaert* focuses on epistemological problems. Stemming from his oral intervention at the Stockholm session, it has been presented at the annual Critical Realism Conference in Roskilde August 2001, with prof. Margaret Archer as the president of the session. Starting from his own journey as a researcher from phenomenological philosophy, over structural marxism to Bourdieu, he tries to answer the question: is Bourdieu a Critical Realist? And he explores the critique of Bourdieu by Margaret Archer, one of the actual protagonists of the Critical Realism movement.

The paper of *Kirsten Frederiksen*, assistant-lecturer at the Department of Nursing Education, Århus University, presents her own ph.d research project, focusing upon the input of Foucault's theory of Power and his methods.

Karin Anna Petersen, ass prof Uppsala, *Marianne Høyen*, ass lecturer Copenhagen, and *Annika Åberg*, ph.d student Gøteborg, here all identified on the basis of their present position, refer the result of an experimental try with a new way of organising demographic survey data, where people wander in and out of different positions and statuses over time. An original experiment that should unite objective relational analysis and individual life history. The study has its inspiration from the ph.d thesis that Karin Anna Petersen defended called: Nursing Science – myth or reality? which is also summarized.

The paper of *Jette Steensen*, at that time lecturer at a Teacher Education College, is on theory. It presents an attempt to lay the foundation in theory and method of a sociological approach to the changes in Teacher Education in Denmark and Sweden. She analyses critically the ongoing restructurations asking to what extent it is only discourse or even practice that changes. In this context she analyses the efforts of Lindblad and Popkewitz to valorise Foucault as an alternative/complement to functionalism, Marxism and Bourdieu´s praxeological thinking.

Erik Hygum, lecturer at Viborg College of Education, presents his ph.d project, that is an attempt to look at the education of children explicitly exposed to the double intervention of educators and teachers in the same environment, combining play and learning, from the point of view of a different angle, i.e. a different concept of childhood, as defined by the succession of generations.

Kristian Larsen, now senior researcher at the Danish University of Education in Copenhagen further elaborates on his ph.d thesis, that

reported on the results of an observation study of the Practical Period of Nursing Students in Copenhagen.

The papers of *Sverker Lindblad*, *Peter Sohlberg* and *Martin D.Munk*, are typically theoretical-empirical papers of more sociological concern. Lindblad-Sohlberg deal with the statistical analysis of Norwegian and Swedish data on the age, gender and socio-cultural background of the teaching profession and the disfunctions which may arise between the characteristics of this population and the ongoing restructuring. Munk also studies the characteristics of tertiary students in terms of access to power and student mobility. Even this research is related to both LÄROM and OMOM.

Marianne Johnsen and *Nelli Øvre Sørensen*, ph.d students, report on preliminary results and problems related to their observation studies respective of the Practical Education of Nursing Students in the county of Viborg, Denmark, and on the observation of the nurses participating in a team of psychiatric institutional treatment of patients in the Copenhagen environment.

Emmy Brandt Jørgensen, lecturer at a Nursing School, reports from her ph.d dissertation where she used Bourdieu's Homo Academicus and Foucault's The Birth of the Clinic to construct a theoretical framework for the study of the genesis of nursing 1863-1957 in Denmark.

Eva Rhøse, ph.d student Uppsala, presents the preliminary results of her project, an interview study of 6 primary school teachers, focusing on their way to deal with restructurations.

Ulf Brinkjaer elaborating on his ph.d thesis, and *Morten Nørholm* elaborating upon his studies on the relation of theory and practice, now both at the Danish University of Education in Copenhagen, present an analysis of a central question in the education of professionals, that is also at the center of the observation studies of the Copenhagen programme: what is the role of professional knowledge in the generation of professional practice? Their answer: it rather accompanies than direct practice.

Boel Englund, lecturer at the Institute of Education of the Teacher Education College of the University of Stockholm, has a paper where she reflects upon the methods of the biographical/life-history trend in social research. *Ingrid Heyman*, lecturer at the same Institute, gives us an example of such a biographical study of a prominent female social worker in the Jewish Community of Stockholm at the turn of the last century, where she uses inspiration from both Bourdieu and Castells. Both studies are part of a vast research project directed by prof. Donald Broady, at the same time in family with the mentioned Uppsala tradition of biographical studies.

The purpose of this introduction was to introduce the research and the environments of educational research in Uppsala and Copenhagen-Viborg, and their common field of research problems as the perspective

from which the contributions assembled in this book become as the pages of one single book. More details and bibliographic references can be found on the web sites of the departments, programmes, projects, and in the bibliographies of the chapters.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON STUDYING educational development and changes

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON STUDYING EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGES

UNSYSTEMATIC REMARKS ON THE RELATION BETWEEN "CRITICAL REALISM" AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF MARGRET S. ARCHER AND PIERRE BOURDIEU

Staf Callewaert

UNSYSTEMATIC REMARKS ON THE RELATION BETWEEN "CRITICAL REALISM" AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF MARGARET S. ARCHER AND PIERRE BOURDIEU

Staf Callewaert

A Realist Philosopher/social scientist's journey through the second half of the 20th century[1]

50 years ago I went through a philosophical education that was inspired by a phenomenological – existential reappropriation of the philosophical tradition from Plato and Aristoteles over Augustin and Thomas of Aquino to Kant, Hegel and Heidegger.

Around the Institute of Philosophy and the Husserl Archives of the Catholic University of Leuven/Louvain, and the Blackfriars Faculties, with the Revue philosophique de Louvain and Tijdskrift voor Philosophie, philosophy was to some extent always also related to theological reflection. It was felt to be an important task to give an account for the capacity of the human mind to know the truth, among other things the capacity to know what was the case and what was not the case in a contingent world, what was the cognitive value of the explanations produced by reason, and to what extent it was possible to give a cognitive account for ultimate convictions like those maintained by Christian faith.

What impressed me already at that time was the conviction that the capacity of reason to account for the real and for ideas were equally important, and considered basic. It was like if denying that we could know what was real and what not, what was reasonable and what was not,

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was a sort of political question. If these things could not be ascertained, things would also go wrong politically. People would be without defence in front of oppression, exploitation, corruption.

At that time and at the courses of philosophy this was expressed by a sophisticated argument in favour of a post-kantianist realist theory of knowledge in the first place. The epistemological reflection upon the sciences was a second order problem.

To some extent Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty or Sartre had convincingly argued that the question if there was anything real apart from our knowledge was not a question but a misunderstanding of the issue, and their position was aknowledged as an important contribution. But to some extent the suspicion persisted that this phenomenological way of looking at knowledge and reality as two sides of one coin, arguing that at any rate reality could not matter except in as much as it was brought into play by our intercourse with it, and thus experience of it, was not realistic enough, did not allow us to escape from subjectivist relativism and did not allow for substantive knowledge concerning not only the contingent events, but also the essential features of the real.

For these phenomenologists that definitively had left Husserl´s transcendental ego as a foundation of knowledge and intersubjectivity, and instead had started elaborating on the idea of participation in a life world as a connection prior to the subject/object distinction, the point is that the only way to realise and to analyse the existence, nature and relations of what I receive, is to do it from within, from the point where we inseparably deal with each other and with the world by our experience: That there is something else than my creations is the lesson from my reflection on my intentionality, my existence through my body in the world together with others, not a given I register from the outside or a transcendental postulate. There is no way to jump over one's own shadow, in order to know how things look behind the shadow.

In a very interesting book[2] the Copenhagen phenomenologist Dan Zahavi argues against Habermas and Apel that already Husserl, exactly in his elaborations on intersubjectivity, went away from the philosophy of mind and of the subject, elaborating a position where knowledge is ontologically defined as both objective, social and embodied, prelinguistic and prereflexive, without identifying this complex with linguistic communication. Zahavi notes that already Schütz misunderstood Husserl on this issue[3]. Zahavi like many others underscores that Schütz was influenced more by Weber than by Husserl. This then became " The social construction of reality " in the famous

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[2] Zahavi, D. (1996): *Husserl und die transzendentale Intersubjektivität: eine Antwort auf die sprachpragmatische Kritik.* Kluwer Academic Publishers, London.
[3] In the book Schütz, A. (1932): *Die sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt: eine Einleitung in die verstehende Soziologie* (*The construction of the social world as construction of meaning. An introduction in the sociology by understanding*). Wien.

book of the two main disciples of Schütz Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman. In this book ontology and epistemology are in fact replaced by a sociology of knowledge, as they state in their own subtitle "A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge"[4] (1966). It is reality as such that is said to be constructed by society, but only in the sense that the only knowledge we have of reality is that which is constructed by society. The idea is not, like in Bourdieu, that social science is a construction of constructions. Notice that in the Danish translation 1979 the title has become: "The reality constructed by society" which underscores even more clearly the (mis)understanding of what Husserl was looking for.

That is to say: Husserl was interested in accounting for the objectivity of human knowledge by an analysis of intersubjectivity as constitutive for human existence, prior to linguistic communication, without eliminating the consciousness, intentionality and embodiment of the subject. His analysis begins to integrate the sociological aspect. When Schütz starts elaborating on such a phenomenological sociology, he does not start from this complex ontological objectivity of the social, but from the weberian, that is to say neo-kantian category of the meaning of social action that asks for understanding.

Berger-Luckman propose a solution that is even more regressive from the point of view of what could have been a non-idealist reading of Husserl as elaborated by Heidegger, Sartre and Merleau-Ponty: they identify reality as such not only as meaning, but as the meaning produced by social entities.

That is to say Husserl´s attempt to state phenomenological philosophy as giving an account for a realist view of science is replaced by the idea that phenomenology calls for a social science that is a science of the social meaning attributed by social actors to their actions. Methodologically phenomenology explores the point of view of the actors. Phenomenological social science is created against every attempt to objectify.

Notice that Barry Hindess´ analysis of Weber, Schütz and Husserl (he does not even mention Berger-Luckman) is different: he argues that all of them remain enclosed in the neo-kantian philosophy of mind and the subject[5].

I remember that for different reasons the supervisors of my Masters on the interpretation of Aristoteles, Thomas, Kant and Heidegger maintained that phenomenology was also lacking in the clearcut ontological foundation of the idea that being a subject was not to create everything, and even less to create everything according to one's will, but to receive what one did not create and never could dispose of, as the basis of one's

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[4] Berger, P. & Luckman, T. (1966): *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge* . Doubleday, New York.
[5] Hindess, B. (1977): *Philosophy and Methodology in the Social Sciences.* The Harvester Press, Hassocks.

existence and action. The given prior to my creativity is given to me in my reception, appropriation and acting out. In fact the feeling was that if everything goes in matters of knowledge, then everything goes in political matters as well.

I would like to give a very simple and undramatic example from my own field. In the most recent issue of Harvard Educational Review, Spring 99, Diane Holt-Reynolds analyses the case of a newly appointed literature college teacher she observed and interviewed in order to know if she was aware of the fact that subject knowledge is not enough, you have to be able to relate that knowledge to the learners dealing with it. She obviously didn´t, and is seriously disturbed to discover that she was not. This is stated as a very important finding, relevant for rethinking pre-service teacher training.

My own interpretation of the "finding" is that there is no finding, but only a simulacre of research. Because a minimum of historical-sociological knowledge of the field would have told the researcher that college lecturers always have felt that subject knowledge was per se even the best knowledge of didactics, that is to say, they worked on that assumption, without even knowing that they did. That is to say: this "ignorance" of underlying structures is "necessary", but in order to analyse the issue in those terms, it is necessary to quit the psycho-pedagogical approach from within and look at things from a sociological point of view from the outside. The misinterpretation results from the fact that it is not taken into consideration that schools are not (only) for learning, and professional work not only for teaching. A literature teacher has her status from her subject knowledge, not from subject didactics etc. That is what I learned from theory with Bourdieu for example, and it was confirmed by my theoretical construction of my own and others multiple observation studies. But the issue is not confined to two different interpretations of empirical data. I want also to know if there is any possibility to know if I am right and Holt-Reynolds wrong in our opposite explanation of apparently the same observation. Because I want to know if research issues can be judged, but also because the political consequences are contradictory. If Holt-Reynolds holds on, college lecturers will go on telling teachers to do what is structurally more or less excluded, unless somebody changes all the fundamental frames of the situation. But if somebody tells me that we cannot know objectively what schooling is about, the case between me and Holt-Reynolds cannot be judged, and the mess will go on.

That is to say: if methodologically direct natural observation is the necessary counter-point and complement of interviewing, it is because both are differently constructed devices to get the Other/the real to come to the appointment so to say. What my partner can say/do in this meeting is framed by my device. So the question is mine. But the device ought to be constructed so that the answer can be "yes, no, don't know, no

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answer", even in an observation study. That is to say not only my dialogue partner, but the dumb features of the objectified side of the social world get a chance not to tell the truth, but to stumble over my obstacles so that I can construct an explanation of the accident in the sense of a disconfirmation or confirmation of my hypothetical construction, taking into account that I still only touch upon the contingent empirical side of reality.

That is to say: in almost all cases of educational research I know, the observed action and the story told are contradictory. Science pretends to explain both.

When I started to be a socialist militant and a student of the socialist theories and marxism, at the end of the 60s, I met the same basic conviction, with Marx or with Luckacs, with Lenin or with Ernst Bloch. A realist theory of knowledge in general and of science in special was considered a sort of moral and political prerequisite for the liberation struggle and human life in general, for political practice and scientific work. But in this paper I do not want to expand upon the tripple relationship between Marxism, Bourdieu and Critical Realism.

Today, after 30 years´ work with sociology of education, having replaced Critical Theory and Habermas and half of Althusser by Bourdieu, combined with a suspicious fascination with Foucault, I still feel that my teachers and their beloved and admired Masters were right.

When I started my ph.d studies in sociology at the Department of the University of Lund 1972, Göran Djurfeldt was one of the colleagues with whom I wrote our first paper on the philosophy of Social Science. 1996 he published a presentation of his own version of critical realist sociology in *Broström och kaminen. En introduktion till realistisk vetenskapsteori*[6], where he takes a stand on the issue that I also now recognize as an adequate account of my own way of working and thinking. The essential points are the recognition of the necessity for the empirical sciences to adopt a realist ontology as an assumption they cannot provide a foundation for, but that can be shown to be a necessary prerequisite for the craft of sociology, the refutation of the position that social reality is constituted by discourses to be understood, defending the position that social reality is constituted of objective structures open to causal explanation and subjective agencies open to understanding by reasons, both aspects being different but complementary in the sense that they represent the real and the relation of the agent to the real.

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[6] Djurfeldt, G. (1996): *Broström och kaminen. En introduktion till realistisk vetenskapsteori*. Lund: Arkiv Förlag.

Positivist critique of what is called social constructivism and promotion of moderate anti-realism

But at the same time I get into trouble because I am afraid to get on the side of the bad guys, all sorts of positivist philosophers from Searle to Finn Collin. It seems that they have the same political preoccupation, but with a conservative prefix: if everything goes, then things may get out of hand.

But it seems that what is announced as realism by people who are positivists, in fact is anticonstructivism. Searle and Collin accept a constructivist interpretation of knowledge of human affairs but not of nature. This seems to me an extremely strange position. Because the fact that social facts are constructions in themselves, before they are reconstructed by social science which then is a construction of constructions do not affect the fact that natural science could be a construction of non-constructions, at least in the mind of Searle-Collin. I do not feel that the natural world surrounding us is less a construction, natural and social, than human affairs, as is seen of landscapes, climate, the natural history of minerals, animals etc. But the constructivism Collin accepts for the social sciences is not on the side of science but on the side of its object in certain instances, namely when sociability is created by the combination of an intention of solidarity and a fact in the world that is behaviour as physical entity. To make such combinations is construction. But neither the intention nor the behaviour are constructions, only the combination of both[7].

Collin did discuss realism against antirealism in his book *Videnskabsfilosofi*[8], in the chapter concerning the status of non-observable entities like atoms or the unconscious, which are assumed to exist by reasoning, representing the best explanation of a set of data.

Anti-realists are for example positivists who do not accept any knowledge other than sensations or induction from sensation data. Antirelativism tells us that atoms do not exist as physical entities, since they can not be the object of direct "inspection" but only as concepts allowing a more effective handling of observations. A more moderate anti-realism states that there is something in the real word corresponding to the concept of the atom, but we do not know more about it than we know from direct observation of its effects. This is enough on the practical level. But it does not work on the theoretical level since basic concepts have constantly changed over time in all sciences. But we do not

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[7] Collin, F. on social constructvism in Bertilsson, M. & Järvinen, M. (1998): *Socialkonstructivisme*. Copenhagen, Reitzel.
[8] Collin, F. (1990): *Videnskabsfilosofi*. Folkeuniversitetet: Muesum Tusculanum, Copenhagen.

know if that also will be the case in the future etc. This whole discussion is somewhat superfluous, since it evolves within the horizon of positivism. There is no discussion of the critical realist issues.

What I discovered slowly and try to draw attention to is that what is defended as the realist position, is in fact the counterpart of very different things; relativism, subjectivism, historicism, constructivism, that is to say almost everything except the etymological and historical.

The idea that one can be moderate constructivist as a social scientist but not as a natural scientist is two times absurd to my mind. First because theoretical physics for example is and has always been a constructivist enterprise par excellence, where even the social science could learn to do science. But the problem is that philosophers, psychologists and human science specialist always think of natural sciences on the model of randomised controlled experiments concerning the effects of interventions in courses of matter, for example the administration of medical pills. But that is not natural science but a combination of behavioural science and applied chemistry. Natural sciences do not pretend to describe the world, but only to construct theoretical explanations of the world that are purely conceptual models, which cannot be tested, but in reference to which one can construct experimental empirical manipulation of phenomena, the outcome of which confirms or disconfirms not the theory as such but the productivity of the theory for organising empirical testing of hypothesis deduced in reference to the theory.

Second, the problem of knowledge of things as they are in themselves and not only as they are conceived by us, is absolutely equally important and urgent in order to attribute an epistemological status to my experience of what I call myself, or my relationship to a beloved person, as it is relevant for knowing if Denmark is a class society or a cast society, or knowing if chemical pollution causes cancer. The problem is exactly the same from an epistemological point of view. There may be differences in that human consciousness, human behaviour and social behaviour are differentiated or standardised, changing rapidly or slowly, change by external mechanisms or by human initiative, have the properties of dump things or the properties of fascinating meanings etc. etc. Consequently they will need different intellectual tools to deal with etc. But they are the case or they are not the case, they are generated by this or by that cause, which may be a mechanism or a motive etc.

The main difference is that things do not cheat or misunderstand, humans do, willingly or not. That is to say if you construct a device to have blood cells to tell you if they contain malaria parasites, or a teacher to tell you if she compensates individual learners for their lack of cultural capital in organising the classroom, the way "reality" is answering must be analysed and elaborated in different ways. In principle it will be necessary to confront what the teacher tells you he is doing with what an

observer claims has been achieved etc. But all these are matters of
differences in devices and ways of operating, not differences in nature of
knowledge. To construct the model, representing a natural phenomenon
and to construct the model of a practical materialised construction of the
second degree, a construction of a construction, that is to say a practical
social construction, a social phenomenon, is not essentially different.

Bourdieu and realism

But the strange thing, when consulting cursively the works of Bourdieu,
one has read again and again that a theory of knowledge in the sense of
the controversy idealism/realism is simply not an issue. It is never
discussed. It is tacitly assumed as doxa that knowledge is always
knowledge of something else than knowledge itself. What is an issue is
how to craft knowledge, among other things social science. Or rather:
what is an issue is the analysis of how mankind is crafting knowledge,
inclusive in the social sciences, where and when and why is it done? And
it ends up issuing instructions on how it has to be done if it has to be what
it pretends to be: science for example.

So for example in the book *The Craft of Sociology*[9] where one is
expecting a positioning on the realist issue, either concerning a general
theory of knowledge or a theory of scientific knowledge, addressing the
question if we know if there is something known at all, other than just
this knowledge. Both in the French and the English version from 1991
there is not a single word on this issue. This book, planned as the first of
a trilogy, where the second would be on the construction of the object and
the third one on technical tools of research, is about what is called
epistemology. But it is in fact not an attempt to account for the possibility
of knowledge in itself, but an account of how to do the work that has a
chance of producing the knowledge recognised as scientific. The same
thing is true of *An invitation to reflexive sociology* written together with
Wacquant[10]. One may advance different explanations of this state of
affairs:

- Bourdieu is not a philosopher, but a sociologist although his
education was a philosophical one and he claims the right to manage the
tools of the discipline.

- His meta-reflexivity is primarily directed towards a sociology of
sociological knowledge rather than a philosophy. Even his reflections
concerning how to do science cope more with how to deal with the
cognitive effects of the social conditions than with the meta-cognitive

[9] Bourdieu, P., Chamboredon, J-C., Passeron, J-C. (1968): *The Craft of Sociology.
Epistemomogical Preliminaries*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
[10] Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992): *An invitation to reflexive sociolog*. Polity
Press, Cambridge.

aspects as such. It is not a science of doing science but a science of the social conditions of doing science.

    - This we can productively compare with Ganguilhem's well known position on the nature of the history of science, where he argues that the history of science, contrary to the history of other social domains, has an inbuilt tendency to conflate with the epistemology of science. By that he means that it becomes more a theory of how thinking evolves, than a theory of how facts are connected, albeit intellectual facts.

    - Foundational thinking is out: that is to say epistemology is no longer a purely philosophical discipline of a foundational nature, but makes the moves of real science at work reflexive in a sort of twilight between telling the story of how and why it happened, and communicating insight into how thinking comes about.

    - Hence the discussion between Callewaert and Broady about the term and the role of epistemology in the works of Bourdieu[11]. Broady argues that the sociology of Bourdieu is different from main stream sociology in that it genetically arises from a preoccupation with the epistemological aspects of the craft i relation to each problem studied and in general; it should then be more akin to Bachelard´s philosophy of physics, or Cavaillès´ philosophy of mathematics, who were not phycisists or mathematicians, but worked with the epistemological problems of these disciplines. So even Bourdieu. With the important difference that Bourdieu is both a Sociologist and an Epistemologist of Sociology. Callewaert argues that Bourdieu is rather a sociologist of sociology, and that even his epistemological reflection focuses on the social conditions of the research work and the intellectual strategies they necessitate. A very good example is the last chapter of *The Weight of the World[12]* called "Understanding" where the knowledge aspect of interviewing is constantly defined in terms of confronting the social conditions of interviewing rather than defined in terms of analysis of the cognitive-logical status of the knowledge thus generated alone

    - But in a way one could say that the problem is no longer an issue, as a consequence of the postwar generalisation among both philosophers and social scientist of a certain number of assumptions that are more or less axiomatic

- Scientific work does not count with transcendent entities (God, the human mind, reason, nature), and hence does not count with transcendental dimensions of human activities.
- Established forms of rational thinking, speaking and acting are socio-historical constructions, even if they today appear as transhistoric or transcendental properties of human existence; this

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[11] Cf. Callewaert, S. & Broady, D. (1994): "Sociologiens epistemologi eller sociologiens sociologi". In: Callewaert, S. *et al.* (eds.): *Pierre Bourdieu. Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori.* Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen, pp.132-164.

[12] Bourdieu, Pierre (1999): *The Weight of the World.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

transhistoric aspect is not the explanation, but something to explain.
- Symbolic forms and cultural patterns or habitus are both constructed and constructing understanding and communication as historical processes. There is no room for philosophy on the one hand and social science on the other hand as totally independent disciplines: they continue to exist by their mutual implication
- There is no room for any foundational discourse that would claim to be ultimative by itself. All foundational discourses presuppose in the last instance other discourses, assumptions, given outside themselves. Rational clarification is to that extent a circular operation
- Method, theory and metatheory, data collection and analysis, etc, are all intellectual activities of conceptual nature on par with each other and open for everybody who knows and follows the rules of the game in each domain
- The social interactive/interrelated nature, the embodied nature, and the primordial practical nature of all human activity of being in the world together with others, inclusive of all intellectual activities are undebatable presuppositions

On the account of such a series of assumptions there is no room for the question if we know anything at all, and if we know something else than our knowledge. Metaphysics on the one hand, absolute idealism, solipsism, rationalism on the other hand are deviations to understand and explain, not tools to understand the world with. Or rather: a discipline like the theory of knowledge or the history of philosophy will always go on to explore these aspects and try to elucidate them; they are not necessarily "an issue" any longer, they are not a problem.

What is then the problem? To describe, analyse and explain these activities and their presuppositions, the working subject or social body, and the empirical and conceptual instruments used being self part of the object studied[13]. That is to say: social sciences do more than they know about their doings, and there is need of clarifying what exactly we are doing, and to account for what we are doing as something inarguably better.

In other words: perhaps we shall take it more seriously when Bourdieu underscores that he is part of a specific tradition among the philosophy students of his time, who have left every form of philosophy of the mind (Bewusstseins Philosophie), idealist or rationalist; but also the manner of Sartre, who as a committed professional thinker publishes his well founded opinion on everything and some things more. They wanted to

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[13] Cf. the ultimate chapter in Foucault, M. (1967): *Les mots et les choses*. Gallimard, Paris. On the sciences of man for one extreme unconventional way of formulating the question.

work with philosophy as a strict science. This among other things as a result of the non-idealist phenomenological stream.

In that context it does not make sense any more to ask if there is something out there independently of our knowledge of it, neither to confirm or to negate the proposition, because what is at stake is man existing socially through the body in the world, etc, as Foucault has expressed it somewhere: philosophy and science do not work with meaning but with concepts.

The position of Margaret Archer

Why then is there a movement/position/stand in the social sciences called "realism" or critical realism?

Let us listen to one of the proponents, Margaret Archer in her most recent book *Being Human*[14]. Already from the start Archer refers to a seminar at her sociology department Warwick "Challenging Rational Choice Theory", and to a "Centre for Critical Realism". And naturally to her book from 1995, *Realist Social Theory*[15].

She states that to day the debate is between Structuration Theorists (Giddens, Bourdieu) advancing "duality of structure" and Social Realists (Archer?) or "critical realists" advancing "analytical dualism". (p.1). The question is how to link/think of the link between: society and its people, structure and agency.

She states that if one is neither a modernist nor a postmodernist, one tends to be a realist.

Ten years ago one had to defend Reality. Now one has to defend Humanity, because it is said to have passed away again. Human being is dissolved in discursive structures and humankind into textualism.

If I understand this well Archer criticises what she calls the "linguistic falacy" the way human embodied social action in the world has been reduced to be communicative action, then communication, then language, and now discursive structures and texts. Either in the sense of Hasan's sociolinguistics (language use creates social reality) which are very much subjectivist and interactionist, or Fairclough's critical discourse analysis; or in the sense of Geertz. Archer states to the contrary that people have cares, concerns and commitments, social positions to improve etc., which they do not expect depend on changes in discourses[16].

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[14] Archer, M.S. (2000): *Being human: the problem of agency*. Cambridge Univesity Press, Cambridge.

[15] Archer, M.S. (1995): *Realist Social Theory: the morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge Univesity Press, Cambridge.

[16] Cf Hasan, R. (1999): "The disempowerment game: a critique of Bourdieu's view of language". *Linguistics and Education*, vol.9., and the comments on an earlier version of the manuscript: Callewaert, S. (1998): "Towards a Critique of the Social Theory of Language of Bourdieu: the Contribution of Ruqaiya Hasan". In: *Socialiseringsprocesser i*

According to Archer there is no risk that postmodernist man comes into existence outside Academia, because "we are all realists- naturally" (p.2) "we cannot be ontologically undermined, in the same sense that natural reality never itself needed reclaiming, for it is selfsubsistent". But the spread of an epistemology of dissolution can undermine not our sense of identity but our personal and social identities, and the sort of reflexivity and commitment they need.

Opposed to Archer, I do not believe that one can appeal upon everyday life against a theoretical argument. But I think one can ask as Bourdieu always does: under which social conditions does the world look like this?

These few markers indicate why I sympathise with Archer. At the same time it is important to note that she conserves the languages and thinking of a very strong variant of realism: she talks as if she has access to the ontic, is able to speak ontologically, and assumes that the basic ontic realities of the human being exist and are independent from discourse. That is to say by thought and language we are able to assert the existence and nature of human beings as independent from our thought and language, as subsisting in themselves.

One could say that the debate since Kant, is about the question to know if in our activities we are dealing with this subsistent ontic reality apart from our knowledge, or with an experience of what appears for our experience.

The social scientist does not work upon people, but upon a sense of experience, with perceptions and feelings and thoughts and concepts about/of people. As Marx said: it looks as if you are going to study a population but it turns out that you look at a relation for example between capital and labour.

I understand Archer in the following way: human activity is dealing with the ontic world through its biological embeddedness in the world, its activities in the world and with the world; so language is not the only and universal medium of intellectual activity in and with the world; our sense of our self (self-consciousness?) emerges from our practical activity; so being in the world gives us in continuity intellectual access to the ontic world itself, and not only to our perception, experience, practice with the world as an inner side of our existence in the world; our knowledge of the self is only one aspect of this structure.

Anti-realism of the historical epistemology in France (Bachelard/Canguilhem/Bourdieu/Foucault)

This is interesting because it is precisely what Ganguilhem states Bachelard negates in the first text of the reader that forms the second part of Bourdieu's the Craft of Sociology p.84. Bachelard´s first principle is that experience is not the first step in science but the error to overcome. Ganguilhem writes: "So it is not surprising that no realism, least of all empirical realism, finds favour as a theory of knowledge in Bachelard´s eyes".

Reading the whole text one understands that Bachelard does not negate the impact of experience, but only asserts that the content of experience is the preliminary error to work upon, not the source of the scientific insight, and that the scientific insight always is won against the content of experience.

So in a way this does not contradict Archer´s contention that there is something like an experience of something else than just that experience, that is to say an experience of the ontic, as constitutive of intellectual work. What is negated is that scientific insight is already in the ontic, or in the experience of it, by itself.

Nevertheless it will still be a point to know what in that case exactly is extracted from experience, and what exactly is imported by intellectual work, and so we are back to Kant's problematic. Because it is important to know if their is any systematically organised experience that can verify/falsify the proposition that Denmark is a class society, being the third epistemological act, after the break with the previous knowledge, and the construction of the object, namely the confirmation of the insight. And if scientific elaboration works against the content of first experience, and works with concepts alone, where do they come from?

Not only the so called French Historical Epistemology as described by Broady, and invoked here by means of Ganguilhem, Bachelard and Bourdieu, but also the so-called Copenhagen group of philosophy of Science as documented for example in Thomas Højrup's *Det glemte folk*[17] feels that the concepts originate from the ordering by reason of the chaos consisting of all "data" about the matter available. So data of all possible kinds are content but only as indicators, as an incoherence to overcome. Something like Holt-Reynolds observing the literature teacher, interviewing her, and ... making the wrong conclusion and recommendation because of lack of conceptual work with a theoretical framework. That is the chaotic material that has to be ordered by the painstaking intellectual instrumentarium mankind historically has built up, culminating in this case in scientific theories of society.

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[17] Højrup, T. (1983): *Det glemte folk*. Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut, Hørholm.

In a way Archer stresses the same thing: "an important part of being human is proofed against language", if by language she means people´s experiences, intuitions, discourses, but not the scientific explanation. Modernity was a move to make of humans pure rational beings, a rationality conceived of according to the model of instrumental change of the material world, with the addition of some "ultimate concerns". Postmodernity as defined by "social constructionists" (Notice the Gergen terminology, not the Berger & Luckmann or the Bourdieu who speak of social construction; not like Collin who speaks of social constructivists, blurring every terminological precision)

The social constructionist approach is also criticised by Archer since she does not feel that it is an adequate presentation of being human if everything is social discourse, since the decisive feature of being human is interaction with the world through the body as non-linguistic source of the sense of the self and hence of reality in general.

This I think is an important point. In our research at the *Bourdieu programme* at Copenhagen department of Education, our critique of even Foucault himself, and more sharply of the USA and UK based distorted reception of Foucault at departments of literature, psychology and pedagogy, is very much directed against the strange idea that power, dominance, government in postmodern society is exercised (only) by discourse. Which easily suggests that it is also discourse which already in itself constitutes social reality, or is directing social behaviour. Which in turn suggests that everything also can be changed by discourse. Bourdieu radically opposes this whole way of thinking, since from the very start with his concepts of dispositions, positions and positionings (in practices and discourses) in relation to a field he excludes that ideas are directing actions, since he always asks under which conditions ideas arise, discourses are elaborated and under which conditions practices are possible.

It is very strange that the thinking of Geertz or Foucault in a totally different register, insisting upon the fact that culture may exist for itself naming and ordering the world, without necessarily being orientations for action, ends up to be an alternative concept of social causality that explains the social world in total by discourse.

In this context the principles put forward by Archer already in *Culture and Agency*[18] are very important: culture and social structure are analytically distinct concepts, in turn comprehending analytical distinctions between the system (logical coherence) and the socio-cultural interaction (social coherence). The relations between these four elements are so that there are logical relations between the components of the cultural system, the cultural system influences causally the socio-cultural

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[18] Archer, M.S. (1996): *Culture and Agency: the place of culture in social theory*. Cambridge University Press.

interaction, there are causal relations between the agents of the socio-cultural interaction, and the cultural system is elaborated because the socio-cultural interaction modifies the logical relations between components in the cultural system.

This may appear not to be very original, but in fact it is, to the extent that it obliges to think clearly the interplay of logical relations, and social interactions, and of structures on both levels. This way of thinking makes for a very much more strong autonomy of discourse, and at the same time obliges to ask how discourse influences causally interaction, and vice versa. Or rather: which configuration of a given cultural system interferes in which way with which sort of social interaction. Ideas matter, and it matters if they are coherent or incoherent, open or close ended, but they matter differently in different interaction situations, and will at length be modified by the retroactive effect of their mingling with interaction. And interaction is not the last word. Interaction is the acting out of structures.

Perhaps the problem may be that not even Archer makes it totally clear why certain relations between ideas and certain social interactive situations interfere with each other causally in a specific way. Sometimes one can have the impression that the mechanism that translates logic into interest is some sort of social psychology, while ideas as such proceed by logic, and social action as such by interest. But that is not the question here. We ask what is meant by the realistic stand.

Some people may also be afraid of using the term cause at all in relation to social action. It seems obvious that Archer uses the term in a broad socio-cultural way, encompassing many types of influences. But maintaining the analytical distinction between logical and social.

Archers critique of Bourdieu

In as much as critical realism means rejection of the idealistic assumption that it is social discourse that governs the world, there would not be disagreement between inspiration from either Archer or Bourdieu. But let us see what Archer tells us about Bourdieu when she explicitly discusses with him.

In *Culture and Agency* Bourdieu figures in the first part where Archer analyses the disastrous consequences or the fact that the sociologist in stead of analytically distinguishing system and interaction, conflate both in different ways. Bourdieu's analysis of the educational system in *Reproduction*[19] is one of the examples Archer criticises for upwards conflation, that is to say the social interaction is creating the cultural system; here in the instrumentalist variant: the cultural system is the

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[19] Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J-C (1990): *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Sage Publications, London.

dominant ideology by which the ruling class manipulates the dominated classes (p.60-61). A not very adequate presentation of Bourdieu to my mind.

Later on when discussing social interaction in cultural matters Archer repeats her critique of the concept of symbolic violence which she understands as a form of manipulation impeding the dominated classes to see through social domination because Culture is not understood as being arbitrary and arbitrarily imposed (214-5).

The least one can say is that she does not like the book *Reproduction in education, society and culture* at all. Someting rather interesting since both authors have been prominent in the sociology of education on the European level during the last quarter of the past century.

Fifteen years later the critique is still very harsh in *Being Human*, but is more elaborated. Bourdieu figures already in the introduction together with Giddens as a representative of the central conflation error: cultural system and social interaction in the cultural domain are not analytically distinguished. The cultural system is not a by-product of social interaction, or vice versa, both are mutually constitutive which eliminates their autonomy. The properties and the powers of a practitioner are not disengaged from the properties and powers of the environment, which makes even the analysis of their interplay impossible. All practices are considered from the point of view of a voluntarism-determinism continuum, without specifying the conditions under which conditions degrees of freedom, or constraints prevail.

In her chapter on the primacy of practice Archer radically refuses the theory of practice of Bourdieu because it allegedly denegates practice every theoretical discourse, so that our practice cannot be the anchorage and foundation of the realistic nature of knowledge. Even worse: for Bourdieu the fuziness of practical sense functions as a practical denegation of the principle of non contradiction, that is to say practical logic does not follow principles of theoretical logic. Archer states that instead of being made of two contradictory logics, practice and theory make for a continuum where a high degree of translatability is found (p 150-151).

As a consequence Archer does not accept Bourdieu´s idea that the embodiment of the practical reason, habitus etc. results in a rationality that is totally implicit, tacit, preconscious etc., so that it cannot be changed by conscious activity alone. Archer feels that even the tacit can be consciously codified (p 166-167).

In page 179-180 Archer argues that Bourdieu is wrong when building theoretical knowledge on the basis of a break with practical knowledge in stead of elaborating the translatability of both. With reference to indeed rather inadequate formulations in the early interpretation of premodern cultures, for example in Bourdieu´s text on rites, religion etc., Archer suggests that Bourdieu thinks more or less like Frazer that primitive man

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like practical man thinks in erroneous categories because of his living conditions and the lack of adequate knowledge. But basically Archer is wrong: Bourdieu never said that one has to break with the practical sense in order to do science, but he has said that one has to break with unreflected conceptual preconstructions of all kind, from everyday life to allegedly science, and he has said that the practical sense is not the same thing as science or the first step within it.

So we can notice that both authors are different on many points, but that on basic issues of critical realism, there is no contradiction. Archer feels that social realism has to go on its own, not only not reducing structure to agency or vice versa, but confirming their independency: they are not mutually constitutive, they are not inseparable. Bourdieu would not contradict her. The major difference is that Bourdieu is not a rationalist like Archer. She does not seem to understand his critique of intellectualism.

Is the opposite of (critical) realism: idealism, rationalism, subjectivism, constructivism or relativism?

In his introductory chapter to *Classical and Modern Social Theories*[20], William Outwhite states that realism is the alternative to rationalism (rather than to idealism, as I asserted earlier) and rationalism/realism are the two alternatives to conventionalism (the opposition reminds us of the opposition since Antiquity and the Middle Ages between nominalism och realism: do our abstract concepts express something that also is to be found in the real world, or do they only express our ideas about the world?). Positivism has evolved in the direction of considering scientific theories not as the direct effect or image of facts, or calculations with facts in the real world, but the product of conventions about possible ways to look at the world. Against this unexpected relativism, it has been claimed that science is about the truth concerning the real world. But while rationalism states that this truth is the product of rational thinking alone, so that experience does not play a decisive role in the determination of the intellectual content of knowledge, realism pretends that science tries to describe and explain real objects and processes, which exist independently of our description of them. References are given to classics like Bhaskar or Harre, authors important also for Archer.

The English word experience has to translate both the term "oplevelse" and the term "erfaring" in Danish, has a subjective and an objective connotation, respectively in the sense that an "oplevelse" is

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[20] Andersen, H. & Kaspersen, L.B. (2000): *Classical and Modern Social Theories.* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

something one has with oneself concerning something, an "erfaring" is more something affecting oneself unintentionally and unwillingly, but the terms may as well overlap each other. The point is always with the couple phenomenon/experience that we are speaking only of the surface of contact between two spheres, without being able by definition. To say something about what is manifesting itself and who is receiving the message. Critical realism pretends that we can know what is manifesting itself, and what is behind the manifestation, and what is the message and who is working with the message.

Also to my mind indeed the opposition rationalism or idealism against realism is more productive than the opposition realism against relativism or objectivity against subjectivity.

A position represented at the conference of the International Association for Critical realism (IACR)

It does not make sense to state a dogmatic definition of what is meant by critical realism univocally in all the papers presented at the 5th IACRA conference in Roskilde 2001. But I want to refer to the papers of Peter Wad, Copenhagen Business School, *Critical Realism and Comparative Sociology* and of Andrew Brown et. al. *Critical Realism, Marx and Abstraction*, in order to borrow from their papers a stand upon the question why critical realism matters. It seems to me that independently from their differences they say: for critical realism epistemological realism is not enough (our experience of the world is knowledge of the world, and not a pure illusion, projection, convention).What is needed for social science to be possible is also an ontological realism (we know how reality is put together in itself, apart from our experience of it). Because the real world is made up of what is the object of our random subjective experience of the world, individual and social, but also of whatever actually is realised, even if unknown for everybody, and also of the underlying inner essential structural features the actual and other possible realisations, and finally of the external circumstances that are necessary conditions for the possibility and the realisation of the actual that is factual. In other words: the real world is not only made up of what given people has experience of, of what is actually realised so they could have some experience of it, but also of what is really possible even if actually not realised, and of the structural features that generate the phenomenon and explain it, together with its circumstances. Structures/causes cannot be observed directly, they are found by conclusion, that is to say by an intellectual work that takes its starting point from experience, but has other resources as experiences as well, namely the proper capacity of reason to deal with the real world. So that means that social science

knowledge pretends to know how the world is put together of these four layers in itself, and not only as far and because known by us. Because in the end it is the structural internal features and external circumstances that operate as causes which generate the object of knowledge.

This is maintained against the conventionalism of Hume, considering that all we can know about the world and all that causality explaining phenomena is about, is the concomitance of contingent events: if p occurs then q tends to occur. For any type of realism the world is not the totality of contingent events, and knowledge is not the registration of their accidental correlated occurrence. Scientific social knowledge is about the causes that generate events, about mechanisms, structures, relations and forces.

So the reason why we need critical realism is that it is the philosophy of science that makes it possible to count with the ontological complexity of the object in theory and in method, it makes it possible to elaborate the abstract essential structures in relation to experience and actual occurrences, integrate the ontological reality of structures in the theory, not only as epistemological instruments but as ontological categories.

Maybe it would be on the last point that minor divergences between for example Archer and Bourdieu may appear: Bourdieu's theory of the intellectualist or scholastic fallacy, and his theory of practice do not refuse the ontological reality of underlying structures, of the causes that generate the phenomenon. But what is ontologically real is not the theory of the scientist, but the practical sense, expressed in the theoretical category of the habitus. Archer would maybe put less focus upon the opposition between theoretical and practical logic, see them rather in the prolongation of each other, and in sequence be less inclined to deny ontological status for the analytical concepts. Bourdieu is always afraid of reifying analytical tools, supposing that they are and function in reality as they are conceived of in theory.

This insistence upon the knowledge of the ontological layers of social reality results in a sharp focus upon the clarification of the tools of the theoretical-empirical work, for example upon the category "cause" and ways of dealing with causality in empirical work.

In critical realism the attention is very much upon the logical status of these categories in the intellectual construction of the explanation. Bourdieu has a slightly different focus upon the social conditions of the intellectual work and their impact upon its logical status, as for example the social relation between interviewer and interviewee etc. This may explain his focus in *The Craft of Sociology* upon the three "epistemological acts" that constitute research: the break, the construction of the object, the confirmation in relation to experience. But the focus upon the construction of the object, precisely as the construction of the external framework and the internal structures etc., reminds us very much of the critical realist programme.

But there is a specific issue recurrent in most writing of this critical realism trend, that reminds me of the Frankfurter Schule first generation's critique of positivism (cf. *Der Positivismusstreit*). Adorno and his colleagues were very eager to underscore that Reality is not the sum of actual contingent events. What happened to happen, what happened to be done, is only one of the many possible courses of events and courses of action possible within the framework of given capacities and conditions. So any analysis of the real world has to take into consideration not only what is empirical (that is to say brought into actual experience for me), what is actual (could be brought into experience, since it happened), but also what is really possible within the realm of the given, that is all the contingently not realised equivalent courses of events and actions, and generally speaking whatever may come up in the future on the basis of the framework of the really possible, the given. Bhaskar and others have reintroduced systematically this issue into the discussion.

Critical realism and Leontjev-inspired-Copenhagen-activity-theory in psychology (Karpatschof)

Sen. lect. Erik Schultz from the department of psychology of Copenhagen comments in the latest issue of *Psyke & Logos*, nr 1, 2001, pp. 437-441 the doctoral thesis of sen. lect. Benny Karpatschof[21]. He defines the thesis as a work of marxist social science, more specifically of a (new) science called anthropology by Karpatschof, that should comprehend what conventionally is called sociology and psychology. Leontjev´s activity-theory is the basic theory of this science. The theory considers the world divided in three parts: the world of nature which functions by causality, as demontrated by the natural sciences; the world of the living which functions by causality but also by interpretation of information; the world of the human which functions by causality and by interpretation of information, but also and exclusively typically for human activity, by understanding of signs, which makes it possible for humans to live in a cultural order and to create signs (symbols?).

Schultz underscores the fact that Karpatschof identifies sociology with the humanities, since it has culture, supra-individual cultural signs and its institutions as its object; psychology has the individual understanding of cultural signs as its object, the way the individual integrates the cultural institutions. I have tried to explain elsewhere that this replacement of social structure by culture is wrong, and very strange for a critical realist or marxist; but it may be a question of a very singleminded way of using concepts. By culture Karpatschof means human society, probably in the

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[21] Karpatschoff, B. (2000): *Human Activity. Contributions to the Anthropological Sciences from a Perspective of Activity Theory*. Dansk Psykologisk Forlag, Copenhagen.

sence of traditional anthropology as a empirical social science, using the term culture for all that is not nature with humans.

Half of the 500 pages of the thesis of Karpatschof constitute a theory of knowledge of the realist brand. The ontological realism of human knowledge is based upon the fact that knowledge is part of activity as constitutive for human social existence. Since we exist by dealing with the world and each other, it does not make sense to pretend that we do not know what we are doing.

In the same issue of the magazine *Psyke & Logos* Karpatschof answers a critique of one of his earlier articles, where he exposed the fall of the phenomenological psychology in Copenhagen after 1968, and concluded with the wish that it could be regenerated as a phenomenological realism, where realism indicates both an ontological and epistemological position.

In his earlier article[22] Karpatschof defined phenomenological realism as the study of the subject as rooted in an environmental world of objects, on one side, and in an intersubjective community, and oriented towards the experiencing of determinated specific issues; this intentionality is both cognitive and conative. Realism is a package solution, both ontological and epistemological. It states that there are objects that exist by themselves, independently from how they appear for us, how they are experienced by us; we are able to know these objects in some way as they are in fact and in themselves. This view opens up for the possiblity that things are not in them selves as they appear for us, and that we can become aware of that.

In the article of Erik Schultz of the earlier issue of *Psyke & Logos*[23] Schultz gives an illuminative presentation of the famous work of Husserl at the end of his life[24], indicating that there is a "realistic" side in the phenomenology of Husserl himself. People living in a modern world have their experience of their life world, on par with people from the Stone Age: that is for example an experience of the light as something coming from a lamp, independently from the source of energy. Light as waves is not the object of an experience of a life world, but the product of an explicit conceptual construction.What is needed is a philsophy able to express scientifically the content of the life world. For that reason it is necessary to put in brackets all conceptualisations of life experience, in order to describe the content of the life world for itself. Modern times people got the idea that it is the scientific concepts that are the true

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[22] Karpatschoff, B. (2000): "Fra fænomenologidebat till studenteroprør". *Psykos & Logos* nr. 1.

[23] Schultz, E. (2000): "Københavnerfænomenologiens personlighedspsykologi". *Psyke & Logos.*

[24] Husserl, E. (1930): *Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzentrale Phänomenologie:* Eine Einleitung in die phänomenologische Philosophie, Philosophia 1, 77-176.

expression of the ontological reality, and that the life world experience has only epistemological value as a starting point for scientific work. Husserl wants to reconvert this idea, and to show that the life world is the ontologically real one; it is the scientific definitions that have only epistemological value. They are valuable as a particular knowledge, but cannot stand for knowledge in general.

The Copenhagen phenomenological psychology pretended only to describe peoples life world experience (oplevelse). That is already too little compared with Husserl´s intention. A Karpatschof brand of realistic phenomenological psychology would return to the intention of Husserl to touch upon "Die Sachen selbst", out of the idea that the pure human experience (oplevelse) of the world, inclusive of the self, gives access to true knowledge of the ontological dimension of reality. Karpatschof and his colleagues would say that what matters is not only an epistemological realism, but an epistemological one based on an ontological one. That is to say our knowledge is valid because it is not only based upon an experience of phenomena, but on an intellectual understanding and explanation of the ontological of reality as it is in and for itself. We know the world and how it is because we are able to explain why it is like that in its necessary structure.

THE EDUCATIONAL MARKET

TRANSNATIONAL INVESTMENTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL MARKET
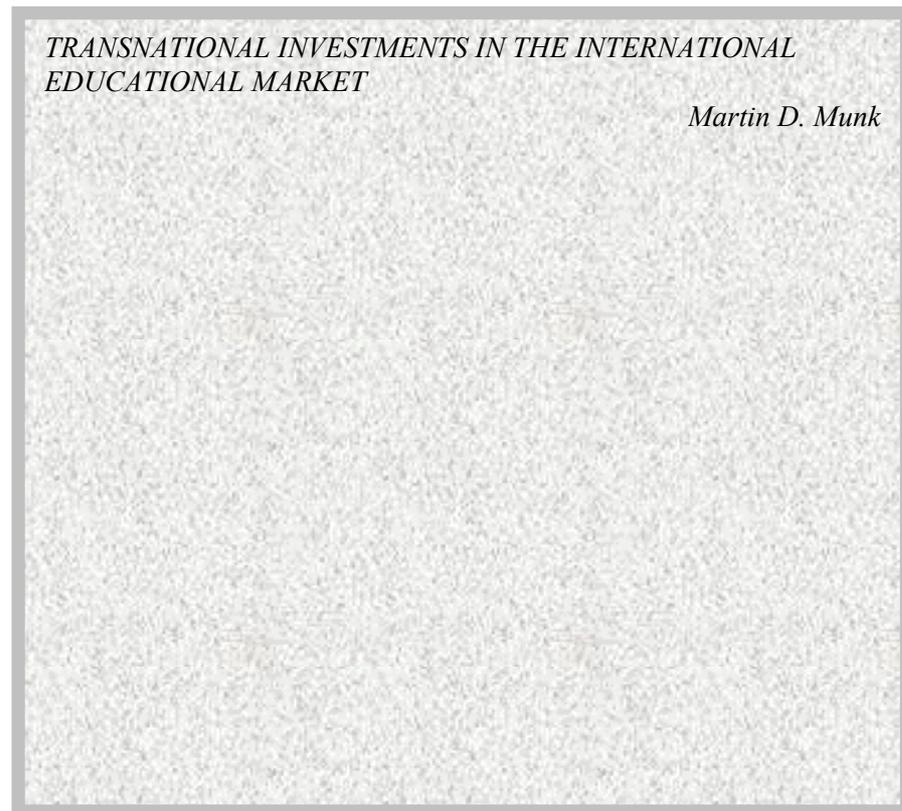
Martin D. Munk

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Abstract

The main argument is that specific educational attainment is increasingly important, in the sense of informational capital, meaning that specific achievements of certificates are crucial. This argument is based on the claim that the relation between education and specific social position is affected and mediated by a structural homology, today established via international markets.

Education is regularly analysed within a national context, but how is it possible to gain more informational capital? It is argued that student mobility has increased in some countries, because students hope to obtain more informational capital. The behaviour of gaining education abroad implies a broader perspective on the process leading to powerful positions within the society.

Transnational investments in the international educational market have become crucial. These investments will probably have some impact on the distribution of informational capital, which so far has not been possible to test empirically. However, it is of relevance to analyse some of the preconditions of yielding powerful positions by way of education gained abroad. Official statistics from Sweden, Denmark and France concerning students studying abroad and the educational institutions involved in the exchanges (from 1991-2000) are used to show some aspects of gaining education abroad.

Introduction

Over the last 10-20 years, socio-cultural analysis has been the main tool in many studies of education. However, comparative studies of education are lacking (Lamont and Thévenot 2000) in order to answer the question: "How do people get access to valued professional resources such as well-paying jobs, interesting assignments and promotions? Degrees, seniority, and experience are essential, but also being supported by a mentor, being included in networks of camaraderie, and receiving informal training" (Lamont 1992:1) which captures most of what is termed informational capital. In other words, how do agents, in this case students in different nations, act in order to obtain specific social positions in their own nations and outside own domains (Broady et al. 1998, 1997).

In the paper the acquisition of informational capital in selected countries is analysed. The process of acquiring capital abroad is considered as a means to gain a better place in the distribution of power. The last aspect is, however, not examined here. It is argued that this relation is affected and mediated by social networks in different settings, such as transnational markets where educational strategies are carried out, leading to accumulation of informational capital. In order to investigate how informational capital is gained we analyse transnational investments, by way of student mobility,[25] which probably vary according to their country of origin, and geographical and institutional characteristics. This study opens up for future effect studies of the association of informational capital acquired abroad and potential positions in the distribution of power in both the international market and in the national market.

The distribution of informational capital and zones of prestige

Generally, the relationship between educational capital and occupational position is mediated by a number of variables, such as origin, gender, father´s education, age and also cohort (Shavit and Blossfeld 1993; Shavit and Müller 1998; Munk 2001a, 2001b, 2003; McIntosh and Munk 2002). Studies of stratification have for a long time showed a strong association between specific compositions of education (the distribution of education) and occupational positions (positions in the distribution of power) in both old and new sectors. This association is assumingly mediated by students' social networks acquired while undertaking studies

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[25]Investment in education taken abroad is considered as an extra variable, which might has an impact on the position in the power and earnings distribution (a study of emigration from the Scandinavian countries related to the income distribution has lately been addressed in a study by Pedersen, Røed, and Schröder 2003).

(see e.g. Lin 2001 for a more broad theoretical argument about social network). This is perhaps one of the main reasons for studying abroad.

Education has become crucial in a changing world, especially in relation to the labour markets in which competitiveness increases, implying that students are more and more inclined to find new ways of dealing with "getting a job" (Granovetter 1995). On the one hand education has a formal value as a skill knowledge and human capital (e.g. higher education), and on the other hand education incorporates a "symbolic" value (see also Brown 2001). The symbolic value of education changes over time, and is bound to specific institutions. It is a question of obtaining the most symbolic valid informational capital from educational institutions in national contexts, and nowadays also in an international context. But what is meant by informational capital? It is a generalised form of institutionalised cultural capital, a form of knowledge capital (cf. Munk 2003), which can be like a filter or a brand, as analysed by Arrow (1973), and which is assumed to have a symbolic value.

Generally, the distribution of informational capital is of interest in order to explain the source of different actions and practices among agents, here students. It is reasonable to study informational capital as education acquired in other countries since education probably increasingly is a precondition for getting a social position in the distribution of jobs. Individuals realise the demands for new and other skills, and that higher education must extend to the international market for students, staff and funding, as Brown (2000) lately has addressed.

Already Randall Collins (1979) formulated that certain forms of capital, for example educational capital, has a credential dimension, meaning that specific achievements of certificates are crucial. Positions in the labour market apparently require an increase in informational capital, which dominates in the structure of profit in the educational fields and labour (market) fields. By definition a field is characterised by way of enclosed boundaries, which involve a number of agents (Aldridge 1998), and "…they compete to maximise their control over valued resources.." (Lamont 1992: 183). Here, they refer to the battle or the acquiring process of informational capital, typically at stake in the educational field.

Bourdieu (1996: 263) shows that the educational field (international and national) is directly connected to the power field, and thereby to the power distribution. This mechanism is analysed as a structural homology, and is a very particular relation of causal interdependence between specific areas in society, such as education, the labour market and power field. This implies a limited structure with an opposition between the potential individuals and the labour market, where screening amplitudes are set up (Bourdieu and Boltanski 1978). It is simply difficult to enter a field and obtain a permanent position, not only because of personal and organisational structures, e.g. embeddedness (Granovetter 1985; Tilly

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1998), but also because of various educational barriers, corresponding with different sorts of settings (Lamont 1992). When firms are demanding individuals, holders of specific qualifications, a confirmation process is going on, and facilitates the distribution of legitimate capital, as informational capital, contributing to the production and reproduction of the power distribution. This struggle over informational capital and related social positions is probably one of the reasons for the fact that students go abroad to study in specific countries.

The transnational educational market is not a unified entity with fixed relations of power but could be seen as a battlefield where different traditions and models are competing. The trends of transnational investments and student mobility have been obvious in the period of the 1990s, to special "zones" such as the United States, the United Kingdom and to some extent also France and Germany. From figure 1, it is observed that education in the U.S., England and France has the highest "ranking" in terms of transnational investments. In other words, investments in education by way of agents in other countries are carried out in these zones. Randall Collins writes about "Zones of Prestige" (2001: 421ff.). This concept is related to the concept "zone of civilizational attraction", which works as a pattern of social contacts, a flow of people. This refers to two aspects, namely sojourners, students "living outwards from civilizational centers take their identities from these centers and occasionally travel to the centres or refer to them for symbolic purposes" (Collins 2001: 421). There is some truth in this consideration. Students have a tendency to make transnational investments in these centers, because they are attractive and recognised. This also concerns people beyond the territory of a civilizational zone, people distant from this attractive zone of cultural prestige and economic possibilities. In this sense Randall Collins redefines the concept of culture per se, as a pattern, which governs beliefs and institutions, where both social activity and cultural variety count as dynamics, as a zone of prestige.

In a world where education is described as the key factor for the wealth of countries (Reich 1991; Castells 1996-1999) we might in analogy with the trade blocks also speak about "educational blocks", as proposed by Broady et al. (1998:21). Apparently, the transnational educational market has a hierarchical structure, working on different levels. As indicated by the flows of students across national boarders, there seems to be a hierarchy of the national educational systems. However, it should be noticed that parts of the geographical origin of the foreign students are very specific. Broady et al (1998) found that while the U.S. has a worldwide recruitment, other nations have a more narrow recruitment. But 65% of the students were Asian students, which means that some of the U.S. dominance has to do with a specific centre-periphery effect, meaning that much of the educational possibilities are

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constructed in specific places around the world. In France, more than 50% of the foreign students come from African countries, especially North Africa. This relatively high per cent could be explained by historical trends. Many of the foreign students in France come from former colonies. The figures must then be understood in terms of both zones of prestige and centre-periphery effects.

A study of transnational investments

Transnational investments are mainly treated in the literature of economics and international political economics (Prakash and Hart 2000; Sassen 2001). The topic is also analysed in the literature of globalisation and internationalisation where problems of investments are treated (Hirst and Thompson 1996; Bonoli, George and Taylor-Gooby 2000). Thus, "transnational investments" is not a new topic. Early in the seventies economists wrote about International Capital Markets, and the emergence of such markets (e.g. Solnik 1973): "During the past few years a number of people have contributed to the formulation of a strong theoretical framework to the study of capital market…" (Solnik 1973: xi). Later the view on capital mobility was linked to mobility of labour, arguing that economic practices and technology have contributed to the formation of a transnational space for circulation of capital (Sassen 1988: 1). In this chain of mobility it is reasonable to look at mobility of students. Student mobility is both related to the domestic market, since some students return to their own country, and to the international market in the sense that some students stay abroad for a professional career on the labour market (a form of emigration, Sassen 1996).

   In particular, educational strategies related to the transnational educational market have been increasing. This trend is observed in Sweden, Denmark and in other countries, however in the US the trend is the opposite. In France the trend have lately changed meaning that students now more often study abroad. Transnational investments have become crucial means in the national (labour) market, at least in small countries like Sweden and Denmark, and function also as means on the international labour market (Traxler 2000; Traxler et al. 2001). The concept of transnational investments refers to an expansion of students' educational activities.

   International educational practices, such as studying abroad, are illustrated for Sweden, Denmark, and France in terms of primarily outgoing and in-going students. It is assumed that in the last decade the "internationalisation" of education has become a feature of higher education, not only in Denmark and Sweden, but also to some degree in other countries, as for example France. This means an increasing expansion of outgoing students from Denmark, Sweden, and France.

During the 1970s and the 1980s the number of Danish and Swedish students studying abroad was negligible, then after 1990 the number rose. These patterns express a trend of transnational investments, but also pushed by educational policies, as explained by Broady (1998 et al) and Brown (2000) from different perspectives. More generally, how can this tendency be explained? It can be partly explained by the function of education in the process of social reproduction of socio-economic classes. This social process is *now* partly relying on the new transnational educational markets, probably related to the fact that education is a filter and is inflated at the same time.[26]

Trends of student mobility

In the following some of the transnational trends are illustrated by way of comparative tables. Education and educational strategies are simply used as proxies for informational capital. Official statistics concerning students studying abroad and institutions involved in exchanges of students (from c. 1990-2000) are used.[27] We utilise statistics from Denmark for full education accomplished abroad, Nordic Council data, ERASMUS-data, education for at least one year (OECD), education for at least one semester during an academic year (EUROSTAT data). Furthermore, we use selected questions from "The Youth Generation Study" from The Danish National Institute of Social Research, which comprises a panel from 1968-2001 following a cohort mainly born in 1953-1954. Additionally, we refer to a large sample survey of socio-economic background of Erasmus Students (EU 2000) in the analysis, including information on father's occupation.[28]

If we compare conditions for students of higher studies, there is a significant difference in international orientation, implying that Swedish and Danish students are more and more inclined to study abroad. Despite homogenisation of higher education towards an Anglo-Saxon-system with bachelor-, masters- and Ph.D. degrees in countries like Denmark (Munk 2003), students go abroad to study in order to get degrees.

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[26]Statistics from *Education at a glance* 2000 do not make clear how the pattern of the outgoing student really looks in different countries, which is due to the way in which the percentage is calculated relative to the "home students", and not relative to all students.
[27]Ideally, a number of students should be followed after completion of education. According to Statistics Denmark it is possible to investigate students' labour market status (occupational position), say in 1999, on the condition of studying a year abroad, e.g. in 1995-1996, which can be found in the educational registers.
[28]The study was based on a sample study and representative with respect to a number of things, as type and size of institution Data function as general indicators of certain trends (e.g. Sassen 1988, 2001), but it is not without problems. Most of the data are aggregated data, and is only roughly indicating the trends of outgoing (and in-going students), and it is difficult to analyse transnational positions because the international educational field is not well defined.

The educational systems in Sweden and Denmark do not exclude some kind of hierarchical structure at the universities. Although the dominating Stockholm School of Economics and the new Växjö University rank number 1 and 2 according to the proportion of students studying abroad, they have very different transnational investments, as Broady et al (1998) points out. Their claim is that the investments of the Stockholm School of Economics have to be inscribed in the realm of a transnational educational market, where leading business schools all over the Western World compete over the most talented students, as well as over financial resources and prestige. For Växjö University, however, as Broady et al (1998) show, the extensive exchange programmes function as important assets in order to recruit Swedish students. As the authors note, the programmes are thereby a means in the struggle with other university colleges, as well as an effective way to challenge the traditional universities. In Denmark, studies at Copenhagen Business School may be regarded as possible example of the same tendency as the Stockholm School of Economics (cf. table 1). The argument in Broady et al. (1998) is that the transnational investments by students in the Stockholm School of Economics, which is "dominant" within the national sub-field, have a dual function. On the one hand, they function as assets on the transnational market. On the other hand, they also operate as assets on the national market in two respects: first in order to protect the position against lower ranked institutions within the same sub-field, second in the competition between the other dominant Swedish institutions.

Until recently French students have been inclined to compete for current positions in a very hierarchically oriented educational system (Bourdieu 1996; Hartman 2000). Figure 2[29] shows that relatively few French students study abroad, partly or entirely. However, the proportion of French students going abroad to study is slightly increasing. The proportion of outgoing French students could be a contradiction to what Wagner (1997, 1995) states for France. Wagner describe that skills in modern foreign languages or familiarity with foreign cultures are not the main issues in the typical educational trajectory for French students—an élite lycée, les classes preparatories, as Grande École like École Nationale d'Administration in addition—preparing for dominant positions in the field of power. Instead, preference is given to domestic (national) French investments. The acquisition of informational capital is connected to different paths of student mobility. In France, students normally have gone to study in Paris, which serves as the centre of studies in terms of educational institutions, which means that almost all the attractive institutions are based in Paris. Wagner (1995/1998) claims

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[29]See also EUROSTAT, Education across European Union 1996, 1998 and 1999. French students go mainly to the United Kingdom, Germany, United States, Canada and Spain.

that a French student must be located in Paris where the real competition takes place. Certainly this argument is partly supported by figure 2, since still fewer French students are going out to study, but the different pattern within these countries is also explained by different financial possibilities for studying abroad.

Results from figure 2 indicate that relatively more students from Denmark and Sweden study abroad, compared with France. Where do students from Denmark and Sweden go? As figure 3 shows, Danish students especially go to study in Europe[30], whereas Swedish students are attracted to the United States and the United Kingdom, rather than the Scandinavian countries. The number of Danes participating in a full (whole) education abroad has increased and been rising through the 1990s, relative to the number of students in higher education, from 2.8 per cent in 1993 to 4.3 per cent in 1999. Between 1993 and 1999 1,931 more students are studying abroad, corresponding to an increase of 77 per cent in these seven years. This represents on average 10 per cent per year of students who are outgoing. In this period the relative number of students increased in higher education with 14 per cent, but therefore not corresponding with the change in studying abroad. Why is this happening? The trends have to do with transnational investments. Students want to make a career abroad, and they certainly aim high, simply because they want to be better situated in their home country. At the same time, students are supported by way of financial policy.

Internationalisation has been given a high priority at many of the Danish and Swedish universities during the last 10-12 years, and in fact students are going to study abroad. The change from the beginning of 1990s represented a shift in attitude, from the principle that state study loans and stipends were not granted for studies abroad to the opposite principle stipulating that, in general, state study loans were to be made available for studies abroad. This is probably also a reason for the increasing number of students studying abroad. Another reason for the increase is the development of the European student exchange programmes, which are in detail described in LSE-reports (1999-2002) and in West (2001). This is the case for Sweden and France, which is demonstrated by help of figure 4.

The relatively large number of outgoing students in Sweden and Denmark, and now also in France points to the fact that informational capital is valuable in a national context, since it has become more attractive to gain education abroad. The pattern in Sweden and Denmark is probably associated to the situation in Scandinavian countries, which have not very prestigious universities on the world scale, and therefore would send more students abroad than a country like France, which has

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[30]OECD Statistics 2000 show that it is primarily United Kingdom, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and France.

very high intellectual prestige in the world, especially in philosophy, literary and semiotic theory (and not in science). On the other hand, given the extremely centralised and hierarchical nature of the French system, some French students might try to circumvent this central structure by going to study abroad. And this has perhaps increased in recent years because of the high amount of unemployment of degree holders in France. Educational institutions, which guarantee and promote informational capital are therefore crucial. So, during the last 10-15 years more and more students are studying abroad to obtain education, either entirely or in part. This may have to do with aiming at a career with new opportunities abroad, and to become more advantaged in national markets. In this respect, informational capital serves both as a symbolic and skill value.

What is the situation for the U.S.? It is obvious that very few U.S students study abroad. It appears however that less than 0.1 percent of US-students are visiting countries like United Kingdom, Canada, France and Germany. What is the reason for this pattern? There are a number of features to investigate, as pointed out by West (2001). The internal pattern inside US educational institutions is different, and the educational system is very hierarchical, operating with a ranking system, which involves hard competition inside the country. Therefore, US students mostly apply for education within rather than outside US. In other countries like US, there are a number of cities with attractive institutions, such as New York (Columbia), California (Stanford, Berkeley), Harvard, Yale, and Chicago etc., which students can enter (Lamont 1992; Sassen 2001).

Who is studying abroad?

In the last years transnational investments in education have become a firm trend, at least in small countries like Sweden and Denmark, in order to build sufficient informational capital to meet requirements of Swedish and Danish institutions. But is this trend valid for all social classes? Despite new financial policies, higher social classes (measured by parental occupation) are in fact still over-represented in terms of transnational educational investments, although their share has decreased in favour of the middle and working classes, especially for Sweden and Denmark, as shown in a EU report on Socio-economic background 2000 (cf. table 2).

However, the differentiation that has occurred between 1990 and 2000 is also significant. Students studying abroad in the beginning of the 1990s had generally accepted educational credentials acquired in national contexts. Now, students are also supposed to study abroad to obtain credentials to meet new demands. Therefore, while the studies abroad for

some social classes probably function as a means for avoiding unemployment, studies abroad have a different meaning for the higher social classes, as Broady (1998 et al.) argues along with Bourdieu (1996). For these classes, Nordic higher education is not always sufficient for a career in the home country, and especially not for a transnational professional career. Students, especially those originating from culturally loaded classes, inherit transnational resources including language skills, familiarity with foreign cultures, networks of friends, acquaintances or relatives abroad, etc., in their parental home, and later during vacations and on many other occasions outside the seminar rooms. In a Danish investigation from 2001, respondents were asked about their children, and some of the results from this survey support the argumentation in Broady et al. (1998), which seem to be plausible. In fact, from table 3 it is observed that wealthy parents express an opinion that in the long term the child has to be capable of taking a part of their education in other places parts of the world. One should however, be careful since the survey is a representative one-cohort study.

Conclusion and discussion

To conclude, student mobility has been increasing in some countries. The behaviour of gaining education abroad might imply a broader perspective on the process leading to powerful positions within the society. Transnational investments have become crucial means on the national market both in smaller countries and also in countries like France. During recent years one can observe some changes in France. But, still the "Grandes ecoles" play an important function in the social reproduction of the distribution of informational capital. Also it was found that especially higher social classes (measured by parental occupation) are in fact still over-represented in terms of transnational educational investments, although their share has decreased in favour of the middle and working classes, especially for Sweden and Denmark.

However, considering the educational strategies of different social classes, transnational investments have become relatively differentiated. Before reforms of the financial support for studies abroad, transnational educational investments were almost exclusively a matter for the dominating classes. This is probably explained by two factors. Firstly, by the fact that the financial support was concentrated towards high prestigious education, where the dominating classes were highly over-represented. Secondly by the fact that the alternative, to finance the studies abroad oneself, requires substantial economic means.

How can the results be interpreted? The system in France has for a long period of time functioned as a very close system, which differs from the systems in Denmark and Sweden, since very few French students

study abroad, and the majority of students are involved in the competition for the most advantaged educational institutions. The struggle for scarce and attractive resources has not disappeared. To sum up, the trends of transnational investments can be interpreted as demand of new skills and credentials.

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Figure 1

Distribution of foreign students in OECD countries by host country (1999)
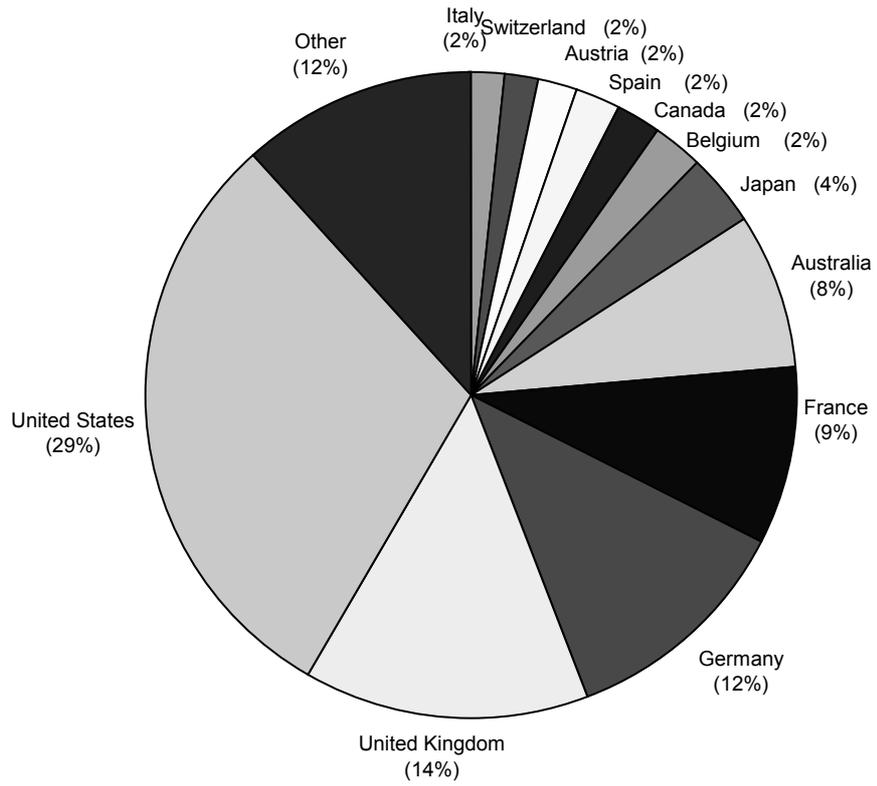
Source: OECD.

Figure 2. Students enrolled in other OECD-countries. Per cent.

Percentage of students enrolled in other OECD-countries in tertiary education as a percentage of students enrolled in tertiary education in the country of origin

* Plase note that the 1995 data are based on the old classification of level of education (ISCED -76) whereas 1998 and 1999 data are based on the new classification (ISCED-97)
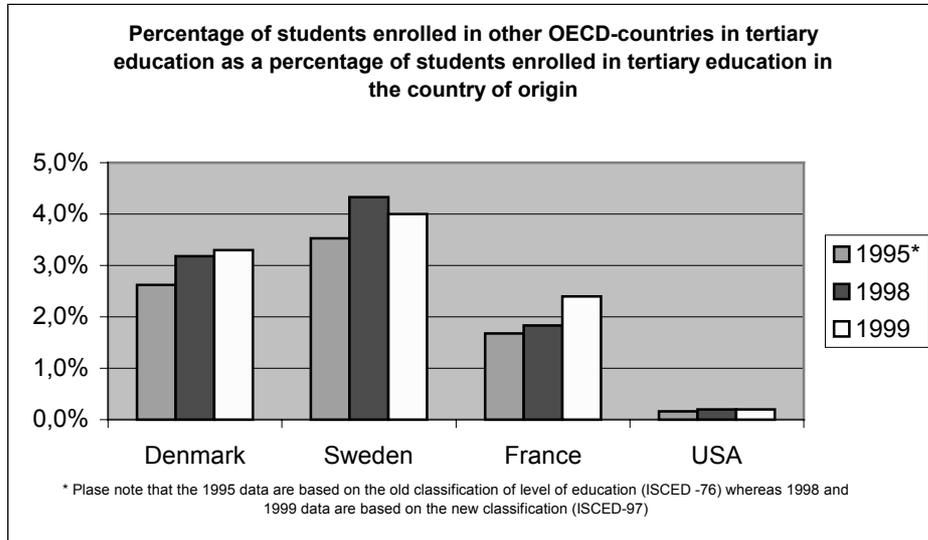
Source: OECD, Education at a glance 2000 plus unpublished material from OECD 2001

Figure 3. Students studying abroad. Per cent.

Students from Denmark and Sweden studying abroad
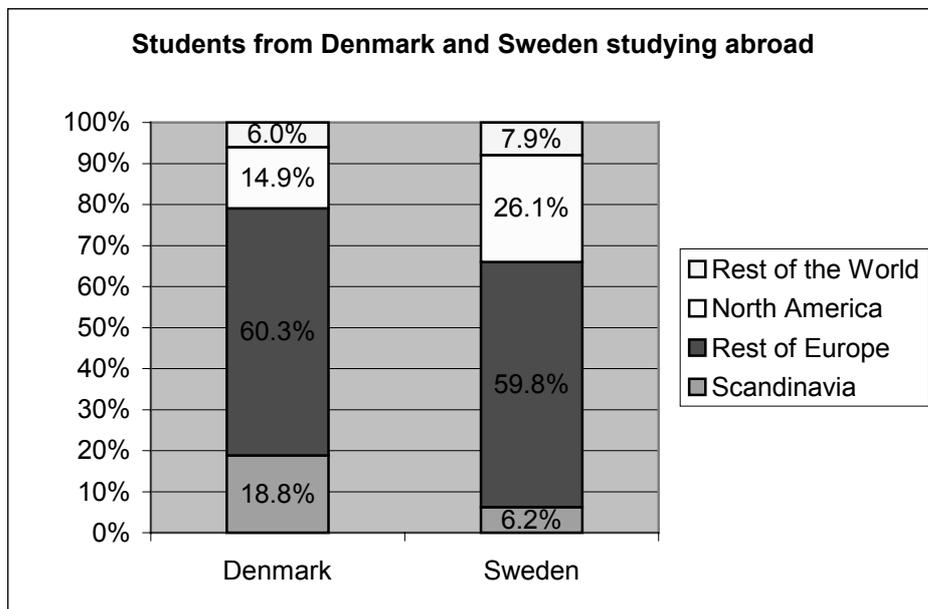
Source: Nordic Council, Nordisk utbildning i fokus – indicators, full education in 1997.

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Figure 4: Outflow of Students. Per cent.

Erasmus %

Legend: Sweden, France, Denmark

X-axis: 1992/93 1993/94 1994/95 1995/96 1996/97 1997/98 1998/99

Y-axis: 0.0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 1.0 1.2 1.4

Source: http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/stat.html
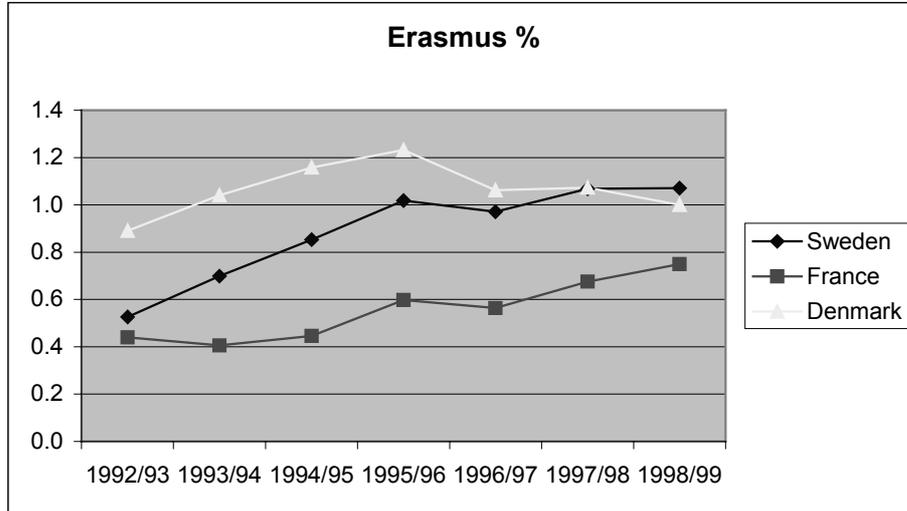
Table 1. Educational scholarships for studying abroad (minus shorter sojourns) in 1999 distributed on educational type. Absolute Numbers. Denmark

	Place of Education						
	England	**Norway**	**USA**	**Germany**	**Sweden**	**Others**	**Total**
	------------------------------------- Numbers -------------------------------------						
Youth Education	**7**	**54**	**3**	**66**	**25**	**34**	**189**
Further and higher education	**1,721**	**390**	**518**	**219**	**204**	**1,009**	**4,061**
Pedagogical Education	11	43	7	45	10	30	146
Humanistic Education total	696	88	145	89	88	419	1.525
- Art and architecture	264	20	45	22	37	129	517
- Literature and language	78	14	16	16	6	73	203
- Film and media	166	6	42	10	12	44	280
Administrative Education	849	129	293	50	50	438	1.809
- Business Economy	332	26	151	24	5	170	708
- Social Science	306	42	86	12	31	103	580
Natural Sciences	69	46	41	8	12	44	220
Vocational Education (incl. Engineer)	61	39	17	10	26	34	187
Health Education	35	45	15	17	18	44	174
Other higher Education	**50**	**102**	**17**	**4**	**0**	**2**	**205**
All Education	**1,778**	**546**	**538**	**289**	**229**	**1,075**	**4,455**

Table 2. Occupations of parents of Erasmus students, by home country. Per cent.

	Denmark	France	Sweden
Managers and scientific staff	60	52	72
Associate professional and technical staff	8	12	9
Clerical, secretarial, service and shop workers	24	23	12
Craft and trade workers, elementary occupation	7	11	5
Inactive or unemployed	1	2	1
	100	100	100

Erasmus program. Source: The European Commission (2000): Survey into the Socio-Economic Background of Erasmus Students*, Directorate General for Education and Culture. Report.*

Table 3. Per cent. Parents Income by their view on children's Future Education

Gross income 2001	In the long term the child have to be capable of taking a part of their education in other parts of the world?				
	Agree, partly agree %	Neit-her nor %	Dis-agree, partly dis-agree %	Do not know %	Total %
0-199,000 kr.	**43.49**	28.57	26.05	1.89	21.97
200,000-299,000 kr.	**43.63**	28.94	25.12	2.31	39.87
300.000-399.000 kr.	**50.70**	31.31	16.36	1.64	19.75
400.000 kr. or more	**57.85**	26.72	14.33	1.10	16.75
Total	47.67	28.80	21.69	1.85	100.00

N=2167

Source: Youth Generational Study, The Danish National Institute of Social Research, 2001

Figure 5. Inflow of students. Per cent.
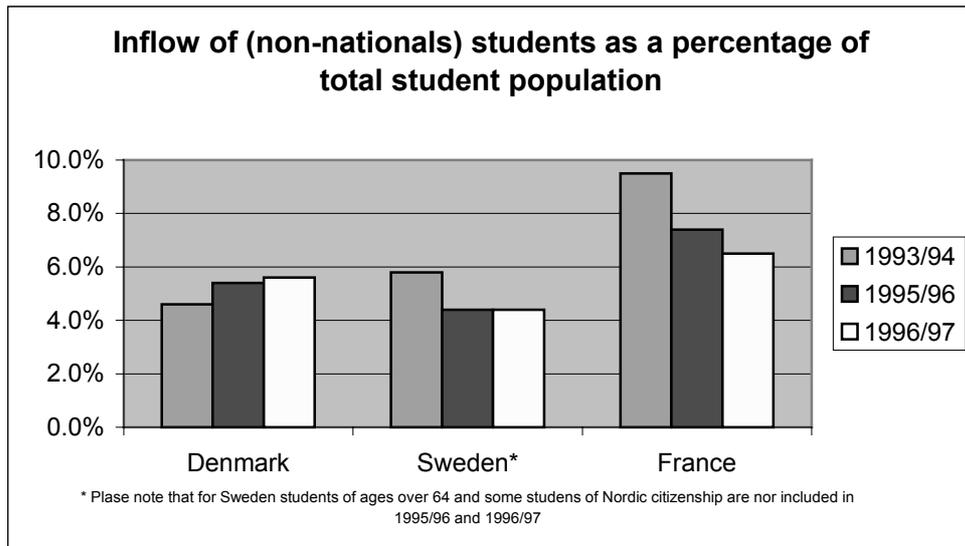
Source: EUROSTAT, Education across European Union 1996, 1998 and 1999.

TEACHERS WORK AND LIFE

A LIFE MORE COMMON

Sverker Lindblad and Peter Sohlberg

TEACHER EDUCATION DIVERSIFIED

Jette Steensen

CHANGED CONDITIONS FOR THE TEACHER PROFESSION

Eva Rhöse

A LIFE MORE COMMON

ON CHANGES IN TEACHERS' WORK AND LIFE IN
SCANDINAVIAN WELFARE STATES 1980-1995.

Sverker Lindblad and Peter Sohlberg

Introduction: An outsider's perspective

Teachers are part and parcel of the modernising project that started in our
societies around two centuries ago. But what happens to teachers when
our societies have become highly modernised and turn late modern - with
changing contexts of schooling and with new conditions for teaching?

   In this text we will deal with teachers' professional cultures from an
outside point of view. We will locate teachers in societies that are
changing and will analyse the societal conditions and meanings of
teachers' work. This we will do by looking more precisely on two welfare
states, Sweden and Norway, under a period when these states are in
transition, from the beginning of the 1980s to the middle 1990s. Our
basic idea is very simple: we assume that social changes have
implications for teachers' work and cultures. Based on this idea we ask:
have the contexts and social conditions for teachers' work changed? To
answer this question we shall take a closer look at teachers' locus and
orientations in societal structures and autonomy in their work. This is
related to changes in the social structures and characteristics of work
organisation in our societies.[31]

   Our outside point of view is regarded as a complement - and not as an
alternative - to studies focussing on teachers' work and culture from an
inside point of view by means of e.g. ethnographic approaches.[32] Such
outside aspects are considered as contexts for cultural changes and parts

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[31] Our study was carried out within the research project Comparative studies of changes in
welfare societies and education as a resource for citizenship with financial support of the
National Agency for Education in Sweden. Many thanks to Heidi Jensberg for data
organisation and data analysis of a highly complex material.
[32] Actually, the works of Lortie (1975) and Willer (1932) in the light of recent changes in
education further underlines the need to put teachers work into a social and historical
context.

of premises for practical reason and action. We hope that this study will provide a source for discussions and reflections on changes of teachers' work in different contexts.[33]

Late modernity and restructuring of education

This text is about social change and implications of such changes for teachers' work and culture. In one way it is an attempt to capture changes in time spirit as well as conditions for teachers' work. The time period from 1980 to 1995 deals with considerable changes in our societies. To some it would imply changes from high modernity to late modernity or post modernity - at least partially. To others it might be understood as changes in governmentality or the ways we govern our selves. From a Scandinavian welfare state point of view this period of time means tendencies to deconstruct or perhaps "liberalize" important features of our welfare system, including transformations of educational systems and their contexts.[34]

Education restructuring...

A recurrent theme in the PACT group is restructuring of education. Over the years we have debated different notions of restructuring and its implications in different contexts, see for instance Andy Hargreaves' work on teachers in changing times (1994). Education restructuring has many meanings, see e.g. Headley Beare & William Lowe Boyd (1993). Linda Darling-Hammond and Marcella Bullmaster (1997, p1073) summarise the restructuring movement in the following way:

Like current restructuring initiatives in business, efforts to restructure schools are seeking to reduce long hierarchies, push decision making closer to the school and classroom, and reshape roles for teachers so that they can be more fully accountable for students.

They present different approaches to restructuring initiatives assumed to "opening up schools to greater client input and participation in decision making" as a result of public frustration with the regulation of public schools.

What are the implications of education restructuring for teachers' work? In Sweden, at least, teachers are assumed to grow into a more

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[33] A way to capture relations between context and actions based on the idea of practical syllogisms is presented by G. H. von Wright (1983). Here, historical and social determinants are assumed to have an impact on premises for action as well as changing constraints and opportunities. For examples, see Lindblad (1990, 1997).

[34] We do not consider transitions from modernity to late modernity as something occurring by necessity, as by social laws. Furthermore, we do not want to romanticise the Scandinavian model of a welfare state, though we personally consider that it had several advantages in certain aspects compared to neo-liberal tendencies today.

professionalised and professional corps according to central authorities in a decentralised education system, in a way that is rather close to Darling-Hammond's and Bullmaster's point made above. Schools and teachers are assumed to be more sensitive to needs and demands among parents and students, as consumers or users (depending on political position), and the quality of schooling and teachers' work will improve.

However, the story is more diversified, at least in Sweden. From empirical studies more critical patterns emerge. In a study on lower and upper secondary school teachers Lindblad (1997) found a "falling down" syndrome among many teachers. Large groups perceived that their work had got lower social status and their expertise was devalued. This was often combined with a conceived combination of larger accountability and higher autonomy. Kajsa Falkner (1997) stated that education restructuring in its rhetoric in Sweden stressed responsibility, participation in decision making and increased influence for teachers. Based on interviews with school teachers she found that such changes were related to patterns of distrust and proletarisation rather than professionalisation. This she linked to changing hierarchical relations in schools as work places, where teachers' positions to some extent became more subordinate to school leaders. These and other studies show dark sides of education restructuring in teachers' work. Based on such features it is of importance to consider teachers' conceptions and experiences about education restructuring as well as societal restructuring.

Education restructuring is often linked to ambitions to turn teachers into professionals, like e.g. lawyers or physicians. If we consider ambitions to establish a professionalisation project trying to achieve control over knowledge base, ethics etc., as well as over work conditions (Sarfatti Larsen, 1977; Carlgren & Lindblad, 1992; Englund, 1997), we ask ourselves what this looks like in reality, in societies with restructuring educational systems. Do we witness an increased professionalisation among teachers? This would manifest itself in different ways; in terms of autonomy and authority of work, as well as in incomes and prestige. Or are there changes in the opposite direction, leading to a proletarisation of teachers in terms of lowered incomes, intensified work and a less distinguished position?

In this text we define restructuring in terms of governance. Restructuring education means from this point of view changes in the governing of education. The general pattern in education restructuring is change in governance in terms of deregulation, decentralisation in combination with increased accountability for schools, teachers and head teachers for reaching stated goals. In this way we can say that restructured education is governed less by rules and more by goals.

Education restructuring is not carried out in social isolation, however. As mentioned above it is part of social and economic changes, where the position and meaning of education and educational ideals change as well.

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Thus, if we are interested in teachers' work and life under late modernity we need to look outside the education system and consider if their locations have changed as well as their orientations in society. This means that we cannot assume that education restructuring in isolation produces changes in teachers' life. On the contrary, we assume that we deal with complex structures of changes related to each other in various ways. We are not looking for single-factor explanations - something that we think would lead us wrong if we want to understand what is happening to teachers in our societies.

...and contextual changes

Governance and state are related concepts. The Swedish model of a welfare state was based on centralised decisions and standardised solutions to social problems. Educational reforms and education governance were constructed on the basis of such a welfare state model. This model reached its peak in the 1970s and was - at least to some extent - deconstructed in the early 1990s by means of decentralisation, deregulation, privatisation and by attempts to create education markets. This was a result of ideological changes as well as a changing economic situation and increased internationalisation. A similar transition pattern can be noticed in Norway at about the same period of time. Stated shortly; education restructuring in the Scandinavian welfare states is closely related to transitions in the welfare states themselves.[35] By means of restructuring we are expected to obtain schools that are more sensitive to the mandator's goals and demands of results as well as an increased empowerment of parents and students, e.g. by opportunities to choose between schools or study programmes or as actors in school boards or school class boards.

Restructuring is not only occurring in schools and in state apparatuses. There are general tendencies of restructuring in the public as well as in the private sector over the world. According to Papagiannis et al (1992) restructuring emerged as a means for large private enterprises to deal with increasing international competition. In order to become more competitive a number of enterprises have flattened hierarchies and changed patterns of power and control (Hill, 1998). What does this look like in different positions in society? Does this include teachers' work as well? Parallel to such changes in work places there has been an increased education level in society and - at least in welfare states such as Sweden and Norway - demands from employees to have increased control over their own work. Stated otherwise, the context of education seems to change as well in this period, something which seems to be of importance

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[35] For a comparative study where the Scandinavian type of welfare state is contrasted to other categories, see Esping-Andersen (1997).

for teachers' work (Cookson & Luck, 1997; Vonks, 1997). To us it seems to be obvious that if the context of education changes, the meaning of it changes as well, even if basic characteristics remain the same.

Education restructuring can be considered as part and parcel of transitions to late modernity - depending on social changes and producing practices and values that in turn reinforce changes in society. By this we do not mean that education is floating in the spirit of time, at least not if we are aware of changing forces and tendencies in our societies.[36] This piece of work is assuming the contrary - if we are aware of boundaries and potentials in our time we (and now we do not only mean the authors of this text) might act upon or counteract current tendencies.

A theoretical framework

Governance implies patterns of power and control. Though schools might differ to other workplaces in terms of direction and organisation of work, they are still workplaces with hierarchical relations between individuals or groups in different positions. In this study we will use as a theoretical tool a model for analysis of social classes and layers in relation to power and control over assets and employees based on the works of Eric Olin Wright (1985; 1997). We need a conceptualisation that is sensitive for major structural changes as well as changes in the concrete work situation, which is the case with Wright´s model. This framework is constructed in order to capture variations over time and place in modern societies and to deal with implications of class locations for the occupational lives of individuals. Furthermore, it is constructed in order to deal with the "problem of the middle layers" in social analysis, which is very suitable to our focus on teachers. A special focus is on questions of authority, sanctions, and expertise needed for work. Wright's conceptualisation is indeed not without it´s problems but has the major advantage to be very sensitive for empirical changes in the work situation and giving these changes a more profound and theoretically grounded meaning than being just part of more or less random trends or part of a neo-evolutionary view of the industrialisation process.

In line with other recent theories on social classes, the rationale behind the model is to investigate to what extent the differentiation of power and control within current mode(s) of production has changed the nature of the class structure. More interestingly, from our point of view, this model penetrates the breakdown of the relationship between labour and capital, often described as the rise of groups with new capital functions. In his

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[36] Educational research is part of transitions to late modernity, if it contributes to an increased reflexivity in society (cf. Giddens, 1991 on reflexivity) It is our hope that our work is part of such a reflexity.

original model, Wright places these groups in double or contradictory class loci between labour and capital. Managers, supervisors and strata conventionally labelled as "new middle classes" are not given an á priori position as a class category. To what extent these groups are closer or more distant to labour or capital varies over time and between countries. From this perspective, the political and ideological location of teachers becomes an open question. In turn, this means that changes such as education restructuring might put forward changes in teachers' distances from and relations to other groups in society.

Wright's original class model is based on three sources of power and control in the work situation: (1) ownership of capital, (2) control over physical capital, i.e. control of the physical means of production, (3) control over labour, i.e. control, supervision, and discipline within the labour process. From this assertion, it is possible to identify three social classes. The working class lacks control over these three assets, while the bourgeoisie (capital owners) exerts control over all of them. A third class is the petty bourgeoisie, with the ability to control capital but not the work of others - with minor exceptions.

The working class, the bourgeoisie, and the petty bourgeoisie are the three main classes in modern western societies. In figure 1, based on Wright (1985, p 48) they are located in the corners of a triangle. These main positions are supplemented, however, by strata that have double and contradictory class locations: between the working class and the bourgeoisie we have locations of managers and supervisors who have no control over capital but control the work process; between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie we have small employers, who have few employees but nevertheless also take part in the work process, and between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie we have the semi-autonomous employees, who have a considerable control over their own work but not over that of others. Such contradictory locations are of crucial importance if we want to understand social changes in a longer time perspective.

Within this model, teachers are to be found typically in the category of semi-autonomous employees. In some cases, however, where teachers hold managerial or supervisory positions, they are to be classified as such. Here, however, we are mostly dealing with "ordinary" teachers. They share some characteristics with workers (such as the fact that they are employed) and some with the petty bourgeoisie (e g, self-direction in their work)
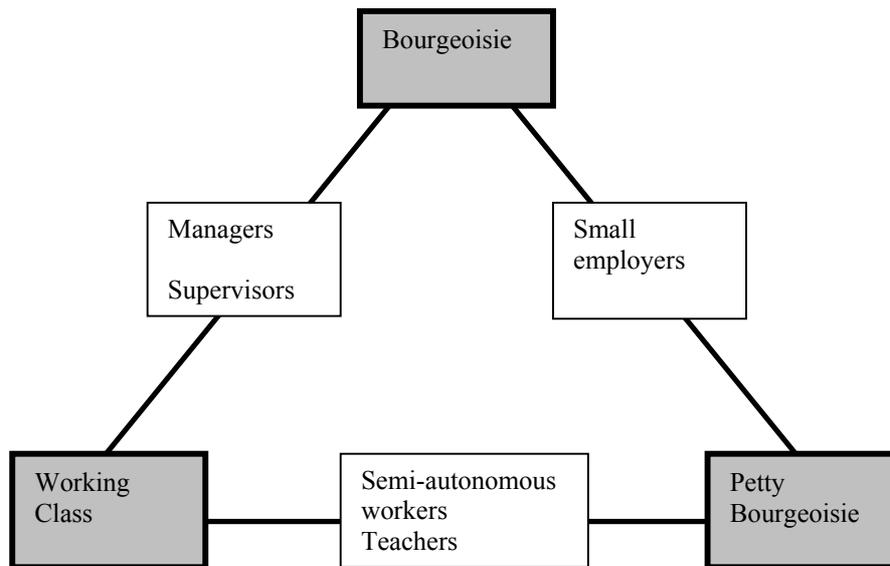
Figure : A model of social classes and layers and teachers' position within this model.

In such a contradictory position teachers might move in one direction or another, depending on the circumstances, and they might split and seek alliances, depending on conjunctures. Their situation might also change depending on external factors such as the relative strength and frequency among other categories in the model. Internal factors such as the ways their work is organised and governed and teachers' control over their work and so on is another aspect of teachers' position and conditions for work. In this study we will deal with external as well as internal aspects.

From a sociological point of view the question of orientations and attitudes can principally be analysed from either the cause or the effect-perspective. Attitudes and orientations can be regarded as the outcome of structural and societal position as well of more specific factors in the concrete working situation. Attitudes and orientations can on the other side be looked upon as the real determining factors guiding intentional actors in their construction of the social world. It seems to us equally naive to regard attitudes and orientations as an uncomplicated outcome of structural localisation as to totally disregard the social localisation of experiences and to neglect socially systematic differences in attitudes and world-views. As we can conclude from our material such socially systematic differences do exist.

Some important structural factors that constitute the context for understanding teachers are, to be brief, their semi-autonomous position within the class-structure; their localisation in the public sphere; their function as mediators of factual knowledge and normative orientations in a society where dominating discourses strongly emphasize factual knowledge as the most important productive factor. Due to the changes in opinion we have registered over time these structural factors can not be seen as static causal factors.

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Purpose

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyse changes in teachers' work and life from a period when Scandinavian model of a welfare state was at its peak to a period when this state is restructuring and where education is deregulated and with new ways of governance. In order to capture such changes we need to study the social context of teaching as well. We ask ourselves the following questions:

- Where do we locate teachers in the structure of social positions and has this structure changed?
- What is the relative strength of teachers as a group in terms of organisation, education, and incomes compared to different social layers and has this strength changed over time?
- Have teachers' control and autonomy over their work changed? And how does this look compared to other social groups and layers?
- How do teachers orient themselves in relation to different social layers considering conflicting interests in society and has this changed over time?

With at least provisional answers to these questions we are in a position to contribute to an increased understanding of teachers' work and life in restructuring welfare states.

Methodological considerations

In the purpose we have underlined the need to make cross-professional studies in order to capture aspects of teachers' work and lives. The current study is based on a analysis of data collected in Sweden in 1980 and 1995 and in Norway in 1982 and 1995. The first data collections were carried out when the welfare state model was still in its peak in Norway and Sweden. In 1995 this model had been replaced by a more deregulated state with new ways to govern education for some five years, after a period of restructuring. Thus, the actual period seems to fit rather well with changes in society and education. The two cases of Sweden and Norway is of interest, since they are quite similar as welfare states but with somewhat different ways of dealing with issues of centralisation and with education matters.

Data were collected by means of surveys in combination with telephone interviews directed to independent random samples of all individuals at the age of 16-65 years. Around 68 percent of individuals in the samples answered the surveys. The surveys took one-two hours to respond to. The total number of individuals responding to this study were as follows:

Numbers of individuals	Sweden		Norway		Sum
	1980	1995	1982	1995	
Whole study	1074	1175	1681	1296	5526
Teachers in study	65	88	108	124	385

Table 1: Individuals participating in the different studies.

This way of collecting data has its pros and cons. An important advantage is that we get a broad picture where we can compare responses for different social categories on different occasions in different but comparable societies. Another advantage is that we are able to relate teachers as a group to other groups in society. A disadvantage is that questions are predetermined in a way that give little room for capturing the respondents´ own categories. Another disadvantage is the fact that local patterns inside organisations are excluded, since the individuals are sampled by random. We have a substantial number of individuals in a study whose instruments and design have proved to be stable. However, since there is no special aggregation of teachers, we will get rather small numbers to work with, following the fact that the number of teachers of persons in the current sample is limited. This means that we will seldom deal with different categories of teachers or distinctions in terms of gender or teacher organisations. The teachers' share in the study is around seven percent of individuals in the working force.

It should be emphasised that our material is based on people participating in the work force which means that our picture of the social structure in general is somewhat restricted. We are merely mapping the occupational structure. This is not however a major drawback since the unemployment in Sweden and Norway has been relatively low under the major part of the studied period. 1990 it was 1,8 percent in Sweden and then rose to 9,2 percent 1995, which is quite an exceptional level by Swedish standards. In Norway the unemployment was highest 1990 (5,3 percent) and then decreased somewhat in 1995. A conclusion that can be made in this context is that high unemployment does not yet seem to be firmly institutionalised as a structural feature in Sweden and Norway. Considering the very high unemployment figures for the younger generation not yet established on the labour market this conclusion can however, be problematic in the future.

In order to capture teachers' locations and to compare them with different social layers we use the model for social class analysis developed by Eric Olin Wright (1978, 1997). This is based on individuals concrete work situation and experiences of such matters as authority and control in various ways. We are here dealing with autonomy in relation to planning and performance of work and authority in relation to tasks, policy and organisation. We also deal with levels of expertise in relation

to different social categories. In more detail, see short presentations of instruments in appendix 1a.

Considering teachers´ relative strength as a professional corps, we consider issues of union organisation and political organisation as well as incomes relative to other layers. These are rather abstract notions of strength, but they have the value of being comparable over layers and time.

In order to measure teachers' orientations in society we look at their responses to statements of economic and political nature which they can agree or disagree with to a higher or lower extent. This we compare to patterns obtained for other social groups and layers in order to find out similarities and differences. Examples of such statements are presented in appendix 1b. In addition we use preferences for political parties, since these are assumed to indicate orientations in relation to the theoretical model that we use.

We are dealing with social categories as well as teachers as groups, with little consideration concerning differences within the categories used. This is a bit problematic, since there are highly interesting variations inside these groups. But in this text we have chosen distance at the cost of details.

To end: the reader must remember the small numbers in the category of teachers. This restricts the possibility to do more elaborated analyses and to obtain "hard" findings.

Changing contexts of education

Social structure

First, we ask about eventual changes in social structures as categorised by different positions in society. Are we witnessing a restructuring on a structural level as well in advanced welfare states? In table 2 we have presented relative distributions over different social categories in Sweden and Norway in the early 1980s and the middle 1990s. Comparisons show a general pattern: working class positions decrease and middle class positions (grey-shaded in table 2) increase their relative frequencies. These changes are highly significant; in Sweden the percentage in working class positions has decreased 12 percent - from 51 to 44 percent - and in Norway the decrease is 15 percent - from 44 to 29 percent. Those individuals who have teaching as their profession are predominantly located within the category of semi-autonomous employees. A few of them have positions as managers etc.

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Social Category	Sweden		Norway	
	1980	1995	1982	1995
Bourgeoisie	1	1	1	1
Small employers	5	2	3	4
Petty bourgeoisie	5	6	10	6
Managers	2	4	4	4
Advisor-managers	9	13	9	18
Supervisors	10	9	13	11
Semi-autonomous employees	17	26	16	27
Working class	51	39	44	29
Total percent	100	100	100	100
Total number	1074	1175	1681	1296

Table 2: The relative frequencies of different social categories in Sweden and Norway over years. Percent. Middle class positions grey-shaded.

The different middle class positions (managers, advisor managers, supervisors and semi-autonomous employees) have increased their relative share - from 38 to 51 percent in Sweden and from 43 to 61 percent in Norway. Within these layers, the semi-autonomous workers are those who have increased most - from 17 to 26 percent in Sweden and from 16 to 27 percent in Norway. Looking at these numbers the middle classes has increased in a way that make ordinary teachers´ positions as members of the middle classes more ... common.[37]

As a general trend this can be interpreted as higher demands on qualifications of the workforce, also suggesting a more accentuated importance of the educational system. This increased importance is however not obviously revealed in the size of the teacher group as a collective. In our material it is only a matter of a slight increase of teachers relative size; In Sweden from 6,1 percent to 7,5 percent and in Norway an increase from 7,5 percent to 8,4 percent of the total workforce in our material. Considering categories of teachers, see appendix 1c.

On teachers' position in society

During the last decades we have witnessed an increased feminisation of work in the Scandinavian countries, especially among the middle classes. This means that we have a more balanced composition in terms of gender in different social categories today, compared to the circumstances in the early 1980s. (Which is not to say that gender does not count today).

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[37] The same pattern is visible from commensurable studies in the UK and the USA showing a decline in the numbers of workers.

Teaching has been a profession where this feminisation occurred rather early, as witnessed by e.g. Dan Lortie (1975). Today this tendency is still more marked, as is shown in table 3. This matters for different teacher categories, but especially among primary school teachers. It is interesting to note that the degree of feminisation is a great deal more accentuated in Sweden than in Norway. Furthermore this difference is simultaneous with a significantly worse situation for the teachers in Sweden regarding career possibilities as well as relative level of salary.

In Norway and especially Sweden the tendency to organise in unions is strong. This holds true in the 1990s as well. However, in Norway the share of organised teachers decrease in contrast to Sweden. Considering political organisations teachers in Sweden and Norway were very well represented in the early 1980s compared to other social layers. In Sweden this advantage has disappeared and they are now an ordinary group in this respect. In Norway we find a different tendency - a larger share of teachers is politically organised in the 1990s. These tendencies are here conceived of as teachers' changing structuring capacities and possibilities to improve their situation.

A general trend is that working overtime has increased since the early 1980s. Ironically in combination with higher unemployment as well. At that time around a quarter of the sample in sum worked more than regular working time. Since then teachers´ overtime work has become much more common especially in Sweden.

Looking at incomes, we have represented this in terms of share within each category that are above the 75 percentile in incomes. In Sweden we find increasing differences in incomes between these categories, where workers get a lesser part, as well as teachers. The general pattern is not as distinct in Norway. On the contrary, teachers as a group in Norway were less well off in the 1980s compared to the middle 1990s. And looking at possibilities to get a "higher" position in your work career there are increased limits for teachers in Sweden and decreased in Norway.

Characteristics	Sweden				Norway			
	1980		1995		1982		1995	
	Teacher	All	Teacher	All	Teacher	All	Teacher	All
Union member	81	76	94	86	85	64	79	64
Females	62	41	74	50	51	39	59	48
Active in politics	38	16	11	13	19	10	24	15
Working overtime	18	26	45	45	17	25	30	28
No career opportunity	32	38	45	48	40	50	33	41
Income above 75 percent	34	-	26	-	25	-	34	-

Table 3: Some external characteristics of teachers in Sweden and Norway 1980-1995. Percent.

In sum we can state that in Norway as well as in Sweden the middle layers - to which teachers belong - have grown to a very high extent. In this changing social structure teachers' positions have become more common. They belong to the major social layers in society. This does not mean that their positions have improved. In Sweden there has been a somewhat worsened position in terms of organisations and incomes, while there are some contrary indications to that in Norway. The findings suggest that there is a need to compare education policies and teacher organisations in Sweden and Norway in this respect.

Organisation of work

In the current study we are interested in the ways work is organised and the autonomy and control among different groups and layers. Going over to hierarchies and work autonomy over all employees we find that there is a very strong and general tendency of increased autonomy of work. Thus, in Sweden a majority had low autonomy in 1980, but only a third in 1995. A similar pattern is present in Norway, where only one fifth has low autonomy in 1995.

Looking at different social layers, teachers generally have high autonomy in their work. When we go back to the early 1980s, almost three quarters of all teachers fell into this category. In Norway the figures are still higher - around 90 percent. The same holds true for Norway in the middle 1990s. In Sweden the share having high autonomy has decreased a bit - to 65 percent. For other social layers the autonomy level has increased considerably, with the exception of workers. In Sweden managers and advisor managers to a larger extent increase their autonomy and a higher share than teachers have high autonomy among these layers. A similar tendency occurs in Norway.

Considering different kinds of authority there is a quite similar pattern. The authority level among employees increase in general and teachers' authority becomes less privileged. However, considering managerial aspects among teachers we find more individuals in middle managerial positions in the 1990s in Norway and Sweden.

Sweden	1980					1995				
	Low	Middle	High	Sum	N	Low	Middle	High	Sum	N
Managers	14	29	57	100	14	2	3	95	100	42
Advisormanager	26	54	20	100	87	5	16	79	100	143
Supervisors	45	34	21	100	108	9	48	43	100	88
Semi-autonom	0	78	22	100	139	0	65	35	100	238
Workers	93	7	0	100	547	77	23	0	100	439
Teachers	6	22	72	100	64	1	34	65	100	85
Total	61	26	13	100	959	35	34	31	100	1035

Norway	1980					1995				
	Low	Middle	High	Sum	N	Low	Middle	High	Sum	N
Managers	11	27	62	100	63	0	8	92	100	49
Advisormanager	18	29	53	100	142	3	26	72	100	207
Supervisors	40	24	37	100	189	2	41	57	100	114
Semi-autonom	0	39	61	100	187	0	50	50	100	267
Workers	96	4	0	100	734	60	40	0	100	349
Teachers	6	4	90	100	123	1	8	91	100	106
Total	57	15	28	100	1438	20	35	45	100	1092

Table 4: Level of autonomy among different social layers compared to teachers in Sweden and Norway over years. Percent

In our introduction we mentioned what seemed to be a paradox in teachers' situation: The "falling down" syndrome characterised on one hand by higher autonomy and larger accountability and on the other hand by a perception of devaluation of expertise and social status. One aspect of making this paradox intelligible is to take into consideration the ambiguous character of autonomy. Autonomy in the concrete work situation can be interpreted as well as an opportunity as a requirement.

High autonomy in the concrete work process and a high degree of accountability without possibilities to influence more overall policy decisions is not necessarily a sign of power.

Education and skills:

From the early 1980s to the middle 1990s there has been a significant rise of education level in Norway and Sweden. Within the current study this is presented in table 5. There we find that the share having completed education above higher secondary education (e.g. university exams) have increased considerably during this period. Considering these changes in level of education teachers acquire a less exclusive position in the 1990s, since a larger number of individuals in different positions have the same educational level as teachers.

Where and when	Which individuals	Below higher secondary	Higher secondary	Above Higher secondary	Sum
Sweden 1980	All in study	37	41	22	100
	Teachers	6	16	78	100
Sweden 1995	All in study	33	35	32	100
	Teachers	5	6	89	100
Norway 1982	All in study	32	39	29	100
	Teachers	7	19	74	100
Norway 1995	All in study	13	47	40	100
	Teachers	3	11	86	100

Table 5: Completed education level in Norway and Sweden over years. Percent.

   Another way of dealing with education is to consider skills needed for work. The level of expertise is presented for all in the labour force and for teachers as a group. This is due to changes in the social structure presented above, but the empirical outcomes in table 6 makes this aspect visible. The most significant finding in table 6 is the decrease of unskilled work.

   When we analyse data from 1995 concerning the individuals´ judgements of their education and training we find teachers as outstanding in two ways. First, they are the social category that to the

highest extent consider that their education is related to their work. Only 3 percent of teachers consider that there is little relation between their education and their work, compared to e.g. 12 percent among managers and up to 20 percent among workers. Second, they are the group that most often states that their education and training is not enough for their work. Thus, from teachers´ point of view they find their education and training useful and need more of this in order to do a good job.

There is also a higher level of expertise needed at work in the 1990s. Looking at teachers we find this pattern as well for teachers, especially within higher education. More detailed analyses show if we just focus on teachers on lower levels we will find that their expertise is lower or equal to other groups of employees in society in the 1990s, with the exception of unskilled workers.

Where and when	Which individuals	Expert	Skilled	Non-skilled	Sum
Sweden 1980	All in study	8	31	61	100
	Teachers	8	92	0	100
Sweden 1995	All in study	13	42	45	100
	Teachers	23	77	0	100
Norway 1982	All in study	15	35	50	100
	Teachers	11	89	0	100
Norway 1995	All in study	16	41	43	100
	Teachers	33	67	0	100

Table 6: Skill levels among all individuals and teachers in Sweden and Norway 1980/82 and 1995. Percent.

Thus, considering changes in education level as well as expertise needed in different positions in the social structure teachers have got a less exclusive position. The hallmark of teachers as an expertise group has thus been of less significance in times of educational and social restructuring in the two welfare states.

Social and political orientations

A way to understand teachers' orientations in society in relation to their position is to look at their conceptions in socially conflicting matters. First, it can be stated that teachers as a group is the category in our study that is most frequently against privatisation of the public sector in general and privatisation of education in specific. Second, we will take a closer

look at teachers´ orientations compared to different social categories. In figure 2 values are representing mean values of different social categories on socio-political orientations (see appendix 1 b). Low values mean an orientation closer to capital-owners and managers and high levels mean values closer to workers. This works in practice according to the outcomes in the figure, where we found a persistent pattern within and between social categories over space and time. In the category "all" we can note - however - that "the time spirit" in the Scandinavian welfare

Figure 2: Socio-political orientations among different social categories in Sweden and Norway 1980/82 and 1995
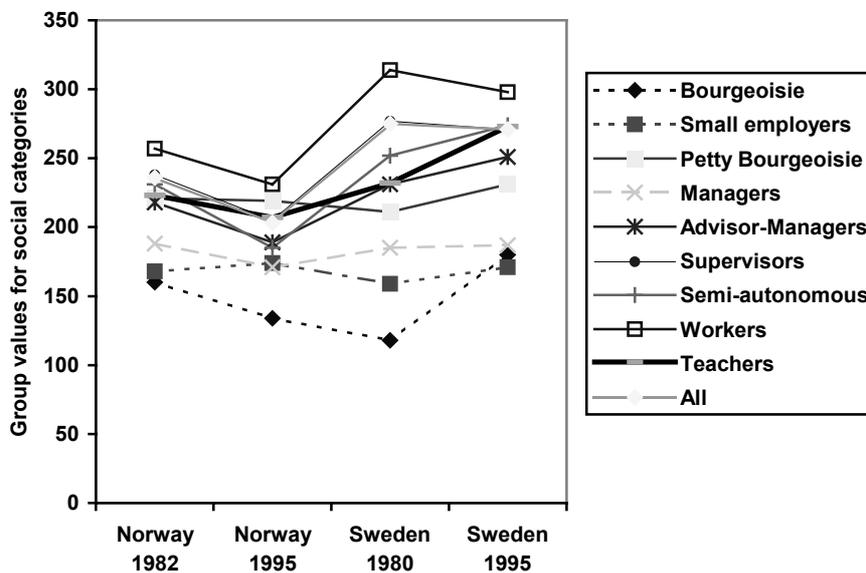
states has moved in favour of those in economic power and that in Sweden we are generally somewhat more oriented towards workers´ orientations.

Comparing teachers´ orientations in this respect with other social categories show that teachers as a group mostly take an intermediate position between e.g. managers on one hand and workers on the other hand. This matters for Norway as well as Sweden. Looking at changes between the early 1980s and the middle 1990s as presented in figure 2 there is a general pattern that supports that opinions predominating among those with economic power (employers and managers) are decreasing among teachers in Sweden in general - and especially among teachers - and somewhat increasing in Norway, though less than general.

Measuring teachers' political orientations, seen within the context of the traditional party-system, we can take the starting point in a polarised

view and look at the support for the right-wing respectively left-wing parties. In Sweden 1980 there was a relatively strong support (8,5 percent) for the left-wing party (VPK) and interestingly enough a remarkably low support for the Social Democratic Party (app. 15 percent). As a point of reference the support for the Social Democratic party was 26 percent among the managers, and even among the petty bourgeoisie the percentage strongly in support of the social democrats were higher than among teachers (app.16 percent).

Looking at the other pole of the political spectrum there was a relatively strong support for the right-wing party (the Conservatives) with app. 20 percent of the teachers strongly in support of them. Most significant beside the very low support for the Social Democrats was however the very strong support for the Liberal party (app. 17 percent, compared with the average 4 percent). This was the political profile in an era of relative stability and continuity. What about the early 1990s? In general terms we can speak of a radicalisation of the teachers collective in Sweden. The support for the Social Democratic party has now increased considerably to app. 27 percent and the support for the left-wing party (VPK) has also increased from a high level to 17 percent, which by far is the highest figure in support of this party among all our social categories. On the other pole of the spectrum the support for the right wing party among teachers has decreased considerably to app. 11 percent.

What concerns the political centre there has traditionally been a strong support for the liberals among teachers in Sweden. Under the studied period this support has declined somewhat but is still relatively strong (13 percent). What is more interesting is that teachers to a very high degree support the new "green" or "ecological" party (Miljöpartiet). This party which is closely associated with non-establishment movements and non-traditional radicalism gained a firm support from teachers in Sweden 1995 (app. 18 percent). It is also interesting that the other new party in Sweden under the studied period (Kristdemokraterna) - a party with a conservative Christian profile - gained very little support from teachers (1,2 percent).

In Norway 1982 we have a picture resembling the early Swedish period. A very low support for the Social Democratic party (app. 15 percent), a strong support (app. 12 percent) for the left-wing party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti) and a relatively strong support (app. 19 percent) for the right-wing party (Høyre). This gives a polarised view of the teachers´ collective, with a firm support as well for the traditional conservatives as for the non-establishment left and a very fragile support for the Social Democratic Party, a party that could be identified with the establishment.

Changes in Norwegian teachers´ political sympathies during the studied period also show similarities with the Swedish situation in terms

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of radicalisation. The group expressing strong support for the Social Democrats has almost been doubled (to app. 26). The support for the right-wing party (Høyre) has declined substantially (to app. 9 percent). On the other pole of the radical-conservative dimension the support for the left wing party (Sosialistisk Venstre) has gone from a high level to what must be characterised as an extraordinarily high level (30,5 percent). This means that this left-wing party is the party in Norway gaining most support from the teachers´ collective at this time. In the political middle one can conclude that the most dramatic change during the period is that a party with a somewhat conservative Christian profile (Kristelig Folkeparti) has more than tripled its support from teachers (to 22,5 percent). The liberals (Venstre) has thus lost its position in Norway as the dominating party in the centre among teachers.

This pattern in sum gives support to the idea that to some extent teachers have changed their socio-political orientations, though to different degrees in Norway and Sweden and that to a larger degree they support orientations predominant among workers, especially in Sweden.

Concluding discussion

In this text we have dealt with teachers from an outside point of view. We have been looking at their location and orientation in society. Using a theoretical model for analysis of social structures and classes we have located (or constructed) teachers in a contradictory position sensitive for contextual changes. According to our findings there have been huge and similar contextual changes in Norway and Sweden:

- In sum the middle layers have taken over as the most frequent category from the workers.
- Work is reorganised in ways that generally increase the autonomy and authority among employees.
- The level of education has generally increased among individuals as well as skills necessary for work.

Considering these changes teachers in 1995 are less exclusive as a social category. They belong to the largest social category (if we summarise the middle layers). Other groups of employees have increased their autonomy and authority and have come closer to teachers in this respect. The same holds true for level of education, where large shares have higher education and have jobs demanding higher levels of expertise. We also find patterns of work overload and demand of more education and training among teachers. Taken together teachers in 1995 have works and lives more common compared to the early 1980s.

Looking at changes in the teachers' corps in Norway and Sweden, we find somewhat different tendencies according to our findings in this study. We find differences in job autonomy and authority as well as in incomes and career constraints. We also find different socio-political

orientation tendencies where teachers in Sweden as a group have come closer to workers and teachers in Norway somewhat closer to employers and managers.

If we regard professionalisation in terms of autonomy, incomes and career possibilities, we can put forward the following tentative conclusion. Teachers in Sweden have become more proletarian and teachers in Norway more professionalised during the current period. However, such conclusions must be regarded as very provisional and treated with care. There is a need to differentiate between different categories of teachers as well as doing solid historical studies within this field. However, the proletarisation tendency concerning Swedish teachers from the same period is consistent with other studies already done by e.g. Falkner (1997) and Lindblad (1997).

In this study we have tried to get a more general picture of teachers' work and life in relation to other groups in society. The outcomes of this work have underlined the importance of doing cross-professional studies, where we e.g. relate teachers' work to e.g. nurses or social workers. We will learn more about teachers' work and life when we compare with other professions. The high relevance that teachers claim about their own training and education is an example of this. In a similar way we can state that comparative studies are of importance if we want to understand social as well as professional changes. Though Norway and Sweden are quite similar contexts for teachers' work, comparisons produce questions of interest: Do we witness proletarisation or professionalisation tendencies and processes? If so, how come? Does social and educational restructuring mean different things in different contexts? In what ways can teachers and their organisations act in order to change the premises for their work and life?

This text has been more of description and less of prescription. However, we hope that our analyses can be of some interest for teachers and teacher educators. We would like to put forward the following remarks concerning education restructuring:

- Education restructuring might lead to professionalising outcomes. But our analyses point to proletarianising outcomes as well. There is a need to analyse the concrete implications of such changes in education governance.
- Increased autonomy of work might be of high value. But autonomy has a double edge, which will show in times of economic cuts, where you as a teacher might administrate worsened premises and outcomes of work.
- Increased accountability in deregulated work with autonomous positions - which we have found in our studies - might lead to increased workloads which in turn might lead to increased tendencies to burn out.

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These remarks point to dark sides (see also Ball, 1987 on this aspect) of education restructuring needed to know in order to deal with such changes in a practical way.

In addition we would like to add two final points concerning social change and teachers' work:

- Education restructuring is part and parcel of societal restructuring that has implications for different social categories and their relations to each other.
- If levels of education and expertise increase in a society, then the need for improved education and training of teachers at all levels increases as well.

These last points can be taken as a point of departure for an intensified professionalisation project for teachers and teacher educators. But it can also be considered as a stress of demand on teachers as intellectuals in late modern societies, where "a life more common" gives a different societal perspective than "a life more professionalised".

Appendix 1: Important concepts in the theoretical framework and some remarks on their operationalisation

The model of relations between different groups in society builds on constructions of different positions. A thorough presentation is given by Olin Wright (1985, s 19-63). Basic distinctions are "simple commodity production" (dominated by the petty bourgeoisie) and "capitalist mode of production". Social class is a relational concept. In order to capture these relations concepts of domination (control over work) and appropriation (appropriation of surplus) are needed. It is this model we use in this text.

This model is later developed with a focus on ownership and number of employees on one side and relations to authority and scarce skills on the other side. We are using these concepts in order to capture relations between different categories in work organisations. Below follows short descriptions of concepts and their operationalisation.

1a: Position, authority and autonomy

In Wright´s conception of class great emphasis is placed on the concrete work situation and various aspects of control and autonomy. Important concepts in this context is position, autonomy, decision-making authority, work place authority, sanctioning authority.

Position

This variable is based on the question: Which of the following describes best the position you hold/held within your business or organisation. Would you say it is/it was a managerial position, a supervisory position, or a non-management position?
Non-manager
Supervisor
Manager
Then follows a filter: If you belong to the management how would you describe your position? Alternatives:
Lower manager
Middle manager
Upper manager. Here two alternatives have been collapsed: Belongs to top and higher management.

Autonomy

This variable is based on the following questions:
Is/was your work of such kind that it is/was necessary for you to plan important work-tasks and implement your own ideas or is/was your work of such kind that it is/was not necessary for you to plan important work-tasks and implement your own ideas, except in minor details.
Responses: Yes, No
Can you give us examples of how you plan(ed) your work tasks and implement(ed) your own ideas in your work? Open-ended responses.
Autonomy categories: low, medium and high autonomy.

Decisionmaking Authority

Overall authority
Do/did you participate in any way, directly or by providing advice, in decisions of great importance for functions in your organisation or business?
   Further authority dimensions were measured through a battery based on questions about decision-making. The questions concerned:
- Decisions to increase or decrease the total number of people employed in the place where you work(ed)
- Policy decisions to significantly change the products, programmes, or services delivered by the organisation for which you work(ed).
- Policy decisions to significantly change the basic methods or procedures of work used in a major part of your workplace.
- Participate in general policy decisions about the distribution of funds within the overall budget of the place where you work(ed).

Answers

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- Do not/did not participate in the decision.
- Make/made the decision myself
- Participate(ed) as voting member of a group that make/made the decision.
- Make/made decision that has/had to be confirmed by higher authority.
- Give/gave advice.

   Responses were weighed so that answer 2 and 3 were given value 1 and other responses 0. The four questions on decision-making were then added and recoded into restricted policy authority (at least two points) and intermediate authority (at least three points on the index).

Restricted policy authority: At least two points on the index.
Intermediate policy authority: At least three points on the index.
Extended policy authority: The respondent had to give answer 2 and 3 on all questions.

Authority among supervisors and managers

Work place authority
Based on the following three questions asked to persons with supervisory functions: As part of your (last)job, are/were you directly responsible for any of the following:

- Deciding which specific tasks or work assignments would be carried out by people working under your supervision.
- Deciding in what way the work should be done, e.g. what tools or material to use.
- Deciding how fast they work, for how long time, or how much work they have to do.

   In order to get "work place authority" the respondents have to answer "yes" to all three questions.

Sanctioning authority

Based on the question
As a part of your job, can/could you influence pay, promotion or can/could you discipline people you supervise(d).
Alternatives

- Raise pay or promote a subordinate.
- Prevent a raise in payment or promotion because of poor work or misconduct.

   Alternatives: (1) I have no influence (2) I have some influence but someone else has greater influence (3): I have greatest influence. In order to have sanctioning authority the respondent has to answer 2 or 3 to both questions.

Skill dimensions

Here we follow Wright´s operationalisation of intermediate skill dimension.[38] This is based on principally three dimensions: position in formal authority, decision-making authority, and powers over subordinates.

These dimensions in their turn is characterised in the following way: Position in formal authority hierarchy: manager, supervisor, no authority. Decision-making authority: directly participates in policy decisions, only provides advice on policy decisions, no participation in policy decisions. Powers over subordinates: sanctioning authority, task authority, nominal authority, no authority.

Skill categories are: experts, skilled and non-skilled. Examples of occupations frequent placement in categories are:

- Experts: Physicians and dentists, accountants, auditors, university teachers, engineers, scientists.
- Skilled: Teachers; elementary and secondary, foremen, farmers.
- Nonskilled: Secretaries, transportation workers, farm labourers and foremen, white collar services.
- 1b: Socio-political orientations

In order to capture experiences and tendencies to coherences between different social layers and categories. Statements dealing with conflicting interests in society concerning wealth, strikes, etc., are used, such as:

- Corporations benefit owners at the expense of workers and consumers
- During a strike management should be prohibited by law from hiring workers to take the place of workers
- It is possible for a modern society to run effectively without the profit motive
- Big corporations have far too much power
- If given the chance, the non-management employees at the place where you work could run things effectively without bosses

The respondents can agree or disagree to the statements to a different extent.

1c: Some notions on categorisation of teachers

Teachers are defined by means of the Nordic Encyclopaedia of Occupations as those individuals working with education matters. Such a categorisation is not unproblematic, due to differences in this category. Below we present subcategorisations over studies:

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[38] We are here following the operationalisation Wright labels as Intermediate criteria (Wright 1997, p 82f).

	Sweden		Norway	
	1980	1995	1982	1995
Headteachers	2	11	8	5
University teachers	4	10	5	10
Upper secondary school teachers	12	13	31	33
Comprehesive school teachers	33	36	48	46
Pre-school teachers	13	23	11	22
Others	1	10	7	8
Sum	65	103	108	124

If we look at this information we can notice expansions of early childhood education as well as higher education. What perhaps is of more interest is that we find a more diversified set of categories in 1995 in Sweden which indicates changes in the organisation of schooling. Thus, there is a need to review this categorisation.

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TEACHER EDUCATION DIVERSIFIED?

A SOCIOLOGICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Jette Steensen

Introduction

What is happening to teacher education?

Educational reforms are currently being experienced in many corners of the world, in developing as well as developed countries from England to France – From Africa to Scandinavia. The issues being raised are whether these reforms are transitory fluctuations or represent a far more fundamental restructuring of education in relation to the market, the state and civil society.

More specifically the main question under consideration here is what influence the above development will have upon teacher education and the teaching profession.

This article reports from an ongoing research 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 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.

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 seem 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 is happening. These considerations have led to more fundamental questions about the relationsship between structure

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and culture, between state and market and not least between the intertwining of discourses and practices.

The research is carried out comparatively by making parallel analyses in Denmark and Sweden, the two neighbouring countries represent a principle of differentiation as well as a principle of similarity. On the one hand the governing principles are historically different in that Sweden has a strong tradition of centralisation whereas Denmark to a large extent is based on more decentral and liberal governing principles. This is assumed to be of some importance in the interpretation, (cf. Archer 78). On the other hand both countries are based on a long welfare tradition "the Scandinavian model" (now under influence of international trends of restructuring).

The empirical part of the project has just started, thus the focus of the present article is on exploring a theoretical framework, which can be used when working towards explanations of educational change. At the outset it seemed obvious to make the project comparative in trying to understand and explain restructuring. Comparison between educational systems is often carried out in quite a pragmatic way, as mere case studies describing a selected part of the educational system in each country 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; it is, rather, identical with sociology itself to the extent that it ceases to be purely descriptive and aims to account for the facts"[39].

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 desperately 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

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[39] Durkheim Emile (1986): *Les régles de la methode sociologique, 22 e edition. Paris: PUF*, p.137.

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. 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. Therefore the *habitus* combining the incorporated and objectified resources of the individual 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 Carrim[40] the interplay of the teachers' general way of life and professional identity, saying that

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

Concepts of change: *Transition, reform, change or restructuration*

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."*[41]

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

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[40] 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 pp 45 – 52.
[41] Thomas H.Popkewitz (1991): *A political Sociology of Educational Reform"* Teachers College, Columbia university New York and London. p. 17.

towards something better. In a previous article[42], 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 in addition 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*[43].

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 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, Godelier[44] 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), the statement was made 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.

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[42] Jette Steensen (2001): "Udkast til *seismologisk analyse af læreruddannelsen"* in Karin Anna Petersen(red): Praktikker i erhverv of uddannelse, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
[43] 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.
[44] Maurice Godelier(1987): *Introduction: The analysis of transition processes* in Godelier(ed) The process of transition: Anthropological case studies, Oxford Blackwell.

> *"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 evolve (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, there is a certain stable balance of power which maintains the existing equilibrium i.e. produces the conditions for 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 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 certain logics, which added together and in the long run will result in more fundamental structural changes is only rarely subject for discussion.

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 are part of a general social change, which might lead to a transition into another type of society. In his triology on the network society Castells[45] gives some persuasive indications that point in this direction.

Understanding changes in education: *The role of the state*

In the following I shall discuss the role of the state[46] with two different purposes in mind. First it forms the background for my effort to

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[45] Manuel Castells (1997): The Information Age – Economy, Society and Culture, Blackwell, UK.

[46] When I say "The state" I point before any further problematisation of the concept to a geographical territory, a population identifying with what is called the nation, a way of

understand educational change. Secondly the discussion of the role of the state is important for teacher education more directly in that I assume that one of the functions of the teacher in the modern welfare state was to be the stable pillar of the welfare state, the reliable provider of social cohesion. When the role of the state changes, so does the role of the teacher.

Here I assume that it is the role of the state:

- To **ensure availability of high quality knowledge and qualified labour** which can assist the free movement of capital and contribute to the smooth running of general economic conditions necessary in a capitalist economy.
- Maintain **social cohesion (social reproduction)**. Contribute to the legitimacy of the system through discourses and practices, which aim to maintain a reliable vision of equity, equal opportunity and good life[47]. If we follow Foucault's argument that all have been disciplined into accepting individualistic lifestyles as internalised self-government, the need for a special legitimating function of the state has diminished. This might explain why the state can reduce its efforts towards equity and at the same time slacken central government control as a contribution to social cohesion.
- Keep together **national identity (cultural reproduction)**. This function has become a pivotal issue during current debates on migration, but only in very culturally and ethnically homogeneous states will this strategy still be possible, and even, as is the case in Denmark, the surface is cracking.

A central issue in trying to understand the actual differences and the development over time of educational systems implies a parallel detailed analysis of the role of the state. Often neo-liberalism is associated with the retreat of the state from earlier functions in society. When talking about the diminishing power of the state it is more often a question about a shift in priorities between the three main functions.

In Denmark this combination of shifting priorities are the following: Whereas the economic responsibility for schools has been decentralised to the municipalities causing larger differences in the economic

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organising political governement separated from the rest of society. This state-entity is primarily a central entity with its prolongation on provincial or municipality level. Although in some countries the latter have an identity of their own, they are not just the local representatives of the central governement, but have their own possibility to publish laws and regulations, collect taxes and spend money, uprighthold order and the national consensus. In everyday life terms the entity is considered as a central apparatus.Theorist like Bourdieu or Foucault declare that it can better be understood as a specific way of doing the same things as always, but disposing of a unique concentration of resssources and power.

[47] Pierre Bourdieu & Jean-Claude Passeron: Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, Sage1990, p. 194.

allocations to schools in different areas of the country[48], there has been an increasing focus on "christianity"(religion) as a school subject as well as the importance of a specific Danish cultural content, and the introduction of a national curriculum has been announced as far as the subject content is concerned, this means that the first function: to maintain the institutional conditions for a capitalist economy remains more or less the same, whereas the second: to maintain social cohesion is weakened, and the third: the effort to maintain a national cultural identity might even have been strengthened.

However, the problem is not necessarily to know if there is more or less "state" at stake. It might also be a question of how state based interventions operate. Most educational systems are part of the public sector at some level and hence submitted to public administration. Many examples of educational changes implemented the last ten years are examples of different ways of implementing different types of government, administration, and steering. In a centralised public system many of the changes are apparently transmitted easily to the educational subsector, both by direct regulations and by the homologous habitus of the actors.

In a decentralised system all these things may take different shapes. That is exactly what seems to be the case with many of the types of restructuring, which go under labels like decentralisation, autonomy and professionalism, regulation by objectives and evaluation instead of by rules etc.

Apparently this amounts to a redistribution of power to the detriment of central government responsible for social welfare for all, and to the advantage of powerful individual actors and institutions on a competitive free market. But at the same time it may also be experienced as emancipation from state paternalism/oppression. This is the **double-edged perspective** of educational restructuring I feel one has to count with.

The end of the teacher as the faithful public servant of the welfare state?

With the rise of the modern state one finds a special class of public servants in the police, the army and the courts, in administration, and later within education, health and social welfare in general. This sector is supposed to work quite independently of the private sector and according to its own separate logic. Those who work in the private sector are there

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[48] Danmarks Lærerforenings undersøgelse af den kommunale budgetlægning, afviklet 31/8 til 18/9-2000, Den nationale Karakterbog, Skole og samfund 25/8 – 11/9-2000, Dansktimer over et skoleforløb Danmarks Lærerforening 1997/98.

first and foremost to make money and must adapt to demand. In contrast those who work in the public sector are supposed to adapt to the principles of *the common good*. They are not subject to competition and they do not have to adapt to individual demand. He/she knows what is best in the common interest.

So the motive and the content of the job are different from that of the private employee and so is the basic social relationship between the jobholder and his client/customer.

In a certain way the public servant (and especially the intellectual version of the public servant) feels some disdain towards private sector wage workers and private employees as well as the petit bourgeois, because in some way or another they have to sell themselves, they have to bow their heads and submit themselves to the laws of supply and demand. At least until very recently public servants had a secure income and only had to consider their important intellectual and social mission: this is, however, only made possible by the fact that they have been appointed to represent *the common interest*, questions of power and monetary matters are beyond their scope of interest.

This somewhat caricaturial description of the public servant has been criticised by radicals, marxists like Althusser, Gintis & Bowles, Masuch and others, but also strongly by Bourdieu, who has dealt with this problematics although in a more elaborate form. Firstly this criticism is based on the assumption that state and civil society are not identical, indeed: they might be considered based upon opposite interests. The general view of schooling serving the general emancipation and liberation of the population in general has thus been criticized and instead the basic assumption has been put forward that schooling is a means of oppression working in the interest of the ruling class.

Another angle is that the holders of jobs within the public sector constitute their own special social class with their own interests, wage claims and subcultural values. It is in their own interest to appear above special interests. This means that the general picture of the educational researcher, the school teacher and the teacher educator only pursuing the common good and the truth for the sake of the thruth to some extent is an *ideological* distortion.

Other researchers have also discussed, who the teacher is serving, - the state - his profession or the child. Brown (1990)[49] uses the *wave* analogy of Toffler (1981) in order to develop some conceptual apparatus, which describes 3 different states of relationship between the state and schooling. Thus he wants to provide a general picture of educational change in England especially with a view to the *third wave* which he thinks raises important sociological issues about the relationship between

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[49] Philip Brown (1990) *The Third Wave: education and ideology of parentocracy,* in British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol 11, no 1, 1990 pp 65 – 85.

education and the state, and the way sociologists and educationalists have understood the development of *State*-sponsored comprehensive education.

The **first wave** is the development of mass schooling in the nineteenth century. He emphasizes that at this stage the task of the teacher was intended to **confirm** rather than **transcend existing** social divisions. (Hurt, 1981)[50]. Elementary education was seen as a device to reform manners, promote religion and ensure discipline (Johnson 1976)[51]. H.G. Wells who referred to the British 1870 Education Act as one designed to *educate the lower classes for employment on lower class lines, and with specially trained inferior teachers* (in Glass 1961, p 394)[52]. Secondary education, which remained the preserve of the middle classes until well into the twentieth century, existed primarily to provide an education perceived to be suitable for a *gentleman*, and in order to ensure the reproduction of social and economic élites.

The *second wave* is described as an ideological shift to *meritocracy* an organising principle based on one´s age, aptitude and ability, and one's effort (achievement). In a *meritocratic* system of education the teacher must work to ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity of gaining access to jobs concomitant with their abilities. However, the meritocracy never promised equality, only that, inequalities would be distributed more fairly.

The first concept, which broke down the assumption that elementary and secondary education should relate to different social classes, was that of the ladder of opportunity. But it was not until the inter-war years that the idea of an educational ladder was extended to a call for *secondary education*.

The shift towards a system of *contest* mobility in Britain was not ultimately achieved on an appeal to social justice or the acquisition of a common culture, but on the grounds that educational expansion was necessary in order to ensure Britain's economic prosperity.

Brown states that the expansion of comprehensive education in the 1960s and 1970s has led to an improvement in educational standards, although the working classes have not significantly improved their relative educational or life chances.

This leads to the main point of the article, the idea of the *third wave*. According to Brown the dual objectives of *equality of opportunity* and *economic efficiency* were the two-edged sword turned against the

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[50] Hurt, J (ed) (1981): *Childhood, Youth and Education in the late Nineteenth Century*, Leicester, History of Education Society.
[51] Johnson, R (1976): *Notes on the schooling of the English working class 1780 – 1850,*in R. Dale, Gesland & M. Macdonald (Eds) *Schooling and Capitalism*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
[52] Glass, D.V. (1961): *Education and social change in modern England,* in A. H. Halsey et al. (eds): Education, Economy and Society, Glencoe, Free Press.

advocates of comprehensive education because on both dimensions the educational system has failed to live up to its promise. The investment in education could not prevent economic decline during the 1970s and meritocracy had not become reality. This situation has paved the way for the third wave, which he calls the wave of *parentocracy*[53]**.** Under parentocracy the teacher is no longer only the servant of the state but rather the servant of the parents.

To sum up: it does make a difference that the teacher is a public servant. But it depends upon the perspective of the analysis if the conclusion is that it makes a difference for the better or for worse. Whether it is good or bad remains an open question. In principle market orientation and the rise of *parentocracy* might just as well be interpreted as the restoration of a democratic right to decide over the life of schooling of one's children as it might be interpreted as the ultimate submission to parents who look upon the school as individual consumers.

Eventually we find ourselves involved in a set of problems where the role of the nation state and the public sector as provider of education for all is questioned both from the left and from the right. And where the way of governing educational systems and society in general is in theory and practice thought of in new ways.

From state to market*: neo-liberalism and education*

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)[54]. Dale (1994)[55], Dale (1997)[56], Whitty (1997)[57]. And it seems easy to demonstrate that restructuring has taken place in the different formal public education systems.

When discussing neo-liberal policies it is, however, not always certain that people in fact refer to the same aspects. Before I go on I should therefore like to point to the following changes on the economic, political, ideological, and social level, which I assume as a general and global political shift of climate towards neo-liberalism:

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[53] Brown, Philip (1990): ”*The Third Wave: Education and Ideology of parentocracy*”, in: British Journal of Sociology of Education, vol.11, no 1, pp 65-85.
[54] Brown,Philip & Hugh Lauder (1996): Education, globalization and economic development, journal of Education policy, vol 11, NO 1, 1 – 25.
[55] 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.
[56] 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.
[57] 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.

On the economic level

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

On the political level

- The rise of the uncontested hegemony of the United States after the collapse of the Soviet Union and its allies
- The expansion and strenghtening of the European Union, in other regions of the world other unions are been set up in order to match its strength.
- Increasing influence of global financial institutions like the OECD, The World Bank, The WTO and the World Bank[58].

On the discursive level

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

On the social level

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

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

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[58] 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.

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:

> ...As stated above our point of departure is neither the discourse about professionalization and empowerment nor the discourse about neo-liberal economization but rather a view of restructuring as different responses to societal changes and thus a part of the transition to late modernity[59].

In contrast I would like to emphasize here that in my point of view neo-liberal restructuring is not just another discourse, but a material fact resulting from the deregulation of the state following from the policies of late capitalism[60]. 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 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)[61]. 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

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[59] 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.

[60] 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.

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

because what is actually being said, but also because planners and researchers are consciously and systematically being educated in the same economic agenda 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.

Educational changes: *A sociological perspective*

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 perspective stressing the importance of the original ideas of great men and 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 instead 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 find plausible explanations in several major traditions. I should like to point out that it is not my intention to form any synthesis, I just want to point out different perspectives which might complement each other.

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 one assumes that society is provided with a feedback mechanism, which assures that the equilibrium is restored if internal or external factors disturb it.

From a structural-functionalist perspective Archer (1979) focuses on the social origins of Educational Systems and discusses change in centralized and decentralized systems respectively.

Although inspiration in educational restructuring seem to be more or less similar across countries, the actual consequences still seem to turn out quite differently, and one of the important factors to look for is

whether the national system of education has its historic origins in decentralised or centralised systems.

According to Archer the social structure of education consists not only of structural conditions, but also of socio-cultural interaction around power and interests. In "Culture and Agency"[62]. Archers intends to study cultural change, but at the end of the book, she maintains that structural changes can be studied in exactly the same way as cultural changes, and in her later works[63] she explores how social change and cultural change mutually influences each other i.e. change is never only cultural or social. She regards culture as consisting not only of coherent or incoherent pedagogical ideas, but also of socio-cultural interaction between groups and individuals concering the fundamental ideas.

Using Archer´s concepts one could put forward the hypothesis that through the past 25 years we have in Denmark a continuous social dynamics, but at the same time cultural stagnation and an enclosed self-sustained discourse and practice especially within the system of secondary and further education and particularly within teacher education, which can be traced back to the cultural decentralisation and late change in social structure which now resists a smooth globally inspired transition to advanced capitalism and late-modernity, but without also any offensive counter reaction. A development reinforced by the neoliberal wave through the 90s, which favours the center and leaves out the weaker institutions and individuals in the periphery. The educational reforms, implemented through legislation (e.g. the teacher education reform of 1997), seem only to have created even further incoherence instead of a totally new system adapted to the situation.

Functionalism does not say anything about who will be the initiator, the force and engine 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. Archer and other more structurally oriented objectivist theorists who are also inspired by Weber do see a 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, 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.

Another point of inspiration comes from a Foucault- inspired focus on political discourse. Many researchers have used Michel Foucault's

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[62] Archer Margaret (1988): Culture and Agency, Cambridge University Press.
[63] Archer, Margaret (1995): Realist social theory: the morphogenetic approach, Cambridge University Press.

theoretical elaboration on power, government and discipline[64] to define and explain restructuring from a new angle. This new theory of power and government is today very often used as a contrast to an approach based upon Marx, classical sociology and Bourdieu. I think, however, that Foucault is often being overexploited in some interpretations in a way that fits too nicely into the current agenda to avert our attention from the deeper structural and economic inequalities of the present day.

Researchers have used Foucault´s concept of governmentality 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 Foucault might not have intended this use of the concept, 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, 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 and discourses, which contribute to the formation of subjectivities, which govern themselves. The central concept is not government, but governmentality (government of mentalities).

Popkewitz (1991, 1992, 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.

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[64] Foucault´s texts on this matter can be found in e.g. Vol. 3 of a series edited by Paul Rabinow:" Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, The New Press, New York 2000. Applications in research on education can be found in e.g. T.Popkewitz & M.Brennan (eds): "Foucault´s Challenge, Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education", Teachers College Press, Columbia University, New York 1998 and S.Lindblad & T.Popkewitz (eds) Listening to Education Actors on governance and social integration and exclusion, Uppsala Reports on Education nr 37–39, Uppsala 2001.

Popkewitz´s idea is to account for the relationsship 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.

A third point of inspiration comes from confronting Popkewitz´ views with Bourdieu's more radical critique of the neo-liberal restructurations[65]. In his substantial work "The Weight of World"[66] 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.

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.

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 theories

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[65] Bourdieu: Acts of Resistance (1998): Polity Press.
[66] Bourdieu, Pierre (1999): The Weight of the World", Polity Press.

of power.[67] 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).

I want to close this presentation and discussion of the Archer-Foucault-Popkewitz-Bourdieu point of view stressing that in my opinion teacher education is not only dependent upon a network of discourses sustaining the legend and myth of Danish teacher education, but primarily it is dependent upon socio-political power, specifically state power and state government at different levels, the 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.

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[67] Bourdieu, Pierre & Jean-Calude Passeron (1970): "Reproduction in Education,Society and Culture", second ed. Sage Publications.

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.

The future of teacher education: *Current trends*

During the 90s and in line with the above tendencies Teacher Education which used to be a rather National and public sector affair has gradually become an issue, where cross-national aspects have dominated (Popkewitz (1992)[68], (2000)[69], Shimahara & Holowinsky (1995)[70], (Sander (ed.) (1999)[71], Brock & Tulasiewicz(eds.) (2000)[72], Watson, Modgil & Modgil (eds.) (1997)[73]. As a national and public affair it was also a state affair. So when it became an affair evolving across countries, it also became an affair of states, which is why we nowadays can trace many of the proposals for educational restructuring in a national context to general suggestions put forward internationally.

So what can we say at present about trends in teaching and teacher education in a comparative perspective and how are these trends reflected in a Danish context – and most difficult of all, what explanations can be offered?

Andy Hargreaves[74] has put forward an interesting way to look at restructuring of teacher education from a triple perspective pointing to the role of history, social space and fall in status. He calls his theoretical standpoint a social- geographic approach and defines it in the following way:

> *Social geographies involve the study of social space and human constructions, perceptions and representations of spatiality as contexts for and consequences of human interaction[75]*

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[68] Thomas Popkewitz (1992): Changing Patterns of Power, Social regulation and Teacher Education reform, State University of New York Press.
[69] Thomas Popkewitz (2000): *Educational Knowledge,changing relationships between the state, civil society and the educational community,* State University of New York Press.
[70] Nobuo K. Shimahara & Ivan Z Holowinsky (1995): *Teacher education in Industrialized nations,* Garland Publishing, Inc. New York and London.
[71] Theodor Sander (ed) (1999): Teacher Education in Europe in the late 1990s, Tntee Publications, 2 dec, Umeå University.
[72] Colin Brock and Witold Tulasiewicz (eds.) (2000): Education in a single Europe, second.ed. Routledge, London and New York.
[73] Keith Watson, Celia Modgil and Sohan Modgil (eds) (1997): *Teachers , Teacher Education and Training,* Cassell; London.
[74] Hargreaves, A. (1995): *Toward a Social Geography of Teacher Education* in Shimahara & Holowinsky: Teacher Education in Industrailized Nations, Garland Publishing, New York & London.
[75] Hargreaves, A. (1995) p. 7.

As it may appear from my discussion of Popkewitz' point of view I feel that this approach is interesting, but not sufficiently adequate in trying to explain the causes behind present educational restructuring and what the effects will be, I also feel that the analysis has a strong anglo/american bias and ends in normative recommendations, nevertheless it touches upon central areas which I will discuss as a starting point.

Hargreaves points out the following 3 trends in teacher education: 1) The foundational disciplines of education are in decline 2) Schools of education are closing down or merging and 3) Alternate routes of certification are being established. I shall discuss the relevance of these three trends below and shall add also two more trends: 4) the impact of the so-called rise of the knowledge society and 5) changing working conditions in schools.

Traditional educational sciences as the foundation for the profession are dissolving.

In restructuring efforts the argument is that teaching is not a science but an art. This again results in the rise of a new scientific discipline called "pedagogical work"[76] or "teachers´work".

A new science of "the profession" is being developed in which principles of common practical sense, which have turned out to be useful are being codified. Teachers' Colleges must now educate for practice in the sense that new teachers must be familiar with this new "science" based on the common sense of the practitioners, but now it must be documented and made visible.

This trend can be found in Sweden in the new discipline of "Pedagogisk Arbete" and in Denmark a diploma study primarily aimed at pre-school teachers is offered with a content along the same lines.

At the same time the National Evaluation Institute in Denmark has announced an evaluation of the traditional foundational educational disciplines in teacher education, and as could be expected it points out that the discipline is much too theoretical and would benefit highly from being more focused on the professional aspects of teaching. It remains to be seen whether this recommendation will also result in new initiatives at other levels.

The tension between theory and practice is a classical dilemma in teacher education, but for most part of the past century teacher colleges had achieved some kind of compromise or equilibrium between personal development, school based practice and educational theory, although the tension has come to the surface at regular intervals. One may ask then,

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[76] It should be pointed out here that the term is different from that used by Bourdieu in "Reproduction".

what is the reason for change right now? or have the educational disciplines had other functions in the education of teachers which have not been recognized and which have become superfluous today?

Marginalization and disembedding of Teacher Education

To understand Hargreaves' argument one must remember that in many countries teacher education was merged into universities quite early, because his main point is that in spite of this fact teacher education remained marginal on the university campus. He refers to Goodson[77], who calls it a "devil's bargain" when teacher colleges entered the university environment, because

> it exacerbated the problem of teacher education's perceived irrelevance to the practical needs of teachers and teaching, but it made a second-class university citizen of teacher educators[78].

Whether this is a general law applicable to teacher education departments at universities in other countries becomes a question for further investigation. What I do know is that a coalition of interests consisting of teacher educators, headmasters and liberal and locally elected politicians managed to prevent Danish teacher colleges from entering university in 1974, and until recently the subject was never again subject to debate. The recent development in the sector of higher education has been the proposed new Centres for higher education, these institutions are not given any research rights, but are supposed to be "connected to research" in some way (whatever that means!) The question will now be whether these new institutions will develop into university type institutions or whether they will develop more along the lines of vocational schools in the form of so called "professional schools" which Hargreaves labels "symbolic encapsulation" because they focus on practice taken away from practice thus forming isolated experiments which might be just as remote from practice as the foundational disciplines, but maybe closer to the practitioners own practical sense and rationality.

Certification and credentialing of individuals instead of degrees - New roads into teaching

New types of certification and credentialing signify the ultimate disembedding of teacher education. In Denmark a lot of proposals have been put forward in recent years to the effect of admitting people with

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[77] Goodson, I.F. (1991): "The Devil's Bargain: Educational Research and the Teacher" paper presented to International Conference on Restructuring Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, April.
[78] Hargreaves, A. (1995) p. 5.

other types of qualifications into the teaching profession. Sometimes the purpose is said only to remediate temporal disfunctionalities in this specific sector of the labour market. Sometimes it is proposed as a way of promoting innovations in the profession. Sometimes it is proposed more or less openly as a tool in order to break down this and many other corporative monopolies. In May 2002 new legislation has just been passed allowing for a new shorter "merit" based teacher education allowing university academics, pre-school teachers and others to become school teachers in two years instead of the usual four. The teacher education monopoly seems to be broken.

In the U.S. the concept of credentialing has been introduced meaning the ultimate recognition of individual qualifications instead of definition of a certain type of education of a certain length to be followed. The present trend in Danish and European education of creating a common credit system also intends to improve flexibility and thus reduce costs in the educational sector. In relation to this one may ask: What happens to the socialising effect of teacher education, if any?

The impact of the so-called Rise of the Knowledge Society

There is no doubt that there is an increased focus on the teaching of subject-content in schools especially English, science and mathematics in line with the western (international) competition of who will be no 1. country of the so-called knowledge society. The Danish Teacher education was changed along these lines in 1997, and recently more centralized goals for all subjects in schools have been announced. Also in Sweden this trend has been emphasized:

> *the proposed new curriculum guide for the comprehensive school emphasizes subject learning. Knowledge and skills are to be promoted (Kallos 1994: New Policy contexts)*[79]

The renewed focus upon subject-content is, however, not the only trend. There is at the same time a trend towards more focus on the development of the more personal qualities, a trend to re-emphasise the acquisition of the capacity to learn and of high level reflexivity, both having high transfer potentiality between disciplines and areas of application. It has even moved into the national curriculum as a special area of effort in teaching. To emphasize the development of personal qualities – today often named competencies - is not something totally new, but what is new is that it has become so much part of the official agenda. (In the 70s development of special traits in pupils e.g. obedience was often referred to as the "hidden curriculum" by its critics)

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[79] Kallós & Lindblad (1994) p. 154.

Changing working conditions in schools

Teacher education and recruitment into teaching is very much dependent on the status and the general working conditions of teachers, how the profession is looked upon by its surroundings.

The concepts of **autonomy and professionalization** are very often used to describe teachers working conditions. The problem is that here are very many interpretations of what the concepts actually means and they are also quite subjective in orientation and definition, it all depends on the resources of the individual teacher how various changes will be perceived. There are a lot of contradictions in the various discourses on these concepts.

> *It has been argued that these changes imply a higher degree of teacher autonomy and require a shift towards a professional teacher role. We seriously question such notions and critically discuss them in this paper[80]*

> *To date empirical evidence from various countries provides more support for Hargreaves' assertion that the reforms are leading to an intensification of teachers' work than for his claim that they have potential for developing more rewarding forms of teacher culture[81]*

A survey conducted by Campbell and Neill (1994)[82] on the effects of the National Curriculum on primary school teachers in England and Wales conclude that there had been no overall improvement in standards but that teachers had been driven to burnout. They found that a 54-hour week was now the norm for teachers of children aged 4–7 with one in ten working more than 60 hours, and respondents talked of tiredness, irritability and depression, of sleeping badly, increased drinking, occasional crying in the staff room, and a sense of guilt that they were neglecting their own families.

Studies in New Zealand (Bridges 1992, Wylie 1994, Livingstone 1994) where the National Curriculum loading is a less significant factor but school self-management has gone further, have produced similar figures.

It is often said that the different restructuring tendencies might cause teachers' work to be more professional, having characteristics comparable to that sociology attributes to the liberal academic professions, or at least the characteristics those professions have claimed for themselves like professional practice based upon an exclusive science, with its own object, theory and method, monopoly of authorisation on the

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[80] Kallós & Lindblad (1994) p. 141.

[81] Whitty, Geoff (1997): Marketization, the state and the re-formation of the teaching profession in Halsey, A.H., Hugh auder, Philip Brown, Amy Stuart Wells: Education, Culture, Economy and Society, oxford University press 1997 pp. 299 – 310.

[82] Campbell, J and Neill, S (1994): Curriculum at Key Strage 1: Teacher commitment and Policy Failure, Harlow, Longman.

basis of a special education and certification, autonomous exercise of the profession, privilege of being judged exclusively by peers, etc.

The actual character of the rhetorics of professionalism remains obscure, at any rate the ethos of the profession might be changed in the new era of neo-liberal schooling.

> *We may finally ask if the attempts to strengthen and emphasize the professional character of teacher work originating primarily in the period when Sweden had a Social Democratic government today is changed into a neo-liberal professionalization project whereby teachers are to be transformed into knowledgeable entrepreneurs. The monopoly of the professionals is in such a situation replaced by competition between school companies and school entrepreneurs[83].*

Research on Teachers and Teacher Education

The current teacher education reforms in each of the two countries that appear in this study presuppose the development of research groups that focus on teacher education. After world war II, educational reforms in Finland, Iceland, Sweden, The United Kingdom and the United States saw the emergence of a specific sectoral research along with the incorporation of teachers colleges into universities.

This has not been the case in Denmark to the same extent, the Royal Danish School of Education (DLH), an institution for in service training and degree upgrading of primary teachers, and the Danish Pedagogical Institute (DPI) a state sector research institution had their focus upon primary schools, and the small Department of Education at the University of Copenhagen as well as the new departments of education at Roskilde and Aalborg University centres had other fields of specialization. All of them were also more oriented towards more philosophical-practical and applied research, and consequently research in teaching and teacher education in Denmark has been relatively isolated from international empirical educational research.

Preliminary conclusion

I shall maintain that it will be necessary to bring at least a certain number of these restructuring trends together, because they only get their full meaning if seen as a coherent cluster. It is also obvious that many of these trends/changes/restructurations need further analysis when it comes to understanding what they really touch upon, how they work, what their effects are and why they came about. I will here just take one example for a brief analysis: the transition from rule regulation to goal regulation in governance of public service institutions.

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[83] Kallos & Lindblad (1994) p. 160.

Apparently the change from rule based to goal plus evaluation based steering/managment could be considered a mere technical change, a new technique of government without professional impact in the classroom. Or it might be considered as promoting teacher autonomy and professionalism. But in fact it turns everything upside down. First of all it allows once more for the misrecognition of economic, social and cultural capital as determinants of school learning, much more drastically than the welfare state discourse on equality of opportunity. If the system is steered by the evalution of outcomes compared to objectives, the tacit assumption is that the participants produce the outcomes, and can be made accountable for it.

But it is well known that it is not true that it is the participants that produce the outcomes. It is the cultural capital in relation to the structure of the field. There is no linear causal relation between the actual contribution either of the teacher or of the learner or of both on the site, and the outcomes registered by the evaluation.

This is the main methodological problem of all assessment programs: they do not measure the product of actual inputs and processes, the efforts and achievements of teachers and learners individually and in interaction. They measure the product of a cluster of factors in time and space outside the reach of classroom interaction and those who participate in it.

So what seems to be a more liberal and professional government and steering technique is at least also ideological manipulation in a new shape and an important change in the hidden mechanisms of the role of schooling in social reproduction. What we shall try to investigate in this project is whether and how all these above mentioned tendencies can be found as reflections in teacher students and educators today.

Empirical inquiry: *demographic changes during a period of transition and their effect upon teacher education.*

One of the lessons I have learned from reading Popkewitz and others who focus on discourses and constructed and constructing identities is that in order to say something more definite about the effects of neo-liberalism, this perspective alone is not sufficient. 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.

The period under consideration covers the last 30 years from the beginning of the seventies to the present date and I shall define the period with the help of Godelier as a "period of transition" (cf. II "Reform, Change and Restructuration") to another type of society, another system,

another type of education with another structure. Elsewhere this period has been defined as "post- modernity", but I have tried to avoid this term, because to me it alludes to a one dimensionality – a point of no return or irreversibilty as well as neutrality with which I do not agree.

The history of transitions can be told in many different ways and from many different angles. In the described research project a morphogenetic perspective has been chosen. This means that I shall try to explain educational change by pointing to fundamental demographic changes in the population, like the age distribution as well as the impact of the expansion of secondary as well as further education, which has accellerated vehemently from the 60s to the present date.

> *It is when the perfect attunement between the educational system and its chosen public begins to break down that the pre-established harmony which upheld the system so perfectly as to exclude all inquiry into its basis is revealed* [84]

Bourdieu has pointed out[85] that changes in the structure of the educational system are linked to transformation of the function it is made to perform by the different social classes. But social class interest is modified by the internal logic of the education system. He stresses, however, that it is not a unilateral but a dialectial relation. In relation to teacher education this will be exemplified in further detail below.

Recruitment into teacher education as a part of the total recruitment into higher education.

Recruitment into teacher education has to be seen in relation to the total number of students finishing 12 years of secondary education and entering tertiary and further education. If we go 30 years back we can see that about 10% of a cohort of young people completed secondary education, and teacher education alone accounted for about half of the students entering higher education at the time, thus attaching quite an importance to the sector in the total educational picture. This has probably had an influence on both the status, the attractiveness and importance of the job as well on teacher education itself, its institutions and educators.

Today more than 50% of a cohort of young people complete secondary education, and the percentage is steadily rising. Teacher education is only one among many offers for further education, and the number of students, attending academic education (MA-level) at university, far exceed the number of students in teacher education. In

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[84] Pierre Bourdieu & Jean-Claude passeron (1990): Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, Second ed. Sage Publications London, p. 99.
[85] Pierre Bourdieu & Luc Boltanski (1978): *Changes in social Structure and changes in the demand for education.*

addition many other jobs oriented towards the semi-professions and practice have also risen to become medium-length further education. Taken together the effect is that teacher education may very well have lost its status, at least one can safely say that it has to compete much more to get students´attention.

The selectivity of teacher education has been lost, and this again starts the downward spiral, as the candidates look for other more attractive opportunities. In the era of the market economy based on "free" choice this means that in a few years there will be a surplus of teaching jobs and fewer new teachers.

The other side of the story is that due to the increase in tertiary education in general, there might have been created what might be called an "educational surplus" among academics in general and within the humanities in particular. The Danish sociologist Martin Munk[86] shows e.g. that from the beginning of the 60s an increasing number of academics tend to achieve jobs outside the traditional academic field with resulting loss of status[87]. This means that despite official discourses about increasing need of more and higher education within the "knowledge society", there seems to be a substantial redundancy also. The effects of this upon teacher education might be double. Firstly young people will tend to opt for longer types of education because this is still where the major rewards are, and the rhetorics of possibilities open to all will substantially assist in promoting this tendency. Not everyone succeeds to the top, however, many drop out on the way, and even those who succeed in actually achieving their degree find that often this is not enough. The competition for the attractive academic jobs is very tough, so in order to avoid actual unemployment they have to look for other opportunities. This tendency is of course discovered by politicians who are not slow to combine open job opportunities within teaching with "available educational capital" either in unemployed academics, students with half-finished university careers, or just other types of educational capital from the many short or medium term educational offers. The described tendencies are very illustrative of Bourdieu´s notion of "exclusion from within" in "The Weight of the World".

Age profile cohorts of actual and future teachers

Teachers seem to a certain extent to be educated in batches, the age profile of teachers in primary as well as secondary schools showing a substantial bulge of middle-aged teachers who will retire within the next 5 – 10 years.

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[86] Martin D. Munk (2001): "*Social elimination – uddannelse som ulighed og strukturel homologi*"in: Praktikker i erhverv og uddannelse, Karin Anna Petersen (ed). Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
[87] Munk (2001) p. 244.

This bulge is caused by 3 interrelated reasons, 1) the expansion of the whole educational sector from the end of the sixties, 2) the accompanying fluctuations in the size of generations (baby boomers) and 3) the low mobility within the profession. We thus seem to become confronted with a substantial renewal of jobholders in the next years. Restructuring in education as well as the changing relationship between state and schooling will be confronted by a much larger new generation of teachers than normally would be the case, and this larger group will meet a more substantially changed educational climate. The now retiring generation of teachers entered the profession in the era of "meritocracy". Teachers´ status then was probably higher. The former teacher generation had different conditions, not least because the profession and its unions were closely committed to the visions of the state as provider of equality and welfare for all. This general change in educational demography and climate under the conditions of transition from welfare state to client-oriented market of public services will probably be understood and acted upon differently by the new generation of teachers depending on their class, ethnicity and gender. They will enter the profession under the " third wave" the wave of "parentocracy" with a spirit much more characterised by individualism, freedom of choice and liberalism.

How Bourdieu´s theory is being used in the present research project to explain the relationship between demographic changes, choice of teacher education and social change

Bourdieu's theory includes a combination of the following elements which taken together offer an explanation why the agents within a certain field behave the way they do:

- The economic-political material living conditions adjacent to a certain position,
- The common basic incorporated habitus, which is a result of the common living conditions
- The more specific dispositions typical of the different fields, which are homologous with the basic habitus
- The strategies specific to the individual social actors.

So demographic changes concerning the number of participants within a certain field, their gender and age considered in relation to other fields have an impact upon the distribution of the positions and dispositions in the field in question.

Consequently the theory gives room for individual variations and alternative solutions too.The basic mechanism is the mutually reinforcing interaction between the basic class habitus and the dispositions adapted to the various fields. It is the same basic mechanism, which forms the conditions in the social space, in the field of power and the field of

education or the subfield of teacher education, but at each step the basic mechanism is transformed according to the proper logic of the field. Habitus and dispositions are in this way connected to access to resources, regulations and conscious strategies, but the decisive element is the tacit knowledge of how to handle the situation, combined with the tacit drive to act upon the situation. In relation to teacher education the implication of the theory is that the objective living (teaching) conditions have become subjective structures as time passes (the social class habitus and the homologous dispositions which are specific to the field) and they direct the perception and the direction of the actors, and the teaching profession is formed in the same way as the processes in the classroom. The teacher and her profession are constrained by internal and external frames. Rational choice theory would say that these frames are only important in so far as they are understood and reflected upon by the teacher. Bourdieu on the other hand would say that these frames are also working, even though not registered by the teacher. He is convinced that the actor is not totally aware that the accumulated objective and subjective conditions put up restrictions and direct his actions. His idea is that e.g. teachers´ behaviour or actions cannot be explained only through investigations of "Teacher Thinking". Without being causally deterministic or functionalistic, choice of education, as well as actions of teachers, also work unconsciously and not only through reason and meaning. More important is instead a practical way of living with the material world and the conditions of power as experienced by the individual or groups of individuals.

The above theory brings me back to where I started in the introduction as it constitutes the basic for the empirical part of my research project which investigates the habitus of a new generation of teacher students who are scarce in numbers, relating back to the questions of status, alternative educational opportunities, the explosive increase in further education, change in political climate and social change in general, thus paving the way for diversification in teacher education by introducing new types of education of varying length and maybe also other alternative ways of certification.

Concluding Remark

EVEN IF one of the most characteristic features of the Danish educational system is that it remains stubbornly reluctant to change, especially what concerns primary school and teacher education, the above social changes are statistical facts, and the above mentioned discourses can be found in Danish educational debates and legislative proposals, and to some extent also in practice, so the surface and tradition is cracking and *something is underway.*

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CHANGED CONDITIONS FOR THE TEACHER PROFESSION

VISION AND REALITY

Eva Rhöse

Background

Several reforms have been introduced in Sweden during the 1990s, which in different ways have affected teachers' working conditions. My intention in this paper is to examine how teachers describe their work on the basis of these new conditions. The picture of a teacher is complex. The image portrayed in the media is usually gloomy: burnt-out teachers, big-size classes, short of resources, poor facilities and a large number of students with different problems. In addition, according to the Statistics Sweden (SCB), a large part of the teaching staff (17 per cent of all teachers in public compulsory- and senior high schools) are uneducated. A study from the profession's medical (yrkesmedicinska) division at Stockholm county council, shows that 24 per cent of school personnel are in "risk zone for burn-out" and 8 per cent in "extreme risk zone" (Lärartidningen 3/2000). Teachers also leave their profession earlier than previously. Of the teachers that were under 39 years during the semester 1994/5, 85 per cent were still in the teaching profession after 5 years. For the equivalent group for semester 1980/81 there were 92 per cent still in the profession. When looking closer at the oldest teachers, one can see that the number of 60 year-olds that still worked as teachers after 4 years decreased from 62 percent in 1985 to 37 percent in 1995 (SCB).

Even though this dark picture is a reality, there are also others that show examples of teachers' strive for development, curiosity and initiative ability. The Albatross Project, which is a joint school development project for the Teachers' Association (Lärarnas Riksförbund) and The Association of Swedish Communes (Svenska kommunförbundet), has as a purpose to support schools in pedagogics. Blossing (1998) highlights in his report a number of successful schools

that to a certain extent fulfill these objectives. Hallerström (1997) has also recognised a few creative gymnasium schools. In addition, there are several ongoing development projects that have been initiated by the teachers themselves in many schools.

Carlgren (1998) highlights this discussion and talks about the public conversation about the school having a number of problems (students getting hurt, pupils with knowledge shortage, violence, mobbing, teachers that spend their time on social problems, etc.) and a number of solutions such as more resources, special pedagogic, demand for teachers with social competence. Carlgren thinks that it is especially difficult (has always been difficult) to make general statements about the school today, as the variation is very broad. She is also asking for the teachers' voice in the debate: they are occupied with changing the activities in the school. Change is in progress, but directions are going different ways, and at the same time the debate about the problems are ongoing, Carlgren says that she meets many teachers who say that it has never been as fun being a teacher as it is now. These examples show that the picture of the school and the teachers' working conditions is not one faced. My intention is to investigate how teachers describe how the changes during the 1990s have affected their work.

Formal changes

The background of several of the reforms that have been of importance to teachers' working conditions are that the Swedish school system was too centrally run to handle the various problems in the inner body of the schools. This was highlighted in a government investigation conducted in the 1970s, the so-called SIA (school inner work) -investigation. The main transformation process was delayed to the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, when a number of significant reforms were implemented (Lidström, 1995). Lidström and Hudson claim that there are several models of explanation for the transformation processes. They think, for example that changes in the class structure of society have had an impact on the decentralisation politics. The growing middle class with different demands and needs had to be satisfied. These changes lead to the decision that a detailed regulation system was to be replaced with more general principals, which is very obvious when comparing the curriculum from 1962 with that of 1994. In addition, there was a transition to a goal-driven focus and increased emphasis on evaluation (Lidström & Hudson, 1995).

The selection of formal reforms has been made on the premises that the present research project only entails teachers of younger children (1st, 2nd and 3rd grade). Other crucial changes, that have had importance for teachers' work, such as the change of the grading system, have therefore been excluded in this text. At the end of the 1980s, the government

presented the so-called "styrpropositionen" (1988/89:4) in which it is suggested that the development of the school should be goal-driven rather than regulation-driven. The next proposition of importance for the school organisation was the "kommunaliseringspropositionen" (1989/90:41), that made the counties accountable for teachers, school leaders and study advisers and eventually gave them the full implementation responsibility for school operations through the "ansvarspropositionen" (1990/91:18). "Skolverket" was established to carry out evaluation and support tasks and the government's main task is to continuously control that education is of high quality.

1994 came The Curriculum for the compulsory school system ("Läroplaner för de obligatoriska skolformerna", Lpo 94) and contrary to its predecessors, Lpo 94 gives large freedom, on a local basis, to choose models and methods to reach the goals set in the curriculum. The goals are of two kinds: goals to strive for, that represent the vision and overall goals, and goals to achieve that represent the minimum level for students' knowledge. Another relevant part of the guidelines in the curriculum states the values of the school, i.e. the ethical and moral standpoints for the school. In 1997, a proposal for a curriculum for children and youth in the ages between 6 and 16 years, "Grow in learning" ("Växa i lärande", SOU 1997:21) was published. The proposal is partly an adaptation of the Lpo-94, but also includes children and youth in pre-school and day care centres. One of the new suggestions in the proposal is the pre-school class that communes are now forced to offer, but that is voluntary for the children to participate in. The proposal also suggested that pre-school teachers and leisure pedagogues should be used in education in the public school system. In the Curriculum for the compulsory school system, pre-school class and day care centre (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1998) there are guidelines that state that teachers should work to develop the co-operation between pre-school, school and day care centres and exchange knowledge and experiences with the pre-school personnel (p. 16).

The working conditions for teachers have also, to a high degree, been effected on the agreement concerning the number of working hours that was signed in 1995. The agreement concluded that teachers should be present at the work place 35 hours per week, so-called work place-based hours and the trust hours, i.e. the time the teachers choose work environment, was decreased equally. This agreement was signed to facilitate the co-operation in working teams (arbetslag) and handling of multi-scientific issues. Already in the curriculum from 1980 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980) teachers are encouraged to work in teams, but often the co-operation, if existing, has been about planning outside the classroom and has not directly affected the activities in the actual classroom. In Lpo-94 there is no longer any room for avoiding co-operation: "Everyone working in the school should…work together to make the school a good environment for learning… The teacher should

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co-operate with other teachers in the work to reach the education goals"
(Lpo-94, p. 12).

Lpo 94 emphasises the democratic principles, and a goal to strive for
is that students themselves should be responsible for their studies and
gradually have an increased influence on their own education. This means
that teachers have to give the students the prerequisites to take on this
responsibility and for example plan and evaluate activities together with
the students. In addition, the teacher has to give the students the
opportunity to try different working methods and forms. Guidelines on
exactly how the work is to be carried out are not given, but the strong
emphasis on the specific needs and abilities of each individual still leads
to some supervision. Further guiding principles are added through the
curriculums that are connected to the Lpo 94. The Swedish curriculum
has gradually moved from giving content to listing what skill that
students should obtain. "To determine what contents the school should
convey is getting more and more difficult, at the same time as the
demands for more in-depth and overall knowledge and understanding is
increasing. This transition has changed the teacher's tasks" (SOU
1997:21, p. 75).

Thanks to the opportunities to choose, the parents have to decide both
where the child should be enrolled, and the level of participation in the
school operation, and they have been given different prerequisites in
obtaining information about school activities in various ways. According
to SOU 1997: 21 parents have also the right to continuous information
regarding the student's school situation, comfort and knowledge
development, for example by development review meetings
(utvecklingssamtal). The teachers' co-operation with the student's
guardian is emphasised and a joint responsibility for the student's
schooling is encouraged. The teacher should, in addition, "keep
him/herself informed of the individual student's personal situation and
have the outmost respect for the student's integrity"
(Utbildningsdepartementet, 1998).

Trends of changes

In addition to the formal changes, that are binding, there are also trends of
changes that are not formally enforced, but nevertheless are affecting
school activity. In this paper I chose to show the trends of change that
mostly appears in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades. During the last 15 years,
age integrated education has been lively debated, pros and cons. In
general the literature has been positive (see Sandqvist, 1994, and
Andersson, 1985), while Sundell (Sundell, 1993) has a more critical
standpoint. Age integration has been an organisation form that has had a
"break-through", but the way teachers chose to integrate can vary widely.

How the pre-school teachers and leisure pedagogues are integrated into the operation is also of importance for the teacher's work and the age integration.

Age integration can be a reason why a teacher's function more and more is being talked about as a "guiding function". Another significant reason is the idea of "students' research" that is among other things influenced by the theories of problem-based learning (PBL) (Kjellgren, 1993). "Own project" (Eget arbete, EA) has become standard, meaning that students themselves are planning their work and decide which task they want to conduct and in which order. Often, self-evaluation of the project is also included (Carlgren, 1999). This working method requires a guiding teacher. Österlind (Österlind, 1998) has investigated students' own project and found that the working method can be seen as an individualising project and as such, an integrated part of an overall development tendency. "If we assume that children adopt and learn something from the working methods in school, we can see "own project" as a step in the development away from the working class values of solidarity and camaraderie (together we are strong) and an enforcement of middle class values such as individualism and career (invest money in yourself, time is money)" (Österlind, 1998, p.135).

Runesson (Lendahls, 1995), who is talking about guidance in smaller groups, describes the teacher's guiding function partly as the organiser's, that is supporting with practical advice, parallel with listening, asking, creating conflicts in student's thinking and stimulating them to argue, reflect over and verbalise their thinking. Isberg (1996) thinks that if a teacher chooses a direction of his/her teaching that is not about teaching, but about the facilitation of students' learning, it will entail another platform for the activity.

Purpose

I am interested in examining how teachers in first, second and the third grade are describing the changes in their profession, with regard to:

- classroom activities
- student relations
- work outside the classroom.

Method

To examine how and if teachers' working conditions have changed, I have interviewed six teachers. Naturally, no generalising statements can be done from these interviews, but the teachers' stories about their work

can be examples of how to describe and handle changes, both enforced and voluntary. Their experiences of the changes are likely, at least partly, to be the same as for other teachers. The six interviewed teachers are working at two different schools in Sweden, three at each school. The interviews were conducted at each school respectively, in one case in each teacher's own classroom, and the other in a group room at the school. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, more or less literally. Each interview lasted between half an hour to one and an hour and a half. I was already acquainted with the teachers from one of the schools, but had no knowledge about neither their working situation, nor the overall organisation and the classroom activities. At the other school, I was acquainted with one of the teachers, but the others were unknown to me, and the only information I had about their work was that they were inspired by the Danish school "Bifrost". When we decided the time for the interview I informed them that I was interested in changes within the three areas I previously have listed: in the classroom; work forms, work methods and organisation, student relations with regard to changed work methods and finally the work outside the classroom.

The interviews must be considered half-structured, as my question areas were clear, but the interviews overall had a conversation character rather than the question-answer model. This work gives a glimpse of how teachers are experiencing and describing their situation the day I conducted the interviews (January and February 2001). Below I will return to the fact that teachers' general opinion of their profession affects how they choose to answer, but events the same day may also influence the answers. The picture I give is to a degree a "moment picture; i.e. another day the answers might have been different. One can neither exclude one's own affect on the result, in this instance the questions and the comments I put forward during the interview.

The result of 6 teacher interviews

My overall question focus has been if the teacher's work has changed in the last 10-15 years – if it has changed. Basically, I have asked the interviewees to account for the three main areas: possible changes in the classroom, work outside the classroom, and finally if and how the relations towards the students have changed. My six candidates, who are all women, have been working in the school system for at least 25 years, working mainly with students aged 7 and up, and now also partly with 6-year olds. They are working at two schools in two different cities in the middle of Sweden, three teachers at each school. In this text I will call the ones working at Storskolan in the larger city for Anna, Birgitta and Cecilia, and the ones working at Mellanskolan in the smaller city for Dora, Elisabeth and Frida (all names are aliases). The teachers' stories are

presented according to the three main areas. Other factors of relevance for the understanding of teachers' working conditions are also presented.

Previous experiences of the teaching profession

During the interviews I have not asked how they have experienced their teaching profession, and the comments under this subheading are spontaneous. The reason why I have chosen to present these comments is that their overall view of their profession may influence how they choose to answer. Therefore I believe that this background information might be of importance. The six teachers give overall positive comments about their profession. They have been loyal to their profession, as well as their work place. Two of the teachers, Elisabeth and Frida at Mellanskolan, have been working at that particular school since the beginning of their careers, as they have been happy at the school. Frida says that she has not "wanted to seek elsewhere" as she enjoys going to work every day, the work makes her happy and this feeling has always been there. Dora has been working at a university college with a teacher education program for one year, but she returned to the school to work with younger children.

Anna has worked at the same school for more than 23 years and both Birgitta and Cecilia for more than 26 years. Cecilia is hinting that she has had thoughts about further education. In the commune opportunities as a development pedagogue has opened up recently, and that entails continuing education that she "was a little attracted to". Finally she refrained from applying as she considered things were "good as they were". Anna thinks that she has such great experience that she feels comfortable in what she is doing, but that "it demands a lot of you." Her "favourite" is when she tells the children something and they really listen and have fun. That is when she feels that "you can not have a better job than this". There is also days when she says to herself: "I don't think I'm going back tomorrow".

The organisations

The organisations are built up differently at the two schools. The three teachers I have met at Storskolan have age-integrated classes with students in grade one and two. At the Storskolan there are pre-school classes included in the operations, but the children in the two pre-school classes (in 2001) are to be divided among the three teachers and the pre-school activities and the school activities are not too strictly bound to each other. According to the determined plan the children will visit their future teacher once a week during the spring semester prior to the children starting first grade. In addition, joint outings in the forest are arranged every fourth Friday. The leisure pedagogues, on the other hand, are involved in school activities on a daily basis. Two leisure pedagogues

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are connected to each 1-2 grade. They meet all the children in the class in the day care centre facilities one class hour a day and they are responsible for art, drama and library visits. The work team consists of four people in total: one teacher, one pre-school teacher and two leisure pedagogues. The Storskolan's classes are additionally divided in so-called tracks that run from six year-olds up to fifth grade. The personnel that are involved in these classes are called one working unit and meet once a month for two hours after school hours. The entire school staff only met once during the previous semester and that was on December 20th when everyone met for a cup of coffee. In addition to working teams and working units there are groups that are dealing with specific issues. Cecilia is for example involved in the "mobbing" group and Birgitta in another group that deals with core value issues.

The Mellanskolan has another organisation. The teachers have age-determined classes and the working teams consist of nine people in total: two pre-school teachers (one is working part time), three teachers (for grades 1, 2 and 3), one resource teacher and three leisure pedagogues (one is working part time). During two mornings a week, all the pupils are integrated and have workshops. Then the pupils must choose which workshop they want to work in: reading and writing, building and painting, or nature and culture. Before they make their choice, they have been inspired by their teacher to work with a certain part of the listed themes. The week when the interview was conducted the theme was fairy tales. Already from the first grade, the students themselves include planning, implementation and evaluation in their activities and they also document the activities chosen. In this working team, they have chosen to co-operate more intensively with the pre-school teacher. The pre-school children are present in the school during the mornings and, if there is time, the pre-school teacher is working with the first-grade children in the afternoons. This organisation was not planned from the beginning, but Dora says that the working team quickly *took these matters into their own hands*.

> *…we are pretty strong-minded, I believe, in my working team…there was not anyone telling us to work together. A pre-school class was integrated into the working team and that was it. The first year they had a few attempting projects… but then we thought we should really utilise this opportunity. Why not get to know the children thoroughly while they were in the same working team? And why not utilise the pre-school teacher's competence so it was incorporated in the school. But we were only allowed to do this as a trial, not to tell anyone else, because maybe others would want to do the same thing and that was not to happen!*

The entire working team, or parts of it, meets every day after the students have gone home or to the day-centre for school-age children. On Mondays, one of the teachers is present at the centre in order for a leisure pedagogue to be able to participate in these meetings. The workshop

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activities, that are the working teams´ joint responsibility, are planned two afternoons per week. One afternoon every fourth week they have a conference with "agenda and program" for the entire school.

The student relations

All the teachers consider it important to have good relationships with the students and many claim to be working on a continuous basis to improve these relations. As the interview questions first and foremost were about possible changes in the working situation, the descriptions of student-teacher relations are relatively brief. The teachers additionally did not consider these relations to have changed so much. Anna says: "We are pretty good at handling conflicts, to sort them out, overall not afraid to take action even if it is sometimes tough". Birgitta says that she has learnt to know the students better now, when the pre-school has moved into the facilities. She thinks that she knows more about how the children are playing and who is playing with whom. Since most children stay during the afternoon, she is also able to see other sides of them than before. For Cecilia, the student relations have always been the central part of the job, and she has always spent a lot of time talking to students and parents. Her previous school leader compared her with a counsellor. She says herself that "…for me, this is the most important part of this job, how we are feeling".

   For Dora the parent relation is very central, as it is crucial to create stability for the students. For the past 10 years, she has been working with so-called parent groups that remain the same during grades 1, 2 and 3. Dora teaches and tells the parents why she is working the way she is, mostly regarding Mathematics and Reading classes. She thinks that there is a large ignorance among parents, and that they expect things to be the way things were when they went to school. These meetings with smaller groups of parents open up opportunities to change certain attitudes, such as e.g. that it is "cheating" if the students are guessing in the reading book. She also thinks that parents' attitudes toward the school and its teachers are of crucial relevance for the students' ability to learn and have trust in school activities.

   Elisabeth thinks that she is, and has been, too tolerant of students' chatting and perhaps others have considered it to be a little bit too much also. "With me they have actually been allowed to talk while working so I can't say that it has gone from dead silence to something else". Elisabeth also brings up the discussion of what the students are calling their teacher and what that means. Years ago, students always said "Miss" to their teachers. Then some started to say "Miss Elisabeth" and now all in general just call her Elisabeth. She has not reacted negatively to this change herself, but she recalls one teacher getting "totally

hysterical" after a student addressed her "you" ("du", impossible to translate) in the school yard.

Frida and Dora emphase that the teachers have a relationship with the students prior to starting school, as they have been able to meet the children during the pre-school year and studied "how they worked there and understood that maybe they can't sit still that long". Frida has also worked with student influences in class, which means that the students are involved in the planning of the activities and "…you get an idea of the ability the children have to achieve and don't pressure them to do more than they can handle". She gives the students an outline of what she is expecting them to accomplish, but is quite liberal as to how the students decide to conduct the task. They "are very much allowed to be part of the decision making."

Classroom activities

Individual work for the students is something that teachers from the Storskolan emphasise during the interviews. Anna, Birgitta and Cecilia, who have been working with 1-2-3 grade classes during the previous couple of years, have developed a system where different parts in the important subjects of Swedish and Mathematics are divided up. From this system the students can choose what they want to work with. Birgitta describes the system as very organised for a long time ahead and the tasks in Swedish and Math's are in a binder from grade 1 to 3. The students are working at their own pace, meaning that they can formally be in grade 2, but do the same tasks as students in grade 1. In other subjects, such as Social Science and Nature Science, classes are held together and the teachers have joint run-throughs. However, the tasks may vary so that all the students have appropriate tasks. Birgitta says that every day becomes more structured now, when the leisure pedagogues are incorporated in the school. Today, every child has so-called PA-sessions (practical-work-sessions) where they meet leisure pedagogues. This activity must be planned and organised, which means decreased flexibility… "if there is a spontaneous thing happening in the classroom or you would really just let it continue… but you can't do that since it is so divided up". At the same time, the teachers are positive in regards to the co-operation with the leisure pedagogues, who are in charge of Arts, Drama, Data and free games once a week, as well as the library. Cecilia thinks that… "we have come up with good activities…. in the working team".

Dora at the Mellanskolan highlights the difference in meeting the 7-year olds after they have been involved in the school activities after the pre-school year. Nowadays the "new" students know most of the teachers and the other students in the working team; they have learnt how the workshop functions and they are familiar with the facilities. At the same time, Dora has had the opportunity to come to know the students and

their activities at the pre-school, which makes her planning prior to school start totally different from what it was before. "In this regard, my work has changed very much, since it can never be the same taking on a first grade class today as before. They know so very much more now!".

Besides workshop activities, Dora is working in the classroom with mostly Reading, Writing and basic Mathematics learning. She thinks that she has a coordinating role and she prefers age homogeneous groups. Dora says "if you have a group in school, you should build on working with that group. I'm utilising the group", meaning that for instance texts are read and analysed jointly. In addition, the students are writing and analysing their own texts, which make the work more individual as each and every one is performing to his/her own ability.

Elisabeth reveals that she was somewhat sceptical of the workshop activities at the beginning, especially when thinking about having 90 children of various ages. She says that the reason why it is working so well might be that "we go back to the other study situation in the classroom afterwards". Also Elisabeth talks about "joint activities for example, when we are working in the textbook in a traditional way…" and analyses it in various ways. Elisabeth also claims that students take more responsibility for their own learning. She thinks that they have now stepped away from the curriculum that decided that in grade 2, you should talk about "our food" and "our clothes". She has, however, always conducted hands-on activities, such as making butter and cheese.

Frida has always wanted the students to be more involved and be able to influence their work. She says that her work in the classroom has changed and is continuously changing, especially depending on the group of children and the people she is working with. This year, together with a resource teacher, she is trying to gather the students and work from a common theme. Frida is trying to have as few full-class lectures as possible for Swedish and Math classes. In classes on ethics or how to treat each other, it is natural to gather the whole class. One period she tried having all students in different places, working on different things, but it got difficult to control, so now she gathers the students for joint run-throughs. She adds that some children need several run-throughs, which means that not all students are working with the same things at the same time.

Workplace - determined time

The worktime agreement from 1995, which determined that all teachers should be at their workplace 35 hours a week, has affected teachers' working situation. The freedom to go home when the students went home does not exist anymore. All the six teachers feel that the time spent at school without teaching is utilised for valuable activities. They think that since they do not have small children at home anymore, usually nothing

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urgent is waiting. They prefer finalise their planning at school and meet the people they need to cooperate with after end of classes. Anna says, "it is very nice to stay and finish up everything". Birgitta thinks, "it is full speed the time I'm here, often I'm even staying longer than I'm obliged to". Dora has "always spent a lot of time at school so it is difficult to compare, but she says that now the whole working team is here longer, and that it feels great that the school is not deserted after two o'clock.

What has changed most in the teaching profession, according to Elisabeth, are the working conditions in the form of worktime agreement. When she started her career she could pick up her own children at the latest 2.30 p.m. every day. Later on, a monthly conference was added. The time at work has continuously increased and the summer vacation being shortened. She has "come to realise that fully regulated working time for us would be very work-saving". The reason is that the joint planning takes a lot of time and when she actually should go home, according to the working time agreement, she has her own planning left to do. This means, "the light is lit in the classroom quite late". Frida points out that also the parent-teacher conferences are supposed to be included in the 35-hour frame. Since this includes all teachers, everyone helps the teacher having the conferences. During this period, someone else in the working team takes a bigger part of the planning and follow-up work. Regarding the shorter summer vacation, Frida has always started one week before the students to be able to plan, prepare and get the classroom ready. This year she did not do this, as everyone began one week prior to school start. "…it wasn't that much difference after all, in comparison to before when you came in for your own sake and own things. Now it was an employer ordering me to come here".

Co-operation with other profession categories

The co-operation with members of other professions, such as pre-school teachers and leisure pedagogues, has affected the teachers and their situation enormously. At the time for the interviews, all six teachers seemed to have found a model that they can follow. The models are different and the teachers think that the models are to be continuously changed, which means that the existing system soon can be another. At the Storskolan the co-operation with leisure pedagogues and pre-school teachers has been problematic, which partly may be a result of the teachers not having any saying when the organisation was determined and the teachers were divided in working teams and "in tracks". Anna explains "…we were not even allowed to decide how we wanted to work…. and then we were tossed into something where we were supposed to decide in the end…well, yes, we have decided on this, but we actually haven't".

Birgitta remembers how she, the leisure pedagogues and the pre-school teacher were "forcing it", trying to come up with something meaningful to cooperate on. She had done everything by herself previously. In the beginning, she was also very negative towards the leisure pedagogues "taking over" certain subjects, such as Art that she also wanted to work with. Now she has adjusted and says with laughter: "now I think it is quite nice since I don't have to deal with all the clutter, but it took a while". The teachers at the Storskolan tell about two major problems with the co-operation: one being the structure of the work during the school day, the other being the personal relationships. In Birgitta's working team there has, in addition, been a very high staff turnover due to pregnancies. "It has been really tough…if you have the same people everything is so much easier, even if you are different you can grow together". Also Cecilia points out that "it is important that you feel that the personnel is functioning, since I think, we are not identical the three of us, can't say that". Anna says her team is in the so-called honeymoon phase at the moment and they "smile and are tiptoeing a little bit… since we are so scared it's going to crash again". Still some things are very sensitive, teachers have holidays, salaries are higher, and these topics you try to stay away from at joint meetings.

Also at the Mellanskolan they bring up the problem with the different agreements and Frida says, "…today you are a little bit ashamed to talk about having Christmas holiday, and you are talking about the soon-to-come vacation in February, and then you know they don't have it and you forget". Elisabeth points out that "co-operation takes time…. it used to be a one-man's job before, I could decide everything myself…. so it has shifted from a one-man's job to teamwork". At the Mellanskolan there were also discussions before finding a co-operation form that one agreed upon. According to Dora "we had been sitting at conferences in 15 years saying now we are going to start co-operating - on what? One more constructed project than the other". During one discussion, the leisure pedagogues suggested that they would get a few children from the class and go and make a cake or ice cream together. Dora strongly opposed this. She thinks that there is an educational objective, which everyone should strive to achieve. Subjects like Art and Drama are supporting the other subjects and therefore they can not be excluded. "…if anyone would come and take that part and I would just be sitting there writing, then my profession has disappeared and I would quit. A field trip to the "Bifrostskolan" in Denmark gave birth to new ideas that became the start of the so-called workshop pedagogic, where both leisure pedagogues and teachers have their tasks, which change from time to time. Responsibilities are divided among the working team members by their own will and competence, regardless of formal education. In the working team there is, in addition, a pre-school teacher included, with whom they had a few initiating activities "that was really nice". Soon they wanted to

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fully utilise that both pre-school teachers and pre-school children were in the working team, which has added new competence. "…which isn't only a benefit for the pre-school children, since we learn a new way to work with the first-graders as well."

Several of the teachers have mentioned that when the day leisure pedagogues are included in the operation, two hours a month of the planning have to be conducted in the evening. This has been a big step to accept. Birgitta says "yeah, now one has adjusted, but it felt really hard in the beginning…but everything…well, it is strange how one get used to things". Cecilia does not care for the evening meetings with the working unit, as she feels they "don't generate that much".

Parents and the school

At the Storskolan where both pre-school and day-centre for school-aged children operations are close to the classroom, the teachers meet the parents more often. Birgitta, who thinks that she knows her students more now as a result of the co-operation, also thinks that parent relations have changed. "…these are small children so the parents come here every day". As previously mentioned, at Mellanskolan Dora is working actively with family groups. She invites parents to meetings at the school, where she describes the school activities and why she is working the way she is with, as an example, the fingers in mathematics. These family groups remain the same during the entire time, Dora is the teacher of the children, usually for three years. Dora thinks that the work with the parents is crucial for the children to feel safe and be able to learn.

Elisabeth is usually doing home visit to those children who are starting first grade. She once had one parent that asked if she would be able to do the parent-teacher conference at their house instead of going to the school and after that she just continued. Elisabeth remembers when she started working as a teacher; some parents never came to the school. Parent-teacher conferences did not exist. Eventually the 15-minute meetings were introduced, but "that was more or less, good day and good by". Another change she has noticed is the fathers' involvement at parent meetings and parent-teacher conferences. Elisabeth recalls the first meeting when a daddy participated: it "was the sensation of the day." Nowadays, " it is actually almost the opposite, the fathers are the majority".

The School leader's influence

The school leader's importance and influence on the operation appears differently at Storskolan and Mellanskolan. At Storskolan, there is dissatisfaction because the school relatively recently introduced a new organisation with three principals (previously there had been only one).

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The teachers previously had age integrated 1-2-3-grade classes and the intention was to continue with this organisation. The students' parents were informed and responded positively to this. When the new principal was appointed, the organisation was changed to 1-2-grade classes the following year, which resulted in sharp protests from the parents. Also, the teachers were of the opinion that a change needs to be implemented from the bottom. They thought that it is not appropriate to promise parents and teachers a certain organisation and then change it without building a platform for this decision. Cecilia says that a couple of parents called her: "they were totally devastated and said that they would take this to the principal…" but in relation to her own working situation, she thinks that "it is easier for me as a pedagogue in here…but…you want to complete what you started, you want to row the boat ashore…". Both Cecilia and Anna state that the school management initiated this change, however, the two also hints that management would not agree to this statement. Anna is under the impression that the management sends out double messages, on the one hand they say, "since you are the ones doing the job… you are to decide, but when it actually comes down to basics, we don't and that is very frustrating…Then it is better to just say: well, we are going to have 1-2-grade classes and if you're not happy with that you will have to go elsewhere…"

The working team at Mellanskolan seems to have implemented their own organisation plan in a goal-oriented manner and, as Dora describes it, "pretty strong-minded." They had to do this as a "trial" without telling anyone else. They have documented their work and so far no school manager has tried to stop their work, neither the pre-school co-operation, nor the workshop pedagogic. This school has recently appointed a new principal. At the time of the interview he had only been at his new position a few weeks. Dora's impression is that "he seems like he is a really great principal…he said, do whatever is best for the operations". The issue was regarding how to handle overtime when it occurs. Sometimes specific tasks or an extra parent meeting is necessary, which means that the teachers have to stay at school longer than the 35 hours. The working team decides this overtime, as well as how teachers can help each other to compensate. Overtime is never compensated with money, but teachers help out and fill in for each other, especially this year since there is a resource teacher in the working team.

Analysis and discussion

The organisation and the staff

These two schools could be examples of different ways to implement rather comprehensive reforms. The reforms that have made the deepest marks are the integration of pre-school classes, the leisure pedagogue's participation in the school activities and the worktime agreement. The intention of the school management seems to have been initially the same: the pre-school class should be part of the operation and the co-operation should first and foremost be built by the leisure pedagogues and the teachers since they are working with the same children. At both schools, new work teams were created. This meant for the Mellanskolan that a new working team was founded, consisting of four teachers, three leisure pedagogues and two pre-school teachers. At Storskolan, smaller working team were created consisting of one teacher, one pre-school teacher and two leisure pedagogues. Beside this smaller working team they also had the "track", where teachers and pupils in grade 4 and 5 participated. The "track" met once per month, evening time. This meant that the three teachers at Storskolan who I interviewed and who were working together previously have now been split up. If they wish to cooperate nowadays, it has to be outside the workplace-based time.

The problems that were generated by the co-operation with pre-school teachers and leisure pedagogues at Storskolan might possibly have been due to the fact that it was a forced co-operation. All the teachers are talking about a very difficult time. Hargreaves (Hargreaves, 1998) talks about forced co-operation that is signified by:

- it is an administrative issue, not developed spontaneously
- the co-operation is mandatory
- the teachers (and additional personal) are imposed (or persuaded) to implement, for example, new curriculum or other instructions from the school management or governmental agencies
- it is bound to determined times and places
- the results should be predictable, which can not be guaranteed. The control that surrounds the forced co-operation, however, aims to give specific results.

The teachers at Storskolan describe their co-operation with the pre-school teacher and leisure pedagogue in the same way as Hargreaves describe forced co-operation. It is hinted that the representatives of the different professional cultures had a hard time understanding each other at the beginning. In this work, I have chosen solely to take part of teachers' view of the operation, but it is reasonable to assume that the leisure pedagogues and pre-school teachers found the forced co-operation

full of conflicts as well. This comes to light for example when Anna talks about "sneaking around" topics such as salary or vacation. Calander (Calander, 1999) writes, "When leisure pedagogues and teachers meet in co-operation, this meeting is not on equal terms, as the school culture dominates the day care culture" (Calander, 1999, p. 41). Since the collaboration did not work out, but was enforced, the teachers and leisure pedagogues and pre-school teachers were given outside assistance to handle the unattainable situation. This occurred through conversations, where involved parties had to take a stand on various issues discussed with the group. Cecilia says, "the questions we were faced with, were probably the right ones… even if one felt a little bit uncomfortable". She also has comprehension for the other profession groups' situation and understands that it cannot be easy to tap into the teachers' arena. "Of course, we also have a part of the whole thing". Bergem (Bergem, 2000) is discussing the prerequisites for a functioning co-operation and highlights the question that even if the guiding documents describe basic values and other prerequisites for a functioning cooperation it does not mean that everyone is interpreting the documents in the same way and make the same pedagogical conclusion. The tendency is that the teacher profession has become more and more a profession where co-operation is a natural part. The co-operation has also improved at Storskolan and parties have learned to adjust. Blossing (2000) maintains that the forced culture can in best case scenarios "be a transition based on an actual need and by teacher felt need of co-operation" (p. 31).

The external conditions seem to be similar at Mellanskolan, but the problems experienced by Storskolan have not been visible at Mellanskolan. Hargreaves (1998) writes about co-operation cultures, which are the opposite of the forced co-operation, but this is not what Mellanskolan has experienced. Also at Mellanskolan, the principal decided how the working team should be put together, that everyone has to participate, instructions should be followed (c.f. Lpo 94) and times and places were determined. The difference was that at Mellanskolan they had a development strategy, a pedagogical idea that the working team agreed on. The working team was larger (9 people instead of 4), which meant that no person was the only one representing a profession group. In addition, the choice was made to work more closely with the pre-school, instead of the leisure pedagogues. This decision was made in the working team first and was thereafter (after some hesitation) approved by the school manager. The implementation of the pedagogical idea, the workshop pedagogic that each and everyone is responsible for, has given the working team a natural and common platform to work on. There are no limits to which workshop you want to work in: the leisure pedagogue can be working in the read and write workshop, and the teacher can help making bow and arrows. The teachers are talking about the workshop activities as an education opportunity not only for the students, but also

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for themselves. This means that it is an excellent competence development opportunity, as there is always something to learn from someone else or chose to take part in something new, and be forced to learn something new.

How the guidance of the operation is being conducted seems to be of crucial importance to how the operation is being developed by the teacher, the working team and most likely the students. At Storskolan an adjustment to current conditions seems to have taken place. They have not agreed on this organisation themselves and for example, Anna says, "we can talk a lot about children and so forth, but I still feel that…at the bottom line, it is I that have the responsibility for the children, that's the way it is". The co-operation with the other profession groups has been so difficult to get to work that so far they are satisfied with just being able to respect the other party's view and understand that other groups have different standpoints. Their competence development is more about understanding and accepting each other's perspective, than to learn from each other. The teachers have also had to loose some subjects that they enjoyed teaching, "that made you a little popular by doing". Birgitta mentions art classes that she "thought were great fun" and did not want to let go of. Now she thinks that it is about "finding your own part in the whole piece and be happy about it".

When comparing the teachers at the two schools, a vital difference emerges. One is the teachers' attitude; the other is the adjustment to the principal's steering. Dora at Mellanskolan tells that the leisure pedagogues at one occasion, before they started the workshop pedagogic, suggested that they would take the children in small groups one at a time out of the classroom and go and make ice cream or bake a cake. "Then I almost got into a fight with all the leisure pedagogues…well, you're not getting my kids, I said very grumpy (laughter), that was not at all the way I saw our work…I meant we had a goal with our education and we should all strive towards that goal". Through the workshop pedagogic the leisure pedagogues did not turn into the "fun-ladies" or assistants. The teachers did not become the people doing all that boring stuff. They found a work structure that they felt fulfilled the requirements they demanded to reach the education goals and, after some hesitation, the principal approved it. The working team at Mellanskolan, where everyone is working together after a pedagogical idea and also implemented it, has increased its competence in many ways. The members are talking about learning how to work with six year-olds, both with language and the first mathematics. They have read literature about the pedagogic that is conducted at Bifrost (Abildrup Johansen, 1997) and attended a weekend course in Denmark, and intend to continue working on developing the work structure.

The strong emphasis on the role of the work team has resulted in the members working very intensively and in close contact with each other. On the other hand, it seems to make the team independent at the same

time. For example, at Storskolan the whole personnel only met once during the past fall semester and the occasion was the "Christmas coffee", i.e. not a working situation. A risk is that the working teams become small schools within the actual school, which have no co-operation across the borders. Hargreaves (1998) talks about how schools can literally be divided into sections, which can lead to a school organisation consisting of small competing groups, isolated from each other. This rivalry did not emerge among the teachers I have interviewed, however, teachers from both schools mentioned that there were "many schools inside the school". Cecilia calls it islands and gives an example with their previous mathematics storage that is now the cleaning closet because everyone has their own equipment, every team purchases their own things. Also Frida mentions this issue and says that their working team has their own faculty room so they do not meet other staff during breaks either. At the same time she means that since she has been working at the school for such a long time, she knows all the other teachers pretty well and has good relations with them. With the new teachers, however, it might be more difficult and "feel more isolated".

Falkner (Falkner, 1997), who has investigated teachers' views on changes in the school operation, found three categories. The first category is the teachers who thought changes in school are implemented on the initiative of the government, local school politicians or school administrators. The second group carried out changes by their own initiative or initiatives together with others in the school. The last category is about new relation patterns and positioning changes between teachers and other school actors. The teachers at Storskolan express the changes in the same way as teachers in the first and third category of Falkner's study. The major part of their work has been changed through reorganisation. They feel they were not involved in creating the new working teams, in which relations and positions have been exposed to major changes.

The Mellanskolan's teachers express more views about the changes, that were implemented through their own or the team's initiative, thus the second category. At the same time they also talk about new relation patterns, that by being involved in the changes they have also been able to affect the changes more actively in the desired direction. All the teachers at Mellanskolan speak in terms of their own learning and increased competence thanks to the co-operation they have incorporated. At Storskolan they do not talk about the co-operation the same way. They only talk about understanding and the acceptance of each other's perspectives.

The work in the classroom

Carlgren (Carlgren, 1998) discusses in her article "What glasses does the school need" a few tendencies in the changes that the Swedish school is currently undergoing.

- The class education is decreasing and the students´ own work is increasing. The students are doing their own planning about what to work with and when, while the tasks are still the same for all students.
- The school has developed around an answer key logic, i.e. a work with pre-determined answers. A tendency is that the students' work nowadays should result in a product of some sort, such as an exhibition or books of various kinds.
- Another tendency, which is in alignment with the one above, is that students should no longer learn things simultaneously, but at different times, in a different order and in different ways.

When examining what the teachers are saying about the work in the classroom, these tendencies are being highlighted in various ways at the two schools. The teachers' class room work at Storskolan has changed in primarily two ways: first the students are working more individually because the teachers have prepared assignments that more or less cover Swedish and Mathematics for grade 1, 2 and 3; second the teachers only have two half class sessions in one day. The other half is in another room with the leisure pedagogues doing its PA-session. The so-called individual work is here time-individualised, but the tasks are the same. The teachers have additionally joint run-throughs so their own work is mixed with common work. Birgitta thinks that since the operation has now become more organised and structured, a lot of the flexibility has disappeared. This is due to the fact that there are more people in the organisation depending on each other, but also that the schoolwork contains various items that are repeated every week.

The workshop activity at Mellanskolan comprises age integration, the student's individual choice and the teachers' co-operation – all the factors that must be seen as signs for a progressive development. This is in line with the trends that are currently visible in the school. At other points of time, the teachers are working in age homogeneous classes, considering that reading and writing development, as well as the first Mathematics learning, will benefit from not having too big a "gap" between students. Additionally, they are working with what Elisabeth calls the common work, when the children work "…in the textbook in the traditional way…". She is aware that this is not really accepted today and says "…if you even are allowed to talk about it…". Elisabeth also believes that the workshop activities are functioning so well because everyone is afterwards returning to his/her homogeneous group. These different ways

to work complement each other, and are prerequisites for the different work methods to function.

In a part project "The school from the inside", ("Skolan inifrån"), from "The curriculums in practice", ("Läroplanerna i praktiken", Rapport nr 175, 1999), a report from Skolverket, discusses how teachers (and students) are experiencing their classroom situation. The report tells of teachers that feel they have great influence on the actual work in the classroom, but small opportunities to affect prerequisites such as class size, resources and environment. The confidence in school management and community steering is low, and they feel that the economic cutbacks have left traces in the school activities. This result and the opinions my informants express go hand in hand except for one point: at Mellanskolan they seem to have a bigger confidence in the principal, and they believe that the decisions that are made will benefit the school operation.

The teachers' opportunity to influence classroom work is closely linked to the fact that Lpo 94 has shifted the responsibility to reach set goals to the pedagogues. In the curriculum there are no instructions for methods or models. In the various goal descriptions of the curriculum the individual student is emphasised and since students learn in different ways and develop at various speeds, regulations regarding methods are impossible. Maltén (Maltén, 1995) writes, "The efficient teacher should have a broad register of teaching principals and working methods that are adjusted to the current situation. It is in the variation the master emerges" (p.150).

The working hours

Prior to signing the working time agreement, there were long and intensive discussions. Many teachers thought that the freedom to choose when and where to do preparation work, was going away. Others thought that finally there could be prerequisites to create an actual co-operation by having everyone at the site at the same time. The obligation to stay at the school during a certain period of time of the week is in addition opposite to the tendencies in the other working situations, where work at home is facilitated thanks to computers. When I asked for the teachers' view of the number of working hours at school, they were all united: they all thought that the time spent at school, even when the students had left, was meaningful. Several of the teachers worked even more at school than they were obliged to. Most scheduled meetings are with the working team and joint planning, which all see as a crucial part of the operation. At both schools they have an evening meeting once a month to enable everyone in the working team to participate. Dora thinks it is a big leap to do, but she also state that since the other profession groups had to change their working situation, teachers must accept changes as well. She also

mentions that the workshops and the planning have brought quality into the work.

An another complexity connected to time is "education as unfinished activity", which Hargreaves (1998) points out as one of the traps of the teaching profession. The work never ends, there is always more to do, more tests to go through, more assignments to prepare and more care to give the students. At Storskolan the teachers have to fill out for each other when a teacher is absent. At the time of the interviews, the remedial teacher was working with students in other classes, not with Anna`s, Birgitta`s or Cecilia`s students. Anna says, "we work a lot, a lot more, I feel." Elisabeth promotes fully regulated working time to "get help" stopping overtime.

Besides, there are always new items added to the schedule. When I interviewed the teachers, they were all describing various projects they were involved in, related to computers. The intention is to make teachers able to guide their students in different ways of their computer usage. Anna says that it is a problem to incorporate new items because it is so difficult to exclude something else.

The relationship to the students

My third question focused the teachers' relations with the students and if these have changed. In the answers it is clear that all the teachers regard good relations to the students as very important, but that is something they have always strived for. Only Birgitta clearly states that she thinks there has been a shift. She feels she is able to see the students in more situations now and often discusses the students with both the pre-school teacher and leisure pedagogues, which has given her greater knowledge about each student.

She knows which children are playing together, how they are playing and in addition she meets their parents more or less on a daily basis. Cecilia is wondering if the change may be more visible at junior high school (högstadiet), where classes have had more joint run-throughs and a more broken up schedule. At first, second and third grade the teacher has always had a close relationship with the students every day and "as a class leader for younger children, we have always been somewhat of a mother".

Enkvist (Enkvist, 1993) stresses that one of the difficulties for teachers of today is that today's generation of children does not live in the same world that the teacher grew up in. Elisabeth thinks that she can no longer "keep up with the children's reality". The students will bring up suggestions for activities and she tries to implement them, but does not feel that she is involved in their world, no matter how hard she tries. Enkvist points out a couple of dilemmas that are aligned to the role of the school in our society. The first one is about sending double messages: the

students are encouraged to work in a disciplined manner to reach long-term goals, and at the same time it should be fun. The other dilemma is that experiences in the school are perceived as being bland and boring in comparison to the more colourful and action-filled experiences children get from television and video. These both dilemmas, according to Enkvist, put big demand on the teacher's personal commitment to be able to catch the students' interest.

A relatively short time of the interview is about the relations to the students, which is probably since the main question is about an actual change in the relationships. Has the assumed change in work conduct, from conveying to mentoring, generated opportunities for a different relationship? Only Birgitta states that she knows the children better now. All the other teachers think that it has always been important to build good relations with the students. Cecilia feels that the teachers for younger children sometimes act like a mother, helping out and giving care.

Conclusion

Complexity of change in teacher operations has been described by Lindblad (Lindblad, 1994) and he found that it was difficult to find binding knots between teachers' goals, judgements and actions. Teachers' tasks and problem solutions are, therefore, not based on a technical rationality where one chooses means based on goals and thereafter evaluate if the result was what one was aiming for. Lindblad found instead that teachers´ work was built on ecological rationality where through their actions they try to manage the environment's demands. At the same time, they are trying to develop an all-around functional operation. This description fits very well into the picture painted by the interviewed teachers. They have all, since the reforms began, tried to find strategies that satisfied the surroundings, but also themselves. These two demands mean that the solutions might turn out to be very local and to a great extent, very much dependent on the context of the teachers.

All teachers express in their stories that they *are* teachers, both as a role and identity. When Castells (Castells, 2000) is discussing the identity conception and states that identity is people's source to meaning and experience, in comparison to the role conception, which is often used among sociologists to describe people and their role in the society, the identity is constructing meaning, while the role is organising the functions. To the interviewed teacher, the profession seems to have meant both an identity and a role. Naturally, their profession is not the only thing giving meaning to their life, they all have children for example, but it seems like the identity as a teacher is enforced now when they no longer have their own children living at home. Everyone mentioned that

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this, no children waiting at home, is the reason why they often stay at school after hours. Neither mentions any thoughts about ever wanting to leave the profession. The strong ties to the profession emerge most clearly when the three teachers at Storskolan told me about the difficult period when they had to receive outside help to make the co-operation with the other personnel groups work. Not even at this time is it hinted that anyone had a thought about giving up. To the contrary, everyone seemed to agree that these problems were to be solved. Their previous experiences have given them a platform to build on, a safe ground to start from when parts of the operation do not work out. This way of handle the situation can be compared with what Lidholt (1999) found in her investigation. She examined how preschoolteachers handle the cut downs and changes made in the preschool. Lidholt found three ways of handle the situation: adjustment, fight and escape (Lidholt, 1999). The teachers at Storskolan all adjusted to the situation after a while.

The teachers at Mellanskolan, who are driven by a pedagogical idea, show a security that is probably founded in the satisfaction of implementing a positive change on their own, not initiated by the school management. Most likely, the changes that followed the reforms would have had other results if the teachers did not have such a strong profession identity. More and more young teachers, without that strong profession identity, are leaving schools, partly because of failed expectations when facing the reality.

Genuine participation in the decision process seems to have had a crucial importance for how reforms are accepted and implemented. The teachers at Storskolan, who said that they experienced being given double messages about the participation in the change process, have had difficulties implementing the ideas of the school management. The teachers liaisoned first and foremost with the parents and that meant that the parents had the right to get what they were promised. They point out that their workload has decreased thanks to the change, but they still wanted to follow through on what they started. Another problem has been the composition of the groups with only one teacher in each work team. This organisation has lead to teachers wanting to work together and having to work after regular work-hours. In Falkners (1997) study, the teachers pointed out that the school management had been given a unique position. One example being that the school had put more people in a managing position; while at the same time staff was cut in other areas. The school management seems to have obtained more space, but also broader authorities. This development can be seen as a result of the shift from state responsibility to the responsibility of the communes, which lead to the school management becoming the employer, a shift that changed their position. Falkner thinks that this could be a factor affecting teachers' opportunities to take an active responsibility to bring the pedagogical idea to actual implementation in education. The risk is that

the teacher acts as the "inferior employer" that primary does not try or develop solutions to pedagogical problems.

The teachers at Mellanskolan have partly changed the intentions and conducted an organisation change on their own. They were looking for a structure for co-operation, but had a difficult time finding a lasting solution before they got in touch with the workshop pedagogic. They have thereafter developed the pedagogic to suit the work team and they have a feeling of being in charge and having control. The teachers overall talk about the enormous competence development this work has generated in various ways. Ellmin (Ellmin, 1998) showed in a study that teachers experience themselves as competent when they have been able to relate the work content – the work organisation – the work conduct to each other and to the people in the situation. This description fits with the picture given by the teachers at Mellanskolan.

The changes implemented in the school during the last ten years have for the six interviewed teachers turned out to be both a painful and positive experiences. My final impression of the interviews was that the teachers were positive as to the co-operation with the other personnel groups and that work in the classroom was functioning in both schools. The teachers at Storskolan expressed hesitation as to the organisation and mentioned that the information about it was communicated very late to both teachers and parents. Now, however, the teachers had adjusted to the new order and were making a real effort to make things work. The co-operation was working smoother and they had realised that other personnel could bring new competence and perspectives. The staff at Mellanskolan, that did not experience the same conflict situation, feels that despite a certain resistance to, for example, working evenings for certain meetings, the changes have resulted in such quality in their operations that the negative sides are overshadowed by the positive ones. The teachers are now continuing developing the workshop pedagogic. Next step is a course aiming to learn more about the pedagogic used at Reggio Emilia (Wallin, 1982), which partly share common ground with workshop pedagogic.

The answers had naturally been different had the interviews been conducted a few years earlier. At both schools, the winds of change were blowing full force at that time. Now, however, the storm has settled at least for the moment and two different operations have seen the light of the day.

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BIOGRAPHY AS RESEARCH METHOD

UNDERSTANDING A LIFE LIVED LONG AGO

Boel Englund

THE LIFE AND DEEDS OF A 19TH CENTURY WOMAN

Ingrid Heyman

TO CREATE A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Karin Allgulin Sjölin

UNDERSTANDING A LIFE LIVED LONG AGO

REFLECTIONS ON METHOD

Boel Englund[88]

In my contribution, I discuss biography as a historical research method. I will begin by bringing up two problems: the problem of *time* and the problem of *change.* Time and change are the two central concepts within the discipline of history; here I discuss them from the point of view of the life-work biography, that is, the biography where you try to follow and understand the life and the work of an individual. Is it possible for us to understand a person living in a time removed from our own? Why is it difficult? In this connection, I will also touch upon the more general problem constituted by the researcher's relations to the person she investigates. My examples are taken from studies of women, but the problems are of course the same for biographies of men.

Then I will widen the discussion in another direction, leaving the previous individual perspective. What do you take for granted when you follow one single individual's paths through life, trying to understand his or her life? How far does biography as a method take us, what does it miss? (The answers to these kinds of questions depend of course partly on the purpose of your work, what you are aiming at). Finally, I give a short presentation of Pierre Bourdieu's views on "the biographical illusion", which brings me closer to the theme of collective biographies.[89]

Understanding the time of the other

Modern advocates of historical biography agree that the biographed individual has to be understood in relation to the times in which she is living, and has to be brought into a time-related context.[90] And this goes

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[89] The article was written as part of the project "Shaping the Public Sphere. A collective biography of Stockholm women 1880–1920", financed by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. See http://www.skeptron.ilu.uu.se/broady/sec-22.pdf.
[90] See e.g. Jacques Le Goff 1989, or the contributions in Ambjörnsson et al. 1997.

almost without saying. If you want to understand the course of a person's life, the conscious and unconscious choices she makes and her thoughts and feelings, you have to understand the age she lived in. You have to know what the actual conditions were, in terms of constraints and possibilities. You should be familiar with the customary ways of looking at things, of thinking and of feeling at the time and within the social group you are concerned with. Perhaps you should also be familiar with and understand details of daily life – from how much the corset was hurting, or how it felt not being able to leave home without being accompanied by a chaperon, to what the newspapers wrote about and how they wrote about it.

The question is only to what extent it is possible to understand another time, and, if it is possible, how we set about it. I think the problem can be divided into two parts.

The first one concerns our own possibility to understand another age, in a broad sense. "What the times were like"; empirical facts such as the legislation relating to women, what it was like and how it probably affected women's movements and ways of thinking, the shapes which family relations in a middle-class family normally took, the role played by nationalism, and so on. In this respect, we get help to understand and describe from source material stemming from the period, but above all from earlier research. Our recourse to earlier research, however, means that the historical understanding we achieve is a second-hand understanding. We understand the time through what was seen and understood by others, who themselves have a distance to it. This is inevitable in a research context, but nevertheless well worth emphasizing. It is this kind of understanding of the times and "the time-related context" that is usually meant when people speak about the importance of relating the biographee to her time. A human being is shaped by her time and acts on the basis of the conditions and within the frames that exist at the time. Times and conditions change, and to approach an individual as if she was ahistorical is unreasonable.

The other problem concerns how the biographee perceived these times, those general conditions. In many cases, the biographer aims at a close understanding of the unique individual. He wants to make out how the biographee perceived herself and her environment, how she looked at her prospects and impediments, why she acted in one way instead of another. The constraints and possibilities in terms of, e.g., what educational choices were available, what opportunities there were to earn one's living and what occupations were open to women, are ultimately a matter of general frames and probabilities. How the individual experienced the constraints and in her actions directed her life on the basis of existing conditions, is a question of whether she considered them valid or invalid for *her* – how she interpreted them. There are always individuals who disregard laws, rules and social expectations; women

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dressing in men's clothes and living a man's life, or, maybe as extreme, becoming a maid instead of the expected schoolmistress.

In this case, the problems of understanding are similar to those we face when trying to understand contemporary human beings. The difference is that in a historical biography the main character cannot answer our questions directly, and, in most cases, neither can other people who knew her rather well. To this we may add the uncertainty the researcher often feels in front of a material reflecting a life lived long ago. How far can we trust our intuitive understanding – how much has actually changed in the way people think and feel? Did the high-flown, emotionally charged way of expressing oneself in letters, for instance, represent a corresponding, highly-strung emotion in the persons in question – or not? I will give an example, a short extract from a letter written by the literary critic Klara Johanson, aged 24, to the writer Marika Stiernstedt of the same age:

> *... still have a sense for and love your style, which shines out below everything. You are extravagant, dearest, to handle your rich assets so irresponsibly. Please do not think that I am an educationalist or a pedant! Otherwise I want to tell you that the book is becoming more and more dear to me; it is so touchingly like you, through and through, and that was what I most wanted it to be. [...] In my mind's eye, I imprint a couple of conscientious kisses on your eyes.*
>
> *Your private critic*
> *Jack.*[91]

Svante Nordin (1994) has spoken about the inbuilt features of biography making it both an ideographic and a nomothetic genre. On the one hand, the biographer studies a personal, unique, non-repeatable fate. On the other hand, there is a conformity in the life of every human being, there are a kind of existential *universalia*. We all have a childhood, we grow up and choose a course in life, we fall in love, we probably marry and have children. We grow old; we look back at childhood and major parts of our lives as grown-ups. Our bodies age and we know that we are going to die. I suspect that, in our hesitations as researchers, we have a tendency to fall back on these universal features and ascribe to the biographee thoughts and feelings which we recognise from ourselves, from our closest friends, and from a whole literature where this conformity is illustrated.

And this is not necessarily wrong. Collective representations of childhood, love, marriage and death, influence the individual's way of contemplating the phases of the path of life. Changes in such collective representations, particularly if you consider representations at an unconscious or a semi-conscious level, usually take effect very slowly (cf. the many studies carried out within the area of history of mentalities).

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[91] Letter 11 April 1899. Quoted from Klara Johansson 1953, p. 34; our translation.

A similar solution to the problem of reaching into what he calls the individual's internal darkness is proposed by Gunnar Eriksson (1997). His solution does not specifically concern the problems of history. Yet like my suggestion a moment ago, and like a sociological perspective such as Pierre Bourdieu's, it locates what we so readily consider as the interior of the individual outside of the individual. According to Eriksson, the internal darkness may not exist.

> *My thesis, as it has been dimly seen in the foregoing, would be that the individual features find their expression further out in the general domain than we usually spontaneously imagine. I am thinking of general things of types such as the spirit of the time, currents of ideas, occupation, class – all things that belong to what you could call the social sphere of the individual. [...] Maybe what a human being really is does not reside in the interior darkness but out in the field illuminated by social forces, maybe the concepts of "interior" and "exterior" are here pieces of a metaphor that leads us astray?*[92]

I would like to add that we do not have to see what is happening as a passively endured influence. The collective representations can provide the individual with a type-image to which she *actively* adapts, and *through which* she also *perceives herself*. The writer Klara Johanson, around 1900, undoubtedly sees herself as an intellectual. "The intellectual" is a historical type that both has old roots and a specific topicality at the turn of the century, and it is very likely that the type-image was important to her self-perception. The exciting dividing break points are, in the case of Klara Johanson, constituted by the combination of several different type-images: intellectual, woman, intellectual woman.

Is a historical understanding at all possible, of one kind or another?

That depends mainly on if what you aim at is a fidelity to some kind of independent reality in another time and within another human being, at what X "really is". If that is *not* what you are looking for, the answer will be that the model of interpretation represented by hermeneutics is of course appropriate, particularly in this case. The model has been developed precisely in order to overcome historical distances. The interpreter's pre-understanding is permeated by her own time, but the purpose of the hermeneutical work that is done is to overcome the distance to the unfamiliar in a final merging of horizons. Another possibility is to be found in what Mikhail Bakhtin (1998) called creative understanding. According to him, that which is human is never identical with itself. The distance in culture, or to another person, thereby becomes a prerequisite for understanding. In the confrontation with the outsider, meanings that they themselves are unaware of are elicited from a culture or from another human being.

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[92] Eriksson 1997, p. 118, our translation.

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Understanding change

To make things even more complicated, we may consider the following.

In our attempts to understand the other and her time, we should preferably also keep in mind that what we are dealing with is a constantly ongoing time, a flow of time and change. The biographee lived in a time that altered during the maybe seventy years she lived.

In addition, this constantly ongoing process is a *double* one. The researcher too, with her pre-understanding and her apprehensions of "how it is today", has lived and lives in a flow of time and change. She has no fixed point from which she can turn around, look backwards and look at the other person's time.

In the project "Shaping the Public Sphere" we write about people who lived and worked about a hundred years ago. A hundred years ago – is that a long or a short time? How much has changed and how much is the same, or at least pretty much the same? And how are we ourselves connected to that era – to what extent does it live on inside us?

You could of course say that it was not long ago at all. If I take myself as an example, I can take in about 45 years. I do not feel that it is much, but still, that is nearly half a century. My own grandfather was born in 1868. That means that he lived his adult life at the same time as the women we are studying; it is not longer ago than that. I never met my grandfather, but I did meet my grandmother, and through my father and his brothers and sisters I know a little about my grandparents' youth. My father was influenced by their times since he was raised by them, and so was I too since he influenced me. At least in that sense the Sweden of a hundred years ago still lives inside me, as in others now living. Changes of generation, and the basic human fact that several generations live side by side, imply that representations and knowledge are transmitted, so that memories and thought-structures from several periods coexist in the present. And I am sure that those times are still alive in another way as well, inside me and inside others. I have read quite a lot of novels published about a hundred years ago. I also went to a school characterized by norms more similar to the ones of the early twentieth century than to the norms of today.

At the same time, however, it *is* a long time ago. Many significant changes separate us from those who were born and grew up during the latter part of nineteenth century.

Communications have undergone revolutionary changes, with railways and telephones in common use, motor vehicles; electric light has brought about completely new conditions. The relations between city and countryside are no longer the same, nor are the lived relations between social classes. Society has been secularized, the Christian faith is far less important. Basic things like human fears have changed: the development of the welfare state, for example, has meant that the fear of starving to

death has disappeared; social fears, such as the fear of "falling downwards", are probably less strong now. Women are much more equal to men and so on and so forth. And the direct bonds to the period have been cut off, since there is nobody left whom we could ask what life was like. Experience can only be conveyed to us by written sources. In this respect, we are in the same situation as those who are studying people living several hundred years ago.

"Our path is full of traces from those who have walked ahead of us", says Sven-Eric Liedman in his book about Agardh and Boström (1991). He means that these officials from the first part of the nineteenth century exhibit features belonging in a Swedish intellectual tradition that is still not dead. I am inclined to agree with Liedman about the many traces. We live inside history, and history lives inside us. The closer we are to the times in question, the more traces, and the greater are the possibilities that the times live inside us.

The tension between what happened just recently and what happened a long time ago seems to be particularly apparent when we are concerned with the time around 1900. So many things seem to have had their origin at that time; it is not for nothing that the period is called the age of the modern breakthrough. On which side of a modern breakthrough are the individuals we are studying situated? Especially when we enter the area of emotional life, we get bewildered and ask ourselves how long ago it really was. Earlier, I gave an example of the tone of voice that could exist – and often did exist – between women. The fact that unmarried women live together, sharing household and a great part of their everyday life, is nothing remarkable. That has been the case during the entire twentieth century, and living together was a necessity for career women particularly around the turn of the century. However, when these women in their letters express themselves in a way that we perceive as current only between lovers, we hesitate. Was it a question of love, what we now would call lesbian love? In the case of Klara Johanson we may answer yes, we know that much about her. But warm, emotional relations between women, and a corresponding way of expressing oneself in words, seem to have been socially accepted at the end of nineteenth century to a much greater extent than today. It is not necessarily a question of what we now call love, nor even of what Greger Eman calls "the feministic friendship-love".[93]

My reflections and my reasoning above could be compared to those of Eric Hobsbawm in the closing volume of his great trilogy on the Europe of the nineteenth century. There, they find unexpected confirmation from a historian by profession. At the same time, a new light is shed on them. Hobsbawm starts from a distinction between history and memory (originating from the French historian Pierre Nora), the latter being the

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[93] See Eman 1993, pp. 19 ff.

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living memory, the one that is carried by groups of living people. For every human being, there is a kind of twilight zone between history and memory, between "the past as a generalized record which is open to relatively dispassionate inspection and the past as a remembered part of, or background to, one's own life". This twilight zone extends from the point where the living family traditions or memories begin to the end of infancy. The period within that zone is the most difficult of all to grasp, for historians and laymen alike. And the twilight zone does not only concern individuals, but whole societies.

But the history of the twilight zone is different. It is itself an incoherent, incompletely perceived image of the past, sometimes more shadowy, sometimes apparently precise, always transmitted by a mixture of learning and second-hand memory shaped by public and private tradition. For it is still a part of us, but no longer quite within our personal reach. [...] More than any other, the Age of Empire cries out for demystification, just because we – and that includes the historians – are no longer in it, but do not know how much of it is still in us.[94]

Understanding your own sex

The biographee interprets her own times and their constraints and possibilities. The biographer, on his part, interprets the other individual's times, actions, attitudes or choices of path. In other words, the biographer must use himself or herself as an instrument. What does it signify, then, that within the project "Shaping the Public Sphere" we are (mostly) female researchers, looking at another group of women? Does sex matter?

The answer will of course depend upon the theoretical perspective one adopts. Here I just want to emphasize that this is also an important methodological-theoretical question, which we have reason to take a stance on. The theoretical perspective of Pierre Bourdieu is important for the project. From that perspective, sex/gender matters: the distinction between male and female historically reproduced for such a long time, manifesting itself in so many different ways today, applies to researchers as well. This means, for example, that we run the risk of being too loyal to the women we study, due to a kind of compensation effect. Or we may have internalized the male-female schema in the form of the opposition hard-soft, and as a direct consequence feel reluctant about "hard" ways of approaching our objects of study, quantifying, reducing and ignoring the unique.[95] In the latter case, the risk of course has nothing to do with the sex of the studied individuals.

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[94] Hobsbawm 1987, p. 5.
[95] See Englund 2001; Bourdieu 1998.

The biographical illusion

Above, I have spoken about the paths of life and about life courses. I have touched upon the problem posed by the relation between internal and external, but I have not emphasized it. I have spoken about understanding individuals and their lives, using everyday language and the common way of looking at an individual and at the span between birth and death. According to this common way of looking at things, a human being represents a more or less connected whole, identical to itself, carrying itself everywhere and all the time. Further, a life is a coherent whole, where the events succeed one another, belong together and have a direction, maybe also a sense.

In other words, when you think like this, you take for granted both the unity of the individual and the unity of life. The individual is one and the same and life has only one direction: you use common sense and everyday understanding. During the last quarter of a century, however, the unity of human identity has been strongly questioned. Philosophers and social scientists have emphasized the part played by narration in our everyday understanding of our own and other people's lives. We are narrating beings – and the structure we ascribe to our lives is precisely a narrative structure. A story has a beginning and an end, one event follows the other, and the events are linked together by some kind of inner necessity, chronological, causal or other. If we apply this kind of understanding to things that are not narratives, we transfer a mental structure from a certain area to another where it does not necessarily belong. And we miss the possibility that that which we study is not one-directional and one-dimensional but, like a hypertext, something that can be read in many directions.

In the project "Shaping the Public Sphere" we take as a starting-point some central concepts of Pierre Bourdieu, in order to try out their applicability on a body of material concerning women living a century ago. If you think as Bourdieu does,[96] the first person is not uniform. The uniform and invariable first person is something that has been created by a number of social institutions, themselves a creation of the social world. The most palpable and most basic of these institutions is the personal name, the name we all get when we are born, which makes a social essence out of a human being. The way Bourdieu looks upon it, my social form – i.e. my being as an agent within different social spaces or fields – can be decided only in my capacity as agent in a certain position, in a certain field, in a certain, time-related state of that field. The name gives me a kind of social cloak, a unifying magic cloak concealing that I am actually several different people. To put it briefly, the individual studied by the sociologist is not one but many, and every one of them must be

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[96] Bourdieu 1994, pp. 81 ff.

understood in relation to other "individuals" in each of the spaces "she" moves in.

According to him, a person's life-course should be seen as a series of positions successively taken by an agent in a constantly changing social space. The different biographical events should be defined as placements and transportations in the social space.

> *Essayer de comprendre une vie comme une série unique et à soi suffisante d'événements successifs sans autre lien que l'association à un "sujet" dont la constance n'est sans doute que celle d'un nom propre, est à peu près aussi absurde que d'essayer de rendre raison d'un trajet dans le métro sans prendre en compte la structure du réseau, c'est-à-dire la matrice des relations objectives entre les différentes stations. [...] C'est dire qu'on ne peut comprendre une trajectoire [...] qu'à condition d'avoir préalablement construit les états successifs du champ dans lequel elle s'est déroulée, donc l'ensemble des relations objectives qui ont uni l'agent considéré – au moins, dans un certain nombre d'états pertinents du champ – à l'ensemble des autres agents engagés dans le même champ et affrontés au même espace des possibles.*[97]

To understand the trajectory of the biographee, then, we would have to start by knowing the "structure of the underground net", i.e. the relations between different positions within the space, or spaces, where she moves – if we were to follow Bourdieu's way of thinking closely. In our case, however, mapping social fields or spaces in their entirety is out of the question. We are studying women, and women active within spheres that mostly do not have a field character. By collecting biographical material about a relatively large number of women who entered public spheres, however, we can lay the basis of such maps; a basis that may later be extended by additional material. We can analyse the kinds of resources these women had, and acquired, i.e. analyse the social conditions of admission to the public sphere. We can look for similarities and differences between resources and trajectories of women active within different spheres – and now I am already on to the theme of collective biography. Last but not least: aided by what we know about the collective and its conditions, we can seek a deeper understanding of individual women and their lives.

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[97] Bourdieu 1994, p. 89.

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THE LIFE AND DEEDS OF A 19TH CENTURY WOMAN

TESTING TWO PERSPECTIVES IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND A
BIOGRAPHY

Ingrid Heyman

Introduction

Different frames of understanding focused upon parts of empirical
material can make it possible for a researcher to discover different
phenomena. In this article, I will test two different perspectives trying to
understand the life and deeds of a particular woman. The first perspective
is novel to me and has been created in order to understand the present
time. My intention is to illuminate and cast light upon phenomena from
an earlier epoch. The second one is more familiar to me, and I have used
it earlier in my Ph D-dissertation. The perspectives are based on the
works of Manuel Castells and Pierre Bourdieu. Before I go into these
perspectives however, I will present the woman that I want to form an
understanding of.

Agda Meyerson as an example

Working within the auspices of a research project called *Shaping the
Public Sphere. A Collective Biography of Stockholm Women 1880–1920*
financed by Riksbankens jubileumsfond
(http://www.skeptron.ilu.uu.se/broady/sec/), I work together with seven
researchers and four doctoral students. My particular interests are in the
philanthrophic/social-political domains of women and Agda Meyersons
life and work is, in this text, my example.

The focus is placed upon the tensions between women's individual
lives, and their actions when contributing to the formation of institutions;
in this way we are able to reconstruct parts of women's life histories and
construct social portraits of them. We have begun to map their resources

as well as their strategies in order to construct the different kinds of public spheres that we want to understand.

In this article I have chosen as an example a woman who is devoted to philanthropy and nursing care in different forms. By analyzing the texts of her articles in papers, her own protocols from associations where she was a member, and information from public registers of population, tax returns and tax rolls, estate inventories etc., it has been possible to get to know something about her positions and attitudes, and the projects she initiates or contributes to, as well as the networks and associations she is active in.

Agda Meyerson was born in 1866 and died in 1924. She lived in Stockholm and in her place of birth until she was 30 years old – with one exception, when she participated in a course in wood handicrafts at the age of 24.

Agda cared for her sick father once she completed her general education, whereupon she joins a nursing course at the newly built Sabbatsberg hospital 1896–97.[98] After that she educated herself at a children`s hospital, associated to the Red Cross' Nursing Home and became a head nurse at a nursing home on Brahegatan 56 in the center of Stockholm. After her mothers' death in 1906, Agda Meyerson purchases the whole block of flats at Brahegatan – a five-stored house made of stone, including a back building with two floors. In this property, she established her own nursing home - Sister Agda´s Nursing Home - with 15 beds. Her nursing home existed until 1917. After that she let rooms to The Swedish Nursing Association (SNA) which established a nurses' home with Miss Meyerson as the unpaid matron. In 1920, for example, fourteen nurses reside there. She herself lives in a flat of her own while her twin-sister lives in another flat in the same house with their father. Thus, the two sisters have near and daily contact with their father until his death in 1910.

In 1910, the Swedish Nursing Association was established and Agda Meyerson, together with another nurse, was elected to the board as representatives for The Red Cross' Nurses Home. She is the vice chairman of SNA from 1910 until her death in 1924. During this time she is a driving force working to improve nurse education, to ameliorate their working conditions, and also to establish a feeling of solidarity among all

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[98]The Sabbatsberg hospital was ready-built in January, 1st, in 1879 and was looked upon "as a model hospital in matters of order as well as in nursing care." In Betänkande ang. den kvinnliga sjukvårdspersonalens utbildning och arbetsförhållanden. Kungl. Civildepartementet, 1916 p. 36. Two years later, young women were enrolled as apprentices. In 1891, a matron was employed, who, among other things, got the responsibility to manage the education of apprentices (op.cit.). Most likely, Agda Meyerson, who entered education in 1896, was an apprentice during half a year, whereupon she became a nurse assistant for another half a year.

nurses throughout the whole of Sweden.[99] She was an expert and also the secretary in a state commission on nurses´ working conditions and education 1912–16, and two years later in another commission on district nurses. She is also a member in the board of directors of the Eira hospital, Byle convalescent home, and the secretary in the nurses' relief fund, the director of the inquiry office of the SNA. From 1916 she participates in Nordic collaboration among nurses and is also for sixteen years a member of the Israeli society for nursing sick and dying persons *Chevra Kaddischa*.[100]

This condensed story of Agda´s life and deeds illustrates her considerable resourcefulness, and her skills when applying these resources to her work.

Two attempts to understand

In order to understand the driving forces in the life of Agda Meyerson, I have earlier tested different interpretations.[101] In this article, I would like to see if Castells and Bourdieu can manage to contribute to a deeper understanding of parts of her life. The concept of identity from Castells and the concepts of dispositions and capital from Bourdieu will be used as theoretical tools when trying to grasp a certain amount of empirical data on Miss Meyerson.

Then and now

Manuel Castells' idea of identity is developed in order to acquire a better understanding of the post-fordist working life of our times.[102] A central social tension in network society is the relationship between the Net and the Ego, where the Net metaphorically stands for global strategic relations while the Ego represents the down to earth local identity.[103] The information society brings along, according to Castells, a thorough restructuration, which, in turn, has an influence on the global economy, people's life-at-work, the relationship between poor and rich, etc. This transformation of today can be compared to the process of restructuration, when the industrial society replaced the former peasant community – in Sweden this occurred in the latter parts of the 19th century. There are some similarities between the industrial and the informational revolutions

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[99] In earlier days, every home for nurses established their spirit of community inside the smaller group. But now, when the nurses should form themselves into a professional group, common instruments were needed – i.e. meeting places, associations, papers and educations.

[100] Tarschys 1944.

[101] Hammarberg, Heyman & Trotzig 2001.

[102] Castells 1997.

[103] Benner 2001 p. 50–67.

– people are becoming more isolated from each other, Marx' concept of alienation is, again, relevant, lots of jobs disappear and new ones are created, the environment is destroyed and power, once again, is more concentrated. And opposition grows. This entails a transition in the whole society – *then* from a pre-modern to a modern society, *now* from a modern to a postmodern or an informational one; the latter is the term used by Castells.[104]

My view is that the two revolutions are of equal significance as to restructuring society. When something new is established, new public spheres are conquered, new roads to drive on are opened, new demands are put forward, etc., and all this affects people. This view enables me to apply Castells' concept of identity, established in the 1990s, to understand a woman born in 1866. A similar approach has previously been used by Henrik Berggren, but the other way around.[105]

The concept of identity, according to Manuel Castells

In these days of restructuration, the question of identity is crucial. It can be understood in different ways; from a psychological perspective, identity is seen as a central feeling inside an individual. If, on the other hand, a constructivist perspective is applied, identity is conceived as something determined by place, time, and culture around the individual, and the kind of relations one has with other individuals and institutions. Identity is defined by Castells as

> *the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or related set of cultural attributes, that is/are given priority over other sources of meaning.*[106]

According to Castells, the construction of identity takes shape in contexts defined by power relationships and he proposes three forms of identity – *legitimizing identity, resistance identity* and *project identity*.

Legitimizing identity, according to Castells, generates a civil society; that is, a set of institutions and organized social agents who reproduce identities, thereby, legitimizing their dominance. Referring to Gramsci's conception of civil society, Castells writes that this " is formed by a series of 'apparatuses,' such as the Church(es), unions, parties, cooperatives,

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[104] Castells 1997.

[105] Berggren draws conclusions from Luddism, whose members tried to destroy the weaving looms in the industrial textile districts in England in 1811 till 1816. Berggren makes a parallel between the Luddites and present time post- industrial "Luddites", who do not exactly destroy machines, but they raise the same kind of questions that their predecessors put on the agenda; namely, the grip of technology on peoples daily lives and the influence it has on their minds. *Dagens Nyheter,* January 21th 2001, Part B pp. 2–3.

[106] Castells 1997, p. 6.

civic associations and so on, which on the one hand, prolong the dynamic of the state, but, on the other hand, are deeply rooted among people.[107]

Resistance identity is generated by actors who are in positions or conditions devalued or stigmatized by the logic of domination. It constructs forms of collective resistance against prevailing points of views on the basis of principles different from those permeating the institutions of society. This kind of identity leads to the formation of communities in search for collective resistance against oppression.

Project identity turns individuals into subjects, working towards a project of a new, different life. This identity cannot develop out of legitimizing identity but can be built on resistance. Project identity develops

> *when social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure.*[108]

Agda Meyerson and the concept of identity

In the following, I try to use the three different forms of shaping an identity as an analytical tool. In the case of Agda Meyerson the analyses are complicated by the facts that the three forms of Castells´ concept of identity run parallel and are mixed up in the life of the protagonist. In reality the three forms of identity, can, of course, be at work at the same time; it is only on the analytical level that Castells separates them.

What cultural attributes are given priority over other sources of meaning in the life of Meyerson?

Legitimizing identity

In her work in *Chevra Kaddischa* during 16 years, she meets with almost every member of the parish, makes visits when people are sick or dying, serving them meals when needed, helping them with problems of different kinds, etc. The *Chevra* association was established in 1788/89 in Stockholm, her father was a secretary during 30 years, her uncle Oscar Hirsch was a treasurer for 14 and a manager for 12 years.[109] Agda's work can be seen as a prolongation of what her male relatives had earlier established. This kind of work can easily be understood as parts in an identity of the legitimizing kind. She was culturally bound to the parish and its work. According to Castells, religious communities, like political

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[107] Castells 1997, p. 8-9.
[108] Castells 1997 p. 8.
[109] Tarschys 1944 pp. 146–148.

parties and civic organizations, contribute to maintain existing power relations in a society.

During the late 1800s, a woman with interest in the Church could be looked upon as an example of an identity of a legitimizing kind. The ecclesiastical dominance upon people's minds is reproduced and prevents women from participating in public life, with the exception of the life in Church and in this Mosaic context, in Chevra Kaddischa. In a Lutheran context on the other hand, women´s calling was planned and implemented inside the private estate of the household, not in public life or society. A woman was not a *persona publica*.[110]

As far as I know, no resistance from Agda Meyerson existed in this matter; on the contrary, she upheld the old traditions on an almost daily basis.

Resistance identity

Though, in other areas she showed her resistance. For example, she resists the influence of Ortodox Jews who immigrated from Russia and Poland to Sweden, and gives voice to the so- called reformed Judaism – she wants to be "more a Swede than a Jew." In connection to her home visits as a member of the Chevra, she tried to influence the newcomers to be integrated into Swedish society as quickly as possible.[111] If so, they don't need to feel like strangers any more, she said.

She also meets with resistance the dismal outlook of being a daughter living at home all her life. Certainly, she lives at home until she is 30 years old. Her first educational steps were taken in the home with the help of a governess and for seven years she attended the *Åhlinska school*, together with her twin sister, until they are seventeen. At the age of 24, she joins a course in woodwork at *Nääs Institute* for nine weeks. Together with the application form, her father sends a letter in which he explains that Agda intensively wanted to learn about woodwork in order to teach that subject in her school, which was established the year before.[112] When she is 30 – and still unmarried - she attends a nursing school for one year. Afterwards, she works at a nursing home for ten years, before she establishes a nursing home of her own.

Trying to alter her possible position of a daughter living at home all her life, she attends schools of different kinds. By these means she had laid the ground for social activities outside her home. But still, her

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[110] Hammar 1999.
[111] Stare 1998 p. 193.
[112] Her father writes: "Min dotter, som af begär efter en sjelfständig verksamhet sedan förliden höst öppnat en skola, önskar tillegna sig slöjdkunskap för att äfven i detta ämne kunna bestrida undervisning." (My daughter, who urgently demands an activeness of her own, has, a year ago, established a school and wishes to learn of handicraft in woodwork, in order to teach in this subject as well.) Archive for August Abrahamssons Foundation in Göteborgs Landsarkiv, EIa, volume 6.

education also qualifies her for a life as a daughter or wife in the home. Miss Meyerson did, by no means, stand at the barricades, but she makes an adequate resistance to the very position in which she finds herself.

Project identity

What, then, can be said of her project identity? What kinds of "cultural materials" are available to her? She was born in a Jewish bourgeois family with a father who sometimes is described as a merchant, sometimes as a bank director. The family consists of assimilated Jews. Many of her ancestors and relatives are involved in the philanthropic sector – on the male side I can mention the establishment of many institutions like hospitals, homes for sick or poor children, theatres, etc. They also attended many philanthropic associations and worked hard without any salary. In Judaism, it is not a bad thing to be rich *per se*, but you have to share your fortune with the poor ones. In the diaspora, the solidarity among Jews is and has been absolutely necessary. On the female side, her grandmother and aunt, served meals to poor adults in their kitchen for many years on regular basis. They also worked within philanthropic associations. I think it is correct to claim that the Meyerson children got their sense for philanthropy and other people's dignity with their mother's milk.

Her nurse education goes well along with her interest in philanthropy. Her leading position in the nurses' association gives her many opportunities to exceed borders and develop new things. As the vice chairman in the Swedish Nurses Association, she strives to improve the education for nurses, and also establishes the first courses in further education for them. She herself was the head of four of the courses from 1911 to 1922. These courses were further developed for prospective nurse teachers and nurse administrators. Here it is appropriate to insert that Agda Meyerson had the best pedagogical education available at that time – the education at Nääs.[113] Miss Meyerson's pedagogical vein is evident in all her texts. She wrote 37 articles, most of them published in *Sjuksköterstidningen* (the nursing paper of SNA).

Her work in teaching and writing provides insight into her enthusiasm in disseminating knowledge and enabling other nurses to have opportunities to get to grips with new discoveries, occurring inside nursing and social work. Miss Meyerson is actively working for a change in nurses' knowledge, for a spirit of community and a feeling of solidarity among all nurses in Sweden, for the introduction of

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[113] True enough, the course was only nine weeks long, but the content was huge, including lessons in classical education i.e. on Luther, Comenius, Francke, Locke and Rousseau and also included subjects like working postures and esthetics. Archive for August Abrahamssons Foundation in Göteborgs Landsarkiv, Ö IIb:4.

convalescent homes, especially for women, and she also becomes an active member of many other associations.

As stated earlier, she buys – with her own money – a block of flats in inner Stockholm city where she establishes her nursing home, lets rooms for nurses and others, and also to the Swedish Nurses Association who, in turn, establishes a home for nurses, with miss Meyerson as manager – without a salary. She is more of an entrepreneur than a nurse in the latter time of her life.

Her citizenship is further strengthened by her work in public auditing work. From 1912 until 1916 she is a member of a state commission of inquiry, inspecting working conditions and education amongst female personnel in all Swedish hospitals and in private care. Supported and financed by the state, she studies the conditions in Germany, Denmark and Finland. In this context, she is working together with politicians, medical doctors and other prominent persons, gaining relations on which she can rely upon in her projects. As the commission's secretary, she is the person who holds the pencil, and her report is a piece of solid workmanship describing the different views of nurses, nurses' aids, matrons and physicians. Every major question is carefully considered – working hours and duties, food supply, frequency of night duty, salary, etc. The suggestion from the committee to appoint a nurse as a public inspectress became reality in 1920, and turned out to be a very important step in Swedish history of nursing. This formal report or verdict resulted in a reduction of the number of nursing schools; the deficient ones disappeared and the rest were awarded prolonged contracts within a common general framework. The state report can be viewed upon as an excellent example of the belief in, and trust for the systematic collection of information, which was prevalent around the turn of the century 1900. This systematic method of gaining knowledge is a well-known element in the process of modernization.

Project identity can, according to Castells, be built on a resistance identity[114] – in the Meyerson case among other things - resistance against young women being daughters at home all their lives, inferior education for nurses and against exploitation of them as a cheap working force. The Nurses Association founded a *Gemeinschaft* for women in order to strengthen the positions of their members and provide them with new competencies in medical, nursing and social matters, hardly with ambitions to surreptitiously undermine the patriarchy. Among their newly won competencies were social skills in association work, the courage to formulate their ideas, develop notions, and to communicate ideas in a simple and cogent manner. This together with the training and experience in other women's movements, could be seen as part of a civic

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[114] Castells 1997. p. 357.

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education.[115] Her identity, grounded in home, in education and earlier experiences gives her strength to carry out public tasks including civic duties and rights. She is an extraordinary woman amongst women of that time; she shoulders a civic responsibility, is an entrepreneur in her business as well as a nurse.

Agda Meyerson constructed meaning to a greater extent on her education in nursing and all the organizational and political matters in relation to her work than on anything else, perhaps except her work in *Chevra Kaddischa*. She did not choose to be a teacher or a medical doctor, but a nurse. Her will to disseminate her knowledge made her a teacher anyway, in fact the first one within the sector of nursing care. She also was a very generous giver - she contributed to many projects in need for money.

Following Castells, the process of building an identity is described as

> *a project of a different life, perhaps on the basis of an oppressed identity, but expanding toward the transformation of society as the prolongation of this project of identity ...*[116]

To conclude, I have shown that the project identity of Agda Meyerson is founded on her resistance in some questions – her project goes parallel with the undermining of parts of the patriarchy in order to free the inner resources of herself and other women, especially nurse colleagues and poor women in need for periods of convalescence. It seems reasonable to look at her project as an expansion in direction of the process of transformation of the society. She establishes a lot of new phenomena, never seen before. In addition to that, her legitimizing identity is stable and well established. Thus, two forms are running parallel in her life with resistance identity only as a springboard to her project identity.

In the forthcoming pages I will discuss some concepts of Bourdieu.

Dispositions and forms of capital according to Bourdieu

Bourdieu´s theory on dispositions, habitus and capital offers another perspective to understand the conduct of Agda Meyerson. I leave out of account for now the cultural fields that she possibly is a part of. She holds certain cultural resources, valued by others. This incorporated cultural capital is created during childhood, is restructured all the time during education and different experiences through life. A person's developed dispositions depend upon the family and other people whose practices and conceptions make an impact on him. The result of social experiences,

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[115] af Petersens 2001 pp. 31–44.
[116] Castells 1997 p. 10.

collective consciousness, ways of thinking, speaking, moving, etc., give individuals tools for acting, thinking and orienting themselves in the social world. They incorporate the principles for how to manage different situations and establish a practical knowledge – Bourdieu sometimes writes about "the socially informed body." The influence and the imposition or coercion that a child is exposed to in the family can be looked upon as an immanent, long lasting education – direct and indirect, conscious and unconscious, intentional or as a side-effect of an action. It takes time, long time to establish dispositions.[117]

There are different forms of capital – in short, resources, and in this article it is convenient to differ between symbolic capital - estimated by others to be valuable – and economic capital. Here, I will discuss social, educational, economic, organizational and religious forms of capital. These different forms are not distinctly apart; on the contrary, they often are intertwined. For example, the social and economic capitals are close to each other just in this family, as also the social and the religious capitals. My only intention to separate them here, is to make the telling more consistent or logical?

Agda Meyerson and the concepts of capital and dispositions

Social capital

Agda Meyerson lives together with her first family until she is 30 years old and then in the same house as her father until his death in 1910. By then, Agda Meyerson is 44. The strong bonds to the family, including the extended family, give many occasions to reproduce dispositions, governing views and practices. The distribution of different capital is formed by certain social conditions she lives in.

The Meyerson family is large, the social intercourse is dense, on an everyday basis as well as in rejoicing and feasts. Her family lives near her grandparents, and her grandmother is always there for the children, whenever they are sick or lonely. They often have lunch at the grandparents' home, when attending school. When the girls are 20, the grandparents celebrated their golden wedding. All the family was gathered early in the morning in the drawing-room, decorated with garlands, candles and flowers. When the grandparents entered the hall, festively dressed, everybody cried of joy, read poems and made speeches. In the evening, dinner was served in one of the most famous hotels in

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[117] Bourdieu 1989 pp. 7-30; Callewaert 1992 pp. 112–140.

Stockholm, the Grand Hotel.[118] This is just an example of the close togetherness inside the family. Agda's twin-sister Gerda has told us of the many dinners at Sundays during the years, when often uncle Isaac, a brother of the mother, sent for rented wagons to take all the company/ or party for a "walk in wagons" at Djurgården gardens. Uncle Isaac was very rich and generous and loved by the children.[119]

The Jewish parish, where many men of the family have been entrusted with tasks,[120] can be understood as the first network of the Meyerson children. Here Agda meets for the first time the signification of philanthropy, both of male and female kinds. Later on, Agda Meyerson develops networks of her own among the nurses she organizes, writes articles for and educates. Before the start of her courses, she corresponds with applicants and asks for their opinions regarding contents and educational visits.[121] As stated earlier, she corresponds with a large numbers of nurses all over in Sweden in her work in the state committee. She establishes an extended network with nurses in Sweden and from other countries, e.g. Germany, France and the Nordic countries.

According to Bourdieu, resources are estimated as capital when all individuals in the network can gain from it. As an example, I will mention that Agda Meyerson invites members of her family to teach in her courses – her twin sister Gerda is often employed as a lecturer, as is her cousin Axel Hirsch. Her work in Government services gives her contacts in social and political contexts and by those means she also invites physicians, socially active people, politicians and others as lecturers.

Educational capital

Her educational capital is not very high. How the question of schooling was discussed in the Meyerson family we do not know much about, but we certainly know that it chooses the *Åhlinska School* where the girls study for seven years. We do not know why it did not choose the *Wallinska skolan*, a school the girls' mother attended in her youth. The choice of school indicates that the family does not count upon preparing the girls for higher education. Instead, a kind of craftsmanship is reproduced — Agda went to Nääs in order to learn about handicraft in wood – and got there a deep knowledge in pedagogy, which she could rely on when she later on become an educator in nursing – she was not a formally educated teacher.[122] Her sister studied Arts in Dresden. She

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[118] Meyerson G. 1929 p. 11.
[119] Meyerson G. 1929 p. 37.
[120] The grandfather on the father's side, Lesser Meyerson born in 1790, was a leader in the Jewish parish.
[121] Meyerson, A. 1916 p. 165–6.
[122] Heyman 2001.

became an author and a poet and also a philanthropist. Even Agda Meyerson writes poems for several nursing meetings and she is looked upon as a captivating speaker, her chatty style is said to amuse her listeners.[123]

As an article writer, her specialty appears to be historical overviews with lots of facts. Some titles on her articles are *Notes on children´s healthcare in Sweden*, *An eye on the development of nursing care in Sweden* and *The development of surgery*.[124] She gives a reliable impression in her writings, always providing a distinct focus and firm support from which to base her arguments.[125]

Agda really understands how to use her educational capital in teaching, writing and when traveling. From her accounts of journeys, I have figured out that she speaks fluently at least in German and French. In her conversations with Italian nurses she probably spoke French.[126] In school she learned how to talk foreign languages, a skill allowing her to talk to nurses from abroad and can, by this means, learn from them.

Economic and organizational capital

Successful wholesalers and businessmen on the male side in the family and also an inheritance, gives Agda Meyerson a certain economical capital, which she sets in motion in her work. Her mother leaves behind more that 360.000 SEK, when she dies. A third is for Agda and she buys a big house in the inner city of Stockholm, where all left in the family, went for their living.[127] In this case, she uses parts of her economical capital to keep the family together. Her father was then for some years under guardianship; perhaps she felt responsible for all the family and found herself to be the one who was best suited for caring for the family. Her intrepidity to buy a block of flats, her fearlessness to join state investigations, to contact civil service departments e.g. The Royal Board of Pensions in her work at Byle Convalescence Home, hiring co-workers and entering into contracts, her driving work in the boards of many associations, etc., give a hint of her resemblance to her father in business as well as the work inside the Mosaic parish. The two years elder son in the family was not interested in business – he had no success in his

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[123] Bohm 1962 p. 99.

[124] Meyerson 1923 nr 11, 12; 1924 nr 1. In Sjukskötersketidningen. Meyerson 1917, 1918. In Sjukskötersketidningen and Meyerson 1924 nr 4. In Sjukskötersketidningen.

[125] Among the 8 didactical principles on which Nääs-woodwork-education is based, we can find "to develop the students' self-activity, to habituate them to honesty, order, accuracy and cleanliness, to train their attention" etc. In Thorbjörnsson 1992 p. 16. Especially, the principles of order, accuracy and honesty could be identified in Meyerson's texts.

[126] Meyerson, A. 1921 p. 137f.

[127] Except her own fortune, she inherited about 100.000 SEK from her father. In her estate inventory her means are valuated to around 280.000 SEK.

factory producing iron beds, was often depressed and eventually he took his own life already in 1906.[128] Maybe Agda has to step into his shoes.[129] The male philanthropic tradition, the work and activities in business and society, certainly contribute to develop dispositions in Agda Meyerson, which she uses in her own projects.

She also sets her money in motion when it comes to establish activities inside the nursing community, for example the establishment of the nurses' relief fund, where she donates money on a regular basis and the inquiry office, where she works for no salary at all. She gives a big amount of money, 2000 SEK, when the Byle convalescent home needs to enlarge their property in 1917. In return she got access to a small cottage where she spends her summer vacations her last seven years.[130]

I will end this report on miss Meyerson´s economic status by presenting her incomes and taxfees in 1920.

Table 1: Agda Meyerson's status of income and taxes in 1920

Income of Capital	7.470	
Income of work	470	7.940
Taxed property		20.390
Reduction	1.500	18.140
Fee to the Mosaic parish.		17
National taxes	991	
Local taxes	674	

This table gives an explanation why she is able to work as an unpaid matron in the Nursing Home - she certainly can manage to live from the economical capital of her own.

She also holds shares in different companies; in her estate inventory her holding of shares was estimated at more than 121.000 SEK. She certainly is an extraordinary woman of her time, while running her affairs by herself; besides, she has an interest, not only in the economy of her own and the associations she joined, but also in the economy of the society at large.

I think it is correct to claim that she enlarges and develops her capital – in economy as well as in organization through her inheritance and her work.

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[128] The Churchbook in Stockholm Jewish parish. The mother was very depressed afterwards; she herself passed away the following year. The brother's estate inventory ends up in a loss of 27.000 SEK.

[129] In Meyerson, G. 1929, we can learn that the father and Agda share a common interest in physical exercise; as an example, they both ride horses.

[130] Protocol from committee meeting in Byle home, December the 7th, 1917. In the Library of Karolinska Institute.

Religious capital

In the case of Agda Meyerson, the social capital and the religious one are closely related. I have tried to understand what significance her Jewish identity – with one of the first commandments of love, is to nurse the sick and care for the dying and the dead – could possibly have had on her conduct. As mentioned earlier, Meyerson is an executive member or the leader of the *Chevra Kaddicha* for 16 years.[131] As the Fathers says: "the world is based on three things: learning, divine service and commandments of love."[132] As far as I know, it is the last-mentioned, the commandments of love, that Agda Meyerson, above all, was working for. When I first saw the title of one of her articles "Commandments of love for our German nurse comrades" - which deals with sending gifts and necessities to injured German nurses after World War I - I was very confused.[133] I could not grasp the term "commandments of love" until I learned more about the tasks of the *Chevra*. A member of this association, nurses the sick and dying, pays visits to sick people in the parish and takes care of everything after the death - consider that the body is washed and dressed, that a simple coffin is available and that the body is buried within three days. The mourning relatives are also taken care of - the members of Chevra do everything in need to be done, in order to let the relatives mourn in peace, without caring for the everyday life. All these things are very high valued among Jews.[134] Caring for the dead, is seen upon as an ultimate gift and therefore very honorable, the dead cannot reciprocate the gift, given to him.

Certainly, Agda Meyerson is developing a huge social and religious capital when doing all this; most likely she knows every member in the Jewish parish and every tradition in the Jewish tradition, even if she herself is a liberal Jew and gives voice to the reformed Judaism.

At the same time, she is working in the ordinary Lutheran healthcare sector all the time – and obviously, there are no contradictions between the two religions, in the Meyerson version or in her life.

Thus, Agda Meyerson holds a central position in both the world of nurses and the Mosaic parish. Her double loyalty came into sight during her last illness and at her funeral. It was not the Rabbi who was called to her deathbed; no, it was the Low Church protestant Natanael Beskow, who was the spiritual guide and adviser to her twin-sister. At the funeral, hundreds of nurses gathered and her memory was honored through gifts to the Jewish parish, as well as to the Nurses' Relief Fund and to the Flower Fund. Throughout her whole life and also in death, she was firmly rooted in two religions.

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[131] Tarschys 1944 pp. 146–48.
[132] Tarschys 1944 p. 9.
[133] Meyerson, A. 1920 p. 17.
[134] Similar tasks are, of course, common in other religions as well.

Her conduct and actions, values or perceptions are, by no means, simple transmissions of earlier conditions, but rather results of her different dispositions and the social contexts she develops, enters or has reached.

Assessment of the two perspectives

It has been interesting for me to test two different perspectives in order to understand the life and deeds of a particular person. My assessment of these perspectives is, in a way unfair, since I have known the concepts and tools of Pierre Bourdieu for about 15 years; having used them in my dissertation[135] and having discussed them in research groups. I estimate them as valuable tools for research. On the other hand, my first meeting with Manuel Castells was some years ago, and I estimate that the voluminous books in his trilogy on network society is not easy to comprehend. In spite of that, I have, with the help of Castells, got a grip on some phenomena that I have not earlier observed. For example, the relation between a suppressed individual who resists suppression and at the same time uses her possibilities of expansion during the prevailing restructuring of society, has become obvious.

In my empirical example, the three forms of identity seem to show up as parallels, which deepened my hesitation against the concept of identity. In my understanding, identity is deeply based inside a person, and Castells´ formulation of the notion of identity says that meaning is created "on the basis of cultural attributes" given "priority over other sources of meaning,"(cf. p. 3). In the case of Agda Meyerson, there are many kinds of cultural attributes making meaning to her life. According to Castells, her faith in God and also her belonging to two different forms of religions, give her, a legitimizing identity. This form of identity is contemporaneous with the project identity that she is developing during her many projects. The identity of resistance can be a driving force in favor of her project identity but does not seem to be very strong, and maybe of short duration, perhaps only as a springboard for her projects.

The term *identity* gives me connotations to individual psychology; the term is, in my opinion, very close related to one person. Therefore, I find the concept of identity in the version of Castells, too narrow and one-sided. It cannot grasp the total life of an individual, even if it has helped me to point out the meaning of resistance for forming of a project identity.

On the other hand, Bourdieu's concepts of disposition and capital can, to a greater extent, encompass and illuminate more of the life of Agda Meyerson. The different kinds of specialized capital give me the

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[135] Heyman 1995.

opportunity to understand more of her material environments, persons she meets with and places she dwells at. Both perspectives can illuminate her religious work and also her conduct and activities among nurses. My view is, though, that Bourdieu's concepts give a broader scope because they invite us to take history into account. If we want to understand something, it is necessary to understand the genesis of the phenomena, i.e. the historical roots. In the case of Agda Meyerson, her economic interests and skills became more understandable, when taking her extended family in account; not only the parent, but also both pairs of grandparents, cousins and the brother's children. The latter are not mentioned before, but they inherited Agda Meyerson and got almost 50.000 SEK in 1925. How they, on their parts, administer their economic capital has not been searched for in my work.

Bourdieu often puts forward the importance of acquiring knowledge about our history; the 'man of yesterday' is active inside all of us, but we do not always recognize him. It can be seen as an expression of the saying "the history inside us".

Not only history is important to grasp, but also the structure of the present state of things, the circumstances of today. The "today" I would like to understand is already history, a condition that makes the whole thing more complicated to investigate. My task is to find and describe so many facts related to miss Meyerson´s life, to make it possible to understand the conditions around her and thereby map out the structure. This is the only way, according to Bourdieu, making investigations in the social world – map out the genesis and the structure in the best possible way.

The fact that the different kinds of capital have a different nature and character give us possibilities to uncover more phenomena than the concept of identity can manage. With the concept of identity, neither economic conditions nor organizational experiences can be investigated, however, the concept of capital enables one to do this. Thus, I find that the concept of capital in the meaning Bourdieu has given to it, has a wider scope than the concept of identity in Castells' writings.

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TO CREATE A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

TOLD BY TWO TEACHERS AND WOMEN

Karin Allgulin Sjölin[136]

A society in alteration

During the latest decades, radical changes have happened at different levels in society. It concerns deregulation, decentralization, management by objectives, market adjustment and reduction of resources together with an ambition for some of the vocational training to become academic education e.g. teacher training. This has led to changes in teachers' working conditions and other conditions among other things. The atmosphere is characterized by stress and a feeling of neither being able to keep up with oneself nor to fulfil one's obligations. The industrial society is slowly transformed to a society of information and network (Castells, 1998). Castells (2000) discusses the individual's place and the human being's creation of meaning in connection with this alteration in society. In this connection, he brings up the idea that the meaning for most participants in society is organized around the primary identity, which is self-preserved in time and room (Castells, 2000).

In these circumstances, it is interesting to ask questions like: how do people experience this transformation in society and how do they talk about structural changes that happen and how do they create and recreate their identity?

In this article, it is my intention to describe two women, Sara and Anna telling about their lives and how in this way they can be said to construct their identities. The two women have their work in a teacher education institution in the south of Sweden since a long time.

The structure of the article is as follows. I start by describing my methodological basis. Then I present the stories about the two women

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[136] Translated by Lena Dafgård and Karin Allgulin Sjölin.

and the article ends with creating a context of some of the areas the women have told about.

Methodological basis

In the empirical part I have chosen to work with Life stories. This is a new sphere of activity for social scientists who do research on people's lives. Among other things the research strategy has as its object to make people visible and put their experiences and what they have lived through in focus. It is a way to understand how people create their professional profiles. In the story, you can make out people's social and cultural settings. Through the story, the human being gives form and meaning to his world and experiences and forms in that way an understanding of identity (Hydén & Hydén, 1997).

Long (1999) describes the self-biographical research as dominated by men and that their world of concept is explicitly masculine. Women are then described as a suppressed group and there is a need for giving room for women and their history.

In my work, I have taken this as my starting-point and I have let the women speak and get their voices heard. It is important that they get the opportunity to describe their own life courses, patterns of life and career ways. The narrative is an important function in the lives of women and in particular its social part. Women's stories are a natural form of construction and change of knowledge and their stories are among other things about how they deal with the life context that is identified by their sex (Personal Narratives Group, 1998).

The Englishman Ivor Goodson is a prominent figure within the work with life narratives. He emphasizes that also the voices of teachers should be let through. He has emphasized the research on teachers through life narratives among other things because he thinks that the view of education is influenced by life situation, identity and cultural affiliation (Goodson, 1996).

Interviews with Sara and Anna and the work with analysing the narratives

I got in touch with Sara and Anna at the teacher training institution in Sydstad and asked if I could interview them/discuss their lives and careers. They accepted this even though Anna hesitated a bit. We agreed on the time and place for a first interview that took place in their places of work in completely undisturbed surroundings. In my work with the interviews, I am influenced by Seidman (1998) who among other things

recommends several interview occasions with different levels of ambitions.

The narratives that Sara and Anna so abundantly have shared started with my question: "I want you to start from the beginning and tell about your life, your childhood and the conditions during your childhood and youth". After this the work together got started. I acted as an active listener with occasional comments as for example "could you tell more about…," "what has this meant to you?" I have also put questions to the areas I have been interested in e.g. adolescence, education, career, work and family life.

I recorded the conversations on tape and transcribed them literally. In the following work of analysis I have followed a method described by Lieblich et al. (1998). They describe a way of interpreting the material by searching for themes or patterns in the narratives.

After a first revision, Sara got the material to read through. With this as a starting-point, I had a second conversation with her and tried to get Sara to deepen and speak more about some of the themes I had found during my first read through. Anna did not get any written material before the second conversation. She read the material when it was put together and arranged. I met Anna three times. After this, I got on with my work and that was the end of my co-operation with Sara and Anna.

When reading through the material I have been reading from a comprehensive view, which means that I have taken the whole of the narrative into consideration. From the narratives I could chisel out a few themes that these women had in common, which are accounted for in the following. In the work with the narratives and the analyses, I have paid regard to the personal integrity by simulating names, places and other personal phenomena that are important to change, however with that ambition that the authenticity must not disappear by distorting which was told out of fear of exposing a person's identity.

The picture of the two women, Sara and Anna

In order to get a picture of the two women, a short summary of their lives follows here. Subsequently my story follows about the two women who are represented by the four themes I have chosen to emphasize. The square brackets in the quotations that follow below the themes mean that sentences have been left out.

SARA

Sara is a woman in the upper middle age. She lives together with her husband whom she met very early in life. They have three children together. Sara is the eldest of three siblings. Sara speaks a lot of

proximity and relations. Strong bonds and close relations are frequent themes within both family life and professional life. Sara is an educated teacher of modern languages and has worked on a senior level of compulsory school during several years before she came to teacher training in a city in the south of Sweden. She started there at the end of the eighties and she is teaching the methodology and didactics of modern languages. She has also academic studies in pedagogy.

As a teacher, Sara has been very eager to co-operate with colleagues and as a mother, Sara has been particular about the family solidarity.

ANNA

Anna, who is at the age of 60, has grown up in a non-European country, as an only child in a family with multicultural origin. The father had a high position within the Government while the mother came from poor and non-intellectual circumstances. Anna came to Sweden when she was at the age of 20. Anna is married to a man with an academic career behind him. Anna has given birth to four children. She has a varied background with memories from the war and hardships in her luggage. She defended her doctor's thesis in the seventies. Anna has thorough experiences and memories after several years' of work in the developing countries. Anna teaches pedagogy among other subjects in the teacher training.

Childhood and adolescence

I am as you usually say my father's daughter

Both these two women have grown up in a nuclear family, even if the prerequisites were different. Both these two women have a very clear and close relation to their fathers. They speak a lot about what the fathers have meant to their development and learning.

From her very early childhood Sara has lived in surroundings where education and learning have been important constituent elements. She has also been encouraged and supported to go to school and study. She talks about her father who had a positive, tolerant, diplomatic and human loving nature. He has made deep impressions on Sara and she says that she has her inclination to development and learning from him. Sara thinks that her father had a power to make her feel very important.

> *I am as you usually say my father's daughter. When I was a child I was with my father and papering and digging a well in the country. Dad had a power to make me feel very important so I could feel that Dad would*

> *never have managed if I didn't help him [...]. I have got my inclination for reading and my writing from dad.*

To Anna, her father has also been a model in spite of the fact that from time to time he was unpredictable and moody because of an addiction.

> *[...] so in that way it was an unsafe childhood, but Dad was a wonderful person and I am definitely my father's daughter. My father was a great lover of nature. I think that I was no more than four years old when he started to collect caterpillars and taught me how they pupate and that whole secret. I have definitely inherited very much of my basic interests, as reading from my father.*

Family structure and its importance

The family has represented strong elements of influence for the development of the women and the forming of their identities. Sara has grown up in a stable nuclear family which has been characterized by safety and care. The father and Sara have had a very close relationship and Sara has been noticed and confirmed. She has had a safe and stable childhood and has been developed to a strong woman with a positive attitude to life. Her mother's significance to Sara has been less important. Their relation is more characterized by a mutual struggle.

Anna's family situation has been a bit different except for the relation to her father. The loss of her father had important consequences and Anna lost her foothold.

The loss of her father not only resulted in an emotional crisis but it also meant a loss of the breadwinner. Sara was forced into a role as an adult and she had to be gainfully employed to support herself and her mother. There was no social net for her and her mother and they did not get any kind of support in their situation of affliction and crisis. In her story, Sara mentions the confirmation as an important event and a proof of her entrance into the world of grown-ups.

Crises during adolescence

Anna's big crisis occurred during her early teens, when her father leaves the family. This involves a great tragedy for Anna. It results in that she leaves school and starts a job as an errand girl in a department store. She does not receive any support from school, if anything condemnation. "Well, you may leave then if school is no good for you".

Sara's situation of crisis is of a different nature. She gets pregnant and bore her child during her upper secondary education. She completes her studies, however, and because of her early motherhood, she is forced to change her choice of profession. Her dream was to become a doctor, but instead she chooses to qualify as a teacher.

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Educational programmes and career

Actually, I slipped in to postgraduate studies more or less by accident

Anna talks a lot about her youth friends. They have meant a great deal to Anna both from a perspective of solidarity and as source of inspiration to further studies. Anna's way of education and career has been consisting of studies in pedagogy to a very large extent. Anna's experiences as a teacher are as a supply teacher. Her further way of career was more a coincidence than a well-considered choice.

> *Actually, I slipped in to postgraduate studies more or less by accident. I had planned to become a psychologist but I thought that the education in the seventies had a low ceiling[…]*

The post graduate studies were exciting and fascinating to Anna but she had additional driving forces, which made her struggle with post graduate studies. One of these forces was directed towards her husband.

> *I thought like this, maybe a silly thought. I wanted my doctor's degree, too. I thought that I didn't want him to glitter in our life and I thought that if he can do it, damn it, I can manage, too.*

Other factors that drove Anna were the feeling of not being in a disadvantage.

> *I had then seen my mother, how she always had had a weak position in relation to my blue-blooded father. […]This powerful, fantastic wonderful woman had self-confidence worth zero minus. […]It was this that I saw with clear eyes as a teenager and as a student and I didn't want that kind of life. […]Another part which worked as a driving force was that dad had let us down and he didn't exist. I had a feeling that I wanted to compensate mother. […]I felt the revenge, that her life had gone to hell and that she had only one daughter, what would become of her.*

Anna has struggled in many different ways during her career. The post graduate studies were perhaps not a completely conscious choice. It was more about to assert oneself as a woman, get a position and replace the father's role in front of the mother. Anna thinks that it is a more doubtful career today. *Today, I would probably have studied IT or become a computer engineer*, Anna says.

The choice of profession for Sara is grounded partly on her early motherhood and interest in working with people. She thinks that the school of education had a shorter time of education compared to medical training, which was what Sara had preferred. Sara also says that she saw a possibility in being a teacher and having a big family. Sara graduated from the school of education and studied both subjects and pedagogy and

experienced the studies *more like a timetable than university studies.* Sara also remembers that there were *methods with a big M, that technical methodology was an important subject and that the lesson drafts had to be folded in a certain way.* Sara looks on herself as a curious person who is keen on getting new knowledge and search for new challenges. *If it was possible, I would continue to study and learn my whole life*, Sara says.

I thought it was very exciting to educate those who were going to become teachers

Sara tells that while she was a teacher in compulsory school, she was for a long time interested in teacher training school and that she has been involved in that by being a tutor for teacher students. She expresses this by saying: *I thought it was very exciting to take part and educate those who were going to become teachers*. She applied for teacher training school and got a situation as a teacher in the methodology and didactics of moderns languages.

I slipped in on a banana skin. I hadn't thought about becoming a teacher at a training college, Anna says when she talks about her entrance into teacher training school. She was persuaded to take a post as a supply teacher of pedagogy in the education in Sydstad. Anna was very successful in her function as a teacher, but she was a bit scared of the exuberant evaluations she received. *I wasn't happy and pleased, I was actually more terrified. What was it that was so wonderful?* Anna says about her feelings against her debut in teacher training school. Anna continues that she has thought a lot about what a teacher training implies and what its message was. However, she continued on the road she had started and got eventually an established post at the teacher training school.

The work in teacher training school

"Pedagogy is to see the human being"

> To me, pedagogy starts and ends by seeing the human being. Everything proceeds from that. There we have learning styles, group process, but the most important is to see the human being and not being blinded by all the other things. […]The teacher's role is constantly growing. […]You have to reshuffle time after time. The furnishing you have is not suitable; we have to make changes all the time. It is a continuous change inside yourself and the proficiency you have and that is how you become a good teacher.

The subject of pedagogy has a strong humanistic side to Anna. The theories, the models and abstractions are a part of it but the teaching must start from the individual. She also emphasizes the dynamic dimension during the education. She thinks that it is important to try to contribute to changes of the teacher students on a deeper level and that they reflect over earlier experiences and conceptions of what teaching and learning is about.

Sara talks about how she in her teaching works with the teacher students to make them understand theories and their importance. Sara thinks that you should be very knowledgeable about your subject. But in order to get the students to understand and to take in theories, Sara thinks that it is important to start working with the need to *feel that I am suitable*.

Sara emphasises knowledge of subjects but she also sees a personal dimension. Anna misses a subject in traditional meaning but sees her subject pedagogy as withholding theories and possibilities to breadth with connection to deeper discussions with a philosophic attachment.

"There is something that makes them understand but they never ask"

Anna tells a lot about how she works with the teacher students. She says that her experiences in life has given her certain humility, which she sees exist in the meeting with the teacher students. *I notice that the students come and talk a lot to me.* But she also says that she never tells about her personal experiences. *Never in my life, have I ever revealed any of those pieces. This is the professional Anna in another way.*

In Anna's attitude and in the concrete work there is an interesting and exciting dimension which is about credibility and intuitive processes. She inspires some kind of stability and safety as the teacher students may feel. She represents a mature woman with authority and a commanding presence. This might be expressed in terms of teacher professionalism.

"We are in duty bound to see to that we get a school which does not stagnate"

Sara, who is out in the field tutoring teacher students in her teaching related to subjects, sees what is happening there and has views on how she as a teacher educator should work. She sees the importance of helping the teacher students to see what importance the theories have and how they are related. She also sees how slowly the computer development goes, in spite of the fact that a lot of money is invested in development of technology. Furthermore, she thinks that men use the computer from a technical point of view and not from a pedagogical aspect.

If we are going to get a school that is developing, then we must be a part of it with education. Then it doesn't work to send them out to schools and let them be trained there, because then they will end up being similar to them who already are there and nothing else.

Sara is deeply rooted in school by her function as a teacher in methodology and didactics. She can clearly follow what is happening there and how things are developing in relation to how the work is done in the institutionalized teacher training school. Sara can in some way identify herself from a practical perspective.

Sara sees the importance of her own role as an assistant to changes. She sees her function as a spear head and she thinks that the teachers have a duty to contribute to change and development of school when they come out and have just passed their examination.

"How is the perspective of career associated with the scientific perspective?"

Anna also talks about different perspectives, which she experiences as conflicting and complicated in education.

I think that the big stress field exists between on the one hand the scientific and on the other hand that we are a vocational training. How is it possible to bring together these two parts? There is a risk that you go from ditch to the other. We cannot get away from the fact that the seminar education did not have the scientific perspective. Now there is a danger that we fall over in the other direction, to the scientific.

Anna's reflections here are very important and they point to problems that constantly recur and permeate the discussions on every level. Different traditions and different patterns live within the education and create tensions and departmentalization of work. The so called tradition of seminar could be said to lack a scientific tradition. Anna thinks and wonders over the question: *How is the perspective of career associated with the scientific perspective? Are they going to be brought together and how is that going to be done?*

Both Sara and Anna discuss how you should work with the different perspectives and that it is important to form a whole. Anna says that she thinks that *the scientific is in a way hanging in the air. […] That is something that we have to sit down and seriously discuss. What is science about?* Anna's remarks and suggestions are prerequisites that a scientific perspective is going to have an effect.

"If you get too tired, you loose your enthusiasm"

Structural transformations in society and with that people's changed working conditions are shown in different ways. Reductions of resources

and a fast rate of change are phenomena which Sara and Anna notice in their work. Sara tells about how she feels overburdened with work and *is trying to have time to do many things at the same time*. Anna tells how she experiences the increasing work-load.

> *Yes, what I experience as tough is that we all share this. It is not only I who is tired but we are all tired. You cannot manage. If you get too tired, you loose your enthusiasm. I don't have time to prepare. That is what gets beaten. […]I cannot manage anymore and I don't have time to prepare as I should. And this is the real problem when you have different groups".[…] I think there is much too little time. It is our hobby in spite of the fact that it is an important part of our work. […] It is important that you have time to think as a teacher. […]*

The two women experience a big and heavy work-load and frustration over not being able to manage what they want to do. They feel stressed and inadequate. However, they feel a lot of enthusiasm and joy in their work with the teacher students as well as their colleagues, which contributes to the fact that they carry on. Anna tells how she recovers and rests her brain.

> *I have my summer house and my flowers. It's so wonderful. I don't need to be social or I don't need to talk to anyone and I can create something at the same time. It is important to me to be able to create.*

Sara tells that she gets strength from her faith in God and from a proverb from the fairy world of Astrid Lindgren *you get as strong as you have to be, you see Alfred* (from Emil in Lönneberga, note from the author).

Family and career

"I have a great ambition to take care of family and relatives"

Sara married very early and has born three children. When Sara got her first child she did not know that society could help her, so she sought help from her mother who took care of the first child while Sara was studying. To be a mother and a student was a state of conflict to Sara. *(...).. you have always such a bad conscience when it is about not seeing your child as much as you want to[…]*

The bad conscience toward the children and the urge for studying, working and go further on in the career frequently recur in Sara's story. She says herself that she *has a great ambition to take care of family and relatives and that it is not always easy to get the pieces to match […]* But the need for establishing new connections, meeting people in a social solidarity has been strong and Sara has all the time sandwiched short

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periods at home with the children with work on different levels, where among other things a function as a headmaster was too much for Sara. It was bad for the children and she cut short the mission. But it has had its price. Two of the children have reacted with illnesses and light criminality and Sara does not exclude that it could be the case that *[...] I was not enough for the children*. Even the marriage has experienced frictions, especially during one of the children's period of illness.

> *Yes, it was an ordeal for our marriage. There are so much of feelings of insufficiency and guilt in parents in this kind of things and we reacted so differently. Magnus got out of the way and kept silent and I felt lonely and didn't know what to do. [...]*

Today, Sara sees how the children watch each other with loving care and they also care about coming home and being a family. Sara proves that she still is her children's mother and that she takes care of them when she tells how one of the girls with two small children was abandoned by her cohabiter. *There you have no choice. I felt it, you just simply have to. And if the issue was to choose between my job and the family, the family comes first. Then I would give up my work,* Sara says.

Anna had two of her children while she was studying for her doctor's degree. Anna has also got help from her mother to take care of the children but she has also made use of society's child care. During long periods, Anna has been forced to work in order to make both ends meet. Anna thought that it was a hard period during her time as a postgraduate but thanks to the stimulation she experienced she survived it. The very hard period came later in life when her children grew older. They were affected by different illnesses which among other things meant that one of the children was a subject of police action. Anna sees it like an *infernal time* and if *we hadn't been a family that have grown together, so stable and with love with so much laughter we had ...* Furthermore, their finances went down to the bottom during this period and Anna and her husband had to work hard.

> *I worked then as a substitute myself. You have to survive in some way. In a way it has always been the woman's role. This is the female role! We cannot dig our way down. The reality is such that we always have to see to it that everything works. We cannot afford to feel sorry for ourselves. We have to get through it one way or the other.*

Two women side by side

Side by side, the two women have lived in my story about them. From their stories I have created something of their identity characters. Joint patterns can be distinguished but differences and specific characters can also be chiselled. The experiences from childhood and adolescence and

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the conditions during the time they grow up have left its traces and laid the basis of their future life.

Sara stands out as a purposeful woman who has known what she wanted her whole life. Stubbornness, strength, and purposefulness are characteristics that mark Sara, as well as the urge for learning, to study and to go on in life. Sara's present professional life as a teacher at a training college, confirms some of Sara's ambitions and attitude to life; to get the opportunity to work with people, learning processes, influence, attempts to change and develop school and to follow future teachers' development. But at the same time as the enthusiasm and ambition outweigh in Sara's story, there is also a struggle for managing and coping with the demands that she makes on herself as well as those coming from her employer.

Anna, on the contrary, has had a more random way considering education and career even if with clearly conscious strategies. Anna's way through education and her way to her profession is characterized by a strong aim and ambition to get further up in her professional career mixed with an uncertainty concerning choice of career. During a considerable time in her life as an adult, she has also led a struggle with her children who have been ill and have been into trouble. These experiences have given Anna qualities as humbleness, tolerance and love for people, which among other things appear in her work with the teacher students. Anna is a joyful and positive woman who is happy and like her job but she also feels a frustration and disappointment at not being able to manage and have time to prepare as much as she would like to in order to do a good job, which is very important to her.

The dividing lines[137] in their lives have been of a more or less thorough type and have meant different choices of ways and standpoints. The role as a teacher at a training college has meant an advancement in their careers. To Sara, the increasing demands in her professional life have been obvious, since the demand for an academic education has chased her. Her strong urge to further education and to continue her studies have of course contributed to the fact that she had made the vigorous effort it takes for a woman with responsibility for children and family to study on a higher level. Today it is important to protect your position. If you do not follow development in society and demands from working life, then you are soon set aside.

To be a woman, a mother, a wife and working, consequently a great number of roles illustrate these women clearly and what it has meant of toil and hardship. But they also experience a great joy and stimulation in their work. Most likely, this contributes to the fact that they are in their present position.

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[137] See Denzin, 1994. A dividing line, epiphany means a crucial event to the person, of positive as well as negative nature.

Anna expresses an uncertainty regarding how the new training of teachers[138] is going to turn out. She sees frames but she wonders about how they are to be filled. She feels an anxiety that the university tradition/the academic is going to come though which she means can involve an anonymity in the teacher role and that the contact between the teacher and the students gets less important or is made impossible and that this means that you do not get to know your students any more. She also reflects over how the co-operation between colleagues is going to be. Maybe rivalry and territories are going to be more obvious in the struggle for space.

In the women's position as teachers at a training college you can see how their experiences in life form an identity and how that influences education and creates content in their teaching.

Sara's and Anna's stories in the light of a social, cultural and historical context

In the following part I will emphasise a few areas that have emerged from the stories and put them in a context by relation to research, different documents and literature.

Teacher training college

Sara tells about what was important to know for a teacher in the sixties. She emphasises some of the characteristics of that time of a school with given rituals and methods and the importance of having a good command of the technical equipment. Carlgren, (1992) describes the teacher training school as a complex and pluralistic institution which have been characterized by different views and content during several decades, according to the development of society. In Sara's description a somewhat behaviouristic paradigm can be discerned, which emphasized the importance of skills of teaching that knowledge can be reflected and practice can be looked upon as applied theory (Carlgren, 1992).

Both Sara and Anna work with a personal paradigm as a starting point. They emphasize the importance of seeing to the personal development and strengthen the teacher students' self-esteem and that they become confident individuals. Sara and Anna see it as a basis for further learning as well as the future work as teachers.

Connelly o Clandinin (1999) also bring up this approach in their work with teachers' stories of their lives. *Teachers seemed more concerned to ask questions of who they are than of what they know* (page 3).

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[138] See the motion from the government 1999/2000:135.

An obvious change that has occurred lies exactly in the dividing line between knowledge of a subject and personal qualities. Today the work as a teacher is much about relations to pupils and students and your own personality is the basis of this. Today the teacher's authority is not only founded on knowing your subject or leaning against school as an institution, but it is also about performing with your personality, to have social competence (Carlgren, i Lärarutbildning i förändring, 1996).

Demand for competence

Anna talks a lot about the scientific perspective versus the practical. This is a discussion that has been going on ever since the teacher training school was incorporated with the organisation of the university 1977 (Prop 1975:9). Among other things, it means increasing demands on a scientific connection on a more general and thorough level. It also resulted in increasing demands on scientific competence in the teachers. Demands were made that the teachers should have a doctor's degree. This has resulted in a trying situation for many teachers and a feeling of not being good enough, a condition that is devastating for creativity and the feeling of satisfaction and meaning. Sara's further studies can probably be seen as a demand at the same time as something that she had chosen out of interest.

Theoretical perspectives

The teachers' work is accomplished in different contexts. Because of this the teachers have different backgrounds when it comes to education and professional experience. This is among other things one part of the complexity that the teacher training school is struggling with. Anna represents the subject pedagogy with a doctor's degree and a scientific training which is deeply-rooted in the institutionalized part and Sara represents the methodical person of subjects with a practical perspective in a school reality. Discussions and evaluations are often about how it is possible "to combine theory and practice". One way of doing this might be to make the different contexts plain where teaching and education take place and to make use of different descriptions of levels which have its starting-point in Durkheim's[139] concept formation. This makes it easier to be able to speak about different domains and how to work together.

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[139] Durkheim's conceptions are taken from Donald Broady's inaugural lecture, "The art of Schoolmasters and science" which is published in Artes. Review for literature, art and music (1999, issue 25, no 1).

Durkheim talks about three levels. The first one is called *the art of teaching*. This applies to teaching within the institutionalized teacher training school as well as in the school sector where the teacher students do their practical items. The second level concerns knowledge about theories in teaching and it is represented by documents as curricula and syllabi among other things. The level is called *practical theory* and its purpose is to guide the teacher. The third level consists of a *scientific level* on which you reflect over different questions about "why does it look the way it does or how come that …?" and other things. Maybe these different levels are not meant to match but to be separate parts each with dignity and value.

Donald Broady brings up such ideas and gives his view of how you should look at the teacher training and its future role. Among other things, he says that "a vigorous teacher training should be standing on two legs: on the one hand familiarity with practices and problems of teaching and on the other hand foothold in scientific traditions"[140]. He brings forward that the art of teaching is just as an important dimension as the scientific level.

Wife, mother and gainfully employed

To Sara and Anna and other women in their generation, the woman has taken on a big responsibility for the maintaining of the family and the children's upbringing and development. The women have had to act being a mother, a student and a gainfully employed with career ambitions. Both the women were helped by their own mothers when the care of society was not enough or was unknown. To Sara the role of a mother also meant a standpoint of decisive importance, not being able to choose the profession she wished so badly. The struggle for motherhood and professional life is a constantly recurrent theme between women.

Elwin-Nowak (1998) confirms this view of the struggle of motherhood versus professional life and emphasizes in her study how women experience their situation. The female academics who she has interviewed give evidence of difficult and constant feeling of guilt that is related to the link between home life and professional life. She emphasizes further that women's subordinate positive is distinct; that women and men are given different parts and that there is an aspect of power in spite of the fact that in Sweden we have an expressed ideal of equality which most people accept.

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[140] Quotation from Donald Broady's lecture in "Artes" p. 260.

Concluding reflections on life narratives as a method

Sara's and Anna's stories contain parts of their lives and experiences. Life narratives have many bottoms. The picture and the themes I have presented from the women's stories are a selection. As an interviewer and a partner in the conversations in the mutual design work I experienced a reciprocity and joy but also moments of sorrow and tears. I also experienced to get a no, "I don't want to talk about that". I also experienced an in relation to the method described event. After the conversations when I had switched off the tape recorder, it happened that the women continued to deepen their thoughts and tell about their faith in God or relations in life which have been important. In one of the cases I went back to it when we met next time.

I see the work with this kind of science as very rewarding and exciting but also binding. It is an important confidence you get! The work with putting together the conversation meant to lodge two women's lives in my own! It was a fascinating but sometimes a difficult task.

I also see it as an important angle of approach/attempt during a time of globalization, chaos, dissolution of the individual and a general dissolution of earlier collective patterns and the need for focusing on the individual person and her life and experiences of great importance. This shows not least the great number of different forms of people's life stories that occur in media of different kinds and that this form of science is gaining ground.

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WHAT IS THE STATUS OF PRACTICAL THEORY?

DISCUSSING THE RELATION BETWEEN HUMAN PRACTICAL ACTION AND AN ACCOMPANYING DISCOURSE

Morten Nørholm[141] *& Ulf Brinkkjær*[142]

Abstract

The present article discusses the function of an accompanying discourse in relation to the genesis of human practical action. On the one side, theory (*i.e.* practical theory) cannot be taken as the ground for practical action; practical action is not a realisation of intentions. On the other hand, human practical action is almost always accompanied by a long series of explanations, justifications, declarations of intent, pre- and post-rationalisations, motivations etc. etc. And in one way or the other this accompanying discourse seems to be *necessary* for the actual realisation of human practical action. Following Pierre Bourdieu, it is suggested that an accompanying discourse can in no meaningful manner be separated from the human practical action. One of the major contributions of practical theory is to provide a common language for talking about and hence for reproducing a fundamentally arbitrary idea of the genesis of human practical action.

Introduction

In a textbook for (nursery) teacher-training colleges, nursing schools etc. the authors present an article titled *Why is the transformation of theory into practice so difficult?* (Brinkkjær & Nørholm 2000a). The relation

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between theory and practice is discussed, using the theory of human practice of Pierre Bourdieu as the framework for the discussions.

Bourdieu's theory of practice is outlined in the mentioned article. It gives a relatively simple answer to the question in the title: A theoretical form of knowledge - theoretical theory - with its specific logic cannot be transformed into practical practice simply *because* practice has another specific logic. Practice and theory have essentially different logics, and the one cannot be understood as a special case of the other: Practical action is not theory put into practice.

At the same time, an important part of the discussion of the relation between theory and practice (which in itself can become rather 'theoretical' or philosophical) is not to forget what *practice* is. That is, to underscore the importance of not losing oneself in discussions of different forms of theory, or in discussions of what ought to be regarded as 'proper' theory. Instead it is important to concentrate on a much more important question: What is practice? What does practice consist of?

Forms of cognition

It is important to investigate the nature of practice. However, using an empirically founded division of cognition into three - following Durkheim (1956) - seems to be a very useful tool in these discussions. It also seems very useful to try to understand for instance the role of academisation and institutionalisation of the (pedagogical) social security benefits (kindergarten, school, hospital, police, law court, church etc. etc. etc.) connected to modern society.

Part of the theoretical basis of the present article is the empirically founded categorisation of cognition, distinguishing between theoretical and practical cognition respectively. It sets out from Durkheim (1956), and is based on especially Bourdieu (1972, 1973, 1977), and on the discussions in the Copenhagen Bourdieu reception centred around Staf Callewaert, especially Callewaert (1994, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2001), Petersen (1994, 1995, 1996, 1996/97, 2000, 2001). For other relevant discussions of different types of knowledge see also Brinkkjær (2000), Brinkkjær & Nørholm (2000 a, 2000 b), Nørholm (1997, 1999, 2001) etc. etc. etc.

So, we are talking about

- *practical practice* or *art* - a practical, incorporated, embodied, situation adequate mastery of practical actions, a pre-reflexive capacity or capability of the body to *do* the right thing at the right moment

- *practical theory* - directions for doing things (right or better) under certain arbitrary social, historical, economical or other conditions, normative regarding the suggested action, and normative regarding the object (human action)
- *theoretical theory* or *science* - an empirically founded and scientifically (re)constructed explanation of why things are as they are (or appear to be), understanding, comprehensive knowledge.

The above outlined division of cognition suggests that we are talking about three distinct and distinctly different forms of cognition. The discussions in the present article suggests that practical theory should be regarded part of the practice. This implies maintaining the theory-practice dichotomy, and it implies that the function of practical theory is to reproduce and re-establish that 'common preconsciousness' conditioning the meaningfulness of practical theories (this is developed later in the article). Subsequently this calls for a theory about symbolic economy (to explain how this meaningfulness is reproduced) and about social fields (to explain the distribution of this meaningfulness).

In Brinkkjær & Nørholm (2000 a) it is argued that the form of 'theory' offered in the training of so-called semi-professionals is neither theory nor practice. What is presented, seems rather to be practical theory, normative technologies. In a subsequent article (*On the reason of the unreasonableness of schooling* - Brinkkjær & Nørholm 2000 b) in the same textbook (Olesen ed. 2000) the social and symbolic function of training/formal education (schooling) is discussed. This second article has Bourdieu's theory of reproduction of society in focus. The argument in the second article is that increasingly the content of so-called 'theory' - *i.e.* practical theory - in the training/formal education of *i.a.* teachers, nursery teachers and nurses does not take the relation between theory and practice seriously: Practical theory seems to presuppose a rationalistic theory of action without a theoretically reflected, empirical foundation. Ultimately this seems to imply an ideological vision of man as a rational being.

The two articles (Brinkkjær & Nørholm 2000 a, 2000 b) are discussing two different but mutually dependent aspects of the relation between theory and practice. Firstly, going through the theory of practice of Bourdieu. Secondly, discussing why despite the fact that practical action is not theory put into practice, it is nevertheless (symbolically) necessary to attend training/formal education to legitimately perform these semi-professional, mainly practical jobs. However, the articles might leave the careless reader with an impression that the main point in the articles is to argue against school, and against theory of whatever kind, that is against the formal handing down of experience through for instance books or other forms of training/formal education. However, it would be a mistake to draw such a conclusion.

If it is true that practical theory is neither theory nor practice, then it is something else. The increasing content of practical theory seems to

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indicate a necessity for these practical theories. This article is discussing and pinning down the nature of this 'something else', and the nature of this necessity. This article is also discussing what is learned from working with the practical theories.

Practical theory - a down-to-earth example

When a child in an after-school recreation centre announces that now she really wants to ride a monocycle, knowing that she has never done this before, as a leisure-time teacher you choose one out of several different strategies. In the following we shall only mention four of these strategies:

1. You can simply hand the child a monocycle and just see what happens. Doing that you run the risk of the project coming to nothing because one painful fall might spoil the fun and stand in the way for the child ever to try again. Already this suggests that many factors are at stake and in play connected to practising practical competences. For instance fear of falling might mean more than knowing what to do.

2. You can give a long 'theoretical' lecture (that is a technological lecture, containing practical theory) on how to ride a monocycle. In other words present a long row of 'do-this, don't-do-that' sentences. Thus, another factor connected to the training of practical competences is suggested: The idea that you should know how to do before you go to work. This idea implies that knowledge is a precondition for an ability or a skill.

3. You can refer to a 'monocycle companion' (for instance Thonesen 1989), claiming that *if you follow the instructions in this book, you will learn to ride after a few days of training* (Thonesen 1989, p. 8, translated by UB & MN). In other words use a 'monocycle companion' claiming that if the child reads the 'companion' it will help her improve her monocycling competences. Referring to written practical theory sets yet another factor into play: Presenting the practical theory in writing adds to the status of the specific practical theory. And referring to written practical theory prepares for systematised control of a specific knowledge being present or not.

4. You can give a lecture on what is actually happening when somebody is riding a monocycle. That is to say you can give a theoretical explanation as to the physics of monocycle riding, presenting a theoretical theory explaining the rather peculiar fact that riding a monocycle is actually possible.

Etc. etc. etc.

No matter what you do, following Bourdieu it is important to maintain that the very act of *riding* the monocycle is a bodily mastered practical action. It is important to maintain that this mastering is only present in a practical state, and that the training of a practical competence is done

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practically. That is to say that the mastering as well as the acquiring is only present *in the doing*.

The topic of this discussion is the influence of the accompanying discourse, whether it consists of practical theory (technologies or directions) or theoretical theory (scientific explanations). Acknowledging that the accompanying discourses are necessary, the question arises: What role do they play in the training of practical competences? They are there. The question is not to adopt an attitude towards them, but to try to explain *why* they are there, and to try to explain which role they *do* play.

The consequence of Bourdieu's theory of practice is that the practical mastery lies ahead of, comes before, precedes any theory of any kind (Bourdieu 1973, p. 64, or Callewaert 1997). This means that any form of theorising is subordinate to or conditioned by the practical sense (theoretically reconstructed as *habitus*) in connection with the training of practical competences: There has to be a practice before there can ever be something to treat by means of language. And this practice comes off *practically*. In other words, the practical sense (*habitus*) is behind or underlying any practical (or theoretical) theory (Bourdieu 1973 or for instance Callewaert 1997)[143].

Add to this that most verbal utterances are never solely verbal. Communications never consist of words alone. They always also contain a lot of bodily movements, pointing fingers, shrugging shoulders, smiles, grimaces, glances, frowns and any other form of 'body language' - referring to or illustrating the words - or *vice versa*. And they are always also referring to a 'collective preconsciousness'. In itself this is yet another example of how practical action cannot be separated from an accompanying discourse. The words do not obtain their full meaning without the bodily movements - and *vice versa*. Believing that communication only consists of the words, ignores the role played by these bodily movements. And it also ignores the fact that communication always takes place at a particular time and place. Simultaneously it stresses how speaking/communication too is a practical competence and not solely an intellectual exercise.

One of the results of what could be called the 'fallacy of the linguistic turn' is thus the disregarding of the fact that the use of speech/language

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[143] However, since the history of man is very long, it makes no sense to try to determine what ultimately came first. Probably practical action and an accompanying discourse go together, presupposing each other respectively. First of all this complicates matters a lot. But the important point is that one of the consequences of this synchronism is that definitely the words did not precede the action, and they still do not.

The idea/story about the importance of practical theory tends to produce and reproduce its own conditions of existence: It seems that the concrete action and an accompanying discourse are the prerequisites of each other; under the given social circumstances it seems impossible to imagine a nurse or nursing without a training/formal education containing practical theory, and at the same time it seems impossible to imagine the practical nursing theory without the nurse or the nursing (cf. Bourdieu 1973, p. 56). A central point, though, is that the prerequisites are practical.

should be considered a practical activity just as rising an arm - or riding a monocycle. And *vice versa*: One of the problems of treating communication as solely or primarily an intellectual exercise is that one tends to disregard the significance of the accompanying concrete bodily movements ('body language'), and of any other condition (social, historical, material etc.). Or it tends to treat these movements as subordinate to the intellectual work, and thus being an example of the attempts to turn any form of communication into words, or tends to analyse any form of communication freed from its context.

First temporary conclusion

Preliminarily, the essence of the ability to ride a monocycle could be described as the sum of certain different sub-competences, among others. We do not pretend to present this list of sub-competences as a result of systematised empirical work of observation. The sub-competences represent our summary of the recommendations presented in the 'monocycle companion' (Thonesen 1989):

- you should be able to keep your balance
- you should pedal to make the wheel move, and you should lean in the direction you are moving to keep the monocycle moving along with you. Not too much and not too little
- you should hold on to a bar or on to a friend
- you should go not too fast and not too slow
- if all this is not going on at the same time, item 1 is not fulfilled (you have a fall, and have to try again).

In addition to these sub-competences, there are other external conditions (above all social conditions, but definitely also practical conditions). However, these conditions are considered fulfilled since the assumption was that the idea of riding the monocycle arose from the child 'itself':

- you should want, wish and dare mounting the monocycle - accepting the full consequences hereof
- you should ascribe the riding of a monocycle a meaning and an importance: Your wanting, wishing and daring should possess an objective (social) meaning.

With a limited amount of normative sentences you might influence the practical mastering. You can for instance instruct the child to try to catch the cycle during a fall so that the saddle does not hit the ground at every turnover of the cycle etc.

If the child before or meanwhile is supplied with instructions or explanations, you can say that the preschool teacher is communicating her own or other's experiences as directions. Such instructions are covered by the category practical theory. A brilliant example of these

practical theories is the above mentioned 'monocycle companion' (Thonesen 1989). Everything is taken for granted, all practical as well as social conditions are met. The instructions (the practical theory) presupposes the presence of the competences they claim to be a prerequisite for: The text is constantly describing the monocycle competence in a way that involves different presuppositions: First of all the learner must master the handling of a 'companion', the learner must have a practical experience with riding a monocycle, etc. Thus, it seems that the 'monocycle companion', claiming to teach riding a monocycle, makes sense for the one who is already able to ride a monocycle.

None of these instructions or directions can ever replace practical practise. Before you can talk of the child being able to learn to ride a monocycle, the child must mount the monocycle. It might be reassuring, comforting, stimulating etc. for the child to listen to or read about other people's experiences. And it might be reassuring, comforting, stimulating etc. for the child to know that riding a monocycle gives social meaning. However, the child has to expose itself to the risk of falling, or to expose itself to the risk of being ridiculed before it will ever learn to ride a monocycle. This cannot happen as a function exclusively of the mediation of oral or written experiences.

Nevertheless, it is unclear how the desire or wish to learn to ride, the courage to do so, the ascribing of social meaning to the riding of a monocycle etc. etc. etc., is connected to the training of the practical mastery of the monocycling. And, it is also unclear how, why, and to what extent this oral or written accompanying discourse must be present to make things happen. But it is certain that for instance seeing the bigger children being able to ride the monocycle and 'wishing' to be 'big' like them, does also influence the training. Just as it is certain that if you read about an activity in a book, this will also influence the training. The question is *how*. The point is to understand *what* is going on and *how* it came about, not to argue against these practical theories.

So far, one point is that you should be more careful or humble in maintaining how and why it is necessary to receive an explanation of how to do as a concrete condition for being able to do. The explanation seems to play a part all right, but it is almost certainly a part that is quite different from what is mainly believed in a more rationalistic vision of the relation between theory and practice. It seems that the 'monocycle companion' first of all provides a language to the one who wants to put her experience with riding a monocycle into words.

Who is learning what from whom?

A very widespread understanding is that the teacher (or the nurse or the nursery teacher) is teaching, and is hereby teaching the learner

something. This is the traditional and recognised way to describe the phenomenon. And the (nursery) teacher or the nurse is what Larsen (1995) is referring to as the *legitimate reference*. Consistent with this it has been more or less taken for granted that the child learns to ride a monocycle *from the nursery teacher* - or that the child learns it *'by itself'*, that is to say as if the acquisition was not going on within certain limits.

This description of the child learning from the nursery teacher seems to be misleading at two points at least: In reality the child *learns (or teaches) itself* for instance to ride a monocycle. But it seems just as reasonable to maintain that among others the (nursery) teachers and the other children are important in establishing the social settings that make it happen, that makes it socially meaningful that it can happen. Or who in other kindergartens renders it impossible even though the conditions seem uniform at first. The inspiration making it happen, and as to how it takes place seems to have many sources (cf. for instance Gulløv 1999 (negotiations of social meaning between children), Siegumfeldt 1995, 2001 (buildings's imposition of meaning) etc.). The exact function of a social ambition is not clear even though it seems obvious that a social ambition is always also playing an important role, and even though this role is expressed for instance in terms of the fact that directions for the activity is being (or *can* be) formulated at all.

It should be stressed that the social meaning it must give having an ambition as a monocycle-rider, does not exist explicitly, put into words, in the head of the child. The child's social ambition to ride a monocycle is neither something that the child has *as such*, as a motive, as a motor, or as an argument, nor is it the ground for learning to ride a monocycle. And this holds true even if an explicit argument is actually being part of the reasons or the ambitions. It holds true even if the practical actions ... *appear to be determined ... by the explicit - and explicitly stated - purpose of a project or a plan ...* (Bourdieu 1973, p. 64). Far the most seems to be taking place at a preconscious level: Even if the child has the ambition to learn to ride a monocycle as an explicit reason, there will also be something that can only be explained subsequently; the intention is never the full explanation, and it is never the only explanation, and it is never the ground for the practical action.

If it is maintained that the nursery teacher is the only source of the cognition conditioning the training of the local-concrete practical competence, you run the risk of misrecognising the possible function of all other sorts of impressions the child is submitted to. This includes for instance the function of a social ambition to be as big as the bigger children by doing what the big children are doing. The latter misrecognising that this 'forces' the big children to find other (socially) distinguishing activities in order for them to stay (socially) distinct.

If the child is listening to the explanation from the nursery teacher of how to keep the balance (regardless of the explanation being of how

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anyone could keep the balance at all, or how it has come about - a scientific explanation - or the directions for how you do - a practical theory) different versions of balance-insight is communicated to the child; the balance-insight is put to words, discursivated. And even such a relatively simple example does not change the fact that the child's acquisition of a bodily competence to ride a monocycle is not controlled by these explanations - whether it is a theoretical explanation (a theoretical theory) or technological directions (practical theory).

The explanation (that is the theory *about*) how anyone altogether can keep the balance, is in essence not a theory *for* learning in practice to keep the balance. It is an empirically founded explanation of what happens when someone is keeping the balance, containing an explanation of this rather extraordinary phenomenon. The theory of the balance is not a description of what is perceived by the child when riding a monocycle, and even less of what the child afterwards will tell that it experienced meanwhile.

In other words, the child's acquisition is not governed by the manual (that is to say the instructions from the nursery teacher, from the bigger children, from the 'companion', or...), nor is it governed by the theoretical explanation. On the contrary, the acquisition is governed by the child's practical administration of the many-sided input made up of explanations and advices from nursery teachers and friends, the child's own thoughts and experience, social ambitions and restrictions, bans, encouragements, expressions of fashion etc. etc. etc.

Imagine for instance, the child falling or even hurting itself. This will be acquired and stored mentally, just as any event, explanation, input, advice, ban, order, ambition etc. is stored mentally and is becoming a part of what is conditioning the practice. During this pre-conscious process the child's - *i.a.* - social and mental history (mediated by *habitus*) will affect whether the child will continue to pursue learning to ride a monocycle, will end up convinced that it is one of the most idiotic things to do, or...

That is to say, from one perspective the chronology is action → handling → new action. But all of the processes resulting in *new action*, are carried out *practically*, that is to say *pre-consciously* or *pre-reflexively*. And the handling most certainly draws upon experiences from way back, complicating the elucidation of the chronology. So the chronology might just as well be handling → action → new handling → new action and so on. Simultaneously a representation is produced from the experience of the relation between for instance the intention to change action and the new action: The production of this representation is also related to the surroundings and for instance to the *social* expectations from the individual and/or the surroundings that there must be such an explanation at all, and what this explanation *can* consist of.

So, not only is the exact relation between these matters/processes not clear. It is also unclear whether the relation can be sorted out at all. This too calls for a much greater caution in trying to explain the role of these practical theories or accompanying discourses.

Practical theory - detached from its context

The acquiring of such single practical competences as riding a monocycle is often followed by and urged by the interest in discussing ones own experiences with others, which might support the training of the practical competences to do just that: Discussing your own experience with others. The exchange of experience is often experienced as solely oral, verbalised, discursive, but the exchanges definitely also involve communicating by means of 'body language', grimaces, frowns etc. It seems important, however, to maintain that it is far from certain what influence this exchange of experience has on the training of the concrete practical mastery (*i.e.* to ride a monocycle), or what influence it can have at all.

It seems an empirical fact that the accompanying discourses are there all the time. They therefore appear to form an integrated part of the acquisition of practical competences. There are always endless numbers of factors influencing the training, for instance the fact that the training takes place, as well as the social meaning of the training. The discussion of seemingly locally-concrete details of the practical training is always simultaneously a part of the discussions and negotiations concerning the social meaning of the given practical action, as well as of the social status of the actions and of the acting.

The presentation of one single competence (for instance riding a monocycle) in a textbook or as a series of advice from a nursery teacher or other children, involves a generalisation. The textbooks or the advice do not present a description of *one* specific single-competence in *one* specific/unique practical or social context. Instead a *generalised* description of the acquiring of a *whole class* of competences is presented, disregarding the circumstances conditioning the acquiring process, and disregarding the illusory precondition of 'other things being equal'. This becomes very obvious reading the 'companion':

> *The book* Monocycle *is your 'coach' or 'trainer'. If for instance you wanted to play handball or do gymnastics, you'd join a club. And there you'd get an instructor telling you how to get the different skills. You cannot do the same thing choosing monocycling as your sports.*

> *The book* Monocycle *starts from scratch. It explains to you how you should approach monocycling from the very first time you mount the*

> *monocycle. But more important: The book tells you how to get on once you have 'learned to ride'. (Thonesen 1989, p. 6, translated by UB & MN)*

> *With this book you will get your own personal coach*

> *The book* Monocycle *is written by an experienced sports trainer. Sitting on the monocycle with the book in your hand you will be guided safely from the first wavering pedalling - through an alternating, joyful training - to the obtaining of control over this fascinating artist tool ... (Thonesen 1989, back cover, translated by UB & MN)*

These forms of generalisations imply an abstraction based on a rationalistic theory of practice. The learning process as well as the practical acquisition and mastering are lifted out of their social, material or historical context, and are treated as if they existed in a social, material or historical vacuum. The concretely rooted technical tricks, instructions, advice, input, bans, orders, ambitions etc. are hereby transformed into *practical theory*. But, neglecting the context drastically reduces the direct, concrete, practical relevance of the instructions. This holds true for riding a monocycle. And it holds true for the training of practical semi-professionals when the training is taken out of a practical, on-the-job context, and is moved into controlled/controlling surroundings at school. We have earlier addressed this phenomenon as the 'schoolification' (Brinkkjær & Nørholm 2000 b).

When furthermore the advice is maintained as if it were universal, it turns into having a much more ideological character concerning how practical competences are trained. Simultaneously it presupposes that this is the proper way to train practical competences. Thus, seen as universal, the practical theory works in a double sense: As a practical theory both training (however poorly) a concrete practical practice, and training (much more effectively) the *idea* of how this training is/ought to be taking place.

The 'monocycle companion' contains a considerable amount of distinct 'do-this, don't-do-that' sentences. It is even stated that the 'companion' should be carried along when riding (!), and it is presupposed that a book printed in hundreds of copies can be a *personal* coach. But, imagining a monocyclist training with a book in one hand, makes it clear that not every piece of advice in the 'companion' should be taken literally, and accepting this specific use of the word *personal*, makes it clear that not everything written in the 'companion' should be taken literally. However, being able to use the book properly, requires that you know what should be taken literally *in beforehand,* which illustrates that what is trained, might be an ability to ride a monocycle all right, but it is surely also an attitude towards using a book as a trainer or a coach, and hereby an attitude towards the acquiring of practical competences. The

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'monocycle companion' and what is trained when using it, seems then to be a certain attitude towards practical theory.

Second temporary conclusion

This preliminary analysis elucidates the change *from* a training/acquiring of specific practical competences in concrete on-the-job situations *to* a generalising practical theory in the introductory (or *theoretical*) training of (nursery) teachers or nurses. Simultaneously it elucidates the consequences when a directly practice relevant content of the training/formal education is forced out, and this suggests how training/formal education tends to train a certain attitude towards practical theory rather than the actual practical competences in question. This points to the fact that school in its everyday practice tends to reproduce a certain attitude towards modern society, and through this to reproduce a fundamentally arbitrary ideology regarding the relation between theory and practice.

This generalisation involves moving *from* a particular level - the training under local-concrete conditions of the competence to ride a monocycle or the training of expressing a socially adequate ambition of wanting to ride - *to* treating the more general phenomena designated "teaching theory" at for instance (nursery) teacher-training colleges or nursing schools.

The concrete practice of a nursery teacher, nurse or teacher seems to be just as local or (socially) situated as riding a monocycle. This is one of the reasons why it makes little concrete practical sense when the training consists of *general* practical theory - practical tricks or advices - as well as relatively firm conceptions of what a 'good practice' is. Prescriptions stating what ought to be done and what ought to be regarded as 'theory', implies an understanding of the possibility of developing the 'good practice' or the 'better practice', independent of the context. Ultimately this 'theory' (practical theory) involves an ever-growing ideological element used first of all in the struggles to maintain the borders between disciplines/occupations/practices. Most often these (mis)conceptions have no foundation in for instance empirically founded analysis of the practice; they are 'freed' from dealing with the practical, social, material, historical and other conditions for the work. This holds true especially for the relation to *time* (cf. Bourdieu 1990, discussed in Brinkkjær & Nørholm 2000 a).

Attempting to capture an explanation of this motion *from* a local-concrete training *to* a symbolic learning at school is exactly to regard learning as the *learning of symbolic* competences. It is also to view the generalised practical theory as the *story* that has to be told over and over in order to make everybody agree that this ('naturally') is the way things

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are going on. It is also an example of what is achieved when the training/teaching of practical competences is moved *from* the concrete practical context *to* a systematised school-like context: What is learned, tends to loose its concrete practical meaning.

Simultaneously, it seems that this *story* in a quasi-magical way is detached from what has been shown in theoretically reflected, empirical investigations for instance regarding the origin of the practical competences[144]. The concrete practical competences seem to refer to a *habitus* resulting from a more general informal pedagogic work carried out first of all in early childhood - that is *before* attending (nursery) teacher-training colleges or nursing schools. In general terms you might say that *practical theory* neither conveys the *understanding* of the conditions for the practise of a pedagogical practice, nor promotes the *training/practise* of concrete pedagogical actions. What the teaching of practical theory does convey, is competences that are useful connected with the examination in practical theory - an ability to go to school and to pass exams. And maybe the teaching of practical theory is first and foremost training a practical mastering of *talking about* practice. In this sense the 'monocycle companion' seems first of all to train the practical mastering of *talking about* riding a monocycle and about how this mastery is acquired. What is trained, seems in both cases to be a practical mastering of a willingness to accept in practice to talk about practice as if this was the way practical competences were acquired.

This does not imply that you go to school for the sake of the school and not for the sake of the work that has to be done afterwards. It seems that an ability to reproduce a practical theory is appointing the ones that know how, and is separating them from the ones that do not. And it seems that the practical theory (ultimately institutionalised as a diploma) guarantees that the way the 'consecrated' (holding a diploma) are acting, is how things are done properly. The ability to reproduce a practical theory (and to get a diploma) implies the exertion of a *double sorting* or *double legitimising* effect: It is *separating* the 'wrong' from the 'right', and it is *uniting* the 'right' by uniforming the way things can be done properly or legitimately (Brinkkjær & Nørholm 2000 b).

Practical theory - without practice

In the example with the training of the competence to ride a monocycle it was in a sense the child 'itself' that had pointed out the activity as desirable: The child 'itself' wanted to ride the monocycle. You cannot do just anything in an after-school recreation centre, but the possibilities are

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[144] Cf. for instance Bourdieu (1991), and in a Danish setting: Bayer (2001), Jørgensen (1993), Larsen (1993, 1995), Petersen (1992/93, 1996/97, 2001) and others.

not as limited as in a training/formal education. Training/formal education is most often presented as a range of subjects and disciplines that belong together, expressing a sort of *fait accompli*. And despite the students' joint influence, even though the students do have a say, the choices are between possibilities and alternatives that are laid down beforehand.

In other words freedom is relatively limited: Already before the planning of the individual student's training/formal education it is taken for granted that the splitting up into separate disciplines makes sense. Similarly it is taken for granted that moving training *from* a local concrete context *to* a school context is making sense. Here it is important to point to the fact that even though freedom is relatively limited, most training/formal education contains elements that the individual student had no idea even existed, or had no idea could be done this particular way. So just because the limits are laid down in beforehand, they are not necessarily restricted, emphasising how everything goes on within certain (social, socially determined) limits. It is not an argument for an unreflected rejection of anything unknown.

These considerations are supported and expanded considering the planning of training of the practical competences relevant for working in the practical semi-professions - that is to say as (nursery) teacher, nurse and so on. This planning is reduced and tends to be replaced by practical theory. Consequently the training for a job as (nursery) teacher or a nurse gives a higher priority to the possibility of acquiring the society-born (symbolically necessary) *story* or common (mis)conception of the generation of human practice, that is to say an acquiring of practical theory, at the expense of the possibility of acquiring concrete, specific, locally applicable practical competences (on-the-job training). At the same time a certain attitude towards the practice, towards the training, and towards the occupation is acquired: A certain professional identity is acquired, an essential aspect necessary for maintaining the *illusion* of the fundamental differences of *e.g.* the pedagogical semi-professions. The 'monocycle companion' shows how this *illusion* is reproduced also when dealing with a relatively simple matter: Riding a monocycle.

Third temporary conclusion

The point is at least double: On the one hand the ability to reproduce a practical theory (the *story* of the occupation or the *story* of monocycling) is becoming a more and more crucial part of the access to the occupation. That is to say it is becoming a part of a 'theorisation' or 'academisation'. On the other hand this *story* is one of the unifying conditions for the occupation or the practice which is simultaneously separating it from any other occupation or practice. Practical theory becomes one of the

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conditions for delimiting what *is* and what *is not* part of the occupation or the practice, and how it is trained. So the practical theory becomes a crucial part of the common understanding within a certain occupation (or within a group of practitioners of a certain practice) and for maintaining the borders to other disciplines/occupations/practices. And it seems that the 'monocycling companion' at a very early stage is contributing to and training the accept of this role of practical theory.

Add to this that the border-struggle is never stronger than between occupations that look a lot like each other. Nursery teachers and nurses are taught each their *stories* (practical theories) about for instance *caring*. These different *stories* are implying and maintaining the idea that caring is at the core of both occupations, and are simultaneously implying and maintaining the idea that the two forms of *caring* has got nothing in common whatsoever. Paradoxically a condition for this is that the work of the two groups of semi-professionals has a lot of points of resemblance. And paradoxically this implies that the content of the different textbooks is rather becoming a part of a struggle for workplaces or a part of an ideological struggle to define what is characterising 'them' and 'us' respectively. That is to say, the textbooks and the practical theories function as tools of inclusion/exclusion.

Establishing a common conviction that a certain range of books and a certain group of notions or concepts can be understood and applied only by for instance nursery teachers, while another range of books and group of notions or concepts can be understood and applied only by other groups of semi-professionals, goes hand in hand with the establishing of a separation or distinction between legitimate references for the different groups of professionals (nurses, (nursery) teachers or others respectively). This kind of distinction seems to be one of the most central elements in the way these groups are defining themselves in relation to (that is to say: Against) each other. Subsequently this exemplifies how the definitions are relative and not absolute.

However, what characterises the common *story* (the practical theory as seen in textbooks at large) is that it is almost never based upon systematically analysed, theoretically reflected, empirical studies of what constitutes the (practical) occupations. That is to say the practical theory is almost never based on theoretically reflected analyses of practice. Similarly the 'monocycle companion' is not based on systematically performed, theoretically reflected empirical investigations of the conditions of possibility for monocycling. On the contrary what *is* expressed in textbooks, seems to be general terms about how the practical action *ought to be* carried out, how it *ought to be* learned, what the (normative) criteria are for success or failure, and so on. And along with this you see expressed a (normative) idea of how the practical action is (that is to say ought to be) trained.

The descriptions of the content of the occupations or the descriptions of the content of the act of riding a monocycle tend to be mere ideologies. They act as ideologies. But they are by no means formulated as such. The ideological function is misrecognised, expressing that this formulation of what seems to work as ideologies, is carried out practically and pre-reflexively.

What is taught/learned at a (nursery) teacher training college, at a nursing school or at an after-school recreation centre respectively cannot be characterised solely as a practical mastery of practical competences. It should be viewed upon as the student's or child's acquiring of a practical mastery of *symbolic* competences: *Views* upon, *ideas* or *stories* about the occupation/action and about what this *ought to* consist of, and about how the practical actions in question *ought to be* achieved.

However, when the legitimate way of acquiring (or teaching) practical competences is acquired by reading about them or listening to stories about them, the risk is that the practical handing down of practical competences is quite simply, gradually hindered. And the risk is that an ability to talk about practice (ultimately the condition for standardisation and control) is gained, at the expense of the practical competences which are quite simply lost. You might say that the relevant practical competences are sacrificed at the altar of modernity.

Since everybody has to go to school or study for an ever increasing period of time, it seems that the practical acquiring of relevant practical competences is hindered quite simply because of the time factor. This is not as much the case regarding after-school recreation centres as regarding training/formal education. But the tendencies are clearly similar, especially regarding a willingness to adopt a certain attitude towards how practical competences are acquired.

The *story* about the relation between theory and practice seems to be reproduced over and over, at any level and anywhere in an ever growing system of reproduction. Consequently this supports how pedagogy should be viewed upon as the science of the legitimate transfer of meaning, informally as well as formally - in the family, in the after school recreation centres as well as in the schools, colleges, universities etc.

Concluding remarks

The point of the analysis in this article is first of all to call for greater humility in pointing to the (oral or written) directions for action as the source of cognition directing human practical action. Another point is to call for greater humility in pointing to the expressed intentions as the ground for the action. Following the theory of practice of Pierre Bourdieu, practical theory should be regarded as an indispensable part of human practice.

No matter if the practical theory is presented in a 'monocycle companion' or in textbooks used at (nursery) teacher training colleges and nursing schools, an accompanying discourse seems to have similar functions: It provides the future monocyclist or the future (nursery) teacher or nurse with a language to *talk about* the practice, and provides her with an *attitude towards* talking about practice - or builds upon already existing attitudes. Practical theory becomes a tool in the reproduction of one fundamentally arbitrary view of how practical competences are acquired. Ultimately this implies the reproduction of one fundamentally arbitrary social order, and consequently the practical theories might be regarded as ideologies. And it even seems that these ideologies are enhanced by containing claims of their own necessity.

It seems problematic that the content of the practical theories is not primarily resulting in the acquisition of relevant practical competences, but this is rather implying that a student is acquiring and reproducing one, fundamentally arbitrary, ideological vision of how the practical competences are acquired. Most often it is never even clear to the student that this seems to be the primary function of any educational system.

The increasingly longer time it takes to complete the training/formal education, and thus to acquire the right to perform the occupation/semi-profession in question by acquiring the proper attitude towards the practice in question and towards how it is acquired, seems to be in the way of the student's acquirement of the relevant practical competences (cf. Bourdieu 1999, p. 185). This seems to be one of the more problematic consequences of the planning of modern training/formal education: That practical theory is mistaken for and recognised as theory (theoretical theory). The problem is that no distinction is made, and that training/learning of practical theory both regarding time and mentally is replacing and is forcing out the training/learning of theoretical theories *about* practice and *about* how practice is taking place - that is to say *about* the conditions of existence of human action.

Furthermore, the big and ever growing content of practical theory, and the ideologies of how necessary it is to master this seem problematic: Nobody learns anything about the conditions of human action nor are they being trained practically. In a sense this means that the graduates from (nursery) teacher colleges, nursing schools etc. are being prepared worse and worse practically for the occupation/semi-profession, at the same time as they become less and less enlightened regarding the conditions for the practical mastering of the occupation/semi-profession. This seems to contradict the promises of enlightenment connected to the spirit of von Humboldt, and it seems that training/formal education simply cannot keep its promises. And the problem seems to be extended when endless hours on end are being used to *talk about* doing something, and to *talk about* how this *ought to be* done, instead of a) somebody doing something, or b) somebody imparting someone an understanding of

the (social, materiel, historical, ideological or other) conditions for the structure and genesis of human action.

The analysis in the present article suggests how the symbolic importance of the practical theories is accentuated when the content of the training/formal education is turned into practical theory instead of either practical training of practical competences (practical practice) or theoretical theory *about* the practice and its conditions of existence. The similar function seems to be connected to the 'monocycle companion'; the training and conferring of a common language for talking about the practices and the acquisition hereof to the student or child respectively, seems to be the most important issue.

Finally, it seems problematic that if practical theory 'works' by referring to already existing practical competences, acquired before attending training/formal education, the sorting function which will always be an essential role of a system of training/formal education, is maintained and extended. However one could wish for the sorting to take place against a background of relevant practical competences and not against a background of symbolic competences, of competences to *talk about* and *reproduce* the common illusion of the genesis of human practical action and of the role of practical theory/accompanying discourse.

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EDUCATION BETWEEN FREEDOM AND DISCIPLINE

DEVELOPING A METHOD FOR DISCOURSE ANALYSIS BASED ON INSPIRATION FROM MICHEL FOUCAULT

Kirsten Frederiksen

In this paper I will emphasize the development of the research method in the study called *Education between Freedom and Discipline.*

The main aim of the study is to explore how students are disciplined to comply with the demands of modern society, where the individual as an employee must place his personality as a resource at the disposal of the labour market.

One of the questions in the study is: Why have the ways people were disciplined in earlier Western societies been replaced by more subtle and apparently more humane, but none the less efficient ways, of disciplining individuals.

The study will seek to elucidate which new type of morality has been arising in Modernity and how this morality plays a part in disciplining students to fit the picture of future employees who possess personal abilities, or to use the current terminology, competences, such as flexibility, creativity, capacity for change and innovation and willingness to learn.

Four Theses

The study is based on four theses. These are as follows:

1. Thesis

The modern Western society can be understood as a post disciplinary society, where man, liberated from the oppression, restraint and overt discipline of earlier times, at last is free to unfold his individuality. The study presumes, referring to Michel Foucault and his late works, that a part of the price for this freedom is that man has to comply with subtler

and apparently more humane, but no less efficient ways of disciplining individuals. And the study presumes that these kinds of control and discipline are more difficult to uncover than the overt ways of disciplining individuals in earlier times.

2. Thesis

Modern individuals can be understood as inlaid in a discursive or paradigmatic framework where a central part of an individual's self-understanding is related to his status on the labour market.

The study assumes that this framework can be described as containing different discourses where the following four discourses may be understood as essential:

1. Discourse

A *Political Discourse,* which is about the rules given in laws and guidelines and different papers (1996 b; Undervisningsministeriet 1999; Undervisningsministeriet 2000 b; Undervisningsministeriet 2000 a).

2. Discourse

A discourse that can be thematized as *Management Thinking*. In this thinking central concepts are New Public Management, development of personal abilities - or competences - and lifelong learning. As a backlash to this, stress is thematized as a reaction to the strains of working life (1999; 2000 b; Hvenegaard & Trolle 1996; Høy 1999; Illeris et al. 1995; Thyssen 1997; Thyssen 2000).

3. Discourse

A discourse thematizing the ways higher education for the semi-professions attempt to base its content on science and scholarship. In a short period of time this educational area has changed from being defined as traditional education based on apprenticeship to education grounded on science and scholarship, and several types of knowledge dispute in the field (1989; Frederiksen 1998; Frederiksen & Nielsen 1995; Martinsen 1994; Scheel 1982; Scheel 1994; Undervisningsministeriet 1999; Undervisningsministeriet 2000a; Undervisningsministeriet 2000 b).

4. Discourse

A last but central discourse is about the professions being occupied with morality, a discourse, which may be, thematized under the headline *Ideals for Good Care.* In this discourse what could be named as the core

of caring is discussed (Eriksson 1995; Konsmo 1998; Martinsen1994; Martinsen 1996).

3.Thesis

The instrument for the disciplining might be understood as new soft ways of maintaining control or as technologies of power, which are legitimated by a will for goodness and being put into speech as offering freedom and personal development.

It is assumed that changing ideas of teaching and the teacher's role, which I have uncovered in an earlier thesis, include different types of teaching via supervision, as part of the disciplining instrument in education (Frederiksen Kirsten 1999).

The purpose of the disciplining is to make it possible for the individuals to act under the complicated conditions of the modern society. It is the aim to make it possible for the individual to be able to endure changes, to be able to create meaning and sense under chaotic conditions, to be able to endure and accept an extensive insecurity in employment and to be able to understand his personality in a perspective of development. Man has to be self-governing, self-referring, self-initiating and self-evaluating.

4.Thesis

The study assumes that these conditions contain a doubleness where on the one hand the individual can be considered as being set free to unfold his individuality and to develop his personality, but on the other hand as being disciplined in a new way.

Therefore this study assumes that modern man is subordinated a restraint to developing, individualising, learning and qualifying, so the field reflects a classic conflict between freedom and necessity.

The Main Issues in the Study

The main issues in the study will be to investigate the concrete content in this conflict between necessity and freedom. The study will seek to uncover the ways this conflict occurs in the higher education system, where young students are educated to professions, where they have to meet the demands from persons who need care of different kinds. These areas of education are e.g. nursing education, teacher education, nursery teacher education, occupational therapist education and physiotherapist education. Weight will be put on nursing education and a part of the study will be a case study.

As a second main issue it is the aim to develop a way to base an investigation of this particular field on Michel Foucault's genealogical investigation method.

How to deal with an inspiration from Michel Foucault

The method will as described be based on the French philosopher Michel Foucault's work, especially the part from 1970 until his death in 1984, where he developed the way of working, which he called genealogy.

When you choose to base an investigation on Foucault's authorship you have to face certain problems.

First Foucault did not describe a method easy to pick up and follow; he did not develop a specific methodology and his own methods changed throughout his authorship. And Foucault offered little advice in his authorship.

But Foucault called attention to the suggestion to analyse specific fields where it is possible to bring light to power relations (Foucault 1983, p 211).

Another problem an investigation based on Foucault's authorship must face is, that the subjects Foucault was occupied with were placed in earlier times, Foucault examined what you may call closed archives (1985). And Foucault stopped his investigations before reaching our time (Baudrillard 1982).

These conditions make it necessary to consider very carefully how to make investigations inspired by Foucault's genealogy but placed in modern time.

This study aims to develop a method for research which is inspired by Michel Foucault's work. But it aims to do so without reducing the variety of Foucault's methods throughout the whole body of his work to one generally applicable method. Instead it is the purpose to find a way to use the inspiration from his work to interpret and create a specific way to analyse the questions in the study.

This should involve an understanding of the individuals where their intentions are not reduced to mere discourses. And instead of operating with a given concept of personality the study seeks to elucidate how an understanding of personality is constituted in the field in a discursive way.

Foucault's writing made a sensation when it was published. And since then it has been used and misused (Eribon 1989). Central in much of the criticism of Foucault's authorship is that it is difficult to place Foucault and his work in any tradition e.g. as a philosopher or historian. Foucault used heterogeneous sources from heterogeneous disciplines. More serious objections consider his method and his understanding of history (Silberbrandt in Foucault 2000).

Another challenge is the question of *discourses*. The way Foucault worked with discourse is central and has to be analysed and discussed. In this paper I use the concept *discourse* with a rather sympathetic understanding. In the study it must be cleared up in what way the concept should be understood. This is due to the way Foucault used the concept in his research and to the way the power analysis will be understood in this study.

The last challenge, I will mention, is the challenge to elucidate the framework within which the students have to be educated without taking a starting point in a first cause as e.g. the demands from the world of working or the nature of society.

Foucault and the Question of Power

The study will draw on Foucault's analysis of power as he displayed it in his last writings (Foucault 1975; Foucault 1976; Foucault 1980 a; Foucault1983; Foucault 1988).

Foucault demonstrated in these works that power technologies, which he named Pastoral Power has seeped out from church in time with the secularisation of society. These technologies, which have their origin in the confession conducted by a priest or a spiritual adviser, have spread to the administration of justice, to medicine, to psychiatry, to pedagogy, to family and to love life.

Simultaneously the prospect of heavenly salvation has altered its nature. In the confessions penance the reward was the prospect of the salvation of the soul as contrary to the bodily cure. Now a days the salvation is of this world and the reward is physical or mental health (Foucault1983; Foucault1988).

Central in Foucualt's analysis of the modern society as he unfolds it in his last subtitles is what he named governmentality. Foucault used this concept to describe how power relations in modern society have been transformed into a question of government. In this historical actuality the individual has to be conducted and to conduct himself in a complex relationship of power structures (Foucault1983).

But as a very important point, the inspiration from Foucault's works must not be limited to deal with the question of power but has to take the question of the subject very seriously.

Developing the Method

The development of the method will be the first aim of the study. The development of the method will involve 6 steps. These are:

1. *Reading and interpreting Foucault's subtitles.*
   These subtitles will as a beginning include: (Foucault 1975; Foucault 1976; Foucault 1980 a; Foucault 1980 b; Foucault 1983; Foucault 1984 a; Foucault 1984b; Foucault 1984 c; Foucault 1988; Foucault 1999)

2. *Reading and interpreting subtitles, which take a position to Foucault's authorship alternating with critical analyses of subtitles where investigations have been inspired by Foucault.*
   As a beginning these subtitles will include: (1991) (1985; Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982; Heede 1992; Krause-Jensen 1978) (1996 a; 1998; Andersen & Born 2001; Flyvbjerg 1991; Flyvbjerg 1992; Otto 1998; Rose 1989; Rose 1999) (Schmidt & Kristensen 1986; White 1989)

3. *Analysing newer subtitles that take a position to discourse-analysis as a Method for investigations.*
   These subtitles will as a beginning include: (2000 a; Andersen 1999; Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982; Heede 1992; Jørgensen & Phillips 1999; Krause-Jensen 1978)

4. *Developing and discussing the method.*
   The 4th step is to develop, describe and discuss the method.

5. *Developing the method for the case study.*
   In order to develop the method for the case study it is necessary to design the subject of the study without making it either a hermeneutic or a psychological study, which means that it may not aim to seek motives hidden for the actors or to uncover the psychological reasons for what is to be seen in the field.

6. *Evaluating and reinterpreting the method in a process during the research*
   It is necessary to evaluate and to reinterpret the method during the research, which means that the method should be taken as a tool and not as a fixed prescription.

The investigation

The very investigation will have two principal contents. The first is to uncover the discourses in the field and to analyse these. The second is to carry out the case study.

Uncovering and analysing discourses

To be able to carry out the discourse analyse it is necessary to uncover, define and argue for which discourses are of importance in the field. To start the search, the theses of the study will be used as prejudices without being taken as granted. They have to be evaluated and reformulated throughout the research.

The subtitles, which are going to be incorporated in the investigation, must be drawn from different areas and will be placed on, what might be called, different levels. It will e.g. be necessary to uncover the transformations in the official framework of the education on a level that can be called the political level where the interaction with Management Theory should be uncovered.

Critical angels

In this process the study will draw on critical angels, which are replying to what could be assumed as the actual predominant opinions.

An example is the American sociologist Sennett, who describes what he calls the meltdown of the personality of modern man. Sennett describes this as a consequence of the fact that the modern flexible man has to endure and handle a great amount of insecurity in his working conditions.

Flexibility has been a new concept for wanted abilities, but Sennett understands it as a new way to write Capitalism, without making it appear as oppressing. Sennett thinks that this new order, where it is claimed that people have more freedom to form their lives, simply imposes a new order with new forms of control difficult to catch sight of (Sennett 1998).

The Danish sociologist Mathiesen represents another example. Mathiesen is critical of the often-quoted model of general qualifications called the Tulip-model (Illeris, Andersen, Kjærsgaard, Larsen, Olesen, & Ulriksen 1995). The Tulip-model is to be understood as a model for seeking for qualifications. But Mathiesen finds, that although it never was meant to support the existing order of society, it might be a contribution to the Neo-Liberal wave, where individualisation and the Liberal values occur as pure sanity.

Mathiesen finds that the education system may contribute to what he calls qualified social expulsion, if students are not able to adapt to the spirit of the time. Mathiesen asks, with reference to Foucault, if attempts of general qualifying processes might be understood as an institutionalised normalising process (Mathiesen 1999).

Brandt, who works with what you might call marginalized people, calls attention to the consequences for people who are not capable of living up to the demands of modern society. Brandt points out that a

consequence may be that weak groups in society will be marginalized (Brandt 1999).

Thyssen from the Royal Danish Business School represents a balanced view on the issue. Thyssen argues that ethical balance sheet should be introduced in companies, and that the demands to the employees in modern society should be weighed out. Thyssen points out that the requirement for lifelong learning and for flexibility might be taken as a blessing if it is required from people who can stand up to the demands (Thyssen 1997; Thyssen 2000).

Case Study

A central part of the investigation will centre on a concrete level, where supervision used as a method for teaching will form part as a case study.

The main emphasis of the case study will be laid on the higher education system, where young students are educated to professions, where they have to meet the demands from persons in need for caring of different kinds as described. Weight will be put on the nursing education. But the study will incorporate another selected type of higher education as for example university-trained engineers. The purpose is to put the findings into perspective.

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TO TAKE THE CHILD'S PERSPECTIVE

Erik Hygum

Abstract

According to the discourse of the "sociological child" the child has to be understood in its own right and as an actor. This paper critically reviews this interactionist and socialconstructivist approach by introducing Pierre Bourdieu. In his opinion it is necessary to understand the child's perspective, but also one has to break with the child's own understanding in order to make a construction of the child and explain the child's situation.

1. Introduction

In this paper I shall make a brief introduction to my research programme "Play & Learning"- a new construction of the first years of schooling in Denmark. I will also try to discuss several answers to the question about how to take the child's perspective. That means to compare the sociological turn within research in child and childhood with Pierre Bourdieu's epistemological claim about making a break both with the informant's as well as the researcher's own preconceptions.

2. Play & Learning

"Play & Learning" indicates that schoolteachers, pre-school teachers and recreation centre teachers co-operate in curriculum-planning and class-room activities[145]. This new school structure radically changes the working conditions for the recreation centre teachers. Now they have to work both in the school and in the recreation centre and adapt to two

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[145] Hygum (2001)

pedagogical contexts. For the teachers "Play & Learning" also gives quite new working conditions; for instance they are obliged to prepare and do some of their lessons in a team, and they have to accept a school with low classification and framing and new social activities in school cf. play.

The research-programme analyses, how schoolteachers, pre-school teachers and recreation centre teachers i.e. members from two different professions, place themselves in this new school context? From a historical point of view the research-program wants to examine the consequences on a discursive and practical level. For instance, what happens with the professional identity and self-image of the two professions, and how will the power-relations between the 2 professions turn out?

The research-programme also wishes to point out, how the 5-10 year-old children experience the new school-structure which indicates that children will have a prolonged time at school, approximately 2 or 3 hours a day.

Up till now there is not much science-based knowledge in Denmark about the new school structure, but in Norway and Sweden several research-programs have already been conducted about the co-operation between the two professions. In spite of different scientific approaches the dissertations tell the same story about the co-operation[146]. In the school-context the teachers obtain the dominant position towards the recreation centre teachers. This is reflected in the way the classroom is arranged, how the legitimate behaviour of the child and the adult is defined, etc.

The recreation centre teachers are upstarts in the school-context. One Danish evaluation report concludes that the recreation centre teachers react in three different ways[147]:

- One group leaves the job very soon
- One group adopts the role as a co-teacher and becomes the solver of social conflicts in the class
- One group tries to negotiate the basis of co-operation, but it turns out to be a Sisyphus job. The social logic of the school can not be changed.

However, what is lacking so far, is to examine, how the child experiences "Play & Learning". In Sweden Callander calls it "a scientific vacuum"[148] and Hansen agrees in this point of view by asking for research which takes the child's perspective.

In the following part of the paper I shall try to discuss the phrase "to take the child's perspective" and other related discourses like: "to

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[146] Calander, F. (1999), Hansen, M. (1999), Johansson, I. (2000)
[147] Hygum, E: (1999)
[148] Calander, F. (2000) p. 182, Hansen, M. (1999) p. 364

understand the child in its own right" or "to understand the child as an actor in life".

3. The sociological turn

From the middle of the 1980s Danish sociology begins to find an interest in children and childhood. In 1987 Qvortrup claims that "the intention is to call upon sociological questions on childhood."[149] As to Qvortrup this new approach does not cancel the biological or psychological paradigms but has to be seen as a supplement. The sociological point of view indicates analyses on a macro-social level about how " childhood (as a structural element and a status position) changes in time and space in accordance with the dominant needs and interests of adult society"[150].

Close to the millennium the "sociological turn" is constantly increasing. As a sort of status James, Jenks and Prout in 1998 set out 4 sociological perspectives on the child:[151]

- The socially constructed child: a hermeneutic approach which puts question marks to a biological determinism and the universalism in the grand psychological theories about the child's development
- The child as a tribe member: with focus on an autonomous child-culture apart from the adult world
- The child as a member of a minority group: a discourse which highlights the child's civil rights
- The socially structured child: childhood as a social phenomenon cf. Qvortrup.[152]

James, Jenks and Prout conclude that these four approaches towards "the sociological child" both contrast and belong to each other. In their review of the "sociological turn" towards the child and childhood, they explicitly express a progression in the science of sociology about understanding the "child" in the best way".[153] They talk about "the stranglehold which different forms of positivism imposed on English sociology. A wave of critical, deconstructivist phenomenology started to compete with the absolutist statements from the structurally orientated sociologies and marxism which seemed to be the dominant."[154]

Mayal (1994) points out- like James, Jenks and Prout- that the interest in the sociology of childhood is based on the traditions of interactionism and social constructionism: "Interactionist perspectives have alerted us to children's own activity and creativity in promoting their own knowledge

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[149] Qvortrup, J. (1987) p. 29
[150] ibid p. 6
[151] James, Jenks, Prout (1998) Danish translation 1999, Prout & James (1997)
[152] ibid: chapter 1 and 2
[153] ibid p. 35 (see also p. 227)
[154] ibid p. 41 (my translation from Danish back to English)

and development and their own social positioning, and we have learned to think of children and of childhood as social constructs rather than as a natural phenomena".[155] Referring to interactionism Mayal focuses on micro social analyses, where social actions are explained from the actors' point of view. This point of view indicates, that sociology has to understand action as a result of social meanings which define social reality. Through interaction it is possible for the actors to negotiate, change and transform a legitimate social meaning in society.[156] Social constructivism claims, that the interpretation of the sociologist always has to be in line with the actors' own interpretations.[157]

Mayal also emphasizes a normative attitude towards the sociology of childhood. That means a sociology which could enlist the support of the children.[158] The child has to be seen in its own right, affecting and affected by social structures. That means "as moral interpreters of the worlds they engage in, capable of participating in shared decisions on important topics; as people responsible enough to be paid for their work, as discussants of moral values, as people with denied rights to social and physical space, indeed as participants in the division of labour at home and elsewhere".[159]

From the interactionist and social constructivist perspectives Mayal wishes to involve children both in the data collection process, in the analyses and presentation phases. Mayal strongly rebuts the prejudices about the child as an informant - cf. they always tell, what the interviewer wants to hear- and regret the fact, that the analyses do require knowledge which the child in its position as a "child" unfortunately does not possess.

James, Jenks and Prout emphasize that to take the child's point of view is not just a matter of the development of a proper child centred method. It is quite necessary to reflect about the basic understanding about child and childhood and make a shift towards the actors' perspective. The three authors do not write much about, how to analyse the data collected from a child as informant. They dismiss methods which produce data "about children" and not "together with children"[160]. They refer to a fieldwork with children at a hospital, where the children's own comments were elaborated through the researcher's own interpretations. They refer to the fact that this practice has been strongly condemned by other researchers who pay their due to actors "point-of-view" approach by insisting on the child's interpretation to be allowed to stand alone.

Referring to UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, Anderson also legitimates the child's active role in the research process,

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[155] Mayal, B. (1994) p. 3
[156] Alvesson M. & Sköldberg, K. (1994) p. 101
[157] Andersen, H. & Kaspersen, L.B. (1998) p.189 ff.
[158] ibid p.5
[159] Mayal, B. (1994) p.8
[160] James, Jenks, Prout (1999) p. 265

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and she points out that the child does report valid views and experiences[161].

All the quoted sociologists up till now strongly reject the understanding of the child as a passive, retroactive, determined individual. Childhood has been understood as a social structure on a macro level (Qvortrup), where childhood integrates children into the social division of labour in a modern society,[162] and the child has been understood as an actor in social practice (James, Jenks, Prout, Mayal). Corsaro combines the two angles by calling the child's attitude towards society an interpretative reproduction. "The term *interpretative* captures the *innovative* and *creative* aspects of children's participation in society …. The term *reproduction* captures the idea that children are not simply internalising society and culture, but are *actively contributing to cultural production and change.*[163] Besides Qvortrup all the other sociologists refer to a social constructivist and interactionist approach.

In the following part I shall introduce the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who puts new answers to the questions about "child" and "childhood"[164] and how to take the child's perspective. Although Bourdieu has not focused on children and childhood, he is able to put new perspectives on the relations between childhood as a large-scale phenomenon and the situated child understood as an actor.

4. Bourdieu's attitude towards the new sociological turn to childhood

Bourdieu explains a person's social experiences by analysing the agent's position in the field. The field position requires a certain amount of embodied (habitus), institutionalised and objectified capital. Also the agent's field position generates specific legitimate capital, so in short: the field position suits the agent, and the agent suits the field. According to Bourdieu it would be a big mistake to understand the child as competent, because the attention is then diverted from the relation between agents to the agent herself. The competence is a question of proper field position. If one has the capital, which is required, one acts in a competent way. This distinction strongly rejects a more individualist, psychological and sometimes a biologically orientated definition of the term competence. In Bourdieu's point of view the term is rather meaningless because it lacks any historical or social fundament and is defined in a trans-historical and trans-cultural form.[165] To use such term would be the opposite of what

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[161] Anderson, P. (2000) p. 243
[162] Qvortrup, J. (1987) p. 15
[163] Corsaro, W. (1997) p. 18
[164] Prout, A. (2000) p.xii
[165] Bourdieu. P. (1968) p. 19 ff.

Bourdieu claims should be done: to make a theoretical construction of the child, the child's practice and discourses about the child, that means to analyse, how homologies like man/woman, white/black, child/adult are transformed into "naturalness".[166]

According to Bourdieu the demand for understanding the child in its own right can be regarded as a new discursive regime installed in the pedagogic field![167] By referring to the child's own rights, the power relation between adults and children is maintained, but legitimated by a sort of (natural) childish originality, which itself is a social construction. "The essentialist philosophy that was bound up with the notion of nature is still at work in some naive uses of criteria of analysis such as sex, age, race, or intellectual capacities, when these characteristics are conceived as natural, necessary, and eternal realities, whose efficacy can be grasped independently of the historical and social conditions that constitute them in their specificity for a given society and a given moment in time."[168]

To put in short: on the one hand the phrase "to understand the child in its own right" reduces social relations to communicative relations and "nature", and does not reflect that the social structure always exist in the interaction. But on the other hand Bourdieu probably can identify himself with the discourse, if socially muted individuals get a voice on that account.

One of his recent books "The Weight of the world"(1999)[169] has the subtitle "Social Suffering in Contemporary Society". Under the direction of Bourdieu a team of sociologists have interviewed people who are suffering from the weight of modern society, that means bad education, bad jobs, bad housing, etc. The interviewed persons share the same social situation as children, namely shortage of legitimate capital in the political, pedagogical, economical field.

Bourdieu has reflected a lot of dilemmas in performing an interview. He talks about the "intellectual love" towards the informant, but he also warns not to be "seduced" by the informant´s pseudo-explanations. He expresses that it is impossible to be the informant, but it is possible to try to reconstruct the informant's position and perspective and then understand, why the informant finds practice meaningful. Bourdieu also wishes, that the respondent has the possibility to set the rules for the interview and decide which questions can be asked. And it is crucial that the researcher develops an ability to listen actively and methodically. He pays much attention to the relations between the respondent and the interviewer. Basically the interview situation is a social relation with asymmetry between the informant and the interviewer. This indicates that

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[166] Bourdieu, P. (1999A) p. 8
[167] Foucault, M. (1995) p. 25 ff.
[168] Bourdieu, P. (1968) p. 19
[169] Boudieu : La misère du monde (1993), The weight of the world (1999).

the intrusion in the world of the informant can be experienced as a sort of symbolic violence.

Bourdieu proposes that the symbolic power could be reduced, if the respondent had the chance to choose an investigator with the same social and cultural capital as the respondent, and he concludes that the interview can have an effect as sort of a self-analysis.[170]

However, in order to explain the informant's perspective, Bourdieu wants the researcher to objectify himself, because "Social agents do not innately posses a science of what they are and what they do".[171] As to Bourdieu this is just the situation for any informant small or tall. When Alderson states that "children are the primary source of knowledge about their own views and experiences",[172] Bourdieu therefore must disagree.

Bourdieu thinks that social science has to get rid of the spontaneous ideas about what "makes the world go round". He demands that the researcher breaks with his own preconceptions and with the informant's everyday knowledge. "It is not sufficient for anthropology to break with native experience and the native representation of that experience: it has to make a second break and question the presuppositions inherent in the position of an outside observer".[173] Bourdieu characterises his interview-method as participant objectification.[174] He tries both to understand and explain the informant's practice, that means to "re-establish a sociology based on the study of *objective* as well as *subjective* possibilities. While he views the "objectification" of the agent as one essential aspect of sociology, Bourdieu has accepted key elements of the anti-positivist critique represented by phenomenological subjectivism".[175]

Bourdieu differs quite a lot in comparison with an interactionist and social constructivist approach to children and childhood. First of all he would strongly criticise the discourse about the child as a competent actor in society. He would consider it as an idealistic speculation, that practice could be the result of rational considerations or a product of "nature".

Secondly he would find it absurd to understand a child "in its own right", because it is impossible to think of the child "liberated" from the world. Nowhere in society do children find situations, where they are on their own. The adult world will always make a sort of classification and framing, and the children will always be guided by the socially defined dispositions which live in the body as a habitus or a practical sense.

As for the third Bourdieu would surely agree in taking the child's perspective. He would of course do this, not because of any normative

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[170] Bourdieu, P. (1999) p. 612 ff.
[171] ibid p. 620
[172] Anderson (2000) p. 253
[173] Bourdieu, P. (1977) p. 2
[174] ibid p. 616
[175] Fowler, B. (1996) p. 9

intention, but in order to understand, how the child experiences the symbolic violence in the field of pedagogic.

Bourdieu understands that modern industrial society is divided into several fields with a certain autonomy.[176] Each field has its own logic, demands and definition of specific legitimate capitals. Bourdieu counts for instance on the religious field, the economic field and the pedagogic field, where childhood is experienced and situated. Bourdieu thinks of childhood as a classifying structure, but not as fundamental a structure as for instance Qvortrup.[177] Still Qvortrup seems to be close to the position of Bourdieu, when he quotes Marx's statement: "It is the human being who creates history. But it just does not happen at pleasure".[178]

Both Bourdieu and Qvortrup reflect about the establishment of childhood in the 20th century. James, Jenks and Prout and the so called sociological turn in childhood give many answers as to, what childhood means to children. They analyse how childhood is situated, but they are caught inside the discourse of the "sociological turn". I think they would never ask the question about the sociology of the sociological turn, or accept that " the old concerns over obedience and respect, often translated into a new language, remain - even if they have been complemented by an interest in children as companions as well as subordinates".[179]

5. Conclusion

Callander's and Hansen's claim to analyse the children's perspective in "Play and Learning" could be a great challenge. But it could also be regarded as the typical discourse of this period of history, and in some ways it then reproduces the official rhetoric in " Play and Learning", that means discourses about the child as a competent player and the child as responsible for its own learning processes, etc.. What is called the middle class discourses about children[180] and in the long run the middle class position in society is in that way gently reproduced.

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[176] Bourdieu, P. (1996) p. 85
[177] Qvortrup, J. (1999) p. 48, p. 55
[178] Ibid p. 47
[179] Hood-Williams (1990) p. 156
[180] Chamboredon, J.C., Prèvot, J. (1975), Oldman (1994)

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A STUDY OF LIFE TRAJECTORIES AT TWO NURSING SCHOOLS

Karin Anna Petersen, Marianne Høyen and Annica Åberg

Background

In a former ph.d.-project[181] concerning exploring the feasibility and productivity of a model for description and analysis of what Bourdieu has called "the genesis and structure of cultural fields", applied to the genesis and structure of:

- a Nursing/Care Science, and
- undergraduate and graduate Education in Denmark during the last 20 years

a questionnaire was elaborated as part of one of the three theoretical-empirical inquiries.[182]

The study did not pretend that there is or could be a relatively autonomous field of Nursing/Care and Education under constitution in Denmark, in the technical sense of Bourdieu´s field studies, since central

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[181] Petersen, Karin Anna (1997/98): *Sygeplejevidenskab – myte eller virkelighed? Om genese og struktur af feltet af akademiske uddannelser og forskning i sygepleje i Danmark.* Viborg Amt: Center for Videreuddannelse.

[182] The empirical part of the theoretical-empirical study comprehends three complementary subprojects:

- a survey
- analysis of the ph.d.-dissertations of the researchers and the candidate dissertations of the Candidates in Cura from the independent School of Advanced Nursing Education at Aarhus University that has been analysed in two ways:
  - by categorizing the bibliographical references to define the scientific universes that has been consulted and used in the work for the dissertations
  - the text of the dissertations have been analysed and categorized, and transformed into frequency tables, which in turn also have been submitted to a correspondance analysis
- a historical and analytical presentation of the involved institutions in details

features of the process point in contradictory directions. The study tries to disentangle the complex as much as possible.

The questionnaire survey

The questionnaire survey was directed towards the population of students as well as graduates/postgraduates involved in the genesis and structure of Nursing/Care Sciences in Denmark.

The questionnaire aimed at a description of the demographic, social and cultural background and life style of the students/researchers/lecturers, their resources which might be relevant for the fact that they as former nurses started a second education in view of a different professional career, their position in the area of nursing and their standpoints on the actual development of nursing in terms of changes in the clinical basic practical education and In-Service education, the creation of academic undergraduate education and postgraduate education, the organisation of research, the orientation of this whole development in terms of epistemology, paradigms of science, relation theory/practice etc. That is to say in the terms of Bourdieu: Their economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital, incorporated, objectified and institutional, related to their positions and positionings in the domain of their craft.[183]

It happened though, that there was a relatively low/normal percentage of return of the mailed questionnaires (circa 56% of around 400 addresses). Indirect tests were brought in, in order to appreciate the degree of representativity. The conclusion was that this part of the project has to be understood as an exploration rather than as a test of the method, although there were almost no indirect signs of systematic biases in the return-sample.

The whole set of data offered by the questionnaire inquiry has been submitted to an analysis of correspondences, often used by Bourdieu and scholars working in that tradition.

The non-mathematical aspects of the method are extensively presented in the dissertation as well as 5-graphical representations together with the comment of the graphs.

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[183] Bourdieu, Pierre (1986) (1996): "The Forms of Capital", In Hasley, A.H., Hugh Lauder, Philip Brown, Amy Stuart Welss (ed.): Oxford: *Education*, chapter 2: pp. 46-58.
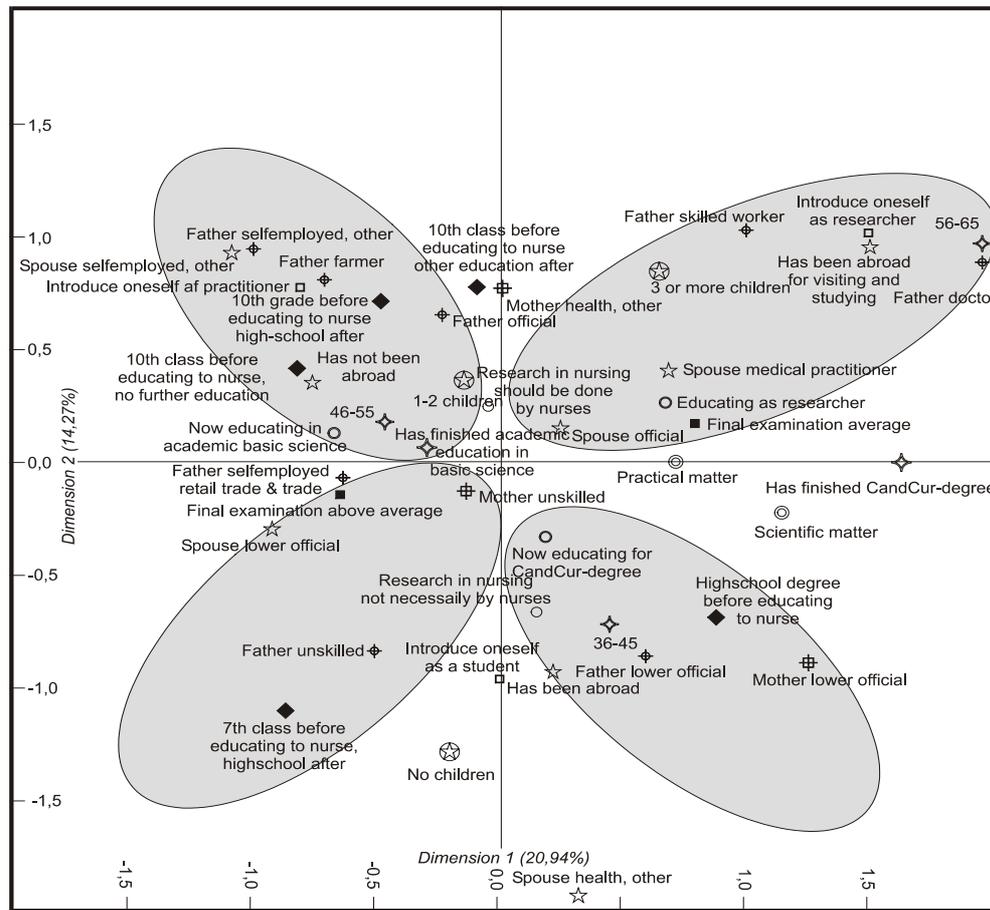
Figure 1 Economic and cultural capital

The zigzag trajectories

Although the dissertation ended up with some answers to the formulated questions[184], a specific question of great importance to the study, never

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[184] Results: The conclusion of the dissertation compares the results of the first three empirical inquiries and the mentions historigraphical part in the light of the original questions raised, generated by the field theory: Can one observe, in Denmark today, in the field of Nursing/Care Sciences, the genesis of a relative autonomous field of Nursing/Care Science? And the answer defended by the study is that the mutual dependency of medical Treatment and Nursing/Care either in principle or in fact tends to difficult the genesis of such a field, either as a fundamental theoretical science or as a scientific technology. At the same time there is a tendency to the autonomisation of the craft which is prolonged and reinforced by the tendency to translate professionalisation into academic and scientific autonomy. But even this tendency is complicated by the contradiction between the option to subordinate clinical nursery to clinical medicine in

succeeded in getting any of the respondents to answer properly, that is in such a way that it was suited for quantitative data analysis.

The question in focus formulated as a hypothesis was:

> *Nurses go in and out the education system in a zigzag way, and never really finish the one education they begin before they start a new education on the same level, rather than finishing one education and continuing on to a higher level.*

It seems that nurses do not have a normal life trajectory, that is within a certain amount of time go through a typical life trajectory - rather they interrupt their life trajectory in order to collect new qualifications, and compensate for a former too low investment of capital in the Bourdieuan sense, e.g. one has had a technical school as nurse, later on high school (gymnasium) and a background from the new Middle Class in an urban environment, later one seeks to what would be considered normal for ones background e.g. master degree (kandidatexamen) or even more ambitious a ph.d.-degree. But often the nurses move horizontally between different fields, and the idea was to be able to explain these life trajectories and their zigzag vertically as horizontally. And to try to explain why the nurses start on many different pathways in order to orient them throughout their professional career rather than straight go for one professional pathway that would let them move vertically. That is to a higher position with both more economical, cultural, social capital in the society.

The idea was also to make this kind of pilot project into a bigger project concerning three Middle Range Educations in Denmark that is Lecturers of the Nursing Schools, Students at Teacher Training Colleges and Lecturers at Preschool/Social work monitor College. This bigger study is on its move.

The comparative aspect is important as to see the positions as positions within a field of relations between positions.[185]

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theory and practice, and the option to constitute an autonomous field in terms of a social science of education, nursing and care.

[185] See Bourdieus studies e.g. Pierre Bourdieu (1986): *Distinction. Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge & Keagan Paul; Pierre Bourdieu (1988): *Homo Academicus*, London: Polity Press and Pierre Bourdieu (1996): *The State of Nobility.* Blackwell, Oxford: Polity Press.

They never answered questions?[186]

The first question in the content had to do with the respondents´ professional life, or one might say their curricula vitae - here 14 different categories were pre-coded and also the possibility of naming the place and the amount of time holding the position. One can say that these positions were meant as categories that the researcher had found typical for the group of respondents related to the fact that they were nurses from the beginning and had climbed a career ladder in the field of nursing (question number 60).

   The second question in the content concerned the respondents´ present positions and the choices were related to teaching and academic or higher positions: e.g. professor, docent, lecturer, adjunct, research assistant, project nurse, nurse teacher, dean, deputy dean, chief nurse, deputy chief nurse, and also with the content of the position that is whether research, administration, teaching, clinical work, was part of the position, and if yes, how many percentages of the positions held. As to who had the responsibility of negotiation for the position, that is to say an academic or non academic union or an academic and humanistic/social science union or a more administrative -economic orientated union (questions number 61) and the last question in the content concerned the number of years in the position, e.g. month and years (question number 62).

   A long and intensive discussion of the reason and consequences of the low/normal percentage of return of the questionnaire is to be found in the dissertation. Anyway it raises different questions beyond the fact of traditional evaluations of a questionnaire: Could the formulations have been better? Was the question relevant for the respondent? Was the question placed at a non-significant place in a group of far too many questions and so forth? Was the whole research too provocative in a newly established group of people in the midst of their fight through the academic world etc?

My life is much more complicated…

But from first being surprised by the fact that the nurses - who throughout their whole professional life do nothing else but talk with people under very difficult circumstances on matters of very personal and private topics, and for that purpose typically use questionnaires with very specific questions about people´s most personal lifestyle or habits in their daily duties - in great numbers simply refuse to fill in a questionnaire

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[186] Petersen, Karin Anna (1997/98): *Sygeplejevidenskab – myte eller virkelighed? Om genese og struktur af feltet af akademiske uddannelser og forskning i sygepleje i Danmark. Del II-bilag 1*, pp. 35-37. Viborg Amt: Center for Videreuddannelse.
That question was question number 60, 61 and 62 in the questionnaire.

concerning their personal life and on matters that for them seemed irrelevant for the focus of the research and also for completely other reasons than expected by the researcher, such as:

> *My life is much more complicated and much more diversified than I should possibly be able to fill in a written form structured ahead - and with no possibilities for adding anything extra. It will never be possible to cover my whole life history with such an instrument best known from the positivistic research or natural sciences - and by the way: It's old fashioned - modern science uses qualitative methods. If you want to come and visit me I should be glad to give an interview (researcher)*

Or they would suggest matters of concern for the research for example:

> *Have you contacted the ethic scientific committee concerning research in the medical field - if not I cannot fill in the questionnaire (professor)*

Although it's a well known fact that this committee only is concerned about biomedicine interaction as to regulations back to the Helsinki declaration after World War two; it's not about social science and healthy people; the respondents are placed hierarchically over the researchers´ own position, they can decide for themselves whether they want to join a research study or not, even if the study is in the field of medicine.

Another example:

> *I don't understand why you need to know about all this different and personal matters that simply doesn't have anything to do with my life as a professional nurse or researcher (researcher)*

That is more or less the content of almost 100 written letters and telephone calls that the project received after sending out this questionnaire.

A second try

All these examples first created great worries for the project but it may be something you have to live with as a researcher. Though after a while another questionnaire was sent out to almost the same kind of population that is Teachers at the school of Nursing where most of them are enrolled in undergraduate, graduate education and post gradute education. They participate in the academic race in Denmark where nurses want to pull themselves "up by the hair" into the academic world.

In a 2- year- project in a provincial town in Denmark the idea was to work with curricula development and teacher qualifications. Schools of Nurses in Denmark had been evaluated and questions raised about whether the subject Nursing/Care science was handled at a scientific level, what was the content of the Nursing School Program as such, what

kind of disciplines were suggested as part of the program, and more specifically in the subject Nursing/Care Science, what was the theory and methods that ought to be taught in such a programme. An important question was therefore raised concerning whether or not the teachers were qualified for their jobs. Could the teachers at the two schools of nursing cope with the new regulation demanding science based education for nurses, demanding that the students were to study Nursing/Caring Sciences in itself e.g. theory and methods. What were the consequences if The Nursing Program as such should be accepted at a (professional/theoretical bachelor-level)?

At the end of the two-year project and as part of and evaluation of the process with the teachers at the two schools a new questionnaire was elaborated. The inspiration came also this time from Bourdieu. The issue was to construct the habitus of the teachers by analysing their dispositions that is the teachers economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital, incorporated, objectified and institutional, related to their positions and positionings in the domain of their craft. The issue as such was integrated in the way questions were asked in questionnaire form.

This time the project leader was very familiar with the group and had worked closely with them during a period of over 2 years, since the project had created lots of initiatives at the two schools: a new curriculum had been elaborated, and all the teachers had participated and felt more or less successful with the outcome. All the teachers had been offered new possibilities of education themselves, 4 teachers had been offered a PhD. scholarship, a PhD.-study group with local projects and supported and supervised by the University of Copenhagen had been established, and a network with other local Colleges from different areas such as teacher training colleges, preschool teacher or kindergarten educators Colleges had been established. Collaborations with a University abroad had started. In short: the Middle Range Educations in the Municipality had created a great and very well-functioning network in between themselves and outside Copenhagen and the World at large.

And further more the team of teachers were very familiar with the theory used in the project on which all the questions were based, since that theory was introduced by the project leader and the consultants during the period of the project on curriculum development and teacher qualifications.

The reaction to the questionnaire this time came thus as a blow from a blue sky and was not at all expected.

The teachers were very angry, they sent letters saying that they felt very offended by the way the questions were asked; they could not understand the necessity of the questionnaire. And they added lots of comments to the form of the questions, wrote new ideas on how to write the questions in a more specific and suitable way and also suggested for

themselves extra column to add to the form. In short: The questionnaire became useless.

The project leader turned the teachers into research-assistants when the failure had become clear cut by asking them to participate in the elaborating of a new and better questionnaire for further purposes by adding all they could think of in order to know better what to do and de facto in order to have documentation for the raising of a "new" research question:

> *How is it that student nurses - or their peer groups like student teachers and student monitors - simply deny participating in filling in traditional sociological questionnaires?*

Generating an alternative method to the questionnaire

On the basis of the former experience, we had elaborated an appendix that was sent out together with the questionnaire as a pilot project. The idea was to see if it was possible to get almost the same amount of information needed but using a procedure trick that didn't provoke the same reaction to the questionnaire.

One of the last questions in the new questionnaire asked the respondents to fill in either on plain paper or in a spreadsheet or just at the back of the paper of the questionnaire their whole life history. They got a written example as to see the idea of how to fill in the columns, and they also got some codes as to register what kind of activity they where describing.

The 7 categories, which were mentioned, are shown below:

Original question in Danish	Translated into English
Hjemme (husmor, barsel, sygdom, orlov etc.)	Home (housewife, pregnancy leave, illness, leave etc.)
Personlig fri tid (rejse, højskole)	Personal time off (travelling, folk-high-school)
Skole/uddannelse fuldtid	School/education on full time
Skole/uddannelse deltid	School/education on part time
Arbejde fuldtid	Work, full time
Arbejde deltid	Work, part time
Udland (udstationeret eller uddannelse)	Abroad (in a foreign country after education)

Figure 2 Life history categories

The idea was that the respondents should follow their own system, and not the researcher's already structured system when filling in the

columns. That is they follow their life history as the structuring line and not the researcher's idea of what would be a sufficient way of filling in the formula.

What the researcher did in beforehand was giving a formula with a system the respondents were asked to mark with the letters of the alphabet according to an ordinary life-history line on a square piece of paper, as shown with the example:

Letter	Description	Lenght	Further description	Where
A	Primary and secondary school	9 yrs.		
B	High school	3 yrs.		
C	Minor jobs in kindergarten, cleaning, inventory etc.	1,5 yrs.		
D	Study for becoming a Civil Engineer with 1 yr of pre-practice	4 yrs	Construction	
E	Singer in a church, facilitator for new students, receptionist	3,5 yrs		
F	Working Camps in the 3th world	Holydays		Polen, USA, Sri Lanka
G	Undergraduate student in Commerce	3 yrs	1 yr leave	Copenhagen Business School
H	Numerous courses in IT	Each max. 1 week		Typically suppliers
I	Civil Engineer	3 yrs	Energy, piping, lots of IT-construction	Carl Bro
J	Head of department, administrative IT	2,5 yrs	Administrative IT	DONG
K	Senior Consultant, EEC-parliament	0,5 + 1,5 yrs		7-technologies
L	Quality Coordinator	2 yrs	Educating the staff, blue-collar employees	Philips RKI
M	Pedagogy for Adults	3 yrs	Part time	RUC
N	Technical school, 'soft issues' + Energy and plumming area	3 yrs	Vary – part time, full time	Gladsaxe TS
O	University of Copenhagen	3 yrs	Teaching, projects	
P	Pedagogy, University of Copenhagen	6 yrs	Avg. 3/4 time	

Figure 3 Life history line

Since the already structured categories also indicated the time period of the respondents´ life-history as shown below - one got a full picture of the individual respondents´ life-history presented on a scale that later on could be switched into a more graphic presentation and, given a sufficient amount of respondents, also turned into a correspondence analysis, as with the former questionnaire:

Code		Age															
		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	etc
I	Home (housewife, pregnancy leave, illness, leave etc.)																	
II	Personal time off (travelling, folk-high-school)																	
III	School/education on full time																	
IV	School/education on part time																	
V	Work, full time																	
VI	Work, part time																	
VII	Abroad (in a foreign country after education)																	

Figure 4 Life history presented on a scale

The respondent's reaction to the alternative way of collecting data:

The immediate reaction from the respondents were that they said:

> *This was fun - I had to go through my whole life*

Or

> *This was a very interesting way of collecting data, it was as if I was the one to choose which information was needed and not any researcher that asked me silly questions*

Or

> *It was shocking to se how one has really used ones lifetime*

But did it work…

Well - first of all one can ask: Who answered what?

In *School of Nursing B* 24 respondents got the questionnaire and the alternative method of data collecting.

- 16 answered the traditional questionnaire
- 16 answered the alternative methods of data collecting
- One answered the questionnaire but not the alternative methods and vice versa.
- 5 had left the school during the project period but got the questionnaire and alternative data collecting materials anyway. Four of these didn't answer either.

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- 2 were on leave one answered both materials the other answered either of them.

In *School of Nursing A* 27 respondents got the questionnaire and the alternative methods of data collecting.

- 20 answered the traditional questionnaire
- 17 answered the alternative methods of data collecting
- 3 has left the school during the project period but got the questionnaire and alternative data collecting materials anyway. two of these didn't answer either.

None of the school Directors or their deputies answered either.

That is, there were no differences in whether one gave out traditional questionnaires or an alternative data collecting materials when it comes to who answers. *But* the immediate response to whether it was a personal good experience - that one self was in charge of structuring ones life history or that it was the researcher's structure one had to follow - that was evident: It was a much better feeling that you can structure and elaborate the data gathering process yourself.

Provisional results

Questionnaires answered in a way as indicated above, generate lots of data. We have been looking into a minor part of the data in order to confirm our hypothesis.

The first thing to do was to find a way to translate the entire items written for the seven codes (see figure 2) into fewer, generalized codes. To illustrate the content of the work, the raw data for Code I 'Home' was 8 different descriptions, and one of the difficult ones, Code III 'school/education full time' was 30 different descriptions.

By printing these raw codes and looking carefully at each description, as well the description itself as the description in its context, it was possible to identify a smaller number of generated codes. A study described by the respondent as 'Studying history of religion' could be generalised in two different ways. First of all it is a study at the University. Second it would either be the beginning of a study leading to a degree, or it could be a journey into a university discipline but left again although it might have awakened the person's interest for taking up academic issues later in her life.

Doing this type of considerations we found 3 typical ways into the nurse education:

- Directly from high school to the nurse education. 'Directly' means a leave from the 'system' up to 6 years. Whether a person's leave has a pre-determination for nursing, could partly be determined by looking at the type of job or activity done during the time. An activity as au-pair abroad was a typical activity.

- Through an unskilled job in the caring sector, which could also take more than 6 years? Or, alternatively through another education in health and/or caring.
- Through jobs in other areas, but not completely different. Pharmacy or kindergarten was mentioned in this group. It could last for 4-14 years before the person entered into the nursing education.

Thinking back none of this is terribly surprising. But combined with all the factors, which could influence the actual path (being in provincial towns, the span of age in the teacher's group), we were more confident with the results generated this way than through an ordinary questionnaire.

Another finding was, that one of our main hypotheses that Nurses go in and out the education system in a zigzag-way, and never really finish the one education, couldn't be confirmed. It was at least not the case for this group. A pattern however can be seen from figure 5:
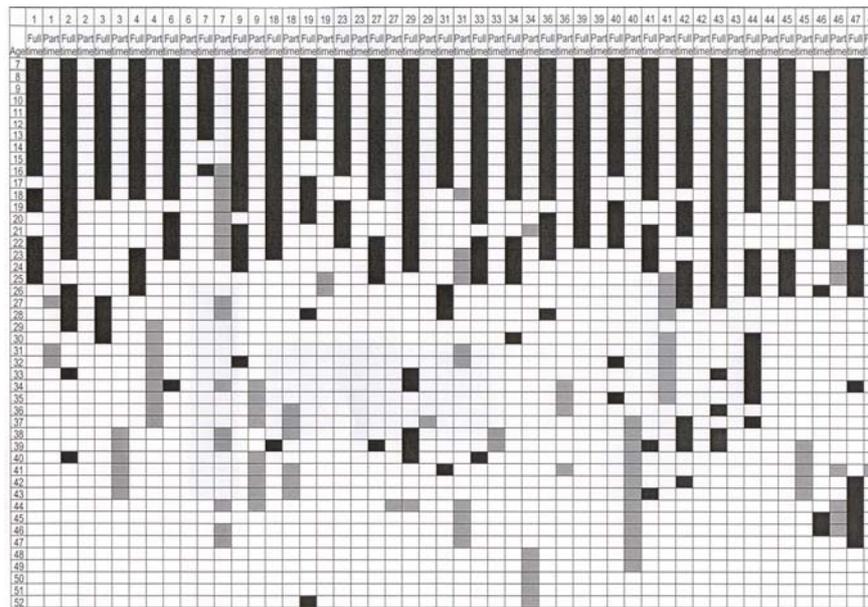

Figure 5 Pattern of zigzag-way

Concerning the questionnaire

Most of the respondents chose to construct their own alternative instead of filling in the alternative presented in the inquiry. There are lots of defects and lacking information and respondents appear to have had difficulties in answering the questions, which actually caused problems concerning the data matrices. The number of respondents who did not

answer the questions were relatively big, and the comment was that the questions were formulated incorrectly or that the respondents didn't understand the questions, but also that they could not find any alternative that would suit them.

Another difficulty was that the research assistant doing the coding was a Swedish person[187] doing the job with Danish forms and Danish questions that had to do with Danish experiences, a foreign culture and e.g. a different educational system.

Categorising, entering and coding of the life trajectories together with the researcher

The entering of data from the Danish life trajectories had the same kind of problems as mentioned above, but when it came to interpretation of different graphic lines drawn by the respondents and related to the coding of the graph constructed, the difficulties got even worse. Without knowledge about the Danish education system (that is without doing the work together with the researcher who was familiar with the field of research) it had not been possible to do the entering of data properly. But even for the researcher herself it was necessary for her to have personal knowledge of the respondent in order to be able to interpret and type the data from the graphic drawings. This has to be mentioned as a big disadvantage in testing this kind of data collecting method. The question raised was: what's the problem with this method?

One is that the respondents´ own coding gave them too much room to elaborate on, compared to the narrower pathway that a traditional questionnaire gives to the respondents.

- One way to get over this problem is to be more precise in coding ahead the categories and codes that the respondent actually uses.
- Another way is to discuss what and how the respondents should be informed ahead in order to fill in such an alternative data collecting material as some were instructed personally (school B) others were not instructed at all (school A).
- About 5 of the respondents that did fill in their life trajectory graph did not succeed in doing so in a way possible for the researchers to interpret

The fact that the graphs only gave possibilities for coding the whole year, not monthly or weekly only gave a very rough picture of the respondents´ life trajectories, and therefore the picture wanted - the zigzag life trajectories - was more or less masked and not visible as much as it could have been. It would be worthwhile to consider monthly or maybe weekly possibilities for the respondents' activities, and that the respondent has this as a guideline when filling in or drawing the graph.

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[187] Annica Åberg, adjunct

This method is very expensive if two persons have to sit and work together about the entering of data. One needs a least one hour per graph - which is actually 2 hours of work counting two people doing it together. That is one is doing the interpreting of the graphic drawings and one is doing the typing of data. To do this kind of work all by oneself would be a very heavy and very complex work procedure, but even with big risks of mistakes or even failures in reading and interpreting the graphs. It was a strength that we worked together two people on interpretation and discussion of the data and even mistakes in our own coding.

Life trajectories are worth working on but it cannot replace the traditional questionnaire. The methods and techniques are different; each has its strengths and its weaknesses. One could consider whether is would be worse working with both methods and techniques as to see them as complementary to each other and if possible even be able to improve on both methods and crafts.

Principal considerations concerning the method from qualitative data to quantitative handling of the data

Changing qualitative data into quantitative requires some sort of reduction. As one of the aims of our exercise using life trajectories is an alternative - and hopefully better way - asking such a question in order to analyse data together with the rest of the data from a larger survey, one must sort of re-code the individual life into patterns of individual lives.

One thing is that we want to aggregate data in order to identify a number of life trajectory types and another thing is the search for coherent patterns in and between data. This is not possible with qualitative data only describing one individual.

A search for patterns requires a deep knowledge of which patterns are possible and which are typical. We haven't used any automatic or IT-supported method, as we didn't find such methods would meet our ideas. It was necessary to judge every single trajectory in order to identify the interesting ways of becoming a nurse teacher.

The history of the period in time and in structure must be appreciated in the descriptions. For example years ago the possibilities of part time education were poor and therefore very few people actually did follow such an education 15 years ago. Also the possibilities for working in very specialized departments are greater in large cities than in smaller cities. As it seems that most of the teachers grew up near their present address, it is very likely that teachers working nowadays in a rural area have a narrower life trajectory according to their career than teachers working in larger cities.

We did not ask for any personal reasons for the changes between jobs, job and education and so on. The registration only shows that a change has been made. We do not know why a nurse left a department - only that she did. It is likely that reasons for change in some cases lie in personal considerations.

As an example the work of finding a pattern in the shift between education and work after becoming a nurse starts with:

- How many make such shifts? Are they simple (only a single shift) or are they more complex (more shifts)?
- What has been shifted from and to? Is the ordinary work kept, and education is taken besides this work - or is the shift both in work and education?
- At what levels are the different types of education(s)?
- When did the education take place according to the previous job?
- When did the education take place according to the first, ordinary job as nurse?
- Etc.

All the time a very tight judgement of relevance has to be borne in mind, which makes the work quite long-winded.

Learning from Muel-Drefys, Roos and Muschinsky - the middle range groups and their lifestyle

As often the literature was consulted *after* the failure of the research. Even though we knew about the research of Bourdieus student Francine Muel-Drefys *Le métier d´educateur* from Paris 1983 it never occurred that her research has had similar problems concerning the same type of respondent - social workers[188].

Muel-Dreyfus discusses in her research the complex saying: ”I know my job”, a saying that as much is about the elaborations of the subject, its geneses, as it is the individual's incorporation of the subject. That is to say that a subject is a product of a social history.

Muel-Dreyfus even talks about the agents as creators, they create their subject, and that is, new persons either put life into newly shaped positions in society, as the school teacher did at the beginning of the 20th century in or they try to change existing positions as the social workers did in 1968 in Paris.

The point of relevance to this discussion is Muel-Dreyfus´ experiences with the social workers. Muel-Dreyfus says in her study that the social worker was allergic to questionnaires - but that was not the main reason for her not to choose this method; of far more relevance was the fact that the social workers historically were used to producing ways of relating

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[188] Muel-Dreyfus, Francine (1983): *Le métier d´educateur*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

themselves to their life and jobs (subjects) history of such a character that it was impossible to reach and reconstruct alone by a traditional questionnaire. If one uses closed questions and statistic data about the father's job and the social group one had, in this case concerning social worker, one would never be able to see the specific relation to the family history which has grown out of the same family history, and through which the social workers and their jobs have been able to present themselves as a way out of the contradictions which have arisen from the individual's experiences between the relations family/school/subject(job).

It is certain that for the teachers of nurses in Denmark in the midst of creating a new subject Nursing/caring Sciences, as for teachers climbing a new career ladder into the academic positions, positioning themselves as researchers in a new academic discipline called Nursing/Caring Science, it simply is not enough to put a cross in a pre-structured questionnaire when to explain and express their subject/job, creating a whole new position is far more complex and also as for the social workers related to their whole individual experience of the relations between family/school/subject (job).

It is a struggle, and it is an individual life trajectory and history - it's a fight between position-disposition and positionings. The Middle range group is climbing a ladder that is sinking (Ross[189], Callewaert[190]) and it is also a struggle between their individual *professional* life history but also their individual *family* history, as shown by Muschinsky[191] where their main tool is to *talk* about things and to create a *consensus* about what is important and what is not without necessary having a materiality in which this talking has its foundation.

One can only wonder how it should be ever possible to get such a group to fill in traditional questionnaires or how any researcher can engage in such a project without having done her homework sufficiently.

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[189] See J.P. Roos & Rahkonen (1985): *Att vilja leva annorlunda – på jakt efter den nya medelklassen.* In Broady, D. (ed.): *Kultur och utbildning. Om Pierre Bourdieus Sociologi.* Skriftserie 4, pp. 213-241, UHÄ, Stockholm: FoU-enheten.

[190] Callewaert, Staf (1992): *Kultur, pædagogik ogvidenskab.* Om Pierre Bourideus habitusbegreb og praktikteori. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, see pp. 112-140.

[191] Muschinsky, Lars Jacob (1995): *Omsorgen som det moderne möde mellem fremmede",* In: Petersen, Karin Anna (ed.): *Praktikteori i sundhedsvidenskab*, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, pp. 260-274.

NURSING SCIENCE IN SPE

NURSING SCIENCE

Karin Anna Petersen

ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF CLINICAL MEDICINE AND CLINICAL MEDICAL CARE

Emmy Brandt Jørgensen

OUTLINE OF NURSING IN MEDICAL FIELD

Kristian Larsen

TRAINING IN PRACTICE – WHAT IS IT DEPENDENT ON?

Marianne Johnsen

THERAPY AS A KEY TO POWER

Nelli Øvre Sørensen

NURSING SCIENCE

MYTH OR REALITY?

Karin Anna Petersen

The aim of this study[192] is to explore the feasibility and productivity of a model for description and analysis of what Bourdieu has called "the genesis and structure of cultural fields".

The model is applied to the genesis and structure of a Nursing/Care Science, and of the corresponding practical, undergradutae and graduate Education for these purposes, in Denmark, during the last 20 years.

The study is primarily heuristic, and covers domains like education and pedagogy, epistemology and sociology of science.

The study does not pretend that there is or can be a relatively autonomous field of Nursing/Care Science and Education under constitution in Denmark, in the technical sense of Bourdieu's field studies.

That because central features of the process point in contradictory directions.

Background

During the 20-year period the craft of nursing has increasingly become academic, claiming to be based on scientific research.

Among other things this has also resulted in different tentatives to organize undergraduate and graduate studies in the field, under the umbrella of different institutions and associations for research, higher learning and practical education.

The study comprehends three parts:

- a theoretical-empirical study of the undergraduate and postgraduate education in the field,

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[192] Petersen, Karin Anna (1997/98): *Sygeplejevidenskab – myte eller virkelighed? Om genese og struktur af feltet af akademiske uddannelser og forskning i sygepleje i Danmark.* Viborg: Viborg Amt, Center for Videreuddannelse.

- complemented with the conclusions of a historiographic and analytical study of the institutions and associations involved in this effort to create academic-scientific structures,
- and two volumes of appendices:

One volume related to the instruments and tables of the theoretical-empirical main study, and another volume containing the details of the historiographical study and the bibliography.

The theoretical-empirical study starts with a presentation of the domain of problems studied such as positioning necessary elements for a theory *about* (not *for*) nursing: e.g. nursing as a part of the reproductive field; a subfield to medicine, not a major profession; the institutions and the dominant doxa for constructions of a theory about a possible nursing science discipline etc. and of the applied theories of Bourdieu.

Two of Bourdieu's central contributions as sources of inspiration are:
- field theory applied to science and to research education on one side,
- the analysis of the faculty of Medicine in Paris as part of a field theory applied to higher education in the book "Homo Academicus ", on the other.

The medical science is here located to the right on the dimension of faculties at the University. That is to say among the learned disciplines that are most directly integrated with:
- a professional and autorized responsibility for the maintenance of the societal order in terms of public health etc.
- and with economic, social and political power outside the faculty,
- and with academic power within the faculty.

At the difference natural science, is situated at the opposite end to the left of the dimension that it's *not* integrated with the mundane order:
- within the faculty
- and outside the faculty
- has its function and legitimity from critical thinking and fundamental or pure science.

To the extent that the possible science of Nursing/Care would appear constitutively bound by Medical Science, the analogy with the analysis of Medical Science is explored.

The empirical part of the theoretical-empirical study comprehends three complementary subprojects.
- *The survey*
- *The analysis of the dissertations/thesis*
- *Historiographical and analytical presentation of the involved institutions*

Ad empirical part 1: The survey

The first step is made up of a questionnaire survey (contains 250 questions) directed towards the population of both students and graduates/postgraduates implied. (Total numbers of respondents are 230 out of 407, that is 56,5% has answered, which is pretty good compared to the amount of questions).

The questionnaire aims at a description of the demographic, social and cultural background and life style of the students/researchers/lecturers, their ressources possibly relevant for the fact that as former nurses they started:

- a *second education* in view of a different professional career,
- their *position* in the area of nursing and
- their *standpoints* on:
    - the actual development of nursing in terms of changes in the clinicial basic practical education and In-Service education,
    - the creation of academic undergraduate education and postgraduate education,
    - the organisation of research,
    - the orientation of this whole development in terms of epistemology, paradigms of science,
    - relation theory/practice etc.

That is to say in terms of Bourdieu: their *economic, social, cultural* and *symbolic capital*, incorporated, objectified and institutional, related to their *positions* and *positionings* in the domain of their craft.

The whole set of data offered by the questionnaire inquiry have been submitted to an analysis of correspondences, often used by Bourdieu and scholars working in that tradition, by now well introduced in Scandinavia as well, executed with the help of the consultant Marianne Høyen.

The figures suggest without doubt that there are elements that discriminate between different profiles among the researchers and students, as far as their *capitals*, *positions* and *positionings* are concerned.

Eg: See figure economic and cultural capital shows:

Profiles of Nurse researchers:

- Left above: middleaged (46-55) from home with independent jobs on the side of their father e.g. Agriculture. Tenth grade and later complemented to student (that is 12. grade similar to high school). Lives with a person with independent job, have few kids, never been abroad.
- Right above: oldest group (56-65) father was trained or doctor or from above the middle class. Has 2 kids. School education above middlegrades, wants to be a researcher, has traveled abroad.
- Down left: No ages is discriminated. From homes where the father was a worker and lower independent jobs, low school education as 7. years, but grades beyond middle and later students (high school). Husbonds are lower employees and have themselves an academic degree (Education is the only ressource (one can say).

- Down right: Middelaged (37-45), father and mother lower employees. Students before higher educations. Educate themselves as cand.cur. (One can say: it's a ladder that sinks - in order to become a teacher of diploma-nurses one has to be cand. cur. That is academically trained where before one could do with practical skills).

Ad empirical part 2: The analysis of the dissertations

The second empirical inquiry concerns only the ph.d dissertations of the *researchers* and the *candidate* dissertations of the candidates in Cura from the independent School of Advanced Nursing Education *at* (not in) Aarhus University.

That is basically a School for in-service training of nurses, but now housing even a cand. cur. education. (The total number are 68 dissertations).

The *dissertations* have been analysed:

By categorizing (14 kategories) the *bibliographical references* (totally 6.010 references) there is a possiblity to define the scientific universes that has been consulted and used in the work for the dissertations.

Findings

One of the interesting findings here is that there is an obvious contradiction between:

- the tacit or open basic claim of the field alledgedly under constitution, to represent *clinical nursing science*,
- and the bulk of *philosophical, human and social science* inputs that are brought into play in the dissertations,
- while references to *medical litterature are minimal.*

Eg: See figure relative and absolute referencies:


Absolute References

Relative References
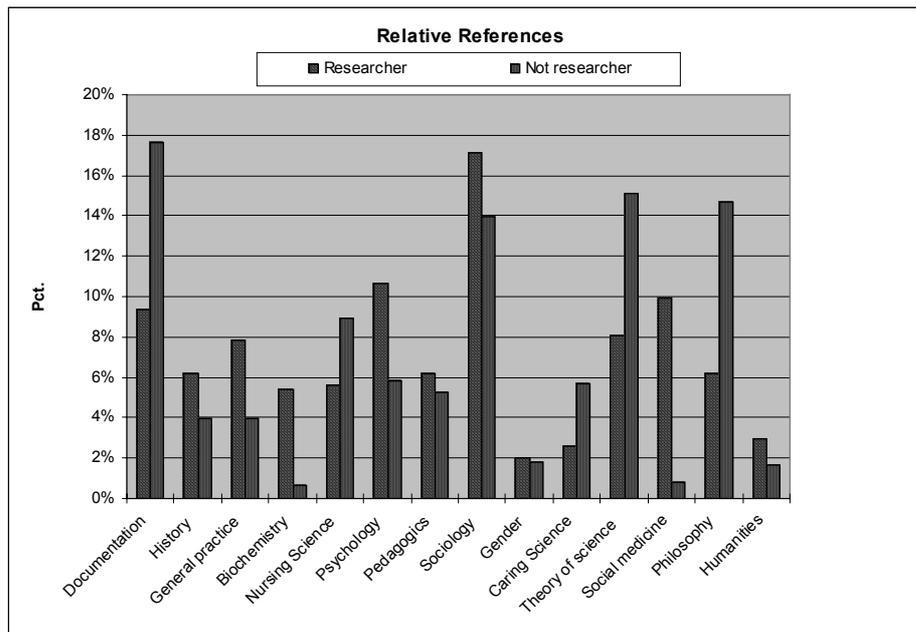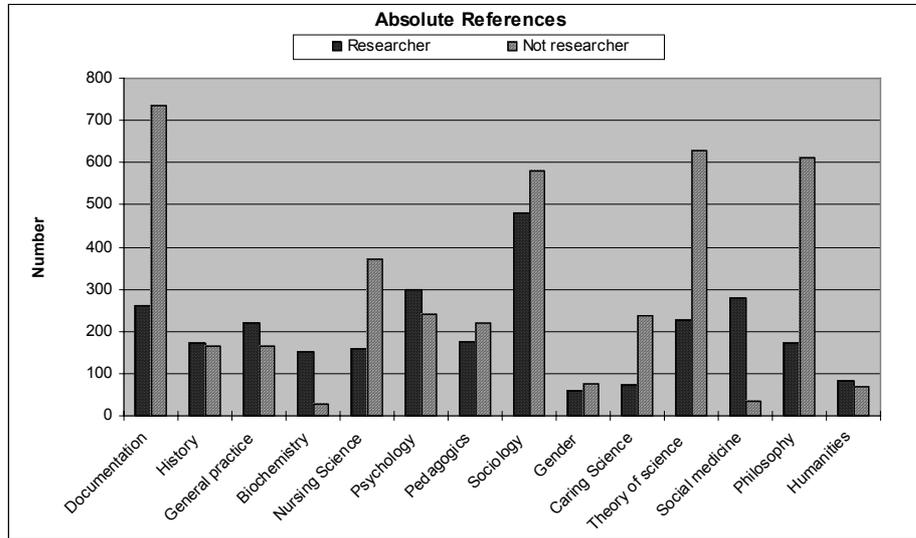
The bibliografic references Nursing Science and Caring Science has a modest place especially for the researchers likewise with generel medicin and social medicin both concerning technological and scientific ways and more for the cand.cur. disserations than for the ph.d./dissertations.

Another interesting thing is, that cand. cur. students relate to science based nursing technology called Clinical Nursing no matter whether they

have had teachers that taught them differently. Studies concerning female matters are obvious not a matter of concern, so as references to medicin. But philosophy of science, methods and theory as social sciences are the preferences.

This may have to do with the contradictions in the constitution of the cand. cur. education programme, which is discussed in the historiographic part, and with the fact that the involved researchers, if they possess a *ph.d., have obtained it from human- and social science university faculties.*

This happened by necessity, because there were no other possiblities in Denmark at least. But it happened also in many cases as a matter of principle and preference.

Dissertations per year
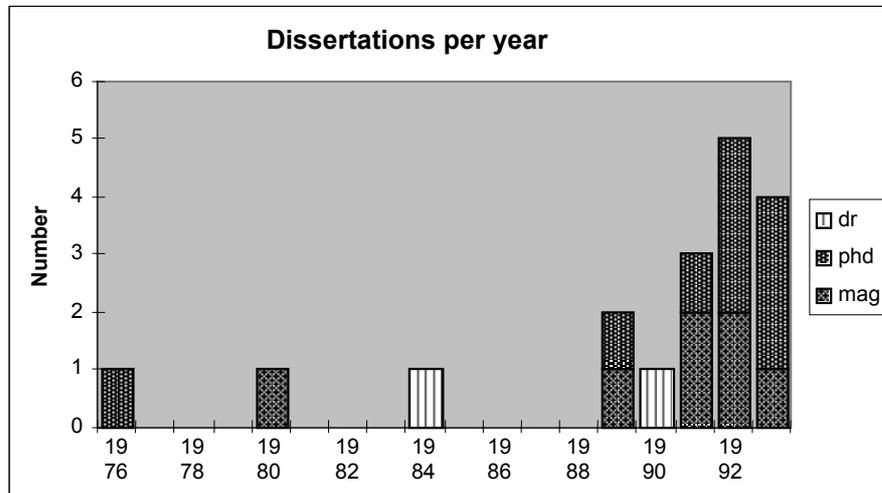
Eg. See figure referencedeterminations of dissertations

One can say that the first ph.d.-degree or candidate came in 1976 and later in the 1980 and then in 1984 and from then on it increases from the year 1989.

The disciplines from where the nurses get their dissertations is 30% from the discipline of Education. Or one can say that human- and social sciences are the disciplines that dominate.

Dissertations

Ad 2. The texts of the dissertations have been analysed and categorized (19 questions and 80 variables), and transformed in frequency tables, which in turn also have been submitted to a *correspondence analysis.*

Even here a system of profiles defining different conceptions of the scientific craft involved in alledged nursing/care science writing do emerge, almost too much similar to those profiles that are the eternal

reminders in the debate of the last 10 years. But some more hidden configurations also appear.

Eg: See figure analysis of dissertations
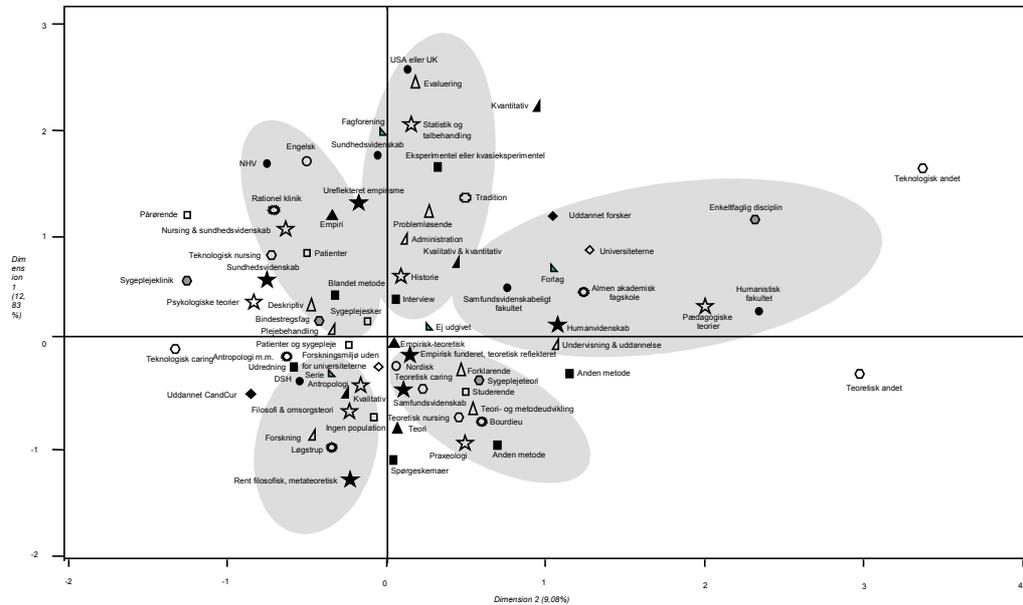
Four-column table:

- Above left: Applied-Science *for* practice
- Down left: Critical reflexivity *for* practice (philosophical arguments of care as practice)
- Above right: Applied theory *about* practice
- Down right: Critical reflexivity *about* practice

Ad 3: Historiographical and analytical presentation of the involved institutions

The text of the historiographical and analytical presentation of the involved institutions in detail, is used to confirm, illustrate and complement the results of the objectified empirical inquiry. (Total numbers are 7 institutions, federations or initiatives). This historical reconstruction complements in terms of more fully narrative and structural descriptions, which are comparable to the objectified quantifications in the first part.

But it is also a contribution to the social history and the history of ideas and science of the academic and scientific transformation of the craft. It is an effort to make available an overview of the documents and events, theoretically accessible for all interested people, but in fact almost impossible to collect, except for an insider.

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The environments studied are:

- The creation of a *chair* in Nursing Science at the Faculty of Medicine of Odense University
- The activities of the Danish Institute for Health an Nursing Research (*DISS*)
- The activities of the School of Advanced Nursing Education at Aarhuus University (*DSH*)
- The activities of the University Hospitals Center for Nursing Research in Copenhagen (*UCSF*)
- The activities of the Danish Nursing Research Society (*DSS*)
- The activities of the Society of Academic Nurses in Denmark (*FASID*)
- *Environments* like the activities initiated by the Medical Research Council, or the social science Institutes of the Universities are not systematically considered in this second part.

Focus

The presentations *focus* mainly on the following aspects: academic structure and legitimation, recruitment of personnel, research activities and research paradigms, degree, education, curriculum, scientific paradigms.

Findings

This part concludes, focusing is upon the differences within and between institutions, and upon the background of the tacit common ground (doxa), commonly named clinical nursing science.

Conclusion

The general conclusion of the dissertation compares the results of the first three empirical inquiries and the historiographical part in the light of the original question, generated by the field theory: - can one observe, in Denmark today, in the field of Nursing/Care, the genesis of a relative autonomous field of Nursing/Care Science?

The answer

A: The answer defended by the study is that the mutual dependency of Medical Treatment and Nursing/Care either in principle or in fact tends to make the genesis of such a field difficult, either as a fundamental theoretical science or as a scientific technology.

B: At the same time there is a tendency to the autonomisation of the craft which is prolongated and reinforced by a tendency to translate professionalisation into academic and scientific autonomy.
C: But even this tendency is complicated by the contradiction between the option to subordinate clinical nursing to clinical medicine in theory and practice, and the option to constitute an autonomous field in terms of a social science of education, nursing and care.

ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF CLINICAL MEDICINE AND CLINICAL MEDICAL CARE[193]

By Emmy Brandt Jørgensen[194]

Hypothesis

My contribution is a short summary of my thesis *Origin and structure of clinical medicine and clinical nursing*, which is a work within the field of science of medical care and science of sociology and in which I study origin and structure of nursing and medicine as occupation and subject and its trainings respectively in Denmark. My thesis is a kind of profession research that has had its perspective focused on including nurses as well as doctors, the two biggest groups in the field of caring and treatment in the Danish health care. For Danish research, it is something new to include both the perspective of nurses *and* doctors in the same work. The formal object in the thesis is Michel Foucault's and Pierre Bourdieu's theories of scientific sociology as regards a division of time of the work of nursing and treatment arranged by the Government. This division of time is also a new contribution. For medicine, the period is 1736-1937 and for nursing the period is 1863-1957.

My hypothesis in the thesis has been that what you call clinical medicine today and what you have called clinical nursing the last 20 years are two different practices and discourses but that these nevertheless are homologous and linked to each other. The clue in this hypothesis is a completely new conception of the *clinical*, which is what ties subject and occupation together. The thesis is inspired by the French historian of ideas Michel Foucault, who in his book *The Birth of the Clinic* develops the idea for France and partly for other European countries of how medicine and its training talks about itself in a totally

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[193] Edited contribution from the NFPF-conference 2001
[194] Translated by Lena Dafgård and Emmy Brandt Jørgensen.

new direction after the French revolution. This means that you can say that a completely new kind of medicine – *the clinical medicine* – was born. In my thesis, I have tried to find out how the development in Denmark has been and if Foucault's ideas can be found in Denmark.

Foucault shows that there are periods in the development of medical science before and after the French revolution. After this, there is a third period. In order to do an analysis of this third period I have included the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu *Homo Academicus*, in which Bourdieu shows a homology between the order in society and the academic field of science. *Homo Academicus* is an analysis of medicine or rather of medical professors. At last, Foucault brings up the State in his book about the birth of the clinic and as a supplement to this I have likewise included the theory of State by Bourdieu from the book *The State Nobility*, which is one of Bourdieu's last pieces of work and which is more a collected theory about modern societies. The question, which is asked in my thesis, is if the changes in medicine, which Foucault and Bourdieu indicate to France are the same in Denmark and occur during the same time or later on?

Foucault and Bourdieu do not include nursing, but I do in my thesis where I on my own responsibility try to find out if similar developments have occurred in nursing and in that case during what time. I mean, that you can do this because my working hypothesis of work has been that medicine and nursing are closely related to each other and can be presumed to run parallel. The thesis goes one step further and has had as its hypothesis that in any case the clinical medicine has to cooperate in the constitution of modern nursing as an important part of its own material. Anyway, this must be understood, as nursing not even today is constituted as an autonomous field.

The way I work in the analysis and pre-interpretation of the historiography, is inspired by Bourdieu's field theory. Medicine is included, as mentioned before, in Bourdieu's analysis of the academic field. In my thesis, I have included nursing as a kind of subfield in the medical field. When the question is if similar changes are observable within nursing, as within medicine, I have studied both of them separately, since they are not identical after all, but at the same time. I have also had the working hypothesis that there is a connection in the development for both of them.

Historiography and used source material

I have worked with a comprehensive empiric material and a long period – nearly 200 years. The use of Foucault's and Bourdieu's theories of *division of time* in the medical field has still made it possible that this outstretched period and rich empiric material has got a structure which

allows different perspectives. To divide time in this way elucidates among other things, the myth that the history is one project that takes place consciously with some agents who form the history linearly and evolutionary is exactly a myth. There is not a straight line from the surgeon in the 17th century and to the modern physician during the 19th century, each period has its most important character. In the 17th century, it is the surgeon, in the 18th century it is normally the physician and a general practitioner and in the 19th century, it is the medical specialist and expert official. There is e.g. not a straight line from the women at home to the modern nurses either. Here as well, each period has its character, respectively bourgeois wife in the 17th century without tasks in the medical treatment, in the 18th century the nurse as an assistant to a general practitioner or an official and in the 19th century the nurse as an assistant to a medical specialist or an expert official.

I.e. that history is not one project where some people with their power of their will and attention decide the minutes. The history is also determined by the objective structures and the subjective agents who get space within the structures by participating in a struggle in a field, which partly forms them and are formed by them also determine the history. The history occurs in periods and the previous period has not necessarily something to do with the following period, even if on some level it may look like that, e.g. that it is about in what ways you treated sick persons during certain periods in history.

The empiric material that I have used in my thesis, are considerations from the authorities which controlled the activities of taking care of sick citizens, both concerning the agents' training and the institutions, worked out as a preparatory work to laws and regulations, bills and the taken laws and regulations. Furthermore statutes for institutions, job instructions for the work as a night-nurse, nurse, surgeon, doctor, physician etc. The yearbooks of the University of Copenhagen have also been used. I.e. these documents are written during the time and period related to the thesis. The involved agents' written expert contributions in journals, advertisements etc. about e.g. nurses (about doctors and nurses), and about doctors' training etc. during times referred to. As far as the nurses are concerned, also textbooks and analysed textbooks have been used, i.e. codification of the experience from that time. Furthermore, the presentation of history is built on historical presentations developed by historians, doctors, nurses, nurses who are also academics and other academics. All works that partly are long, wide historical presentations, partly are biographical books about individuals and final historical presentations of institutions. The authors are both now living and deceased authors. As a complement to this come historical encyclopaedias about the history of Denmark and biographical dictionaries. These works are reconstructions after the event about the epoch in question. An expert historian will typically call these two

different types of sources, primary and secondary sources. I have mainly used primary sources but I have also used secondary sources.

Foucault's and Bourdieu's theories on medicine in France

Foucault's idea is that sometime around the turn of the century from 17th to 18th century, a very new apprehension of medicine arises, for the clinical by contrast with the traditional that mostly was a carrier of metaphysics to begin with or a faith in that God, fate caused the illness. The classificatory medicine and the clinical medicine once superseded it. Foucault starts from the idea that discourses in general and specially here around illness do not develop during time but glide forward through irregular unrest and in practice e.g. practices about how to handle illness, not only implementations of new discourses, that is theory about what causes illness, but also play an independent role in the emergence of discourses. By clinical medicine, a very special opinion is meant of what medical practice and medical thinking is about, conditioned by very special society terms – organisation of the State, of the profession, hospitals, training etc. Foucault tries to specify the special, new opinion of what medical practice and thinking is about. He does that by working with how you interpret "the clinical look" that studies neither the patient nor the illness but the process. That would produce a medicine that follows the classificatory medicine, which was based on the "essence" of the illness but comes prior to the medicine, which you usually apprehend as positivist. Positivist understood as a medicine stated exclusively based on observation, foreign to every kind of speculation as the pre-classificatory medicine and classificatory medicine understood itself. Foucault sees the clinic being born in between, that is between medicine and positivist medicine, and his work is written in order to show that it is wrong to believe that the modern rational medicine from the start and the whole way on is a medicine in a positivistic spirit. Foucault's main idea is the special configuration of exterior and interior factors, which lead to such a difference in view. Now as well as before, it is about a combination of apprehension and observation. What makes the whole difference with the "clinic" earlier and even later are the statements that clinic knowledge is knowledge about the individual and not about groups of ill persons, the essence of illness or the classifying division, but on the contrary connected to the simple. Foucault means that the first clinicians invent the science of the individual, a very new human science in contrast to what we generally today call it with the emergence of the particular disciplines, where medicine defines itself as natural science, which is wrong according to Foucault. He means that this has later on influenced

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many other human sciences, which emerged during the 18th century. It was the fundamentals of paradigm for human sciences that were born. It is a novelty in the study of humans and epistémé about human beings.

The self-understanding of medicine is according to Foucault that the displacement in medical knowledge before and after the French revolution is a displacement or a radical break from metaphysics to empirical science. What Foucault wants to show with his book about the birth of the clinic is that the displacement comes much later if ever. The rational knowledge, the positive knowledge, the empiric-based knowledge that are allowed to rule during the 18th century, are in many ways similar to the earlier. What shifts during the time of and after the French revolution is apprehension of what you believe is visible, that is what you count on is possible to be visible and what you count on can be said. Said in another way, it is not the fact that now it is possible to use autopsies and new techniques which make it possible to see instead of guessing and speculating. A determining factor is that for all kinds of observation you have got another apprehension of what can be observed and what can be said in a way that things appear as you expect them to be seen.

The displacement in medical knowledge from the classificatory medicine and to the clinical can be said to be on three levels. There is the body as a room, the space the body either takes in the ward, in the bed in subject to the auscultation or during operation on the living that is at disposal as it was not before. Earlier the body belonged to God but now the illness is seen for the first time as a part of the fact that the human being has a body. That is, that it finally is accepted, shortly put that it is accepted that persons may die. Death is no longer a metaphysical strangeness between God and I. The break is according to Foucault that the clinic has become a clinic because a pre-understanding emerges that means that illness, body and human beings as a whole is at disposal for analysis.

The way I have worked with Foucault is that I now as Foucault decided the doctor's shifting look at the patient (from seeing illness as an essence in the classificatory epoch to seeing illness as a process in the person's body in the clinical epoch), but more to occupy myself with the consequences of the changed view of illness, that is with all the re-organizations that emerge in the knowledge field of illness. In Foucault's book, there are plenty of examples of this. What I ask about is described closer later on in the article.

If you pose a general outline of the classificatory medicine according to Foucault, divided after what relation the doctor has to the State, what kind of training the doctor passes through, and what medical treatment and treatment functions the doctor has, you will get:

the doctor's relation to the State:	minimal control from the part of the dynastic State, medicine apolitical, the doctor is outside the sphere of power of society
the doctor's type of training:	a kind of apprenticeship, private training, experience knowledge, metaphysics
the doctor's function in care and treatment:	the patient is at home, the patient is not offered any treatment, the doctor is a philosopher

Figure 1: The classificatory medicine in France according to Foucault

If you pose a general outline of the clinical medicine according to Foucault, divided after what relation the doctor has to the State, what kind of training the doctor passes through, and what medical treatment and treatment functions the doctor has, you will get:

the doctor's relation to the State:	extended control on the part of generalize – official – government, medicine political, the doctor is a person in authority (authorized)
the doctor's type of training:	a type of apprenticeship and university training is owned by the State, degree qualifying for higher civil service posts, experience knowledge and descriptive knowledge
the doctor's function in care and treatment:	the patient is institutionalized, the patient is offered treatment, the doctor is a clinician

Figure 2: The clinical medicine in France according to Foucault.

Foucault dates the constitution of the classificatory medicine to the period 1761-1798 and the clinical medicine in France to the period 1798-1816. The clinical medicine existed during a relatively short period, how long Foucault does not say as well as he does not occupy with the time after the clinical epoch. That is the reason why I have included Bourdieu´s book *Homo Academicus* with the analysis of the academic fields – the medical professors – until the period after the clinical medicine. Bourdieu derides medicine in France around 1960 and it is here the particular disciplines have developed. And it is here medicine is often spoken of as positivism. In my thesis, I call the epoch "the modern medicine".

Bourdieu takes Kant's distinction as a starting-point of the battle between the worldly dominating faculties as theology, law and medicine, which most directly is controlled by the authorities (official professions)

and have supporting functions for exercise of authority and the faculties that have no direct contact with worldly matters, but is more transferred to "the learned people's own common sense" (philosophy and natural sciences). Bourdieu says about medicine that it is a scientifically guaranteed art and as an idea, it has dual capacity, both a technical and a social competence. What Bourdieu places against each other is science (e.g. theoretical mathematics) against an either normative doctrine (e.g. law) or scientifically guarantied practice (medicine).

Medicine is a profession according to Bourdieu, that carries on medical activities and the art is guaranteed scientifically. In medicine, it is the social - official authority that is the foundation of doctors' social importance and art is divided from other pure technical competences as theoretical mathematics. In that way, medicine differs from other pure technical competences that do not bring any special social authority. Medicine as scientifically guaranteed art has as aim to use science in practice, according to Bourdieu.

The State of opposition between faculties – between the scientific competences and the social - is found within the particular faculties. Consequently, the structure of the Medical Faculty shows the structure in the composed faculty room (and in the fields of power) that can be described as a state of opposition between art and science.

This state of opposition between art and science brings life to completely different resources of medical practice: the clinical relation between patient and doctor based on "liberal" medicine (conversation between doctor and patent) and resources based on laboratory analysis and research. Bourdieu writes, the first-mentioned resources (the clinics), trying to force the other access (the profession's scientific researcher – basic scientists) to limit themselves to use technology, that is systematic knowledge of use in practice of the scientific knowledge. That is to use different tested methods of analysis in order to demand new methods and to pose more long-term problems. However, the medical scientists support themselves more and more on scientific authority with reference to progress in treatment which science has brought.

At the same time, Bourdieu shows that within the medical field, there are clinical basic researchers who are subordinate and that the medical field is supported by the microbiologists who are increasing in contrast to the anatomists who are decreasing. Bourdieu says that what is special with microbiologists is that they try to maintain working with basic research ahead with a more user-oriented research. The clinical basic researchers are politically to the left at the same time as the clinicians, who have low scientific prestige, are to the right. What Bourdieu shows with his analysis is that the division or polarization of science in relation to art is not found either for any of the faculties at university and again or for every discipline and every part of a discipline. That is to say that not for the pole art do we again have the division worldly against science.

This state of opposition of art and science walk so to say "hand in hand" as homologies.

In my thesis, as I have mentioned, I am also inspired by Bourdieu's theory of state in regard to an analysis and explanation of why there were groups as for example medicine that became a part of the power field in Denmark as a modern state as well as how this power is executed. However, I want to forbear to get closer into that here. I only want to say that when Bourdieu talks about a *state*, he means a way of practicing the political power in a certain society. One way of doing things which should either be mixed up with changes in different political constitutions – from feudal control to for example democracy – and nor be confused with different ways of production, e.g. capitalist.

If you pose a general outline of the modern medicine according to how Bourdieu has divided it, what relation the doctor has to the State, what type of training the doctor passes and what caring and treatment functions the doctor has, you will get:

the doctor's relation to the State:	extended control on the part of generalize – official – government, medicine political, the doctor is a person in authority (authorized) and is a part of the power field in society
the doctor's type of training:	a type of apprenticeship and university training is owned by the State, degree qualifying for higher civil service posts and specialist exam, experience knowledge and scientific knowledge
the doctor's function in care and treatment:	the patient is institutionalized, the patient is offered treatment, the doctor is a clinician versus a basic scientist, the doctor has control both in object and organization

Figure 3: The "modern" medicine in France according to Bourdieu

In the light of what is written above, it is about three epochs:[195]
- The classificatory medicine: before 1789
- The clinical medicine: after 1789 (established more precisely in the period 1798-1816)
- The "modern" medicine: after 1960.

By collecting the three outlines about medicine in one paradigm, it is possible to see how the attitude to illness is altered from being metaphysical and based on experiences to a period of registration (descriptive) plus experience knowledge and to scientific research (assisted by particular sciences) plus experience knowledge. Likewise, how the training for doctors is changed from being under personal management, precede unsystematic and as a type of apprenticeship first is altered to a systematic type of apprenticeship combined with an university training arranged by the Government to "end with" a Government university training continuously related to a type of apprenticeship, but with the change mentioned before concerning the type of science. If the role of the State within the field to take care of sick persons, it shifts from that the State has a minimum of control regarding the treatment of patients (the dynastic State) to increased control within the field. The control of treatment of sick persons is delegated to the doctor, who in the clinical medicine controls the treatment of illness (the general State of officials) and in the modern medicine controls as the treatment of the illness as the organisation of treatment (the specialized State of official or the specialist State). By that how the discourse shifts from control of the soul to control of the body and to control of the invisible. The central agents or institutions shift from being the clergyman and the church to the doctor and the hospital and finally to the chemists/human biologists and the laboratory:

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[195] Foucault writes in his book, in a slightly unspecified way, mostly in expressions as "at the end of the 16th century" or "the beginning of the 17th century", what I have described as before or after the French revolution. However, in a few passages, he states more specifically the different epochs that he works with. From this, it is possible to interpret that the classificatory medicine is stable as a structure in France during the period 1761-1798. The clinical medicine seems to be established in the period from 1798-1816, and is stable as a structure from 1816. How long the clinical medicine "exists" Foucault does not tell, but it seems to be a relatively short period, after which there is a shift to what I in my thesis with Bourdieu call "the modern medicine". (Foucault, Michel (1973): *The Birth of the Clinic. An Archaeology of Medical Perception.* Routledge, London, pp. 4, 126, 189).

	classificatory medicine from 1789 (stable structure 1761-1798)	clinical medicine after 1789 (established 1798-1816)	modern medicine emerging around 1960
the doctor's relation to the State	minimal control from the part of the dynastic State, medicine apolitical, the doctor is outside the sphere of power of society	extended control on the part of generalize – official – government, medicine political, the doctor is a person in authority (authorized)	extended control on the part of generalize – official – government, medicine political, the doctor is a person in authority (authorized) and is a part of the power field in society
the doctor's type of training	a kind of apprenticeship, private training, experience knowledge, metaphysics	a type of apprenticeship and university training, education is owned by the State, degree qualifying for higher civil service posts, experience knowledge and descriptive knowledge	a type of apprenticeship and university education is owned by the State, degree qualifying for higher civil service posts and specialist exam, experience knowledge and scientific knowledge
the doctor's function in care and treatment	the patient is at home, the patient is not offered any treatment, the doctor is a philosopher	the patient is institutionalized, the patient is offered treatment, the doctor is a clinician	the patient is institutionalized, the patient is offered treatment, the doctor is a clinician versus a basic scientist, the doctor has control both in object and organization

Figure 4: Completed paradigm over the classificatory, the clinical, and the modern medicine in France according to Foucault and Bourdieu

Questions to sources

The method I have used when asking questions to my sources is inspired by the field theory of Bourdieu and is directed to four fields or themes from the theories about medicine of Bourdieu and Foucault. The questions I have asked to my sources are:

- What relation have the participants of the health area to the State?
- What relation have the participants of the health area to the formal system of education?
- What social status have the participants of the health area?
- What attitudes have the participants of the health area regarding functions of caring and treatment respectively?

The thesis answers the questions first from a medical point of view and then from the point of view of medical care. The social status is however only covered from the point of view of medical care.

The result of the thesis

The result of the thesis is that the epoch with the classificatory medicine started in Denmark in 1736, where, as something new, a subsidized training, starts a hospital for training arranged by the Government and nominates medicine as the *official authority*. The clinical medicine is established as a fixed structure in Denmark not until 1870s with training arranged by the university, with a fixed relation to the hospitals with many patients and controlled by the university. The third epoch with "modern medicine" is established as a fixed structure in 1937 with control of medicine exercised by a medical board, which is an agency of profession, where the medicine has monopoly of the treatment of sick citizens and with a training as practical expert.

That is to say that in Denmark we have:
- Classificatory medicine: started in 1736
- Clinical medicine: established in 1841-1873
- Modern medicine: established as a fixed structure in 1937

That means that the epoch with the clinical medicine was established later in Denmark than in France, approximately 50 years. The different epochs – the classificatory, the clinical, and the modern medicine – emerges all of them during a succession of years. When the classificatory medicine is established with a fixed structure is difficult to say from the empiric material that the thesis is based on. Likewise, it is difficult to say when the shifts to the clinical and modern medicine begin.

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In an outline, this is what we have in Denmark:

	classificatory medicine established during the period from 1736-?	clinical medicine established during the period 1841-1873	modern medicine established during the period from ? - 1937
the doctor's relation to the State	minimal control – ruled by the staff	extended control with treatment, partly ruled by the staff	control with treatment and organization in agency of profession
the doctor's type of training	apprenticeship under personal management	systematic university training related to apprenticeship on hospitals, arranged by the Government	systematic scientific training related to apprenticeship on the hospitals, arranged by the Government
the doctor's function in care and treatment	observing and describing illness as essence in selected patients – Frederik's Hospital	treating the course of the disease in the many patients – Frederik's Hospital and Kommunehospitalet[196]	treating special courses of the disease in several hospitals

Figure 5: Medicine in Denmark

The clinical nursing as a subject and a profession was invented by the medicine during the time when it became clinical itself – during the period from 1863-1897. At that moment, when the attitude to disease shifted to that the patient was taken ill and that a course of disease is to be observed, then the nursing is invented. The nurse is expected to *help* the doctor with registration of symptoms of the disease during a course of disease in the sick patient. That is what necessitates the invention of nursing. This means that the distribution of work becomes regulated between the nurse and the doctor. The doctor observes and treats the patient, administrates medication, controls, serves the patient, is at the patient's disposal etc. in the classificatory period. In the clinical medicine, the nurse takes care of parts of this process of work. For example, she observes the patient but reports subsequently to the doctor. The subjects and professions are related to each other in many ways – homology. On the one hand, there is the same theoretical knowledge to learn in the training – even if it is on different levels – and on the other, there is a similar way to put the trainings together. Both trainings are consistent of theory *and* practical training at the sickbed and furthermore, the trainings go together in the different speciality educations, which concern both the practical and the theoretical parts of the trainings. Every

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[196] "Kommunehospitalet" is a hospital run by the municipality (comment made by the translator).

time the doctor invents a new practical speciality or adds a theoretical subject field, it is incorporated into the theory books of the nurse or in the trainee post for learning. The shift of having worked as an assistant to the doctor in the clinical period to work in the modern period sees from the period from 1933 to 1957, which includes many of the doctor's practical specialities. That is that the nurse as subject and profession is homologous to medicine as subject and profession, but it comes *after* medicine as subject and profession and it is the clinical that relates it to subject and profession. However, in one important aspect, it is not homologous and that is the status of the training. The training of medicine is practical-theoretical and established in university, the training of the nurse is a practical-theoretical as if it is an apprentice- and school education and a school system *as if* the training was established in the training post containing the theory of the doctor.

In an outline, this is what we have in Denmark:

	the clinical nurse is established during the period 1863-1897	the modern nurse is established during the period 1933-1957
the nurse's relation to the State	minimal control	systematic control by the doctor
the type of training of the nurse	practical learning – non-formal training	practical learning and the doctor's practical theory – formal training
The nurse's function in care and treatment	assistant to an expert	assistant with training in subject to a practical expert
The nurse's social status[197]	young, not married, no training	young, not married, trained

Figure 6: Nurses in Denmark

In the beginning, I stated that a starting-point of the thesis has been that nursing is included in the medical field as a type of subfield. That means that it is a matter of construction that only counts on one field, which includes both medicine and nursing. In Denmark, the bourdeuish meaning of the autonomous field for care and treatment during the period is redefined with the clinical constitution of fixed structures in 1873 and the field is redefined again in 1937 in relation to the modern medicine. In the field, the doctor is given the right to define disease and health and a monopoly of the special authority in the field of care and treatment. This

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[197] The outline is completed with one headline concerning the nurse's social status in difference to the outline of medicine in Denmark, which does not include this dimension. This is not with the aim to say something about the difference in status between doctors and nurses but to say something about social differences in the group of nurses, the group of surgery nurses, and other groups of women.

monopoly or this special authority is what all the time is at stake and is fought about in relation to other fields and internally within the field. Internally in the field, a continual struggle is constantly going on between the agents, e.g. between the doctor and the nurse.

From the beginning, the nurse is assigned a position as an assistant to the doctor, that is, that the doctor has the right to define and decide the care as well as the treatment. The struggle within the field between nurses and doctors can in principle be about three things: The nurses could wish to define the whole field of care and treatment, that is to wish to throw doxa over (medicine). Or the nurses could fight for a withdrawal of the field and constitute a field of their own – a caring clinic of their own. Or as a third possibility, the struggle could be the definition of that the nurses fight for their assigned position in another way, that is defining themselves within the medicine field but with care separated from treatment, consequently a *monopoly of care* and with *the right to define* this care or nursing. As from the invention of the nurses' profession in 1863 and to 1957, there has never been any question of a struggle from the nurses' part that aims at throwing doxa over and neither a withdrawal from the field and trying to constitute a caring clinic of their own. If the struggle of throwing doxa over, it would not have been the arguments from the nurses' part that there is to every time in the empirical material, namely that nurses among other things are assistants to the doctor in his treatment. The argument will instead be that the nurse is not going to assist the doctor in the treatment, but I have not found that argument in the material I have researched. That the nurses would wish to withdraw from the field and start, a caring clinic of their own has no evidence in the empirical material. However, since 1886, when the nurses started to express themselves publicly (Charlotte Norrie) the nurses have fought to define their position within the medical field in another way than the assigned way. The position or the role as the nurses had in 1876 has continued to 1957. The nurse as the doctor's assistant – to begin with assistant to the clinical doctor and later on assistant to the modern, specialized doctor. The clinical medicine necessitated an assistant – the nurse. *The function* as a nurse is from the starting-point to be an assistant to the doctor. In the investigated period until 1957, it has not been possible to prove that this would shift to something different. That is, that we are dealing with one field – the field of care and treatment ruled by the doctor. The nurses' attempt to redefine their role was consequently not successful.

However, what the nurses succeeded with was that they rather slowly got a certain influence on their own training and a certain influence on the acknowledgment by the State of their own group (or denial of the same) by a relation that is appointed by the National Board of Health, but still under the management of medicine. Concerning the training, the nurses managed to acquire school teaching from 1897, from around 1913 one

appointment as a teacher in the classroom, even if it is only a matter of practice and not any kind of theory (demonstration room). With the folk high schools from 1927, the nurses teach in parts of the doctor's theory, as a substitute to the doctor who teaches, who earlier supremely taught in their own theory. In 1957, a school for nurses was established and even if it is a school related to the hospital (the practice) and by that not a "real" school, it is a fact that it meant a certain liberation of the training but consequently still within the medical field with regard to the double function in a subordinated position and the same pattern can be seen in the textbooks. At the beginning, the textbooks were written by doctors, but from 1926 the nurses have contributed as authors of one of the chapters about nursing. From 1956, the nurses wrote their own textbook in nursing plus a textbook about the *history* of the profession. When the textbooks continued to deal with the subject of medicine to a great extent as well as being organized around the functions of the doctor, in the way my analyses show, it is not an attempt of throwing doxa over, but simply an attempt to define their own position within the medical field. If it was an attempt to throw doxa over or withdraw from the field, the textbooks would contain a theory of its own about nursing and not the theory of medicine and there is no such theory of its own in the books. The texts in the textbooks about nursing is all the time about practice, consequently a rationalization of practice and in no time any beginning of a theory of its own.

In the textbooks from 1926-27, the speech of or the ideology of nursing is appearing as being sensible in correspondence with the actual function, when among other things it is written by the nurse that the nurse should obey the doctor. In the textbooks from 1956-58, it seems to be the same correspondence between what is said and the nurse's function. The nurse speaks here for example about general nursing *and special* nursing, cp. that the nurse now is an assistant to a practical expert. However, in that, that this series of textbook now has an independent own book in the theories of nursing and a book about the history of the profession, this means that there is a tendency to understand nursing without being an assistant to the doctor, which is a separate field, consequently separated from medicine. This means an understanding of care and treatment as two separated functions. Consequently, a nursing ideology is about that, the nurse has a field of her own, that she herself administrates and decides without being the doctor's assistant in the treatment. This nursing ideology is not possible to find in the textbooks from 1956-58, even if the American nurse Virginia Henderson's book was translated to Danish and published by the union Dansk Sygeplejeråd in 1955, with an outline of precisely this nursing ideology. Karin Anna Petersen writes in her master's degree, that the nurses after the Second World War tried to redefine the profession apart from being the clinical assistant to the doctor that it should mean an *independent field of nursing responsibility*.

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Petersen states, that in a selected work from 1963-1969 which was started by the nurses' union Dansk Sygeplejeråd about a valuation of the nurses' training is a reference to Virginia Henderson's book.[198] The reason, why this idea about nursing as an independent field can not be found in the textbooks from 1956-58, is due to the fact that textbooks are a rationalization of existent practice, while Henderson's book is an intellectual construction from an effort that rather is a wishful thinking or a compensation.

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OUTLINE OF NURSING IN MEDICAL FIELD

ABOUT INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION OF CONCEPTS AND PRACTICE

Kristian Larsen

Introduction

Within several academic disciplines, professions - and their respective educations, we can observe efforts and demands for steadily more freedom of action and autonomy. This issue is especially relevant for those disciplines based on mid-level non-university educations and perhaps to a lesser degree those with either extended university or very shorter training. The former category (involving universities and institutions of higher learning, i.e., medical, law and pharmacist schools, etc.) have already acquired a degree of autonomy, while for the latter typically 1-2 years education as laboratory technicians, electricians and machinists, achieving such professional autonomy is not possible because these groups are placed outside and below their respective fields. One can thus imagine that the mid-level professions, such as social workers, teachers, day care pedagogues and nurses who have 3-4 years post-secondary education, struggling to achieve more autonomy, primarily mediated through institutions such as trade unions, but also via professional associations and as individuals. The professional ambition to develop 'an independent professional language of nursing', and descriptions of specialised nursing classification systems (ICNP or NANDA) are well described by Ramhøj, Egerud and Taleman (2000). At the same time, it appears as if these mid-ranking professional groups have and feel that 'their wings are clipped' or that they are professionally constrained. They do not regulate the field themselves, they cannot succeed in controlling and obtaining a monopoly on who exercises the profession, what kind of knowledge and tools are developed in the field, nor can they control how the knowledge, including the language, is

produced. What is experienced as a lack of autonomy has many historical and social explanations? In an analysis of the 'production side' of nursing science, i.e. an examination of 65 theses written by Swedish nurses, Ingrid Heyman (1995) has shown a dominance of medical framing, such that nurses' research is viewed predominantly as an instrument for the improvement of practice and an individual focus is characteristic. Karin Anna Petersen (1998), inspired by the work of Bourdieu (1984) and Heyman (1995), has shown that we can speak of a nursing science as a sub-field not under but within the medical field, as part of medicine. In this article, the medical field is understood as a centuries' old socially prestigious activity and symbolic system (e.g., use of special concepts, classifications and logics). It is male-dominated and oriented toward a) maintaining or raising the profession's (primarily physicians') social position, and b) healing patients (on the background of medical examination and diagnosis). In the field, treatment is via operative or medicinal intervention with reference to evidential or scientific documentation, pointed out as unique. Those who legitimate the field (primarily physicians), possess exclusive, i.e., socially accepted and hard-to-obtain, competencies which are legitimated partly via the state's authorization.

In the field, medical and administrative knowledge about examinations, operations and treatments constitutes the desired and monopolised capital. Access to capital and positions in the field is regulated via special mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, such as via social groups, including family dynasties, associations and medical organisations and committees, as well as by reference to long educations as doctors and subsequent medical specialisations. In the self-understanding of the medical field and formulated in the physician's oath (Third General Assembly of the International Medical Association, London, October 1949), the physician's task is described as a nearly altruistic treatment of sick people, as a denial of the economy. Pierre Bourdieu, in Homo Academicus (1984), breaks with this understanding. He positions medicine as a "scientised" profession and academic medical study on the right pole of academic studies, i.e., that which is closest to a social order function in direct connection with the economic and political power (Bourdieu 1984).

Petersen describes nursing science as another type of medicine, with a multiplicity of paradigms which operate under a common doxa, but nevertheless as subordinate (ibid. pp. 54, 484). For Heyman and Petersen, the focus is on the dynamics of the production of nursing research knowledge and on the possible development of an independent nursing science, both of which are considered in relation to the science of medicine.

This article discusses knowledge of nursing as practice, and specifically, why this and perhaps other disciplines have difficulties in

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achieving the desired professional autonomy. It is based on data in the form of concepts and observed 'nursing practice' within the medical field. I argue here that the experience of practitioners, management and organizational specialists within nursing, the experience of being constrained in their efforts to gain autonomy, reflects the fact that they indeed *are* constrained, and that this constraining process is taking place in an unnoticed way, e.g., in that which has not yet been articulated as 'something', in the natural, in the self-evident. This article focuses at the micro level, but it is related to a generalized concept of field as used in the work of Bourdieu.

Point of departure and perspectives

The article derives from questions about how one can describe and explain a phenomenon such as nursing, which I found relevant in my doctoral research on the known and unknown aspects of nurses' practical education (Larsen 2000). Something should be pointed out as an object and someone as informants, etc. In earlier research (Larsen 1993, 1995), I had found that the environment in terms of nurses' own construction, did not generate comprehensive answers as to who were sources of the student nurses' knowledge. In 90% of the observed sequences, the nursing students experienced that the textbooks, nurses, and nursing instructors were their teachers, including cases where the knowledge acquired had not actually come from their textbooks, where the nurses were not present, and where the knowledge was not transmitted in the classroom. In this connection, it became clear that the agents themselves (the students, nurses and educational system) failed to notice that the students made considerable use of their own life historical and bodily experience and that they also relied on the patients as teachers. The nursing profession (e.g., via individuals, the trade union and membership lists) immediately invites us to take its own concepts as research concepts and thereby its classifications and logics. This will not be discussed in any more detail here, but it is central to Bourdieu's work that the concepts used by the object cannot be transmitted to the concepts of research in an unmediated fashion. We know all too well and all too adequately about learning in practice seen as a result of the student's ability to implement theory via reflection, critical awareness and advisors. It is a dominant philosophy of learning. This is also the case with nursing, which operates with concepts of 'the patient at the centre', 'care for the whole individual, physically, psychically, socially and religiously', etc.[199]

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[199] In the formulation of objectives, comprehensive intentions are declared, such as 'Nursing is a physical, psychic and socially holistically oriented caring function, which is directed toward caring for the sick patient;' or: 'The goal is that the nursing student independently and critically, in accord with nursing theory and method, carries out

Such phrases are often produced out of good intentions, and they are occasionally descriptive of reality, but they are just as often in contradiction with it and perhaps mask the absence of such a practice. One can perhaps say that the more prevalent the rhetoric of 'the patient at the centre of nursing', the more grounds we have to fear that the patient is in on the margins. When it is a case of further or more knowledge, one must establish another way of thinking of one's object that proceeds by theoretically constructing one's object. It involves developing descriptive and explanatory concepts other than those concepts, which seem so self-evident. It is in this context that one places a parenthesis around spontaneous constructions of nursing and learning. They operate and are necessary in the everyday practice, but these concepts are useless as tools for theoretical analysis.

The perspective of this article is theoretical, but it can also be seen as an attempt at consciousness-raising by bringing up the un-discussed aspects of nursing practice (Bourdieu 1977 a), i.e., the underlying or hidden factors which may play an essential role as impeding and challenging a discipline to achieve autonomy or independence. This perspective on nursing is not critical of the profession or normative, apart from the fact that nursing is taken as an object and brought to the level of discourse.[200] No completed analysis is presented of the relations between medicine and nursing, medical and nursing concepts, etc. Rather, focus is on describing some general features of practice and concepts in nursing on the background of both marginal and central aspects, with an empirical focus on the practical training of future nurses. The analysis is based on direct observation of practice and interviews with those involved, supplemented by discourse analysis of various textual materials used in nurse's training. The analysis occupies a place in current discussions within the health and nursing fields, but it is also relevant for non-health occupations and educations within the social and pedagogical fields, where occupational autonomy is on the agenda.[201]

As the article is based on empirical data from my doctoral research on practical training of and learning among especially eight nursing students, a short description of this research is necessary. It was an observational study, which also included interviews and use of documents from the field. Data was collected over an eight-month period at two Copenhagen hospitals and nursing schools. Although the study had both comparative and chronological dimensions, this paper uses only the chronological part

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preventive, treatment, palliative and rehabilitative professional nursing oriented to the individual's resources, norms and values'.

[200] A research-oriented focus is not an anonymous activity. It takes part and is co-constructed, via the 'choice of object', for example, and brings to the level of discourse and emphasises otherwise misrecognized areas.

[201] Parts of this study concerning crisis relations have previously been published in Larsen (2000 b).

of the students' learning process over the training period of 3 years and 9 months. With a conceptual foundation departing from Bourdieu's work on the educational system (1977 b), 'the break', object construction, field and Broady's (1991) reconstruction of research principles in the historical epistemology, as well as the work of other researchers, nursing was constructed as an administrative position within the medical field, and the patient was seen as a teacher. The non-participatory, relational and objectifying observational study included three observational categories, and the observations generated both quantitative and qualitative data. The research was also inspired by the work of the philosopher of language Ludwig Wittgenstein (1995) and the phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1994) as well as by the Dreyfus brothers' (1986) theory of competence development as a contrast to Bourdieu's theory of practice.

Excursus on recognition and professional expertise as social and historical products

In the same manner that social preferences such as taste and aesthetics are not sufficient 'in themselves', social practices, including professional practices such as the practice of the profession, are interpreted as something that must be analysed *relationally* and *historically*, not substantially or a-historically. The possession of technical competence, being able to wash clothes, to cut and sew cloth, to dress an elderly person or to cut and suture on a surgical patient, does not in itself represent capital. Recognition builds upon the group's beliefs, which are constituted over time, in a social context and especially through a struggle between beliefs. Hence, the doctor's 'magic hands' in performing abdominal and intestinal surgery are attributed greater social legitimacy than the kind of manual skill demonstrated by the nurse's aid in dressing an elderly patient. The knowledge is bodily and so is the legitimacy. That the legitimacy is so strong is due to the fact that everyone, including the nurse's aid, mentally and bodily perceives and acts in the world according to this model. They both know that only the doctor has the 'magic hands'. The nurse's aid (or the doctor) may occasionally reflect upon the arbitrariness in the distribution of legitimacy and on the profane aspects of this valuation, e.g., wage differentials, but no one can *live* this arbitrariness. The arbitrariness simply exists, like the air they breathe. The power relation between doctor/nurse's aides, surgical skills/dressing skills, is viewed as given by nature, as self-evident. Bourdieu explains this as a total homology (Bourdieu 1996:155) between the two social structures (social organization of labour between the sexes, organisation of time and space) and the cognitive structures, which are inscribed in the individuals' (both sexes) bodies and

worldviews. The homologies are reproduced primarily through the educational system. That is, the dominated class non-reflectively apply the perceptual matrices and criteria of evaluation which are born out of the relation of domination, and which (simultaneously) contribute to their interpreting and construing the relation from the viewpoint of the dominated, i.e., as natural.

Production of content

Whereas Heyman and Petersen 'from above' explain the high degree of medical structuring of nursing and its penetration of knowledge and scientific development, the empirical data here is presented 'from below', from the practice of nursing and the practical training of nursing students. The perspective in the following is: to understand what nursing is, one must look beyond the declarations of nurses and instead construct theoretical concepts. In the text, four empirical examples are given of different ways and within different analytical levels, signalling how nursing is embedded in medicine. The examples illustrate how the nursing profession's pursuit of autonomy, understood as the promotion of nursing's own concepts, classifications, and logics, is in fact impeded by the embedding of these very concepts, classifications and logics within the discourse of medical science.

1. Medical discourses in the medical field. Crisis theory, a dominant professional prescription in nursing.

Professional prescriptions for good nursing appear in the environment as having been selected by the nurses themselves and as universal. In the observational study, a professional prescription has been operationalised as an observational category connected to observing nursing students' professional work. The point of departure is Johan Cullberg's crisis theory (1993). Cullberg's *Krise og Udvikling* (Crisis and Development, 1993) is listed as a primary reference text in the theoretical curricula of both the Danish nursing schools studied, notably in that part of psychology training which concerns crisis theory. Within the various versions of crisis theory, only Cullberg's version has gained official status of being the scientifically grounded theory, the 'correct' theory.

   In the following, I briefly summarize some of the underlying principles in both the dominant, official prescriptive action (Cullberg's crisis theory) and in some unofficial subordinate action prescriptions (alternative 'crisis theories'), where the latter are understood as being on

the periphery of the medical field or wholly outside it. My purpose here is to point out some characteristics of the dominant and subordinate 'crisis theories' as well as some contradictions between them. Nothing is argued about how the nurses act in their relations with the patients or whether one can speak of scientific prescriptions for action. The discussion here is about what *concepts* are utilized and what concepts are *excluded* when relations with the 'crisis patients' are discussed, identified and developed by the nurses, but also by researchers in the field. The intent here is to understand how nursing, i.e. as part of medicine, includes some theories (as its own) and excludes others, which in a long-term professional strategy might have been the basis of developing their 'own' professional scientific discipline.

Johan Cullberg's theory of crisis is founded upon Freud's theories of psychosexual development and Eriksson's theories of psychosocial developmental stages. Focus is placed on the following factors; there is *one* individual who is *stricken by crisis*; the crisis is produced by an '*external* act', an 'unexpected life situation' which leads to an *internal* 'experience of abandonment, self-rejection and/or chaos'. Cullberg cites several examples of how illness, surgery, etc. can generate such crises. The activity, which is conceived to alleviate the crisis, focuses on the crisis-stricken individual and one or more other persons as actors. These others may be the trained therapist or someone who has the 'therapeutic attitude'. Cullberg notes that most people in crisis 'never receive professional contacts, but that many crisis-stricken persons are nevertheless confronted with general knowledge and life experience without conscious psychological theories' (ibid. p. 172). The objective of the activity is to 'support the patient's/client's *own* healing resources.' The principles in Cullberg's crisis therapy are that the therapist, via knowledge of the crisis' nature and sequence (ibid. p. 171), in verbal communication with the crisis-stricken person, works with the goals such that the patient freely feels able to express his or her feelings of sorrow, pain, guilt and aggression, etc. (ibid. p. 171). The relationship between crisis-stricken individual and the therapist must be characterized by a bodily and verbal openness about the crisis/trauma, and through the psychoanalytical and social-psychiatric perspectives, the therapist can *actively* confront the crisis-stricken person with what is pointed out as *the traumatic*. Crisis therapy is thus a physical encounter between the therapist and the crisis-stricken individual, and the means of communication is *verbal*.

1.2. Subordinated, dominated and unofficial professional prescriptions in nursing

As knowledge about the social space and the medical field, a brief description is given of other versions or interpretations of what constitutes a "crisis", i.e., a difficult human situation, what generates such a situation, who or what can relieve it, how it is labelled, etc. The following does not represent a complete description of the 'market' of crisis ideas; it is but an outline of the competing versions. It is represented by hetero-doxa, and some of these versions may even be termed 'alternatives'. A review of 'other courses' offered in addition to the officially approved nursing courses (offered by the Danish Nursing Council or DSR), as published in the professional journal *Sygeplejersken* (The Nurse) in 1995 and 1996 showed that there exists a wide range of other definitions of 'difficult human situations', than those articulated by the dominant official theory. In the course advertisements from the professional journal, the following types and tendencies are mentioned: meditative, reflexology therapy, holistic, assertiveness, gestalt therapy, astrological, kinesiological, acupuncture and Christian faiths. Where Cullberg focuses on the verbal and intellectual dialogue, the 'alliterative' courses offered here, use other 'means'. This includes courses where body movement, massage, drama, or where drawing, painting, listening to music or singing helps the individual to focus on pain, suffering or 'crisis'. Such 'alternative' understandings are reflected in courses having titles such as 'Body-oriented Psychotherapy', 'Massage for Body and Mind', 'Psychodrama Workshop', 'When Clothes Speak', 'Personal Growth Groups around Body Psychotherapy', 'Death is a Matter of Life: on Death, Grieving and Near-Death Experiences', 'Bioenergetics, Dreams, Fantasy Journals', 'Drawing Therapy for Psychiatric Healers', 'Music Therapy', etc. On the peripheral market within the medical field or outside it, additional courses are offered which relate to crises in specific life stages such as 'Children, Grief and School'; or courses linked to gender issues, such as 'Women at Mid-Life'. Within the past five years, there has also occurred a rapid increase in NLP-based training, with course offerings such as 'NLP: The Key to Your Hidden Resources', or 'NLP, Communication and Change'.

   The unofficial market reflects great breadth and multiplicity, is aimed at different phenomena and has schools, which are also directly contradictory to each other. It should also be remarked that most alternative versions function within the field in the social space and make use of the legitimating tools and arrangements linked to them. Hence, we see the establishment of special educational certificates, institutions and a corps of authorized disseminators (supervisors or therapists) and examiners who ensure the distribution and control of the correct (and scarce) knowledge to the correct disciple. The certification effect reaches

deeper than the medical field. It also obtains its legitimacy within the other fields. 'Certified Body Therapist' is 'to be distinguished from' the non-certified. This parallels the use of the DMSc (Doctor of Medical Science) title. The difference between the two types of definition can be illustrated in the following way.

Dominant, official version and the dominated unofficial version

Focus on a single person—Focus on a family or group
External (framework) generates something within—Internal is activated and generates something external
The external as framework is unexpected—The internal or external is inherent/expected
Stricken by trauma—Dynamics in life/existential
Intervention directed towards and confronts the pain—Intervention directed towards the positive
Active external intervention—Active internal working through
Primacy of verbal communication—Primacy of bodily-physical communication
Insight achieved via intellectual effort—Insight achieved via bodily/artistic/spiritual/religious effort
Conducted by professionals with patient as object—Conducted by 'one self' with the help of a 'guide'

1.3 The self-evident, symbolic violence and power relations

It is hardly coincidental that crisis theory is received as an important theory in nursing because it is part of the medical field. Professional prescriptions, e.g., nursing prescriptions, serve certain functions and are parts of the struggle within the field.

Certain nursing prescriptions have greater importance because they obtain their legitimacy as scientifically grounded. Commenting on such prescriptions or attitudes, Bourdieu notes that 'in the struggle between the attitudes, the attitude which is socially recognized as scientific, that is, true, contains a purely social force' (1996:90). And in this field the power of the medical attitude, the medical power, is a monopoly on the legitimate way of viewing things, on the self-fulfilling prophecy; it is thus a power to define the correct and thereby the incorrect 'way'. This is an arbitrary (but not random) version of the culture. The medical power functions on the basis of symbolic violence. The medical language, the medical object and the medical classification is disseminated and viewed as natural, universal and self-evident in the medical field. This arbitrary

character of the version is unrecognised by the agents, i.e. the nurses. Bourdieu applies the concept of 'doxa' to denote the condition whereby the agents have inscribed the arbitrary as objective, i.e. the same criteria have become subjective criteria, i.e. criteria of perception. What is in fact arbitrary is viewed as self-evident and indisputable. Bourdieu refers to Plato about doxa as the correct meaning, which falls on the right place in general without knowing how and why it is this way.

Within the sub-field of nursing within the medical field, then, discussion may centre upon 'how to apply crisis theory in practice', 'to whom and how this theory should be taught', 'how it should be adapted to fit the patients' differing social origins, age, gender or ethnicity', etc. This can be articulated in what Bourdieu calls the 'universe of discourse or argument' (Bourdieu 1977, p. 168), as represented in the figure below.

Universe of discourse (or argument)
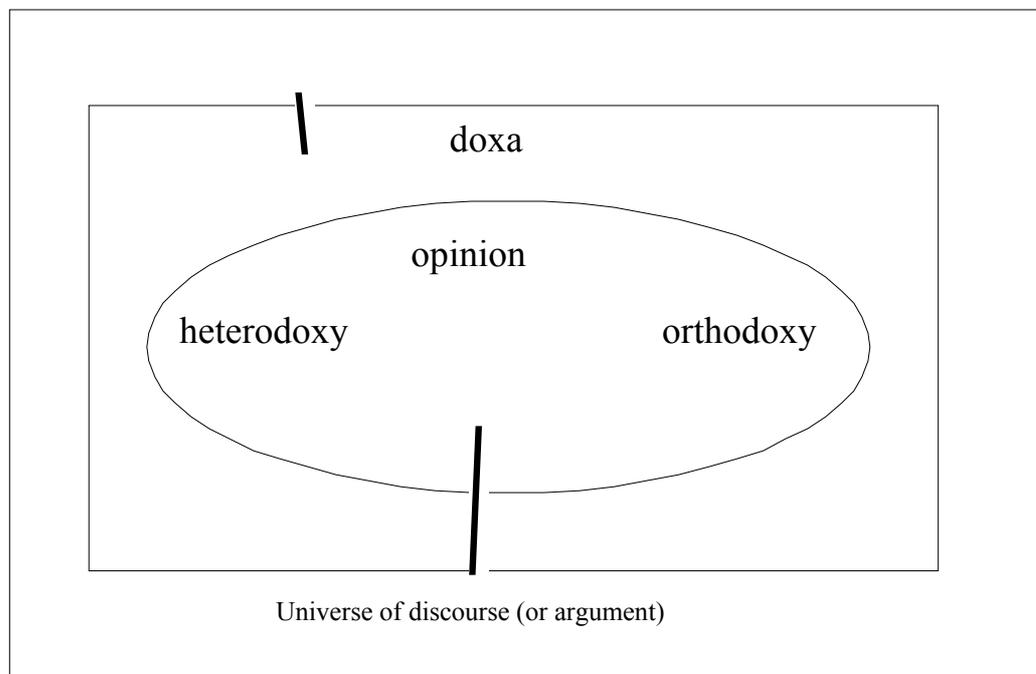
Crisis theory remains the underlying premise. It is not a topic for discussion within the sub-field of nursing within the medical field. It is a doxa, i.e., it belongs to the 'universe of the undiscussed or undisputed'. Hence, the patient *is* in crisis, and crisis theory and behaviour is needed. Crisis within a discipline is a necessary prerequisite, but not the only one, for doxa coming under challenge. Bourdieu states that the dominated classes have an interest in pushing back the boundary for doxa (that which is undisputed) such that it becomes clear that what is taken as given is precisely arbitrary (Bourdieu 1977, p. 169). For their part, those who dominate have an interest in defending the integrity of the doxa. Or

if this is not sufficient, to ensure that orthodoxa continues the struggle by defending the innocence of the doxa, e.g., hiding the arbitrariness by referring to the 'correct' meaning and mode of conceptualising the social world, e.g., via euphemisms. Heterodoxa challenges orthodoxa.

When a nursing student learns that the patient is in crisis, defined by a series of external symptoms and internal reactions, and that it necessitates the intervention of some persons (professional/legitimated) as opposed to others (ignorant, unprofessional, illegitimate), via special openness in a bodily and mental sense, then it is self-evident and natural. The student can gradually 'see' the crisis and the intervention. The crisis demands its way of dealing with it. The condition of crisis must be learned, and objectively it generates anxiety in the student, as to whether she can recall the four phases of the crisis when she stands for her examination. In order to describe how deep this process operates, one can use Wittgenstein's example, within the philosophy of language (1995), where he distinguishes between 'seeing' and 'seeing something as'. Wittgenstein asserts that normally we do not say or think: 'We see the colour as green' or even less in the imperative from 'Now see, the grass as green'. One cannot see anything 'as' something. The grass *is* green. The patient and the crisis are linked together; it has practically ontological status. This particular perspective within the market of perspectives is unnoticeably converted into *the* perspective. Only the newly started nursing student has the distance of the non-involved person to such versions. As part of learning to be a nurse, however, she must un-learn this distance along the way.

That something unnoticeable and undiscussed is converted into *the* perspective is not an anonymous activity. Not all products or classifications can be sold on the market. In order for some understandings to have greater power than others, the authority must come from outside. The power does not lie in the discourse itself. The medical understanding operates as a common treasure house, or just/only a medical version of the culture. But symbolic processes also contribute to maintaining the order of things. Symbolic systems, such as the medical version in the field, have a symbolic structure, which in its transformed form reproduces the distribution of resources and power from the non-symbolic, profane field. The homology between different fields (e.g., medical, religious, and scientific) ultimately functions to reinforce them and to reinforce relations in the profane area. The undifferentiated fields operate relatively autonomously; they can appear entirely independent of each other. But they obtain energy from each other. The strength of the relations 'scientific/alternative', 'crisis theory/alternative philosophy', 'focus on the pain/strengthen the positive', 'verbal-intellectual/bodily-practical', 'professional/layman' and 'nurse/patient in crisis' are nourished in and viewed from within the relation 'priest/laymen', 'teacher/pupil', 'parent/child', 'man/woman'.

A prescription of bodily/verbal openness, or a practice that can be observed as bodily/verbal open, is not an expression of a social struggle in functionalist terms. Nor is this the case with other distinctions in the nursing sub-field within the medical field, between what is 'nursing' and 'not-nursing'; between what within nursing is designated as 'theoretically-based nursing' and 'not theoretically-based nursing', 'good nursing' ('primary nursing')', and 'bad nursing' ('"making the rounds" nursing'). However, the classifications, which are partly distributed via the educational system, textbooks and the legitimate disseminators of the discipline, are arbitrary and historically specific versions of the culture. Hence, crisis theory, as part of an entire network of understandings, i.e., the symbolic representation within the field because the fields operate independently of each other, can effectively contribute to legitimating profane conditions. The learning and exercise of the medical practice, including crisis theory with classification, etc., is a form of symbolic violence, a means of maintaining the non-symbolic violence, which lies in the profane relations between the dominant and the dominated, with reference to economy and political power. Symbolic violence, as Callewaert (1996) states, is a means of carrying out this imprinting on the body.

2. Medical practices in the medical field

It is not only at the conceptual level but also as practice that nursing is part of the logics in the medical field. In the following, three examples are given from the empirical study; the analysis focuses both on students' classroom training and in their practical work at the two Copenhagen hospitals. Tendencies are presented in how the work between doctors, nurses and social and health workers is *organized*, *whom* the nursing students regard as important teachers and, finally, *what* kind of knowledge is considered important.

2.1. Medical activity defines nursing activity

Medical activities such as examining and treating patients and secondary activities such as patient care, attending to their hygiene, sleep and eating, etc., take place 24 hours per day, throughout the week and the year. Doctors, nurses, and hospital assistants are constantly present in the hospital, but this general observation overlooks the fact that the involved agents are present in certain patterns in the hospital wards, including a different investment and distance. As a minor excursus, the dominant positions (doctors) in the field invest considerably in order to maintain or improve their position. The dominated positions (nurses and others), who are peripheral, have less with which to invest, and less to win, making a

virtue out of necessity, e.g., by maintaining a distance to (and critique of) the activity and via the use of part-time positions.[202] Nevertheless, the pattern is that relatively *high* activity in the medical treatment is empirically linked to a relatively *high* degree of activity within the secondary activities such as administration and care giving. During the weekday day-shifts (8am-3pm), there is large-scale attendance by the personnel, i.e., among the doctor group and the caring staff in general. An average estimate of the distribution between day, evening, night and weekend shifts among the care personnel (excluding students and trainees) in the respective hospital wards is calculated at: 7,2 persons (day); 3,5 persons (evening); 2,3 persons (night) and 4,7 persons (weekend/day).

Medical treatment activity is most intense during the weekday day shifts. During this period, patients are admitted, operations carried out on scheduled patients, and recovering patients undergo various examinations and blood tests. Other activities also take place connected to hygiene, distribution of medicine, rehabilitation, instruction, etc. After 4 pm, the medical treatment activity goes on 'stand-by'. The on-call personnel take over the doctor's tasks and the care-giving duties. Here it is the younger doctors who undertake the ad hoc tasks such as monitoring patients in poor condition and receiving and eventually operating on emergency patients. Insofar as the senior staff physicians are present (back watch) it is most often because they have been called in for tasks, which the younger doctors cannot handle. This is not to say that the senior physicians are not present in the evening or night shifts. Rather, the tendency is that, for example, an emergency patient brought in on a Sunday evening will most likely be seen by the resident staff physician rather than by the supervising staff physician. Conversely, when there are many doctors at work, many nurses and other care-giving personnel are also likely to be present.

Behind the general pattern lies another pattern within the care-giving group: The relatively more frequent presence during the day shift, but also during the week and the month, of the dominant positions within the medical field, (doctor and senior physicians), is associated with *high* presence among those who find themselves directly under these positions, i.e., the relatively dominant group among the care-giving personnel (head nurses, ward nurses, and nurses and their subordinates) and a corresponding relatively *low* presence of those who are relatively dominated among the dominated caring group, (i.e., the group of social and health assistants and nurses aides, as well as their subordinates, the

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[202] Whereas the doctors' group does not utilise part-time positions, the nursing group, placed under the doctors' group, does so to a high degree (each hospital nurse occupies, on average, 86% of a full-time position). Part-time positions are utilized to an even higher degree by the nurse's aides (each nurse's aid having an average of 83% of a full-time position).

social and health assistant trainees). The relative proportions of staff, which is an ongoing updating of the result of struggles between the professional groups over time in the field, between nurses and nurse's aides averages two nurses to one nurse's aide. However, the distribution of nurses and nurse's aides during the day shift is 3:1, while on the evening shift the proportion declines to 2:1, reaching 1:1 on the night shift. All the figures are with great dispersion, but the pattern is the same.

One can conclude that it is medical activity, and not what could be described as 'patient needs' ('patient at the centre', 'holistic care') which determines the physical proximity of the nursing agents. What in nursing terminology could be defined as the 'patient's needs' does not necessarily parallel the relative *presence* and *rhythm* of the activity of the doctor group. The patients' care and needs are not necessarily 'high' on Tuesday morning and 'low' on Sunday evening. One could even argue that the opposite is often the case. Nursing, as it appears in the patterns of work hours, is an unnoticed and marginal area. But it indicates that nursing obtains importance as a professional activity only in relation to the doctors' practice of *medicine* rather than in relation to patient. In this empirically based theoretical construction of the object, nursing is oriented primarily toward collecting and disseminating that data/knowledge about the patients' biological body which is relevant for the medical treatment system; only secondarily is nursing practice about the care and attention provided to the patient. The nurses' own ideological construction is that, during the care and attention to the entire person, data is collected for the nursing care and then secondarily for the medical needs. However, the patient is washed, groomed and attended to, because he or she is being hospitalised for an operation or for treatment, not the reverse.

2.2. Nurses and doctors viewed as teachers

During the training period, i.e., as part of her education and socialisation, the nursing student alters her view of what should be taught and who can be viewed as teachers. The tendency is that during the initial internships on the hospital wards, the student nurse tends to find herself in the hospital ward in both the architectonic and mentally peripheral space of the hospital. Students often spend long blocs of time with the patients, i.e., over a half-hour. They wash, groom, change and feed the patients and provide what could be called 'comprehensive care'. The medically specific aspects, in the form of caring for wounds, sores, injections, preparation for surgery, etc. is left to the elder students or to the trained nurses. In such an initial phase of their education, the students are quite open about what can be learned and by whom. They can say, 'I learned from what you asked me about Kristian (the researcher)'. 'I learn just by being on the ward and listening to the patients', etc. The longer the

student has been in training, however, the greater the tendency for sources of learning to be restricted primarily to nursing instructors, other nurses, and doctors; it is these individuals who can be viewed as teachers, and the content of learning is conceived to be transmitted verbally. The student now talks about nursing in terms of 'we' and not 'them'. At the end of their training, a student can experience periods on the hospital ward where she 'has learned nothing', feeling that she has been walking around as 'pure labour' for a week because her supervising nurse has not been on the ward.

Appendix. Model of changes in the student's education over time.[203]

Subjective experience of learning	Initial phase	Middle phase	Final phase
Types of references for own learning.	Manifold references Creative and Nuanced	Legitimate References	Legitimate references Conformist and conventional.
What is pointed out as important in learning?	Patient-related events and experiences. Patients' different forms of reaction, their injuries, pains.	Medically related tasks and events. Ward rounds, 'coloscopy' change of stomy, 'sterile techniques', injection.	Medical and administrative events. Discharge procedures, ordering of home nursing care, writing up the patient's case in journals
When learning takes place.	Continual learning		Learning when the events and masters are present.
Who is pointed out as teacher?	Multiplicity of teachers. Teachers as other students, patients, oneself, nurses, etc.	Learn selectively.	Learn exclusively. Learn from nurses, nursing instructors and doctors.

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[203] Large-scale changes during the three years and nine months take place during the three phases of training: the beginning, middle and end phases. These phases cannot be related to concrete empirical individuals' movements via an entire educational sequence (from internship I to II and III), or to a specified internship period (from start to finish of internship II, for example).

Objectified descriptions	Initial phase	Middle phase	Final phase
Physical and mental orientation	Oriented toward the patient room, linen depot, and corridor areas. 'Visits the office and the office landscape'.	On the way from the patient room, food cart and linen depot to the office landscape.	Oriented toward the office landscape. 'Visits the patient room, wash room and storage rooms'.
Students' participation in examinations.	Accompanies the patient to examinations in order to support the patient and to observe what is happening.	Accompanies the patient to examinations in order to observe what is happening and to support the patient.	Accompany the patient to examination for the sake of the examination, to observe different kinds of examinations.
Dominant statement in relation to pain and patients.	'Dora Jensen has a stomach ache!'	'Mrs. Jensen in room 2, bed 3, has pains in her stomach!'	'The Chrohn (disease) woman in room 2, bed 3, has abdominal pains!'
Position in relation to the activity.	Outside. Observer, student.	In the entry process. Advocate for the patient.	Inside. Advocate for the (medical) system.

As indicated in the table, during the training period, there occurs a change and sharpening of the student's orientation, utilisation of concepts and attitudes regarding who is a legitimate disseminator of knowledge. However, it is possible to demonstrate that patients, other students as well as artefacts and architecture (Larsen 2001) also contribute to the learning process, and most of the knowledge acquired is disseminated unconsciously, via the body. However, such teachers and modes of learning become increasingly unacknowledged by the students as their training proceeds. To become a nurse, i.e., to undergo the education, is linked closely with the fact that the student learns not to acknowledge certain kinds of teachers and certain sources of learning.

2.3 Acquiring medical and administrative knowledge

As the training proceeds, medical and specific administrative knowledge acquires an increasing role for the student as the important topics for learning. This type of knowledge is closely linked to what they do and where they are placed in the architecture of the hospital. At the start of their training, the concept 'a heavy patient' connotes a physically heavy patient, which necessitates that care-giving personnel need 'a hand' when the patient is to be turned over, placed on a chair, etc. In the final phase, however, the term 'heavy' connotes a patient who needs to undergo many tests on the day in question, entailing that the student must talk a lot on the phone, write up many slips and forms, enter a lot of data into the card file, and locate the patient's journal and coordinate several examinations and treatment procedures.

It is also the medical and administrative knowledge that nurses use most time in teaching the students about which they show the greatest enthusiasm. Here is a transcript from a nurse's instruction of a student. It is in many ways characteristic of the type of 'theory' and the content, which is disseminated from the nurses to the students, or from the senior student nurses to the juniors. The nurse and a first-year student sit at a table in the office, and the 'lesson' centres on a patient about to undergo examination in the abdomen and intestines via insertion of a scope, a procedure which also entails that the patient is injected with a contrast solution.

Nurse: O.K., again, esophagus, the ventricle. You say 'when' if there is anything you don't understand. The duodenum, and then there is a hole with this sphincter. When it relaxes, it opens up. [The nurse draws on a sheet of paper and the student looks at the drawing. During the entire conversation, the nurse and the student gaze at the drawing, with the nurse gradually adding more detail].

Student: Yes.

Nurse: [Pointing to the drawing and speaking abruptly] the pathway up to the pancreas. And there is the path to the gall bladder, there's the liver here and the gall bladder down there, right. And then go on. Here comes the large intestine. Use the scope when you have a normal intestine. There is where you [the doctors are characteristically described as 'you' or 'one'] go all the way down to…

Student: Yes, I know.

Nurse: …down passed the mouth of the stomach. From here you go up with the scope, spray the contrast solution this way up. [The nurse mimics 'spraying' the contrast solution in front of herself. The student follows]. () There is the large bile canal up to the gall bladder, and then you spray the contrast in because you see it on the video camera […] Then it is scanned simultaneously.

Student: Umm-hmm [affirmative]

Nurse: In fact it's important… It's an X-ray examination you know, so what you get is really an X-ray. But you can see into the canal, plus you also can take the picture from a bit outside.

Student: Yes, OK.

Nurse: One has often seen the picture. Then you can just see it down there with the stone in the canal. Then maybe there are small dark things lying there, hiding. So when we inject the contrast solution, it goes up into the pancreas channel so that it can go up and irritate the pancreas. It irritates it. It's very sensitive, it can be irritated, so you can get an infection in the pancreas, you know?

[One can practically feel from within how 'irritable' the pancreas is via these words and the accompanying emphasis and body language from the nurse.]

Student: [Agreeing] Um-hmm

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Nurse: Sometimes you [i.e., the doctor] can cut into it, so it opens up, and then some stones can pass out from the gall channels if it's something gravel-like or concrament-like. Then it can out that way. Otherwise it gets pushed in, and then lies there and irritates its way down the gall canal.

[The nurse continues to explain how the patient's pulse and blood pressure need to be measured before the procedure, and that morphine should be given (to dull the pain). She then returns to the examination, possible complications and explanations for the rise in temperature and the fall in blood pressure. The "lesson" continues regarding the fall in blood pressure].

Nurse: For example, if you have a hole here. [The nurse points to her nearly completed drawing of the abdomen and intestinal canal and the large organs linked to it. The student looks on]. In one or another organ and it 'stands' and bleeds, then the pressure into the veins will fall. [The nurse indicates the fall in the pressure by lowering her hand].

Student: Yes.

Nurse: Also because one can react by collecting all the blood. The entire flow goes into the vital organs when there is something which bleeding, then the pressure will fall. It's because it all pumps over there, and then it just f-l-o-w-s out. If you get an infection in the pancreas, for example, then the pulse rate will also increase, and the blood pressure will also fall, because it works like an infection, and you can get very sick from it, and you can also get sick if bile has flowed out. Then you'll react like we talked about before. You'll react to it as if it were a foreign object that has entered the body. This is how a normal person would function. So if there are some bodily fluids or some bacteria which move about in the body, then a reaction occurs, you know? And you react to it like an infection, even though it is not bacteria, right. But it functions like bacteria when there is fluid or something where it shouldn't be [There is an interruption in the office. The nurse continues]. In fact it's really like an inflammation. In fact it is both. It acts like poison for the body when it passes out somewhere where it shouldn't be. For bacteria on the skin there, I don't know if you've had pathogenic bacteria [at nursing school], they are skin bacteria. [The student looks as if she has studied this topic.] If these bacteria suddenly enter a wound, they become dangerous or poisonous to the body and can mean an infection risk. They are not a risk when they just live high up on our skin, and the skin is closed, you know. Intestinal bacteria should be in the intestines, and they must not be outside it. You know, so it's also pathogenic, right? [Again an interruption]. Where were we? It's a good examination to go down and observe.

Student: It was skin bacteria.

[The nurse continues to talk about the bacteria, about the body as an ecological system, the abdominal cavity, the examination, which the

patient will undergo, and a curt supervising physician who will carry out the examination].

Nurse: And don't worry if he is a bit brusque with you down there, it's because he's preoccupied. In fact he's very nice. He's good at explaining, you should just ask him, he loves to explain.

This is one of many, often prolonged and even more specific teaching situations in 'theory', rules and rule systems within nursing, within medicine. It is confusing and interrupted by reading, where the 'life' in the action is reduced to text (see Larsen 2001), but the student experiences this type of teaching, often labelled 'theory', as important and relevant, which of course it is.

The teaching from the nurse to the student, both in the office and while waiting in the ward or for a toilet to become vacant, consists three-fourths of the time of instruction within medicine and medically related areas. These areas could include anatomy and physiology (stomach-intestinal system and associated organs and their functions), pharmacology (penicillin, analgesics, laxatives), medical examinations (various forms of X-ray, scanning and ultrasound examinations), surgical procedures (intestinal and organ operations in connection with diseases such as Morbus Chrohn and Colitis Ulcerosa) or teaching within administrative procedures (who may make entries and what is to be written in what kind of documents). The tendency is for such medical knowledge to be taught with a point of departure in a specific patient, and for the patient's condition (illness, diagnosis, treatment, examinations, etc.) to become the driving force behind the teaching, i.e., reasoning out loud and explaining various diagnoses, other treatment principles or examinations. This means that on any given day there occurs instruction about similar areas and with similar content, but with changing teachers and using different patients as cases. The bodily teaching is communicated by the nurses themselves 'on paper', 'in the air', or on 'their own stomach'; they can 'execute', i.e. act out such examinations or operations which they describe verbally, via choice of words, emphasis, pauses and tone of the voice. With great involvement and step by step, nurses describe the examinations and operations which the doctors would execute, not the nurses themselves. The drawings and illustrations follow the surgeon's 'scalpel', the anatomy where the ball of food cannot pass the cancerous lump, the 'bacteria' which penetrate into the bloodstream, or the perspective is the 'path of the scope' up through the intestines and up into the gall canals.

What is essential here is that the students learn at least two 'lessons'? First, they are taken seriously, time is reserved and much energy used in communicating to *them*, despite the numerous interruptions and often considerable time pressure. Second, the student learns a considerable amount about *what nursing is* as practice, and that this practice is often quite different from how nursing is transmitted verbally, in the textbooks

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and in the scholastic part of their education.[204] The inclusion of the medical and administrative perspectives has a structural function of excluding several other factors, which are *not* discussed as important.

It is clear that nurses also discuss and teach care giving (the importance of closeness, the reactions of a patient in crisis, and practicing good care in this connection). However, it is not this type of phenomena, which predominate in the activities of the nursing group, either verbally or as practice. Nor is it the work of care, which causes anxiety for the student, but rather, the hazards associated with administrative duties, e.g. writing in the wrong document or using the wrong colour pen, etc.

3. Autonomy, but on medical premises

Within nursing, a series of efforts have been established to gain autonomy. Within the medical field, there is also a degree of space for 'own' concepts and activities. The nursing group can 'develop' and 'apply' independent and special associations, clubs, internment interviews, nursing card filing systems, nursing journals, guidelines for writing articles, including bibliographies for the professional journal *Sygeplejersken*[205] ('The Nurse'), etc. as long as it is a case of patients (ill/healthy), medically classified illness with outbreak, operation times, medical/surgical treatment, i.e., as long as use is made of *medical classification* and *logic from the medical field*. In general terms, one can say that autonomy is given to nursing within the medical field, only when nursing activities are seen as peripheral in a medical context: e.g. dressing and undressing an elderly, arthritic, non-operated, inoperable and non-medicinally treatable women who will soon be discharged.

From a nursing care perspective, several small battles may appear to be won: within the nursing group, for example, there emerge several associations, institutional contexts (research institutions) and their own agents of judgment (nurses as referees for nursing articles). Similarly, the professional group can initiate its own collection of its own data in the nursing card filing system and the nursing journals, etc. In the major battles however, nursing loses terrain: the nursing groups, federations and

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[204] On the basis of viewpoints that normative theories must and can be converted into practice by practitioners, there is frequent discussion of a 'gap' between ideal and reality (communicated, respectively, in the theory and practical parts of the training), in evaluation reports, professional journals and textbooks. The tendency is especially widespread in the mid-level educations, where theory and research affiliation are an important tool in the struggle for professional and social credit. This is somewhat different from most of the established academic educations (theology, law, medicine), where the occupational position is consolidated via generations. Everyone 'knows' that the surgeon's 'magic hands' are based on and can be referred back to science. He does not have to call attention to it. If he does, it is because he is about to loose credit.
[205] The Danish Nurses Organization (DNO), www.sygeplejersken.dk

associations, which emerge, are generally divided up and classified medically. As an example, the professional associations (16 out of 27) have largely grouped themselves around classifications from the medical field according to type of illness: hence, there is the 'Professional Association of Nurses Who Care for Patients with Ear, Nose and Throat Diseases' and the 'Professional Association of Nurses Who Work with Infection and Tropical Medicine Nursing, Including Nursing to HIV and AIDS Patients.' Nine of these 27 associations have grouped themselves under administrative classifications such as 'Professional Association of Managing Nurses', while two associations have grouped themselves under the institutional, specifically (primary) sectional classification such as 'Professional Association of Nurses at [the secondary] Psychiatric Institutions, Caring Institutions and Prisons'. Evaluations of nurses who apply their 'own' judgemental criteria make use of these medical designations. Such division and classifications, which are established, have as their underlying 'music' the medical 'melody', in the form of similar reference systems in the professional journals, similar terminology (ethics, validity, generalizibility), and similar methodological considerations and divisions (qualitative/quantitative). Hence, the nurse's data collection tools are designated 'nurse journals', and they contain categories and logics similar to the medically dominated paradigm.

That the efforts of the nursing profession to achieve autonomy are partially achieved can be attributed to successful actions undertaken by agents and institutions within nursing. But it can just as well be explained by conversion strategies within medicine. One can envision that the medical field on the one hand loses terrain in the form of reduction or re-distribution of the group's relative social status, and it is also challenged by the so-called 'alternative'.[206]

The concept itself outlines, confirms and cements the ranking: first medicine followed by non-medicine, Para medicine or alternative. These

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[206] According to Bourdieu, a discipline is proletarised when the proportion of women within it increases; here he emphasizes medicine (interview on Danish Radio, 16 January 1999). In Denmark, a high proportion of women have entered the medical educations. In 1994, Denmark's medical faculties (including human biology) contained 2,436 women and 1,739 men (Statistical Yearbook 1996, p. 121). It can be argued that medical education in Denmark has become feminised (proletarised). But behind the visible differences= lie the invisible similarities with respect to gender and domination. Bourdieu notes that within medicine, the most prestigious specialities such as surgery continue to remain 80% male. In Denmark, the same structure within the medical field has been maintained, in so far as the position of head physician within the most prestigious surgical specialities remains male-dominated at the level of 94-99%. E.g., only 6% of the head doctor positions in neurosurgery are occupied by women, and only 1% (3 in the country) within orthopedic surgery. Children's psychiatry, in contrast, contains 48% female head physicians nationally (the 1995 status report issued by the Committee on Equal Opportunity). Inspired by the Danish Radio interview with Bourdieu from 16 January 1999.

two factors are further discussed in Larsen (1999, ch. 4). At the same time, however, the power of the medical paradigm is maintained by ascribing to nursing a certain autonomy governed by medical premises.

4. Medical field and nursing autonomy, concluding remarks

This article is conceived as a preliminary outline for understanding phenomena within health and nursing as a contribution to the discussion about 'nursing', 'the position of nursing', 'nursing as an independent discipline' and 'learning in nursing.' In order to understand what nursing is, it must be emphasised that nursing is not, or only to a very small extent, a type of ontological entity (best represented in a Nordic context by the work of Katie Eriksson). Furthermore, nursing is not to be defined by nurses or, nursing institutions such as nurse associations or their trade union. Similarly, one cannot project backwards a present day normative viewpoint of nursing, when one indicates changes in the number of nurses in Danish hospitals over the past 50 years (Vallgårda 1992). What the sub field of nursing is or can become, can be explained primarily by dynamics within the medical field and within the dominant medical profession (that of physicians). The strategies and effects in nursing are also co-constitutive, but here the focus is on the conditions set by the medical field, conditions which intrude upon and are highly valued by the nurses themselves.

With a background in the empirical data, we can conclude that nursing functions within the medical field. First, with reference to the *organisation of the work and working hours* for the professional nursing group, it can be concluded that it is medical activity and the proximity of doctors, and not 'the patients' need for holistic care' which defines the physical presence of nurses. When medical treatment activity is on stand-by, the care-giving group, i.e., nurse's aides and social and health care assistants, take over the nursing functions. Nursing obtains meaning and life as a professional activity in relation to medicine rather than to the patient.

Second, *essential nursing knowledge* is predominantly medicine-related and administrative knowledge. This knowledge is a fundamental capital. This knowledge, which could be designated medical capital, is characterized by knowledge of anatomical and physiological conditions, knowledge of current professional and administrative procedures in the ward and especially the implicit rule system, which fundamentally enables the hospital ward to function.

It is the type of professional capital, which is operative and is transmitted with great enthusiasm in the medical field within the nursing

group. The knowledge is underlying and it exercises its special effect by the fact that it is not discussed, articulated or questioned as arbitrary (but not random) knowledge, i.e., as one species, one type of knowledge. It is the universal knowledge, of which someone possesses a lot and others a little, depending on the level of education.

For a newly matriculated nursing student in the medical field, the professional capital should be appropriated as a necessary weapon. Without possession of capital, the new student will not be taken into consideration. Within the area of important knowledge in nursing, crisis theory has been cited as a legitimate theory, while other theories are labelled as 'alternative' and excluded. The way of conceiving of 'crisis' is absorbed and is attractive as important in the field, in that it confirms the dominant concepts, classifications and logics in the field.

Third, and woven together with the first two points, it is doctors and secondarily nurses who are central to the system's understanding of *who are the knowledgeable*, the experts. The experts are those who possess or control the important knowledge and who are and can be *viewed as teachers, as* sources of learning. The nursing students, as part of their learning process, can point out with steadily greater precision who it is and who are perceived as the legitimate transmitters of the legitimate knowledge, and as their education advances they acquire a blindness towards patients, other students and social and health assistants as people who can also disseminate relevant knowledge to them. By the end of their education, the medical and administrative is viewed as important, and knowledge is to a steadily greater extent conceived to be transmitted *verbally or in written form*. A student in her final phase feels that she has not learned anything during those days when her contact nurse has not been present.

In this article, nursing and nursing autonomy has been conceptualised and explained within the medical field. The medical dominance is implemented symbolically and via symbolic violence; in the nursing understanding, the medical language, the medical object, the medical agents (doctors) and the medical classification and logic are transmitted and perceived as natural, universal, self-evident and nearly self-selected. Thus, it is to a great degree dynamics within medicine, which define what nursing is and under this rubric, what autonomy the discipline can or should have. This may be viewed as threatening to the consciousness of a nursing discipline, but in a field perspective, where the objectification and explanation of relations is essential, health or nursing is not subordinated to medicine in a negative sense. The hospital work with nursing, physiotherapy, ergo therapy, dietetics, midwifery, etc. could n*ot function in daily life* if the activities were coordinated and orchestrated on the basis of the ideologies of the more than 40 professional groups. It is medicine that sets the tone in terms of nursing, physiotherapy, ergo therapy, etc. There is also a field effect on the patients. They must

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quickly learn to label themselves and their own feelings in a specific terminology with a specific classification, 'I am lying in bed 3'. 'It has been six hours since I received my Panodil [a pain reliever] for my pains.' The concept of 'learning to become a patient', captures what is described as the field effect.

The data is not completely comprehensive, and the choice is selective in specific areas that incorporate observations and interviews as well as other documents from the field. However, we have the basis for re-thinking health and nursing as practice in the medical field and for rethinking the status of nursing concepts, their origins, their 'valuation' and their 'burden' etc. One can perhaps also rethink the autonomy of other disciplinary areas, as well as the role and power of science, and especially medicine, in determining the language by which health must be formulated. Something and someone is included as that which is correct, while *something* and *someone* else is excluded as alternative, incorrect, abnormal or eccentric. This article, via articulation, has attempted to help push the boundaries of the field, the boundaries between the discussed and the un-discussed, between the articulated and the non-articulated. The (medical) factors, concepts, classifications and logics are not given by nature or culture (in the sense of being unalterable). They are culturally produced and reproduced, i.e. maintained and altered within culture and over time. Knowledge is a historical appropriation, and it can cease historically. In terms of the politics of science, one can say that the only legitimation of scientific knowledge is to cast doubt and shed light on the darkness, i.e., the repressed or the misrecognized aspects. A critical discourse must call into question 'the real' and help push back the boundaries of doxa, i.e., of what we regard as self-evident, thus exposing the arbitrariness of what we take for granted. The un-discussed and natural is the strongest defence for that which is historical and arbitrary. It can perhaps contribute to a certain degree of freedom that research makes possible a language and a view of something, which cannot otherwise be articulated or be seen.

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TRAINING IN PRACTICE – WHAT IS IT DEPENDENT ON?

ILLUSTRATED BY THE PRACTICAL PART OF NURSING
EDUCATION WITH FOCUS ON THE ROLE OF THE NURSE
INSTRUCTOR

Marianne Johnsen

Focus of this research is the practical part of nursing education in
Denmark, where an evaluation in 1995 among other things has shown
problems related to the nurse instructors´ teaching ability and the terms
given for teaching nurse students in practice.

The purpose of this research is to describe and explain the nursing
education in the nursing practice as it is going on today to get a better
knowledge of the following issues:

- What happens during the trainee periods, called "practice"?
- To what extent is practical work learned during the trainee periods,
  and how does it happen?
- What is the role of the nurse instructor, when we talk about crafts
  apprenticeship as principle in the practical training of students? Are
  all nurses "masters" and if so, what are they "masters" of?
- What happens in the meeting between the logic of the hospital
  (practice) and the logic of school (theory)?
- How and on which basis did the change of nursing education happen?

Pierre Bourdieu´s Theory of Practice is used as a framework for the
research. I am a part of the Bourdieu-programme at University of
Copenhagen University directed by Professor Staf Callewaert, and the
research methods used are primarily based on works of Pierre Bourdieu
including observation and interview with nurse instructors in clinical
practice.

Training in practice - what it is dependent on?

Illustrated by the practical part of nursing education with a focus on the
role of the nurse instructor.

This paper will present the background for this research, the questions asked and a short presentation of the empirical content and methods of the studies. Concerning methods this paper will specially focus on empirical data collected by non-participant observation.

The background of the project

This study is based on a two-year project initiated by Viborg county where the area health board and the council of head nurses had a wish to get some more knowledge to reform and develop the so-called clinical part of the nurse education in hospital on the basis of an evaluation of the local conditions. That is to say the evaluation should describe the educational conditions of the students and the conditions of the nurse instructors and their qualifications.

Therefore two full-time project-jobs were set up as responsible for nurse education in practice with function area at the hospitals in the northern and the southern part of the county respectively according to the division of training places in practice between the two Nursing Schools in the county.

March 1998 I was engaged in the southern part of the county with functions related to the hospitals in Viborg, Kjellerup and partly Skive. This function was expanded in December the same year with a view to undertaking the project at all five hospitals in the county in which 57 units function as training places for nursing students coming from the two Nursing Schools.

The head nurses wished for an evaluation which would show how the practical education and guidance and supervision was put into practice. The wish was motivated by the change of the Nurse education in 1990 from an apprentice based-education to a more academic study, and the new demands this change confronts the existing education with. In connection with the change of the nursing education, a task was initiated by the head nurses to the effect that guidelines[207] were to be prepared for the function as nurse instructor and the organization of nurse instructors. In addition requirements as to the nurse instructors´ qualifications were to be described in preparation for the management of the resulting pedagogical tasks and problems. The existing guidelines have been functioning since 1991, and therefore there was a wish for these guidelines to be evaluated: what are the effects and results and are the guidelines adequate ?

In continuation of the change of the education and its consequences for the practical part results from an Evaluation report made by the

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[207] On each hospital guidelines was made out by working groups consisting of leaders of nursing and nurse instructors.

"Evalueringscentret", July 1996[208] about the Nurse Education was published. In the report a number of problems were described in both the theoretical and the practical part of the education, specially related to the practical part it was reported that:

> the existing clinical education in general must be strengthened, including its purpose, organization and contents, the clinical teachers/instructors, co-ordination with the theoretical part and so on[209].

The problems found in the Evaluating report specifically related to the practical part consist among other things in:

In-coherence and missing co-ordination between the theoretical and practical part of the Education;

Unclear division of responsibility between school and training places in the hospital, this in spite of the fact that the schools have the full responsibility for the whole education both in theory and practice;

Increased number of educational tasks in practice because of students´ lack of basic skills and basic knowledge from the theoretical part for example within disease, anatomy, physiology and pharmacology. Based on those results the steering committee of the evaluation advanced some recommendations to strengthen the nurse education in both theory and in practice.

Interesting in the recommendations for the clinical part of the education is, that they emphasize that practical education is study and not work or a job, at the same time they say that participation in daily work is a good way to learn, but the work tasks are to be selected carefully and must have an educational purpose. The questions one could ask are: is this participation in daily work? Another point of interest is that it is not discussed whether a practical profession is learned from study of practice or through working in practice.

The change in education also implied a change in status from paid worker to student and from being a part of the staff, a position Heggen (1995)[210] thinks puts the student outside the working partnership and the reservoir of knowledge embedded in the organization and structure of nursing.

Another interesting point in the process of change concerning the nurse education and the increased focus on the practical part of the education is that a large number of changes are made on the basis of results from the evaluation, grounded on data only collected by questionnaires and interviews with agents who represent the existing system. Therefore the evaluation primarily tells something about agents´ view of reality as they see it, whereas there are no empirical data which

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[208] Evalueringscentret, juli 1996: *Sygeplejerskeuddannelsen. Evalueringsrapport.*
[209] Ibid. p. 19
[210] Heggen, Kristin: *Sykehuset som "klasserom" - Praksisopplæring i profesjonsutdanninger.* Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 1995.

show how the practical part of the education is materialized in practice directly observed. This can give some problems because reorganization plans, new systems and various agreements have been started without really knowing how education in practice is carried out, and what really is to be changed. Another problem is that only one category (nurses, teachers, students), has been heard in the evaluation, and they all have an opinion about themselves, nursing and education and no one else for example doctors and patients.

My interest in this study, which stem from the project of development concerning the practical part of nursing education at the hospitals in Viborg county, is to investigate the State-registered nurse who work in practice nursing patients, and at the same time has the special function as an instructor and supervisor of nurse students. This interest has been intensified because of the change in Nursing education and the increased focus on the nurse instructor in practice, which can be seen for example in the Evaluation Rapport from The Evaluating Centre (1996), which recommends among other things that the responsibility for educational functions is placed formally with the employees and in principle with two categories of staff:

- Nurses responsible for education and with a superior responsibility for organization of the substance in clinical education in concert with teachers from School of Nursing. Those nurses should have the same opportunities to get qualifications at the same level as teachers at the schools.
- Clinical teaching nurses, who takes care of the daily teaching and instruction in practical nursing. Those nurses shall have specific clinical, pedagogic and supervising qualifications.

The recommendations with their increased demands on the nursing instructors in practice as to pedagogical supplementary training and higher education (more theory) with a view to qualifying them to educate the students in practical nursing had the consequence that the council of chief nurses at the national level in 1998 worked out principles and contents for a seven weeks´ course for nurse instructors as a minimum demand for their carrying out of the function as nurse instructors (clinical teaching nurse) for nurse students. At the same time head nurses at the hospitals worked out new structures and organizations in relation to the tasks of clinical education.

Against this background I find it important through direct observation to describe and analyse practical education as it is functioning in hospital training units. To this must be added the necessity of another dimension, because one thing is to know how the practice de facto seems to be and not only how you think it is. But to have a basic knowledge to discuss changes in practice and the practical part of education, you first must know why practice and education in practice is as it is to day. Not only by objective description but also with a scientific explanation to explain the

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reasons why things are as they are, so that we can see the realistic room for starting processes of change.

Furthermore one must be aware that a proposal for reform cannot be deduced directly from such a scientific description and explanation. That is to say that with a view to working out a proposal for reform, one must start again on the basic of this new knowledge, but at the premises of practical sense, which only indirectly refers to theoretical knowledge.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to describe and explain the practical part of nursing education as it is to day to get better knowledge and understanding about education in practice and about the role and function of the nurse instructor.

Questions asked in the study

- What is happening during the trainee periods, which is called "practice"?
- To the extent practical work is learned during the trainee periods, then how does it happen?
- What is the role of the nurse instructor, when we talk about apprenticeship as principle in the practical training of students? Are all nurses "masters" and if so, what are they "masters" of?
- What is happening in the meeting between the logic of the hospital (practice) and the logic of school (theory)?
- How and on which basis did the change of nursing education happen?

How is the phenomenon being studied – method?

The approach as to data collection is inspired by the works of Pierre Bourdieu although at the beginning it was not with the intention to generate theory about practice, but had a more practically oriented purpose. The focus when collecting different empirical data in the start was to evaluate the practical part of nursing education in hospital units both concerning the students conditions for learning and the nurse instructors´ qualifications, conditions and competence related to their pedagogical functions as instructors and then it was to be analysed with a scientific purpose.

In Bourdieus scientific[211] approach to research, inspired by both the phenomenological and the objectivistic tradition, he tries with his

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[211] Callewaert, Staf: Indledning (pp.9-19) og Bourdieu, Pierre, (1994): *Socialt rum og symbolsk magt* (pp. 52-69). In Callewaert, Staf; Munk, Martin; Nørholm, Morten;

praxeological theory to exceed those conceptions by involving both people´s subjective experience and understanding which phenomenology focuses on and the structuralistic conception that social phenomena should be objectified, look at as things, to be able to construct scientific theory about social practice.

Thus Bourdieu has both a subjective and an objective basis, as he bases his research on both the agents´ subjective experience of the situation, which in this project is what the nursing schools say about education or training in practice and in clinical practice related to laws, departmental orders, curriculum, local papers and interviews. But, Bourdieu says, this subjective understanding or spontaneous consciousness, must be broken with by taking up a objectifying point of view, you must also look at the agents´ actions, as you do not know what it is, and for this purpose data is collected by non-participant observation. At the same time Bourdieu points out that the researcher must break with his own self-perception and practice and reflect on that as part of the scientific work. That means that I as researcher must make a reflection or socioanalysis[212] about my own position and relation to the field (as nurse and responsible for nurse education in practice, evaluator and later Ph.D.-student). Finally Bourdieu talks about reverting to the agents´ subjective meaning and understanding, as a part of the general impression, to analyse and explain it as a part of the totality, but not as the final explanation alone.

With a view to working out the status description and evaluation of the practical part of nurse education as well as to answer the questions raised in this study, the following empirical material are collected. That means that the empirical material is collected, worked out and used in two types of work with two different purposes and with different logics: 1) as background for practical use with focus on getting things better and 2) as background for a scientific analyse with the purpose of describing, understanding and explaining practice.

Empirical material used in the study

Existing local material in Viborg County about nurse education and specifically about education in the practical part in the hospital training units for example: Curriculum and guidelines of the Nursing Schools for the practical part of the education, descriptions of the training units and their possibilities for educating the students, the descriptions of the

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Petersen, Karin Anna (red. og oversættelse): *Pierre Bourdieu: Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori*. København: Akademisk Forlag.
[212] Broady, Donald: *Sociologi och Epistemologi. Om Pierre Bourdieus författerskap och den historiska epistemologin*. Stockholm: HLS Förlag, 2. korrigerede upplag 1991. (Socioanalysen pp. 549-556, p. 549)

hospitals of the organisation of nurse instructors/supervisors and their functions.

Questionnaire concerning the nurse instructors qualifications and general data about their functions, organisation, conditions and so on. The questionnaires were sent out to the leaders of 57 hospital units May 1999 and 56 answers came back.

Observation of nurse instructors and students in 6 hospital units selected among the 57 units with the purpose of describing the daily activities and the connections nurse instructor and student is part of. A total of 98 hours´ observation has been made in the period from June 1998 to February 1999 and a detailed descriptive transcription has been made.

One hundred and seventeen written evaluations from students to the training units at the end of their training period in practice have been collected from 25 units selected among different types of units and hospitals.

Six semi-structured group interviews with nurse instructors from the units where observation studies have been carried out for example about their view of education and learning in practice, conditions for students and nurse instructors.

Two semi-structured group interviews with teachers from the two nursing schools in Viborg county, who function as consultants to the nurse instructors in the training units about their view of education in practice and their role in relation to that.

In the following I will explain in detail the preparation, undertaking and reflections related to the observational part of the study.

Observations study in 6 hospital units

The study is inspired by Pierre Bourdieu, who connects practice with habitus and structure in the field of social space, that is to say Bourdieu is concerned about studying relations between agents and fields.

The concept about habitus or the practical sense in action[213] is involved in relation to the observation studies in the way that materialized actions/expressions of the agents were observed in the concrete nursing practice, that is so that nurse instructors and students are observed in the variety of relations they are involved in together and each alone. Larsen[214] uses the concept `relational observation´ about this type of

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[213] Callewaert, Staf (1997): *Om den praktiske sans som noget kropsligt*. In: Bourdieu-studier. Institut for Filosofi, Pædagogik og Retorik. Copenhagen: Københavns Universitet Amager.

[214] Larsen, Kristian (1999): *Praktikuddannelse, kendte og miskendte sider*. Et observationsstudie af praktikuddannelse inden for sygeplejerskeuddannelsen. UCSF, Universitetshospitalernes Center for Sygepleje- og omsorgsforskning. Rigshospitalet. (s. 78)

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observation, in the meaning: "..direct observation of related events, which is to be reconstructed as relational systems of concepts (fields)" (my translation). The observations are made as non-participating observation with a view to making an objective description of the agents´ actions and expressions in the concrete situations in practice, because it is not possible to be both an active participant in the activities and at the same time be an objective observer.

The basis for the observations is the question: how is guidance in practice materialized based on the practical sense (professional habitus) of nurse instructors, which has been incorporated through a traditional vocational education, where as a part of the practical training the trainees also had an obligation to work. The trainees were paid as a part of the staffing of the hospital units. With the concept of habitus and the implied inertia you can formulate the hypothesis, that the nurse instructors´ practical sense introduce and socialize for the nurse profession more in continuation of tradition than related to the ideas about nurse education as a study. To do observation of nurse instructors´ practice is a way to get a description of the functions related to teaching and supervising students in clinical practice. Observation of materialized action gives opportunity to make an analysis, which can tell us something about facts, which neither agent nor researcher expect to find and in that way it can be revealed "what is going on behind the agents´ back", so to speak.

In the study Bourdieu´s field-concept is used as an inspiration in relation to the nursing-field, although I am aware that the nursing-field does not exist as an autonomous or relatively autonomous field in Bourdieu´s understanding, but rather exists as a part of the field of medicine or medical science[215]. The concept about fields is used to expose whether it is so that establishment of jobs with special functions as e.g. instructor/teacher in practice with special qualifications and special payment will mean that new positions and changed dominating positions will come into existence. Such changes could also have the unintentional effects that the ordinary nursing practice is no longer transmitted to the students, tacitly or only with a few comments compared with a definition of education in practice, but instead the students are confronted with a new form for extra verbalised teaching about practice in practice. Or shall this establishing of jobs with special functions be seen more as an expression of the struggle for prestige and autonomy within the nursing profession. Both as struggle taking place externally related to the social development where middle-range further

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[215] Petersen, Karin Anna (1999): *Sygeplejevidenskab – myte eller virkelighed*. Viborg: Viborg Amt.
Jørgensen, Emmy Brandt (2000): *Genese og struktur af klinisk medicin og klinisk sygepleje* – Om hvordan medicin og sygepleje som moderne fag, erhverv og uddannelser har konstitueret sig i Danmark samt forbindelsen mellem dem. For medicinen er perioden 1736-1937 og for sygeplejen er perioden 1876-1957. (Pro Manuscripto)

and higher education by a new law, June 2000 is conferred the right to the title: Bachelor Degree in Nursing. This demands that the education is based in the profession, has connections to research and development as well as the teachers shall have academic qualifications in contrast to earlier when it was the professional practitioner who was teaching in schools often based on short courses. Internally in the field of nursing there is a struggle about status and the right to define the content of education in practice and partly in the theoretical content between employers in health service institutions, trade union and schools of nursing. This struggle can be seen as a result of the change of nursing education from paid apprentice education, which historically was the responsibility and skills of the hospitals to be a study, an education in the regime of nursing schools where the nursing schools have the full responsibility for education in both theory and practice, a fact that has been made clearer in the new departmental order about nursing education.[216]

Access to the field and the role as observer

In the field there were positive expectations toward the evaluation project concerning practical education, and already in the introduction phase many and diverse expectations were revealed towards the results, for example better working conditions for nurse instructors, higher salary and higher staffing. Those circumstances could be realized even if it was not a question about new education, replacement of responsibility and so on. All that caused great willingness from training units as well as nurses to be at disposal and more than the 6 selected units enrolled voluntarily to participate in the observation study and the following interviews.

　　About my role as a nurse and researcher in my own field it can be seen both as an advantage and as a disadvantage. I have been working as a nurse for 26 years in different jobs inside and outside hospital and in different positions for example as an ordinary nurse, leader and teacher, and on different levels I have been involved in nursing education both in school and in practice. This experience must be reflected in the study, as it influences what will be seen and focused on. In this case I see it as an advantage that I have been working outside hospital for the last 16 years. My many years´ experience has led to acceptance of my presence in the units, and I have been looked upon as not being dangerous, which has been indicated by the fact that the nurses do not change behaviour as for example: shorten coffee breaks or they don't stop using practical tricks, which are not officially approved and where the nurse is saying to the

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[216] Undervisningsministeriet: *Bekendtgørelse om sygeplejerskeuddannelsen*. BEK nr. 232 af 30. marts 2001, Copenhagen.

student: "this is a way to do it, which is not accepted by the school, but it works".

Regarding my role as an observer, unlike for example Heggen.[217] I have not considered role and dress, because the agenda was already fixed, because of my employment in the project at the hospitals. Bourdieu says about those terms in The Weight of the World,[218] that it is not the researcher who sets up the agenda according to the principles of science, but there is always an agenda already, when the researcher gets access on the terms of the agents.

To get the possibility to take an objectifying position I have made my observations as a non participating observer, that means that I have been walking behind the agents in the field and they were informed that I was not participating in the activities and that I would make notes of all which was happening, as well as I would not comment or evaluate their actions, but maybe ask some clarifying questions.

I am aware that by replacing interview with direct not- participating observation will give a greater opportunity for objectifying the agents´ understanding of themselves, as you do not only hear, what has been said, but also see what is really happening. But to prove what is really happening, all though you are an eye witness to the event, does not make the interpretation less necessary, so in this sense interpretation of statements as well as behaviour has a hermeneutic aspect. But the hermeneutic paradigm is not intended for interpretation of behaviour, but only statements. Therefore Bourdieu rejects the hermeneutic paradigm alone as a valid social scientific method.

Preparation and undertaking of the observation study

In the start I will point out that because of changes in my employment the observation study has been carried out in two phases: 1) organisation, selection of four units and carrying out the first observations was done in the period March – September 1998 in the southern part of Viborg county and 2) by the expansion of the project involving the northern area observation studies were carried out in two units more according to the same principles as in first phase.

The project started with a number of introductory meetings in March and April 1998 with representatives (leaders and nurse instructors) from all training units of the hospital in the southern area, all with skills connected to education of nursing students in practice and in the northern

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[217] Heggen, Kristin (1995): *Sykehuset som "klasserom" - Praksisopplæring i profesjonsutdanninger*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
[218] Bourdieu et al (1999) *Understanding. In: The Weight of the World*. Callewaert, Staf: : Forståelse og forklaring i de sociale videnskaber ifølge Pierre Bourdieu. In: Bourdieu-studier II. Institut for Filosofi, Pædagogik og Retorik. Copenhagen: Københavns Universitet Amager, 1998

area the meetings were held in December 1998. The aspects and problems presented in both areas were identical, and therefore no differentiation will be made between the two areas in the following description. Although it must be emphasised and reflected in the analysis that there is a difference in time of eight months, a period where there had been focus on and discussions about conditions for students and nurse instructors related to education in the practical part as a consequence of the start of the project in the southern area.

The meetings where the observation study was to take place were arranged by vicehead nurses at the five hospitals with the purpose of introducing me and my project. The representatives presented their units, type of unit and their way of carrying out the skills related to education of students in practice and ongoing developments of education in practice. Related to each presentation I worked out a short note for my own use with regard to special concern and problems related to the education and finally the headlines in these notes are summarized.

Selection of training units and agents for observation

The representatives from the units, the descriptions of the units and their special problems and different opinion about education in practice gave me the impression of two types of training units represented by each kind of problems and conditions related to the function as nurse instructor for the students and possibility of planning the study depending on whether it was a special kind of unit or an ordinary medical/surgical units. Therefore it has been a criterion in the selection that both types should be represented.

At the five hospitals there are 57 training units available for nursing students, and it has been expected and an implicit demand that all five hospitals should be represented in the study, because there are local differences between the hospitals (size, culture) and differences in opinion about education between the two nursing schools. It is to be expected that this might have an effect in the practical part of the education. Therefore this aspect has also been included as a criteria for selection.

In co-work with vicehead nurses and nursing officers 6 training units were selected for the project with one unit at each of the minor hospitals and two units at the largest hospital in Viborg, so that two medical units, two surgical units, one casualty department and one observation unit are included in the observation study.

Medical – and surgical units are chosen from a wish to get data from units characterized by ordinary bed-units with many students of different kinds and at different levels. The two specialised units are chosen as examples of units with few nursing students and often only students at the same educational level.

Vicehead nurses and nursing officers communicated the enquiry to the units and established the contact to the units, who accepted to take part in the study. Then I contacted the charge nurses and informed them about the study and made appointments about which days I would come, so I could be sure that both nurse instructor and student were present, and also be sure that they were informed about my presence and the purpose. This means that the concrete selection of agents was made in a co-work with the charge nurses. Different nurse instructors and different students at different educational levels (2 and 3 year) were observed to get knowledge about the nurse instructors´ daily activities and also gain an insight into supervision and guidance of students on different levels and different times in their training periods in clinical practice.

Three days´ observation in each unit has been made (totally 98 hours) 17 nursing students and 16 nurse instructors have been observed, as two have been observed twice, as one was observed both at the beginning and at the end of the period.

The observations in each unit started with observation of a whole day of eight hours with focus on specially the nurse instructor´s job and functions both in relation to the patients and to the guidance of the student and all the relations they were part of. The other days have been of different length. For practical reasons as nurse instructor and student were not always together, two days in each unit the focus for observation has been the nurse instructor and one day focused on the student.

Detailed descriptive notes have been made about all observations, containing actions and expressions of the agents (few as direct quotations and often as summary), premises in the unit, other persons present and their relations with the agents, and also notes about time not at fixed hours but often by change in activity, place or interruptions. The notes were made openly under the observation and it has only provoked a few comments from patients and not from the observed agents. The few comments might be explained because patients are used to seeing the staff writing notes on their pads (which everyone has in her pocket) or nursing journals. At the end of each day I went through the notes and elaborated them, if necessary, and they were rewritten in 1-2 days and this was a great advantage, because the observations described in the notes were easy to remember – almost with sounds and smells.

Basis of the observation study

Starting point for the observations in the units was to see the unit, the training place, as a whole, that means that I have looked not only at student and nurse instructor, but also at all the things which happen around them. Which forms of interaction were going on between nurse instructor and student and between them and the patients, relatives and other medical staff members and the activities they participated in.

The observation study is inspired of Bourdieus theory about reproduction,[219] here he talks about two forms of pedagogy, which are co-operative in shaping or forming the habitus and how agents are able to manage both the practical and the symbolic mastery:

- Implicit pedagogy: concerning the impression of principles in practical condition. Concerning transmission of more traditional (tacit) knowledge being together with the master in a physical sense and
- Explicit pedagogy: where impression of principles happens in explicit form and where the knowledge it deals with is theoretical knowledge and an analytic attitude to that knowledge.

The outcome of the pedagogical work and the two forms of pedagogy depend on the interaction among them, that means that both forms must be present in both the theoretical and the practical part of the education, but with different weighting and content.

My primary expectation to be seen in the observation is that implicit pedagogy will play a prominent part in the practical parts of the education referring to the nursing schools and the training units opinion about practical training as craft's apprenticeship combined with reflection.

The consequence of those opinions have resulted in the following principles in the guidelines[220] of the hospitals for the organisation of nurse instructors and their functions:

- Each student is being attached to a nurse instructor or two through the whole period in the training unit.
- Qualification requirements for the nurse instructor:
  - Practical experience as a basis for being a role-model for students
  - Deep knowledge about values, theories and methods in nursing
  - Ability to communicate both practical and theoretical knowledge
  - Ability to show how reflection on nursing practice can contribute to developing competence in action and to develop quality in nursing
  - Have completed a course for nurse instructors

- Nurse instructors´ responsibility is to:
  - function as a pedagogical resources person in questions concerning the nursing education

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[219] Callewaert, Staf (1992): *Kultur, Pædagogik og videnskab. Om Pierre Bourdieus habitusbegreb og praktikteori*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag. (kapitel 8)
[220] Each hospital has worked out guidelines for the function as nurse instructor, there are some smaller differents, but basically the content are the same. Here are as example used the guidelines from Viborg hospital: *Praktikvejlederfunktionen i sygeplejerskeuddannelsen på Viborg Sygehus*. Oktober 1997.

- To organize the study visit and set up aims in co-work with the student
- To create study conditions in the unit, which are giving the student possibility to develop personal and professional qualifications including organized supervision and guidance
- To select activities relevant for educational purposes and the students´ wishes and needs
- To arrange and carry out meetings with the student about expectations, evaluations and finally work out the students´ level of attainment
- To communicate news about the nursing education to the staff in the unit

Summarized the intentions of these principles are to ensure that each student has connection to one or two nurse instructors, so there will always be one person present in the unit who has responsibility for the student´s education, teaching and guidance and who functions as primary role model for the student. In addition nurse instructors shall have supplementary training in pedagogy and supervision in order to carry out the described functions.

With foundation in the local opinion and Bourdieu´s two forms of pedagogy the following hypothesis has been set up as the basis of observation and analysis about how practical knowledge is transmitted and how this is materialized in the practical part of nursing education.

Does transfer of practical knowledge happen:
- From tacit practical sense to tacit practical sense by being bodily together doing practice?
- From practical sense to practical sense through verbal teaching, which is only active occasionally, while transfer is still happening by practical sense?
- Or does transfer of practical knowledge take place via verbal teaching about practice to verbal understanding of practice?

In the following paragraphs some pre-results from the observation study will be presented isolated from the rest of the data material. The final analysis of data from the observations has not been made yet, so this shall be regarded as the first interesting aspects.

Some pre-results from the observation study

One complaint which is often heard in relation to the practical part of nursing education is the lack of time for guidance of the students in practice. Observations have been made for 18 days (totally 98 hours) and all days are characterised by the nurses as peaceful days without anymore patients that the units are prescribed for. The nurses almost make excuses because it is peaceful, and a permanent comment has been that I should have been there the day before or some days ago. It is apparent that it is

not legal to have peaceful days and absolutely not while I was there. My impression was that they wanted to show me how busy they usually were, in the majority of units the general theme for discussion was pressure of work, stress and embarrassment.

Therefore one might conclude that the material does not cover the nurse instructors´ and the other staff´s experience of being pressed for time on many busy days and their lack of time for the students. This has been the result although the observations have been carried out over a period of 9 months on accidental days and spread over all days of the week, and it must enter as part of the description and analysis.

Characteristics of the day rhythm

The observations showed that the day rhythm and the division of activities are nearly alike although there are differences between the units and in broad outline this is as follows:

- 7.00-7.30 o'clock: report from night watch, more places it was done in separate groups.
- 7.30-8.00 o'clock: in some units there was a short delegating of tasks and patients, nurses rounds to look at the patients, serve breakfast and distribute medicine.
- About 8 o'clock: personal and coffeetime for ¼ - ½ hour. Some places student and nurse instructor also spend some of this time to go through the patients and assign to the student the plan for the day.
- About 8.30/9 o'clock: patientcare, receive new patients, discharge patients, administration, preparing and going the rounds, etc.
- Between 10 and 11 o'clock: ½ hour personal time and coffee break by turns.
- 11-12 o'clock: doing tasks after rounds with the doctor, eventually patientcare, starting writing report, nurses´ round to patients with among other things information after doctor´s rounds and observation of patients taking medicine etc.
- Between 12 and 13 o'clock: lunch break by turns, some are staying in the unit personnel room and others go to the canteen.
- 13-13.30: administrative tasks and/or picking up the morning´s work and problems with the nursing group and/or with students.
- 13.30-15.00: patientcare, serving coffee for patients, information of patients, meeting about planning of discharges, finishing work after the doctors rounds, write reports and give reports to the afternoon shift.

A few of the students used peaceful periods during the day to study literature, books describing procedures, pamphlets etc., but characteristic for most of them was that, when they had finished their own tasks, they lent a hand to the rest of the work in the unit such as for example: taking

alarms from patients, cleaning up, helping patients from other caring groups etc.

Delegation of patients and tasks

The nurse instructors pointed out repeatedly that there was less time to take care of students because of many tasks and taking care of the patients and the students´ written evaluations contain complaints about students being used as manpower.

The observations show that nurse instructor and student together were responsible for the care of 3-6 patients often also together with a nursing aid or student. At one single place the student (second year of education) and one nursing aid had 9 patients together. The day in question the nurse instructor was day functioning as leader of the caring group with staff and 11 patients, and the greatest majority of tasks were administrative. Most of the students took care of one or two patients (a few in 3 year had tree to four patients) depending on educational level, capacity and the patients´ needs of caring.

The observations showed that students in second and third educational year, regardless of educational level and types of units, are participating in all nursing activities typical for the unit, from caring and treatments, participating in doctors rounds and administrative tasks to order articles to depot, cleaning up patients room etc. Differences in educational level are mostly seen in relation to the number of delegated patients and the complexity of the caring situations. Yet in such a way that the students in the second year are doing more direct patient care than students in third year who are working with more administrative and coordinating tasks specially at the end of their education. These results are like the founds in a study made by Larsen, 1999:[221]

Typical activities the students took part in:
- Nursing, caring and treatment to delegated patients
- Receiving new patients
- Discharge of patients
- Reports by change of shifts and eventually after the rounds
- Group conference to organize and delegate the work of the day
- Preparing rounds, participate in rounds and following-up
- Preparing patients for examination and treatments and follow-up on that
- Distribute medicine

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[221] Larsen, Kristian (1999): *Praktikuddannelse, kendte og miskendte sider*. Et observationsstudie af praktikuddannelse inden for sygeplejerskeuddannelsen. UCSF, Universitetshospitalernes Center for Sygepleje- og omsorgsforskning. Copenhagen: Rigshospitalet.

- Contacts with primary health service and other professionals as for example: occupational therapist, physiotherapist, laboratory technician etc.
- Read patients medical journals, nursing journals, guidelines for patients, nursing and treatments.
- Read scholarly literature related to the speciality of the unit for example about disease, pharmacology, anatomy and physiology
- Write report about his/her own delegated patients

Nurse instructor as master/role model

The idea is that the nurse instructor functions as a role model/master and thereby transfers tacit knowledge to the student by being together and doing nursing care and other tasks together, the student also gets opportunities to get help and guidance before, under and after carrying out the tasks.

There are differences between the units as to the extent the student and the nurse instructor are working together and which tasks they are doing together. This difference seems at this time to be nearly connected to the internal organization of the unit and the division of labour between nurses, but this will demand further analysis of the material. But at special units like for example the casualty department with acute admission there is the rule that students shall always work together with a nurse and the reason given is the safety of the patients and not the pedagogical point of view. While students in the ordinary bed-units to a great extent nurse patients alone and perform administrative tasks together with the nurse instructor. For example it was seen that a new student, in her first week and first period at a hospital, nursed a newly operated patient alone while the nurse instructor was nursing another patient in another room. Later they were together doing administrative tasks.

During the period of observation students and nurse instructors spent about 30% of the time together and the students worked alone about 30% of the time, the rest of the time was spent on reports and personal time. The time student and nurse instructors spend together is mainly used on administrative tasks, treatments for example dressing and bandaging, removal of catheters, drainage tubes, administering medicine and change intravenous drips.

The learning situation in clinical practice

At first I will point out that focus in this study is the nurse-instructors´ role and function related to the students´ learning in practice, I am aware that a lot of other people, aspects and conditions internally and externally are playing a great role.

The observations showed that students and nurse-instructors spend a lot of time talking about nursing, treatments, examinations etc. Every day starts with the planning and delegation of tasks, who shall do it, how it shall be done, and maybe why it has to be done that way. Often it is the nurse-instructor who talks about this or she is asking the student about her plans for doing the tasks, why and her arguments for it. It is so that the nurse-instructor teaches the student or asks for the student´s theoretical knowledge, the same picture is seen again with group conferences and picking up the work carried out.

The situations where student and nurse-instructor were working together were characterised by different ways of carrying out guidance:

In patient situations where there were many treatment activities such as dressing, removal of catheter, drainage tubes and intravenous drips etc. the nurse-instructor is the active person, she is doing the jobs and teaches, shows and explains to the student, and sometimes she asks for the student´s knowledge, the student is primarily watching what is going on or she is assisting the nurse-instructor. It is frequently in these situations that the student and the nurse-instructor are together and in connection to rounds and administrative tasks and the division of roles are the same as described above. In situations like this it seems as if the opinion about learning is that the student first must watch and hear, how the task shall be carried out and then she can try it herself.

In situations with patients mainly concerning their personal care the student is primarily active in carrying out the care (also as new student for the first time in practice at hospital) while the nurse-instructor is watching and eventually assisting her and teaching if the student makes mistakes, shows grips and gives tips or helps if the student asks about it.

Finally I will say that the observations shows that when nurse-instructor and student are working together, the practical performance is followed by a lot of verbalised teaching, so the idea about transfer of practical knowledge from the nurse-instructor´s tacit practical sense to the students tacit practical sense by being bodily together doing practice is not what I have seen and heard, but this does not mean that it does not happen. So the question is if the student is learning practical nursing skills by doing it together with the nurse-instructor and not because of the verbalised teaching.

Transfer of tacit knowledge in a pure form may be possible when student and nurse-instructor are working not together, but in the same room with each their patients and tasks, but that demands further analysing of data.

Another question is what happens with the nursing education if students in the clinical practice are not working directly with experienced professional nurses, but instead also here get a verbalised teaching about the practice and acquire an understanding of the clinical practice, but do not get practical skills in nursing. This is a risk, which can be a

consequence of the ambition about the nursing education as a study, if you are not aware that practical learning takes place when the student is active in practice together with experienced professional nurses.

THERAPY AS A KEY TO POWER?

Nelli Øvre Sørensen

Introduction

This paper concerns an observation study and a number of interviews that I have carried out in a daycare in a modern psychiatric hospital, as part of the empirical data of my PhD project. Here I discuss the organisation of the work in the ward and the weekly timetable.[222] My discussion begins with data from a focus-group interview and is then supplemented with data from several of the occasions on which the general personnel[223] discuss their work in groups. My discussion takes place at a micro-sociological level. Bourdieu`s theory on symbolic power[224] has been employed as background litterature. Furthermore I am inspired by the discourse-analytical positions of Foucault and Laclau and Mouffe.[225] This will show up in my argumentation.

It may come as a surprise that the weekly timetable is given a central position in my discussion. At first sight this timetable appears to be just a schedule, printed for the patients and the personnel to keep track of group allocations on each day. However, an initial analysis shows that this schedule is open to interpretation. There is quite a deal of symbolism incorporated in the practical design of the timetable. The timetable may be used concretely as a memo over group activities for patients and personnel. The timetable is pinned on a board in the patients' common room. It is written in a large scale version on a white-board in the general

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[222] The timetable is shown in the chapter: group activities.

[223] The general personnel implies: nurses, occupational therapists, psycho-terapists

[224] P. Bourdieu, (1996): *On Symbolic Power* in Socialantropologiske grunntekster, Eriksen, T. H. (ed.) *Symbolsk makt*, Oslo: Pax forlag A/S, P. Bourdieu (1994): *Af praktiske grunde*, Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, , P. Bourdieu (1988): *Homo Academicus*, London: Polity Press.

[225] M. Foucault (1994), *Viljen til viden*, Samlerens bogklub, M. Foucault (1997), *Overvågning og straf*, Det lille forlag, M. Foucault (1997): *The Archeology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge, M. Foucault (1997): *The Birth of the Clinique*, London: Routledge, E. Laclau og C. Mouffe (1997): *Demokrati og Hegemoni*, Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag.

personnel office. The names of the personnel are listed beneath the names of the groups, and underneath these are written the names of the patients. Furthermore, we find the names of those patients who are on a waiting list, on the board. Thus, the precise group activity as well as the number of participants in the group becomes visible. Some groups are more crowded than others. Some groups hold a higher position than others. Some groups are closed whereas others are open to new patients.

This timetable shows the flexibility incorporated in the work of the ward as well as a certain hierachy among the group activities. It shows the division of work found in the personnel in the ward. Some group activities are taken care of by one staff member while in other groups you find two. In some of the groups with one or two persons there is space available for nursing- and occupational therapy students or social and health care trainees. Other groups are guided by psycho-therapeutic personnel. The personnel is divided according to profession as well as tasks through this differentiation. Likewise different statuses emerge in group activities and in the personnel. This differentiation and status is decisive for what positions the individual person may take up and maintain, in this space.

The appearance of the weekly timetable shows that it is not just a work tool. The popularity of each group shows up between the lines. The weekly timetable has been designed on the basis of negotiation about which staff members may handle which of the various group-functions, and as well discussions about what is, or what might be, considered as 'good treatment' in the ward. The timetable holds in it the struggle for gaining and maintaining positions conquered in this field.

Short presentation of the daycare

This daycare is located on the outskirts of the hospital grounds, in two former homes of consultant psychiatrists, both with two floors. Physically, the houses are arranged with common rooms for the patients, offices and rooms for group-conversations and group-activities. The charge nurse calls the ward "an active treatment facility". The treatment at the ward includes medicine, psycho- therapy and milieu-therapy. The milieu- and psycho- therapy account for the major activities that are carried out with the patients in the form of various individual talks and group-activities. The ward is open on weekdays from 9.00 AM to 3.30 PM. On Thursdays from 11 AM and on Fridays the ward is closed at 2.00 PM.

The dayward admits people with slight existential crises, as well as people with chronic mental ilness. These are people who have been hospitalised several times and many of them will have many hospitalisations ahead. In order to be admitted the patients must have a

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home of their own and they must be able to live at home when they attend this ward. Furthermore the patients must be willing to agree to follow the treatment plan of the ward. This includes participating in group activities, matching at least three groups a week. All patients must show up at least four days every week. The fourth day is reserved for a dialogue with a contact person or for team meetings. Team meetings are managed by the contact person in charge of treatment. This person may be a physician or a psychologist. When hospitalised at the ward the patients cannot go to work, they must be reported ill. The personnel of the ward is made up of a cross section of hospital workers and they work only in this ward. In addition there are permanently attached psychiatrists, who are also attached to other wards in the hospital. The ward works according to principles for group treatment in the form of milieu- and psycho-therapy.

The individual patient must participate in the group-activities that are agreed on by the patient and his contact persons. The psycho- therapists manage the therapeutic group work in the ward. Enrolled patients are not offered individual therapy, but they may, based on judgement, participate in group-therapy. Most patients are treated with psychopharmacological drugs. Patients who have been proposed for the day ward are called in for a team-interview. Here, it is considered whether the person in question is fit for treatment at the ward. In the preliminary interview the team consists of a psychologist or a psychiatrist, either of who may be in charge of the treatment, plus a social worker and one of the nursing personnel. Initially, three team interviews are arranged. After these interviews the team decides, in cooperation with the patient, which group-activities will be the most suitable for the patient. If there is no room in the desired activity group the patient is put on a waiting list. This means that the treatment sequence also depends on which activity and therapy groups have room available.

Weekly timetable

There are two types of group activities on the weekly timetable. During my observation study I had permission to observe the activity that was characterized as "group sessions", though not the therapeutic group activities,[226] these being the self-esteem group on Monday and the talk-groups on Tuesday and Friday. It cannot really be clarified how the weekly timetable has come appear as it does. None of the personnel at the ward know for certain when or how it has been decided that the week should be divided into these group activities, each of one-and-a-half

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[226] The explanation to the fact that I was not allowed to observe the "group sessions" was based on the silence which were shared among the participants in the groups towards non-participants.

hour´s duration. This applies both to group activities as well as to therapeutic talk sequences. None of the written records from the various meeting over the years mentions decisions about the treatment structure of the ward. However there is an explanation why these various particular activities have been put on the timetable. What decides which activities that are available for the patients in the course of their hospitalisation at the dayward, depends on the persons who are employed at that time. The weekly timetable below shows the location of the various groups during the week, the duration of each group and which members of the personnel participate in each group.

Week- timetable

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
10.00 – 11.30 AM Walking group One nurse	10.00 - 12.30 PM Nutrition / life mode group nurse / occupational therapist	10.00 - 11.30 AM Activity group Nurse / occupational therapist	11.15 - 11.50 AM General meeting group nurse / psycho-therapist	10.00 - 11.30 AM Exercise group two nurses
12.50 - 02.20 PM Self worth group Psychiatrist / psychotherapist	10.00 - 11.30 AM Dialogue-group nurse, co-therapist / psychologist	01.30 - 02.30 PM Jogging group Two nurses	01.15 - 02.45 PM Music –and drawing group nurse / occupational therapist	10.00 - 11.30 AM Dialogue- group psychotherapist / psychologist

Regarding content, these activity groups have been put on the timetable because personnel are available with ressources in these particular fields. A nurse who is at the same time drill instructor manages the exercise group. The walking group and the nutrition/life mode group are managed by nurses who have healthy life style and sound body, as their hobby. The drawing/music group is run by someone who has been doing this for a number of years, and who really likes it herself. ”The running group” is managed by a nurse who runs herself, for sport. “The walking group” and “the activity group” are a kind of preparatory groups in which there is a lot of informal talk between patients and staff. At the same time however, the patients are being observed and judged by the personnel, because a stroll or perhaps a cultural excursion together loosens the tongue.

The therapeutic group sessions, conversation drill groups and the self worth groups are closed. This means that neither patients who have not made an appointment nor observers are allowed in the group. The groups are based on therapeutic principles from the gestalt - psychological,

cognitive and psycho-analytical principles.[227] These have emerged within the last five years along with the employment of cross-sectional personnel at the ward. Before that the work at the ward was managed solely by the nursing personnel.[228] In order to have a more active treatment milieu and to incorporate grouptherapy for the patients, the administrators changed a nurse's job into a job for a psychologist. Their time was then divided up for a different reason and the staff changed their way of working with the patients to fit the ideas of therapy and in order to help patients to deal better with problems and tasks in their everyday daily life both inside and outside the institution.

A group sequence in the day ward is defined to be eight weeks. There is no further explanation as to how it ended up with an eight weeks' period. Eight weeks is stated to be an appropriate coherent period for the individual patient to get to learn something or to change patterns of behaviour, the personnel explained. In the period I made observations in the ward, a general meeting between the personnel and the patients on Thursdays was changed to a meeting based on a therapeutic model.[229]

Group activities

The activity groups are characterized by training in practical every day tasks. The training is based on milieu therapy.[230] The personnel are jointly responsible for its success. The personnel describe their notion of milieu therapy as focusing on patients learning to be together with other people and to perform everyday tasks. The way milieu therapy is put into practice at the ward also includes training in saying the proper thing at the proper time and place, in speaking and in remaining silent in various

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[227] During a focus group interview some sources of inspiration are mentioned: Yalom's method for spontaneous groups of psychotic patients which is founded on "here and now" principles and Emmy van Deursen who writes about existential psychology.

[228] The way the ward functioned before group-treatment was introduced, is characterized by the personnel as "passive storage of patients". The present way, however, constitutes "an active treatment milieu" as they call it.

[229] The way it works: Since the meeting is regarded as a group it is conducted by two therapists. The personnel have a chairman and a secretary, and the personnel give the patients continous informations and distributes practical tasks that the patients bid for. After the exchange of various information and different sorts of discussions at the meeting, the therapists sit down in a corner of the room to reflect. It means that they openly before everybody are present tell each other what thoughts they have conceived in the course of the meeting, what they believe was said at the meeting, what it tells them about the ideas that have been posed, or state what an assertion means. Apart from the reflection over what certain statements means, they make some evaluating comments. The rest of the participants in the meeting listen in silence. At one meeting a patient said she found that the patients were not enough called upon to speak. The answer from the therapist was: "this is fine, we have asked for comments ourselves".

[230] Litterature used by the nurses about milieu therapy is Liv Strand: "Fra kaos mot samling", Hummelvolt: "Helt, ikke stykkevis og delt". On reflection is used Tom Andersen: "Reflekterende processer".

situations and for many of them in avoiding saying too much of what crosses their minds. So, milieu therapy may be seen as a kind of education, re-education or upbringing. The personnel correct[231] the behaviour of the patients so that they will learn to live by the standards that the personnel explicitly or implicitly accept as good manners. The patients who participate in the therapy groups are selected by their ability to fit in and by their matching the other participants in the group. Certain patients are excluded in advance. How the patients are selected or not selected for a therapy group is not explicit or recorded anywhere. It is understood among the therapists.

Knowledge about selection of patients for a therapy group is gained by working with therapy groups for a period of time and is also based on what is written in books on therapeutic methodology.

In a focus group interview I made with the therapists, they mentioned a number of elements that they consider to be important for the outcome of a therapeutic group sequence. These elements can be seen as some of the non-explicit inclusion or exclusion criteria, which the therapists believe to be important for the group work to succeed. I have written the list of criteria below on the basis of what was mentioned during the discussion in the focus-group session. In other words the therapists themselves do not explicate these criteria. In order to be allowed in the patients must be capable of meeting certain conditions:

- *Be able to sit without anything in front of them*
- *Be able to sit still for at least one hour*
- *Be able to use language for description*
- *Be able to reflect and to talk about feelings*
- *Must possess a certain amount of intelligence*
- *Must be able to feel one self*
- *Must be present and open minded*
- *Must be trustworthy- no one is allowed to mention what goes on at the group meetings to anybody outside the group*
- *Must be capacious*
- *Must be able to show that they can care for other patients*

The various therapy-groups are different. In one group- "here and now feelings" where there was space for new patients they were described as "the kind [of persons] that are a little messy and imaginative". The therapists had not imagined that these patients would be able to participate in the group, - it turned out however that they could.

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[231] The personnel use certain concepts from psychologically inspired litterature. They tell that via their treatment they correct the patients' sense of the actual by facing them with reality.

Division of work

Those staff members, who do not participate in the three therapy-groups, generally do not have access to information about what goes on in these groups. The nursing personnel talked about and shared among themselves the things that took place in the activity-groups and the contact persons referred to their dialogues with the patients at the daily morning meeting. The nursing personnel talked very openly about their experiences with the individual patients. There were attitude-meetings about patients at which the experiences with the patients were shared among the personnel. Via these channels of information the therapists were kept informed as the nursing personnel shared their experiences with the patients in their daily work. At the morning meetings and at the conferences, however there were no similar references to what took place in the therapy groups or to the dialogues between the therapists and the individual patients. One of the nurses raised this as a question, - why could the rest of the staff not be informed by the therapists about their view of the patients? She used to be informed about the patients for whom she had the nursing responsibility in her previous work place. She saw this withholding of information as a power related problem. The hierarchical borders between psychotherapist and non-psycho-therapists were put into question. From this point of view the nurse puts into words the hierarchical order between the semi-professional and the professional staff. The professional have achieved a higher level of legitimate knowledge in the university and with this they have achieved the highest level of cultural capital and power, and the semi-professional nurses have the lowest amount of cultural and knowledge capital and power in the field. The morning meetings and conferences are a demonstration of how this power works within the groups. There is no need to inform the nurses, they do not have the power and they do not have treatment responsibility as do the doctors and the psychologist. The highest responsibility in the ward is not associated with less valued work but with high valued work. E.g. kinds of treatment of patients or the power to decide whether a patient is better or not. This decision is not for the nurses or other semi-professionals. They haven't got the formal education. With education comes the means to have final responsibility for cure, therapy or care.

The silence - or as it was called - the confidence - that patients and personnel must maintain in relation to not initiated persons, was taken seriously by the contact persons when they had dialogues with their patients. The patients' speech was cut off, if they touched on experiences from the therapy groups. The nursing personnel accepted the arrangement and thus they backed up the frames that the therapists set up for the patients' participation in the therapy-groups. In this respect the therapists may be seen as consumers of information from the nursing personnel,

whereas the therapists do not - to the same extend - contribute to the common narration about the patients. The nursing staffs work in a systematic, reflective way reporting and sharing about meetings and groups. There are also systematic pre- and post meeting among the personnel, carried out in relation to all group-activities. These pre- and post meetings last about half an hour each. This means that the total number of working hours in relation to group-activities adds up to two and a half hours at least. Both before and after the meeting the staff discuss how patients have managed their life in the past week.

In several situations the personnel try - via consensus - to find the meaning of their nursing and treatment and at an ideological level search for a connection between the present timetable and "good treatment" in the ward. They do this in internal discussions. Once a week the personnel discuss their work and their cooperation with each other. At the morning meetings the therapists express wonder towards the rest of the personnel if they mention things, which the therapists think fall under the discussions of group-activities at the pre- and post meetings in connection with the group-activities. The morning meetings are systematically structured and conducted with an agenda, a chairman and a secretary. Indeed they are so systematized that they are supposed to run smoothly every morning. The job of chairman goes by turn, every week, and is meticuously written in a diary. The agenda alters according to which day in the week it is, and there is no deviation from this. By observing and taking systematic notes from the morning meetings and by drawing conversation-diagrams it appears that the chairman is highly respected as the head of the meetings. On top of this however, the therapists have unspoken priority on list of speakers in the personnel. They often have the last word in a discussion - or they close it.

The therapists correct the nursing personnel during discussions. They also correct the way they tell about and evaluate situations with patients.[232] Subsequently, nurses refer to statements that therapists have produced, and these are accepted and naturalized as the fact of the matter. The position that the therapists take is not finally accepted however. This can be seen by the fact that some of the nursing personnel express the wish to participate as trainee assistants[233] in a therapeutic group. Participation as a trainee assistant implies that they may later manage therapy groups in the role as co-therapists or on their own. The therapy groups also have a special status in the ward. But however, not all nurses believe that information about what takes place in these groups should belong solely to the involved. They do not try to get information during the morning meetings, but they question this principle at staff -meetings.

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[232] This is not taken further into detail, since empirical data from the morning meetings that show this is not involved any further in the present paper.
[233] Trainee assistant means that the individual nurse may follow an educated, examined therapist in the therapeutic group-session.

Symbolic power

Bourdieu writes: "Symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with this complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it".[234]

Different kinds of power can be seen in the daily work in the ward. The nurses are the persons to whom the patients first address their problems. The nurses then decide what kind of problem the patient should deal with and consult the psychiatrist or the psychologist. The problem is then discussed with the patient in a treatment meeting. In this meeting the nurse is often seen to be in a very quiet and listening position. The doctor or the psychologist leads the dialogue with the patient, in a questioning, symptom-diagnosing manner. It is obvious here that the nurse has a lower knowledge power position. The dialogue concerns pro-or-re-egression in illness, treatment and social behaviour in the ward in everyday life. Symbolic power is part of the whole setting. It shows up in the words, the silent acceptance of who has the right to dictate from the dialogue to the journal, who is leading the meeting and who is doing the practical arrangement to make things work before and after meetings of all kinds. Symbol in this sence is seen in the fact that everybody silently agrees to the way things work and nobody questions if it could be different. The words and concepts that are used are not the patients or the nurses' concepts but psychiatric and psychological concepts used to explain common knowledge and meaning in the field.

It is not possible for staff members who have not received the correct therapeutic training to participate in therapy groups. The nursing personnel as well as the patients acknowledge the established order and they each contribute to its continuation. There is a symbolic power relationship among the personnel and among the patients and between personnel and patients too. Everybody accepts this and adapts him or herself and usually no one questions if things could be different. This is incorporated in the work structures that have been agreed on for meetings and group activities. When the therapists correct nursing personnel, they do not protest. They conform to the social order and to their position in the staff. That does not exempt anybody from fighting for a better position in the staff. A better position is gained by better education, a therapeutic education or a different status as leader at the institution. The best position, however, is achieved with a combination of these two conditions. This is also shown in the fact that consultant psychiatrists as well as the head nurse, the managers of the ward, have a therapeutic education. The managers of the hospital have the highest amount of cultural, political and social capital and the final position of power.

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[234] Bourdieu, Pierre (1994): *On Symbolic Power* in Socialantropologiske grunntekster, Eriksen, T. H. (ed.) page 337

At supervision meeting the therapists said that they found that the nursing personnel talked too much, and that they wondered why they did so, when it was not necessary. The therapists said that they themselves could wait several weeks to get supervision on their experiences with the patients. They thought it was good to wait to tell until the right person, the time and space were there for it. The nursing personnel themselves discussed why they could not help telling each other about their experiences, as they put it. They concluded that it probably had to do with an old habit, and that they were used to telling about their experiences with the patients, and they continue to inform, as they are used to, in order that everybody will be informed about what has been arranged and what is going to be done in relation to the single patients. All of the nursing personnel are not always present at the ward, so others must be able to take over when someone is absent. They feel, however, that the personnel ought to discuss if this is the right way to work. At the same meeting it was questioned that there were so many fora in which supervision took place. The psychologist received supervision on her individual sessions outside the ward from a different psychologist. In the same way the psychotherapist received supervision from another therapist. The therapists would not take issues up for discussion with non-therapists in the ward. The nurses have a forum in which they receive supervision. The personnel receive supervision and instruction in various professional contexts outside the ward, with the result that there is nothing left to be taken up in the general supervision-forum of the ward. The different supervision and instruction sessions contribute to the positioning and to keeping the distance between therapists and non-therapists.

Therapists and non-therapists

The therapists have explicitly defined time, space and frames for the therapy group. The participants are evaluated and selected on the criteria of which patients are suitable for inclusion and which are unfit and thus excluded from participation in therapy groups. The fact that these criteria are non explicit is considered to be natural. Power and positions are not talked about, whereas it is expressed that therapy is done with care for the patients. The nursing staff, put words on the inequality that exists among the personnel. This means that those who do not function as therapists because of not having the official education or training as therapists cannot conduct - or participate in - the therapeutic group work. The non-therapists do not question whether it should be so or not. They do not question that it takes a special blue print to participate in the desirable groups. Non-therapists all express their wish to be trained by the "real" therapists via the function as co-therapist. The personnel are divided

formally in two groups, respectively, nursing personnel who carry out work like activity- and milieu therapy and therapists who carry out therapeutic work individually and on a group basis. The societal division of work clearly shows up in this area. The division of work and formal education is closely connected to modern western society. During their education nurses are trained as caregivers in a ward, doctors and psychotherapists have a longer and more socially valued education, from the university. They are not trained to take care of work in a ward. The nurses have not the power, such as a higher education or competence, to gain the highest position and status in the hospital, whereas doctors gain competence and the highest position and status because of their education and class. This occurs without discussion. In the same way the patients are divided into two groups. Those who participate in the therapeutic groups obtain special acknowledgement and status via, for instance, the rituals that are related to the participation in the groups: secrecy and concealment of what goes on in the selected groups against the other patients. The other patients do not try to change or to query the legitimacy of the treatment given under unequal conditions. At a non-verbal level they collude in the difference in status that arises internally in the patient and in the personnel group via this division.

Thus the weekly schedule may be seen as the expression of a constructed - though accepted - hierarchy among the patients. The demand of the patients for participation in the various groups is not equal, hence there is a division and a segregation of the fit and the unfit patients. The patients are constructed as patients of different status via selection versus not selection. The therapy-fit patients are constituted via the rituals that have been established in the groups to make sure it is considered "real therapeutic work". The very same rituals constitute the therapists as 'real therapists', where they too are distinguished from non-therapists.

Status of the activities and the personnel

The frames of time, space and room[235] that are employed at the ward and are symbolized by weekly timetable get a symbolic status as corresponding to 'good treatment'. With the timetable at hand a certain way of thinking and talking about 'good treatment' is proposed. The different members of the personnel do not attribute the same meaning to the various concepts, and during conversations among the groups, the concepts undergo changes of meaning depending on the situation and the persons involved. Different meanings and values are attributed to

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[235] The division of time and room is a way of getting better control over the treatment. At the same time it is a kind of logic which is known from the time table at school and which therefore does not awake any resistance on the side of the patients.

concepts in their usage. It can be said that there is a battle between groups to give content to certain central concepts. The final determination of a concept is found as certain members of the personnel, who apply certain terminology, have more right to speak in the group as a whole. The rest of the personnel indirectly and symbolically acknowledge their position by refraining from any discussion of it. Their acceptance of the right of the field-rulers to define a concept appears when afterwards other staff members use the concept in that specific meaning, as a natural thing.

In a focus-group interview with four psycho- therapists the concept of empathy is used. It is one of those concepts about which there is a struggle of determination[236] among the various professional groups. The struggle is for giving substance to and for defining the concept. The psychotherapist says that it is not possible to carry out therapy unless it is done with for the patient. The patients are also considerate towards each other, but may be confrontative now and then. This implies that in therapeutic group empathy is a question of being not confrontative, ergo the way something is said and the way it happens with other group members. The therapists[237] themselves may share their work by letting one take the role of the considerate and the other be the more confronting type. It is the fact that the therapists show empathy that makes it possible for them to establish a meeting with the patient. The therapists believe that it is not possible for the nursing personnel to 'meet' the patients in the activity-groups because in these groups the nursing personnel share an activity with the patient. That activity functions as a buffer between the nurse and the patient. The activity prevents the nurse from meeting the patient in an existential way. While the psychotherapists, on the other hand may experience meeting the patient in an existential way during the group-work in which the therapists and the patients sit in a circle without tables, coffee-cups or anything else between them. Thus the patients and the therapists have the possibility of only talking about what existential things go on in the patient's life. It is in this room that the real meeting with the patient takes place, and this happens with empathy. The therapists define the setting of the meting. They demand that there should be nothing in the room only chairs in a circle.[238] Walking into the room to participate in therapy becomes in a way almost ritual. At the meeting between patients and therapists the patient is constructed as patient and the therapist as therapist.

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[236] Floating signifiers are used by Laclau and Mouffe about concepts that may have different meanings and about which there is a struggle of substance among various groups.
[237] Here therapists refer to all who participate in therapeutic groups as treating members.
[238] This may be departed if a special group of patients are to participate. It is up for discussion that the frames for a new group that is to be initiated for a number of people with the diagnosis schizofrenic and who are all psychotic, should be allowed to have a table in the middle to provide the feeling of security.

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The patients are hospitalised on a voluntary basis and have agreed that they will participate under the conditions outlined for their treatment. In this context, this also includes group therapy. The therapy is decided on with the patients and is managed by therapists. There is only one way of doing it properly. The therapists have achieved the knowledge and experience via their education and yearlong training. The patients accept and acknowledge that the therapeutic groups are run in a special fashion. Each patient must bring a problem to the group. The group meetings always end in the same way, by using a certain method of reflection. During the reflection the therapists exchange opinions of what happened during the group process. The patients are a silent audience. The patients must learn to think as well as to make explicit statements about things, especially to put words on feelings. They must also learn to tolerate not having any influence on what is said and to remain silent, listening to the therapists, who also make statements about what the individual has said and done during the group work. The patients accept this and hereby they acknowledge the therapists' right to speak and their own duty to remain silent. The patient acknowledges the therapists' statements as final. They are performed in a special way according to certain criteria and thus they get a kind of ritual meaning. The patients are subjected to training in the right kind of speech and behaviour and to accept this. This is an expression of symbolic power. In this way they are subjected to symbolic power in more than one sense. The norms of the ruling class for what is good and bad behaviour, what is true and false are the over all guidelines for defining the role of the therapists in the group work with the patients. The patients are already segregated from society as not normal and hospitalised for treatment - exposed to the political and symbolic power of society.

Segregation in A and B members of the personnel?

In a focus group interview the therapists agree that what they do is good treatment, that this is where things really move. One suggests that only therapists should be employed in the ward in the future and that all activities should be carried out in the form of therapy. It is understood that their work is the real work. Hereby the therapists divide the personnel and the group activities into good and less good, important and less important. Hereby the therapeutic groups are given priority over the activity groups. At the interview the charge nurse first shows interest in the therapists' ideas, but then she opposes them. She thinks that they should be careful not to produce A and B personnel at the ward. She states that this is already a subject discussed by the personnel. That means that it is not only a potential problem but also one already existing. The nurses feel like B-personnel, because they are not educated therapists or

not about to take such an education. In this way the therapists are assigned a status A position. The nurses of the ward wish to have the possibility of participating as trainee assistants in the therapy groups and in that way are taught to be psychotherapists. In the group of not therapy educated personnel it is only the charge nurse who functions as co-therapist. She has a basic education in therapy like the one all psychiatrists must undergo in order to manage dialogues with the patients.

At a feature meeting the personnel discussed the groups from a viewpoint they labelled "what should be discussed is, what is good treatment and which groups are an expression of good treatment. It is closely related". Hereby it is stated that there exists a connection between those activities that are put on the week-timetable and "good treatment".[239]

At a morning meeting, at which the personnel discuss how they themselves feel, they articulate their feelings about restructuring the week schedule and forming new groups. There is a feeling that it is not positive to have to make changes in group contents and in the allocation of personnel. The stray comments on how it feels having to alter the groups lead to a discussion of what good treatment is, where there will be some things that are stable though not necessarily stagnated. Some of the central concepts in this discussion were structure and backbone. These concepts were given the same status as having something that is stable while not being stagnated. If the personnel can give the groups a bit more structure and backbone, they may have more time to spend on reflection, i.e. going into depth and developing each individual group. Here they show that there is an opinion that there first of all must be backbone and structure in a group before you can go deeper and develop the group, - and the tool is reflection.

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[239] In interviews with nurses and consultant psychiatrists about what they understand by treatment and what they understand by nursing, most of them state that there is no difference. Everything is treament. But then the agreement comes to an end. The managing psychiatrist thinks it's only union matter to talk about nursing. The head nurse distinguishes between nursing, for which she is responsible, and work at developing in the district - and treatment consisting of medicine and therapy. The consultant psychiatrist of the ward destinguishes between medical and psycho-therapeutic treatment. There is an agreement that the personnel must have an approved education for therapist to do psycho-therapy. One nurse describes that in nursing there is solicitude but that solicitude is more than treatment - it goes beyond treatment. Another nurse describes nursing as falling under treatment, as she regards treatment as a big umbrella. Under this umbrella we find various forms of treatment. Nursing and solicitude is a branch of these forms of treatment, but treatment is bigger and covers more than solicitude.

Closing

Therapy is not just acting out empathy, it is also the expression of a position being in power of different kind, inclusive the symbolic power of being in power in all respects without any word about it, as a natural given. The therapy space is also an arena, in which a struggle takes place between the therapists themselves - about the right forms of therapy, and a struggle between those who are educated and acknowledged as therapists and those who are non-therapists. Furthermore there is a struggle to be the one who gives contents to and defines the concepts introduced to the field. Once the concept has been settled everyone in the field uses it in that particular sense. The concepts are naturalised.

The professional groups fight a fight for the positions in the field. The premise on which this takes place belongs to those with the greatest cultural capital. Since they have the greatest symbolic power they are empowered to set the rules of the game. The nurses are part of a battle, a battle-taking place on the foreign ground of the psychotherapists. Historically psychiatrists and nursing personnel have been in these nursing and treatment wards for the longest time, while the role of therapists is quite recent. However the nursing personnel still see it as a foreign arena on which the battle takes place. The strongest group gets to set up the rules. This shows up in the structural organisation of the work. At the group sessions activities take place according to principles that are developed from the psychiatrist's clinic and a psychoanalytical way of thinking. In their clinic the psychologists use the same methods for the consultation. Thus the primary logic implemented in the ward is a medical and psychological way of seeing treatment. Time is linear, meticulously measured and effective. It is the time spent in the consultation that moves the patient. This is where the real treatment takes place. The time between consultations is not-treatment-time. Therefore this period has no status. Personnel who deal with patients in everyday tasks hold a low - or no status. Therefore a concept like milieu-therapy is introduced for the work that takes place between consultations. As the analyses in this paper shows, however, milieu-therapy gives no status or opportunity for positioning in the field, either. Milieu-therapy, which takes place outside the arranged time of treatment is not treatment and becomes less important. In the ward this appears in the fact that there is virtually no personnel present in the patients' common room. Thus milieu therapy cannot be claimed to take place between the activities. Milieu-therapy has been scheduled as an activity in the activity-groups to attempt to give milieu-therapy the same status as psychotherapy has in the therapeutic group-sequence. But still the milieu-therapeutic staffs differ from psychotherapeutic staff in power and position.

As to the question, why is there 1,5 hours reserved for group activities, neither less nor more, the answer is that it is because the

patients cannot concentrate any longer, and it should not last any longer, either. When the clients visited the psychologist's consultation room and left it after a dialogue, time followed the working rhythm and routine of the psychologist. A dialogue that in advance had been scheduled to last a certain fraction of an hour. This logic and rhythm has made it's entry into a ward where time had formerly been structured by the rhythm and time of the cycle and where dialogues were not so exactly planned with a fixed duration on certain days, measured time and in specific rooms.

The day ward is designated as an active treatment ward. The patients do not come there to be stored; they come there to get active treatment based on specific systems and criteria in accordance with a therapeutic logic. At a symbolic level the time and activity planning that has become apparent in the form of a weekly treatment schedule refers to the logic mentioned above. Group activities and milieu therapy are on stage in between. They take place in the living room and in the dining room and out in nature.

Once a week the contact persons have a dialogue with their patients, lasting for half an hour. In principle neither less nor more. However this may be departed from according to the contact person's individual and motivated judgement. That is if there is time in her diary. Writing in the diary gets an almost ritual meaning, and what is noted here has first priority.

Group activities take place in group-rooms. Milieu therapy takes place in common rooms and in group-rooms. Dialogues between the contact person and the patient - and between the team and the patient take place in dialogue-rooms. Spontaneous contact, i.e. not arranged contact, between nursing personnel and patients, is carefully considered, whether it may take place in the same room where the contact takes place. Conversations that are not therapeutic are banned from the therapy-room and must take place in adjacent rooms or out in nature at walks. The contact person and the psychologist may make an arrangement about what a patient may talk about and with whom and where this can take place. This means that an everyday conversation during a trip in the wood can be named as therapy if this is judged necessary for the success of the patient's treatment.

The patient is informed and accepts being interrupted in case he or she talks about something in a wrong spot, in a wrong fashion, a wrong time, or not directed to the proper member of the staff.

The patients are informed about time-structure, week timetable and their appointments relating to this, frames for activities in the houses and about how the group-activities take place, but not why they take place the way they do. The patients contribute by determining their own goals for the groups in which they participate without asking questions or opposing. The patients are constructed as patients; the personnel are constructed as practitioners and therapists by virtue of their joint

activities. What appears here are different kinds of power including symbolic power by which everybody gains something? It is staged in a way that is settled by the personnel, and the patient agrees to participate on the terms that have been laid down. The patients have somebody who takes care of them, they have something to do, the personnel have somebody to take care of, give treatment and via whom they can be therapists. Hereby everybody harvests from the joint work of the institution.

It gives the nursing personnel more status to work with treatment and to do it based on therapeutic principles.[240] This shows up in circumstances where certain principles leading up to the dialogues may be ritualised. The patient is guided through the living room to go upstairs to the group and dialogue- rooms. In the living room other patients see that this group or this patient is now chosen to participate in a therapy-group or a dialogue.

The nursing personnel on their part are subject to the mundane power of the field and to its symbolic power in more than one sense. They are constructed as non-therapists in the same process as others are constructed as therapists. The nursing personnel are non-therapists, but employ and base their understanding of the daily work on therapeutic structures and principles, i.e. the same terms and structures that exclude their own group as non-therapists. Thus the same framework and terms for work-division becomes a symbolic instrument for the internalisation of symbolic power with the nursing personnel. The same framework and terms constitute the nursing personnel as practitioners with the status it gives in relation to nursing personnel in other wards. There is symbolic power in relation to the patients who are constituted as patients in the meeting with the nursing personnel who are at the same time constituted as practitioners. The ritual actions like dialogues being initiated by the patient following the therapist and that they move through the common living room to reach the dialogue-room on the first floor. This supports the nurse's position in the groups. When a patient approaches his contact person he is often left to talk about problems at the weekly meeting that has been arranged with the contact person. The weekly dialogue is as mentioned set for half an hour's duration. The duration or number of meetings may be increased, if there are special circumstances and the contact person feels it is important. Non-appointment dialogue may occur when a patient feels really bad and need someone to talk to. The nurse says that the patient needs care.

The patients are interrupted in their speech, however, if it takes place in a wrong spot. Instead they are taken upstairs to the right place for a

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[240] The working methods and the thoughts behind are described in the books that the personnel have been using since milieu therapy was introduced by the Norwegian psychologists Culberg and Hummelvolt in the 1980's.

confidential and undisturbed dialogue. It means that any confidential dialogue is tied to the right place and room. The very movement by which the patient and nurse go through the common rooms signals that "we are on our way into a confidential room". Everybody in the living room knows what is going on - though not verbally expressed. In the dialogue- room the dialogue is carried out according to specific rules as a therapeutic dialogue, using specific techniques that are designated 'the opening dialogue'. Empathy is conveyed through a therapeutic dialogue in which patient and practitioner participate.

Dialogues take place on the principle called: "the opening dialogue". It means that in principle all dialogues are carried out according to registered rules for dialogue. Dialogues take place in certain rooms in certain time frames and on certain principles. These are laid down in advance according to a therapeutic ideal and are determined, controlled and closed by the personnel. The patients participate in this and accept the principles that make up the time frames, place and way of dialogue. Therapeutic dialogues take place in a confidential room between the practitioner and the patient. Confidential because the dialogue is not referred to in other contexts. In Foucault's terms this may also be seen as a structuring of the desire to confess. The opening dialogue opens for the confession of the patient - and this will be a subject of my further research.[241]