

10 Applying a sociological analysis of pedagogic discourse

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Schooling in Belgium has always been provided by both private and public agencies, which gradually formed networks to carry out their missions. At the lower secondary school level, the network of independent Catholic schools (a state-funded private agency) currently provides schooling to about 60 per cent of each student cohort, while the network of the French Community (a public agency) provides schooling to about 30 per cent of each cohort of students. The remaining students receive schooling in other networks organized by communes, provinces or other private actors.

This institutional configuration means that each network is subject to regulations imposed by law, while simultaneously enjoying some autonomy (especially with regard to the drafting of course programmes). They must therefore interpret the government's legal injunctions and apply them to their own practices and regulations. In theory, the law does not intervene in pedagogical matters. However, many actors within these agencies acknowledge that the Belgian education reform movement of the 1990s, and especially the "missions"¹ decree of 1997, significantly encroach on both teaching objectives and methods. This is believed to be the case even in the independent Catholic network, whose identity is associated with freedom in teaching methods. An opinion of the Council of State of 23 April 1997 also points out that, as a result of the reform movement and, in particular, the decree, "funded institutions, and particularly the independent network, have seen their freedom reduced in areas such as curricula, educational choices, level of education and choice of students".

This constitutes, then, a particularly interesting institutional configuration providing the opportunity to observe, within the same segment of time and space, the interpretive work carried out, as mandated, by different networks on the same collection of documents (the "missions" decree and the various directives associated with it). The present chapter is concerned only with the educational responses of the network of independent Catholic schools and of the network of the French Community. First, we seek to demonstrate that the work of these two networks has, in effect, been based on the same paradigm, as defined by law; then based on the same matrix of possibilities and constraints, they have adopted, though at the margin, two

different orientations in terms of the pedagogical model employed; and finally that it is possible to relate these pedagogical orientations and models to the values expressed by the networks, as well as to the positions and trajectories taken by pedagogical coordinators within the division of labour of each network.

The sociology of educational discourses

Visible pedagogy, invisible pedagogy; performance and competence

The work of Basil Bernstein (see especially 1975, 1997) provides tools for describing and analysing pedagogic discourse. While these may, in turn, generate successive subdimensions, three fundamental dimensions structure every pedagogical model in Bernstein's thinking: curricular classifications, the framing of teaching-learning relationships and evaluation criteria.

In analysing these dimensions, Bernstein created two pedagogical ideal-types:² the visible pedagogical model and the invisible pedagogical model. The visible/invisible distinction must be analysed from the standpoint of students: it is primarily in reference to them that the pedagogical model is either visible or invisible. In the invisible model, the tasks to be performed are global tasks; the sequencing of the tasks is loosely defined, or, implicit; the student may have difficulty understanding the aims of the task; only the teacher understands the specific objectives being pursued, and these objectives are highly integrated. A comprehensive theory of child development underlies invisible pedagogy. Conversely, visible pedagogy is characterized by an explicit division and sequencing (strong classification) of subject matter and learning; it places less emphasis on individual creativity, and the hierarchies in its teaching-learning relationships are more explicit, as are its evaluations. Frequently, though not always, it is based on behaviourist approaches to learning.

Bernstein's various descriptions of these pedagogical models are very fertile. For example, he points out that invisible pedagogies make certain student characteristics highly visible to the teacher, especially those associated with their personality and inner life. With regard to visible pedagogies, focusing on a child's standing in relation to predefined learning levels obscures each child's uniqueness, and instead creates classifications that make the relative standing of each student directly visible.

In his more recent work, Bernstein (2000) distinguishes between performance and competence models of pedagogy. In many ways, this conceptualization of performance pedagogy resembles Bernstein's earlier visible pedagogical model, while his concept of competence pedagogy may be compared to the invisible model. Thus, the distinction between performance and competence, which emerges in both the social world and the field of theory developed by Bernstein, constitutes a new way of perceiving the older

visible/invisible distinction. However, the concept of competence is equivocal, and in practice has sometimes been interpreted inconsistently. In its humanistic and open version, it refers to the objective of creatively developing each student's potentialities within an integrated curriculum. Elsewhere (especially as promoted under the rhetoric of the "new managerialism" and associated techniques such as the development of and accountability for meeting – as measured by standardized external evaluations – content standards), it has served to redirect pedagogical practices towards performance defined in a narrower sense (i.e. performance-based curricula) (Broadfoot and Pollard 2006).

While traditional classifications have been highly structured around disciplines, recent works identify new forms of classification. At the level of higher education, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries, some authors have demonstrated a shift from a discipline-centred, theoretical curriculum that the scientific community evaluates for its "intrinsic value", towards an interdisciplinary, applied curriculum (oriented towards the resolution of problems) that is evaluated for its performativity and exchange value on the labour market (Naidoo and Jamieson 2003). By convention, the literature (Ensor 2001) refers to these two models, respectively, as the Mode 1 Curriculum and the Mode 2 Curriculum. This may be compared to the recent work of Bernstein (2000), in which he identifies a process of curricular "regionalization". This process, which is applied primarily in higher education, involves shifting from curricular classification based on distinct disciplines to a region-centred or problem-centred curriculum, incorporating various disciplinary approaches, with both cognitive and instrumental aims. This type of curriculum depends more on the problems that need to be resolved and on the individuals that define these problems (i.e. social and economic actors), than on the disciplines and on the individuals (who present themselves as) responsible for these disciplines (i.e. academic actors).

The social uses of pedagogic discourse

Bernstein's model of invisible pedagogy, which has been associated since the 1970s with kindergartens and private schools in particular (but which we may assume is today being employed in certain areas of public schooling and in university education), emerged because it led many (especially, perhaps, proponents of "progressive" education) to believe that it constituted a way to combat the reproduction of social inequality (a process in which education, particularly "traditional" models of visible pedagogy, had been increasingly implicated). In contrast to this view, which sees the invisible pedagogical model as a force for social emancipation, Bernstein suggests that the shift from visible to invisible pedagogy is part of a transformation in methods that gives rise to further educational inequality. The new methods are receiving their impetus from and working for the benefit of a new section of the middle class.

This new middle class is the product of the increasingly complex world of work requiring, among other things, greater flexibility, versatility, imagination and creativity. This class also euphemizes power relationships. Its members become symbolic agents of control and its orientation differs from that of the old middle class, which belonged to a world involved in the production and circulation of material (rather than symbolic) goods. Whereas in the old middle class, social control was achieved through impersonal rules, in the new middle class it is achieved primarily through interpersonal communication processes emphasizing mutual respect, persuasion, listening and the recognition of each person's individuality. Consequently, the invisible model supported by the new middle class leads to new control methods based on self-evaluation and peer evaluation, leading to implicit competition and imposing additional responsibilities on each student within a logic of "contract" or personal project.

The pedagogical norm and its reinterpretations

The spirit of the reform

The concept of competence, which is of special interest to us since it is central to the pedagogical component of the reform movement we are examining, originated in the social sciences. Although the concept is vague and polysemous, or perhaps due to these qualities, it has become a core category in thinking revolving around the skills expected of workers and the definition and evaluation of these skills. The concept of competence started to be deployed in educational systems when enterprises, and their managers, incorporated it as a principle guiding task definition, individual assessment and career regulation (Ropé and Tanguy 2000).

While in the world of business, the concept of competence is linked primarily with post-Fordist type questions of managerial efficiency (Brown 1995), this does not imply that once it is incorporated into the world of education, it will be understood through the same prism. Competence, in conjunction with the educational reform movement associated with it, has been linked to a series of explanatory principles raised by educational, political and administrative elites in an exercise designed as a way of formulating a critique of existing pedagogical practices and as a desirable pedagogical prospect.

Referring to Boltanski and Thévenot (1991), one might say that these explanations belong primarily to (1) the world of civic-mindedness (we need to promote "the success of the greatest number" by way of "schools favouring success for all" and by defining objectives in terms of "core" minimal competences that everyone should attain) and (2) the world of inspiration (the importance attributed to the fulfilment of the child, which must have a central place in learning, and the critique of the psycho-emotional effects of repeating a year and of relegating students to lower educational streams).

These two worlds respectively constitute central reference points for the "the social left" and the "cultural left" (Liénard and Capron 2000) or, as Boltanski and Chiapello (1999) put it, for a "social critique" and an "artistic critique". To this, we can add the world of industriousness based on the efficiency achieved, for the most part, as children who are fulfilled in school will take pleasure in learning; this ensures that the educational endeavour will be effective.

On a pedagogical level, we can select from the "missions" decree, and from the various documents with which it is associated, key elements that have been analysed according to Bernstein's theoretical concepts. In particular, the texts make fluid pedagogical time and space, notably by employing the concepts of "cycle", "differentiated pedagogy", the "pedagogical continuum" and the "elimination of repeating a year". They also emphasize the need to acquire cross-curricular competence, the belief that segmented learning cannot be justified and the need to give increased status to horizontal teacher-student relationships. Thus, they weaken classification and promote teaching-learning relationships that aim at greater horizontality. On the other hand, these texts also make provision for the eventual creation of batteries of standardized external evaluation. While the networks have not yet incorporated this measure, there could of course be significant developments here in the future.

The power of the current pedagogical movement is indicated, notably, by the development of legislative documents that have declared certain lessons taught in class to be illegal. For example, as indicated by the government of the French community in its comments on and statement regarding the purposes of the "missions' decree", from now on straightforward completion of conjugation tables is against the law: "Concretely, a lesson designed to get students to complete conjugation tables, but lacking a direct connection with reading or listening comprehension, with writing or with improving verbal competence, categorically contradicts the present decree" (Government of the French Community, *Exposé des motifs et commentaires*, 6 May 1997). It is somewhat surprising to see a government take a position on the legitimacy of an activity (henceforth, having inextricable legal and pedagogical dimensions) that consists of completing conjugation tables. As far as we know, no other country has gone so far in its legal requirements regarding educational practices.

Course programmes

Thus far, we have briefly described a range of pedagogical orientations and content resulting from the publication of the "missions' decree" and its related documents. The decree and its related documents were themselves intended to influence the preparation of the programmes by the networks. We have since witnessed the creation of a new cohort of course programmes. The objective of the present section is to reveal the structure of the

pedagogic discourse expressed by these texts. To identify historical variations in pedagogy within and between the networks, we have created a corpus (of about 1,000 pages) using the following texts: the programmes of the French Community (FC) in 1985, the programmes of the FC in 2000, the programmes of the independent Catholic network (IN) in 1985 and the IN programmes in 2000.

We have decided to examine these texts in terms of the relative occurrence of the various keywords they contain. Our analysis thus places great store in naming processes. According to Bourdieu, sociology must:

examine what can be expressed in words when it constructs "social facts", as well as what is contributed by the battle over classification – a dimension in every class struggle – in the formation of classes, be they social classes, age classes, sexual classes, as well as clans, tribes, ethnic groups or nations.

(Bourdieu 2001, p. 155)

Thus, sociological interest in ways of naming reality is based on the claim that social relationships penetrate and permeate language, which then serves to reveal social phenomena. Our effort to select words likely to indicate pedagogical trends was based on Bernstein's theoretical framework. The database formed includes 18 statistical units (referring to course programmes) and 75 variables (referring to keywords). In total, about 13,000 observations were made.

Factor analysis of the database reveals two principal components of pedagogic discourse. The variables listed below provide the essence of the pedagogical language's principal component (20 per cent of the total variance) and its second component (16 per cent). They are presented in their order of importance as factors. The only variables listed here are those whose saturation coefficient is greater than 0.5 (in absolute value).

The first component is easy to understand: it is negatively correlated to the variable "construct/" (−0.673) (which refers to a constructivist perspective on education) as well as to the variable "situation" (−0.524) (which refers to the simulation of real-life situations for students). However, to a large extent this component is largely circumscribed by variables such as "effort" (0.874), "exercise" (0.743), "lesson" (0.860), "subject" (0.778), "schoolmaster" (0.709) and "teacher" (0.843). A series of terms forming the core of a traditional pedagogy are also highly correlated with the first factor: "aptitude" (0.753), "attitude" (0.581), "observation" (0.555) and "objectives" (0.598). This model, developed by child psychologists influenced by behaviourism, emphasizes the need for teachers to clearly define their "objectives". In addition, it advocates meticulous and methodical "observation" by teachers of student "aptitude" and "behaviour". Following convention, we will call the first factor the "behaviour" factor.

The second factor does not create interpretation problems inasmuch as it is greatly influenced by terms that are central to the reform movement we

Table 10.1 Grouping of the two principal components

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Saturation coefficients for factor 1</i>	<i>Variables</i>	<i>Saturation coefficients for factor 2</i>
<i>Effort</i> (effort)	0.874	<i>Information</i> (information)	0.849
<i>Leçon</i> (lesson)	0.860	<i>Formatif</i> (formative)	0.844
<i>Professeur</i> (teacher)	0.843	<i>Projet</i> (project)	0.789
<i>Cabier</i> (notebook)	0.813	<i>Apprentissage</i> (learning)	0.724
<i>Matière</i> (subject)	0.778	<i>Consigne</i> (instructions)	0.716
<i>Persévérer</i> (perseverance)	0.769	<i>Certificatif</i> (attestation)	0.705
<i>Aptitude</i> (aptitude or ability)	0.753	<i>Elève</i> (student)	0.698
<i>Exercice</i> (exercise)	0.743	<i>Actif</i> (active)	0.659
<i>Adolescent</i> (adolescent)	0.733	<i>Structuration</i> (structuring)	0.652
<i>Esprit critique</i> (critical spirit)	0.710	<i>Autonomie</i> (autonomy)	0.633
<i>Maître</i> (schoolmaster)	0.709	<i>Plaisir</i> (pleasure)	0.622
<i>Construit</i> (construct/)	-0.673	<i>Tâche</i> (task)	0.606
<i>Erreur</i> (error)	0.654	<i>Compétence</i> (competence)	0.606
<i>Enfant</i> (child)	0.649	<i>Situation</i> (situation)	0.594
<i>De base</i> (basic)	0.628	<i>Performance</i> (performance)	0.591
<i>Objetif</i> (objective)	0.598	<i>Savoir</i> (knowledge)	0.591
<i>Désir</i> (desire)	0.598	<i>S'approprier</i> (appropriation)	0.575
<i>Transversal</i> (transverse)	0.582	<i>Découvrir</i> (discovery)	-0.564
<i>Attitude</i> (attitude)	0.581	<i>Assimiler</i> (assimilate)	-0.545
<i>Réussite</i> (success)	0.575		
<i>Observation</i> (observation)	0.555		
<i>Correction</i> (correction)	0.536		
<i>Progrès</i> (progress)	0.524		
<i>Situation</i> (situation)	-0.524		

are examining. Of course, there is "competence" (0.606), but there are also "situation(s)" (real-life simulations) (0.594) for the "student" (0.698), who must be "active" (0.659), the advantages of pedagogy centred on a "project" (0.789) and "formative" evaluation (0.844), which enhances the status of "autonomy" (0.633). The second factor is negatively correlated with the variables "assimilate" (-0.545) and "discover" (-0.564), which symbolically refer to the idea of moving the student towards knowledge that is "already there". Following convention, we will call the second factor the "competence" factor.

Based on Bernstein's language, we see that the first factor, on its positive side (to the right of the x -axis in the factorial design below) corresponds to a pedagogical orientation more visible than the second, which, on its positive side (the upper y -axis), moves in the direction of the invisible pole. The first factor is in fact positively correlated, at once, with terms symbolizing strong classifications and framing and a clear division between and sequencing of the educational activities and objectives pursued (exercise, objective, observation, lesson) and an explicit and hierarchical teaching-learning relationship (schoolmaster, teacher, child and effort). The second factor is positively correlated with terms symbolizing a loose classification of learning (situation, project, competence) and weaker framing in the form of a less explicit teaching-learning hierarchy (the "student" is "active" and displays "autonomy", the evaluation must be "formative").

The coordinates of each variable are defined by the strength of its correlations (saturation coefficients) with each of the two factors forming the axes of the figure.

When we examine various course programme scores for the two factors in Figure 10.2, we see, first, that the old programmes tend to scatter horizontally, that is, along the "behaviour" axis, while the new programmes scatter vertically, along the "competence" axis. This indicates that there has been a shift in the debates and differences of opinion. In 1985, these were based on the model represented by the "behaviour" factor. In 2000, they dealt with the language of reform as represented by the "competence" axis, though some programmes were more closely linked to this language (especially literature programmes and programmes in the independent network) than others (especially the more "scientific" programmes and those in the Community network).

How to read the graph: the x -axis represents the "behaviour" factor; the y -axis is the "competence" axis; the programmes are identified by a code referring, first, to the period (1985 or 2000), then to the network (Independent or French Community) and, lastly, to the discipline.

In Figure 10.2, arrows were drawn to indicate, discipline by discipline, historical shifts in pedagogic discourse. Notably, most of the shifts in the graph occurred concurrently from right to left; that is, moving away from the language of the "behaviour" axis (indicated by a lower score on this axis), and from the bottom toward the top, that is, moving towards the language of "competence" (indicated by a higher score on this axis).

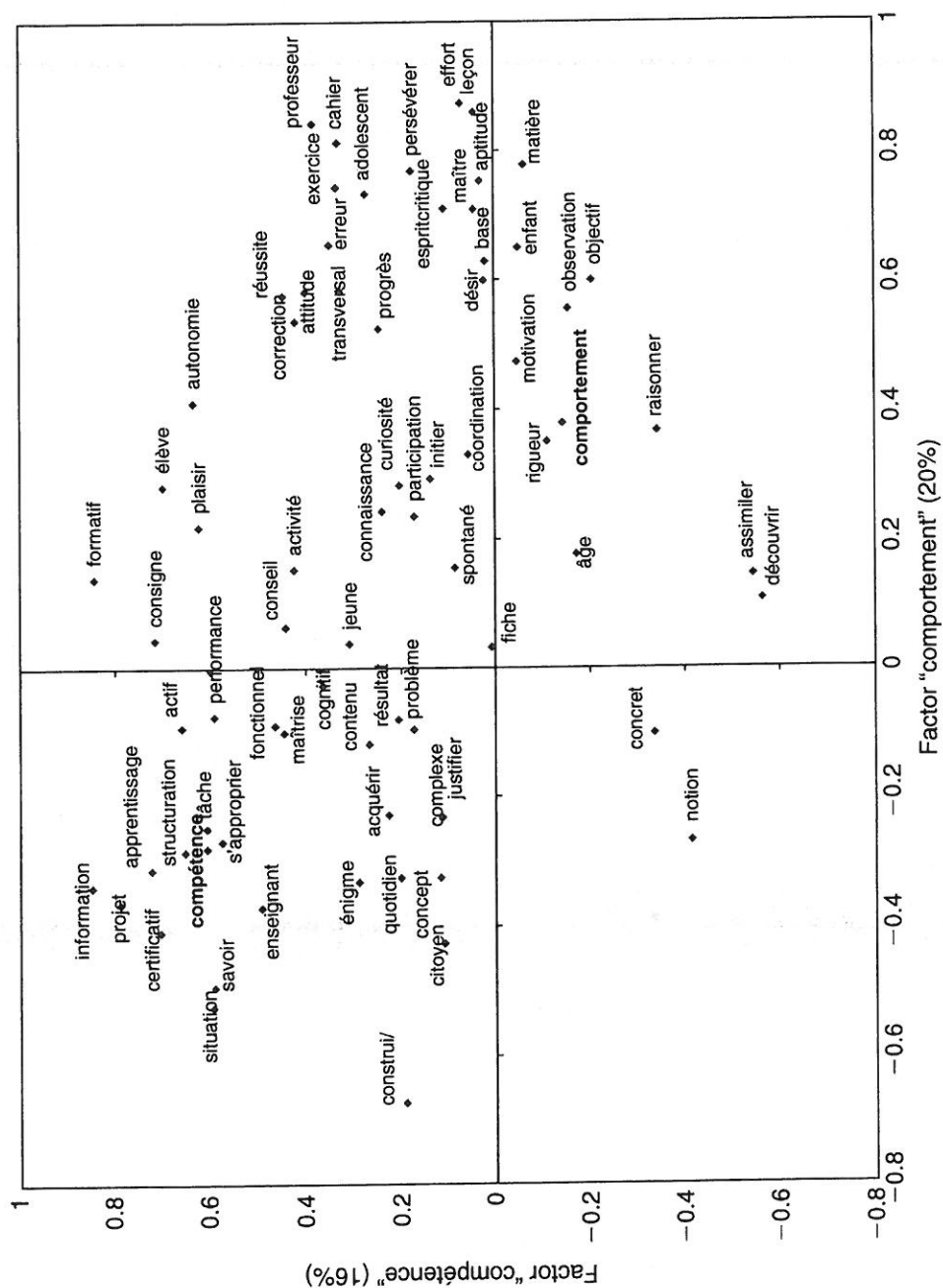


Figure 10.1 Saturation coefficients for 75 variables (2 factors selected).

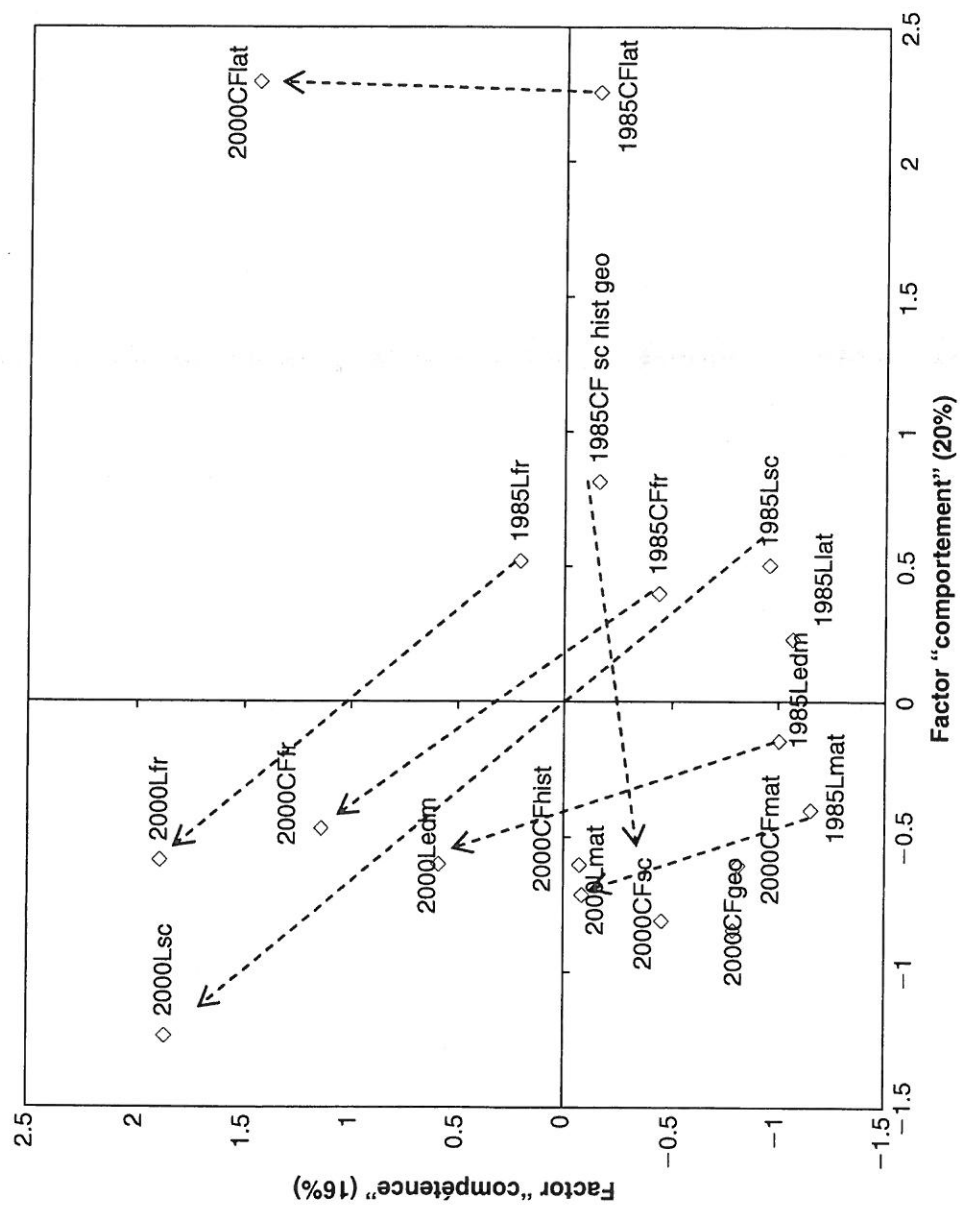


Figure 10.2 Factor scores for course programmes.

In addition, the analysis reveals that in 1985 it was primarily authors of course programmes for the French Community who mobilized the legitimate pedagogical narrative. In 2000, the legitimate narrative was transformed to give increased legitimacy to the principle of "construction of knowledge", to "projects", to the simulation of real-life "situations" and to the concept of "competence". This time it was the independent network programmes that seemed to be the most replete with occurrences of its language. A more detailed analysis of the programmes in certain disciplines confirmed this different positioning of networks along the visible-invisible continuum (Mangez 2004). Interpreting the same documents, the pedagogical coordinators of the two networks took slightly different directions: in the independent network the pedagogies became less visible, while in the Community network the pedagogical model became more explicit.

In each of the two networks, the actors who mediated the reform by expressing it as course programmes revealed strong convictions regarding the point of view they were defending. The representatives of the independent network willingly acknowledged that their conception of the term "ability" was broader and more open than that of the Community network representatives. They were proud of this and felt that their position was legitimate, more audacious, more innovative and less conventional, etc. By contrast, the Community network representatives said that their position was more precise, clearer to teachers, more operational, more realistic and less vague, etc. Our objective in the remainder of the chapter is to determine the relationship between, on the one hand, the positions held within the pedagogical field and, on the other hand, the structure of the relative positions held by the mediating agents in question, the trajectories they followed, the institutional configuration in which they evolved and the values they mobilized.

The conditions in which course programmes were created

In each of the two networks, the heads of programmes were former teachers whose trajectory was differentiated from that of their colleagues (regular teachers "in the field"): they were educational advisors or area supervisors in the independent network (EA-AS) or inspectors in the Community network (IC). These two groups differed in a number of ways including: their professional trajectories; the types and volume of resources available to them; and their standing (status and mission) in relation to regular teachers in the field (Draelants *et al.* 2004). An examination³ of these characteristics allows us to understand how these two groups were formed, and thus give meaning to the pedagogical options they defended. However, our intention here is to describe, rather than explain, their comprehensive stance; it is not to establish causal relationships between their status and the positions they took.

Educational advisors in the independent Catholic network

The organizational morphology of the independent network, which provides schooling for about 60 per cent of the population, is unique. Since 1957, the network has been organized into a federation of local organizational authorities (consisting of several similar institutions). Each local organizational authority has the right to dissociate itself from the federation and operate independently (though this has been made much more difficult following the "missions" decree). Consequently, it is not possible to provide an organizational chart that defines unequivocally the positions of power and power relationships within the network. The network is "held together" through a form of membership in which interpersonal relations and communication play a central role. Freedom (in the sense of political liberalism), personal development and celebrating differences (the uniqueness of each person) are all important values to the network and may be understood as renewed forms of Catholic values. Beyond its Catholic denomination, the network's identity relates strongly to its attachment to its independence (Charlier 2000).

The most basic characteristic of the career trajectory for an EA-AS and, more generally, that followed by mediating agents working in the area of independent (private) education, is that it is not very bureaucratic and somewhat vague. The twists and turns and ordeals punctuating this trajectory tend to vary from individual to individual, depending on the opportunities and circumstances in which they find themselves. Nonetheless, it is possible to discern certain recurring features. They all began their careers as teachers, mostly in institutions low down in the status hierarchy. Early in their careers, they proved to be very active in their institution by getting involved in one of its projects or getting deeply involved in a team activity. They all quickly joined work networks beyond the confines of the institution to which they belonged. In this way, they were able to make contact with, among others, individuals already occupying posts as mediating agents. They provided this extra work on a volunteer basis, going above and beyond the hours normally worked by teachers. They did not count the hours they put in, and they were enthusiastic, positive and spontaneous in this endeavour.

Accordingly, they were eventually noticed and solicited by a network director or by a mediating agent already working in the field. Frequently, they themselves did not know exactly why they had been chosen. In any case, it was not a mastery of their discipline that distinguished them. What set them apart from the majority of their colleagues were their character traits, the way they conducted themselves in these groups, an expressed interest in spontaneous pedagogical practices, and an ability to stand back and take stock. Even though the recruitment process was vague, they all realized that they owed their position primarily to their commitment to atypical pedagogical practices setting them apart from standard teachers "in the field".

The mission of an EA-AS is essentially one of teacher support/coaching and training, but for which there is no form of legal authority. Statutorily, the EA-AS remain teachers; they have been assigned tasks as mediating agents. This assignment, which differentiates them from their original occupational group, comes with no institutional guarantees: officially, there is nothing to guarantee that, at the end of their mandate, they will not return full time to their work "as a (normal) teacher in the field". Thus, the only recognition they receive is from their peers (the other mediating agents) and superiors, and is strictly symbolic. They are often critical in their portrayal of regular teachers in the field. They certainly have an objective interest in describing these teachers as "resistant to change", since their mission as mediating agents in the independent network is precisely to serve as agents of change.

Most of them have continued teaching, on a part-time basis, in their institution. They thereby have maintained a link with regular teaching, in an effort to boost their legitimacy in the eyes of teachers. However, this relationship with the "field" is very specific: the EA-AS work in their own classes with their own students, as part of their own institution, all of which are more likely to reinforce their efforts to implement their own practices than to portray them as observers of diverse practices and student populations. As we will demonstrate later, and contrary to what they often maintain, the EA-AS, objectively speaking, directly observe this diversity less frequently than do Community network inspectors.

Inspectors in the French Community network (IC)

The French Community network provides schooling for about 30 per cent of the primary school population. The organizational morphology of this network is very different from that of the independent network. It takes the form of a state hierarchical structure. The power relationships are formalized in an organizational chart. The network is "held together" bureaucratically and upholds the concept of "public service". Likewise, values such as equality and neutrality constitute an important point of reference (Charlier 2000). Historically, these values were formed as part of a plan, supported by both socialists and radical liberals, to deliver the masses from Catholic, clerical obscurantism.

In the education provided by the Community network, the heads of programmes are inspectors (IC). In contrast to the EA-AS of the independent network, IC often come from institutions located higher up in the educational status hierarchy. They form a group in which the average age is greater than that of mediating agents in the independent network. In addition, a much lower proportion of heads of programmes in the Community network are women.

Their trajectory differs from that of independent network agents in that it is established on the basis of exams under bureaucratic control. The age

required for taking these exams is 35; in addition, it is necessary to have obtained positive inspection reports as a teacher and to have accumulated at least ten years of service. The exams deal with different topics, including didactics and knowledge of legal provisions (reforms, decrees, etc.). Candidates must also provide a critique of a lesson in front of a jury. Attaining the status of inspector requires holding a completed university degree (long-course higher education). This is unlike the position of educational advisor, which requires only a teaching degree for lower secondary classes (short-course higher education). Passing these exams gives access to a definitive status, namely, a career appointment when a position becomes available. Owing to these stable institutional resources, the "danger" of again becoming a full-time regular teacher is, at this point, almost nil.

The mission of an IC is primarily one of management and secondarily one of support, which is frequently also described as a mission of "guidance" in the discipline's "didactics". This differs from the perspective of the independent network agents, who speak of "support or coaching" on the "pedagogical" level. To explain their function, the IC automatically refers to various legal provisions regulating them; they use this legal legitimacy to define their management mission. Management can extend beyond monitoring conformity with programmes; it may also comprise managing grants or safety conditions, as well as conducting specific fact-finding missions at the request of the minister. While there are exceptions, the management mission of an IC generally takes precedence over their "guidance" mission.

Conclusion

Compared to pedagogical preferences of educational advisers in the Independent network, those of inspectors (IC) in the Community network are closer to the visible model. Inspectors clearly form part of a division of labour subject to bureaucratic and hierarchical control, that is, a structure in which the boundaries between tasks, missions and hierarchical levels are visible and regulated. As such, we have demonstrated that the professional trajectory employed by Community inspectors is characterized by explicit tests, which also constitute a visible model. Similarly, the social relationships between inspectors and regular teachers "in the field" manifest the characteristics of a visible relationship (explicit hierarchy: management (or control) takes precedence over guidance, and the hierarchical pre-eminence of inspectors is legal).

In addition, the trajectory followed by inspectors has conferred on them a status that clearly distinguishes them from teachers. Thus, in their course programmes they tend to detail what teachers must perform more than EA-AS do. In addition, the work performed by teachers constitutes a resource for them inasmuch as it provides them with a sphere of control: the controllable nature (characteristic of the visible pedagogical model) of teachers' work legitimates the position of inspectors in the division of labour. Thus, the greater accent placed on segmented exercises, which they justify in

pedagogical terms, is for inspectors an expression of their position of superiority and control vis-à-vis teachers.

Conversely, we may characterize the tests associated with the trajectory of EA-AS in the independent network as containing certain features of an invisible pedagogical model: the individuals being evaluated (prospective EA-AS) are neither aware of the criteria employed to evaluate them, nor when (and, indeed, if) they are being evaluated. The tests rely on interpersonal communication processes. Similarly, the relationship linking educational advisors and teachers is closer to the invisible model (euphemized hierarchy, with no formal hierarchical superiority).

To illustrate in greater detail, in the French programme of the private (non-state) sector, the link of subordination between structuring activities and functional activities appears equivalent, in the symbolic pedagogical order, to the social relationship between teachers and the EA-AS. Functional activities have the highest standing; they require initiative, dynamism and innovation and are the only activities that can be evaluated. They are the symbolic embodiment of the position and trajectory adopted by the EA-AS, and especially of the latter's principle of differentiation (having shown themselves to be different from most teachers – more dynamic, more reflective). Structuring activities have lesser value in the programmes of the independent network, which refers to them as easy-to-implement "recipes" that cannot be evaluated. They are there as the symbolic embodiment of the position and trajectory adopted by teachers with regard to the EA-AS. The work performed by teachers is only a resource for the EA-AS if the latter need "advice". The non-prescriptive aspect (characteristic of the invisible model) of the independent network programme implies that the path to be covered between the programme and the implementation of learning sequences is longer and more complex than of the Community network programme, which places greater store in the detailed descriptions of learning sequences. However, it is precisely the support/coaching provided to teachers along this path that constitutes the principal mission of the EA-AS. Here, too, one sees the emergence of a link between the characteristics of the programme and the position of the EA-AS in the division of labour: the path to be covered legitimates their position in the division of labour.

If one is to believe not only the mediating agents in each network but also consultations with teachers (Van Campenhoudt *et al.* 2004), the expectations of a significant proportion of teachers regarding programmes involve practical directives, series of exercises with answer books, and lesson models on which they can draw directly. We thus end up with a seeming paradox: as directors of programme configurations draw closer to teachers statutorily, the more the configurations they produce move away from and become more critical of teacher concerns and expectations. Stated differently: those from the two networks for whom the objective "danger" of once again becoming a regular teacher "in the field" is highest, especially as a result of a lack of stable institutional resources, are also those who create the pedagogical configurations furthest removed from the supposed expectations of teachers;

also, in creating these configurations they symbolically differentiate themselves from them and thereby restore the principle that, following the thread of past trajectories, was initially the cause of their differentiation from the aforementioned regular teachers "in the field".

The hypothesis we have developed, which aims to establish links between, on the one hand, pedagogical preferences and, on the other hand, the relative positions and trajectories of creators in the field, by no means contradicts the hypothesis according a particular pedagogical culture to each network. Rather, it seeks to demonstrate how a culture persists and becomes part of the social and organizational conditions that made it possible. However, it should not overshadow other types of explanations, especially those based on differences in values between the networks.

As we have pointed out, albeit briefly, the two networks examined here convey different values. The Community network – as a state network – and its agents set great store by the concept of "public service" (Charlier 2000) and by values such as equality, neutrality and compliance with legal standards. Historically, this network was formed to combat religious obscurantism: it viewed access to knowledge as a way to liberate the masses in the face of the ascendancy of religion. The visible pedagogical model, given that it accepts the standard yardstick by which we measure student performance, and because its approach is based on a fragmentation of knowledge (rather than on an integration of knowledge that relates to a student's experiences) is probably more in keeping with values such as neutrality and equality. Today, the independent network sets great store by values such as opening up, personal development and the uniqueness of each individual. By accentuating a student's activities and giving greater value to meaningful practices, the invisible pedagogical model actualizes these values.

Notes

- 1 This refers to the decree of 24 July 1997 defining the mission priorities in *Enseignement fondamental* (basic education) and *Enseignement secondaire* (secondary education), and coordinating appropriate structures.
- 2 Bernstein himself always refused to view these models as ideal-types. However, his justifications for this refusal were unconvincing. In our view, all the models in question have attributes of an ideal-type in the sense that they involve theoretical constructions accentuating the dimensions along which they are formed and remove any aspects that might eventually pollute the pure logic of each model. In any case, we use these models as ideal-types inasmuch as they serve as "pure" theoretical reference points, from which we examine certain empirical realities so as to identify how the latter either resemble each other or move away from the models in question.
- 3 The prerequisites for access to the position of intermediate officer in the various networks will soon undergo reform. We have presented the characteristics of the old system since it is the one that concerned most agents holding positions today, and in all cases those responsible for drafting programmes.