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STATE POWER AND THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL
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ERAN TAMIR

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THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION REFORM:
STATE POWER AND THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN NEW JERSEY

By

Eran Tamir

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ABSTRACT

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION REFORM:
STATE POWER AND THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN NEW JERSEY

By

Eran Tamir

This dissertation studies the politics of education reform and the struggles over educational policy in New Jersey during the 1980s. I identify the main participants (social agents) who operated in the field of education (teacher unions, the state and department of education, teacher educators, house representatives, and others), consider their interests, ideologies, and examine the strategies they were using to get hold of the positions of power in the field. I focus in particular on the constant attempts of these social agents to forcefully change the public sphere by proposing to reform educational policy in ways that would advance their interests and visions.

I have collected archival data from New Jersey State Archive, conducted semi-structured interviews with key players, and reviewed educational policy coverage in the mass-media. The data analysis has been guided by Bourdieu's notions of capital, social field, and habitus. These notions were then used to develop a viable alternative to the mainstream pluralist approach of John Kingdon to educational policy analysis.

Overall, the findings of this work suggest that New Jersey's governor and department of education were successful in increasing their power in the field of education. Nevertheless, a careful and comprehensive analysis of the findings reveals a more nuanced picture. When considering a broad array of educational policies, there are indications that policies concerning teacher certification and preparation (e.g., the alternate route to teaching) have been established and implemented by the state in a way

that marginalized the authority of teacher educators and teacher unions in the field. Yet, the state failed to expand its authority on issues like merit pay which was a top priority for the governor. Thus, it becomes rather clear that the state had enhanced its control in some parts of the field, but failed to do so in other parts where other social agents, in particular the New Jersey Education Association (NJEA), continued to hold key positions in the field.

To Nira, my true love and best friend

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Chapter 1

Overview

This dissertation evolved from a series of questions concerning the teaching profession that have intrigued me for the past few years. I started by asking general questions: Why does the teaching profession seem to have a relatively low status? How did this status develop over time? How did the unique historical context of American education -- with its strong emphasis on local arrangements -- shape the development of the teaching profession? Then I noticed that, during the 1980s, something had changed in the discourse about teaching. Debates concerning teacher quality mushroomed. Commissions -- then and now -- issued numerous reports. Talking about education reform became a bon ton.

In particular, I was intrigued to the heated discussions among teacher educators, economists, policy-makers, teacher unions, and others on the merits of traditional and alternative teacher preparation and certification programs. In this debate, various stakeholders embraced contrasting notions and understandings concerning the concepts that stand in the core of teacher education and teaching as a profession. Some, like the Holmes Group (1986), advocated for teaching as an advanced profession backed by scientific research. Others, like harsh critics of teacher education, argued that the profession would become stronger only if it opened the gates to talented individuals who were not trained in teacher preparation programs (e.g., Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985; Hess, 2001; Will, 2006). Curriculum, teaching knowledge, and the value of pedagogy for the preparation of teachers also became a subject of fierce debates. While these debates have been around for many decades, they have certainly intensified since the 1980s.

Scientific evidence and objective results have not been the currency of these debates. Rather, participants exploited arguments over teacher certification to further their own agenda, or to distort that of an opponent. Sentiments, ideology, interests, self-righteousness, and an honest belief in one's own vision have played a central role in shaping the character of this debate for years.

Two decades after these discussions began to be inflamed, I experienced the tension firsthand when attending to a presentation by Linda Darling-Hammond at AERA in April of 2004. There she stood in front of a packed conference room filled with many excited educators. One of the prominent leaders -- perhaps the most prominent -- of the field, she was energetic, candid, and sharp in articulating her opinions. Her argument was about the superiority of traditional teacher preparation programs compared to alternative routes to teaching, based on her own objective analysis of scientific data. One could easily see that she was speaking about things that she greatly valued and believed in. The crowd was supportive, applauding her frequently.

Yet there was another, concealed layer to her argument. In the same presentation, besides conveying her emergent findings, Darling-Hammond was communicating to her audience a sense of pride in what they were doing, a validation of the work of teacher education. In so doing, she was also telling those teacher educators that some outsiders -- who don't understand their work -- were trying to discredit the profession, unjustifiably. Since teacher educators, like most other people, want and need to believe that their work makes a difference, Darling Hammond's findings were accepted as scientific support for what everybody already seemed to have known. I began to notice that what on the surface intended to be a professional scientific presentation also had a political aim of

informing and mobilizing educators to stand firm against criticism and attacks launched at them.

Others who view the education establishment[1] from outside (e.g., policy-makers, university professors from other disciplines) sometimes hold very different ideas and, thus, are naturally more suspicious regarding to the professional claims made by educators. Like educators, they have their scientific sources of data that usually suggest that teacher education programs have no positive effect on teachers' quality and students' achievements (e.g., Ballou & Podursky, 2000; Goldhaber & Brewer, 2001). Indeed, offering evidence to support or refute the effectiveness of teacher education and its alternatives, teachers more generally, and advanced certification programs like the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards has become a cottage industry of late (e.g., Abell Foundation, 2001; Wilson, Floden &, Ferrini-Mundy, 2001).

In addition, the ideological divide between educators and their critics appears to be widening (or, at the very least, becoming much more public). Critics and educators differ on the practices that constitute good teaching and learning and about the roles and expectations from teachers. Ravitch (2000), Hirsch (1996) and others vehemently argue that teacher educators belong to a progressive establishment detached from mainstream America, one that believes teachers should nurture their students, mediate and foster the learning *process* (instead of demanding students to accumulate basic knowledge), help students to think how to deal with problems (rather than simply solving them), and so on. Furthermore, critics argue that, because there is no valuable scientific research that

[1] I use this term from now on as one that describes the loosely coupled groups of teachers, and educators who work as practitioners, university professors, administrators, and sometimes as state officials in departments of education. In my writing, I strip the term from the negative aspects that are sometimes associated with it in the writing of education critics.

supports these progressive notions, they should be abandoned in favor of good traditional practices that proved to work in the past, like focusing on acquiring canonical knowledge. The most important factor for teacher quality, they continue, is making sure that teachers know their subject matter, which stand in contrast to the emphasis of teacher preparation programs on pedagogy (Finn, 2001; Hirsch, 1996; Null, 2006; Ravitch, 2000).[2]

With this picture in mind, I decided to go back in history to a beginning. Max Weber (1952) argued that there are times of uncertainty in history, when it is still unclear what shape or course history will take. Weber was referring here to points in history when several alternatives -- backed by different social groups -- struggled for dominance. Usually, the various groups tend to provide different interpretations of the current reality and contrasting visions for the future. When the battle is finally decided, and one group or coalition of several groups starts to construct and inscribe their notions and visions into the social reality, the process of institutionalization begins. The process of institutionalization is matured, when most individuals view the course of history as natural and deterministic, as though things could never have happened otherwise.

Alternative routes into teaching that were under fierce debate in the 1980s now exist in 48 states and the District of Columbia, and are the status quo (Freistritzer, 2006). One way to better understand this current social reality is by tackling the authoritarian nature of the collective amnesia that accompanies every process of institutionalization. Historical research in this sociological tradition is liberating, because it goes against the social forces that have "flattened the ground," working as they do to institutionalize only one interpretation of reality. Thus, for a social scientist who would like to better

[2] This description is only fraction of the complex arguments that go back and forth between the education establishment and its various critics. For a detailed analysis of this set of arguments raised by the critics, see Wilson & Tamir (in preparation).

understand the political debates surrounding teacher quality policies, like alternate routes, one promising way involves studying how it all began and where the battles were first fought.

For these reasons, studying the politics surrounding the first state-sponsored alternative route to teacher certification of New Jersey seemed to be almost a natural choice. The New Jersey case was the first of its kind (a beginning in this sense), and it received major state and national attention, which, in turn, drew the different social agents -- state officials, teacher educators, teacher unions, and others -- who had stakes in the policy to invest their very best efforts in gaining more control over the policy-making process.

In this introduction, I lay out my vision of the dissertation, its content, and the main theoretical arguments that undergird the analyses to come. In addition, I describe the initial proposal for the alternate route to teacher certification in New Jersey, the policy that captured my attention in the first place and drew me deep into New Jersey's politics of education, and a policy that I continually refer to in the chapters that follow.

In Chapter 2, I use the case of alternate route for teachers in New Jersey to challenge the pluralist tradition in scholarly analyses of policy and policy-making (e.g., Dahl, 1961; Lindblom, 1977) and focus on the potential that Bourdieu's political sociology has to shed light on the politics of educational policy in New Jersey. In Chapter 3, I employ Bourdieu's concept of capital to understand how social agents, especially state officials and teacher educators, used four different forms of capital to capture positions of prominence in the field of educational policy in New Jersey.

In Chapter 4, I use Bourdieu's concept of social field to analyze the field of educational policy in New Jersey as it was reflected in archival documents and in New Jersey's leading newspaper – the *Newark Star-Ledger* -- during 1985. In this paper, I portray the complex hierarchical structure of agents in the field of educational policy. I argue that, although state officials were relatively successful in enhancing their power in issues relating to teacher certification and preparation, they were less successful in other areas where the powerful teacher union, the New Jersey Education Association (NJEA) had more interest in resisting them. Overall, although the three chapters focus on different theoretical concepts, they all build on the assumption that educational policy -- as we know it today -- has important roots in the New Jersey case of the 1980s. Thus, the three essays should be understood together as pieces that complement each other to provide a broad outlook on the nature of the social struggle among various groups interested in educational policy in the U.S. I turn to this big picture view in Chapter 5, where I will revisit the main lessons that can be learned from this work about theory of educational policy-making in general and teacher certification politics in particular.

Since, in many ways, this work aims at developing a theoretical alternative to the pluralist mainstream approach to policy-making, it would be helpful to lay out the principles of this approach here in more detail, before I continue to discuss the theoretical alternative of Bourdieu.

The Pluralist Theoretical Approach to Policymaking

Over the years, policy models in the policy literature (e.g., the garbage can model, the incremental model, the agenda setting model, etc.) have developed mainly within the pluralist paradigm, meaning they have maintained a close theoretical (which seems

almost ideological) link to the pluralist assumptions as developed by Dahl (1961), Lindblom (1977), and others. The work of Kingdon (2003) on public policy-making is central to and representative of this tradition. Kingdom, as did other pluralists, conceptualized American politics as an arena led by elected politicians. These politicians represent certain voices and constituencies to which they are accountable. In addition, American democracy allows individuals other pathways of political action (e.g., interest groups) to insure their interests get resolved in the political system. Non-elected state officials and other groups or individuals (like business corporations) whose sources of power are not directly controlled by citizens are usually considered by pluralists to be subordinated to the state's democratic power. Overall, Kingdon's portrayal of the state is of a decentralized (power is shared by many players) yet powerful entity that is flexible and accountable (representing and reflecting the will of the people).

In light of these assumptions, Kingdon developed a simple model that would explain how a policy proposal can become part of the political agenda. His model is built around three independent streams: the stream of problems, the stream of policies, and the stream of politics (see Chapter 2 for further explanation). Basically, Kingdon's argument is that these three streams develop and exist independent from each other. So for example, in a given moment, there is a constant flow of an enormous number of problems up for consideration (e.g., teacher quality, teacher shortage, etc.). All the while, there is a constant flow of thinking and development of policy proposals that represent the ideas, interests, and visions of a large variety of players. The third component, the stream of politics, also develops in a sphere of its own. It consists of important political events, like a new appointee elected to hold a high office (say a president). Economic crises and wars,

are also major events that have direct effects on what ideas and issues are placed on the agenda.

Each of these streams is governed mainly by chance. Kingdon argues that, for a policy proposal to become part of the agenda, it should define and provide a simple solution that addresses a high profile problem (one that draws a lot of attention, but is also manageable) in a favorable political context. The most important thing here is the ability to tie together -- as smoothly as possible -- the three independent streams. According to Kingdon, when specific windows of opportunity are opened, only one person or a few individuals -- the "policy entrepreneurs" who are highly dedicated to promoting a certain solution to a given problem -- become responsible for bringing the three streams together and transforming them into a successful policy proposal.

There are several limitations to consider in this model. First, there is the fact that most pluralist models refuse to reconsider their assumption that real democracies consist of all (or most) the values and merits that are part of an ideal democracy on paper. For example, one crucial assumption is that individuals not only understand that by forming groups and coalitions they are able to mobilize power, but that they are actually doing so as a natural part of their life. This assumption is problematic, for the model does not acknowledge the deep divides in American society, where players do not have the knowledge or lack the information needed to play the game, while others come to possess excessive volumes of power that allow them to maintain and preserve their interests over time.

Second, there is a problematic conceptualization of power in the model, which assumes that democratic societies have a relatively flat power system. Indeed, for

pluralists, power is fluid and is spread around the system, changing forms and patterns frequently, never consolidating for long periods of time. In light of this notion, pluralists tend to view the state as an entity which was built and is run by the people for the people (i.e., the state is simply considered the servant of its citizens).

Third, Kingdon provides an important role for luck and chance in the deliberations leading to a policy proposal that eventually becomes part of the agenda. Again this is problematic: Chance could be considered to play a key role in policy-making and political decisions only if one dismisses the systematic pressures in place by preexisting power structures on the policy-making process. These existing power-full structures (like the one placed by the business community) can be found in almost any environment at every level. Some professions and interest groups can also be characterized as power structures since they have a longstanding history of pressuring and actively shaping policies that if institutionalized would benefit their members.

Before I discuss the arguments and chapters in more detail, a succinct description of the initial alternate route policy might be helpful.

The Initial Proposal for an Alternate Route

In September 1983, New Jersey's Commissioner of Education, Saul Cooperman, and his colleagues, laid out a detailed proposal for the construction of an alternate route to teacher certification, titled, *An Alternative Route to Teacher Selection and Professional Quality Assurance: An Analysis of Initial Certification* (Cooperman, Webb, & Klagholz, 1983a). The proposal provided a detailed background of what was described as the largely deficient body of students who enroll into teacher preparation programs. The proposal went on to describe the lack of consensus among teacher preparation programs

regarding to the professional knowledge required for new teachers, as well as the minimal standards that students of teaching had to acquire during their preparation. In the absence of consensus, every program developed its own standards. The same inconsistency appeared among teacher educators and other professors regarding to the theoretical roots of teaching, the reported went on to argue. Thus, Cooperman and his colleagues (1983a) contended: "For certification purposes, there is little basis for requiring specific theoretical courses. To do so would be merely to set up an artificial hurdle to professional access at a time when we can ill afford to turn away talented individuals" (p. 6).

Instead, the authors suggested that teachers should be taught practical knowledge, preferably on the job, and assessed individually. The certification standards in the initial proposal suggested that teaching candidates should:

> 1) possess a baccalaureate degree from an accredited college or university;
>
> 2) demonstrate that they know the subject matter that they will teach;
>
> 3) demonstrate teaching ability by completing a full-time internship under the supervision of a qualified expert and in accord with established assessment criteria. (pp. 8-11)

These requirements were intended to set comprehensive and rigorous standards for entry into teaching, both for students in teacher preparation programs and for those majoring in any non-education field of study. Thus, for instance, the first requirement was designed to cease the practice of granting emergency certificates to individuals who failed to possess a college degree. The second requirement was intended to enhance the quality of teaching, based on the "logically defensible" assumption that teachers who know their subject matter will be more effective.

The third requirement praised the practice of internship as one that "provide[s] the appropriate vehicle for transmitting the applied knowledge and techniques which are related to effective teaching and which undergird the profession" (p. 10). Here the writers do not forget to add that internship experiences should be obtained during college, if one enrolls into a teaching preparation program, or "after graduation by a local district" (p. 10) if one pursued a degree in non-education field. Cooperman and his colleagues (1983a) further clarify their intentions for the internship near the end of the document:

> There is a need to provide an alternate route to certification for those who possess a degree but who have not completed an internship, and thereby open the doors of the teaching profession to talented persons from all collegiate fields of study. . . . It is recommended that school districts be permitted to hire anyone who holds the bachelor's degree and who has appropriate state subject matter test. . . . Upon employment, the individual will be issued a one-year provisional certificate and will be placed in a district operated on-the-job internship. (p. 13)

While clearly pointing toward a new direction for teacher preparation and certification, the initial proposal intentionally left the most contentious issue-- what the internship's "practical" knowledge would entail -- for future deliberations of "A panel of nationally recognized experts and members of the profession... appointed to define the criteria for developing and judging teaching ability, as well as the practical knowledge about teaching which fosters that ability" (Cooperman, Webb, &, Klagholz, 1983b, p. 3). Only appointed, this panel of experts, which became to be known by the name of its report -- *The Boyer Report* -- issued a report that was aligned with the ideas expressed by

Cooperman and his colleagues in this initial proposal (e.g., the emphasis on practical knowledge of classroom management backed by strong subject matter knowledge.)[3]

This is only a brief summary of Cooperman's initial proposal for an alternate route to teacher certification. I have not included how the actual policy evolved, the struggles that developed as a response to this proposal, and the further steps taken by the state to assure its implementation. These are discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

The Main Argument

Public education is among the most powerful institutions in every modern society. As such, many look to have some control over it. In Europe, where the idea of nation-state first evolved, public education was seen as a mechanism to enhance social cohesion, to channel state ideology, and later to train workers for the economic growth of the nation. In the U.S., public education started in small communities, which were looking to train their youngsters to read, write, and acquire other skills to become productive individuals. States did not have much say in education matters up to the late 19th century, for authority rested in local school boards and communities (Sedlak, in press). Ever since then, things have moved rather slowly in matters concerning teacher preparation and certification (e.g., Frazier, 1938; Angus, 2001). This work identifies one important historical juncture in the relationship of states and public education in the U.S., during the 1980s, when many states started regulating and gradually taking over critical responsibilities once held by educators.

In New Jersey, state regulation since the 1980s has leaned toward a market-based model. Among the policies that were promoted at that time were merit-based awards for

[3] See Chapter 3 for further discussion of *The Boyer Report*.

teachers, teacher licensure tests, and alternate route for teacher certification. The latter, in particular, became the subject of a fierce struggle as the state pressed to have more control in shaping the educational policy agenda.

By 1985, after three years of debate, the state was able to establish the alternate route program to teaching. The program planners sought to circumvent and break the long-standing monopoly of the "failing teacher preparation programs" (Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985), and instead, recruit teacher candidates with strong subject matter knowledge that would be provided a 200 hour program that covered the core issues of teaching (e.g., class management and student learning) during the first year of teaching. The state was confident that this policy would enhance teacher quality, or at least supply "warm bodies" to cope with the surging demand for new teachers in the urban districts.

The first argument (which is descriptive in nature) that I am trying to develop, using Bourdieu's terminology, is that educational policy in New Jersey should be understood as a contentious political and ideological struggle among social agents (groups, individuals, and institutions) who possess different sources and volumes of capital, have different stakes in the field, and occupy different positions in the social space. In general, we could argue that the field of educational policy is divided in two. On the one hand, there is the traditional orthodoxy, which has controlled the field for decades and consists of teacher educators, teacher unions, and many other organizations that are aligned along a loose set of ideas and the institutional rewards attached to them. On the other hand, there is the heterodoxy -- social agents deeply concerned with the current situation and seeking fundamental changes that will bring the field back to its "glamorous past" (Bourdieu, 2005). These social agents were primarily state officials in

the Department of Education and the governor, backed by the higher education establishment (the New Jersey Department of Higher Education and university presidents), and politicians (many business and corporation leaders later joined this trend, substantially strengthening it).

Then, based on a detailed analysis of state archive documents and review of the news coverage concerning educational policy, I argue that during the 1980s, the field of educational policy in New Jersey experienced substantial shifts of power, with the heterodoxy (the state) gaining more power to shape educational policy, especially in issues concerning teacher quality, while the orthodoxy, (in particular teacher educators), lost significant positions of power and control that it had possessed in the past.

In this dissertation, I also aim to model and use a new approach to educational policy analysis. Currently, policy and political scientists who base their work on pluralist assumptions carry out most research in areas related to public policy. In this dissertation, I have adopted the work of the prominent French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, to provide a viable alternative that challenges the pluralist assumptions and addresses the limitations of Kingdon's agenda setting model (2003). That is, instead of the classic pluralist argument, which would view power as one that is shared by most individuals over time, (because it is being established randomly by ad hoc coalitions of interest groups, across the political spectrum), Bourdieu would view power as a scarce resource that is allocated unequally among social agents (individuals, groups, and institutions). What often happens in social fields according to Bourdieu's scenario (including in those fields that are presumably democratic) is a steady state of constant competition for power among agents (the state included). Those social agents who are able to acquire power then

usually use their power in a way that blocks others from having it and, at the same time, develop legitimate social mechanisms that help them reproduce their control and power over time. Educational policy, according to this approach, is a tool used by social agents in their struggle to enhance their power in the field of educational policy.

My research seems to offer partial support to the conflictual assertion made by Bourdieu. Indeed social agents fiercely struggle for power, but the outcomes of their struggles may differ to some extent. In some social fields, like the field of teacher certification and preparation (see Chapters 2 and 3), the outcome of the struggle over educational policies like the alternate route to teaching was a substantial transformation of power from the hands of teacher educators to state officials. All the while, in the field of educational policy (see Chapter 4), where agents fought over various kinds of educational policies, state officials did not appear to acquire the same prominence and power they had in the areas of certification and preparation, and thus were forced to share power with other prominent agents like teacher unions and house legislatures. This finding may suggest that allocation of power and hierarchical structures vary across social fields, with some social fields enjoying a more democratic allocation of power than others. In addition, one should keep in mind that the balance of power in a given field is forever subject to change. For example, in this work I show how the state occupied more power during the 1980s. This, however, does not mean that the state is going necessarily to hold the same position in the future.

I advance here the argument that a Bourdieuan approach is very helpful in illuminating the social complexity of the politics surrounding educational policy-making. Although, as Swartz (2005) noted recently, it is not entirely clear why Bourdieu's

scholarship has such a small impact in the U.S., he argues (and I agree), that putting it to use here can help unravel and challenge many misconceptions that have been institutionalized over time in the way Americans understand their political system.

Chapter Summaries

I describe each of the following chapters in turn.

Chapter 2

In this chapter, I lay out the historical background for understanding the growing role of the state in controlling the K-12 public education system. Within this context, I set up the background to discuss the fierce struggles of various social agents over the alternate route to teacher certification in New Jersey. The case of New Jersey is then considered through two distinct theoretical traditions, which argue for two separate explanations on the nature of political struggles, the motives of agents involved in it, the nature of decision making processes, the goals agents seek to achieve, and the overall features of the system in which they operate. For years, the underlying assumptions of the pluralist theory, as can be seen in regime theories (Gittell & Mckenna, 1999), in Kingdon's agenda-setting model (Kingdon, 2003; McDermott, 2005), and even through historical modeling (Rotherham & Mead, 2004), have shaped the way researchers studied and interpreted struggles over U.S. educational policy. This theoretical outlook, which understands educational policy-making as a democratic process of establishing ad-hoc coalitions among interest groups and political actors, disregards the powerful role that states have had over public education, since the 1980s (not simply as the representatives of their people, but as an independent player), and the hierarchical pattern of social

interaction that characterizes the ways in which different agents communicate about political issues concerning education.

Thus, I argue, we ought to consider an alternative frame, specifically Bourdieu's (1985; 1991) ideas about "social fields." This concept can contribute to an improved understanding of the recent history of the politics of education, including the case of New Jersey, where the field of educational policy was partly subordinated to the power of the state during the 1980s.

Chapter 3

While the previous chapter considered two alternative theories for conceptualizing the struggle over the New Jersey alternate route policy, this chapter focuses only on the work of Bourdieu and takes the analysis one step further. Here instead of the general consideration given to the theory of social fields in the previous chapter, I focus on one core concept in Bourdieu's theory – "Capital." Capital is a specific capacity or resource that provides an individual or group the legitimate right to hold and use power in a field. There are four basic forms of capital that Bourdieu identified over the years: Economic, social, cultural, and bureaucratic. My aim in this chapter is to describe each and discuss how it was used by state officials and teacher educators to strengthen and solidify their positions in the struggle over the teacher alternate route policy and teacher preparation reform in New Jersey. This analysis is helpful because it provides an organized account of what happened during the struggle and as a result of it, and why social agents used certain strategies while avoiding others.

Based on this analysis, I argue that the two major social agents who participated in the struggle relied on different sources of capital. The state employed a variety of

capitals, but focused primarily on bureaucratic and cultural capital. Teacher educators (who lacked social, economic, and bureaucratic capital) needed to rely on their cultural capital alone. I conclude that the state's alternative vision for teacher certification and preparation (one that supported the formation of a new generation of teachers with broad liberal art training, deep subject matter knowledge, and lean pedagogic training) was related to the cultural capital held by the state's leaders of that time. Governor Kean, Commissioner of Education Cooperman, and the Director of Teacher Certification Klagholz, had all acquired private elite or religious education. They were all part of the field of education as professional adults, yet unattached to the centers of power of the public education system. In addition, I show how these (elected and appointed) high ranked state officials were able to develop effectively the states' potential for bureaucratic capital. This bureaucratic capital was then used by the state to create and pour new forms of capital into the field (in particular, economic and symbolic capital), which eventually helped the state to capture a more prominent role in teacher preparation and certification.

Chapter 4

Considering and analyzing a specific struggle between social agents, like the one focused on teacher certification and preparation, is illuminating but may also be tricky as it provides only a partial picture, one that might create a bias in the way researchers understand the period in question as a whole. In this chapter, I hope to address this problem and provide a description of the entire field of educational policy in New Jersey during one year: 1985. Based on Bourdieu's theory, I argue that the field of educational policy in New Jersey had its own hierarchical structure, with social agents who occupied

positions that differed in roles, prestige, and potential impact on educational policy. Several questions are considered. First, I use the media coverage of the *Newark Star-Ledger* to identify and describe the hierarchical structure of the field. Who were the agents that were portrayed in the news as the most or least prominent? Which policies received the most attention in the news? In order to verify the reliability of the media coverage for evaluating the relative prominence of different social agents in the field, I also offer a mapping of every policy proposal covered in the news or discussed in archival material, the relevant social agents who supported or opposed it, and whether it was successfully implemented or removed from the policy agenda.

The mass media is an important stage where on which struggles over educational policy are played out. For most people who have no direct channels to political elites or alternative sources of information, newspapers serve an important role of conveying processed information, one that was edited and constructed to fit the numerous constraints under which the media is operating. Nevertheless, media coverage is an invaluable source of historical data which may reflect significant portions of the power relations in a field.

Finally, many have argued in the past that during the 1980s the politics of educational policy in many states were taken over by state officials. In this study, however, I offer a new theoretical approach to conceptualize and empirically record and evaluate these political developments, in a way that portrays a more complex picture of the events. According to my analysis, state agents indeed became major agents who initiated most educational policy in the field, and appeared as the most prominent agents in the news. But they were operating, especially in some occasions, under serious

constraints of teacher unions and legislatures, agents who continued to hold powerful positions in the field.

Chapter 5

The struggle of social agents over educational policy and the values and visions related to it stand in the core of this work. I use New Jersey as a microcosm to understand how educational policy became a battlefield for state bureaucrats, teachers, and teacher educators.

I start by revisiting the main findings of this work. Second, I consider the contributions of this work to educational policy researchers, the teacher education community, and sociologists who are interested in Bourdieu's political sociology. Third, I discuss the future trajectories of this work for New Jersey is but one case. Finally, I reflect on the main limitations of this work relating to data collection, design, and analysis.

Chapter 2

THEORIZING THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM: THE CASE OF NEW JERSY'S ALTERNATE ROUTE TO TEACHER CERTIFICATION

The oldest and most established states offer the most prolific alternate routes in terms of production of new teachers – per year, as well as total. They are: California, New Jersey, and Texas. New Jersey reports that about 40 percent of its new hires come through alternate routes. For Texas and California, about one-third of their states' new hires come through alternate routes (Feistritzer, 2006)

Americans have always been engaged in attempts to reform public education (Ravitch, 2000). In the most recent round of discussions, teacher quality has been a central theme, and has been nominated as the single most important factor in narrowing the student achievement gap (Darling-Hammond, 1999). This increased sensitivity to teacher quality today echoes very similar debates which emerged in the 1980s, compounded with -- what was then new – the demand for greater accountability in public education.

One important response to these concerns, which has become gradually more popular among federal and state actors, was the introduction of market-based educational policies. An example of this response (that will be the topic of our inquiry) can be found in teacher preparation and certification programs that were controlled for years by colleges and schools of education, but since the 1980s were heavily challenged by dissatisfied public committees and state officials who proposed policies like "alternate routes" to fix the system's flaws. Since their inception in the early 1980s, alternate route programs and policies, which vary considerably in aim, form, content, and thus in quality (Floden & Stoddart, 1995), have been gradually adopted in most states. According to the

latest data, 48 out of 51 states (including the District of Columbia) operate at least one type of alternate route program (Feistritzer, 2006).

This study focuses on the first "successful" high profile attempt to propose an alternate route on a large scale, which took place in New Jersey. The alternate route story in New Jersey is one full of hurdles and struggles. The analysis that follows show how elected state officials and senior appointed bureaucrats were promoting and pushing for full and quick implementation of the policy, while groups within the educational establishment[4] like teacher unions and teacher educators were arguing for a more cautious approach that might be interpreted as an argument for minor changes. However, instead of describing the struggle over the policy as others have already done (Carlson, 1985; 1990; Klagholz, 2000) or evaluating the policy outcomes (e.g., Klagholz, 2000; Natriello & Zumwalt, 1993), I will analyze the struggle that took place and illuminate the ways in which different theories can inform our understanding of the politics and power struggle that underlie these kinds of educational policy-making processes. Furthermore, I will argue that the underlying assumptions of the pluralist theory, as can be seen in Kingdon's (2003) agenda setting model (e.g., McDermott, 2005), and even through historical modeling (Rotherham & Mead, 2004), have shaped the way researchers have studied and interpreted struggles over U.S. educational policy. This theoretical outlook, which understands educational policy-making as a democratic process of establishing ad-

[4] This term will serve as a general category that includes teachers, teachers unions, and professors of teacher education (i.e., those individuals and groups involved in the professional structure of the teaching profession). This definition excludes those who are involved in administrating and managing the profession (i.e. educational administrators, politicians, and state department of education bureaucrats whose practice and professional identities are different). While in the past, Bestor (1953) used this term in a more inclusive way, (referring to all whose occupation deals with K-12 education) I will use the concept to describe a smaller group. The reasons for this will become apparent. In the past few years the term has been increasingly charged with negative meanings by several critics of educational institutions and practices. The usage of the term in this work, however, does not refer to any of these negative meanings; it is simply used as shorthand for a subset of interested parties.

hoc coalitions among interest groups and political actors, disregards patterns of struggle that have led many states to obtain powerful positions over their teacher certification and preparation systems, since the 1980s, and the institutionalized hierarchical pattern of social interaction that characterizes the way in which different actors communicate about political issues concerning education. Thus, though Kingdon's model has provided a strong, empirically verified, conceptual framework, it may be important for the field of educational policy to consider a new theoretical model that provides at least the same coherence and logic of analysis, but brings to the fore alternative explanations.

Alternate routes are formed to address two major problems: teacher quality and/or acute shortage of teachers (Zumwalt, 1991). Economists might argue that, in the case of acute shortage, state agencies simply respond to the pressures of demand and create new passages for teachers to enter the system. I believe that even when this is the case there are several pathways for the policy to follow which are decided through a political struggle. In the case of New Jersey, the shortage of teachers in urban areas was only part of a larger story of state officials who had an elaborate agenda for improving teacher quality in the state (Klagholz, 2000; Zumwalt, 1991). This is also one reason why the New Jersey's alternate route was established as a comprehensive state policy in contrast to the Los Angeles case where the acute problem of teachers' shortage was addressed in the limited setting of a single school district. Thus, overall, I believe that the reasons for establishing the alternate route policy of New Jersey would be illuminated best through a political, rather than economic perspective.

I begin by briefly describing the data and methods used in this study. Then I introduce two theories: Kingdon's (2003) agenda setting model and Bourdieu's (1984;

1985; 1992; 1993) theory of fields, followed by a two-part discussion that considers the explanations of the two theories and their applicability to the case of New Jersey. I conclude by pointing out three merits of this work. First, juxtaposing and considering several theories in one study provides a more fruitful and challenging way to understand the social character of a policy-making process. Second, using Bourdieu's theory provides an explanation that shifts the discussion from a pluralist focus on policy players to an analysis that sets policy players within the larger hierarchical socio-political context. Third, in the case of New Jersey, Bourdieu's (1985; 1991) theory helps illuminate the process in which teacher preparation and certification have been subordinated to the power of the state during the 1980s.

Methods and Data

The research that informs this analysis entailed a single case study of policy-making in New Jersey; two methods of data collection were central. First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key players who were actively involved in the debate over the implementation of the alternate route policy. The individuals belonged to three groups: state officials, teacher union leaders, and education professors. Interviewees were asked to talk about their perceptions of the alternate route policy, both broadly (i.e., in terms of ideological stances) and specifically (what they believe has worked and has not worked, and why).

Second, a significant number of primary sources were collected from the New Jersey State archives and analyzed. In searching for relevant data, I used a written index the archive holds for each file's content. The data were drawn primarily from the records of high-level officials, including the governor, the education commissioner, the state

policy director, and the governor's education assistants. The documents include internal correspondences, minutes from meetings, speeches, and analyses of policy proposals. Overall, 50 boxes of paperwork were reviewed, each containing on average 6-20 files holding around 1500 pages, totaling 75,000 pages. In addition, I collected newspaper items discussing the policy and the debate around it, mainly published in the *Newark Star-Ledger*, the largest and most prominent newspaper of New Jersey.

Conceptualizing the Struggle over Educational Policy-Making

This work seeks to illuminate questions of power, authority, and ideology as reflected in struggles over educational policy. Educational policy tends to be highly contested, since it provides the direction for one of our major social institutions -- schools -- that are seen as holding the key to an individual's future economic and social success. Given this significance of education, it is important to understand who governs, directs, and controls processes of educational policy. How? Under what terms? In this study, I address these questions in the specific context of teacher certification reform in New Jersey. I begin by describing the theoretical underpinnings of my work. There are several theoretical approaches that have been developed in public policy, sociology, and political science to address these questions and can be applied to educational policy. In general, they fall within two major traditions. The first conceptualizes the policy-making process as an integral part of a democratic structure where political power is divided among many participants and, most importantly, is temporary in nature. In this structure, elected representatives hold most of the power, but they are fully accountable to the public and replaceable. These pluralist theories (e.g., Dahl, 1961; Lindblom, 1977) have been -- by far -- the most popular approach to studying political processes at the local and

national level among political scientists and continue to be so (Manely, 1983). In this paper, I use Kingdon (2003) as a representative of this line of thinking.

The second tradition is conflictual in nature. Scholars working in this tradition are interested in understanding political outcomes as the product of a constant struggle among groups and individuals over the means of production (Marx, 1967), or over larger sets of resources including economic means, social status, political clout (Weber, 1952), and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1994). Educational policies, according to this approach are political mechanisms that manifest the constant attempts of social agents (groups and individuals) to reconstruct the social reality of the educational field, that is, to alter the way in which the various resources of the field are being valued, allocated, and consumed.[5] These struggles tend to produce winners and losers. Winners work to fortify their position by institutionalizing the social consequences of their victory. If they are successful, their hold of power will gradually be perceived less as a privilege that can be contested and more as something well deserved, legitimate, almost second nature, and thus can be easily perpetuated over time. Here I use Bourdieu's (1984; 1985; 1992; 1993) theory of fields as representative of this theoretical frame.

The attempt to apply Bourdieu's political sociology concepts to education policy-making might remind some of the four I's work of Carol Weiss (1995). Weiss argued that perceptions of school teachers and administrators who are responsible for educational policy-making can be explained by four I's: Interests, ideology, information, and institution. Her main argument is that even when teachers are given the power to participate in school policy-making (shared decisionmaking – SDM) they are more likely

[5] Resources can be any sort of good that is in demand by the agents and can shape or contribute to the allocation of power, for example, monetary goods, prestige, important institutional positions, educational attainments, political power, etc.

than principals to the value status quo and less likely to engage in comprehensive and substantial attempts of school reform. The key to understanding these behaviors is grounded in the unique interaction of the actors' "I's:"

> [Teachers] were constrained by the ground rules that had solidified in the school over the years. Teachers worked out their beliefs and activated their knowledge in terms of the concrete social relations of the organization in which they worked. (Weiss, 1995, p. 586)

School as an institution was less relevant for principals who had their interests, ideology, and information shaped primarily out of school and in relation to the superintendent and/or school board, as well as other professional affiliations. These findings echo to some extent Bourdieu's emphasis on the social structure, and the ways in which it frames and shapes individuals' ideologies, interests, and knowledge. There are, however, also significant differences between the two. First, the units of analysis differ. While Weiss analyzed individual schools as the institutional venue for the struggle over policy-making, Bourdieu put his emphasis on a larger unit he called a field (which in the case of education would refer to all the individuals, groups, and institutions that have a stake in education). This is also the primary reason why Bourdieu's framework is more applicable for the study of state-level debates over educational policy-making. Second, it is important to note that Weiss's conceptual framework is functionalist in nature, and in this respect, closer to Kingdon's model. She explored how schools worked after the roles of actors have been already set by outsiders (policy-makers). Actors -- teachers and administrators -- were then expected only to follow, slightly adjust, and internalize their roles. Thus, it was only policy-makers who could restructure or "correct" the system's

flaws, as Weiss proposed to do. Bourdieu worked with a very different premise in mind, one which put everybody in the game (field), including policy-makers. The latter's power is not taken for granted, or seen as natural; it is rather the outcome of a constant struggle and imposition of symbolic power by state bureaucrats that is aimed at providing the legitimacy to obtain and maintain state control over the field.

Agendas, Alternatives, and Policy-Making

In many ways, Kingdon's (2003) work suggests a revised reading of American politics, which broadens the boundaries of policy analysis and adopts the irrationality (of policy-making) assumption from the garbage-can decision making theory. At the same time, however, his theory does not break through the basic pluralist assumptions. Kingdon's popular approach focuses on the roles different players hold at the first stages of policy-making (processes of agenda setting and forming policy alternatives). One of his major theoretical assumptions is that politics is a venue of "organized anarchy" (p. 86) where policy-makers are not involved in an organized process of considering the pros and cons of all possible offers as the classic decision making model suggests. Instead, Kingdon argues that a policy proposal makes its way to the table when three distinct process streams -- problems, solutions, and politics -- converge through the efforts of a policy entrepreneur.

Let us consider the pieces of this theoretical puzzle. Each field has its problems. The question is: Which problems draw the attention of officials and why? A problem can be seen as too complex or irrelevant and thus would not be dealt through educational policy. A good example for a problem which seems too complex to cope with is economic inequality. Problems that do get onto the agenda are articulated in clear and

simple wording, like teacher quality, or the "achievement gap." The stream of policy solutions works to a large degree in separation from the stream of problems. It is constantly occupied by challenging ideas that stem from research or interest groups. Thus some groups may promote very distinct solutions like professional autonomy of teachers, or charter schools, that later can be attached to various kinds of problems. What usually happens is that certain sets of solutions are attached to a problem. For instance, when policy-makers raise the problem of teacher quality, they may couple it with solutions like increasing teacher autonomy and raising minimum salaries, or standardizing teachers' practice and introducing differential compensation for teachers. The third stream of politics consists of presidential and congressional election results -- "vagaries of public opinion" -- and ideological trends. This component acts separately from the previous two and it adds the political context into the formula. A good example of a vagary during the 1980s was President Reagan's victory on national election. Reagan had been an outspoken critic of the educational establishment and proposed eliminating the newly established Department of Education.

Kingdon argues that these streams come along when a window of opportunity is opened for a short period of time creating favorable conditions for a specific problem to emerge and meet a solution under a supportive political and ideological environment which "allows" representatives to pursue certain kind of initiatives.

Through a comprehensive empirical study of American federal politics, Kingdon reaffirmed Dahl's (1961) claim that the most important center of power is the one held by elected representatives, which at the national level would be the president and the members of senate and Congress. However, Kingdon also offered a detailed analysis of

other political actors, noting that they too might have different degrees of power at different times in the policy process. For instance, the President and his appointed officials enjoy a dominant role in setting the overall agenda, while Congress has more control in setting the policy alternatives. On the other hand, non elected bureaucrats enjoy very limited power in setting the agenda and forming the alternatives, but are essential to the process of policy implementation. Finally, interest groups are important, especially when the issues are remote from the public eye: "Generally, then, the lower the partisanship, ideological cast, and campaign visibility of the issues in a policy domain, the greater the importance of interest groups" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 47).

Bourdieu's Theory of Fields

Bourdieu's (1985; 1992; 1993) theory of fields attempts to understand concepts of power using a broad outlook, one that acknowledges the complexity of the social space and provides a practical framework for analyzing relationships between various players in it. Let us begin with the notion of field:

> A network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

In other words, a field is a space where individuals and groups (social agents) interact, work, produce, and struggle over power, based on a shared set of

understandings, beliefs, values, and norms, that constitute the logic and rules of the game for that field (Bourdieu, 1985). A major assumption Bourdieu makes is that individuals are always motivated to maximize their gains based on and constrained by their unique set of dispositions, beliefs, and understanding of the fields within which they live and work. This does not mean that social agents seek monetary gains alone. While this might be true to a larger degree in the economic field, other fields might vary (in fact, the field of French poetry is defined by its disinterestedness and clear aversion to monetary attainments and popular appraisal). These different rationales constitute a unique logic of action for social agents in every field. The ability of social agents to preserve, more or less, the spirit of these unique characteristics of their field over time, while resisting attempts of other fields to change them is what many understand as a field's relative autonomy, which Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) explain as the "autonomy [of fields] from political and economic power, [and capability to] gain in symbolic power, that is, in their capacity to legitimate existing social arrangements" (as cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 126).

Another component that defines the actions of social agents is their habitus. Put in simple terms, habitus is the set of behaviors, beliefs, and norms that one acquires through life. These are affected by one's origin, education, and other features of the environment in which one grows. The habitus conditions one's understanding of the field, or as Bourdieu put it, one's "feel for the game." Thus, the habitus is not simply equivalent to what many call "individual agency." The habitus is constrained and defined by a field's social structure, not the other way around. Furthermore, an individual action is rarely rationally planned and exercised -- as many economists believe is the case -- since social actors are constrained by so many factors. This, of course, does not mean that agents do

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The social field is primarily stratified by the degrees of cultural and economic capital that social agents enjoy, and -- at the same time -- by the relative capital each field exerts vis-à-vis the other fields (Bourdieu, 1985). For Bourdieu; "the greater the difference in assets structure of these two types of capital, the more likely it is that individuals and groups will be opposed in their power struggle for domination" (Swartz, 1997, p. 140). In other words, a field's relative autonomy is critically related to its members' possession of economic and cultural capital. For instance, in his book *Distinctions*, Bourdieu (1984) analyzes various fields by their relative hold of economic and cultural capital. Some fields, like art or higher education enjoy high cultural capital and relatively low economic capital; some enjoy both, like medicine and law; and others, like agriculture and fishery, are low on both. The hierarchical differences among the fields and their pursuit of relative autonomy and greater impact on society constantly create tensions as powerful fields attempt to subordinate or limit the autonomy of other "weaker" fields (Bourdieu, 1984). These tensions between fields are often played out within the fields as well. Here Bourdieu's (1988; 2005) use of the concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy is very helpful. The "orthodoxy" of a field usually consists of the social agents who occupy the positions of power. These agents often have much in common. They tend to share similar concepts, notions, and general perspectives about the nature of the field and its future anticipated developments. They would also have the tendency to preserve their positions of power by opposing new ideas, or any other suggestion that might shake the current status quo. The "heterodoxy" consists of the "opposition," social

agents who are not satisfied with the current direction of the field, who think that things should be done differently and that priorities need to be changed. Both the orthodoxy and the heterodoxy share, however, a deep conviction in the overall importance of the field, they both have a share in the field, but would like to lead it to different directions.

In sum, the two perspectives presented above assume that every policy-making process draws the attention of various social agents or stakeholders and creates disagreements among them concerning questions of resource allocation. The pluralist tradition portrays policy-making as a process in which distinct, transcendental streams of problems, solutions, and politics converge in the hands of an entrepreneur at a given time, opening a window of opportunity for a policy proposal to become part of the policy agenda. This approach views the political struggles between the various players as one that is not predetermined and that is consistent with democratic values of power sharing and coalition building. On the other hand, the conflictual tradition, as reflected in Bourdieu's writing, argues that the modern social space is characterized by relatively autonomous fields. Fields are arenas of struggle where social agents compete over the various resources that a field has to offer. Concurrently, what happens within a field is always associated with the struggles among fields within the meta-space of the field of power. Numerous studies by Bourdieu (1994) and others (e.g., Apple, 2003; Krause, 1996) demonstrate a historical tendency in France, the U.S., and other countries toward the monopolization of power and control by the economic and bureaucratic power of the state, and the concomitant subordination of weaker fields to the state.

Two Theories – Two Stories

So, how might these two theories shed light on the New Jersey alternate route story? A first hypothesis (based on Kingdon) will argue that the idea of creating an alternate route in New Jersey reflects a unique convergence of a problem, policy, and political setting by a policy entrepreneur in a given historical moment. In applying this approach, one may argue that the New Jersey alternate route to teacher certification was a policy attached to the problem of lack in academic rigor by teacher preparation programs and the low performance of prospective teachers. Adding to that was the changing political context during the early 1980s in the U.S. with Ronald Reagan as president, and in New Jersey, with a new Republican Governor -- Thomas Kean -- in office. The convergence of these three streams by determined policy entrepreneurs -- Governor Kean, and a few high ranked officials like Saul Cooperman, New Jersey's Commissioner of Education, and Leo Klagholz, the Director of Teacher Certification in the New Jersey Department of Education -- resulted in an alternate route being placed on the policy-making agenda. Furthermore, this policy survived three years of bitter struggles and debates and was finally adopted by New Jersey State Board of Education in 1985.

The second hypothesis, based on Bourdieu's theory, provides a very different explanation to consider. The main argument here would contend that the introduction and successful passage of the alternate route program signified a considerable loss of autonomy by the orthodoxy of the field of education. This policy did so by officially and practically denying the orthodoxy from the power to control its gates, and by deciding the essential pedagogic and academic content of professional teacher education. As a consequence, teachers and teacher educators, who used to hold important positions of

power in the field, were increasingly marginalized by the regulative power of state officials. In other words, the approval of the policy marked a transfer of power from the hands of the old orthodoxy of teachers and teacher educators (who lost considerable autonomy) to the hands of state elected and appointed officials seeking to enhance their stature and extend their ideologies, beliefs, and interests over new fields.

At a first glance, the two hypotheses seem to provide very similar explanations. However, there is a significant difference between the two. For Kingdon, the political reality is a big organized anarchy, where structures of power are fluid and ad hoc coalitions around issues are successful only when the three independent streams converge with the help of the entrepreneur at a given moment in time. In other words, the things that make a difference in what issues get on the agenda are timing, determination, and talent of the entrepreneur. Bourdieu, on the other hand, does not leave anything to timing and pure individual agency. The relationships between social agents are framed by their habitus and position in the field, and by the structure and history of the field in which they operate at large. Thus, when a transfer of power occurs (e.g., approval of a policy), it is never by chance, anarchy, or chaos, nor is it due to the pure talent of selected individuals, as Kingdon has suggested.

The two theories provide viable and different lenses through which we as researchers can understand political reality. They enable us to construct two stories that do not necessarily contradict, as they can both illuminate different dimensions of the phenomena in question. It is true that Kingdon's model has been widely used in the literature, overshadowing other models, and thus providing positive signs of paradigmatic consolidation based on repetitive research design and consistent empirical findings

(Kuhn, 1962). However, in order to claim this prestigious status of a paradigm, a theory must provide the best succinct generalized explanation that would withstand shifts of time and contexts. In this paper, I argue that Kingdon's model helps draw one story, a plausible one, but one with some limitations related to its pluralist roots.[6] Bourdieu's theory of the field enables us to develop a different story, shaped by other assumptions that consequently lead to different understandings of the same reality. I now turn to these two stories.

Problems, Policy Solutions, and Politics: The Case of New Jersey

An alternate route to teacher certification had never been proposed as a state comprehensive policy to deal with problems of teacher quality and shortage before New Jersey did just that in 1982. Using Kingdon's perspective I will explain how this policy evolved to become part of the political agenda of New Jersey, and how alternative solutions were developed, considered, and chosen. Along the way, I point out the major players in these ensuing processes and the political context in which those processes took place.

Kingdon (2003) argues that there is a stream of problems "floating" around policy-makers. These problems are waiting to be identified and collected into a policy-making agenda. In areas that are remote from the public eye and considered to be highly technical, the process of coupling the problems, policies, and politics is relatively seamless. Policy-making relating to mass public transportation is a good example

[6] According to the pluralist tradition various groups and players (in democratic societies) are constantly struggling to get hold of power for short terms of time. The elusiveness and complexity of power makes it hard to get and difficult to secure. By emphasizing the anarchic elements of the system and the fact that a lot is actually being decided by chance or key individuals who are associated with a specific policy, Kingdon is implying that power is never going to stay too long in the hands of one individual or group. The key players who do get to hold most of the power are those who get elected and, thus, are assumed to represent the public interests.

(Kingdon, 2003). However, in areas like education, the story is very different. When issues are divisive and ideologically charged (as they often are in education), defining the problem becomes a significant part of the struggle. In the case of New Jersey's alternate route, the "problem" – inadequate teacher preparation -- was first introduced by state officials and publicized in front page articles by the education editor of the Newark Star-Ledger. Other major stakeholders -- teacher unions, teacher educators, and some politicians -- never accepted this definition of the problem. Though they might have acknowledged that urban districts had some problems of recruiting adequate and highly prepared teachers, they thought that overall New Jersey had adequate system of teacher preparation. Further, the problem – if it did exist in some form -- certainly did not call for a radical change of the status quo.

In addition to the struggle over who defines a problem, there is the issue of the development of accepted indicators to measure the problem. There are many ways to measure a problem, assuming that the definition of a problem is accepted. The framing of indicators reflects a second struggle over what components of the problem will get on the agenda. In many ways, the indicators can redefine the scope of the problem. Thus, for instance, the indicators of teacher quality that were pushed forth by the New Jersey state officials included SAT scores. They argued that "high school graduates who planned to major in education" had "lower" achievements "than those of graduates who planned to major in 22 of 24 fields of study at the college level" (Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985, p. 692). They concluded that if teacher preparation programs recruit, admit, and certify all these low achieving individuals, then those teacher preparation programs have a problem – one of quality: program quality and the quality of program graduates. Teacher unions

and teacher educators vehemently opposed both the problem definition and the use of this indicator.

Setting the Agenda and Developing Policy Alternatives

The stream of problems

Policy-makers have many problems and problem sponsors awaiting consideration. The question then is what kind of problem is more likely to be singled out by policymakers. Sometimes it is enough that important people "feel" (instinctually if you will) the urgency to deal with a problem that floats around them. At other times, policymakers need a "focusing event" (e.g. a big scandal or disaster) to help them respond to a problem. Personal experiences can also help policymakers grasp a problem's importance. New Jersey's Director of Teacher Certification, Leo Klagholz might serve as an example. He who spent his entire career in the Catholic education system (as a student, teacher, and principal) might have grown to be more respectful of uncertified teachers and thus an advocate for alternate route policy believing it would enhance the average quality of teachers.[7] On the other hand, having problems articulated using a "scientific objective" method (through academic research or periodic analytic reports) usually yields a more convincing policy tool that quantifies the problem and helps making sensible interpretations of the problem. So, for instance in the case of New Jersey, when the Congressional Commission to Study Teacher Preparation Programs (CSTPP) issued its report (1981) on the poor quality of teacher colleges, their report was based on a systematic review (doubtful as it may be), that was seen by some as comprehensive and convincing.

[7] This example was kindly provided to me by Kenneth Carlson in response to a previous draft of this manuscript.

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New Jersey's alternate route policy was coupled with a rather familiar problem that waited for many years to become relevant. Support for this claim is found in a short illuminating essay by Cooperman and Klagholz (1985). In this essay, they portray the process by which they identified the teacher quality problem and decided to respond to it, acknowledging that the problem of teacher quality is not new. They write:

> This alternate route to certification is the outcome of more than two years of study and discussion of teacher preparation and certification in New Jersey. But, in another way, this alternate route reflects 20 years of thinking about the need to reform teacher education in the U.S. (p. 692)

They also cite James Koerner's (1963) *The Miseducation of American Teachers*, as a source that articulated the very same problem: "the low level of teaching that many communities now get with fully certified and licensed teachers [and] the tenuous connection between the training that teachers are exposed to and the performance they turn in on the job" (Koerner, 1963 as cited in Cooperman & Klagholtz, 1985, p. 692). They were not alone. During the 1980s, many reports echoed the concerns raised by Koerner (1963), Conant (1963), and Bestor (1953) in the 1950s and 1960s. A *Nation at Risk* (National Commission of Excellence in Education, 1983) is but one prominent example, where the authors bemoan the teacher quality problems faced nationally, arguing that the international supremacy of the U.S. is in jeopardy. The report caught the attention of the media and policymakers alike.

Klagholz (2000) tracks the roots of the teacher quality problems in New Jersey, pointing to the establishment of the Commission to Study Teacher Preparation Programs (CSTPP) in the 1970s. The Commission's mandate was to "conduct a study of teacher

preparation programs at New Jersey colleges...because of dissatisfaction with the quality and scope of the programs for the education of teachers in this state and the requirements for licensing" (CSTPP, Final Report, June 1981 as cited in Klagholz 2000, p. 1). Note that, although teacher quality was identified as "the problem," here a transition is made to the problem residing in teacher preparation. Thus, policy-makers involved in the CSTPP investigation decided not to deal with teachers as the source of the problem, but to frame the problem as one that concerns the teacher training process and those who are in charge of it – teacher educators.[8]

The stream of policies

Policy solutions can evolve from various groups (e.g., interest groups, researchers in academia, and policy analysts) and are largely independent of the problems (Kingdon, 2003). Policy solutions advocated by those groups look to secure or promote certain interests and ideologies; at other times policy solutions are used by their sponsoring groups as a mean to expand their power or jurisdiction. Sometimes providing a solution involves coupling several solutions together. At other times, solutions are imported from different arenas and periods of time. In the case of New Jersey, all of these features were present. The development of the alternate route policy for college graduates to get into teaching quickly, which replaced most traditional education courses with disciplinary courses as a requirement to receive a teaching certificate, and established training centers at the school district level for those prospective alternate route teachers, where they could get their pedagogical preparation in abbreviated forms, was a multifaceted product of a

[8] Other optional ways of articulating the 'quality' problem of public education is to argue that the real problem is insufficient academic rigor or the achievement gap and that the blame for these should be ascribed to the failing students for not trying harder, to students' parents for being "bad" role models, or to school districts for not providing minimum support to teachers.

careful collection of ideas, values, and solutions, many of which had been floating around in some social circles for years.

In the case of New Jersey, one prominent source of solutions came from the very same literature that helped specify the problem. Koerner (1963), a major opponent of the teacher establishment who was cited earlier as a source, from which the problem evolved, also supplied a policy solution. Cooperman & Klagholz (1985) enthusiastically embraced Koerner's solution of "giving local boards complete freedom in staffing their schools [through] some system of qualifying examinations whereby teachers, in order to be licensed, would demonstrate their mastery of the subject they propose to teach" (Koerner, 1963 as cited in Cooperman & Klagholtz 1985, p. 692). Koerner, then, in laying out this proposal offered alternate route architects the rough outline of a plan.[9]

Other factors were probably also at play in the outskirts of the process. One was a Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT) program that was established at Princeton University in 1969. The program's rationale, one of many that were established in elite universities across the U.S. by the Ford Foundation, was to recruit the best of the best – undergraduates who had majored in disciplines in elite schools -- and prepare them during the summer after their graduation to become schoolteachers the following fall (Sykes, 1984). These programs involved an intensive summer experience in pedagogy, a year's worth of teaching (with courses after school and sometimes on weekends offered during the school year), and then – sometimes – another summer of coursework. Graduates received an MAT. Indeed, it's hard not to observe the rationale of the MAT

[9] It should be noted that though being supportive of Koerner's free market type of solution Cooperman and Klagholz added to their plan a requirement of having a major in the subject intended to be taught in class.

initiative taking place a decade later in the alternate route of New Jersey and later in other kinds of alternate route proposals like Teach for America -- all assuming students from elite schools with sound liberal art knowledge would make a great contribution to the lagging teaching work- force.

The stream of politics

The stream of politics is independent of the former two and consists of any change in the political arena. That can be election results, ideological shifts, changes in the composition and/or impact of interest groups on certain policy issues, and appointment of high officials. There are five major political shifts that were generated through this stream and are associated with the New Jersey alternate route program; three are on the national level and two in the local level; 1) Reagan wins presidency; 2) spread of Neo-Liberal and Libertarian ideologies; 3) increased criticism of public education by national committees; 4) Republican Thomas Kean becomes governor of New Jersey; and 5) new appointments to top official positions in New Jersey takes place.

State politics and the opportunities of certain issues to prosper are to a certain extent conditioned by political and ideological shifts in the national level. The overwhelming victory of Reagan on January 20, 1981, was a defining moment that shifted the political arena. The president as the one holding the most powerful office in terms of its capacity to set the agenda (Kingdon, 2003) used his power to redefine the relationship of the state with public education. Teacher unions and the Department of Education (that was perceived by Republicans as a union branch) were the first to take

the hit.[10] The Reagan administration helped revive libertarian notions of the supremacy of markets and their capacity to be self-sustained with minimum state intervention. State run institutions like public education were perceived as inefficient and in a need of overhaul. These notions were so powerful that they partly reframed the arena in terms of what counts as problems and policy solutions both on the national and state level. Times definitely changed, bringing with them new opportunities for problems and policies to couple. Indeed, Cooperman and Klagholz (1985) write on the New Jersey alternate route that:

> If anything has changed since 1963, it is the possibility of implementing such a plan. At the time Koerner wrote about an alternate system of certification, he rejected his own proposal as politically impossible. 'A free market for local boards in hiring teachers might on balance be a great gain for public education, he said. Of course, no such thing is going to happen.' (Koerner, 1963, p. 252, as cited in Cooperman and Klagholz 1985, p. 692)

The reconsideration and revival of these kinds of solutions was made possible, at least to some extent, by a growing number of Conservative Think Tanks that started operating at the 1970s. These private institutions like the *Cato Institute* at Washington D.C. (established in 1977) and the notable *Heritage Foundation,* have intellectually and practically framed the ideological shift of the 1980s by crafting policy solutions to social and economic "problems." They promoted public policy research with libertarian and neo-liberal oriented solutions, which paved the way to academic notions like "public

[10] For a complete description of the struggle between the Reagan administration and the teacher unions, see: Blackboard Unions: The AFT and the NEA, 1900-1980, by Marjorie Murphy, Cornell University Press.

choice"[11] to become a popular mainstream tool that would be used to construct practical policy solutions.

The establishment of a new political and ideological context was also partly responsible for the great and sudden concern over the quality of public education. As a result, the early 1980s saw a considerable rise of special reports concerning the crisis in American education (National Commission of Excellence in Education 1983; Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, 1983; and Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education, 1983). The main theme that these reports seem to raise is the notion of "back to basics," back to the traditional teaching and values with a rigorous structured curriculum, longer in hours and better in quality. These steps were portrayed as the only way out for the deteriorated public school system. Education was viewed mainly as a mechanism of economic advancement for individuals and for the country overall. This approach was echoed in President Reagan's message to the national PTA, in which he "linked back to basics with U.S. accomplishments in space exploration" (Besser, 1993). These concerns from Washington reverberated in discussions at the state level and framed their content. When Cooperman wrote his policy he was responding in part to the larger political context. In his writing he cites Feistritzer's report, *The Making of a Teacher: A Report on Teacher Education and Certification*, and from the Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, *Action for*

[11] Neo-liberal thought is usually associated with the writings of Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek. Their ideas inspired public choice writers who focus on the reduced productivity of public systems due to the inefficiencies associated with systems that do not follow free market rationale (Tullock, Seldon, & Brady, 2002). From this perspective teaching -- as a public profession -- pushes to implement policies that on the surface argue to benefit society, but in essence serve first and foremost to preserve and secure privileges of the profession and its members. Many recent critics of the educational establishment (e.g., Ballou & Podgursky, 2000b; Finn, 2001; Hess, 2003; 2005) have adopted this perspective arguing that the solution to the inherent failures of public education is privatization through the introduction of market-based mechanisms.

Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools, sponsored by the Education Commission of the States (Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985).

In New Jersey, as in other states, the political and ideological shifts at the national level were coupled with similar trends at the state level. The tenure of Republican Thomas Kean as governor signified a turning point in education politics in New Jersey and probably had significant effects on many other states as well. Kean, unlike many other governors at the time, placed education at the top of his agenda. He was a firm believer that the K-12 education system had some serious weaknesses, and he believed that it was the role of the state both to regulate and innovate in order to improve schools' performance. Kean and his top aides vigorously campaigned for a teacher quality reform titled "program to enhance the teaching profession in New Jersey." The program in its advanced stage consisted of 14 policies.[12] These policies mainly included the minimum starting salary for all teachers ($18,500), grant programs to attract minorities and high achievers from high schools and elite universities to teaching, recognition awards to top teachers, academy for the advancement of teaching and management, and alternate route program to teacher certification. One of Kean's top aides, Mills (1985) put the rationale that underlies this tremendous effort in education in a simple way: "But the fact remains that the states that are moving have education governors - moving educationally as well as economically."

Few top professional appointees helped Kean frame and implement his comprehensive and challenging agenda for public education. Cooperman, as the Commissioner of Education, and Klagholz, as Director of Teacher Certification, soon

[12] Program to enhance the teaching profession in New Jersey. Document taken from: "special assistant to the governor" (1987-88, Box 4), nj_file10. New Jersey State Archive.

assumed a major role in planning, directing, and implementing one of the most comprehensive reforms in teaching preparation and practice that a state has attempted to achieve. They directed the policy-making process for the teacher alternate route and college standards for teacher education programs with enthusiasm and conviction. Their determination and involvement in planning, writing, and negotiating the policy or, in Kingdon's terms, being those who coupled the three streams together in the right moment make them key policy entrepreneurs of the alternate route.

Converging the Three Streams

Kingdon (2003) argues that in order to be considered seriously a policy must have an influential sponsor who strongly believes in the policy and is willing to expend any effort needed to promote it. This player or players are the policy entrepreneurs. In our case Kean as governor, Cooperman and Klagholz in the Department of Education, Hollander in the Department of Higher Education, Gary Stein -- Kean's Policy and Planning Director, as well as other top officials, like Richard Mills, the Education Assistant of the Governor, served as the alternate route entrepreneurs. They worked diligently on the program, revised it, established coalitions and agreements, and mobilized political power to support it. When Cooperman felt that one of the program's components was not "ready," needed broader sources of legitimacy, or that it was potentially divisive, he would dismantle the threat by setting up "independent professional" committee to discuss the issue and provide conclusions for the Department of Education to consider. Cooperman did not take part in those discussions, but was able to a large extent to determine the direction of their conclusions by carefully selecting their members and delimiting their charge. Through careful work Cooperman and Kean

were able to convince many that the alternate route was an important part of a comprehensive plan to enhance the teaching profession. Opponents lost ground, as they were divided among themselves and could not provide an agreeable viable alternative to the state proposal. As a result, each group provided its own plan, but found it hard to convince others of its professional vigorousness, objectivity, and value to the public good. The general political and ideological shifts that we described above served to further provide a favorable context for the state to push its program. Kingdon would argue that the window of opportunity for this plan to succeed was wide open at this moment, and so it did.

On September 5, 1984 the New Jersey State Board of Education, the body that holds the legislative authority on certification procedures, voted unanimously to approve the alternate route policy, which had been slightly modified from Cooperman's original proposal.

The Battle over Education Reform

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) the analysis of a social field should involve three components. First, one must position the field of inquiry vis-à-vis the field of power. Here one specifically focuses on locating the field within the social space matrix of economic and cultural capital. Second, "one must map out the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority" (p. 105). In other words, one must understand who are the social agents in the field? What are the local resources in the field that agents compete for? What constitutes the hierarchy of positions within the field? Third, one should understand the habitus of the social agents that operate in a given field.

Here the focus is on the way social agents work and act in the field and how specific types of dispositions within the habitus associate with certain positions in the field.

Mapping the entire field of power in New Jersey, or fully understanding the habitus of the social agents within it is beyond the scope of this work. Instead, this study will focus on describing the fierce struggle between state officials, teacher educators, and teacher unions in the field of education, while emphasizing the historical context in which the claims for power of the various agents were developed. By doing so, I hope to achieve two goals: first, show how Bourdieu's perspective can offer a viable alternative for understanding the ways in which educational reform was decided and processed in New Jersey. And second, emphasize the advantages of using this theoretical framework in general for understanding the politics surrounding educational policy.

A General account on State - Education Relationships from the 1960s to the 1980s

I will begin with a brief account on the relations between state[13] and the major agents of the field of education, teacher unions, and teacher educators, in America. By doing so, I hope to establish the necessary context needed for understanding the struggles that have taken place in New Jersey.

If we accept the implicit assumption of Bourdieu's work that social agents - no matter their position in the social space - are inherently and to a large degree unconsciously interested in maximizing the economic power, cultural clout, and social prestige that a given field can provide them, the question is who gets these returns and what factors determine the outcome of the struggle among the various agents. While it is

[13] I use the term state here in referring both to the federal and state government. This does not mean that I view them as a single agent. Most of the time, however, the term refers to the State of New Jersey. In the future, especially in light of the increasing role and involvement of the federal government, I might use two distinct terms.

true that different social agents and fields share many similarities, they do differ in the type and volume of capital they possess (e.g., economic, cultural, social, etc.), and in their capacity to subordinate competitors or become dominated by them. Basically, when a field enjoys relatively high degrees of cultural and/or economic capital it will become part of the field of power. The field of power is the social sphere where the most powerful fields in the social space are located. There is also an internal hierarchy within the field of power, which places on top the fields with the highest degrees of economic power. For instance, when Bourdieu (1984) analyzed the French society he identified K-12 teachers as a relatively subordinated group belonging to a subordinated field within the field of power that enjoys relatively high degrees of cultural capital with low degrees of economic capital.

When one considers the case of American teachers, there are good reasons to assume they would be positioned differently within the American social space, perhaps even lower than the arbitrary borders that would define the field of power, especially since the 1980s.[14] This, however, has not always been the case. For instance, some general features of the period between the 1960s and 1970s may suggest a different positioning of the field of education vis-à-vis the field of state bureaucracy. Why is that? During the 1960s and 1970s, by and large, teachers in America improved their occupational position (in terms of economic returns and working conditions) by steadily raising the requirements for teacher certification (Sedlak & Schlossman, 1986) and by organizing through teacher unions which granted them the power of collective bargaining (power they have effectively used to secure salary and benefit increases). Together these

[14] This is a hypothetical assumption that calls for further empirical inquiry, one focused on measuring and comparing the relative volume of cultural and economic capital or any other significant capital that the various fields consist in a given era.

developments have provided teachers with the lever needed for creating restricted autonomy over their field. But autonomy is not simply the story of the struggle for economic returns and political power. Bourdieu (1992) defines the autonomy of a field as the power of a given field to resist rules, practices, ideologies, and demands of other fields, while keeping its own norms and being able to carry on its agenda. In other words, every field, as a direct result of being somewhat autonomous creates its own distinct conceptual framework of ideas, preconceptions, and ways of "doing things" that reflect, inform, and constrain, the habitus of social agents operating within it.

In the case of education, many have argued, progressivism has been the major ideological engine that has framed the intellectual scope of the field since the late 19th century. It is also widely accepted that teacher educators in colleges and universities have been the major creators and carriers of this ideology (e.g., Bestor, 1953; Labaree, 2005; Ravitch, 2000). Despite some resistance from various groups and individuals (e.g., Arthur Bestor or William Chandler Bagley) which resulted in weakening of progressive notions during the 1950s this approach came back in the 1960s to guide teacher preparation in colleges, and went very deeply to frame the whole popular and professional discourse around issues of teaching and learning (Ravitch, 2000). Having this ideological conception has helped create the motivation among members to fight and defend their field from external attempts of intervention. Then, once power has been achieved and used to consolidate the field's autonomy, it was also directed to block outsiders from trying to influence the field's logic of action.

To sum up then, in the 1960s and 1970s, we have been witnessing a consolidation of a few crucial components in the field of education -- mainly the toughening of entry

requirements into the profession, the adoption of collective bargaining and union aggressive strategies, and the return to progressivism as a core ideology that helped developing teachers' professional identity -- that would translate in a relatively more robust and autonomous field of education vis-à-vis the field of state bureaucracy.

During the 1980s, however, things have changed and old boundaries collapsed. As the criticism toward public education mounted, state officials in many states felt that this could be a good opportunity to step in and take more control. Gittell and McKenna (1999) write that this tendency has strengthened considerably, as governors started identifying the education field as a promising site for intervention. Indeed,

> State governors became more activist participants in state education policy regimes in the 1990s. Our study of state regimes in nine states revealed that most governors were influential in steering the direction of educational reform in their states, despite resistance from the legislature and the unions. (p. 268)

As we shell argue, New Jersey set the tone to this process in the early 1980s.

Mapping the Field's of Education Orthodoxy in New Jersey

In New Jersey as in some other states, educators worked during the 1960s and 1970s to establish and fortify a relatively autonomous field by exploiting two distinct strategies -- some believe to be contradictory in nature: 1) unionism, i.e., using the lever of mass membership for maximizing collective bargaining returns; and 2) professionalism, i.e., promoting the idea of teaching as a profession that should govern and regulate important aspects of its members (e.g., training and practice).

During these years teacher educators and teacher unions were relatively close to the Department of Education, sharing all a progressive vision and professional goals. One

important aspect of the field's autonomy was related to the unofficial control it held over teacher preparation and certification. This control meant that prospective public school teachers studied only in education preparation programs with a curricula guided by teacher educators. Teacher educators were also those who made the recommendations concerning teacher certification (which were then approved by the Department of Education). This have been the case for years, although the legal official power over teacher preparation and certification in New Jersey was placed in the hands of the State Board of Education and in practice in the hands of the Department of Education. The reason for that, as many have indicated in the past (e.g., Bestor, 1953), was largely related to the ideological and professional alignment of the Department's of Education staff to teacher educators and teachers, making them all important parts of the teacher education establishment (the field's of education orthodoxy).

When problems, like teacher shortage aroused and teacher preparation programs could not provide a solution, the state responded by allowing districts to hire individuals and grant them emergency certificates. Practically, this arrangement enabled districts to hire uncertified personnel as teacher substitutes whenever they faced staffing problems. While it is true that this arrangement did not contribute for improved teacher quality, it also did not challenge the authoritative power of teacher education programs to offer the only legitimate route to becoming a certified teacher. As a result, teacher educators were able to continue and preserve some important professional boundaries around teacher certification (with the help of the Department of Education) that enabled them to continue

and socialize new teachers transforming them into members of a relatively cohesive professional community.[15]

All the while, the field has suffered from some chronic problems that positioned its members at the outskirts of academia and professional practice. There are several classic explanations to this weakness of the education field. One relates to the discipline's knowledge that was among the last to join Academia, and thus has been considered by some to be a pseudo-science at best. Another explanation links the weakness of the field to being traditionally identified as feminine in nature. As a result, teachers and teacher educators have been subjected to waves of criticism accusing them of unsubstantiated practices that have led to the deterioration of public education. These arguments have also played a part in the growing criticism toward education during the 1980s. However, this time there have been several components that elevated the critique to a place never reached before. One reason for that might be related to the fact the field of education became "contaminated" with politics. The price for being invested politically only in one side (i.e., Democratic Party) has been painful and devastating, since in addition for losing political power, teacher unions were also gradually loosing the public legitimacy of being a supposedly objective professional independent voice. This growing weakness of the field was accompanied by many real unsettled social problems that were unjustifiably associated with the field (e.g., low performance, increased violence, and a staggering racial gap). Though many argue these problems are not primarily the responsibility of educators but are part of the ill arrangements of an unequal society (Rothstein, 2004), Americans in general and many educators among them believe that high quality

[15] The degree of this cohesiveness depends on the quality and quantity of time students spend together with faculty discussing core issues related to subject matter, pedagogy, and ethics of the profession.

education provided by trained professional teachers can indeed make a difference in students' lives, bridge the initial gaps, and provide every citizen a fair chance to thrive.

While it is true that for many years, as indicated above, the Department of Education willingly shared its responsibility over teacher preparation and certification with teacher educators and trusted teacher preparation programs in colleges and universities, one also needs to consider the relative weakness of the state in the field of education, when evaluating the relative power of social agents like teacher unions. Historically, the state of New Jersey has been governed by local boards of education that represented the needs of their communities. Until the 1970s public education was primarily supported by local tax. The state having no general income tax was in many senses a marginal player in the game. This relative weakness of the state provided other agents the opportunity to hold more power in the field of education. In particular, local boards and teacher unions – New Jersey Education Association (NJEA) and to a significantly lesser extent New Jersey Federation of Teachers (NJFT) – were very powerful agents in the field. For example, during the 1950s and 1960s, NJEA leaders used to have close ties with Education Commissioner, Frederick Raubinger (1952-1967), who met with them at a Princeton inn every few months to discuss "tactics, general strategy, and intelligence on the political climate" (Pack, 1974, p. 260 in Salmore & Salmore, 1992). Salmore and Salmore (1992) add that "among the participants, NJEA, with its large membership and research capacity, ranked second in influence to the commissioner" (p. 260). Two decades later, during the 1980s, NJEA representative would plead for months to meet for lunch with low level aides of the Governor.[16]

[16] Details taken from a correspondence between NJEA official and one of the Commissioner aides (1984, Box 12), nj_file03. New Jersey State Archive.

While it is true that the ideological alliance of the Department of Education and the teacher education establishment in New Jersey deteriorated during the 1970s, it is clear that Governor's Kean election signaled a clear turning point. Loyal to the professional and moderate union type tradition of the National Education Association (NEA) (Murphy, 1990), NJEA opposed the state alternate route initiative, arguing it would lead to professional deterioration (Fulton, 1983). However, after the state inserted minor changes in the alternate route plan, and added the teacher minimum salary proposal, NJEA decided to support the alternate route (Jaroslaw, 1984; Klagholz, 2000). The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) affiliate organization in New Jersey, NJFT, which represented the teachers of Newark and those of few small districts, opposed the alternate route much more forcefully (Carlson, 1990). In addition, the same union represented most teacher educators of New Jersey colleges (Carlson, 1990; 2004).[17] The different constituents, as one may surely suspect, were an important factor in the positions both unions developed toward the alternate route and other educational reforms of the Kean administration. Thus, once the alternate route proposal started to gravitate and deal directly with teacher preparation programs as the reason for the current mediocre system, NJFT stepped in and took the lead of resisting the proposal. Other teacher educators affiliated organizations like the New Jersey Association of Teachers Colleges (NJACTE) also resisted the reform. These state level organizations were later backed by the AFT, and the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education

[17] Except of Rutgers' University faculty.

(AACTE) when the struggle over the teacher alternate route reform went on to become a national controversy.[18]

NJEA, on the other hand, had much less at stake. While it may have been hoping to get the academic training component of the alternate route program (Carlson, 1990; 2004)[19] it became even more content (and as a result less likely to pose challenges) after the governor added the minimum salary proposal to his teacher quality reform package. Thus the NJEA decided to support the reform after some minor correction had been made.

This reality also reveals the implicit divide between teachers and teacher educators. Though the two groups have formed the loosely coupled orthodoxy of the field and shared many interests, they occupied rather different positions in the field. Generally speaking, teachers have long occupied a rather dominated position in the field of education (in terms of their cultural capital). They work in stark separation from each other, subjected to the power of school administrators, district, and state administration, but at the same time, during the 1960s and 1970s, led by a militant leadership were able to exercise power and gain significant economic returns through their union membership (Angus, 2001). The dominated position of teachers is also vis-à-vis the 'creators of educational knowledge' – teacher educators in academic institutions. Historically, the latter have worked their way up from local training facilities and normal schools to the status of university professors. This continuous process of 'position taking' by teacher educators has been carried out sometimes on the backs of school teachers as Labaree

[18] See Carlson (1990) for the involvement of the NJACTE and AACTE in opposing New Jersey educational reform.
[19] In my interview with NJEA President, Edith Fulton (2004), there was no mentioning of this issue. My other sources do not support or refute this important point.

(1992) pointed out in his genealogy of the 'Holmes Group' project of teacher professionalism. It is clear, then, that the two groups have different positions and interests in the field that could align or collide depending on the circumstances they encounter. In the case of New Jersey, the state proposal severely threatened to limit the power of teacher educators to control teacher preparation. Teachers, on the other hand, had less to loose. It's true that if entry to teaching is made easier, the field might face over supply of teachers, which in turn might hamper teachers' bargaining power. However, the raise in teachers' minimum salary was able to take care of these concerns. Another issue that was potentially divisive for teachers was how they were portrayed in the reform. State officials were cautious here too. Although teachers were criticized in the policy, most criticism was indirect in nature, arguing that teachers were the victims of an inadequate preparation system. Therefore, NJEA, opportunistic as it may sound, understood that teachers would gain only further hostility from state officials and the public if they decided to carry the burden of struggle together with teacher educators.

This story may suggest the struggle over teacher quality reform should be first understood from within the field as a struggle between various social agents located in different sites of the field with different types and degrees of economic, symbolic and cultural capital, thus having different interests, ideas, and beliefs to promote. The struggle between these agents (primarily teacher unions and teacher educators) is about the right to survive, occupy, control, and direct the vision and future of the field. Those who occupy these leadership positions have then the legitimacy to shape the normative agenda on behalf of the field, i.e., having practically an open access to establish their ideological order.

So far we have identified teacher educators, which have usually grown internally out of the teaching ranks and the teacher unions as the major agents of the educational field. Interestingly, educational administrators who hold no doubt a very prominent position in the daily lives of the field have shown very little active involvement in the alternate route program. Though the administrators' association has basically backed the state, their marks on the issue were hardly noticed (Carlson, 1985; 1990). It is not the aim of this paper to discus the reasons for this, but one can assume that since the aggressive move of the state was not aimed at educational administrators' professional turf, and since their power was not threatened, it seems completely logical on their part to stay out of the conflict. Later this strategy has proven to be mistaken for educational administrators themselves, when state bureaucrats introduced the alternate route for administrators. Those who helped state bureaucrats to gain legitimacy and become too powerful have paid the price too.

Mapping the Emerging Heterodoxy of State Officials in New Jersey

The high end of the bureaucratic field enjoys a favorable position (compared to those of teachers) in the social space and the field of power. Elected governors are paid well, highly respected, and hold enormous political power that enables them to play an important part in setting the political agenda of their state and implement it. New Jersey governors in particular are considered to be the most powerful of all governors in America (Salmore & Salmore, 1993). Senior appointed officials in the administration and state departments hold considerable power too. In 1988 Thomas Kean declared in his book:

> I have almost total control over the policy – making apparatus in the state. I am not unhappy about it. A good governor should absolutely dominate the political debate in the state and set its agenda. (p. 63)

Traditionally, however, this has not been the case in New Jersey. In a state that was considered for years as no more than a passage between New York City and Philadelphia, where local corrupt bosses have controlled politics, and where even its elected governors used to reside out of their state (preferably in New York City), central government was almost irrelevant. The approval of New Jersey's constitution in 1947 and above all the establishment of a significant state income tax in 1976 have been the major political milestones that triggered the shift toward state governed politics (Salmore & Salmore, 1993). The tenure of Governor Kean should be understood in this context as one that has built heavily on the emerging signs of state's consolidation of authority.

The New Jersey Department of Education also has been marginalized for years from the core issues of education. With minimal resources at hand and a strong local tradition of school governance the department had relatively small impact on educational matters. The commissioner who heads the department brings all major decisions to the State Board of Education for approval. The 1973 Supreme Court ruling in *Robinson v. Cahill* signaled a shift in the department's role in public education. The ruling demanded the State to create measures that would provide a thorough and efficient school system to all school children to replace the heavy financial reliance of schools on local tax arrangements (Prabhu, 1992, pp. 78-9). As a result, the department was forced to step and exercise authority to make sure local school districts provide thorough and efficient education.

The historical passage of New Jersey demonstrates a larger process that happened in other states as well. This process can be well traced in the history of teacher preparation and certification regulation. As federal reports and studies suggest, states have struggled successfully with districts, teachers, and teachers colleges to assume more control over certification issues (Frazier, 1938). Historically, teachers have sometimes backed the state on this issue, when they wanted to dismantle the power of districts and local politics, while later they joined teachers colleges in calling to keep certification within the hands of colleges and professional organizations like the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) (Angus, 2001; Sedlak & Schlossman, 1986). As we shall see below the case of New Jersey's alternate route illustrates a historical shift where the state started pushing to exercise its formal authority on teacher certification, a process that started many years before, but became a joint operation of the Department of Education and teacher educators under the umbrella of the education establishment. During the 1980s, New Jersey's state officials, including the Department of Education staff and the governor, collaborated aggressively to reshape the balance of power in the field of education and exercise more control over teacher certification. The interesting question is what can explain this phenomenon?

When Governor Kean was elected as New Jersey governor he was part of a new generation of (Republican) leaders in America, who believed governors should control the education system and not vice versa.[20] This notion has developed partly along libertarian thought and partly on the ground as a backlash to the increased political

[20] For detailed account of Kean's (1988) perception of the relationship of the state and public education see: *The politics of inclusion*. An interesting account on the role of governors in education can be seen in a presentation for the New Jersey Association of Federal Program Administrators (NJAFPA) titled "the governor's role in providing quality education" prepared by a close aide of Kean, Richard Mills (1985).

activity of teacher unions in the service of Democrat candidates.[21] Kean himself faced this sort of political activism, when the NJEA openly and vigorously supported his rival Democrat James Florio as their choice for the state's top office.[22] From this angle then, one could understand the struggle in New Jersey, as one that was shaped by ideological beliefs (mainly neo-liberal thought that embraces policies based on the principles of free market and competition), and by a political struggle over interests and power. The reality, however, is more complicated. The motivation of Kean to push for changes in the education system was stemmed also by his belief that excellent public education would drive economic prosperity for the state. Therefore, during election time he put education reform on the top of his agenda. In his position paper "The Importance of Quality Education to a Vibrant New Jersey" he notes, that:

> if our state is to regain the competitive edge it once enjoyed over the states that surround us, it is imperative that it do all it can to equip its schools and institutions of higher education to turn out the skilled workers and capable managers those industries need. (Kean 1981, p. 4)

Kean demonstrated a libertarian concern that pushed for dismantling of barriers that kept certification preparation in the control of teacher education programs and stopped qualified professionals from moving smoothly into schools. Kean also identified

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[21] This tendency became pronounced as the NEA openly and enthusiastically supported the Democrat nominee for presidency, Jimmy Carter. Many believe that the upgrading of education to a department level in Carter's administration came as a reward to the union support during election time. Since then teacher union support of a nominee (usually Democrat) on state or federal level became a norm. For a general discussion on this topic, see: Urban J. Wayne, (2000). Gender race and the NEA: Professionalism and its limitations (chapter 7). For an interesting account of Pennsylvania and Michigan, two states that used to be strongholds of teacher unions but ceased to be such during the 1990s, see: Boyd, Plank & Sykes, (2000) Teacher unions in hard times (Chapter 6) in: T. Loveless (Ed.) Conflicting missions? Teachers unions and educational reform.

[22] Robert Braun (1982) the educational columnist of the *Newark Star-Ledger* writes: "The NJEA actively opposed Kean's election and just as actively worked for, and contributed to, the campaign of Kean's rival, democrat James Florio."

himself as one who believed in providing high quality education by teachers with strong subject matter knowledge no matter if they graduated from a teacher preparation program or arrived through an alternate route program. This meant that the state should be tightening its hold of the teacher preparation system to assure preparation aligned with the governor's ideas (i.e., a preparation with a significant component of a subject matter with minimal required emphasis on pedagogical input). In many ways this could also be characterized as an attempt by the state to create a "new teacher", a teacher, which has a broad disciplinary background with a very thin fraction of required education courses. As we can clearly see, there were several processes that worked inseparably to reinvent state teacher education relationships. The political struggle over power and resources (between the profession and the state) was coupled with a deep ideological divide on how the system should work, who would teach in it, and what kind of teacher preparation should be valued?

In addition, there was of course the broad historical and political context, which is an important factor affecting the scope of possible strategies available for Kean's administration to rely on. The climate of a deep crisis and the rising concerns over the quality of education, together with the political rivalry between Republican governors and teacher unions, were not unique to New Jersey; they were felt around the nation. But Kean unlike others identified and understood these developments as an opportunity for the state to step in, promote alternative solutions for long-standing problems, and take more control over public education from locals and professionals whenever possible. To do so, he took advantage of the political climate and the abundance of state and national

reports that undermined the professional stature of teacher unions and teacher educators, arguing they are incapable of assuring the production of high quality teachers.

Though it is beyond the scope of this study it's important to briefly mention here the importance of the concept of habitus. When pioneering actions take place in the social space one can easily drift into explaining them by the exceptional skills or character of the individuals who claim responsibility over them. The habitus provides an elegant way to deal with this explanatory problem by ascribing the actions of individuals to the way social structure has been externally and internally inscribed into the lives of these individuals -- social agents.[23] In this respect it would be important to consider the life experiences of Thomas Kean and other powerful officials in his administration. A glimpse into Kean's biography is illuminating. Kean is the son of a U.S. congressman and the grandson of a U.S. senator. His uncle was also a U.S. senator and his ancestor, "John Kean represented his state in the Continental Congress..." (Kean, 1988, p. 131). He had his undergraduate education at Princeton and M. Ed. from Teachers College, Columbia University. In his early career he worked a few years at his alma-mater high school as a teacher and for many years directed a summer school for disadvantaged teen-agers from urban New Jersey. Later he went back and forth from his small business into local and state politics. These general details that are taken from Kean's autobiography

[23] The notion of habitus as illustrated in my discussion of Kean provides a very different explanation to individuals' action than the one provided by Kingdon (2003). Kingdom argues that only a policy entrepreneur through his persistence and conviction in the importance of a cause can carry a policy proposal into the agenda. While Kingdon failed to explain why people would take leadership position and act as thety do, Bourdieu developed an elaborate explanation based on the notions of field, habitus, and capital. Individuals, according to Bourdieu, adopt modes of behavior and action in response to the capitals they possess, their position in the field and the expectations attached to it. In other words, instead of arguing that Kean was a policy entrepreneur, because he appeared in the right time to converge the three streams, Bourdieu' would provide the how – how Kean's dispositions, beliefs, perspectives, and behaviors (or put simply, his habitus) are explained and embedded in his background, social networks, education, economic wealth, and privileges. These are intertwined with larger currents of power that are part of the social field that shape and constrain the kinds of position available to every social agent.

(1988) suggest that Kean's interest in education as a governor was genuine, and developed over a long period of time. In short, while his unique background as an educator who graduated from elite universities contributed to the way he conceived the problems of education and to his motivation to get involved in changing them, his political standpoint and policy solutions are aligned with his background as a businessman who grew up in a wealthy well connected family.

The governor was not alone. He was surrounded by a group of loyal officials who eagerly carried out what might have been initially his vision but no doubt became theirs too. During the first few months in office Kean directed his close aide and deputy chief of staff, Christopher Daggett, to take charge of the search for a new education commissioner, "whose first credential for the job – according to the governor himself – must be compatibility with Kean's educational philosophy" (Braun, 1982). The name eventually chosen for the lucrative position - Cooperman – came as a surprise for many, since his candidacy was not supported by any significant group of educators, and his name was not mentioned along with other candidates on the news.[24]

Commissioner Cooperman had lean experience as a superintendent, but his lack of previous loyalties within the educational establishment turned out to be an important asset for his new job. Another key official for passing educational reform - the Chancellor of Higher Education, Hollander – was reappointed by Kean for a second term, since his views were understood as compatible with those of the governor. These two officials had to cooperate closely to plan and promote the certification reform, but the

[24] Cooperman, it should be noted, was not the first preference of the governor and his aides. He became the commissioner only after the first nomination needed to withdraw after he was accused to have plagiarized most of his doctoral dissertation.

details of the program got entangled within a jurisdiction that could be claimed by both.[25] This forced cooperation, however, did not go without hurdles as the two department heads seemed to agree on the general plan, but differed on its details. An example to the tension between the two is well illustrated in a letter sent by Cooperman to Hollander. In the letter Cooperman accuses Hollander of having double standards and of trying to appear nice in the public eye while having his concealed interest carried out by Cooperman. Hollander, according to Cooperman, supported the plan to reduce teacher education courses for prospective teachers, since it would force many teacher educators to leave universities and enable colleges to replace them with faculty from more "productive" in demand disciplines. While keeping this plan in secrecy, Hollander has publicly backed some critical assertions made by Cooperman's worst opponents – the teacher educators of New Jersey (Carlson, 1990). This dispute, probably more than anything else, reflects an interdepartmental struggle over turf, rather than ideological differences. Moreover, in terms of the overall struggle, these internal differences did not crack the solid front built by the state to further the certification reform. The correspondences between state officials during the policy-making process illustrate this solid front of the state. Both the NJEA and NJFT were perceived as a threat to the plan and hence were singled out and barred from participating on key committees (e.g., social agents from the field's orthodoxy had no representatives sitting on the search committee for the commissioner position, and none of them was sitting on the first committees which decided on the structure and content of the alternate route – the Boyer Commission). Archival documents also reveal that state officials felt confident and

[25] The teacher certification was authorized by the department of education and provided to graduates who went through approved education programs. At the same time the authority over colleges was assigned to department of higher education. This situation meant that any change had to be agreed by both sides.

powerful enough to dismiss and delay even minor requests for meetings made by senior officials of the NJEA. Eventually, representatives of the two unions were invited to attend only the last committee (Jaroslaw, 1984) where they formed a small insignificant minority. Teacher educators, the vocal opponents of the program, were never invited by state officials to participate, and had no representation at any part of the process (Carlson, 1990). Numerous letters, memos, and alternative plans, where teacher educators attempted to challenge the state's plan, were dismissed as being driven by narrow self-serving interests of professors who were looking to secure their positions (e.g., Klagholz, 2000).

Final Remarks on the Nature of the Struggle in New Jersey

The field of education or more specifically the field of educational policy has various features that made it relatively resistant to changes for many years. We have seen how teacher educators and teacher unions with cooperation of the Department of Education were able to build the orthodoxy of the teacher education establishment that governed the field for years, especially relating to aspects of preparation and certification. No matter how one look at it, the state had a relatively minor role in education before the 1980s.

During the 1980s state elected and appointed officials refused to accept this reality. They came with different sets of ideas, interests, and ways of perceiving reality, but at the same time argued that they have a stake in the field and share the vision of educators concerning the importance of having well qualified teachers that can lead students for better future. They gave these ideas a different interpretation that was aligned with their past experience, structure of capital, and positions in the field.

We have seen, how according to Bourdieu's theory, this struggle over ideas and vision unfolded in the case of New Jersey, when state officials infiltrated into the resourceful arena of teacher education. We have also seen how these kinds of attempts have developed in specific historical, sociological, and political contexts that enabled them to evolve the way they did.

The policy itself, which was designed as a political masterwork, sent two clear messages. The first message for teacher unions was that times have changed and the state is going to be much more involved in what used to be an area under their control - teacher education policy. The second message was directed to New Jersey's teacher educators claiming they have so far proved incompetent at producing the quality teachers students deserve to have, and thus should prepare to give up the monopoly over teacher preparation they used to occupy. While teacher unions were warned, they also benefited from series of new policies that were launched simultaneously with the alternate route (especially from the minimum starting salary for teachers that was enacted in 1985). Teacher educators who did not enjoy as much political clout as teacher unions did within the field of education, and were considered to have the lowest prestige among their fellow university professors, were those who took the hardest blow from the alternate route policy. The state indeed identified them as the weakest brick in the wall of autonomy surrounding the orthodoxy of the field of education and used it in order to assume more control in the field.

Summary

This study has traced back the historical roots of the first alternate route for teaching in the nation, which is also among the first initiatives to implement market based

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policies into K-12 public education in America. I argue that this process could be described and analyzed in various ways depending on the theoretical standing of the author, and since in educational policy theory tends to be quite implicit, it is important to unveil these theoretical notions that underlie it. Moreover, since only one theory – the pluralist theory - tends to lead most popular and academic interpretations of educational policy-making process, it is essential to consider other theoretical alternatives too. To emphasize this point, this study considered two theories -- Kingdon's agenda setting and Bourdieu's theory of social fields. The two provided different explanations to the same policy process.

In the last two decades Kingdon's model of agenda setting (2003) became very popular among policy researchers and analysts. It provides a rigorous account of the way policy is negotiated and decided among the various policy players in Washington, and it emphasizes the importance of both timing, and the capacity of certain individuals to connect together the stream of problems, policies solutions, and politics into a successful policy. However the model of Kingdon provides an explanation that rests on the problematic assumptions of the pluralist tradition.

According to Bourdieu's approach the field of education is an arena contested by educational agents, like, state officials, teacher unions, and teacher educators who all have stakes in the field. These agents struggle over power and use a wide array of means to achieve it. I argue that the teacher alternate route initiative in New Jersey could be used to mirror the attempt of state agents to break the status quo in which the state had only modest means to affect the educational training and recruitment of teachers. The findings, according to a Bourdieuan interpretation, suggests that in the struggle over

teacher certification and preparation in New Jersey, the orthodoxy of the field (in particular, teacher educators) have experienced a significant loss of power and autonomy to state agents. This shift of power had an effect on the structure and positioning of other agents in the field, favoring state agents. In making this argument I do not mean to suggest that the state was necessarily successful in shifting and reshaping the whole hierarchical structure of the field of education (in other areas other than certification and preparation). This could not be determined accurately by analyzing just one struggle over one policy. The overall picture can be different. Thus the direction that I have pursued in this study should be further clarified and extended by an analysis of the entire field of educational policy in New Jersey (see Chapter 4 for details of this kind of analysis). Furthermore, even in the area of teacher certification and preparation the process of subordination should not be understood as deterministic trend that have carved irreversible state of affairs. On the contrary, the social field of Bourdieu is dynamic and subject to changes that are the result of the constant power struggle between agents in the field. Interestingly, three years ago (2003) in New Jersey, for example, a struggle over the alternate route has ruptured again, this time with a move aimed at restoring the stature of traditional teacher preparation programs.

> About 20 years ago, the state of New Jersey created the nation's first alternate route to teacher certification. The program has served as arguably the best model in the country. But next month, the New Jersey State Board will be asked to approve revisions to the program, perhaps taking the "alt" out of "alt cert."
>
> The creators of the original landmark program, former New Jersey education commissioner Saul Cooperman and Leo Klagholz (an NCTQ Advisory Board

> Member) have come out of retirement to vigorously challenge the changes that they would restore monopolistic control to the colleges of teacher education. They were particulary distressed by a provision requiring 27 to 36 credits in pedagogy, arguing that the coursework is roughly comparable to what is required for traditional teacher preparation and prevents teachers from pursuing subject matter expertise. The current administration denies that this will negatively effect alternative certification... (National Council on Teacher Quality, 2003, p.3)

While it is important to acknowledge the contribution of Kingdon's model and consider it seriously, this work wishes to open the discussion for other theoretical alternatives such as the one of Bourdieu, which has been rarely used in the study of policy-making. Juxtaposing the two theories as we did in this work illuminates the complexity of conducting any policy analysis. The New Jersey alternate route can be understood from Kingdon's model as a case study where the window of opportunity opened for talented educational entrepreneurs to carry out the tedious unpredicted work of policy-making. Or we can add another outlook, the one of Bourdieu that is dealing with power relationships from the neo-Weberian tradition. This perspective looks for the hierarchical patterns by which fields are organized and the politics of domination and subordination within and between fields. Using this perspective allows us to better understand political patterns that are not carried only by chance, timing, and the determination of individuals. Studying the alternate route policy in New Jersey illuminates this point. Governor Kean, Commissioner Cooperman, and other senior officials were talented policy entrepreneurs, no doubt, but their actions were also framed by their habitus and powerful positions in the field of state bureaucracy. Teachers and

teacher educators, on the other hand, were both occupying relatively subordinated positions within the field of power. This positioning of the different fields vis-à-vis each other framed the nature of their relationship, as did the political, historical, and sociological context in which they have evolved.

Both theories identify the state agents as the winners of this particular struggle. The differences however lay elsewhere especially in the nature of the assumptions that underlie the theories and the perspectives and ideologies that they are aligned with. Educational agents, policy-makers, and scholars should be aware of these differences and the opportunities they open. Having a limited conception of social reality is blinding and a recipe for failure. Good creative solutions, on the other hand, are the product of critical thinking and diversity of ideas. Following this reasoning, I believe that considering New Jersey's alternate route in light of the two theories can help us reconsider the roles and positions of the different agents in the field of education as they continue their struggles along the new/old issues of teacher quality.

Chapter 3

THE FOUR C'S OF EDUCATIONAL POLITICS: THE CASE OF NEW JERSEY ALTERNATE ROUTE TO TEACHER CERTIFICATION

Introduction

Education policy-making tends to draw much attention from various stakeholders who bring different ideas, interests, and visions to the table. Stakeholders' ideas, interests, and visions are constructed within social contexts, which usually reflect the positions of their holders in the social sphere. In this essay, I explore -- using an analysis of the New Jersey alternate route policy and the teacher preparation reform -- how social, cultural, and economic factors shaped the positions of different stakeholders in the struggle over educational policy.

Throughout the analysis, I extend the application of Bourdieu's (1985; 1992; 1994; 2005) theory that I began in Chapter 2. I will argue that state officials in New Jersey led by the newly elected Republican Governor, Thomas H. Kean (1981-1989), took advantage of a growing wave of concern, distrust, and criticism aimed at what was seen as the deteriorating quality of U.S. public education and teachers[26] to reshape substantial parts of the field of education. In particular, I focus here on the state agents' initiative to reform teacher preparation[27] and create the first U.S. state-sponsored alternate route into teaching (Carlson, 1985; Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985; 1990;

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[26] As expressed, for example, in one report on teacher preparation compiled by the Congressional Commission to Study Teacher Preparation Programs (CSTPP, 1981), as well as documents like *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission of Excellence in Education, 1983).

[27] The reform in teacher preparation called for a complete abolition of B.A. degrees in education, and a cap of 30 total credits that a student could take in New Jersey's teacher education programs (10 of these credits were to be taken as a guided internship) for initial teacher preparation.

Klagholz, 2000). The attempt to create this broad, revolutionary reform met major resistance, especially among teacher educators and to a lesser extent among teacher unions. The struggle that developed over these policies provides us with the opportunity not only to analyze retrospectively the outcomes of the struggle, but also to conceptualize the process as a whole, including how and why state agents were able to make claims for power.

The formation of educational policy is a socio-political endeavor carried out by various stakeholders who are interested in education and struggle to re-shape the reality in which they live, in a way that will be aligned with their interests and ideological stances. Bourdieu's (e.g., 1985) concept of "social field" can be helpful here, because it provides a general framework for understanding struggles between different agents over power and resources. Education and education policy more specifically can be conceptualized in this way, as social agents fiercely struggle to shape schools in accordance to their interests, beliefs, and ideologies. In the case of education, one major lever for exercising substantial control is through educational policy and its reform. Social agents frequently use policy tools to try and re-define, shape, and regulate every aspect of the daily operation of public education. They invest any available capital they possess in this endeavor to occupy positions of power in the field, which, if they are successful, provide them the necessary power to inscribe their beliefs, vision, and interests in the social and institutional fabric of the field. Therefore, the types and volume of capital that agents possess are crucial features in the struggle between agents.

In the analysis to follow, I define capital as a type of asset or good held by individuals or collectives (e.g., group, community, institution, or state) that may be used

as a form of power or as an investment to enhance/empower the profits of its holder in the social space (now or in the future). Using the notions of social field and different forms of capital, I will show how various agents (individuals, groups, or institutions) competed for power and control in the field of educational policy in New Jersey. In particular, I examine how four different forms of capital -- economic, social, cultural, and bureaucratic -- were used by various social agents in the field of educational policy to maximize their power and control over educational policy. I will then argue that, by both activating and accumulating capital, state agents were able to take leading positions of power in the area of teacher preparation and certification.

I begin with a short historical review concerning the alternate route and educational politics in New Jersey prior to and after the 1980s. Second, I review the literature on capital and identify the major types of capital that are considered important for claims of power and control in different social fields. Third, I describe the research approach and methods used in this analysis. I then present my results, describing each source of capital that various social agents had access to and demonstrating how access to capital played a role in the struggle over the alternate route to teacher certification and in the undergraduate teacher preparation reform. I conclude by discussing the impact of the struggle on the exchange value of the different types of capital and what we might learn about the politics of educational policy-making from this kind of analysis.

A Brief Historical Account

State-sponsored alternate route programs – a common feature of today's educational system -- were first established in New Jersey. The initial policy was developed by then-New Jersey Commissioner of Education, Saul Cooperman, and the State Director of

Teacher Certification, Leo Klagholz, with the active support of Governor Kean and his staff. The alternate route was a clear attempt by the state to regulate closely the required contents of initial teacher certification. This policy was coupled with a series of regulations (which I will refer to as the reform of undergraduate teacher preparation) put by the Commissioner to reshape the curriculum and structure of undergraduate teacher preparation programs operating in New Jersey. These two policies were perceived by many as an unprecedented and unjustified intrusion of the state into the internal arena of the teacher education profession.

What caused and enabled the state to act in such an aggressive way? This is a complicated question; we might best consider several explanations. One approach to answering the question would involve exploring the socio-political and historical context in which social agents in the field of teacher education had operated and where their ideas and interests became consolidated. Since I have already discussed these issues in detail in chapter two, I will only briefly explore them here. Another approach to answering the question involves considering the social agents and their possession of capital. Here the emphasis is on understanding the types of capital that certain agents came to possess, how they increased the volume of their capital, and how they used it in their pursuit for the most lucrative positions that controlled the distribution of goods in the field of educational policy. I will focus primarily on this approach in this essay.

New Jersey has a long historical tradition (like other New England states) of a weak central government and strong localities. The special history and geography of New Jersey supported this trend in particular. Located between the two urban centers of New York City and Philadelphia, most people thought of New Jersey as nothing more than a

passing zone for the railroad system, and later as a characterless suburb area for the two big cities. The lack of identity, the appeal of the big cities to the north and south, and the power of local governments put the central government in a weak position to further any specific state agenda. For many years "the constitution specified only that the legislature should 'elect some fit person within the colony to be a governor for one year. "...the governor was given the 'supreme executive power,' but that power was nowhere defined" (Salmore & Salmore, 1993, p. 127). Thus, New Jersey's governors were traditionally seen as relatively weak. This has gradually changed from the 1940s, as several important events (e.g., the amendment of a new state constitution) helped to transform those governors into the most powerful public figures in the state (Salmore & Salmore, 1993).

Thomas Kean was the first governor in New Jersey who was able to use his formal authority to take an active role in the field of education, a field that had historically been regulated by many social agents, including members of the New Jersey Education Association (NJEA), the legislature, the commissioner of education, and the local boards of education (Kean, 1988; Salmore & Salmore, 1993).

With respect to teacher certification and preparation, the Department of Education had the legal jurisdiction (through the State Board of Education) to direct the field. In practice, however, department officials who usually graduated from education programs shared progressive notions with teacher preparation programs and embraced teacher educators' recommendations for certification. This left teacher educators with significant autonomy and as the actual gatekeepers of the profession.

In the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the power of the NJEA seemed to be declining, as a result of increasing public hostility toward unions, the increasing

power of the Republican Party (both at the federal and state level) (Salmore & Salmore, 1993; Urban, 2000), and the growing concerns and criticism regarding what many perceived as the "deteriorating" quality of U.S. public education (Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985; National Commission of Excellence in Education, 1983). Given these shifts in power and growing concerns, department and state officials gradually departed from their alliance with educators and began to consider possible solutions for enhancing teacher quality, like the alternate route policy that was seen as an important policy crafted to specifically address these concerns.

The policy plan proposed two major solutions to the problem of teacher quality:

1. Transforming teachers' knowledge, that is, increase teachers' subject matter instead of their pedagogical knowledge;
2. Fostering competition, which in turn, would increase quality in education by establishing a vigorous alternative to the traditional teacher preparation programs.

There might be some disagreement about this second point, for some might suggest that, based on their actions, state officials were not trying to foster competition, but rather to simply replace the old system with a new one. According to this view, instead of having teachers from traditional programs, state officials wanted to have a new type of teacher who would have a broad liberal arts background, disciplinary knowledge of the subject matters he or she was teaching, and on-the-job training enhanced with practical knowledge on class management and student learning. To this end, and as part of the policy proposed, the state established and maintained regional study centers where new teachers would be inducted into teaching and kept out of teacher educators' grip.

Whether they planned to abolish all teacher education or not, state officials were concerned that -- in the short run — something needed to be done also about traditional undergraduate preparation in education programs. As part of this vision, the state Department of Education approved regulations (which I refer to as the undergraduate teacher preparation reform) that reduced significantly the number of credits that any prospective teacher could take in education programs/departments/colleges, abolished the education major (replacing it with an education minor), and limited the type of courses that education professors could teach. So, for example, all social foundations of education courses (e.g., sociology of education, history of education, philosophy of education) were dropped unless the professor who taught them held a graduate degree in the discipline (in sociology, not in educational sociology, for instance) or if the professor in question held a joint position in education and a social science discipline.

Within this ambitious twofold program, the alternate route quickly expanded, preparing 26% of New Jersey's new teachers within six years (Klagholz, 2000). Although traditional programs continued to prepare most teachers, it is also clear that the state managed to become a dominant player in the field of education with a strong control over the content of teacher education, and therefore, over the kind of people who were certified to teach. The state did this through requirements of college majors and minors, approved coursework for teaching, and a state certification test (which became a requirement for teacher certification in 1985 for either alternate or traditional route teachers). The old days of granting certification uncritically to all graduates of teacher education programs were over.

It is my argument that this structural change in the power and roles of social agents was neither a natural evolution from previous policies and practices nor a functionalist adaptation of the system to external pressures. Rather, I will argue in the analysis to come, that this shift in power and roles was the outcome of a struggle over power among social agents. Understanding the struggle that erupted around the alternate route proposal and implementation may help illustrate this point by illuminating how social agents used their different forms of capital to further their positions.

The Four C's

Educational policy is a political maneuver carried out by social agents who are attempting to reshape the educational environment in which they operate. As many sociologists point out, social changes reflect conflicts between various groups on the distribution of resources. This means that whenever a change occurs, it will always be a consequence of the use of power; and it always involves winners and losers (e.g., Abbott, 1988; Collins, 1979; Karabel, 1977; Labaree, 2004). Bourdieu (1985; 1988; 1992) used this argument as the basis for his concept of the social field, contending that the field is a dynamic social space where social agents constantly struggle for power. All the while, a field also has structural features that affect that struggle. Agents who operate in a field, that is, have a fundamental interest in the viability and continuity of the field, but they also differ from one other. Some occupy significant positions of power (e.g., control valuable knowledge, economic resources, and intellectual capacity, organizational / bureaucratic positions), while others hold minor, narrow, or marginalized positions, often (but not exclusively) subordinate in nature, which have relatively little power associated with them. Social agents constantly chafe at the extant structure of positions (for those

without power are constantly struggling to attain it), but at the same time, this structure is relatively stable and institutionalized as a consequence of an intentional effort made by those agents in power to preserve the status quo.

So, how do agents struggle to create a change or preserve the current social arrangements in their field? Or, more specifically, how can educational agents reshape the agenda of educational policy and take control over the positions of power in the field of educational policy? The simple answer: They need more power. So the next question should be, how can social agents collect, create, or reestablish the power needed to support their claims or intentions for the perpetuation or transformation of the social structure?

Let us now consider the concept of capital as it will be used in this analysis. The term capital in its different versions has been widely used in the social sciences. In the 1950s and 1960s, economists Becker (1976) and Schulz (1977) were the first to incorporate the term *human capital* into classic economics, arguing that as times have changed, the type of capital relevant for economic growth has shifted as well. Modern post industrialized societies, they argued, need the knowledge, skills, and experience of workers, not simply their labor power, and those societies are willing to generously compensate workers who have desired skills. Thus, it is essential both for individuals to acquire high levels of practical education and for society at large to encourage individuals to do so. This theory has become, by far, the popular mainstream approach for understanding the value of formal education and its relationship to individual prosperity and economic growth. Like most other economic theory, this view rests on several assumptions related to the rational choice theory (e.g., the emphasis on the individual and

his or her ability to make thoughtful balanced rational decisions). These concepts had important effects on many sociologists, including Bourdieu (1985; 1992) (who heavily criticized them) and Coleman (1988) (who was more favorable toward them).

In almost all of its various versions, capital denotes a type of asset or good held by individuals or collectives (e.g., group, community, institution, or state) that may be used as a form of power or as an investment to enhance/empower the profits of its holder in the social space (now or in the future). Therefore, an agent's investments (or agent's family's investments) in developing his or her capital can be seen as a strategy of building one's basis of power in the field, or as Bourdieu put it:

> We can picture each player as having in front of her a pile of tokens of different colors, each color corresponding to a given species of capital she holds, so that her *relative force in the game*, her *position* in the space of play, and also her *strategic orientation toward the game*, what we call in French her "game," the moves that she makes, more or less risky or cautious, subversive or conservative, depend both on the total number of tokens and on the composition of the piles of tokens she retains, that is, on the volume and structure of her capital. Two individuals endowed with an equivalent overall capital can differ, in their position as well as in their stances ("position takings"), in that one holds a lot of economic capital and little cultural capital while the other has little economic capital and large cultural assets (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 98-99).

However, having a certain kind/volume of capital does not guarantee power or control, as the value of the capital itself is frequently the subject of political struggles. Bourdieu elaborated this point arguing that:

> players can play to increase or to conserve their capital, their number of tokens, in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes; but they can also get in it to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game. They can, for instance, work to change the relative value of tokens of different colors, the exchange rate between various species of capital, through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents rests (e.g., economic capital) and to valorize the species of capital they preferentially possess ("juridical capital"). (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99)

Before further complicating the picture, I would like to first start with a brief introduction of the main sources of capital as identified in the literature. I will primarily focus on the sociological literature, but will also introduce a few interesting applications of the term in economics and political science as they have relevance to the New Jersey case that is the focus of this chapter.

Economic Capital

It is widely agreed among sociologists and economists that economic capital is the single most powerful asset that may yield the best opportunities for those who possess it. Some, like Marx, went so far as to argue that economic capital (the means of production) is the only factor that defines our social life, from arts to music, from politics to scientific knowledge. According to Marx, society has been always divided along material lines: those who possess the means of production versus those who lack them. From this viewpoint, social structures and institutional arrangements (the bureaucratic apparatus of the state, the judicial system, public education, religious, and marriage as any other social

arrangement) are all exploitative means aimed at legitimating the unequal division of power in the eyes of the impoverished masses. In many ways, Marx's approach is the mirror image of liberal economists (e.g., Smith, 1950) who have always put primary emphasis on the monetary transactions of the *homo economicus*. Weber (e.g., 1952) was the first to depart from this monolithic view, arguing for a more balanced approach, one that fully acknowledges the pivotal position of monetary goods, while asserting that other sources of power -- like status groups and political parties -- play an important role in defining the structures of social reality.

Bourdieu, working with the ideas and arguments offered by Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, developed a conceptual understanding that took the macro theories of his predecessors to the more micro level, in order to generate a practical line of research using smaller units of analysis. These smaller units he called "social fields." In *Distinctions*, Bourdieu (1984) argued that, in principal, the social space is occupied by social agents – individuals, groups, and institutions – who possess (primarily) economic and cultural capital. In his *Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1986) provides perhaps his most coherent and cogent discussion of the three fundamental types of capital he believed to be instrumental in understanding the distribution of power in the social space and the ways in which structures of power were reproduced in it. Bourdieu argued that:

> Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be

institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital; and as social capital. (p. 243)

Bourdieu considered economic capital to be the most direct, effective, and dominant form of capital. It could relatively easily be transformed into cultural and social capital, both of which provide a more legitimate guise to the prestige and rights enjoyed by the elite in a given field. In some fields, like those involving business and trade, economic capital clearly plays a dominant role in shaping the rules of the field. The criterion for success in these fields is the accumulation of material assets. Cultural capital -- in the form of credentials and certain kind of educational preparation -- is usually important at the entry level, but significantly less so at the top executive level or for major capitalist entrepreneurs who occupy the elite positions of the field. Sam Walton, who never went to college created the Wal-Mart Empire, which controls 2% of the U.S. economy, is a good example, as is Bill Gates who may be the world's richest college dropout.

In other fields, however, success and power have been defined by a clear aversion to monetary gains and popular success. Bourdieu was most interested in those fields, (e.g., French poetry and arts) which sometimes seemed to establish themselves in opposition to monetary profits. Most fields, however, like the field of educational policy, which is the topic of this study, probably fall in the middle. Very little educational policy can be proposed and implemented without financial support. Thus the social agents who can garner and control the funds needed for a specific policy to take place will definitely enjoy high degrees of power. However, as I argue below, social agents need other sources of capital as well in order to be successful.

Social capital

Of the different types of capital discussed by social scientists, social capital seems to have drawn the most attention, from sociologists in particular. Bourdieu (1986) provided the first contemporary definition to the term, one which is tightly aligned with his broad political economic theory. Social capital, he argued, is:

> the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possessions of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or on other words, to membership in a group -- which provides, each of its members with the backing of the collectivity - owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (p. 248)

Like other forms of capital, social capital can be accumulated based on the size of social networks and the agent's capacity to effectively mobilize those networks. This capacity is preconditioned by the agent's own volume of cultural and economic capital and the position that capital entitles him to in the social space. Outside of France, this aspect of Bourdieu's conception of social capital did not get much attention, which was unfortunate. Portes (1998) noted that "this lack of visibility is lamentable because Bourdieu's analysis is arguably the most theoretically refined among those that introduced the term in contemporary sociological discourse" (p. 3).

In addition to being more conceptually complex than it is typically constructed, Bourdieu's definition of social capital is also noteworthy for its clarity and precision. For Bourdieu, social capital consists of two major elements: first, the relationship with others

that provides the access to resources held by them and second, the volume of those resources (Portes, 1998).

This analytic distinction – between access to resources and the quality of those resources -- is helpful, for it draws a delicate line between the potential gains that can be achieved from a social relationship and the actual resources that eventually become the outcome of this relationship.

For sociologists, social capital is primarily a resource that is located within the social networks of individuals and groups. Political scientists adapted the concept to think about larger groups like communities and states. In this context, social capital is a resource that can be generated from positive characteristics that a state or community possesses as a collective. The work of Putnam (1993) is the most notable in this area.

Putnam (1993) considered social capital to be "features of social organizations, such as networks, norms, and trust, which facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 35). Furthermore, he argued that a "healthy" and "productive" society needs a sense of togetherness and coherent community, where most members are active, participating, and trusting of both their networks and the government. When these features of social capital are intact, the community is likely to reap other benefits, including economic growth and low rates of crimes.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital holds a dominant place in Bourdieu's sociology, where it usually refers to the codes of behavior, normative practices, and speech and writing skills that are learned throughout the life span of an individual in his or her family, community, educational institutions, and relevant social circles (e.g., peer groups in school). Bourdieu

divided cultural capital into three states: 1) embodied, 2) objectified, and 3) institutionalized.

> The *embodied* form of cultural capital is very similar to the general definition I propose above. This relates primarily to the practices, norms, and codes of behavior that one experiences and assimilates throughout one's life. Bourdieu elaborated: "embodied capital [is] external wealth converted into an integral part of the person.... [which] cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244).

The long periods of preparation and investment in oneself make cultural capital hard to imitate. That is, those who grow up in rich networks of individuals and associations possess a capital not easily purchased by those who do not. This has been a great source of concern for Bourdieu and many other sociologists of education, who argue that these characteristics of cultural capital might pose major unfair and unjustified obstacles for agents of disadvantaged groups who find the main legitimate avenues for social mobility blocked. For example, writing skills is a form of embodied capital developed through years of training, as are skills of mingling and interacting with others, networking, and public speaking. Those who do not have training at early ages sometimes find these skills difficult to acquire.

The *objectified* form of cultural capital is defined in relation to the prior form. It includes objects like books, music, electronic/hi-tech equipment, and art. The legal ownership of these objects does not necessarily mean that the agent who owns them has the (embodied) cultural capital needed to consume them "properly." Therefore Bourdieu (1986) argued that,

cultural goods can be appropriated both materially – which presupposes economic capital – and symbolically – which presupposes cultural capital. . . . To possess the machines, he [the agent] only needs economic capital; to appropriate them and use them in accordance with their specific purpose . . . he must have access to embodied cultural capital, either in person or by proxy. (p. 247)

Overall, cultural objects have a role in the symbolic presence of an agent and allow him to optimize the power assets that may be associated with his position in the social space. For example, having a real Picasso hanging in one's office sends a powerful message to those who come in. The message may suggest that they happen to meet a person who has a good taste in art, appreciates esthetics, and is willing to invest in it.

The *institutionalized* form of cultural capital mainly refers to the independent power of credentials and academic certificates as objects of cultural capital that an agent can possess:

with the academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248)

From this perspective, academic credentials are important aspects of cultural capital, one that often takes a long-term investment, but provide -- in return -- enormous stature.

In sum, cultural capital is an agent's capacity to translate and transform into actual power the long-term investment of the agent (and the agent's family and friends) into

knowledge, norms, values, modes of behavior, and understandings that allow the agent access to power and status.

I use this concept of cultural capital below to show how it may have played a role in the struggle over the alternate route by senior state officials and educators, assuming that the first arguably possessed relatively more cultural capital than their counterparts in the "education establishment." I return to that analysis shortly.

Bureaucratic Capital

Bureaucratic capital is different from the previous three. First, it relates only to one agent – the state. Second, it is a unique consolidation of other forms of capital. Bourdieu (1994) discussed this capital when he conceptualized the notion of the state: "The state is the culmination of a process of concentration of different species of capital: capital of physical force or instruments of coercion (army, police), economic capital, cultural or (better) informational capital, and symbolic capital" (p. 4). Given our interest in the field of education and the prior discussion of economic capital, it might be helpful to elaborate on informational and symbolic capital, while leaving aside the component of physical (which has less relevance to the case of the alternative route).

Informational capital refers mainly to the state's obsession with the collection of data and the use of data as a means of power and control. Large data sets of information are used by the state to standardize, unify, and totalize arbitrarily a fragmented complex social reality. Bourdieu (1994) argued that in:

> Taking the vantage point of the Whole, of society in its totality, the state claims responsibility for all operations of *totalization* (especially thanks to census taking and statistics or national accounting) and of *objectivation*, through cartography . .

. or more simply through writing as an instrument of accumulation of knowledge (e.g., archives). (p. 7)

This state's claim for "responsibility" is critical in understanding the special status that the state enjoys. A state becomes not so much a social and political construction, but first and foremost, a geographic "fact" that consumes every aspect within its imagined borders. Thus, often when the state tries to extend its control to other fields, it will use the argument that doing so is simply its basic responsibility, common sense if you will.

The flip side of making a claim is accepting it. This brings me to the idea of symbolic capital, which means "any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 8). For example, when people buy a Rolex watch or any other "valuable" commodity, they are making an intentional effort to persuade others to accept them as members of a distinct group, an economic elite in this case. The same goes for abstract concepts that are part of the bureaucratic jargon of state officials. For instance, the establishment of a professional committee can be seen as an attempt to inscribe authority into a policy proposal, making it look better in the eyes of the public, "professional" so to speak. In both examples, the value of the watch or the policy is determined by the social agents who respond to it. They can endow the watch or the policy with low or high symbolic capital according to their "categories of perception . . .

the product of the embodiment of divisions or of oppositions inscribed in the structure of the distribution of this species of capital" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 9).[28]

The state, according to Bourdieu, builds it power and control through getting other social agents in the field to endow it with high symbolic capital. The state is able to do so because it "possesses the means of imposition and inculcation [through the totalization of culture, language, etc.] of the durable principles of vision and division that conform to its own structure, is the site par excellence of the concentration and exercise of symbolic power" (p. 9).

While each of these forms of capital contributes to the state's power, it is the unique consolidation of capitals, according to Bourdieu (1994), which makes the state so powerful vis-à-vis other social fields:

> It is this concentration as such which constitutes the state as the holder of a sort of meta-capital granting power over other species of capital and over their holders. Concentration of the different species of capital (which proceeds hand in hand with the construction of the corresponding fields) leads indeed to the *emergence* of a specific, properly statist capital (*capital ètatique*) which enables the state to exercise power over the different fields and over the different particular species of capital, and especially over the rates of conversion between them (and thereby over the relations of force between their respective holders). (p. 4)

This discussion of Bourdieu, concerning the relationship between the modern nation state, its growing bureaucratic power and its power over society, is not new. In Weber's (1952) view, the bureaucratic apparatus of the modern state was invasive and

[28] Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) argue that a good example to symbolic capital can be found in the concept of honor as it was used in rural Algeria. See Bourdieu's (1979) "The sense of honor," in *Algeria 1960*.

powerful. Modern bureaucracies, according to Weber, gradually embraced instrumental rationality (which is closely associated with the growth and acceptance of the scientific project as a leading power in modern Western thought) and universalistic approaches as practical tools for effective control of large populations. All the while, bureaucracy also has positive features, including economic growth and increased efficiency in large scale projects in unprecedented ways. This historical consolidation of power in the hands of bureaucracies led Weber to conceptualize bureaucracy as an "iron cage," which has been responsible both for prosperity and the improved welfare of millions (by taking care of acute problems like famine and disease), and for intensified control over all aspects of individuals' daily lives. Bourdieu, and in a more radical way, Foucault (1965), built on Weber's ideas when each highlighted the oppressive character of post-modern/post-structural social environments. Bourdieu (1994) argued that the nation state had, over time, developed sophisticated methods of control and intervention that threaten the autonomy and viability of other fields. This argument is extremely relevant to our discussion about the relationship of the state of New Jersey and the teacher education field.

It is important to note here that the American concept of a federation of states is very different from the unified nation state of France. The French central government holds the authority over issues like education, which in the U.S. are dealt with across local, regional, and federal levels. This also means that the concept of bureaucratic capital in the U.S. needs to be conceptualized perhaps differently than the ways in which Bourdieu used it to explain French society. Every state (in our case, New Jersey), for

example, has its own history and thus, as an agent, may hold different types and volumes of capitals.

Negotiating the exchange value of the various capitals

Capital does not have an objective, stable value, which makes it independent of time and specific social context, and allows easy transferability to other forms of capital. Consider, for example, cultural capital in its art, craft, intellectual writing, taste, and aesthetic forms. These forms of capital are all highly conditioned by the specifics of the social context in which they are developed. So are some forms of human capital, like professional knowledge and education. Economic capital (e.g., monetary resources) is the most stable and transferable capital, but even economic capital has its limits (material resources may enable the possessor to acquire a work of art, but are significantly less effective in enabling the possessor have (or develop) the skill and craft to produce it herself). Indeed, economic capital cannot be transferred into power without going through some process of adaptation/conversion.[29] This process is common because fields tend to have their own power positions occupied by agents who operated in the field for years and are respected for their knowledge, experience, and connections. Moreover, agents who operate in a field develop interests, passions, and visions that make them all an integral part of the field. These agents have a vested interest in making sure their field thrives. These special characteristics are those that make social fields idiosyncratic and

[29] Most relevant to demonstrating this point is the aversion and contempt that Bourdieu (1993) found in the avant-garde fields of art and literature to any form of popularity and monetary gains. Power and respect in these fields were distributed to those who alienated themselves from the larger public, and communicated through a set of perspectives that were shared by very few agents who held positions of power in the field. Bourdieu, nevertheless, points out that even in this field, high stature of an agent usually reflected a concealed layer of economic capital, as those artists whose background was in bourgeois families were more likely to follow this kind of impoverished life, because in many ways their families' economic capital "enabled" them to do so.

relatively autonomous, which mean that their elites (orthodoxies) are hard to replace or overthrow.

So for those who try to occupy the positions of power or at least create changes in power in a field, simply trying to accumulate more of the same kind of capital currently in use by those in power does not usually prove beneficial. Instead, according to Bourdieu (2005), agents who challenge the status quo (heterodoxy) usually try to develop strategies that undermine the legitimacy of the orthodoxy, in large part by criticizing the validity of its capital. Simultaneously, the heterodoxy also praises the special value of alternative forms of capital that they consider legitimate alternatives.[30]

Method

The purpose of this analysis is to examine the ways in which capital was used, by both the orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the social field of educational policy in New Jersey through attempts to install or resist an alternative route to teaching and an undergraduate teacher preparation reform. Thus, I chose to collect data that reflected the positions that were held by the different groups in the struggle.

Data collection

This research is based on data that were collected from New Jersey state archives, several semi-structured interviews with key participants in the field of educational policy, and research documents published by teacher educators of New Jersey.

In my archival search, I reviewed approximately 75,000 pages of files concerning education from the governor's office, the special assistant of education, the policy director, and the governor's chief of staff; the files concerning alternate route to teacher

[30] Many times the heterodoxy tries to present its capital and arguments as those which truly represent the core ideas of the field's glorious times in the past, before it was taken over by the current orthodoxy. This is also a common revisited theme in the history of struggles over education reform (Tyack & Cuban, 1996).

certification and the undergraduate teacher education reform were of particular interest to me. Documents included policy proposals, meeting memos, and internal correspondence. They documented the policy-making process from its inception (as a one sentence note from the chief of staff to the governor), going through the first drafts of the alternate route policy, the committee's work and recommendations, meetings and correspondence regarding the struggle, numerous announcements to the media, and -- at last -- the policy as it was approved by the state board of education.

I conducted several semi-structured interviews to clarify details and issues concerning the perspectives that different groups have advocated during the struggle. Among those I interviewed were the NJEA President, Edithe Fulton, a professor at Rutgers University, Kenneth Carlson (a leading figure among the teacher educators of New Jersey), and Governor Kean's education speech writer, Chris Riemann.

Last, I reviewed research that was written about the creation of the program, as well as several manuscripts and documents that were written by teacher educators and reflected their perspective of the policies.

Data analysis

I began by immersing myself in the data, familiarizing myself with what was there. In the back of my mind, I intended to focus the analysis on three forms of capitals -- economic, social, and cultural -- which Bourdieu (1986) defined as the most comprehensive and important in his seminal *The Forms of Capital*. Then I added a fourth form, bureaucratic, which drew substantially on Bourdieu's (1994) work on the genesis of the bureaucratic field. After I had a clear picture on the content of my data, I went back to the data and tried to sort it conceptually in terms of these four notions of capital. I

used the various sources of data to clarify questions: Who were the main players involved in the policy-making process? What issues were raised in the discussions over the policies and how were they related to the different forms of capital? How did these policies evolve over time? How could the four forms of capital explain their final shape? The narratives compiled from the different sources were then used to shed light on the distribution of capital among the various agents of the field.

The "results" of this analysis do not take the form of a traditional empirical analysis in social science, but are much more like a historical analysis in which I use both evidence that I found in the archives, the interviews that I conducted, and other scholarship on education politics, politics in New Jersey, and teacher education in order to flesh out an argument about the different forms of capital used by the various agents during this battle.

Capital, Power and the Struggle over Teacher Certification

In order to better understand power struggles between social agents, one has to focus on the forms of capital that are possessed and activated by the social agents who occupy the positions of power in the field, the orthodoxy, vis-à-vis the capital that is owned and used by their challengers, the heterodoxy (Bourdieu, 2005). Thus, when those two groups collide, part of their struggle is over what capital matters. I propose then to understand the debate over teacher alternate route and the teacher preparation reform in New Jersey as one that was informed primarily by the types and volume of capital that were held by the agents in the field of educational policy.

One major strategy used by state officials as they attempted to overthrow the orthodoxy was to devalue the special capital possessed by teacher educators, which

consisted mainly of the "scientific/academic" knowledge of teaching that prospective teachers were expected to acquire in teacher education programs, which included both pedagogical knowledge and knowledge of educational foundations. Instead, state officials proposed an alternative model for teacher preparation and recruitment that built on ideas of Bestor (1953) and Koerner (1963) concerning the importance of broad liberal education and specific disciplinary background for the preparation of teachers (Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985). But how was the state to become an active agent in the teacher education field – using old ideas (from the 1950s and 1960s) -- after years of looking on from the sidelines?

To answer this question -- and the more general question from which it emerged (How do social agents achieve capital and/or transform its value ("rate of exchange") to gain power and legitimacy that enable them to shape educational policy?) – I will use the theoretical modeling of four major forms of capital, demonstrating how those forms of capital were employed by the social agents to establish power and legitimacy in the field of educational policy. After considering each form of capital alone, I conclude with a discussion showing how the various forms of capital interacted in terms of their relative value; this will provide a more holistic picture of the struggle.

Who Makes More Money? Economic Capital and Education Reform

Economic capital is the most powerful and effective capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Swartz 1997). Nevertheless, in most fields, the social transactions of economic capital are camouflaged by sophisticated cultural practices.[31] This is probably also true in the case

[31] Bourdieu (1979) first studied this issue in his ethnographic work on gift exchange practices in Algeria. He showed how gift exchanges were used to as a cultural ceremony that reflected economic hierarchies among social agents (agents who possessed high economic wealth provided generous gifts in exchange for social recognition in their position).

of the struggle over educational policy in New Jersey. In other words, economic capital had an important impact -- behind the scenes -- by providing the state agents with the resources to build a counter argument to the cultural capital that was used by teacher educators.

First, as already mentioned, it was only in 1968 that the first general substantial state tax was introduced in New Jersey. According to Salmore and Salmore (1993), "by the mid-1950s, 31 states had a state income tax, 33 states had a general state tax, and only three – including New Jersey – had neither" (p. 244). A more detailed account of New Jersey's tax revenue system reveals that, during the period of 1962 to 1987, local governments' tax revenues in New Jersey fell by half, while state revenues doubled (p. 248). Thus, during the 1970s, the state significantly increased its economic resources. This is illuminating, especially when considering Bourdieu's (1994) discussion of the rise of the state and the bureaucratic capital in which he argued that the European nation-state evolved as a power in accordance to its capacity to collect tax from a certain populace (the citizens). When most tax is collected and spent at the local level, as has been the case of New Jersey before the 1970s, the central government had very limited tools to assert its power vis-à-vis other social agents.

When Governor Kean was elected in 1981, substantial tax revenues were flowing in. During his two terms in office, this revenue stream increased to a record high, as New Jersey's economy was booming (Kean, 1988). What to do with all that revenue? One area where Kean decided to invest this economic capital was in public education. The focus was on reframing discussions concerning teacher quality by proposing and implementing new policies that would be backed by state funds. For instance, the decision to establish

regional state-sponsored centers to induct new alternate route teachers, as the new policy of alternate route required, needed substantial financial backup. Moreover, the whole state agenda of the alternate route for teacher certification can be understood from this perspective as a monetary investment in (a) collecting data (through initiatives of the Department of Education), and (b) establishing alternative infrastructure to support a new approach for teacher preparation. In sum, the state used its economic capital to directly create and support the program financially.

On a different level, the state (like any other agent) invested economic capital to lobby and promote its policy proposals. Indeed, state officials (the governor, high ranking Department of Education officials) traveled across the state giving hundreds of talks emphasizing the importance of reforming teacher certification, one that would improve the quality of the profession from within and open it to young talented adults from other professions (Kean, 1988). These efforts intended to mobilize political support for these educational reforms. One of the governor's assistants characterized the executive branch as one that put enormous emphasis on informing the public. To this end, several state employees spent all of their time writing talks for the governor. In addition, these assistants were sometimes writing responses and articles in the name of the governor to local and national media (Riemann, 2006). While for some readers this may well sound like the ordinary work that governments should do, it should also be acknowledged that the time and work invested by state officials in building the capacity and carrying out the actions in support of their policy agenda cost money and was, therefore, dependent on economic capital.

Opponents of the reform included the NJEA, which had enjoyed the support of most New Jersey teachers and was considered, for years, to be one of the most powerful political actors in the state (Salmore & Salmore, 1992). During the 1980s, the union experienced some decline in power, but continued to be considered a prominent agent in the field of educational policy, as articulated in the caricature below. One source of the NJEA's power was the union's membership dues, which helped establish substantial economic capital for the union. At first, the NJEA leaders perceived the alternate route proposal as an attack on the profession, since they feared it would create an oversupply of teachers that would drive down the salary level and occupational prestige of teachers. To communicate their concerns to the large public, union leaders put paid advertisements in the media (e.g., Fulton, 1983), supporting the current system of teacher preparation, proposing a substantial salary raise for teachers as a way for attracting young bright students into the profession, and attacking the states "irresponsible" actions.

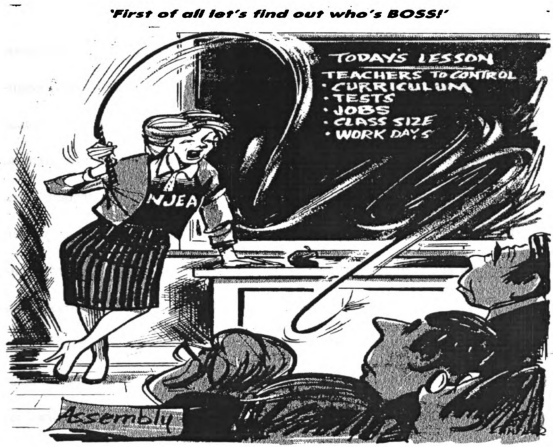

Figure 3.1 Caricature of the NJEA, *Newark Star-Ledger*, (June 15, 1983)

According to Carlson (1990), it was also economic capital -- the state offered the NJEA a large stake in the operation (and revenues) of the alternate route training centers -- that convinced the NJEA to cease its criticism and start to support the policy. If that is true,[32] this might teach us that social agents are sometimes willing to lose on one front in exchange for winning in another.

Other opponents to the alternate route and undergraduate teacher preparation reforms were teacher educators and the union that organized most of them, New Jersey Federation of Teachers (NJFT). For teacher educators, the two proposed policies were a

[32] I was not able to find any other sources that were able support this claim.

direct attack on their cultural (their knowledge of how to prepare teachers) and economic (employment prospects as university faculty) capital. Indeed, there were other agents supporting these reforms for the very same reasons. Top state officials like the chancellor of higher education and university presidents thought that there were too many teacher educators in the system and were looking to use the diminishing demand for education courses (recall the cap that was put on the number of education courses allowed to be taken by students aspiring to become teachers as part of the new alternate route regulation) as an excuse to close down Departments of Educations, wipe out faculty positions in education, and transfer those lines to more prestigious and profitable fields like engineering, computer sciences (Carlson, 1985; 1990).

Teacher educators, who had a clear interest in stopping these proposals, did not possess sufficient economic capital to back their resistance. The NJFT was a very small organization with no capacity to fund a large, visible public campaign in support of the status quo. Other organizations, like the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE), offered small monetary support to organize a call in support of the resistance of New Jersey's teacher educators to the state's initiatives. As a result, teacher educators were unorganized and unfunded , which compromised their capacity to be heard or listened to (Carlson, 1985; 1990).

Who Has More Connections? Social Capital and Education Reform

Social capital can be an important asset in political processes like educational policy-making. When social agents (either individuals or groups) value and trust each other, their relationships can be beneficial for both sides. Coleman (1988) argued this point with the example of the Jewish community of diamond dealers in New York. This

community, he suggested, is a close collective of members who use their trust in each other and the fear from severe sanctions (in case of deviance) as a catalyst for developing effective business ties. The closest concept that may demonstrate, more or less, this principle in politics is the idea of a coalition. Coalitions can be built on shared, short- or long-term interests, and sometimes -- if two agents also trust each other -- their partnership can become even more beneficial, optimizing their capacity to hold power. The same notion, however, goes the other way around: if agents cannot agree on shared interests and do not trust each other, their chances to build a beneficial partnership/coalition are low and the potential for rewards in terms of power are minimal. In other words, while it is important to analyze instances where social capital helps agents gain power, it is also revealing to understand situations in which the potential for power is not realized.

This last notion is helpful in conceptualizing the relationships among the social agents of the teacher education establishment in New Jersey (the loosely coupled alliance of teacher unions, educational administrators, and teacher educators that constituted the orthodoxy of the field for many years). Indeed, the state initiative that proposed the alternate route and teacher preparation reforms demonstrated how fragile that alliance or orthodoxy was in New Jersey. When the state challenge was posed, every social agent in the orthodoxy tried to find the best way to preserve his or her power, independent from the coalition that he or her was part of. The NJEA, which opposed the reforms at the beginning, changed its mind and supported the plan after realizing that the reforms would not be all that harmful. The governor's support of a minimum salary for teachers, and a possible agreement on rewards for the teacher union should it support the reforms,

probably acted as an incentive for the NJEA to withdraw from the struggle (Carlson, 1990; 2004). The educational administrators supported the state reforms as well. They did not see the state policies as a threat, but rather as a vehicle that would help them achieve more flexibility and control in the teacher recruitment process (Carlson, 1985). On the other side of the aisle, the NJFT and the teacher educators were left alone without much economic or social capital.

This stream of events is not surprising. The teacher education establishment was never really successful in consolidating a classic profession, like in medicine or law. The most notable attempt to achieve this goal was during the 1950s and 1960s when teacher educators and teachers worked together to develop an inclusive and cohesive professional network through the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (TEPS) and the establishment of the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). But even this attempt, as Angus (2001) noted, never matured into a teaching profession. In light of the potential benefits (in terms of power) that are associated with social capital, the struggle over educational policy in New Jersey resonates with the historical pattern of chronic fragmentation among the teacher education establishment, a pattern that has led to a loss of social capital which, in turn, made teacher educators more vulnerable to challenges of agents like the state.[33] Later, the same fragmentation allowed the state to propose and implement an alternate route for educational administrators as well (Carlson, 2004). This time, not surprisingly, the educational administrators stood alone trying to make their case against the reform, but failed to do so. One might imagine, in the tradition of the *objective possibilities* raised by

[33] It is important to note here that this is a conceptual analysis of the findings, not a normative judgment or suggestion of the author.

Max Weber that a coherent alliance between the social agents of the orthodoxy could change of the field's development. It is feasible that a coherent alliance among the agents would yield substantial social capital, which could have been used to resist the state's intervention or – at the very least -- block some parts of it.

Who Knows Better? Cultural Capital and Education Reform

Cultural capital played a significant role in the struggle of state officials and teacher educators over the alternate route and the reform of undergraduate teacher preparation. Here I consider the differences in the volume of cultural capital that was possessed by the two groups, state officials and teacher educators.[34]

Social agents in the field of education are endowed with different volumes of cultural capital (in this part I will refer mainly to embodied and institutionalized cultural capital). Prior to the 1980s, teacher preparation and certification were primarily under the responsibility of teacher educators. Although holding the formal responsibility, the state rarely interfered with teacher educators and their work. During the 1980s, this balance was interrupted as state officials started to claim a say. But how were they able to do that?

One crucial component in the state officials' claim for power was based on the premise that they identified themselves as educators, not simply as people who cared about education. The three major figures that led the state initiatives in teacher preparation and certification reform, Governor Kean, Commissioner of Cooperman, and the Director of Teacher Certification Klagholz, were teachers, and had been graduate students of education (Klagholz even served as a distinguished professor of education

[34] As I have indicated above, most of the actual fight over the policies that are the subject of this study was limited to teacher educators and state officials. Therefore, here I focus on these two groups.

after leaving the commissioner's office). However, their professional trajectories never positioned them in the mainstream of the teacher education establishment. Much of that can be explained by their embodied and institutionalized cultural capital.

Consider Governor Kean, who taught for several years in the same private boarding school that his father attended and where he spent six years from the age of 12. A Princeton graduate and a son of a wealthy U.S. Congressman, Kean left his teaching position to work on his Ph.D. at Teachers College, Columbia University. He did not complete his studies and went on into politics. For a while, he owned a real-estate business, but his political instincts drew him into the political arena of New Jersey where he became an active legislator and the governor who was elected with the smallest margin in the history of New Jersey. As what would be called today a moderate Republican Kean believed

> in limited government and a reverence for fiscal discipline. [He believed that] the private sector, in almost every instance, can do things better than the public sector... [And] in general, [his] political philosophy is that government ought to stay out of people's lives as much as possible. (Kean, 1988, p. 40)

Talk about small public bureaucracies and support of privatization never settled well with the teacher education establishment (teacher unions, teacher educators, and educational administrators). Indeed, ideas like these were seen as radical and dangerous. Kean, however, did not fall into the trap of positioning himself against the teacher education establishment. Instead he kept reminding everyone of his own background as an educator:

> I have been part of the reform movement, viewing the problems as a member of the most distinguished policy commissions, and getting another perspective in countless hours spent with teachers and students. Because of my background as a teacher, I had thought about education for twenty years before I became governor. So when I assumed office, the issue naturally became my top priority. (Kean, 1988, p. 209)

Although being governor positioned him well to push the reforms, it was not enough. It is rather the claim, I argue, of being part of the field and having a stake in it that provided Kean the motivation and legitimacy that were needed in order to embark on his struggle to re-shape public education, for his background meant that Kean had certain embodied and institutionalized cultural capital. Without that capital, Kean might have been dismissed by the teacher unions and teacher educators and remained an insignificant challenger to the orthodoxy. His distinguished family, his wealth, his elite education in a small boarding school, and his academic credentials from a top Ivy League school (not to mention the Ivy League school in New Jersey) made Kean a tough competitor. This meant that the orthodoxy had to face somebody from its own field who was raised and socialized in a way that endowed him with the highest embodied and institutionalized cultural capital. The elite boarding school was tough:

> all of us lived in spartan manner. Boys lived in alcoves, which consisted of basically two walls, one bureau, and a bed... This was our world. Three years passed before I was allowed to leave school for a weekend. Discipline was strict... Seniority was a large part of the St. Mark's tradition... The curriculum was grounded in the classics. Three or four years of Latin and French were

required... Study halls were mandatory during any free period and from 5:00 to 6:00 and 7:00 to 9:15 at night. During study hall, you sat at your desk under the watchful eye of a member of the faculty and did your homework. Daydreaming was a disciplinary offence. (Kean, 1988, p. 210-212)

As a result, the ideas, perspectives, and standards that Kean embraced were different from those held by the teacher education establishment. Kean's description of his term as the chairman of the assembly's education committee reveals much of this disjuncture between the governor and the establishment:

> educators were calling for a move a way from the basic curriculum and for new programs to allow students to realize what was regarded as more of their innate creativity. "Access" and "equality" were the big words, as colleges and universities lowered standards to allow in more students. High school students were given almost unlimited choice in curriculum, which naturally included frill courses. Homework assignments became less frequent. And in some schools, walls between classrooms were torn down, to create what was thought to be a more open and relaxed learning environment. It was a time of grand and good intentions and big mistakes...
>
> By 1981 [he concludes] ... disillusionment with the schools was widespread... Our country had made great progress politically, economically, and technologically. The suggestion that education, the underpinning of all of the improvement, had gone backwards really made me wonder how long the advance in other areas could continue. (p. 216)

Kean's criticism and resistance to the progressive tide of the 1960s, which, in his mind, led New Jersey's schools backwards, were ultimately reflected in his reform agenda, which was shaped along his embodied and institutionalized cultural capital.

The governor's plans to reform the undergraduate teacher preparation programs and set up a state sponsored alternate route caught teacher educators by surprise (Carlson, 1990). Teacher educators were not used to acting collectively and had no serious organization that would support any collective operation in their part. Nevertheless, their fundamental problem was the relatively low cultural capital that they possessed. Since they themselves did not have a strong, public leader, I will dedicate this part of the discussion to focus on their institutionalized cultural capital as a group.

Teacher educators were able to maintain control over teacher preparation and certification for years because they were able to claim they had the knowledge to do that and were not faced by any serious organized opposition. Historically, this "professional" knowledge had shielded them during the 1950s and 1960s when they were criticized by serious academics like Bestor (1953) or Conant (1963) and during the public outcry after the launch of the Sputnik.[35] However, twenty years later in New Jersey, this very professional knowledge, what Bourdieu would call embodied cultural capital and economists, like Becker and Schulz would call "human capital," was seriously challenged by state officials. Teacher educators understood this point, as one of their proponents, Hendrik Gideonse (1984), former president of the AACTE, articulated well in a detailed testimony before the New Jersey State Board of Education: "in a curious way, the very

[35] By shielding, I mean that teacher educators were able to maintain their relative autonomy compared to the developments during the 1980s, which are discussed here. This does not mean that I am not aware to the fact that teacher education -- compared to other academic units in higher education -- was always considered a relatively subordinated discipline that was subjected to various demands put by state departments of education (e.g., Goodlad, 1990).

concept of expertise and the way in which it is held is a fundamental issue in the policy debate now unfolding" (p. 2). This understanding, however, came too late in the process, considering the fact that cultural capital (embodied and institutionalized)[36] is obtained over long periods of time. As a result, teacher educators were forced to play with the cultural capital that they already had (which had served them satisfactorily along the years). But what was the existing cultural capital held by teacher educators and how did it compare to that of individuals with elite backgrounds like that of Kean?

David Labaree's work, *The Trouble with Ed Schools,* is very helpful in clarifying the larger context of this issue. In his introduction Labaree (2004) argues that

> Institutionally, the ed school is the Rodney Dangerfield of the higher education: it don't get no respect. The ed school is the butt of jokes in the university, where professors portray it as an intellectual wasteland; it is the object of scorn in schools, where teachers decry its programs as impractical and its research as irrelevant; and it is a convenient scapegoat in the world of educational policy, where policymakers portray it as a root cause of bad teaching and learning. Even ed school professors and students express embarrassment about their association with it. For academics and the general public alike, ed school bashing has long been a pleasant pastime. It is so much a part of ordinary conversation that, like talking about the weather, you can bring it up anywhere without fear that you will offend anyone. (p. 2)

In other words, not only did education schools and their professors occupy the lowest position in the academic hierarchy in the eyes of outsiders, but even most teacher

[36] The third, objectified, is related directly to the availability of at least economic resources, which were also not an option for teacher educators in New Jersey.

educators had accepted this premise as a sad truth. There are a few common explanations given: 1) the background of teacher educators and their students (Lanier with Little, 1986), 2) the non-academic nature of their work and their poor research capacity (Labaree, 2004; Lanier with Little, 1986), and 3) teacher educators' ideological dogmatism and refusal to accept criticism (e.g., Conant 1963; Hirsch 1996; Ravitch 2000; Tamir & Wilson 2005). These three elements work separately and together, constructing teacher educators as a unique breed among academics with inferior cultural capital in the institutional context of the academia. Let us consider each of these elements briefly.

Lanier and Little (1986) illuminate the first point. Research findings, they argue, have suggested that teacher educators are likely to be men from low socio-economic background, who join the university ranks after holding a faculty position as K-12 teachers, who have earned their Ph.D. at a relatively short period of time while keeping their full time job.[37]

Teacher educators are also known for their non-academic nature of work and poor research capacity. Part of this problem is associated with the first element, namely the kind of graduate students who populate schools of educations and the kind of programs that host them. These graduate students, most of them former teachers, are used to generating their understandings and knowledge through their work with small groups of students. The concept of "scientific" research demands the opposite of what their professional identity became used to. As teachers, they cared for students, monitored and evaluated their development, and tried to respond to the needs of each child. The professional culture of universities is different, demanding a significant change and focus

[37] While the findings of this review may not accurately represent the demographics of the field today, they are well suited to describe the reality of the 1980s, which is exactly the time when the struggle in New Jersey took place.

on empirical work backed by theory that lead to generalizations. That kind of work can not be achieved without having a serious preparation that consists of research method training and broad disciplinary background. Since this has been rarely the case even in the best schools of education, educational research is not considered vigorous and continues to suffer from a low status (Labaree, 2004).

Another aspect that plays a role in the nonacademic nature of work and research conducted by teacher educators is associated with the built in tension that exist in every academic profession between the demand to do practical, down-to-earth research that will inform practitioners and a more traditional and theoretical approach to research that will produce better understandings of the problems and realities faced by the field, but does not necessarily hold any clear practical benefits for practitioners (Labaree, 2004).[38] In addition, teacher educators are also expected and pressed to provide service to their field. This kind of practical service, whether it is close mentoring of interns or other time spent in K-12 schools that is intended to support practitioners' work, stands in stark contrast to the work of traditional academics in the liberal arts and natural sciences who rarely, if ever, spend their professional time in the field.

Many have written about the tendency of teacher educators to think of their pedagogical knowledge as a closed "thought world," a sort of a stable unchallenged and irrefutable truth, an ideology (Hirsch, 1996; Ravitch, 2000). Instead of valuing internal and external criticism and diversity of opinions, teacher educators seek to maintain an

[38] The same tension exists, for example, in the medical profession, where doctors (who hold the M.D. degree) can be successful practitioners, but if they want to move into the scientific arena, need to work on their research methods and completely change the ways in which they used to acquire their understandings. The history of higher education is full of stories of disciplinary departments in which the scholars have, as Cuban (XXXX) writes, "trumped" the teachers. Psychology departments are no longer unilaterally interested in having practicing clinicians on the faculty, for instance.

internal consensus that closes ranks and silences criticism.[39] And then, if one still dares to disagree with the establishment, one can expect to be condemned and portrayed as one who does not care about the future of America's children. This approach is seen, by others in academia or others who have a stake in the field of education but do not belong to its orthodoxy, as immature, unprofessional, and suspicious, something that one would not expect to see in a university environment (e.g. Bestor, 1953; Conant, 1963; Koerner, 1963; Ravitch, 2000).

All together, teacher educators on average come from working class families, they are relatively unprepared to conduct high quality research, and they refuse to consider criticism on their knowledge and practice. As a result, the teacher education establishment has low cultural capital, for it does not demonstrate the embodied dispositions of the cultural or intellectual elite.

To conclude, I would like to use one important finding by Lanier and Little (1986) that takes all the three elements and argues there is a correlation between cultural background (which is very similar to our cultural capital) and the likelihood of working with theoretical concepts vs. applied work, and being creative vs. locked in an indoctrinaire state of mind:

> Drawing upon related work showing a disproportionate representation of middle and upper middle classes in particular academic fields, these researchers' theoretical basis is tied to cultural background. Supposedly, middle- and upper-class backgrounds emphasize an intellectual atmosphere, emotional control, functional organization of concepts in thinking, use of fantasy in problem solving,

[39] For an example along these lines that is aimed at the teacher education establishment (where teacher educators hold an important part) see Tamir and Wilson's (2005) response to Wise (2005).

and a lack of indoctrination in cultural concepts. Using this theoretical perspective and their own findings, Prichard and his colleagues [1971] argue that these cultural characteristics 'contribute to the making of research oriented people,' and 'just as the opposite occurs of incumbents in such applied areas as college teaching of education where conative-affective models of behavior are of value' (p. 224). (Lanier with Little, 1986, p. 532)

The low cultural status of teacher educators in academia has remained a constant obstacle in their attempts to claim a professional authority, which they failed to achieve time and time again (Labaree, 2004). In their field vis-à-vis teachers and educational administrators, their status remained relatively high, although teachers always complained about the irrelevancy of teacher education courses and scholarship. Thus, as long as the field of education consisted mainly of the latter agents, the jurisdiction of teacher educators remained unchallenged.

Things started to change only when a new powerful agent entered the field. In the case of New Jersey, this agent was the state led by a governor that claimed he had a stake in the field of education (a situation that rarely if ever happened in the U.S. prior to the tenure of Governor Kean). Further, the governor enjoyed a relatively high volume of cultural capital compared to that held by teacher educators; this meant that he could argue authoritatively that the professional knowledge of teacher educators regarding issues of certification and preparation should be subject to serious consideration and revision.

All the while, the governor and his commissioner of education were cautious not to appear as acting in an unprofessional way. They established two major professional committees to study the issues and recommend for ways to establish a more effective and

high quality teacher preparation system. These recommendations that were used as the platform for the reform were portrayed by state officials as uninterested, objective, and professional, raised and endorsed by the best minds of the nation (e.g., Cooperman, 1984; Klagholz, 1984). This strategy added considerable weight and authority to the cultural capital that the state already had. For the capacity of the state to rely not only on its own cultural capital, but also on that of respected scholars added substantially to the overall stature of the policies proposed by the state (I elaborate this point further in the following section).

Teacher educators in New Jersey tried to resist the state's intervention. First, they tried to organize and respond through their major union, the NJFT, and through their professional associations, New Jersey Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (NJACTE), and AACTE (Carlson, 1990; Klagholz, 2000). They also tried to approach their universities and colleagues hoping to receive their support, which -- if not driven by a sense of collegiality -- would grow out of a concern from a potential similar overriding of academic freedom by the state that may occur to them in the future. For example, in a letter to Chancellor Hollander, the state's highest officer of higher education, Carlson (1983), the associate dean of Rutgers School of Education and a prominent voice among teacher educators who sought to block the state initiative, wrote relatively early in the process to warn the Chancellor of the "anti-intellectual" nature and "disingenuity" of the policy. Carlson (2004) himself admitted later that these attempts were not successful vis-à-vis the state machinery. In public, senior higher education officials paid lip service to the notion of academic freedom, saying that changes in the curriculum of teacher education training programs should be decided by the university (and under the higher

education department mandate) and that proposed centers for the training of alternate route teachers should be maintained by university faculty. All the while, in private, higher education officials supported the reform, because they were looking to replace unneeded education professors with faculty in high demand areas. This fact was revealed in a bitter letter sent by Commissioner Cooperman (1984) to Chancellor Hollander, where Cooperman expressed his disappointment with the Chancellor's disingenuousness:

> In our discussions with you [Hollander] and your staff, other issues have consistently came up which do not relate to certification. For example, over and over again you have described the problem of the number of tenured faculty members in education programs which have low enrollments. These faculty members, you have said, tie up the resources of the college without generating tuition revenues and therefore prevent the institutions from hiring new faculty in 'growth' areas. (p. 12)

Though these thoughts and plans of the higher education department never went public, one may suspect that they probably relied on some support of university professors from other disciplines who were not concerned about the fate of their disdained colleagues. The failure of teacher educators to mobilize support from the higher education community (their biggest potential source of social and cultural capital) has been one of their great losses. If they could have won the support of other professors (who, on average, held more cultural capital), everything might have looked different for them.[40]

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[40] Here I do not mean to imply that teacher educators are the only low status segment in academia. They are certainly joined by other faculty like those from nursing and social work. The faculty in these semi-professions has always enjoyed lower status compared to their colleagues in the fields of mathematics, science, or philosophy.

In professional circles of teacher educators, the alternate route proposal was condemned by the AACTE in the organization's professional journal, *Journal of Teacher Education* (1984). Nationally prominent figures in the teacher education establishment like Gideonse (1984) publicly condemned the plan and actively participated in the struggle against it. A group of teacher educators from Rutgers Graduate School of Education compiled and published a detailed document, titled A*n Analysis of the Proposal by the New Jersey Education Department for an Alternative Route to Teacher Certification,* in which they laid out a detailed analysis of the potential pitfalls of the state's plan (Carlson et. al., 1983). Teacher educators tried desperately to block the reform also by appealing to the public at large through columns that they sent to New Jersey's prominent newspaper, the *Newark Star-Ledger.*[41] While these attempts were important, they provided "more of the same," that is, they reiterated and emphasized the negative portrayal of teacher educators as a small interest group trying to defend its turf vis-à-vis the altruistic, even if to some extent uninformed, attempt of the state to improve teacher's quality. Teacher educators were not willing or able to introduce anything new that would challenge the legitimacy of the new cultural capital that supported the state proposals, and thus were not able to relatively elevate and strengthen their own lowly cultural capital.

Who Consolidates Different Forms of Capital? The Establishment of Bureaucratic Capital in New Jersey's Field of Educational Policy

As I have noted earlier, the field of education in the U.S. and New Jersey in particular has not been controlled historically by the state, as has been the case for Europe. Over the years, however, much has been changed, as state officials have come to

[41] See for example, the columns of Carlson (1985) and, Soyka (1985).

take a greater role especially in the regulation of teacher certification. Angus (2001) describes this as a move that was largely initiated and supported by educators who wanted to prevent local nepotism and increase their overall stature. The winners of this struggle were teachers, teacher educators, and the state. The losers were local officials and administrators.

Along the same lines, the struggle over teacher education certification and preparation of the 1980s should be understood as a struggle over control and power between the state, teachers, and teacher educators. The relatively light grip of the state of New Jersey on education and the relatively high autonomy of teacher educators meant that, in order to create a change, the state needed to consolidate a fair amount of capital to tip the scale in its favor. So far, we have seen how the state as an actor was able to do so in terms of economic and cultural capital (while, less so in terms of social capital) vis-à-vis the other agents. The bureaucratic capital of the state that, in our case, consists of the consolidation of economic and symbolic capital (as well as other less significant forms of capital) adds another important component to the formula. Moreover, particularly in the context of educational policy, the discussion of symbolic capital raises questions and issues of legitimacy, control, and accountability. For example, it opens the question of who are the audiences of educational reform? Professional educators, policy-makers, or maybe the large public? And is their value/judgment of an agent's capital important?

In a state like France where state tax goes back to the 13th century, and where national identity, in which education plays a major role, has been steered for centuries from above, it is almost "natural" for the state to maintain unchallenged control over teacher certification without the need to explain, justify or be accountable to any other

agent in the field. In New Jersey, however, where the state has stayed out of education for years, getting into the field of education and assuming more control over it was not perceived by anyone as "natural." The state needed to fight its way in by using every kind of capital possible to make a sensible legitimized argument. This contrast is helpful because it clarifies how much investment of capital is actually needed for changing the current orthodoxy of the field, let alone institutionalizing this new rule over time into a "natural" order.

The state strategy of establishing two committees that would work on the details and elaborate the policy proposal demonstrates how cautious and thoughtful state officials were regarding to their initial position and hold of capital in the field. Generally speaking, the aim of these committees was to enhance the state's bureaucratic capital in the field of teacher certification. But before we get into analyzing the work and value of these committees, it is worth mentioning that even only by establishing and fostering their work, the state was able to make an important step toward winning the battle. For as Bourdieu (1994) noted, states' most invasive strategies are those which seem the most "natural," but in fact are supported by deeply concealed assumptions that we have grown to accept. Consider, for example, the state's "natural" rights to be responsible and take care of its citizens. Indeed, this expanding capacity of becoming responsible for more and more issues in the social space is one of the best characteristics of the modern nation state.

This characteristic of the state as an agent that takes charge of things is very apparent in the New Jersey case. Also apparent is its tendency to try and dictate, and break the social sphere into small, more manageable pieces. So, for example, when the

state established the first professional committee, the Boyer Commission, it provided it with a narrow mandate to discuss and answer only two questions:

1. What is essential for beginning teachers to know about the profession?
2. How do effective teachers teach? (Boyer, 1984, p. 15)

The members of the Commission agreed not to comment on the proposal to establish an alternate route, although it was clear that their work would inform the policy. In this way, the state could use the Commission's work as a "pure" professional artifact without risking politicizing it. With some creativity and cynicism, one may even argue that the Commission's work, considering the prestige of its members (which I describe below), was partly used by the state as an objectified cultural capital.

The other aim of the state was to build a credible and thoughtful alternative path into teaching to the one that has been used by teacher educators for years. The work of the Commission was intended to lay out the infrastructure and core content for this alternative. For such an ambitious plan, the state needed to rely on the most credible professional knowledge (cultural capital) of the field. Thus, the individuals who were asked to be part of the Commission were described by state officials as the leading education professionals in the nation. It was lead by the distinguished president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Ernest Boyer, and included the following additional nine members: David Berliner (University of Arizona), Frank Brown (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Edgar Epps (University of Chicago), Emily Feistritzer (National Center for Education Information), Jay Gottlieb (New York University), Lawrence Lezotte (Michigan State University), Archie Lapointe (National

Assessment Office, Educational Programs), Kathryn Maddox (Kanawha County Schools), and Barak Rosenshine (University of Illinois).

This list of names raises a few interesting issues to consider. First, if the list indeed represented the best minds in the nation, it is clear that the teacher education community of New Jersey did not have much to offer the Commission, as none of them was invited to participate. Another interesting aspect concerns the internal hierarchies of prestige within the teacher education establishment. Teacher practitioners and teacher educators did not have any representation in the Commission, while educational psychologists and educational administrators comprised the majority. In other words, by extending these invitations to serve on the Commission, Cooperman made clear that the state was unwilling to continue having the current preparation of teacher education in place. Since the state was not in the position to develop alone an alternative to the current knowledge of teacher educators, it used nationally prestigious professionals to do it in its name. And most importantly, this strategy allowed the state to draw on the symbolic capital that these professionals had. Klagholz (1984) explained the strategy to the State Board of Education:

> [The Commission's report] authors provide a sound base of research credibility and authority lacking in previous definitions. The fact that the Boyer report represents the consensus of some of the most respected educators and behavioral scientists in the country has contributed to its universal acceptance in all segments of the professional community. Some professional organizations have cited it as the best effort in recent years and they, along with other states, are using it as the foundation for their own standards. (p. 6)

Probably unaware of Bourdieu, Klagholz expresses here the importance of symbolic capital and why social agents are so eager to have more of it. One can also see here how social agents tried to stretch and maximize the capital that they possessed in order to gain additional benefits. Here, for example, the state official talks about a "consensus" and "universal acceptance in all segments of the professional community," while it is clear that, by stating so, he is deliberately excluding many other "respected educators" from the debate. Klagholz (1984) used this strategy because he was trying to convince the State Board of Education (which usually supported the state enthusiastically) to use the Boyer report as a general framework for reforming the teacher education curriculum in New Jersey's colleges.

> Because the Boyer topics are essential ones recommended by those familiar with research, it is a necessary that they be incorporated into our standards for colleges. In addition, the number of credits hours now required should be re-examined in light of the Boyer topics to determine a reasonable minimum. (p. 6)

This is only one example of the way in which the state has decontextualized and appropriated, skillfully, the cultural and symbolic capital of respected professionals to further its agenda in a highly contested arena.

Discussion and Summary

In sum, the consolidation of bureaucratic capital in the hands of state officials during the 1980s should be understood in light of the historical weakness of New Jersey's central government. During the 1980s, the State of New Jersey was able to generate, for the first time, substantial economic resources, which for many reasons were funneled into education (I have emphasized the governor's interest in education as the major reason for

that, but more generally, one should also keep in mind the very active courts rulings on issues of resource allocation and educational inequality that forced the government to intervene in order to equalize funding for poor areas in New Jersey) (Salmore & Salmore, 1993). This sudden influx of economic resources was also probably an important stimulator for the increasing state intervention in the field of teacher education. Nevertheless, in the area of teacher certification and preparation, after so many years of minimum involvement the state suffered from a relative absence of cultural and symbolic capital. Governor Kean, with his education agenda, and genuine interest in the field of education was able to make the first move putting the state back into the field. However, in order to deal with the specifics, the state needed to find relatively quick and sophisticated ways that would enable a significant elevation of its symbolic capital. In other words, the state needed to gain people's respect and belief that the state owns the intellectual/professional resources and genuine commitment to create a positive change that would benefit the general public. Thus, the state appropriated professional knowledge (embodied cultural capital) of professional educators to enhance its symbolic capital.

But in this struggle, the state also employed symbolic capital through the variety of notions that were associated with state's role and its perceived responsibility to its citizens. These notions were used by the state as an overarching theme to legitimize its interest in education, which presumably needed no further explanation, sort of a natural mission of the state that served the public good. In these notions, the state usually appeared as a benevolent, disinterested, objective entity, which only looks to secure the public's interests. Thus, as a result of having these positive beliefs in the roles and

functions of the state, state officials enjoyed more latitude in their struggle to occupy the positions of power in the field of educational policy.

Re-considering the Value of Capital in the Field of Educational Policy

So far I have discussed the four forms of capital that were employed by the different agents in the field of education. Now I would like to conclude by considering the changing relationships among the four capitals. This step might be helpful in clarifying the internal hierarchy among the various capitals in the field of education as reflected in each capital's rate of exchange.

When agents share more or less a similar interpretation of a capital's value, the transaction system within the field tends to be relatively stable (i.e., there are relatively clear expectations regarding to the rewards assigned for a given capital volume). This also means that when agents invest in one type of capital, they have a good chance of enjoying the rewards they had in mind when they initially invested in it. For example, it was common for years that those who earned their Ph.D. in education and became teacher educators in universities enjoyed the highest professional authority regarding issues concerning the content and character of teacher preparation. It has been the relative autonomy (and stability) of the field of teacher education that was able to preserve this (relatively high) value of the cultural capital possessed by the teacher educators.

Nevertheless, when some members of the field (who share the same basic interests like other members) feel that there are better ways to achieve the big goals that they have in mind for the field (e.g., improving teacher quality), they might slowly depart from the old conventions they used to support in the past and adopt, instead, new types of knowledge, strategies, and solutions to effectively achieve their aims. They become, what

Bourdieu called, the heterodoxy. In this kind of environment, the values attached to certain forms of capital depend on the agents who are evaluating said capital. In New Jersey, this meant, for example, that the professional knowledge of teacher educators would be highly praised by the education establishment community, while being held at the lowest status among state officials.

The picture gets even more complicated, sometimes, when new types of capital enter the field. In our case, it happened during the 1980s when the state has poured substantial economic and bureaucratic capital into the field of education forcing the various agents in the field to re-consider the values attached to each capital in the field.

So how can one make sense of this picture of a seemingly ordered chaos? Which capital is worth more? And if we have several interpretations regarding to the value of a form of capital, which one carries more weight?

I would like to suggest that when the data are considered as a whole (regarding to the four forms of capital), it was bureaucratic capital for state agents and cultural capital for teacher educators that seemed to have the most impact on the social positions of their holders (in the specific context of New Jersey's field of educational policy). And in the clash between the two, after considering the outcomes of the battle (i.e., the successful implementation of the two policies by the state), it was the bureaucratic capital that enabled the state to acquire the power they sought.

This transformed hierarchy of capitals was shaped by the a) new forms of capital that were pouring into the field, in particular economic capital and bureaucratic capital and b) a process of capital discreditation. Since I already described the new forms of

capital pouring into the system, I would like to devote the last part of the discussion to elaborate on the capital discreditation process.

Bourdieu (1992; 2005) argues that one of the most common strategies of a heterodoxy is to discredit the capital held by the orthodoxy to legitimize its rule. The reasons and advantages for employing such strategy in part of the heterodoxy are clear. Discrediting provides the heterodoxy a chance to tip the balance of power by rhetorically establishing a viable alternative to the current version of capital held by the orthodoxy. Sometimes ideas alone can be enough to establish that alternative and thus force a change in the distribution of power in the field. In our case, the state of New Jersey worked fervently on discrediting the major capital (cultural) that was held by their opponents (teacher educators) and portray it as weak and inconsistent. For example, Cooperman (1984) wrote

> I think that I have made my position on the proliferation of weak education courses clear. A major thrust of my teacher education initiative has been to make forceful public statements on the issue. During the past year, [1984] I identified 120 such courses and publicly exposed their titles, their inconsistencies, and their weaknesses. This public assessment was necessary and extremely controversial. (p. 3)

This is but one example of the continuous attacks by state officials aimed at discrediting teacher educators' knowledge and skills. By discrediting the cultural capital held by teacher educators and establishing an alternative form of capital (through the work of the Boyer Commission), the state was able to lower the value of teacher educators' cultural capital, destabilize the longstanding structure of power in the field,

and redistribute the positions of power in the field. Overall, the fact that the state was successful in implementing the two policies and keeping them from being revoked (although their real merits are still questioned today) is the most powerful evidence we have that the low status of teacher educators has been institutionalized, becoming an inseparable part of the field of educational policy as we know and understand it today.

Chapter 4

THE STRUCTURE OF POWER IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN NEW JERSEY: OPERATIONALIZING BOURDIEU'S CONCEPT OF THE FIELD

Introduction

The 1980s witnessed one of the most turbulent times in New Jersey's educational policy. The move started with the elections of the former teacher and Republican legislator, Thomas Kean, to the governor's office. Kean built his campaign on promising to reform education, and bringing economic growth back to New Jersey. Before the Kean era, most education matters were dealt at the local level. State interference in education was minimal and occurred only when supported by the majority of educational stakeholders (e.g., the extension of free public education by state legislature, and the Department of Education regulation of teacher certification). This tradition of the state's relative weak role was apparent not only in education. New Jersey became famous for its local corrupt barons who operated for years as the rulers of the big urban centers. Business interests, in particular those of the families who controlled the railway system connecting New York City and Philadelphia, were also extremely powerful. Moreover, the absence of a general state tax exacerbated the state's weakness, as most resources for education were collected at the local level.

When Kean was elected governor in 1981, a state tax had already been put in place, and the barons had been gone for quite sometime. Kean, who promised a comprehensive overhaul in public education, had to face, however, the powerful teacher unions, in particular, the New Jersey Education Association (NJEA) and a solid Democratic house majority. Nevertheless, he became a leader in calls for education

reform, at the state and national level (as the president of the Education Commission of the States). He struggled fiercely to overturn educators' resistance to reform and to implement various educational policies designed to improve teacher quality. As a result, many have become convinced, including Kean himself, that the State of New Jersey turn out to be the leading force of education reform in the state (e.g., Kean, 1988; Klagholz, 2000). This essay intends to test this contention and clarify what was the real impact of state officials on educational policy as a whole (i.e., not only on preparation and certification policies, but on other policies as well). And at the same time, I also hope to illuminate what was the impact of other agents (e.g., teacher unions, teacher educators, legislatures, etc.) on educational policy.

Using Bourdieu's theory of fields, I will identify the players (social agents) who constituted the field of educational policy in New Jersey during 1985. By considering the powerful and weak agents, and how were they positioned vis-à-vis each other, I hope to clarify the structure of power in the field of education. In addition, because agents' positions of power were often defined by arguments about education policy, I also identify the different policies that entered into the agenda, showing how they are associated with a set of ideas, interests, and beliefs held by the various agents.

For this analysis, I chose to analyze the news coverage in New Jersey's major newspaper, *Newark Star-Ledger*, for the entire year of 1985. Using these data, I mapped the field of education and identified the positions held by various agents in it who formed the field's hierarchical structure of power. I also looked for evidence of the power of agents in the field. Two contrasting hypotheses were considered. One hypothesis is that the field of educational policy indeed experienced a transformation of power – moving

from the hands of teacher unions, teacher educators, and local boards to the hands of state officials (Carlson, 1985; 1990). Yet a second hypothesis argues that the education establishment proved relatively resistant to state pressures, thus maintaining considerable control over the system. I will evaluate the validity of these two hypotheses by analyzing the prominence and power of different education stakeholders in New Jersey's field of educational policy. To do so, I examine the volume of power that agents possessed and employed to push forward educational policies, first, into the agenda and then through to their implementation.

Overall, this study shows that despite the aggressiveness and eagerness of state agents to control the field, some agents -- especially teacher unions -- have resisted and preserved significant parts of their power. Finally, I argue that understanding what happened in New Jersey two and a half decades ago is important, because in many ways it set the tone for educational politics as we know them today. Kean's tenure in New Jersey -- its ideological discourse, strategies of confrontation, and general concepts of public education -- paved the way for aggressive Republican governors like those of Michigan and Pennsylvania (who successfully limited the power of teacher unions) to reshape public education during the 1990s by using a similar set of strategies and policies (e.g., free market policies) (Boyd, Plank, & Sykes, 2000). Uncovering the past and studying the emergence of state intervention in education during the 1980s is essential for better understanding the political reality of today's discourse about and practice of public education and for developing thoughtful, historically informed responses to initiatives that are proposed for improving the future of public education.

Theoretical Context

Public education has been increasingly the subject of fierce debate over the last few decades. Various groups and individuals have fought over issues like equal opportunity, the separation of church from state, the content of school curriculum, and social inequality. An important underlying theme in many of these debates has been the tension between local and professional mandates and state authority over the schools. In general, it would not be imprecise to argue that historically there has been a gradual drift of power in the U.S. away from the hands of school districts and local boards of education toward control by professionals, state officials – and more recently -- the federal government (e.g., Elmore, 1997; Gittell & McKenna, 1999; Ramirez, 2004). This shift in power also changed the discourse concerning the purpose of public education. The educational discourse that used to see compulsory education as a means to socialize individuals to become literate and democratic citizens changed into one that emphasizes education as the development of human capital for both individual mobility and national economic well being.

Moving into the center stage of state politics in the 1980s, education -- like any other issue (e.g., health, transportation, etc.) -- became the subject of intense policy regulation aimed at improvement and reform. However, there are several things which make the debate over public education unique and more likely to be divisive. Unlike other services, public education attracts considerable public attention both because it takes up a large portion of the state's financial resources, and because it holds the formal authority to socialize new generations of citizens. Because of this, it can be a highly

contested terrain, as different groups or individuals vie for a say in or control of what and how children learn in U.S. public schools.

Who are these groups? What type of governance structure do they create and re-create? To what extent do they share power, or are able to establish power structures that push other stakeholders out or to the sidelines of the game? I consider these questions from the perspective offered by two theories. First is the well known and widely accepted pluralist paradigm and the second is Bourdieu's theory of fields.

The Pluralist Paradigm

The pluralist paradigm is rooted, most notably, in the canonical works of Dahl (1961) and Lindblom (1977). Pluralists, in general, have argued that American democracy is gradually opening its politics to all kinds of citizens, including the poor, immigrants, and African Americans. In many ways, pluralists show how the rhetoric of democracy (power sharing, mass participation, and equality) is gradually taking form in American democracy. In his case study of New Haven, Connecticut, Dahl (1961) concludes *Who Will Govern?* by arguing that wealth and social prestige played a marginal role in local politics, that social mobility into politics was more available to minorities and disadvantaged groups than ever before, and that elected politicians who were directly accountable to the public were the most powerful figures in the system. For Dahl, democratic procedures allow individuals to organize into interest groups which then represent their constituents by promoting policies that are aligned with their beliefs and interests. The underlying idea here is that democracy provides the opportunities for citizens to participate and organize to further their agenda. There is no conspiracy; interest groups clearly articulate their needs, and pursue those in the public domain.

The pluralist perspective has enjoyed wide use in both political science and public policy. Kingdon's (2003) agenda-setting model -- which has become one of the most important books in public policy -- is a good example. Kingdon's model has an immense global presence in policy research, especially in the area of educational policy. A simple search in Google Scholar locates 1390 results. Many of the results point to scholarly books, journal articles, and conference proceedings in the U.S. and abroad. Kingdon's theory is largely based on pluralist notions, including: 1) the U.S. enjoys a political system where many interest groups work to push their agenda into the middle of the public discourse; 2) elected officials have relatively dominant positions in the system, since they represent the public interests; and 3) other groups -- with narrower interests -- enhance their power by organizing into ad-hoc coalitions.

Kingdon's argued that a policy proposal enters the agenda of policy-makers when three independent streams -- problems, solutions, and politics -- converge through the efforts of a policy entrepreneur. Let us consider the pieces of this theoretical puzzle. Each area has its problems. The question is which problems draw the attention of officials and why? If a problem is viewed as irrelevant or too complex it would be marginalized. For example a recent problem that seems too complex to cope with is to refine measurements of achievement gap in a way that would control for class and ethnicity. Problems that get on the agenda are articulated in clear and simple wording, like teacher quality, the achievement gap, etc.

The stream of policy solutions works in separation from the stream of problems. It is constantly occupied by challenging ideas that stem from research or interest groups. Thus, some groups may promote very distinct solutions like professional autonomy of

teachers, or charter schools, that later can be attached to various kinds of problems. What happens usually is that certain sets of solutions are attached to a problem. For instance, when policy-makers raise the problem of teacher quality, they may couple it with solutions like increased teacher autonomy and raising minimum salaries, or standardizing teachers' practice (through common curriculum) and introducing differential compensation for teachers.

The third stream of politics consists of presidential and Congressional election results – the "vagaries of public opinion" -- and ideological trends. This stream acts separately from the previous two and it adds the political context into the formula. A good example of an important vagary, during the 1980s in the field of education was President Reagan's victory and his informal abolition of the newly established Department of Education.

Kingdon argues that these streams come along at critical times -- windows of opportunity that are open only for short periods of time -- when favoring conditions to a specific problem emerge, the solution is ready and processed, and the political and ideological structure "allows" representatives to support these initiatives.

Through a comprehensive empirical study of American federal politics, Kingdon reaffirmed Dahl's (1961) claim that the most important center of power is the one held by elected representatives – that is, the president and the members of Congress. However, Kingdon also offers a detailed analysis of other political actors, noting that they too might have different degrees of power at different times in the policy process. For instance, Congress enjoys a dominant role in creating alternatives, while the President and his appointed officials set the agenda. On the other hand, public servants tend to enjoy very

limited power in setting the agenda and forming the alternatives, but are essential to the process of policy implementation. Interest groups are important, especially when the issues are remote from the public eye: "Generally, then, the lower the partisanship, ideological cast, and campaign visibility of the issues in a policy domain, the greater the importance of interest groups" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 47).

Kingdon's model, however, has also some limitations that are part of its roots in the pluralist tradition. Like other pluralists, Kingdon "describes" a constructed political reality, one that those in power would like everybody to accept as a natural reality (one that has always been there and will always stay). The "state," the "president," the "interest groups" are all words that are used in the theory as common, clear codes that allege a set of tight social arrangements and roles, with clear scope, responsibilities, rights, and duties. Thus, instead of a straightforward theory that intends to analyze the political reality, Kingdon's model (like other pluralists) can be conceived as one that is built on false assumptions that do no question the current structure of power in society, but simply accept it as a "natural" and common wisdom.

Bourdieu's Theory of Fields

Bourdieu, working with the ideas and arguments offered by Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, developed a conceptual understanding that took the macro theories of his predecessors to the more micro level, in order to generate a practical line of research using smaller units of analysis. Bourdieu's work on social fields both drew on this tradition, and extended it. This theory provides an alternative view to the pluralist paradigm. I will start by introducing the notion of the social field and its structural

characteristics. According to Bourdieu (1985; 1992; 1993) the social space is comprised of:

> A network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 97)

In other words, a field is a space where individuals, groups (social agents), and institutions interact, work, produce, and struggle over power based on a shared set of understandings, beliefs, values, and norms that constitute the logic and rules of the game for that field (Bourdieu, 1985). On other occasions, Bourdieu argued that the field is simply the space shared by all those who have some stake in it (Bourdieu, 2005). Education is a social field: While teachers, administrators, and state officials share the belief in the importance of education for the public good, they tend to occupy different positions in the field, which means that they vary in their capacity to shape and control the character of public education. This capacity, Bourdieu argues, is best thought of as various kinds of capital. In Bourdieu's scholarship, the notions of capital and habitus are inseparable from the notion of the field (Swartz, 1997). The social space is primarily stratified by the degrees of capital that social agents in each field enjoy, and -- at the same time -- by the relative capital each field exerts against the others (Bourdieu, 1985). The habitus is the agent's "feel for the game," that is, the ways in which he or she behaves

and responds to others. These responses and ways of interaction are constrained and directed by the agent's position in the field and sorts of capital that he or she possesses. Though these concepts seem indeed inseparable, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) assert that sometimes for analytic purposes, one needs to separate these concepts. They write:

> The main challenge was to try and "linearize" a thought that is indeed recursive and spiraling without disfiguring it, to "stretch" it out along intersecting but separable vectors while respecting its internal articulations. If Bourdieu's mode of argumentation is weblike and ramifying, if his key concepts are relational (habitus, field, and capital are all constituted of "bundles" of social ties in different states, embodied, objectified, institutionalized, and they all work most powerfully in relation to each other), it is because the social universe is made that way, according to him. So we wanted to retain the *intrinsic connectivity* of social reality and sociological reasoning while disentangling both enough to enable readers and users of the book to capture the kernel of Bourdieu's social ontology, method and substantive theories. (p. 182)

In this study, for analytic reasons, I will also separate the concept of the field in order to better understand and analyze the structure and idiosyncrasies of the field of educational policy. Thus, here I will focus on field; in Chapter 3 I focused on capital.

One major assumption Bourdieu makes is that, while social agents differ in their interests and beliefs, they are motivated to maximize their power to shape the field in which they operate. For example, in a filed like education where state agents, teacher unions, and teacher educators differ on many issues, each agent tries to garner as much power as possible, enabling him to shape the arena in accordance with his interests and

vision. In education, one such avenue is the creation and implementation of educational policies.

Each field, in its own unique way, is governed in a given moment by agents who occupy positions of power in the field and enjoy some legitimacy, which allows them to extend and activate their power. Fields vary in the degree and type of hierarchy that characterize their structure of power. Some fields have a small centralized elite that is relatively resistant to changes (a classic example would be the German socialist party studied by Robert Michels (1949)). Other fields, at least at some times, are less rigid and more likely to be torn apart by fierce rivalries (here I believe the example of the field of educational policy in New Jersey during the 1980s is of great relevancy). In this example, one may argue that the field of educational policy, which had more or less been dominated by agents who shared the belief in the notions of progressivism (Hirsch, 1996; Ravitch, 2000), was gradually challenged during the 1980s, primarily by state agents who carried new sets of ideas concerning quality, accountability, and openness to market-based reforms. Bourdieu characterized this kind of struggle as a competition for power between the old elite (orthodoxy) that tries to preserve its grasp on the field and, and those who challenge it (heterodoxy) (Bourdieu, 1988; 2005).

One last important factor to consider is the growing power of the modern state. Indeed, as Bourdieu notes, the increasing power of the state bureaucracy has directly affected many fields. In some cases, agents and fields who were highly autonomous in the past have gradually become regulated by the state (e.g., the increasing regulation of the professions explored by Krause's (1996)). When the state decides to become involved in a certain field, it carries with it the stature, values, roles, power, and legitimacy that

states have been identified with in western democracies for the past two centuries. Bourdieu (1994) calls this kind of power symbolic capital.

Fields react differently to state interventions, depending on their position in the social space. In general, according to Bourdieu, fields and agents who possess inferior positions in terms of their economic, cultural, and social capital are more likely to fail in their attempts to preserve their autonomy vis-à-vis the state (Swartz, 1997). Though in this chapter I will not measure the kinds of capital held by different agents, this point is crucial for understanding why certain agents become powerful in the field while others are not (see Chapter 3). This also may explain why some fields like education -- where agents lack substantial economic and cultural capital, and are sometimes socially disconnected from the state's bureaucracy (that is, they may also lack the proper social capital) -- tend to be more exposed to the power, ideas, interests, and sometimes imperialistic inclinations of state officials (and the think tanks that inform those in power). At the same time, I would like to note that Bourdieu's theory is not deterministic. Reality is complex and this complexity is being reflected in the wide possibilities of interpretation that the theory enables us to consider. Sometimes, fields are extremely hierarchical, especially when power is distributed radically unevenly. In other occasions, however, the power structure can be more fluid, and the struggle for power can be more open for competing agents.

In this chapter, I introduce a new approach to educational policy analysis, by using Bourdieu's ideas in mapping and conceptualizing the term *field*.[42] Up to now, Bourdieu's theory has played a marginal role in educational policy research (save for the increasing interest in issues of capital, which are related to Bourdieu's work but not

[42] I will also use a new approach to collect data, which I describe below.

exclusively so). I am convinced that developing this theory is important for diversifying and enriching the current research discourse around educational policy. Thus, in order to further clarify the merits of Bourdieu's approach, I will use Kingdon's model as a point of reference to the way mainstream research tends to conceptualize policy debates. In doing so, I hope to show that even though Kingdo's model has made an enormous contribution to public policy research, it has also unwittingly helped to institutionalize some ideological biases. I return to this issue in the conclusion of this chapter.

Operationalizing Bourdieu's Concept of Field

Since Bourdieu has rarely been used in the field of educational policy, I first propose a research design that will both incorporate past scholarship of Bourdieu and others, while bringing a new set of practical methods that would hopefully prove useful for research in the field of educational policy. I discuss these issues below as an introduction to the data and method used in this chapter.

Bourdieu started incorporating the "field" as a leading concept in his writing from the 1970s. He first laid out the theoretical principles of the concept and analyzed its components in *The Social Space and the Genesis of Agents* (Bourdieu, 1985; see above for description). Bourdieu elaborated this notion of field in numerous of his works. Some are fairly modest and include no more than a series of hypotheses based on a rudimentary and unsystematic inquiry of a given field. Many of these works, some of which discuss the field of competitive sport, elite fashion and culture, the origin and development of music taste, and intellectual role in society, were collected in a book titled *Questions in Sociology* (Bourdieu, 2005). The theoretical importance of these works stems primarily

from the powerful and comprehensive explanatory model that crosses fields, cultures, and national borders.

Most of Bourdieu's scholarship (and especially his most ambitious studies), however, was entrenched in the French society, culture, and history. His major works, *Distinction, Homo-Academicus,* and *The State Nobility,* used large and varied data sources, some of which contain large data sets from surveys and reports. For example, he argued in *Distinctions* that social agents in a given field are more likely to share certain characteristics than agents who are located in other fields.[43] Bourdieu tried to confirm this theoretical model through surveys in which individuals were asked to provide details about their occupation/profession, past education, salary, and their preferred hobbies (including sports, food, etc.). Based on their responses, individuals were categorized into various fields, which enjoyed (on average) different volumes of economic and cultural capital. Most revealing, however, was the finding that -- on average -- agents from a given field were more likely to have similar food, sport, and cultural preferences (which corresponded with their unique position in the social space as a field), compared to social agents from other fields.

Apart from Bourdieu (1984; 1993; 1994; 1996), the research on fields as socio-political entities has been relatively scarce (Swartz, 2005). Jóhannesson (1993) used the concept of social field to study education reform in Iceland using interviews with key agents and analysis of reports and documents to form a picture of the field and its power structure (i.e., the distribution of power among various agents in the field). Others, like

[43] These characteristics consist of socio-cultural symbols associated with the structural idiosyncrasies of a given field, which are transformed to social agents through their socialization. The distribution of these symbols among social agents is mainly, but not solely, determined by their likelihood to hold any sort of capital which is respected in their field.

Anheier, Gerhrds, and Romo (1995) who studied the field of poetry in Köln, Germany, have employed quantitative methods through interviews and surveys which aimed to define the structure of power in the field and the capital associated with it. In particular, this research analyzed the hierarchical patterns of the field, that is, what agents were positioned where (elite, middle, low), and what types of capital were associated with these kinds of positions (economic, cultural, or social). In both cases, researchers relied on the agents in the field to provide the information for mapping the power relations in the field.

However, this approach can be used only when agents are easy to access. When they are not, an alternative approach to information gathering has to be used. Bourdieu (1993) faced this problem in his study of French literature. This major historical study focused in the field of French literature in Flaubert's time. In this study, he carefully analyzed the field, primarily relying on writers' biographies and the various sorts of texts they wrote. Bourdieu reviewed agents' biographical details (e.g., demography, details about their families and places of birth, their social circles) and used that information to explain agents' writing habitus, agents' social and professional trajectories, and agents' positioning in the field. In addition, Bourdieu portrayed the hierarchies of power that were used in ruling the field and how these shaped the distribution of prestige and stature among the various social agents. Building on these sources of information (the only ones available for such a historical inquiry), Bourdieu was able to provide a vivid picture of the field.

In terms of access to the field in quest, my current research of New Jersey's field of educational policy stands in between the two kinds of research I have described above:

while it does not enjoy the relatively easy access to agents in the field (like Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995; Bourdieu, 1996; Jóhannesson, 1993), it does rely on a few interviews with agents who had been part of the field, and probably enjoys more access to relatively larger resources of information from state archives, published documents, and media coverage, compared to those that were available to Bourdieu (1993). Thus, this research will primarily focus on a large data set from *The Newark Star-Ledger*, New Jersey's leading daily newspaper. The news coverage will be used to shed light on the structure, hierarchies, and distribution of power in the field of education. In addition, I will also provide a policy analysis of all the educational policies that were initiated, struggled, and implemented during the tenure of Governor Kean. The two data sets will then be used to map the field of educational policy, and to determine the structure of power in the field. By using the two separate sources of data, I hope to gain a more accurate and reliable picture of the field.

Before I continue, I would like to elaborate on two reasons why the use of news coverage is a promising line of research for analyzing power struggles over educational policy. First, the media can -- in some cases -- provide a relatively clear picture of struggles over policy (in terms of providing attention to the main parties that are involved). Second, the media coverage could be seen as a contested arena that reflects the symbolic capital that agents carry and use in their struggles for power. I explain each briefly.

There are several ways to conceptualize the process of producing news and understanding the role the media plays in shaping social reality. One important approach in communication studies argues that the media portrays what happen in reality as

reflected in the decisions of professional gatekeepers in the mass media industry (Shoemaker, 1991). Others argue that while the media reflects reality, it has very limited power to shape the public policy agenda and only on rare occasions does it (Kingdon, 2003). Bourdieu (1999) was very critical of the mass media industry, arguing that the media is gradually losing its autonomy vis-à-vis political and economic pressures. Indeed, there is a large body of literature that argues how biased the news are and how poorly they represents issues concerning the image and social policy concerning those who live in poverty (Gilens, 1996), while overemphasizing issues that are of concern for elites (Delli Carpini, 1998). These arguments about the distorted picture presented by the news are probably truer when it comes to issues concerning the disadvantaged groups in society. For instance, Gilens (1996) demonstrated this point in his research on the image of African Americans in the news. After examining a considerable number of articles across the media, he concluded that being poor was framed in the news primarily as a problem related to African Americans in a way that overrepresented their actual share in the poor population of America. However, when it comes to issues under the spotlight of elites, media coverage tends to be more comprehensive, although it could still be biased toward the interests of the political and economic fields, as argued by Bourdieu (1999). Erickson and Mitchell (1996) examined the issue of fair coverage in the case of union politics and found that, during a period when the power of unions was in decline, news coverage of union events remained at the same level as it had been in the past. Thus, they concluded that the news coverage of unions demonstrates some degree of autonomy on the part of the media. These findings are important, because they clarify the extent to which we can rely on news coverage to reflect power struggles in society. Our case of

state level educational politics seems to demonstrate a case that resembles that of Erickson and Mitchell (1996).[44] Thus, suggesting that the coverage of educational politics in the news may reflect a less biased picture of reality.

Bourdieu provides a second reason for using news coverage in understanding struggles for power in society. Bourdieu (1999) argues that, as the media loses its autonomy and moral responsibility for representing disadvantaged or silenced groups, it becomes a contested arena that represents the power structure and the interests of those in control rather than the social reality and its complexity. In other words, the news coverage becomes a mirror image of the symbolic capital that is used by the different agents (those who are already "in the game") in their struggle for power and control over the field of educational policy. Symbolic capital should be understood here as the overall translation and aggregation of different sorts of capital into an institutionalized claim for power and control. For instance, Bourdieu (1994) writes about the symbolic power of the nation state, which claims power based on the values and roles that the state represents in the hearts and minds of people. By using these sorts of common institutionalized understandings (e.g., the "democratic" nature of the state), the state can relatively easily invade many fields, like the field of education, and by doing so occupy positions of control and power that correspond with its "historic moral obligations" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 16).

Data and Methods

The data for this study consist of every news item on education that included a discussion on policy/proposed policy, plans, or thoughts and/or discussed ideas that

[44] Both cases involve news coverage of union struggles at about the same time frame, and the same area (New York and New Jersey).

mention any group or institution related to education policy at the state level, appearing between January 1 and December 31, 1985 in *The Newark Star-Ledger*. Articles were identified by the author and a research assistant from microfilm. To assure reliability of collection, the research assistant and author talked and met regularly to discuss and elaborate the selection process for the news items. These meetings included a training session in which the author and research assistant read and selected items from a sample of three weeks. As a rule of thumb, the research assistant was instructed to be as inclusive as possible. In this way, the loss of potential data was minimized. However, a few items that were initially included were later dropped. For example, items that discussed curriculum reform at the district level, or an item that reported on a program of educational administrators at the district of Camden to boost teacher quality in their schools. Though they both concerned issues pertaining to educational reform, neither article concerned education policy at the state level. In total, 175 news items were collected.

The next stage involved careful reading and coding each item (which was done by the author). The variables were drawn directly from the theory of Bourdieu as laid out above. In particular, the variables were designed to map the range of agents that operated in the field of educational policy, indicate which education policies were discussed (and to what extent), and identify hierarchical differences of prominence between the agents. Most variables related to basic descriptive information: the type of educational policies mentioned, the educational agents that appeared in the item, and indication if the item appeared on the front page or not. Additional variables that required relatively minimal interpretation included identifying the major policy and agent in the item (by the space

devoted to the policy/agent in the item, and by the number of times it was mentioned). A full list of the variables is available in Appendix A.

Most variables were dichotomous (e.g., when the alternate route policy was mentioned in the item, the item was coded as a 1, and if it wasn't mentioned, it was coded as a 0). Some variables were categorical (e.g., the most dominant policy in the item, the most dominant agent in the item). Once the entire data set was created, the data were processed through the SPSS statistical software and provided descriptive statistics including frequencies and cross tabulations.

In addition, I created another indicator to the power of social agents in the field of education. This indicator uses the media coverage, as well as documents from state archive, and academic publications to indicate failure or success of social agents to promote policies up to the stage of implementation. I consider an agent to be successful and thus powerful if he or her was able to put on the agenda high profile policies and was able to carry them to the stage of implementation. In this analysis, I consider any policy that was reported in the news during 1985, even if it was launched before. Some of the policies that were reported in the news were still under discussion and debate by the end of the year, so I omitted them as their status was inconclusive. Fortunately, for all the high profile policies, a final status could be identified.

Findings

The primary goal of this chapter is to map the structure of power in the field of educational policy in New Jersey during the 1980s. One component of mapping the field of educational policy consists of identifying the agents that operated in the field and categorizing their possession of power according to their patterns of appearance in the

news. The second component evaluates the relationships between agents and the policies that they supported or resisted. The main indicator for the power of a given agent in this analysis was the agent's capacity to propose a policy and have it implemented by collecting the support of other agents (coalition building strategy) and/or by pausing effective resistance that blocked policies which he believed to be a threat to his interests and vision of the field.

The Hierarchical Structure of Agents in the Field

The relative position that a given agent holds in the field is illustrated by his or her capacity to establish a public persona concerning his "legitimacy" to hold the different types of capital that are valued in his field. This "position taking" is then reflected in the way the agent is perceived by other agents in the field. The mass media is one important public stage where agents communicate their relative position in the field to others, in a way that helps them institutionalize their positions in the power structure. Thus, for instance, agents who occupy powerful positions are more likely to have the know-how of communicating these features of power through the media (see the example of the state that was elaborated above). When considering this context, news coverage can be viewed as a viable proxy for reflecting the power structure in the field of educational policy.

In using this approach, sixteen different agents were reported to operate in the field of educational state policy in New Jersey in 1985. These agents, as will be shown below, substantially differed in the frequency and types of appearance they received in the news. As seen in Table 4.1, agents differed in the number of times they have appeared in the news, and in the importance ascribed to them in the coverage. The

governor -- who appeared in over 60% of the news articles -- was the most prominent agent in the news. The State Department of Education and the teacher unions also seem to have captured a central role in the field, appearing in over 50% of the articles. State legislatures and Local Boards of Education captured a middle ground with appearances in 28% and 27% of the articles respectively.

Considering the frequency of appearance in the news provides only a partial picture of the hierarchy in the field. Thus, a variable that indicated the most prominent agent mentioned in every article was constructed (the prominence was measured as a function of the space that an agent captured in the coverage and/or number of times he was mentioned). Using this variable further illuminates the hierarchical structure of the field and identifies the various positions occupied by the different agents. In order to clarify the complex power structure between agents in the field, I have created an indicator entitled "rate of prominence" that articulates the relations between the two variables for each agent by dividing the percentage of "being mentioned on the news" with the percentage of being "mentioned as the prominent agent on the news." When the association between the two variables is tight, the value will approximate 1. The rate of prominence can be seen as a rough indicator of the power and prestige a given agent enjoys in the field as reflected in the actions and words of others in the field. As can be seen in Table 4.1, the courts, the governor, and the Department of Education stand at the top with the rates 2, 2, and 2.3 respectively, while -- at the other extreme -- educational administrators, teacher educators, and the media had the lowest rates of 10.1, 8.7, and 7.6 respectively.

This indicator demonstrates how appearance in the news alone does not necessarily correlate with being mentioned as the most important agent in the news. Some agents -- the governor, for instance -- are relatively prominent in both measures, while others -- like teacher educators -- are mentioned relatively frequently, but rarely as the prominent agent in the news. Why is that? In each of the articles reviewed, agents are mentioned as part of a discussion concerning educational policy. For example, when articles discussed the alternate route policy or the reform of undergraduate teacher preparation programs, teacher educators were frequently mentioned together with the governor and Department of Education. In the news (as in reality), however, the prominent agents are those who have the symbolic capital that allow them to portray themselves as those who struggle for change, for a better future, and as those who represent and are interested in the public good. The governor was providing and pushing an agenda for change and thus he was able to garner most of the articles' attention. Teacher educators, on the other hand, were portrayed as a narrow, self interested group with no agenda and no real solutions to the problems at hand.

Table 4.1 Educational agents' appearance and prominence in the news

Agent's Name	Number of articles (with their percentage in parentheses) where agent's name was mentioned (n=175)	Number of articles (with their percentage out of 100% in parentheses) where agent's name was mentioned as the one most prominent	Rate of prominence
Governor	111 (63.43)	54 (30.9)	2.05
Department of Education	92 (52.57)	39 (22.3)	2.36
Department of Higher Education*	27 (15.43)	5 (2.9)	5.32
Teacher unions	90 (51.43)	31 (17.7)	2.91
Teacher educators	35 (20)	4 (2.3)	8.70
Legislators	49 (28)	10 (5.7)	4.91
Board of Education	47 (26.86)	3 (1.7)	15.8
State Board of Education	5 (2.86)	0 (0)	N/A
Educational administrators	30 (17.14)	3 (1.7)	10.08
Parents	8 (4.57)	1 (0.6)	7.62
Courts	10 (5.74)	5 (2.9)	1.98
Media**	8 (4.57)	1 (0.6)	7.62
New Jersey School Board Association	15 (8.57)	4 (2.3)	3.73
Districts + districts' superintendents	17 (9.71)	3 (1.7)	5.71
New Jersey Business and Industry Association	3 (1.71)	0 (0)	N/A
New Jersey Association of School Social Workers	2	1 (0.6)	2.82
No major agent in the article		11 (6.3)	N/A
Total		175 (100)	

* The Department of Higher Education was mentioned in the news coverage regarding K-12 Educational policy, since it carried some of the responsibilities concerning teacher education programs in colleges and universities.

** The media was mentioned in some articles as an agent that has opinions related to education policy (e.g., op-ed items written by educators sometimes accused journalists or newspapers of supporting the state agenda).

Another dimension of the field's hierarchy is illustrated in the distribution of high profile appearances in the news (front page) among the various agents. The findings in Table 4.2 indeed suggest a stratified structure of agents in the field. Column 2 of the table summarizes the number of times and rate of appearance of agents on front page articles. The findings presented on column 2 indicate that state agents (governor, department of education, and department of higher education) appeared in 40% of the items related to education policy published on page 1. However, the access to page 1 of state agents is far more pervasive and powerful when one checks also for appearance as the most important agent on the item (column 3), for not only do they appear more often on the first page, but they also appear there as the most important player in the article. Under this condition, state agents have raised their power from 40% to 60%. Legislators also significantly raised their percentage of appearance from 8% to 17%. Teacher unions slightly weakened from 14% to 12%, and teacher educators disappeared. It is interesting to note that both the Department of Education and the legislators had the highest levels of prominence compared to appearance, (17, 34) and (8, 17) respectively.

Table 4.2 Agents' appearance on page 1

Agent's Name	Appearances of agents on page 1 (with their percentages in parentheses) (n= 159)	Appearance on page 1 as the most important agent (with a percentage out of 100% in parentheses) (n=41)
Governor	31 (19)	10 (24)
Department of Education	27 (17)	14 (34)
Department of Higher Education	7 (4)	0 (0)
Teacher unions	23 (14)	5 (12)
Teacher educators	10 (6)	0 (0)
Legislators	12 (8)	7 (17)
Board of Education	11 (7)	1 (2)
State Board of Education	0 (0)	1 (2)
Educational administrators	7 (4)	0 (0)
Parents	1 (1)	2 (5)
Courts	4 (3)	0 (0)
Media	0 (0)	0 (0)
New Jersey School Board Association	3 (2)	1 (2)
Districts + districts' superintendents	5 (3)	0 (0)
New Jersey Business and Industry Association	0 (0)	0 (0)
New Jersey Association of School Social Workers	1 (1)	0 (0)
Total		41 (100)

Overall, the broad trends represented in Table 4.2 correlate with those in Table 4.1, but there are a few differences to consider. In Table 4.2, the Department of Education appears to be more prominent than the governor and the Teacher unions look slightly weaker, especially in column 3 when compared to their position in Table 4.1. What might explain this? The high profile arena of the front page provides advantages to agents who

can offer the symbolic capital that is associated with "real" action that have the consequences of changing the reality. Therefore, the important players of the front page are the Department of Education– which carries out, on a daily basis, the policy agenda of the governor -- and the legislators who, with their voting power, can provide clear news of acceptance or rejection of a policy. Teacher unions do not enjoy this kind of position. They can object forcefully and negotiate their terms, but with no capacity to reshape the arena. I believe that these differences of power among agents in the field are reflected through their symbolic capital in their positioning in the news coverage.

Mapping the Educational Policy Agenda in New Jersey

Debates, struggles, and discussions that are aimed at pushing certain policies to the forefront of the state agenda are used by various agents as a means to create what they believe to be a better world. What policies are being pushed -- and by whom -- offers another perspective onto the power relations among the social agents in the education field. The media reflects these struggles because it provides agents with a public stage to make their arguments for and against a policy and, as a result, to mobilize power that increases or decreases the chances of a proposed policy idea to enter the agenda. For a policy proposal to pass this step successfully and become a full-fledged policy, there is a clear need to gain publicity (preferably positive) that depends, of course, on the agents who are promoting it. Here I present an analysis of which policies were mentioned, more or less, in the news, and what can be learned from those discussions about the structure of power in the field of educational policy.

Table 4.3 identifies the educational policies that were discussed in the media throughout 1985. Eighteen different educational policies were under discussion, which

seems -- at a first glance -- to imply on a rather large and thus competitive arena. A closer analysis, however, suggests that the scope of educational policy agenda was limited to a few major initiatives promoted by state agents (the governor, Department of Education, and Department of Higher Education), with several other policies at the margins.

According to the second column (which describes the appearance rates of the various educational policies), the policy that appeared most often concerned the minimum salary for new teachers (appearing in 34.9% of the items). This high rate of appearance can be explained by the strong support that it received from the powerful agents of the field. This policy was initiated by the Republican Governor, Thomas H. Kean, and gained the support of both teacher unions, and the house Democratic majority. The opponents of this policy, the house Republican minority, and the New Jersey School Board Association argued that, if passed, this policy would dramatically drive up the cost of education, without having any proof that it would improve the educational system. Supporters of the minimum salary saw it as a genuine and bold move by the governor that supported the teaching profession in general and would enhance teacher quality in particular. No matter what sort of intentions were fueling this policy, it proved beneficial for the governor in the short and the long run. In the short run (in addition to gaining wide support), this policy was able to obscure some aspects of the fierce conflicts that aroused around the other three big policies of the state -- the alternate route into teaching, undergraduate teacher preparation, and the master teacher plan. In the long run, this move proved profitable for Kean, because it portrayed him in the eyes of the NJEA, as a very moderate Republican and one who is willing to negotiate and share power (Fulton, 2004).

This was part of the reason why the NJEA -- in an unprecedented move -- supported Kean for reelection against a Democratic candidate in the elections of 1985.

A second policy -- concerning an alternate route for teacher certification -- appeared on 28.6% of the items, and had considerable overlap with discussions of policies concerning the undergraduate preparation of teachers (28%) and a licensure exam for new teachers (19%). This finding is also not surprising considering the fierce struggle over these policies in New Jersey, especially the debates over the alternate route and the reform of the undergraduate preparation of teachers, which became a national landmark in the relationship between the state and the teacher education establishment. The alternate route policy that was initiated in the early days of the Kean's administration reflected his market-oriented mindset and perspective about what constituted good teaching. Teacher preparation, he and other top officials believed, should not be left at the hands of incompetent teacher educators who had enjoyed a monopoly, especially when the results of their preparation of teachers were so poor, and when these protective procedures make the cost of becoming a teacher intolerably high, thus driving young talented candidates that would have considered becoming teachers to other professions (Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985; Kean, 1988). Foreshadowing arguments that would becoming increasingly part of the public and national discourse in the early 21st century, they argued that public schools should be able to consider talented candidates from top colleges who had strong subject matter background and high motivation to serve as teachers (e.g., Ballou & Podgursky, 1998; Hess, 2001).

The conflict over this policy was inevitable as two very different clusters of ideas collided. On the one hand stood teachers and especially teacher educators who believed

that there is substantive knowledge about effective ways to teach that teachers should be trained in before entering a classroom. This argument about the existence of a specific knowledge held by teacher educators led to the adoption of professional arguments about the need (for the sake of public good) to leave the management of teaching practice in the hands of professionals, in this case, teacher educators (e.g., Carlson et. al., 1983). The state officials opposed this argument, asserting instead that the single most important component for success in teaching derived from subject matter knowledge. Learning how to teach is primarily based on experience and on-the-job training, because teaching is more of an art and cannot be learned as prescribed methods for use outside of direct experience (Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985). In order to legitimate these stances on teaching, Commissioner of Education, Cooperman established two committees with leading professionals who held these very same ideas and who were given the task of singling out the most important components of learning to teach. These components would then be put into a 200-hour program that was intended to prepare teachers before and during the first year of teaching (Cooperman, Webb, & Klagholz, 1983). Concurrently, as part of the attempts to challenge teacher preparation programs' monopoly, the Department of Education -- together with the Department of Higher Education -- launched a program that was intended to match the education and general subject matter requirements of the alternate route preparation program with those proposed in teacher education departments. As a result, teacher education departments were not allowed to provide more than a minor in education consisting 30 hours of preparation, of which 10 were prescribed to be supervised student teaching.

The third major policy focused on a master teacher plan (24.6%), a state policy aimed at establishing a significant merit component within the collective bargaining agreements that were signed at the district level between local boards and teacher unions. Along the same lines of this merit pay, there was also a proposal for career ladder for teachers, which was discussed in only 2% of the articles. All the while, state agents tried to promote a series of small scale merit-based policies (12%) aimed at outstanding teachers, and -- on another front -- tried recruiting smart talented graduates of high schools and selective liberal arts colleges and universities into teaching by offering generous loans, grants, and fellowships in exchange for their commitment to serve as K-12 teachers (this initiative also corresponded closely with the rationale behind the previously discussed alternate route policy).

These policies were important part of Governor Kean's agenda for improving teacher quality (his "blueprint for educational reform"). The governor pushed these policies against a major opposition posed by the NJEA, which saw any attempt to introduce merit pay as a critical threat to its unity. The battle over this policy signifies the wide ideological gap between the state officials and union leaders. State officials believed that merit base system would significantly enhance teachers' motivation and outcomes, while union leaders argued that schools are not businesses and children are not commodities in the market. Merit-based salaries, teacher unions argued, would create suspicion and distrust among teachers and between teachers and administrators, and would obliterate any sense of cooperation that helped teachers learn from their mistakes, cooperate with peers, and solicit advice and help when needed.

The ideological gap and the different interests reflected in this cluster of policies were so pronounced that neither any party would make any concessions. Governor Kean tried to tie the minimum salary bill with a teacher union support to a merit-based salary program. The NJEA, however, refused to cooperate. Eventually, Kean had no choice but to push the program forward alone, which ended in what can only be considered as a defeat on his part. Local NJEA unions around New Jersey voted almost completely unanimously to turn down thousands of dollars in state funding in order to preserve their unity. Interestingly, because of union rivalry and ideological differences, the NJFT (which represented only a small percentage of New Jersey's teachers, most of whom were located in the Newark Public School District) accepted the state's offer. Nevertheless, after the Department of Education discovered that NJFT leaders were overrepresented in the list of master teachers, and that the procedures and standards for selecting the master teachers were flawed (to say the least), the state refused to deliver the awards and put the policy on hold until further improvements could be made that would prevent future abuse of state funds. To sum up, the policy that started as the jewel in the crown became an enormous source of burden, embarrassment, and frustration for the governor.

Returning to Table 4.3, column 3 indicates the policy that appeared as most dominant in a given article (i.e., it was mentioned the most times and received most of the space compared to other policies, or it was the only policy mentioned). The finding here do not differ greatly from those found on column 2. As expected, overall, there were fewer policies that received major coverage (because only one policy could be picked for each of the 175 items). The minimum salary policy is still leading -- with

18.9% appearance rate -- as the most dominant policy in the news. The alternate route into teaching and the master teacher plan had appearance rates of 16.7% and 14.3% respectively. The preliminary licensing exam received 9% of the attention. Most notable is the fading out of the undergraduate teacher preparation and teacher quality policies as dominant in the discussion (from 28% and 21% to only 4% and 6.3% respectively). Contrary to that, finger printing policy appears to be the policy that received the highest rate of coverage in the news compared to all other policies (5 and 3.4 respectively).

Table 4.3 Types of educational policy appearance in the news

Educational policies in the news (with the agents who initiated them in parentheses)	Number of items where educational policy has appeared (with their percentages in parentheses) * (N=175)	The most dominant educational policy in the news (with it percentage in parentheses) ** (N=167)
Alternate route (state)	50 (28.6)	28 (16.7)
Undergraduate teacher preparation (state)	49 (28)	7 (4.2)
Minimum salary (state)	61 (34.9)	33 (18.9)
Teacher workforce/ shortage / quality / professionalism (state + others)	37 (21.1)	11 (6.3)
State take over (state)	4 (2)	1 (.6)
Master teacher plan (state)	43 (24.6)	25 (14.3)
Budget issues (state + others)	28 (16)	14 (8)
Higher education (state)	28 (16)	6 (3.4)
Finger printing / security issues (searches) (courts)	8 (5)	6 (3.4)
Outstanding teachers / recruitment grants/ teacher recognition (state)	21 (12)	5 (2.9)
Academy for the advancement of teaching and management (state)	4 (2)	1 (.6)
Standards tests / high school proficiency test (state)	8 (5)	1 (.6)
Teachers' pension (teacher unions)	2 (1)	1 (.6)
Curriculum (Holocaust) (state)	1 (.6)	1 (.6)
Licensing exam (state)	33 (19)	16 (9)
Union contracts (teacher unions)	22 (13)	10 (6)
Career ladder (state)	4 (2)	0 (0)
Student drop out (state)	2 (1)	1 (.6)
Total		167 (100)

* Each news article was coded for up to 5 different policies. Thus the total of 405 reflects an average of 2.3 policies per article.

** 8 cases where dropped because no policy appeared to be dominant in the text (i.e., discussed more often than other policies).

*** Since only one policy was picked from each article, the percentage of each item is the relative share of 100%.

Table 4.4 summarizes the patterns of educational policy appearance on the front page. Overall, very few educational policies made it to the front page. As seen in Table 4.4, from 365 issues in which there was a potential for front page articles concerning education policy in 1985, only 40 issues (11%) had front page items that concerned educational policies. On average, for every one of these front page items, there have been four policies that were discussed (159/40). Column 2 describes these policies. There are four educational policies -- the master teacher plan, the alternate route, teachers' minimum salary, and the undergraduate preparation of teachers -- which received the most attention on the front page, with 8.8, 8.2, 8.2, and 7.5 percent respectively. Most other policies remained at the margins, with very few appearances on the front page. After controlling for appearance as the dominant policy on the front page (columns 3), only 40 cases remain.

Interestingly, as reflected in Table 4.3, while undergraduate teacher preparation policy seemed to receive relatively wide attention on column 2, it was appeared only once as the dominant policy in an article. This might be explained in the "coupling" of this policy with the alternate route policy. This means that it would be usually mentioned next to the alternate route and would be promoted as an essential accompanying component needed for the success of the alternate route.

The other three policies -- the master teacher plan, the alternate route, and teachers' minimum salary -- that appeared most often on page 1 (column 2), were also those which were indicated as the dominant policies in the articles (column 3). These three policies did, however, switch places. The minimum salary policy appeared as the dominant policy in 20% of the front pages that had an education related item (column 3).

The master teacher plan -- which had the highest percentages of appearance on page 1 (8.8%) -- moved to the second place with 17.5% (column 3). The licensing exam for teachers was not mentioned much on page 1 (only 5%), but when it was mentioned, the policy usually received a dominant place in the item bringing it to 15% of the items on column 3.

Table 4.4 Educational policy appearance on page 1

Educational policies in the news (with the main agents who initiated them in parentheses)	Appearance of the policy on page 1 (with the percentage in parentheses) (n=159)	Appearance of the policy on page 1 as the most dominant policy (with the percentage in parentheses) (n=40)
Alternate route (state)	13 (8.2)	6 (15)
Undergraduate teacher preparation (state)	12 (7.5)	1 (2.5)
Minimum salary (state)	13 (8.2)	8 (20)
Teacher workforce/ shortage / quality / professionalism (state + others)	6 (3.8)	0 (0)
State take over (state)	1 (0.6)	0 (0)
Master teacher plan (state)	14 (8.8)	7 (17.5)
Budget issues (state + others)	7 (4.4)	3 (7.5)
Higher education (state)	7 (4.4)	2 (5)
Finger printing / security issues (searches) (courts)	5 (3.1)	3 (7.5)
Outstanding teachers / recruitment grants/ Teacher Recognition (state)	4 (2.5)	2 (5)
Academy for the Advancement of Teaching and Management (state)	1 (0.6)	0 (0)
Standards tests / High School Proficiency Test (state)	3 (1.9)	1 (2.5)
Licensing Exam (state)	8 (5.0)	6 (15)
Union contracts (teacher unions)	3 (1.9)	1 (2.5)
Total	n/a	40 (100)

* Student drop out has appeared on two items which are part of 16 items without a page number.

Setting the Agenda and the Implementation of Educational Policy

The last part of the findings uses the media coverage, state archive documents, and other publications to report on the capacity of agents in pursuing their educational policy agenda during 1985 (some of which started before 1985). For each policy, I indicate who were the initiators and supporters of a policy, and who opposed it. I consider an agent to be powerful and successful if he was able to push his policy from the stage of a basic proposal into a full-fledged policy that was implemented. Implementation, however, as many have pointed out before and as I will show in one of the cases below, did not automatically guarantee success.

Table 4.5 provides a complementary perspective that ties together conceptually the agents and the policies that they have supported or resisted to provide a clearer picture of the power structure in the field of educational policy. As can be seen, among the first five policies, those that received the most media coverage were all initiated and pushed for implementation by state agents. This is yet another strong indication that correlates with the earlier findings shown in the previous tables. This table illuminates the complex net of coalitions, interests that constructed the structure of power in New Jersey's field of educational policy. Consider, for example, the powerful role of the NJEA, which backed some of the state initiatives (but only after negotiating and making changes in their original format and content). The state proposals regarding the minimum salary won the support of the NJEA for obvious reasons. The union was significantly less cooperative with the state proposals concerning the alternate route, undergraduate teacher preparation, and the state licensure test. Nevertheless, the union did not voice anything more than a moderate cautious criticism about these state proposals, with the cases of

alternate route and licensure tests being the hardest to swallow. As a result, all these policies were approved.

The union decided to forcefully oppose only what it perceived as an existential threat, the proposal to establish a master teacher plan. The governor, on the other hand, as I have already indicated, has this plan and what it had represented ideologically (in terms of the importance of competition, free market, and meritocracy) on the top of his political agenda. As a result of this confrontation, the state program was rejected by almost all districts, although it promised generous rewards for participants. Overall, the struggle over the master plan proved to be an important victory for the NJEA that was able to draw boundaries around its core jurisdiction. Another interesting finding relates to the difference among the positions taken by the two unions. The NJFT resisted the alternate route until the bitter end, while supporting the master teacher plan. The NJEA held the opposite position: it changed its mind and supported the alternate route, while resisting the master teacher plan. These differences are part of the ideological differences between the unions, with the AFT being more open to merit pay programs aimed at fostering quality. The differences could also be explained on the grounds of each union having different interests and constituents. In light of this perspective, the NJFT's resistance to the alternate route could be explained by the fact that, in addition of being a teacher union, it also represented most teacher educators in New Jersey, who would be the big losers if the alternate route policy was to be implemented.

Table 4.5 Status summary of educational policy in New Jersey, 1985

Educational policies in the news	Implemented	Agents in support	Fail to be implement	Agents in opposition
Alternate route	+	Governor, Dept. of Education, Dept. of Higher Education, State Board of Education, NJEA		NJFT, some members of the house Democratic majority, AACTE, teacher educators
Teacher preparation in colleges	+	Governor, Dept. of Education, Dept. of Higher Education		NJFT, some members of the house Democratic majority, AACTE, teacher educators in new jersey
Minimum salary	+	Governor, Dept. of Education, Dept. of Higher Education, NJEA, NJFT, the house Democratic majority		House Republican minority, New Jersey School Board Association
Master teacher plan	+	Governor, Dept. of Education, Dept. of Higher Education, NJFT	+	NJEA
Licensing exam for new teachers	+	Governor, Dept. of Education		Teacher educators
Academy for the Advancement of Teaching and Management	+	Governor, Dept. of Education		Teacher educators
Career ladder		Governor, Dept. of Education	+	NJEA, NJFT
Union contracts	+	NJEA, NJFT		
Standards tests / High School Proficiency Test	+	Governor, Dept. of Education		NJEA, NJFT, Teacher educators
Outstanding teachers / recruitment grants/ dodge fellowships for promising graduates / teacher recognition	+	Governor, Dept. of Education		NJEA

Discussion

I started this inquiry by revisiting the question posed by Robert Dahl (1961) half a century ago: Who governs? As long as the political economy of our societies continues to be governed by groups and individuals who aspire for power, this question will remain relevant and appealing. Over time, social agents work to transform, adjust, and revise the

ways in which power is distributed in political systems. Recall the two theoretical traditions described earlier, each of which understand the process of fighting for power in different ways. This study was not designed to test which theory is more valid in the case of New Jersey. Instead, I intentionally made the decision to put more emphasis on the theory of Bourdieu in order to develop a theoretical alternative to the model of Kingdon. Thus, this study was designed to develop an applicable empirical model that would carefully operationalize the Bourdieuian theoretical notion of the field and use it to conceptualize -- and then see -- the power structure in which educational policy-making was being shaped and decided in New Jersey in 1985. Here I elaborate and discuss the merits of using this theoretical approach compared to the pluralist approach as represented by the work of Kingdon. Before I do that, I would like to start the discussion by first considering the findings along the lines of the pluralists.

The Kingdon Approach

Kingdon's agenda setting model is based on the pluralist model in which many players with different interests strive to insert their vision into the policy agenda. The assumption that Kingdon and the pluralists make is that, in a democracy, the obstacles for participation are minimal and that power is fluid, unstructured, a result of a constant flow of interests which works against any attempt of players to preserve their power. The field of education in New Jersey serves as an example. Several agents enjoyed high degrees of power that enabled them to actively shape and push policies that correlated with their interests and vision. For instance, state agents who were looking to expand their jurisdiction over the field of education and had deep concerns about teacher quality, believed that teacher quality would be improved through the implementation of market-

based reforms, like the master teacher plan, alternate route, and the like. While it is true that all indicators for agents' power (types of dominance in the news, and the power of agents to carry policy proposals to the stage of implementation) did point out that state agents appeared as the most powerful players in the field, this power did not allow the state to establish uncontested authority. The NJEA, the largest teacher union of New Jersey, posed a continuous challenge to the state. During the 1980s, it focused on improving teacher benefit packages by supporting the minimum salary policy (which ended up pushing all teacher salaries up) and by opposing the master teacher plan that -- had it been accepted -- would have threatened its unity. Legislators, especially those belonging to the Democratic house majority proved also to be a powerful agent, especially in joining with unions to form coalitions that pressured the governor to agree for certain concessions concerning the policy about teachers' minimum salary.

In most instances, the state was forced to make concessions in order to "buy" the support of other agents, and when it refused to do so (as in the case of the master teacher plan), the policy faced strong opposition and eventually died in its tracks. Thus, the findings do support -- to some extent -- the pluralist approach that conceptualizes public policy as an arena governed by the interests of many stakeholders. Furthermore, the findings seem to support two major pluralist notions. First, that state agents have a strong grasp on setting and implementing of the public policy agenda (Kingdon, 2003). Indeed, one can see in the findings how the policy agenda was largely set by state agents. Second, that policy is the outcome of negotiations and concessions between various groups that have interest in it (Dahl, 1961).

However, the policies were not implemented by state agents alone. Different coalitions with different stakeholders organized around various issues, thus refuting the notion of a clear-cut divide between agents along racial, class, or any other lines. In the case of the minimum salary policy, for example, the data suggest the formation of an ad-hoc coalition, which included the state, teacher unions, and the Democratic house majority. On other issues like the master teacher plan, these same agents forcefully opposed each other. Yet on other issues, like the undergraduate teacher preparation reform in colleges, the NJEA exercised minimal interference in the state plans, while the NJFT rejected the reform all together. For pluralists, the fact that these educational policies were approved through coalition arrangements is evidence that power in democracies is not controlled in the hands of small elites and that democracy provides a voice to many stakeholders. Furthermore, the fact that so much power was granted in the hands of elected politicians and state bureaucrats is, according to pluralists, a sign for a healthy democracy.

A Bourdieuan Re-Interpretation

A Bourdieuan reading of the findings views public education, specifically educational policy, as a field in which different agents have stakes and fight for power, interests, control, ideology, and vision.

Thus, for Bourdieu, the power that the state possesses is not obvious, "healthy, ""natural, or "moral"; the state is just another agent who tries to materialize its capital in order to occupy more control in the field. Furthermore, according to my reading of Bourdieu (1999), democratic procedures should be closely scrutinized, or they will be exploited by agents who are constantly on the lookout to gain more power that will allow

them to establish even more control. This does not mean that Bourdieu is not accepting or welcoming the moral goods that might be associated with democratic structures. He obviously does, but at the same time he would probably argue that democracy is not an utopian ideal that we can presume will naturally evolve, but is rather an ideal that should be vigilantly fought for. Educational policy-making is one key field of political action where powerful agents struggle to construct and insert their interests and vision over the field. Understanding how this field works and who controls and shapes it is crucial for understanding how our society operates.

An important theoretical contribution that evolves from this discussion is that the Bourdieuan concept of the field allows researchers to adopt a flexible perspective of the politics of education, one that is not captured in its own inherent assumptions, ideology, and unsubstantiated wishful thinking. The field is a dynamic entity that sometimes can have pluralist characteristics, while at other times has a rigid hierarchical structure, with elite that reproduces itself and is highly resistant to changes.

When applied to the case study of New Jersey, Bourdieu's concept helps us reconsider several issues that are usually concealed in the discourse of mainstream policy analyses. First, as implied above, Bourdieu's model helps in conceptualizing the role of the state as an agent that skillfully participates in the game and is able to capture power to affect educational policy through the use of symbolic capital (see Chapter 3). Second, the operationalization of Bourdieu's model, as suggested in this study, provides a meaningful way to evaluate the power of the different agents in the field in different points in time. Third, instead of understanding policy formation as a phenomenon that is being constructed partly by chance and partly through the hands of powerful individuals

(Kingdon, 2003), Bourdieu offers an alternative framework in which policy is an outcome of a power struggle among interests and visions that are held by various agents that are part of a field. The policies, agents, and struggles between them correspond to each other and are largely determined by preexisting power structures in the field, that is, by the agents that occupy positions of power in the field and the kinds of ideas and visions that they look to nurture.

The main contribution of this study is the development of practical tools that help identify agents and issues and evaluate the power structures of a given field. For this purpose, I have used: 1) news coverage measurements of prominence that reflect on the hierarchy of power among the agents in the field of educational policy and 2) evaluations of agents' power based on their capacity to initiate and lead policies to the stage of implementation. According to these two complementary measurements of power, there were a fairly large and diverse set of social agents who operated in the field of educational policy in New Jersey during 1985. Power in the field, however, was distributed unevenly. Overall, the inquiry reveals that the governor and the state Department of Education in New Jersey were able to develop after four years a relatively substantial degree of control over the field. These state agents used their formal mandate as officials who represent the state of New Jersey (symbolic capital) to enter forcefully into areas, like the field of educational policy, which they considered to be part of their jurisdiction. This move on their part, as I have argued in chapter two, illustrates a shift in the history of New Jersey, a state that was known for its powerful local interests (Salmore & Salmore, 1993).

In practice, the building up of a central state control over educational policy was gradual. State officials achieved it by promoting numerous policy initiatives that reflected their interest in changing the field in several ways. The findings suggest that the three most discussed policies were: 1) minimum teacher salary; 2) an alternate route into teaching and a state teacher licensure exam and; 3) the master teacher plan. All of these policies were promoted by the state and reflected a clear interest in teacher quality. The content of the policies also reflected the ideological tendencies, and belief system of their authors – the state officials and the consultants who helped them articulate their ideas and vision. In particular, one may note that the alternate route and master teacher plan leaned toward a market-based agenda that supported competition as a vehicle to enhance quality. A handful of other policies also shared these ideological tendencies.

An important exception, however, to these ideas of competition and free market was the most discussed policy: a minimum salary for teachers. Several explanations can be considered here. One is that Governor Kean supported the minimum salary policy as a way to offset resistance from the house Democrats and teacher unions to his other major reforms. A second explanation may argue that Kean was primarily interested in supporting and enhancing the teaching profession, and understood the issue of salary as one essential component of the "package," although it was not favored by his own party's members.

Nevertheless, state agents were not alone in the field of educational policy. The findings consistently rank teacher unions as second or third in their importance, visibility, and power. Legislatures were also prominent in the field. Teacher unions, in particular the NJEA, was the only agent in the field that had the resources, organizational capacity,

institutional infrastructure, and broad public legitimacy that allowed it to challenge state officials rhetorically, and on the ground (as I have previously demonstrated through the case of the master teacher plan).

Finally, there were various agents that one would expect to have interests in most or at least some of the debates, but are hardly mentioned in the news. Teacher educators, educational administrators, and local boards of education are a few significant examples. Some might say that this only proves the bias in the reports that are published in the mass media. However, as I have already argued, there are reasons to believe that the media reflected the power structure of the field. Overall, teacher educators, educational administrators, and local boards of education had relatively low appearance rates in the news mainly because of other reasons, including the fact that they had a narrow interest which related to only one or two policies in the field, and that they did not have the necessary capital that would allow them to become powerful agents in the field (see Chapter 3).

Conclusions

The catalyst for this study was a deep interest in New Jersey's politics of education during the 1980s. This interest evolved into a theoretical and methodological exploration, combined with a practical interest in revealing and understanding the structures of power, the social agents, and the various policies that shaped the field of educational policy.

One important issue that revealed itself throughout this inquiry relates to the role of theory in policy analysis. Educational policy-making is a contentious issue, not only for policy-makers, but also for researchers, especially when the lines between research

and policy are blurred. In this environment, it is important for researchers to be aware of the ideological biases that are concealed in their scientific theoretical approaches. This study pointed out to some of these biases that have been part of the widely used and accepted pluralist approach of Kingdon (2003). While not dismissing the contribution of Kingdon and the pluralists more generally, this study offers the socio-political theory of the prominent French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu. His meta-theory has its own assumptions that may seem problematic to some, but overall it provides a more flexible framework to describe the politics of social entities. For instance, the theory of fields may be used to describe fields with relatively democratic structure, where power is shared among agents and the hierarchy is flat. On the other hand, the theory can conceptualize more rigid social environments, where the power is institutionalized and preserved in the hands of longstanding elites.

Theory alone can provide ideas, but it needs specific tools that help illuminate the complex social environment that is of interest to us. In order to do so effectively, these tools need to be tied to specific case studies. Thus in this research, the methods and collected data were designed to illuminate the field of educational policy in New Jersey during the 1980s. For purposes of reliability and validity, I used two data sources - one, which consisted of news coverage and another, that mainly included archival documents, academic publications, and interviews. I used these two sources to better understand the link between social agents and policies, and to conceptualize questions of power and control in the field of educational policy.

Many have tried to argue and demonstrate before that, during the 1980s, the politics of education, specifically teacher certification and preparation, in New Jersey

have been dominated by state officials (Carlson, 1990; Kean, 1988; Klagholz, 2000). In this study, however, I offer a new theoretical approach to conceptualize and empirically describe and explain these political developments, in a way that sheds new light and portrays a more complex picture of those historical events. State agents indeed became major agents that initiated most educational policy in the field, and appeared as the most prominent agents in the news. But they were acting, especially in some occasions, under the constraints of teacher unions and legislatures who continued to hold positions of power in the field.

Most importantly, the findings of this research should be of interest to educators and all those who are in favor of having diversity of ideas and would like to learn more about how politics shapes their lives as professionals and the lives of those who are educated by them. The findings of this inquiry teach us once again that it is only when professionals are organized as a collective that they may have a voice in policy-making processes. Having this voice is important, for it democratizes the discourse around educational policy and does not leave it in the hands of one group. Bourdieu helps us understand this point, by demonstrating the problematic position of the state as an agent in the field. States tend to portray themselves as an objective entity that belongs to the people and altruistically serves their interests. But surrendering the power and resources of the field of education into the hands of state politicians is not the best way to go. Why? Having too much power in the hands of one entity is an invitation for despotism. We have seen in the case of New Jersey that state agents had their own agendas, interests, and visions, like any other agent in the field. These, by definition, could never serve all

constituents. Having the interests and visions of other agents is essential for the viability of the field as a dynamic and, hopefully, more democratic space.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

Main Findings

This dissertation focused on clarifying the tension that developed during the 1980s between the state of New Jersey and the education establishment concerning issues of authority and jurisdiction in education at large and teacher certification and preparation in particular. Although this struggle was comprehensive in scope, intensive, and spanned nearly 8 years, it was resolved gradually through the enactment or blockage of educational policy. This fact helped me direct my efforts at a careful analysis of the educational policy-making process and its outcomes. In this analysis, I was interested in revealing the allocation of power between the various education stakeholders at that time, or as stratification sociologists would argue, in contemplating and sorting out who were the winners and the losers in this struggle for power and control.

In simple terms, my response to this question is that New Jersey is a case where the state was able to enhance its control over the field of educational policy, while other players, like teacher educators and teacher unions, experienced a loss of power compared to what they had in the past. This finding corresponds with what others have already suggested in the past, that is, a story of a fierce struggle that winds up with a victory of the state over the education establishment (Carlson, 1990; Cooperman & Klagholz, 1985; Kean, 1988; Klagholz, 2000). Indeed, Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation -- which focused on the alternate route and teacher preparation reform -- support this argument. In Chapter 2, I describe the historical context of the field of education in New Jersey, and how the state worked to change the power balance in it through two conceptual

frameworks, the agenda setting model of Kingdon (2003) and Bourdieu's (1985) theory of social fields. In Chapter 3, I provide a close analysis of the policy-making process and report on the types of capital that have been used by state officials to subdue the battle against teacher educators.

Nevertheless, a careful and comprehensive analysis of the findings reveals a more complicated and nuanced reality in New Jersey. In Chapter 4, I contend that New Jersey's field of educational policy consisted of a complex power structure. In this structure there were various agents, like state officials, teacher unions, house legislatures, teacher educators, educational administrators, and board of education members, all of whom occupied positions with various degrees of prominence and impact on educational policy. To complicate things further, one needs to also consider the different scope of interests among the various agents. Some, like the state, had broad and comprehensive interests in education, while others -- like the New Jersey School Board Association -- had relatively narrow interests (teacher salaries, budgeting, etc.).

When considering all educational policies that were discussed in 1985, it is clear that the policies concerning teacher certification and preparation that were discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 appeared to receive much attention in the news (and in the research literature). Yet, overall, these policies represented only one fraction of the entire field (the findings suggest that these policies were mentioned in approximately 25% to 33% of the news coverage).

Another finding in Chapter 4 demonstrates that, while the state was quite successful in implementing the teacher certification and preparation policy proposals, it clearly failed to do so in the masters' teacher program that was a top priority for the

governor. In light of this evidence, it would be inappropriate to draw generalizations from the story of the alternate route policy to other educational policies in New Jersey. Instead, it becomes rather clear that the story is more nuanced and complex. That is, the state had enhanced its control in some parts of the field, but failed to do so in other parts where other agents, in particular the NJEA, continued to hold a prominent role.

Theoretical Contribution

For decades, the concept of power in society and the roles of different social and political stakeholders in shaping and regulating politics have been prominent subjects in sociology, political science, and public policy literature. In this work, I have tried to suggest an alternative – the political sociology of Pierre Bourdieu -- to the mainstream pluralist conceptualization of power, which is considered by many scholars to provide the most adequate analysis of power in American politics.

Let me start by briefly reviewing the main notions in Kingdon's and Bourdieu's approaches. By using terms like interest groups, coalition, and democratic participation, pluralists have established a theory that seeks to describe democracies as politically inclusive societies where individuals can maximize their interests by electing government representatives and by actively participating in a civil society. The latter may include, for example, establishing or becoming members of active interest groups. In accordance with these principles, policy and policy-making processes are conceived by pluralists as contested arenas that are relatively open for individuals input. This input may include various levels of active participation that depends on the importance of a given issue for different individuals. Because individuals look to maximize their interests, they are likely to become involved in coalition building whenever this might serve them. This also

means that power is enjoyed for relatively short periods of time by the same coalition, as individuals are constantly moving and looking to join more profitable partnerships.

Throughout this work, I have been using the agenda model of Kingdon (2003) -- perhaps the most regarded in the field -- as a prime example for a pluralist based model of policy analysis. I have argued that while Kingdon's model seems powerful in conceptualizing how a policy proposal gets on the agenda, it also suffers from several fundamental limitations. Let us consider these main limitations in brief. First, the model entitles the state a role and position that are based on the assumptions that (a) the American state is a representative entity that reflects the aggregate will of the people; and (b) the state is an objective entity that is responsible for the public good. While these assumptions may seem obvious to many, they should be constantly and seriously questioned for their mythical components. Second, the model argues that the political system with its three streams (as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2) is so complex and unpredicted that it is impossible to anticipate which policy proposal will get onto the agenda. Here Kingdon fails to acknowledge the possibility that there are, at times, power centers in the field that can pave the way for a specific proposal to become a full-fledged policy. Third, the model puts undue emphasis on the policy entrepreneur as an essential component for the convergence and transformation of the three streams into a viable policy.

It is my contention that, although the pluralist tradition sheds considerable light on policy-making, the work of Pierre Bourdieu helps us see other aspects of the policy-making process, especially issues obscured in the pluralist tradition. To demonstrate how the theory of Bourdieu is helpful in conceptualizing the politics surrounding the struggle

over educational policy in New Jersey, while addressing the limitations of Kingdon's model, I have organized two chapters of this work around two major notions taken from Bourdieu's theory: capital (Chapter 3) and social field (Chapter 4).

So what is the contribution of Bourdieu's theory to educational policy research? Bourdieu provides analytic tools and a conceptual framework that are comprehensive but, at the same time, accommodate the fine tuning needed in the specific context of every case study. Like pluralist models, Bourdieu conceptualized the social sphere and its various fields as contested arenas, where agents are constantly involved in a struggle over resources. The big difference, however, is that Bourdieu integrated to his model the likelihood of having significant extant power structures in the field, that would, for example, expect to have an interest in and thus impact the content of a particular policy. These power structures -- which could either be groups or individuals who hold excessive power -- are not easily replaced, as they usually use sophisticated strategies to legitimize and preserve their prominent positions over time. Thus, Bourdieu was critical of the pluralist conceptualization of politics and the rhetoric that views the state as a disinterested benevolent entity. He argued that, when we try to analyze a social field, we should carefully consider who are the different agents that operate in it, what kinds of capital they bring to the game, and how they try to use their capital to enhance their power in the field. When the state takes an active part in a struggle, it should be considered like any other agent in the field, that is, an agent who tries to use sophisticated strategies for claiming maximum power.

And last, Bourdieu dismisses the notion of individual agency as a possible explanatory variable for anything, let alone the acceptance of public policy as Kingdon

suggests. For Bourdieu, this is a romantic idea. Individuals are part of their society and part of their field, where they are socialized to accept certain positions, values, and norms. The capital they possess -- together with their life experience and current position -- build their habitus, which includes their behavioral responses to the events they encounter. This also means that individuals are not really capable of making rational decisions or choices concerning their "interests," but are rather driven to act based on their habitus, "feel for the game" and by their positions in the field. Thus, according to Bourdieu, individuals are not likely to become suddenly passionate about leading a policy to implementation (as suggested in the notion of the policy entrepreneur) unless they were carefully prepared for doing so, tacitly or explicitly. Things are more complex from Bourdieu's perspective, for individuals may lead the charge for the implementation of a particular policy, but it is no accident that the individual finds himself in that position. The invisible hand of capital plays an enormous role in who has – and gets – access to power.

In sum, there are four main areas of contention between the two theories (see Table 5.1 below):

1. Social structures - for Bourdieu, social structures are usually rigid because social agents have the tendency to preserve and defend their privileges vis-à-vis others who lack them. Kingdon does not share this view. For him the social sphere consists of streams which do not reflect a stable recognizable power structure. Thus, the streams have only a random unpredicted effect on the policy agenda. And over time they are likely to represent equally the interests of all the stakeholders.
2. Individuals' role - for Bourdieu individuals would always be viewed as an inseparable part of their social and cultural environment. Thus, the habitus is an outcome of a complex aggregation of individual's life experiences as

reflected in his or her access to the various forms of capital and the position he or her occupies in the social space. While Kingdon suggests that there are big forces that shape the policy arena, he, in contrast to Bourdieu, insists that the big forces he calls streams act in random and can be converged only by devoted individuals (policy entrepreneurs) who care deeply about a certain policy.

3. The democratic state - for Bourdieu the state is a sophisticated agent that tries to portray itself as different from other agents. One that is above the others, that only has aspirations to promote a universal good, that is disinterested, objective, responsible. Under the guise of these attributes the state has been successful in invading social fields and taking control from other agents who were accused of holding and promoting only their narrow interests. Kingdon, holds a very different view. He believes that the democratic state is a representing entity of a collective of individuals, which provides them with the opportunity to fully participate and shape their lives through public policy. Thus, because of its democratic character the state, in kingdon's view, does and should enjoy a legitimate superior stance in the public sphere.
4. The notion of interest - for Bourdieu, the interests of an agent are embodied inclinations entrenched in the hearts and minds of the agent through his or her habitus. These inclinations do not reflect calculated rational choices, but are largely explained by the habitus and the position of the agent in the social space. While Kingdon does not directly discuss this issue, he will probably disagree with Bourdieu's argument. For Kingdon politics are driven by careful calculation of interests in part of the individuals, which assumes that individuals are rational and capable of choosing the option that would maximize their profits.

Table 5.1 A theoretical comparison between Bourdieu and Kingdon

The theoretical component	Bourdieu	Kingdon
Social structure	Relatively rigid, social agents tend to preserve power / and changes do not happen by chance	Fluid consists of ad hoc coalitions. Policies enter the agenda in a random sequence
Individuals' role	Always the outcome of their specific location within the social space	Policy entrepreneurs are powerful – can change the political reality
The democratic state	A powerful agent / "bank of symbolic capital" who seek to have more control of the social space, and is increasingly successful in doing so. The state tend to serve and represent those with excessive capital	Elected officials are those responsible for operating state's institutions. They represent and serve a collective of individuals who are actively pursuing their political interests.
The notion of interest	Entrenched in the hearts and minds of agents / not a calculated rational action	Rationally motivated, drives individuals to maximize their profits

While I find Bourdieu's notions to be very helpful in analyzing educational policy they were not always fully consistent with my findings. Bourdieu's extensive research, driven by his political sentiments, focused primarily on social fields with relatively strong elites that were successful in reproducing themselves and preserving their privilege positions. I encountered also different kinds of fields that vary in their structure of power. While some tended to have rigid structures with strong elites who preserve their privilege position and are highly resistant to change, other fields were more open to changes and enjoy relatively high number of social agents who were engaged in the game and had the power to shape the field. I believe that Bourdieu's notions can help make these distinctions and thus are capable of providing a thoughtful analysis of educational policy, one which requires flexible tools that are not biased toward either the pluralist or conflictual positions and thus can clarify the conditions under which a policy was proposed and accepted or rejected.

To conclude, I hope that, by presenting the limitations of the pluralist based approach of Kingdon, in light of the new insights that the theoretical alternative proposed by Bourdieu provides, I will be able to raise doubts among political and policy scientists about the sheer potential of the pluralist tradition to explain policy-making. Serious consideration of that kind might lead to a constructive professional debate, more nuanced research, and a refined theory.

Before I move to a discussion of the possible implications and future research that may come out of this study, let me first consider the limitations of the study.

Limitations

There are several limitations of this dissertation that deserve further acknowledgment and explanation in my part. The central limitations include: 1) the type of data that was collected, 2) the generalizability of the findings, and 3) the theory. Although this is not an exhaustive list, the issues included, in my mind, reflect the issues that have troubled me the most as I was trying to consider the values, impact, and weak spots in my arguments. I reflect on them here, hoping that in the future I be better prepared to overcome the complexities as they may arise in my future work.

The first limitation relates to the type of data that were collected and used in the work. This limitation repeated itself differently, especially in Chapter 3 and 4. In chapter 3, for example, I didn't have the same quality of data for each form of capital. While this might very well suggest that some types of capital were more important in the struggle for power, and thus had more wealth of data to support them, the reality might also be that some types of capital manifest themselves in varied forms, which would require different data collection methods. In particular, this has been the case with social

capital. I believe that the explanation that I provided in the text for the lack of social capital is a valid one. Nevertheless, if I had the opportunity to conduct more interviews and verify this point with the stories of substantial number of individuals, I would know that I am standing on a firmer ground regarding to my argument. In Chapter 4, data was again a major concern for me. As I have pointed out in that chapter, when possible, researchers have used surveys to describe structures of power and the possession of capital in social fields. In my case, this method was not applicable, for I was studying a policy retrospectively. This meant that I needed to improvise and find a responsible alternative that would give comparable results. I have done so by analyzing the media coverage of educational policy and the agents who struggled over it. In this case, a criticism concerning the unreliability of the method used would be to some extent legitimate. Nobody can claim to have used a method for the first time with full success. However, I have tried to provide maximum support to my claims also by using an alternative method that was looking at the various agents in the field and recording their support or opposition to the various policies. Then I checked which of these policies was implemented successfully and which was blocked. I consider the fact that the two methods yielded consistent results an encouraging sign that the news coverage method is fairly reliable. Overall, it might have been helpful if I had more access to individuals who had participated in the struggle (through surveys or interviews) in strengthening my claims, especially in Chapter 4. However, this was not feasible 20 years after the debates.[45]

[45] Even with granted access to a field, conducting a survey with a representative sample of participants is a very challenging and costly project that would need substantial funding and thus would probably not be applicable for every dissertation study.

The second limitation of this study relates to the kinds of generalizations that can be drawn from it. That is, what kinds of conclusions from this study are applicable to other fields of educational policy in other states? My first intuition led me to argue that the general themes of the New Jersey story are likely to have occurred in other locations as well. Indeed, in the first drafts of my second chapter this was one of my leading arguments. Thus I viewed the fact that alternate route policies mushroomed across the U.S. after the New Jersey case received national coverage, as yet another validation of my initial intuition. However, as I have become more acquainted with the policy-making processes of alternate routes in other states, I gradually understood that these policies should first be conceived in their local political, social, and historical contexts. This argument might be seen as a recipe for scientific weakness among social scientists, who believe in the ideal that good research provides helpful generalizations. But Bourdieu (1992) is helpful to us here as well, for he argued that theory shouldn't be "treated as intellectual totems" (p. 161). Instead, he advocated for an approach that understood theory as being closely related and shaped by the specific characteristics of the field:

> Their [the concepts of habitus, field, or symbolic capital] construction and use emerged in the practicalities of the research enterprise, and it is in this context that they must be evaluated. The function of the concepts I employ is first and foremost to designate, in a kind of shorthand, within the research procedure, a theoretical stance, a principle of methodological choice... Systematization necessarily comes *ex post*, as fruitful analogies emerge little by little, as the useful properties of the concept are successfully tried and tested. (p. 161)

In my research, I built on the concepts that Bourdieu developed over the years, but I employed them carefully, checking their applicability to the specific field of educational policy in New Jersey. Thus, I argue, that any future research that looks at employing the Wittgensteinian "thinking tools" of Bourdieu should focus first on the idiosyncrasies of the new field and only then try and see how these tools can help conceptualize the specifics of the field.[46]

Last, my decision to import Bourdieu's sociological concepts -- developed in France -- might be seen as inapplicable for an American environment. After all, the French context – with its centralization, especially in education – is much different than that of the U.S. Moreover, how can the ideas of a French sociologist, who never wrote about policy-making, be sensibly applied to the field of educational policy in New Jersey?

Leaving aside the abundance of criticism of scholars who have not first carefully and thoroughly explored Bourdieu's writing,[47] I admit that applying imported theoretical concepts is potentially problematic. If we go back to Bourdieu's claim that theory develops on the ground, and (if I might add) the capacity to develop certain patterns of thinking -- a scientific habitus -- also develop in specific social and cultural context, it is likely that they encompass the complexities and respond well to the history of the originating society. Thus, Bourdieu and his writings should always be understood as an outcome of the French academic environment. It is quite legitimate then to ask how can a theory that evolved in a French environment possibly respond to the American field, which according to all signs is arguably very different? Furthermore, in this dissertation I

[46] This seems particularly important in education research circles, in which there has been a wholesale embracing of Bourdieu's concepts without this kind of situation-specific caution.
[47] See references to those critiques in Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) and Bourdieu (198X letter from duke).

used Bourdieu's concepts to challenge the pluralist theory, a theory that evolved in America, by Americans who monitored closely the political environment of their society.

I have no easy answer to these issues, which can fairly be considered as limitations. Although I am not arguing for the wholesale replacement of pluralist theory with Bourdieu, my only answer is that I have tried to keep these issues and concerns in mind while collecting and analyzing the data. I started this work without having Bourdieu's theory in mind, but as I have gradually became aware to the kind of issues that would need to be addressed in a serious analysis of the alternate route policy of New Jersey, Bourdieu kept coming back as a powerful explanatory frame. Indeed, after considering the data from multiple perspectives, I became convinced that the qualities of Bourdieu's concepts carry potentially universal applicability and, in the case of the New Jersey alternative route policy, provides a powerful conceptualization of such a complex story.

Overall, I believe that some of what I have listed above as potential limitations in the case of Bourdieu might also be seen as beneficial. For example, the importation of a theory could end up not as being a problem, but a blessing, offering an alternative way of seeing and understanding various aspect of the field in question. So far this has been the case in other places around the globe, where the concepts of Bourdieu have been applied by scores of scholars who found his theory to be meaningful and helpful in conceptualizing social struggles in various fields.[48] I hope that my study of New Jersey adds to this line of work.

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[48] See for example, the work of Jóhannesson (1993) on the field of education in Iceland, or the work of Anheier, Gerhards, and Romo (1995) on the field of poetry in Köln, Germany. These are just two

Implications for Teacher Educators and the Education Establishment

Conceptualizing the ways in which social agents struggled for power in New Jersey's field of educational policy during the 1980s may not look promising in terms of having a practical contribution to the field of education today. I believe, however, that this line of work does provide meaningful conceptual tools that are helpful in enabling educators to think more critically about their profession and improving their current understanding concerning struggles over educational policy. This belief corresponds with my views as a sociologist: that educators should be well informed regarding to their position in the social sphere, should be cautious about the concealed components of their own professional agenda, open to criticism of outsiders, and prepared to fight to preserve some control over the core of their field. Since educators are constantly being challenged by various social agents, this historical work may be relevant and helpful in clarifying the general nature of current struggles, as well as helping educators reconsider the character and features of their own "professionalization" agenda.

A recent work of Wilson and Tamir (in press) demonstrates a possible application of Bourdieu's theory. In this work, we analyzed major contemporary debates concerning teacher certification, licensure, and program accreditation. Included in this is an examination of the major arguments posed by the different challengers of the education establishment, for example, criticisms of those who support free market and competition (e.g., Hess, 2001). According to this critique the teacher education establishment thwarts talented people of becoming successful teachers by placing unnecessary requirements for acquiring teacher certification. Other challengers argue that teacher preparation programs

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examples of scholars who understood the universal aspects of Bourdieu's theory and were able to apply it skillfully in supposedly very different environments.

are too progressive and thus detached from the "real" values held by most Americans (e.g. Will, 2006). Moreover, those prospective teachers who refuse to be indoctrinated by the system are expelled. Then we offered an explanation of how these debates may progress and what are their consequences for the professionalization of teaching. At its heart, such an analysis is practical, offering insiders – in this case, teacher educators – a way to think about which criticisms to attend to and why.

Similarly, I can imagine some practical lessons teacher educators might take from the analyses offered in this dissertation. For example, if teacher educators want to regain or keep power, they might want to consider the importance of building and maintaining strong and meaningful relationship (social capital) with teacher unions and university professors from other disciplines. Once these kinds of alliances are constructed, teacher educators would possibly be able to rely more heavily on their social capital when a future struggle erupts. That means, for example, that the alliance with university professors might open access to intellectuals and leading academics, while the connection to teacher unions might secure more support among state politicians. This is potentially a positive process for teacher educators, since, for it to succeed, teacher educators will also need to consider more seriously the critique of outsiders on their practices and knowledge. This brings me to a second possible lesson, which is the need for teacher educators to invest in their cultural capital. I suspect, that as long as teacher educators will not develop more rigorous Ph. D. programs, and as long as the new generations of teacher educators will not be able to produce the same quality of scientific outcomes as their colleagues in the disciplines do, they are deemed to occupy a subordinated position

in the field of academia, and as a result a vulnerable position in the field of educational policy.

I believe that working toward implementation of such recommendations involves serious commitment and effort in part of all sides. The potential rewards, however, are great. Most importantly, it would be the public at large, and the democratic culture that would benefit from a more balanced field of educational policy where professionals have a significant impact on policy formation, policy-making, and policy implementation.

Future Research

There are several parallel lines of inquiry departing from this work that I would like explore in the near future.

I plan to extend my research on New Jersey and also use it as the basis for a multi-state that will identify the ways in which different education stakeholders struggle, using their bureaucratic, cultural, economic, and social capital, to shape educational policy. This study will include an extensive empirical investigation that will map and analyze the ways in which teacher education policies have been shaped, throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, by the various educational stakeholders. Among the questions that interest me are: Who are the dominant and subordinated education agents in the field? What constitutes the hierarchy among them? How is this hierarchy reflected in the structure of capital held by the different agents? What kinds of arguments for and against certain educational policies are used by the different agents in their struggle for power? This inquiry would also allow me to establish a broader and deeper understanding of teacher education policy as an outcome of social struggles over power among the various educational agents. In particular, I am interested in the ways controversial market-based

educational policies like alternate route, merit pay, or school choice have been constructed and integrated into the policy agenda by state bureaucrats in the last two decades and the implications of these shifts on the professionalization agenda of the teacher education establishment.

In a second line of work, I would like to extend my knowledge concerning teacher certification debates at the national level. Here I would be interested at mapping empirically the current structure and distribution of capital in the field of teacher education (including the orthodoxy and the heterodoxy) with its multi layers of institutions, organizations, prominent scholars, unions, bureaucrats, think tanks, and foundations. I hope that uncovering the structure of power in the field -- including the types of capital that support the various agents in the struggle -- would be helpful for educators in understanding their position and the steps that they need to take in order to strengthen their professional autonomy.[49]

In a third line of work, I intend to extend my current investigation to other nations. In particular, I am interested to learn how public education in countries like the U.S. and Israel, which have historically evolved in different socio-political settings, do share today increasingly similar debates and discourses around teacher quality, teacher training, teacher certification, students' testing, and the achievements gap. For instance, within the economic and political elites of Israel, there are many, like former Prime Minister Netanyahu and corporate CEO Dovrat, who argue that the market-based policies tested in the U.S. should be implemented in Israel, as they have proved to be successful. These ideas, however, are relatively new to the social-democratic tradition of Israel and

[49] Here, again as I have noted earlier, I am not advocating for a full professional autonomy, as I believe it is potentially harmful and impractical. Instead, I believe that professionals should be an important part of the field and have impact on the policies that are intended to regulate their work.

thus meet some opposition from various stakeholders. I believe that by comparing these issues both across states and nations will help me to challenge misconceptions and push forward my understandings. The complexity of educational phenomena – including policy-making -- cannot be unraveled otherwise.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

VARIABLES CODING GUIDE FOR NEWARK STAR-LEDGER MEDIA ANALYSIS

Table Appendix A Variables coding guide

Variable Category	**Variable sub-categories**	**Values**
Types of coverage:	Front page item	no=0, yes=1
Educational Policy (EP):	Alternate route to teacher certification (1 EP)	policy not mentioned = 0, policy mentioned = 1
	Undergraduate teacher preparation (2 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Minimum salary for teachers (3 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Teacher force/ shortage / quality (4 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	State take over (of "failing" districts) (5 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Master teacher plan (6 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Budget issues (7 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Finger printing / security issues (searches) (8 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Teacher fellowships grants (9 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Academy for the advancement of teaching (10 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Standards tests / high school proficiency (11 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Teachers' pension (12 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Curriculum (holocaust) (13 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Licensing exam (14 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Union contracts (15 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Career ladder (16 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
	Student drop out (17 EP)	policy n. m. = 0, policy m. = 1
Major policy:	-	Educational policy (EP) = 1 EP-17 EP
Educational agents (EA):	Governor (1)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Department of Education (2 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Department of high education (3 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Teacher unions (4 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Teacher educators (5 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Legislators (6 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Board of education (7 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	State board of education (8 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Educational administrators (9 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Parents (10 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Courts (11 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Media (12 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	New Jersey school board association (13 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	Districts + districts' superintendents (14 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	New Jersey Business and industry association (15 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	New Jersey association of school social workers (16 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
	No major agent in the article (17 EA)	agent n. m. = 0, agent m. = 1
Major Player:	-	Educational agents (EA): = 1 EA-17 EA

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