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Teacher Identity and the Marketized Society

Discursive Constructions in Teachers' Discussion Groups

In the latest decennium, there have been several and gradual changes in the Swedish and other European school systems. The steering system has become more decentralized and the entire school system is now a part of the freedom of trade. Schools are competing with each other and this has, according to previous research, an effect on how teachers think about, and carry out their everyday activities (Gerwitz et al. 1995; Irisdotter 2006).

How teachers think about themselves, their students and the educational task is of great importance for the social climate of the classroom and, in the longer run, society in general. The current study discusses how teachers' identities and self-understandings are influenced by the marketization of society. The material analysed consists of group discussions in three different teacher groups in compulsory school in Sweden.

Questions raised are: Can teachers work within the context of marketization and yet relate to it with an attitude of self-awareness and critical reflection? And how can teachers deal with both traditional teacher values and progressive, democratic values that may be in conflict with the conditions of a marketized school system?

Keywords:

Teacher identity, marketized society, identity construction, teacher discourses

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1. Introduction

In the latest decennium, there have been several and gradual changes in the Swedish and other European school systems. The steering system has become more decentralized and the entire school system is now a part of the freedom of trade. Schools are competing with each other and this has, according to previous research, an effect on how teachers think about, and carry out their everyday activities (Gerwitz et al. 1995; Irisdotter 2006). Speaking with the sociologist Richard Sennett (2006), the marketization of the education system in general (both in Europe and in the US) is an effect of the global boom of the high-tech industry in the 90s. The rushing global developments affected non-commercial institutions, not only administrative but also culturally. Not least the education system was influenced to adopt new ways of thinking about leadership and knowledge.

How teachers think about themselves, their students and the educational task is of great importance for the social climate of the classroom and, in the longer run, society in general. This calls for studies

on how teachers' identities and self-understandings are influenced by the marketization of society in general, and the marketization of the school system in particular. Can teachers work within the context of marketization and yet relate to it with an attitude of self-awareness and critical reflection? And how can teachers deal with both traditional teacher values and progressive, democratic values that may be in conflict with the conditions of a marketized school system?

2. Purposes and Method

The purposes of this article is to illustrate how a market oriented discourse seems to influence teachers' discursive practices and professional identities, and to discuss how traditional teacher values and democratic values may be in conflict with values embedded in a market oriented discourse. Hence, the article concentrates on the presumably contradictory and conflicting nature of different teacher discourses.

I take my point of departure from a theoretical perspective on discursive construction of identity. I will try to attain the purposes of the article by presenting a few teacher voices that point out some important aspects of teacher identity, notions of teaching and being a teacher in contemporary society. I claim the logics and values of a market discourse to be a determining factor in my empirical material.

The teacher voices are collected from one of my own empirical studies of three discussion groups from different schools in Sweden. Each discussion group consisted of six to twelve teachers in Swedish Compulsory School. The topic for the discussions was "ethical issues in teacher work" and the three groups met six times each during one year. The conversations were transcribed in verbatim before thoroughly analyzed (cf. Irisdotter 2006).

In this type of qualitative study, one can hardly claim the examples to represent generalized truths about the self-understanding of all teachers. Howev-



er, my main purpose is not to say something about teacher identity in general, but to illustrate how conditions of the marketization of the school system can be identifiable in the discursive practise of teachers, and to show how these discursive influences may be in conflict with other crucial discourses. This can, I hope, contribute to further discussions on the construction of teacher identity of today.

A methodological problem in this article is that the quotes originally are in Swedish, but here translated into English. I still argue that it is possible to make discourse analytical claims with this material since my main analytical focus is problem oriented in the sense that I'm looking for ideas, ideologies and perspectives rather than linguistic categories. Several discourse theorists confirm this view as acceptable (Fairclough 2003; van Dijk 2001; Meyer 2001).

3. Theoretical Perspectives

3.1 Contexts, identities and priorities

The theoretical concept "discourse" is used in this article to interpret and analyse how teachers apprehend and value their professional context. A discourse decides what can be said in a certain context, and should be understood partly as a general description of a verbal, social practise, partly as a way of pointing out separate ways of thinking. In the latter case, a discourse is understood as a certain perspective which has its origin in a certain context or practice but can influence and be included in new practises. When this happens, the new practise also develops values and notions typical for, or at least inspired by the original practise of the discourse. Every context has its core of traditional, central values, but contexts also influence each other over time. Therefore one can notice how societal trends and processes of development influences local contexts in different ways. This can be studied through discourse analysis, and the terms in focus are discourse and discursive changes (Fairclough 1995).

But there aren't only subtle phenomena as language use and expressions that entail changes of valuing and acting. Political and administrative structures are, besides the informal influence of communication, also influencing our ways of thinking, valuing and acting (Fairclough 2003). Different steering forms generate different values and priorities. A contemporary market orientation of the school system creates for example new kind of values, which we will get back to below (cf Sennett 2006; Irisdotter Aldenmyr 2007; 2008).

When one participates in a practise one needs to be recognized, by others and oneself, as a person who belongs to a certain group. One talks, values, dresses, thinks and expresses oneself within a discursive practise, and creates one's own identity and self-understanding. We try to participate in ways that make sense and are meaningful within the context (Gee 2004). In the following, I will present three "Grande

Discourses" that have been incorporated in the contexts of teaching. These discourses contribute in a crucial way to the construction of professional identities.

3.2 Teacher Discourses

Tradition oriented teacher discourse

The history of teaching includes several different contexts and practices, within which different values, notions and identities have developed. Thus, it can be said that the teacher identity and collective ideas of being a teacher, hold a core of traditional ideals and values. These values and ideals are reproduced in teaching contexts within a *tradition oriented teacher discourse* (cf. Fairclough 1995; Irisdotter 2006).

The power of this discursive pattern keeps the archetype of the traditional teacher, with an indisputable advantage in questions of knowledge as well as in moral matters, present even in contemporary teacher education and among active teachers (Janks, Ivanic 1992; Hargreaves 1995). This archetype is based on old images from institutions of higher education, but also on images of the early elementary school, where the school, together with the church, represented the authority of the community (Hartman 2005; Hartman, Irisdotter Aldenmyr 2009).

However, the traditional ideals are not unanimous. Within what we can summarise as traditional, conventional teacher ideals, parallel tracks of diverse ideals can be found. A strong, modernistic emphasis on knowledge and understanding of subjects and teaching can be compared to a more didactic, teaching oriented track sprung from the early elementary school. A parallel practise worth mentioning is also the earliest child care system, kindergartens. In these practises a development from pure caretaking to a more pedagogic task can be followed (Hartman, Irisdotter Aldenmyr 2009).

Dialogical, democratic teacher discourse

Parallel with what I here have chosen to call a tradition oriented discourse, I want to emphasis a *dialogical, democratic teacher discourse*. This discursive pattern can be interpreted as a version of what Fairclough (1995) calls a *conversionalization* of discourse. When people start to communicate in a way that does not uphold hierarchical positions and asymmetric power relations, they contribute to a more democratic society. When this happens in schools, among teachers and students, one could say that the teacher profession becomes part of a late modern macro-discourse of democratization and reflexivity (Beck 1999; Fairclough, Chouliaraki 1999). However, it would be unfair to say that a democratic ambition is something new in Swedish Compulsory School. The very idea of Compulsory School is a democratic one and one may find directives from as early as the 40's, where the government urges teachers to act upon democratic values in their profession (SOU 1948, 27).



A dialogical, democratic discourse is a discourse in which both common-sense-knowledge and established notions and praxis are questioned. This is supported partly by democratic, pluralistic, critical political views in society (Janks, Ivanic 1992), and partly by school researchers who criticize traditional teaching (Garman 1995), or try to find new, non-hierarchical, ethically legitimate ways of communicating within the school context (Dahlberg, Moss 2005). The self-image of being a democratic role model can therefore be interpreted as a parallel self-image alongside of a more demanding and authoritarian one.

Market oriented teacher discourse

Contemporary influences are not always easy to identify. Nevertheless, I claim that the market orientation and the commercial values of today's society are important factors to take into account when analyzing school questions of today. In European, not at least in British school research, questions of marketization and its effect on relations, values, knowledge and school work have been raised for a couple of decades (cf. Gewirtz et al. 1995; Goodson 2003). We are living in a post-modern era when change, speaking with Ivor F. Goodson, is a condition of our time. Many of the changes we experience in our school systems are driven by a trust in the benefits of market logic. Students and parents become consumers and schools provide with services (Goodson 2003; Sennett 2003; Irisdotter 2006).

In Swedish context, several school researchers have paid attention to freedom of choice in the educational field, and competition between schools. They consider these aspects to be crucial for our understanding of contemporary school development. Educational philosophers have mostly scrutinized these aspects from a critical point of view. According to this type of research, market orientation tends to result in instrumental attitudes, segregation and unjustness (e.g. Dahlstedt 2007; Linnér 2005; Lund 2006; 2007).

In contrast, researchers from other disciplines such as business management and economics see decentralisation and the marketization of schools as a good way of achieving better results and quality, which in the end will benefit the pupils (e.g. Prochazka, Bergström 2007; Lagrosen 1997). Michael Wohlgemuth (2005) argues that the market economy logic can inspire other social fields to communicate in more democratic ways. He points out that the type of communication that precedes commercial agreements is a good example of mutual exchange of information.

Political and administrative changes of our societal practises not only influence our ways of acting, but also our ways of valuing, speaking and expressing ourselves. Norman Fairclough (1995) claims that informal language use that is inspired from commercial practices can flatten hierarchal positioning between people in public spaces, thereby challenging traditionally established power relations and stimulating democratic

progress. But it can also help to create new asymmetrical, controlling relations, thereby serving the interest of capitalism at the expense of the unprivileged groups. Changes in language use that are inspired by market thinking can be identified as a market oriented discourse. In school contexts I choose to speak of a *market oriented teacher discourse* (Irisdotter 2006).

A market oriented discourse can contribute to the construction of pseudo-therapeutic bonds of dependence between people, and violation of the limits of privacy, since it is strongly influenced by the type of personal message that is used in advertising and other commercial contexts (Fairclough 2003). The sociologist Richard Sennett (1993; 2003) claims this contemporary trend to be the reasons why democratic engagement, ethical awareness and notions of respect erode in modern western society. According to Sennett, the concept of respect towards each other has gone through a shift of meaning. Respect isn't any longer a human right, but something you can earn by self development, self efficiency and contributions to society. Thus, inequality plays an important role in the shaping of character in today's society (Sennett 2003).

I have now introduced three grand discourses which are relevant for the understanding of teacher context of today. Within different teacher contexts, these discourses contribute in different ways to self-understanding, professional identity, apprehensions of teachers' work and how it should be carried out. I have specially stressed the importance to scrutinize the expressions of a market oriented discourse, since it, if we believe the critical standpoints of both Fairclough and Sennett, reproduces problematic approaches and notions from a democratic or an ethical point of view.

4 Empirical Studies of Contemporary influences of market orientation

Now I will present some examples of how teachers express themselves in relation to their own role as a teacher, the character of their tasks and the students. I have a special focus on what is expressed within what I interpret as a *market oriented discourse* and how these expressions may relate to or be in conflict with expressions within traditional or democratic teacher discourses.

4.1 Instrumental notions

One approach within a market oriented discourse conveys an obvious exercise of power. Here, we find the same type of hierarchical relations as in a traditional, conventional discourse. However, instead of traditional, conventional values, values of efficiency and competitive qualities are expressed as goals.

In the quote below, the teacher borrows her logic from clear market thinking. „A good citizen“ appears to be the result of a reasonable allocation of resources



in production, whilst the qualities of human meetings are neglected. The students in question are reduced to “products” and they seem to play a very small part in their own education.

I find it a bit sad... They say that school is so important... it's important to get members of society who has this or that culture or ethical perspective...But we are supposed to produce this without any material. We are supposed to get it done. I mean, they have to give us more resources if we are supposed to get the members of society that we really want. Then it has to cost a bit.

The next example marks the distance between the positions of teacher and pupil. „Mass production“ as a metaphor, represents the teacher's sense of producing knowledge for customers who expect to be served. The presence of market logic is obvious. The quote can be interpreted as part of a struggle to maintain a traditional teacher identity which is threatened by newer, commercial roles of society. In the struggle, however, the teacher seems to create an instrumental distance towards the students.

There is just production. Mass production. But I believe that we have to go out and speak about this a lot more, on parents meetings. Why don't we just say it when they begin the 7th grade? 'You are here to learn. Not just to be served'.

In the next quotation the teacher weighs the students' needs against financial and time resources. The conditions of a market oriented school are clear. The teacher also seems to experience the increased need for individualized working methods as a threat to his own traditional notions of being a teacher. Teachers' task is to teach, not serve, and this needs to be emphasized. On the one hand a market oriented line of thought is expressed. On the other hand, a traditional teacher identity is watched over. A market oriented discourse and a traditional teacher discourse are combined in a rather instrumental attitude towards students' needs and teachers' professional tasks.

But it would take a lot of resources if we should adjust to every student's interests and needs. I'm not sure of if I want to function only as a supervisor. If I do I think that we have... reduced our role, from giving knowledge to... serving...

Instrumental understandings of one's own professional role are likely to lead to insensitivity and irresponsibility in meeting with others. The other is then easily reduced to a mean for one's own professional goals. In the following statement, it is tempting to understand students as products which are passed on to the next instance and judged on their qualities.

But what signals do we get from the university? What is the quality of the students we send there?

Another manifestation of an instrumental view is an emphasis on the distinction between private and professional issues. The metaphor of „closing the door“ indicates a strong need not to be involved in students' personal lives. This can of course, in some cases, be an adequate and necessary approach in a work situation that is stressful.

It's much more important now, that we learn how to separate work from personal life. I believe it is. Like: ' Now I close the door'.

In the excerpts above, the metaphors or choice of words has a, sometimes subtle, sometimes obvious, connection to the logics of the profit gaining market. In these examples, the aspects of identity which are constructed under the influence of market thinking tend to stress the image of a professional who is working towards identifiable results, goals and efficiency but with less personal, ethical responsibility for the students.

4.2 The tyrannies of Intimacy

One can say, as implied above, that market orientation of teacher discourse drives teachers from warm, personal meetings to cold, instrumental non-meeting. Nevertheless, another aspect of the marketized society is the increasing use of intimate, personal language, and openness towards private questions.

A commercially influenced language deals with personal, intimate questions in a free and outspoken way. The private, previously protected areas of life are now exploited and made public. Sennett (1993) identifies two phenomena closely attached to the contemporary change of language use, due to the marketization of society. The first is described as the concept “*tyrannies of intimacy*”, and refers to the contemporary unwillingness to go beyond one's own private sphere and engage in common, collective matters. This results in a “fall of the public man” (1993) and- in my interpretation- the raising of the narcissist who cannot take an interest in other things than personal issues, matters and relations.

In the quote below, we see an example of an attitude without borders, where the teacher sees her own participation in family affairs as something completely unproblematic. The statement also conveys a traditional understanding of the teacher's moral superiority.

We have had personal development dialogues for several years now, and the parents know that we are interested in the home situation in another way now. You ask different things about the student. It's not just about how many right answers they had on the math test. We try to get a holistic view.



In the following two quotes the confidence in one's own moral standards is even stronger. The teacher sees it as her task to alter the notions of lifestyles and life choices which are communicated in some students' homes.

But you have to be very careful, because sometimes when you try to help the child to a better behaviour, to be more accepted in society, it can have the effect that you tell them 'something is wrong in your home, something is wrong with your parents.'

We have to help her and make her think from different angles. Otherwise, she will only think as they do at home.

Another aspect of increased transparency of our private lives, is about how the teachers deal with their own professional role versus their own personal life. An informal language and an increased interest in private issues also leads to a questioning of professional role-taking and the distance. This happens at the expense of the intrinsic worth of public society: One loses the possibility to meet an objective, managerial professional and instead one only gets to meet another private person with needs, values, wishes and apprehensions of his or her own. When this happens we are deprived of aspects of security and legal certainty (cf. Sennett 1993). This may be relevant in the interpretation of the following statement. In this statement, we find very little of the professional role. Instead we face the woman and the girl friend, who wants to use her private experience, her body and her life history as tools in the professional life.

Teacher 1: I felt that it was very important to change with these girls, so they could see... "but, you don't have to be skinny ". Because I live a happy life anyway, even though I weigh a few pounds too much. And I think it's important to see.

Teacher 2: Maybe you can tell them that there are boys and men who like other things than push-up bras? Love can look like this, love can look like that...

The following quote can be interpreted as a similar approach. The teacher uses emotional and relational assets as tools to perform the unpleasant task of assessing students. The student can at worst become a hostage in the relationship with the teacher, unable to protest, contest or show his or her own feelings.

Teacher 1: I have noticed that the better connection and relation I have to the child, the easier it is when it comes to grading.

Teachers' increased interest in students' private lives, and their own propensity to use themselves as private role models, can be interpreted as a variant of "the tyrannies of intimacy". Another concept described by

Richard Sennett (1993) and interesting to this study, is the contemporary phenomena of *psychological authenticity* which refers to an unwillingness to take a public role, and "act" for a greater, collective purpose.

In the three following quotations the teachers accuse themselves of acting differently with students compared to how they act among colleagues. They question themselves since they are more morally demanding towards students. This can of course be understood as an expression of an ethical self-reflection. Hence, there is also a hint of self-accusation, which stems from an unwillingness to act within the framework of a public role. This may be due to an uncertainty about one's own authority as an official person and a personal reluctance to build professional relationships based on grounds other than private, emotionally genuine ones. The professional role is at risk when the teacher gets stuck in a self-critical vacuum.

But it's interesting that we expect the pupils to be organized and do what they are obliged to, but we don't expect it from each other... /.../ I think that you should be fair, just and so on... But it's different when you are around colleagues. That's an interesting phenomenon. Why is it so? One talks about teacher integrity. Is that the explanation? Is that a part of the teacher role, that you act in one way in the classroom and in another way among your colleagues?

Teacher 1: When you walk into a class room, and then when you walk in here (staff room) you... (makes a gesture that means "let go").

Teacher 2: Yes, we take on a role somehow...a kind of moral that...

Teacher 3: ...we cannot live up to ourselves!

It seems like it's easier to rip up the integrity of a child than to risk the integrity of each other... even if it's the same ethical question.

In this section I have shown examples of teacher notions that seem to be integrated in a current market orientated discourse of intimacy, authenticity and unwillingness to communicate as a role taking professional in a public area. In a school context, this tendency can result in teachers trying to act as therapists, or trying to establish private relations and act as private persons, maybe as parents, in their professional role. Private feelings, relations and needs are used as professional tools. These kinds of actions start, according to the theoretical perspective presented above, in a slightly changed professional identity and self-understanding. The changes are identifiable as well as constructed in discourse, as shown above.

4.3 Reflective discourse

Within a *dialogical, democratic teacher discourse*, inspired from critical, democratic contexts and practices, teachers can transform themselves intellectually and overcome both traditional, conventional ratio-



nalities, and problematic market oriented notions and self understandings. They can grow in awareness and be self reflective. These discursive turns of awareness can be called “technologisation of discourse”, and should be understood as meta-discourses that reveals the perspectivism of other discourses (Fairclough, Chouliaraki 1999).

Teacher researcher Janet Alsup (2006) offers another way to understand a more inclusive and reflective approach in teacher discourse. She uses the term „border-line discourse“ to describe the meta-reflections on the paradoxical views among her informants. Alsup writes:

I identified border-line discourse as a discourse in which there is evidence or contact between disparate personal and professional subjectivities and in which this contact appears to be leading toward the ideological integration of multiple senses of self. I argue that such integration through discourse can lead to cognitive, emotional, and corporeal change, or identity growth. (Alsup 2006, 36)

This dialogical meta-discourse or border line discourse can be seen as a separate phenomenon, cut off from the marketised discursive patterns I have shown above. On the other hand, one could, from a larger, post-modern perspective, interpret democratization and marketization as two sides of the same coin, namely a broad deconstruction of the traditional, modern society (cf. Fairclough 2003). The crucial difference between a dialogic and a market oriented discourse would then be that the former is characterized by the awareness and critical insight that the latter lacks. The following examples show dialogical, discursive “turns” in the collegial conversation. One can also, speaking with Alsup, interpret it as examples of identity growth in discourse.

The following quotes show how teachers are trying to understand what they spontaneously interpret as laziness, irresponsibility and failure of the students. The teachers are in open view to the interpretation that the students’ life worlds are radically different than their own, and that they as teachers therefore have limited ability to judge the moral and standards of students. This approach polarizes with a traditional self understanding of moral superiority. Openness towards other interpretations of life can lead to identity growth or a development of a clear self reflexive, democratic attitude.

Maybe the students show responsibility in areas that we can't see, because it is another world to us. ... Maybe they are responsible, but we try to make them responsible in areas that aren't adequate to them? /.../ Maybe they (the students) live with feelings of insecurity. They know that everything is transient. Every choice they make. A cell phone is modern and really expensive, but next year it's cheap because there is a new model.

There is a completely different world outside the school. *That* world is influencing the students. We talk about love, fellowship, and respect while they live in a world where you have to pay, show your breasts, sleep with someone or expose your self.

In the following quote the teacher is questioning how involved one should be in the students’ private lives. It seems that the teacher’s gut feeling tells her to protect her own private life. This statement can also be interpreted as a criticism against the societal trend towards an increased interest in private issues that blurs the boundary between private and public life.

I am a person, but at school I have my teacher role. But you are also a person, a private person. How much can I interfere with their lives? It's a very interesting question that we should discuss more often.

In dialogical approaches as in the examples above “the teacher” is constructed as a reflective professional with personal integrity *and* personal responsibility. In a discourse in which neither prejudices nor beliefs about other perspectives are taken for granted, one can deconstruct traditional understandings with openness towards new ones.

5. Discussion

Market processes in a globalized society are affecting not only structural processes, but also identities, relationships and values. This assumption is the basis for this article. Jürgen Habermas emphasises the difference between the rationality of the market economy and the communicative rationality of moral and political reasoning. That is why he considers the market orientation of late modern society as being the greatest threat to democracy (Habermas 2008; Dodd 1999). The warnings of Habermas and other critical theorists imposes further examination of identity issues, relationships and values of the market oriented society. Teachers’ identity construction, professional relationships and values are of particular importance to study in today’s society.

My theoretical starting point states that values, identities and relationships are constructed in discourse. This leads to the study of discursive expressions among teachers, with a certain interest in market oriented expressions. My studies show that a market oriented society affects teachers to adopt new approaches, self-understandings and notions of their students and their own professional tasks. Some approaches are indeed cause for concern since they are in direct conflict with a democratic teacher discourse in which the students are spoken about as equal human beings with rights and with integrity. Other approaches in the material presented above, shows how traditional notions of being a teacher are threatened by the roles, ideals and conditions of a marketised



school. Nevertheless, there are also expressions with in a market oriented discourse that harmonize with the power relations of a traditional teacher discourse. In both discourses, there is a tendency of describing the teacher as superior to the student in several aspects. Several teacher voices, however, raise good hope about a reflexive development in the teaching profession. In this concluding discussion, I will first summarize the worrying approaches within a market oriented teacher discourse, and secondly develop some thoughts about a promising reflexive professional development of teacher identity.

One discursive influence from the market oriented society constructs an instrumental self-understanding among teachers. The ethically responsible teacher, who encourages students' personal maturity and knowledge, is replaced by an executive, objective servant who sees knowledge as a product and the student as a customer or –even worse – as a product. The risk from a democratic point of view is obvious: In a society where relationships are replaced by functions, we fail to take personal, ethical or democratic responsibility for our fellow human beings. In a democratic society one can never replace humanity and responsibility with an instrumental system. According to Habermas's (1987) terminology, we risk seeing the life-world impoverished and colonized by the system.

Another discursive pattern in the marketized society can be identified as an increased interest in intimacy and privacy issues. Sennett (1993) speaks of the tyrannies of intimacy which make people unable to engage in collective issues and go beyond themselves. According to Fairclough (1995) we can talk about a "conversationalisation" of discourse in the late modern society, which means that we abandon strict formal language use, in favour of informal, personal conversation in the public domain.

Among teachers, the consequence of this discursive trend can be an increased focus on the relationship with the student. This may lead to an excessive interest in the students' private lives which in worst cases may involve violation of students' integrity. The teachers' private life may also become exposed when teachers use themselves as examples when socializing with their students. The tendency to let private issues take place in public areas can be compared to a unbalanced demand for psychological authenticity, which leads to an unwillingness to take on a professional role (Sennett 1993). Students who do not get to meet a professional teacher but rather an equal person, may

risk developing an unhealthy dependency that does not take into account the vulnerability of the student. The professional role is an important element in democratic, public institutions in which we are assigned different roles and responsibilities (cf. Sennett 1993). In this way the "tyrannies of intimacy" endanger our democratic government abilities. Related threats to our democratic abilities are the increasing individualization of society (Bauman 2001) and excessive self-criticism that rather makes us insecure and self-centred than self-reflexive (cf. Sennett 1993).

In sum, one can say that private matters, demands to be strictly authentic, emotional expressions and tighter intimate bonds between people in the public sphere threatens the important task of professional role taking, public areas and free zones where people can act as, and be protected as citizens with integrity (Sennett 1993). These kinds of intimacies can, according to Fairclough (1995), produce new asymmetrical power relations, and controlling strategies.

But how could we prevent the market orientation from interfering with the values of democracy that school should promote? Is there a way? I think there is. In parallel with increased instrumentalisation and excessive intimacy we also find traces of a more reflexive awareness in teachers' attitudes. In times of change, whether we refer to the post-modern era, the globalization, or the marketization, there are also new opportunities for critical reflection (cf. Beck 1999).

Within a discourse analytical approach, we find the term „technologisation of discourse“, which stands for the awareness we can achieve through critical analysis of the ideologies that are embedded in our language use. This awareness also makes it possible to examine one's own language use, and actively change it in accordance with more equalizing, democratic purposes (Fairclough, Chouliaraki 1999). I think that the teachers in my study make several such attempts when they question their own frames of reference and thus raise awareness of their own assumptions.

This potential is something to develop further in teacher training, continuing education and in daily communication between teachers. A critical awareness of the power of language could be a first step towards a deliberate and radical democratization of the discursive practice of education. Knowledge about the practises that have influence over our school can also create relevant caution to handle emerging trends and new ways of thinking and valuing. Knowledge about the different faces of marketization is important for teachers of today and tomorrow.

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