

## ***Professional interventions as a state-crafting grammar addressing “the immigrant”***

### **Objective**

Professional interventions have gained significant currency in today’s state practices. Professional interventions, which materialised in the post-WWII emergence of the universal welfare state, are pointed out as central means for forming the neoliberal states’ citizens in today’s era of globalisation and migration (Pedersen, 2011), but we still do not know how specific pedagogical interventions addressing “the immigrant” function as state crafting endeavours. The objective of this project is both empirical and theoretical. First, the project seeks empirically to describe and understand how the transformation in professional interventions is related to historical processes of state transformation. The focus is on the changed character of professional pedagogical work in Denmark: from the universalistic welfare state’s interventions of civilisation as regards all to the neoliberal state’s disciplinary and moralising interventions explicitly targeting groups of deviating individuals, especially “the immigrant”. Second, the project will develop original theoretical knowledge contributing to the research area of the sociology of professions, linking to conceptualisations from research areas of sociology of pedagogy, political sociology and immigration studies due to the historical processes of state transformation just mentioned.

### **Relevance**

From a societal perspective, this project will elucidate the way in which different groups of professionals act as, or have the potential to act as, agents of state formation processes and state development (McCulloch, 2001; Bøje 2010). In contrast to classic sociology of professions, focusing on the professions’ own ideology and power strategies (e.g., Parsons, 1951; Weber, 1921), later research clearly links professions to state development, focusing on the state’s changing promotion of professionals to carry out different missions (Brante, 2005; Evertsson, 2002). Recently, researchers have focussed on how professionals’ inner control is under pressure from an “organisational professionalism”, characterised by hierarchy, standardisation and evaluation (Evetts, 2006, in Andersen, 2011: 219; Hultqvist, 2011: 209). These changes indicate that the state is crafting itself through the reshaping of professions. Thus, knowledge about transformed professionalisations and professions is crucial to understanding the development of state structures and their relation to societal structures. Portraying a variety of professionals engaged as agents of interventions targeting “the immigrant” in a state-crafting perspective, the importance of this project is to gain knowledge about the relations between the state, professionals, institutions, the forming of society’s suitable human and social practices, and the forming of the national community. Consequently, the project will be able to portray the elementary forms of professional interventions

as a state-crafting grammar strengthened and formed additionally by the presence of “the immigrant”.

## **Background**

The political and educational history in Denmark since WWII has taken a specific form resulting from challenges created by globalisation in terms of immigration (Jønsson & Petersen, 2010). Denmark was a colonial power exploiting a huge number of slaves in the 1700s, which was a precondition for the construction of the nation state. However, this colonial past never resulted in, for example, mass immigration or the institutionalisation of group-based identity. Moreover, the development of Danish progressive pedagogy and the idea of schooling for democracy were tied to the defence of Denmark, and thus embedded in national symbols revolving around the concept of “folk”, i.e., a type of national-territorial Danishness (Winther-Jensen, 2001). Throughout Denmark’s history, there are examples of an “internal front” strategy to develop a civil and national identity as a defence and survival strategy (Korsgaard, 2006). Facing fascism and Nazism in Europe in the 1930s, it was acknowledged that Denmark as a small vulnerable state could never defend itself by military means, but it could stand strong symbolically, drawing on a culture of consensus making and a sense of a generally homogeneous population (Kaspersen, 2006; Campbell & Hall, 2009). This national culture that was tied to the development of the universalism of the welfare state after WWII has paradoxically become ever more central in the political and educational history that has formed schooling in the neoliberal state, e.g., using citizenship education and programmes for the re-education of parents, especially targeting immigrant children and parents (Knudsen, 2010). Immigrants are thus constructed as long-term non-citizens, possessing a problematic culture, which in turn calls for professional intervention. Symbols of the nation state’s integrationism are thus woven into the transformation of professional interventions (Alsmark, Kallehave & Moldenhawer, 2007: 10; Larsen & Øland, 2011).

Research approaches to immigration have described the individual immigrant as well as issues of cultural encounters within educational institutions. These approaches have stressed the role of the culture of immigrants, viewed as an obstacle to integration or as an intrinsically valuable source of identification (Bundgaard & Gulløv, 2008; Gilliam, 2010; Gitz-Johansen, 2006). Furthermore, a strong connection between the concept of language, especially the mother tongue, and cultural identity has directed the research (Holmen & Lund, 1999; Holmen, Glahn & Ruus, 2003). More recently, the unfolding of logical arguments for equal or different treatment of members of different ethnic, national and religious groups have surfaced (Holtug & Lippert-Rasmussen, 2007; Holtug et al., 2009).

These research traditions have analysed pedagogical interventions in relation to different ways of categorising the immigrant, but rarely are these interventions analysed in relation to broader societal and state practices, as pointed out by Larsen (2010) and by Moldenhawer and Øland (2011). Although the focus varies within the different research fields, “immigrants” and “the state” are taken for granted as pre-existing units and the “immigrant problem” is still the dominant object of study. What these approaches leave out is that the state’s group targeting is a group making process, identifying suitable human and social practice, not only through policy, but through institutions and professionalisations that are part of the state.

### **Empirical field**

The project consists of a Danish, an English and a French case. The Danish case is the primary focus of our empirical attention, whereas the English case and the French case are secondary, represented by existing research and used as comparative perspectives. This set-up makes it possible to understand the Danish *context* in which professionals draw boundaries and legitimise their interventions (Broadfoot 1999). Rather than leaving the context unproblematised, as is often the case in international comparative investigations (OECD, 2006), we will offer a framework that includes the principles of contextual differences (Bourdieu, 1993: 246-247). Inspired by Lamont and Thévenot (2000) and Wacquant (2008), we will study national professional interventions – their boundary processes and legitimisations – illuminated through the comparative perspectives.

We argue that Denmark, France and England are theoretically fruitful national cases for sociological comparison because they differ substantially. First of all, Denmark’s and England’s educational systems have historically been differentiated, specialised and decentralised, whereas the French system has been unified, systematised and centralised (Archer, 1979; Schiff et al., 2008a; Fry et al., 2008). The cases furthermore differ concerning the relations between the public and the private, the individual and the collective, and marketisation (Raveaud & van Zanten, 2007; van Zanten, 2002; Ball, 2008), the colonial past and immigration history (Schiff et al., 2008b; Law et al., 2008; Kallehave & Moldenhawer, 2008; Gilroy, 2006; Arnot et al., 2010; Noiriel, 1996; Grillo, 1985), and on the categorisation of “the immigrant” linked to different models of citizenship (Schiff, 2010; Schiff et al., 2010; Arnot, 2009; Gillborn, 2010; van Zanten, 1997).

### **Research questions and sub-projects**

This project will expose the state’s complex work of group-making, targeting “the immigrant”, continually re-constructing its politics of belonging in its state-crafting activities of professional interventions. Therefore, the project will be guided by the following overall **research question (RQ)**: How do professional interventions addressing “the immigrant” appear and how are they legitimised and transformed after WWII?

Professional interventions and the state’s construction of the suitable human and social practice have changed and can analytically be identified as the construction of the “normal” child through pedagogical interventions. Generally, the universal welfare state focussed on moulding the child’s needs, motives and intentions; carrying out dialogues with the child and the parents; evaluating and cultivating according to psychological understandings of the child’s development through natural stages (Ydesen, 2010; Øland, 2010). The neoliberal state focuses on shaping the child’s ability and will to learn, work and govern him- or herself, using interventions like contracts and self-evaluation (Valverde, 1996; Cruikshank, 1993). It explicitly targets groups that deviate from the construction of the “normal” child, such as “the immigrant” child without an obvious national-territorial Danishness, thus including disciplinary projects to form the suitable citizen (Øland, 2009).

In order to examine this historical transformation of professional interventions, which was formed additionally by the presence of “the immigrant”, we have divided the project in two periods of time: (1) from 1945 to the 1970s when the universalistic welfare state model developed in the aftermath of WWII and during the Cold War (1945-1970); (2) from the 1970s until today, when the flow of immigration to Denmark materialised in the welfare state institutions, and the immigrant was identified as an economic burden and a social problem according to neoliberal individualism in the aftermath of the economic crises in the 1970s, the end of the Cold War in 1989 and the post 9/11 scenario after 2001 (1970-2012). On this basis, answering the overall research question is guided by four sub-research questions as depicted in table 1 below:

**Table 1. Road map of sub-projects’ RQs and time periods studied.**

<b>Overall RQ:</b> How do professional interventions addressing “the immigrant” appear and how are they legitimised and transformed after WWII?	
<b>Sub-research questions</b>	<b>Time period</b>
<b>RQ1:</b> What are the political demarcations which identify “the immigrant” as a focal point of professional intervention?	1945-2012
<b>RQ2:</b> How are children, their parents and homes described in professional records within a highly profiled welfare state experimental school?	1945-1970
<b>RQ3:</b> What characterises the variety of professionals engaged as agents of interventions targeting “the immigrant” and what viewpoints and activities do these professionals promote?	1970-2012
<b>RQ4:</b> What characterises the pedagogical models which have crystallised to address “the immigrant”, and what professional struggles and alliances appear around these models?	1970-2012

The four sub-research questions will be examined in four sub-projects which are:

**Sub-project 1 (S-P1): The political history and its construction of “the immigrant” as an object of intervention 1945-2012**, by Bolette Moldenhawer (BM)

S-P1 employs RQ1 and depicts Danish political history and the way in which “the immigrant” appears in a cross field between immigration policy and educational policy after WWII,

supplemental as it appears in housing policy and citizenship policy. The project will contribute to a

political history of symbolic boundaries in which belonging is shaped (Arnot et al., 2010: 30), and supply a significant political and historical frame of reference for the other sub-projects.

**Sub-project 2 (S-P2): Professional categorisations of normality and deviation 1945-1970**, by Christian Ydesen (CY)

S-P2 addresses RQ2 and provides a historical understanding of the appearances of professional interventions in relation to school children and their parents deviating from the norms of post-war Danish society. The project contributes to a pedagogical historical frame of reference necessary for the analyses of the other sub-projects.

**Sub-project 3 (S-P3): The space of professional interventions and agents addressing “the immigrant” 1970-2012**, by Trine Øland (TØ)

S-P3 incorporates RQ3 and provides a comprehensive description of professional interventions; viewpoints and activities around “the immigrant” as a space structured by significant pedagogical and social differences. The project includes the plurality of disciplines and professions which have responded to the “problem of the immigrant” since the 1970s.

**Sub-project 4 (S-P4): Institutionalised models of professional interventions addressing “the immigrant” 1970-2012**, by Marta Padovan-Özdemir (MPÖ)

S-P4 employs RQ4 and provides an in-depth study of three significant institutionalised pedagogical models responsive to immigration flows since the 1970s: the bicultural model, the integration model and the migrant school model. The models and the professional struggles and alliances around them are examined as they emerge historically.

### **Main concepts and analytical approach**

The project will use theoretical-analytical tools of classical and modern sociology.

First of all, the concepts of *professional interventions* and *professionalisation* are drawn from, respectively, Emile Durkheim’s and Pierre Bourdieu’s sociology. Following Durkheim, modern differentiated societies bring about societal needs that shape moral and educational institutions and quests for systematic socialisation. The moral and social powers of the individual are thus cultivated by *professional groups* that act as “state brokers” who negotiate issues between the family and the state; the private and the public (Durkheim, 1975, 1992; Buus, 2001, 2008).

Second, the project’s concept of *state* is a strict sociological concept. Thus, the state is the organ of social thought working out representations which hold good for the collectivity (Durkheim, 1992: 79). This Durkheimian notion about the state provides the historical roots of the Bourdieuan and Wacquantian sociological notion of the state as a *bureaucratic field*, which refers to the state as a structure, i.e., *a space of institutions and agents* struggling to define and distribute “the public good” or “the collective” using codified symbolic power that is grounded in socio-material relations

of force (Bourdieu, 1996; Wacquant, 2008, 2009). This conceptualisation of state is moreover operationalised as *levels of the bureaucratic field*, such as a level of policy, and a level of practical interventions and institutionalisations (Wacquant, 2008: 84). Thus, symbolic power is conceived of as *social forms* that transform with place and history – as opposed to purely cognitive, discursive or interactional schemes (Wacquant, 1997: 230). Symbolic power makes itself noticed as *legitimate categorisations* and *moralisations*. Following Durkheim’s sociology of morals, the categories of thought are “socio-moralities” employed in social ordering processes and they exercise constraint over behaviour through, e.g., professional work (Durkheim, 1992).

In order to further operationalise these overall notions into a clear analytical focus, we draw on the recent developments in American sociology, i.e., on conceptualisations of *symbolic and social boundaries*. Michelle Lamont has developed an understanding of boundaries, refining the Durkheimian and Bourdieuan heritage, capturing fundamental social processes of relationality (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). This calls attention to the inductive search for symbolic classifications and their relationship with group structures, e.g., investigating professionals’ moral evaluation criteria (Lamont, 1992), and the way in which they function as distinctions based on race, citizenship status and class in defining national communities (Lamont, 2000).

### Methodology of the sub-projects

The contextualisation of the Danish case is qualified by the historical approach that runs through the project. To historicise in this project is to relativise and include nuance and dynamics in the analysis of current professional interventions (Bourdieu, 1997: 93; Bourdieu, 1998: 29), making it possible to examine closely the elementary forms of the state-crafting grammar. In table 2 below, the overall research design is described, generated through the lens of the project’s main concepts.

**Table 2. Overall research design**

<b>Sub-project</b>	<b>Analytical focus</b>	<b>Primary data sources: Denmark</b>	<b>Secondary data sources: France and England</b>
<b>S-P1</b>	The general political history and its construction of “the immigrant”	Pivotal general policy documents of the Danish government, Key Immigration Acts and Compulsory School Acts	Arnot et al., 2010 Ball, 2008 Noiriel, 1996 Grillo, 1985
<b>S-P2</b>	The universal welfare state professionals’ construction of normality and deviation	The archive of Emdrupborg Experimental School, the City archive of Copenhagen: Files of the evaluation programme carried out by psychologists and teachers, documents and ledgers	Arnot, 2009 Grosvenor, 1997, 2002 van Zanten, 1997
<b>S-P3</b>	Professional interventions as a space of opposing and compatible pedagogical view-points and social	Interviews with approximately 45 professionals of different professions who have been professionalised to address “the immigrant”	Gillborn, 2010 Phoenix, 2009 Lamont, 1992, 2000 Raveaud & van Zanten 2007

	forces		
<b>S-P4</b>	Institutionalised pedagogical models and their ways of professionalising their mission	Interviews with approximately 12 prominent professionals concurring with and promoting the different models  Key professional journals	Everett, 2009 Schiff et al., 2010 van Zanten, 1997

Table 2 thus demonstrates how the analytical focus of each sub-project is directed by the conceptualisation of the state as a bureaucratic field involving different levels, such as a level of policy (S-P1), a level of practical interventions (S-P2 & S-P3), and a level of institutionalisations (S-P4). The symbolic and social boundaries through which “the immigrant” is fabricated and legitimised as an object of professional interventions are captured at these levels of the bureaucratic field throughout the sub-projects. Below, the primary data sources and methodology of each sub-project are clarified.

**Sub-project 1:** Empirically, the government’s general policies in terms of the text called the “Foundation for Government (“Regeringsgrundlag” in Danish) will be used along with similar important documents, e.g., the Social-Democratic policy programme after WWII: “The future of Denmark” of 1945. In addition, components of the *Immigration Acts* (Aliens Act of 1952; Government account of immigration policy in 1979 & 1980; Aliens Act of 1983; Integration Act of 1999, 2002 and 2007) and the *Compulsory School Acts* (1957, 1975, 1993 and 2006) will be employed, including other relevant work (Adamo, 2009; Gammeltoft-Hansen & Whyte, 2011; Hvenegård-Lassen, 2002; Pedersen, 2011; Togeby et al., 2003). The documents will be scrutinised in collaboration with a student research assistant and methodologically based on a sociological analysis of the moral and social power of the political representations of a national-territorial Danishness. Hence, this sub-project will identify the changing character of the interventions’ symbolic boundaries concerning “the immigrant”, attending to categories and legitimisations as regards who is included and excluded in terms of group-making based on class, place, ethno-national origin, citizenship status, and Danish cultural values.

**Sub-project 2:** Empirically, the archives of Emdrupborg Experimental School in Copenhagen will be used. Emdrupborg Experimental School was a highly profiled school of the emerging universal welfare state after WWII. It was supported by the municipality of Copenhagen and had educational psychologists and other professionals connected, primarily a group of engaged and so-called progressive teachers. The school archive contains a series of unexamined files of a comprehensive evaluation programme instituted with the formation of the school in 1948. The evaluation programme covers documents and ledgers related to children, descriptions of the condition of children's homes and corrective interventions and sanctions taken by schools, educational psychologists, and social workers regarding both the children and parents, e.g., the school’s

evaluations of parents and ensuing social case files. The archive ends in 1963, when the key educational psychologists left the school. These sources contain valuable information on the establishment of a welfare state conception of child normality and deviation (Gottlieb et al., 1974; Jensen, 1998; Knudsen, 2010; Nørvig, 1955; Ydesen, 2010). Methodologically, this sub-project will analyse the sources sociologically and identify the moral values and the categories used to construct the “normal” child and evaluate the children’s achievement level and social behaviour, e.g., referring to biology, intelligence, culture, social background etc. (Øland, 2011).

**Sub-project 3:** Empirically, approximately 45 professionals will be interviewed, divided between teachers, psychologists, social workers, police officers, preschool teachers, health workers, educational advisers, educational theorists and parental organisation advisers. The overall selection criterion concerns the variety and coverage as regards disciplines and professions that have been professionalised to address “the immigrant” since the 1970s. The actual interviewees will be selected on the basis of preliminary explorations of the professional fields’ associations and societies, and by “chain-search”, following chains of persons and overlapping projects that different professionals have been involved in, e.g., collaborations between the school, social services and the police force. Methodologically, the investigation will be carried out as a sociological interview study in collaboration with a student research assistant. The professionals will be interviewed from a socio-historical perspective (Muel-Dreyfus, 1986; Bourdieu et al., 1999; Lamont, 1992), and the interview will be carried out as a traditional qualitative interview supplemented with a structured interview questionnaire in order to gain homogeneous data for analysis. The questions asked will concern educational and employment history; social background, involvement in philanthropic and other associations, pedagogical viewpoints and symbolic boundaries at work; conception of child normality and deviation with special attention to “the immigrant child”; the purpose of school and arguments used to promote preferred interventions.

The interview data will be stored in a database as text and inductively classified, and then mathematically transformed into numerical values in order to determine correlations. The correlations are expressed in geometrical terms as distances between variables’ different categories. This is created using multiple correspondence analysis (geometry-modelling) in the sociological tradition of Bourdieu (Hjellbrekke et al., 2000; Lebaron, 2001), which makes it possible to uncover and visualise patterns of how significant professionals are situated in a multidimensional social space: how activities and pedagogical viewpoints group themselves and are in opposition to one another, and how these patterns relate to patterns of social and historical differences. The historical dimension will be plotted as categories on, e.g., a variable called “year of birth” or “year of activity”. Such a methodology is also inspired by the specific kind of collective biography that

analyses individuals belonging to the same space, focussing on the history and structure of the space (Broady, 1992; Sapiro, 2002).

**Sub-project 4:** Empirically, approximately 12 prominent professionals will be interviewed in collaboration with a student research assistant within the tradition of interactionism (Järvinen, 2005). The interviewees will be selected equally from proponents of three dominating and competing pedagogical models which have been institutionalised since the 1970s. The *bicultural model* was developed in 1970 by prominent teaching professionals and academic professionals, such as Inger Clausen and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, and was inspired by cultural relativism, Swedish bilingualism, English multiculturalism, and based on a strong connection between language and cultural identity (Moldenhawer, 1999; Arnot, 2009). The *integration model* was, e.g., advocated by teacher and bilingual educational adviser, Nils Poulsen, from 1970, and it draws on the so-called progressive educational movement after WWII. It emphasises comprehensive schooling for all by compensatory means and links to the French tradition of state centralisation, universalism, equality and assimilation (Schiff et al., 2008b). The *migrant school model* was developed starting in the late 1970s as part of the independent school movement in response to intensified family reunifications and the experience of alienation in public schools (Olesen, 1987; Padovan-Özdemir, 2010). It draws in professionals recruited from the country of emigration with support from a global Muslim community, as well as Danish state officials monitoring “extremism”. Methodologically, this calls for an interpretative analysis of interview transcriptions concerning the professionals’ pedagogical ideas, norms, positions and strategies to get a clearer picture of educational ideologies involved.

In addition, sub-project 4 includes empirical material from reviewing key professional journals in the field of education and immigration, which will make it possible to record and interpret what the professional struggles and alliances have been in relation to prominent pedagogical traditions and the state’s response to immigration. Journals such as *Dansk pædagogisk Tidsskrift*, *UFE-nyt* and *Sprog&Integration* will be examined.

### **Project organisation**

The project will be managed by Bolette Moldenhawer and conducted in collaboration between University of Copenhagen and University of Aalborg. The project has an advisory board consisting of Professor Madeleine Arnot, University of Cambridge; Professor Stephen Ball, Policy Studies at the Institute of Education, University of London; Professor Agnes van-Zanten, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris; Professor Ove Kaj Pedersen, Copenhagen Business School; and Professor Claire Schiff, University Victor Segalen, Bordeaux 2. The board will be assembled once a year: (1) to discuss the project and sub-projects as they are being conducted; (2) to identify productive theoretical questions and empirical findings; and (3) to make use of the English and

French researchers as a testing ground for comparative interpretations and analyses. The overall project plan will be organised in three phases as depicted in table 3.

**Table 3. Overall project plan**

Phase	Activities
<b>2013</b> Phase 1 : Empirical data collection	Collection of policy documents (S-P1) and school archive documents (S-P2). Production of altogether 52 interviews of which a part covers both S-P3 and S-P4 due to joint selection of approximately 5 interviewees. Participation in ECER Congress (BM, CY, TØ, MPÖ) Two internal workshops to discuss the status of data collection across sub-projects, including one with the board
<b>2014</b> Phase 2: Empirical data analyses	In-depth analysis of each sub-project's data, mediated through analysis across sub-projects to ensure beneficial synergies. Six-month research scholar, University of Birmingham School of Education (CY) Three-month visiting scholar, University of London, Institute of Education (MPÖ) Participation in BERA conference (BM, CY, TØ, MPÖ) Two internal workshops to discuss the status of data analysis, including one with the board
<b>2015</b> Phase 3: Synthesis of the sub-projects Finalising publications	One-month visiting professor, Stellenbosch University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology (TØ) One-month visiting professor, University Victor Segalen, Bordeaux 2, Department of Sociology (BM) Organising a symposium in NERA congress (BM, CY, TØ, MPÖ) Two internal workshops to discuss papers in progress, including one with the board Host of the project's final conference Finalising publications

### Dissemination plan

We shall communicate our results through participation in conferences and Danish and international peer-reviewed publication channels as depicted in table 4. In Danish, we shall publish a monograph, for a broad pedagogical environment from university colleges to universities, in order to rewrite the sociology of professions, substantially informed by the project's data analyses.

**Table 4. Dissemination plan**

Form of publication	RQ	Author(s)	Target publisher or journal
Monograph	Overall RQ	BM, CY, MPÖ, TØ	Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen
Article	RQ1	BM	<i>Globalisation, Education and Society</i> (Routledge)
Article	RQ1 & RQ4	BM & MPÖ	<i>Pedagogy, Culture &amp; Society</i> (Routledge)
Two articles	RQ2	CY	<i>Paedagogica Historica</i> (Routledge); <i>Dansk pædagogisk Tidsskrift</i> (Foreningen bag DpT)
Article	RQ2 & RQ3	CY & TØ	<i>Journal of Social History: Societies &amp; Cultures</i> (Oxford University Press)
Two articles	RQ3	TØ	<i>Race, Ethnicity and Education</i> (Routledge); <i>Dansk pædagogisk Tidsskrift</i> (Foreningen bag DpT)
PhD thesis	RQ4	MPÖ	University of Copenhagen

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