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Social Conflicts in the Educational Field: A Conceptual Model for Understand this Problematic in Contemporary Societies

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Social Conflicts in the Educational Field: A Conceptual Model for Understand this Problematic in Contemporary Societies

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Abstract

This article presents a conceptual model for studying educational conflicts in contemporary societies. Based on the notions of Bourdieu's habitus and field, educational conflict is meant as a historical process, which is logical, characteristics and forms of development that are not necessarily identical to the processes that precede these conflicts are understood and, moreover, is understood as a social relationship between actors who are strongly determined by the structure in which they find themselves. From this idea, two distinctive aspects of educational conflicts are distinguished: The scale and the tool of conflict, from which emerge four ideal types of conflict: i) to functioning; ii) to meaning; iii) to position and; iv) to power. Thus, conceptual elements for theoretical and empirical research on conflict in education field are delivered, promoting the analysis of this phenomenon as a way of relation the educational field with the structure of the society and the agency of actors.

Keywords: social conflict, educational field, Bourdieu's conception.

Los Conflictos Sociales en el Campo Educativo. Un Modelo Conceptual para su Comprensión en las Sociedades Contemporáneas

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Resumen

El artículo desarrolla un modelo conceptual para estudiar los conflictos sociales en el campo educativo en las sociedades contemporáneas. A partir de las nociones de Bourdieu de hábitus y campo, los conflictos en el campo educativo se entienden como procesos históricos, con lógicas, características y formas de desarrollo que no son necesariamente idénticas al proceso que precede estos conflictos. Además, los conflictos se entienden como una relación social entre actores que está fuertemente determinada por la estructura en que estos se desenvuelven. Desde esta idea, dos elementos distintivos de los conflictos se distinguen: La escala del conflicto y la herramienta del conflicto. De la combinación de estos dos elementos emergen cuatro tipos de conflictos: i) conflictos de funcionamiento; ii) conflictos de sentido; iii) conflictos de posición; iv) conflictos de poder. De este modo, se entregan elementos teóricos y empíricos para el análisis de los conflictos sociales en el campo educativo, promoviendo el análisis de este fenómeno a partir de una relación entre el campo educativo, la estructura de la sociedad y las acciones de los actores sociales

Palabras clave: conflictos sociales, campo educativo, Bourdieu

Along with globalization processes, the disappearance of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war, an important part of contemporary societies have become involved in deep social, political, economic, and cultural transformations. Some analysts have conceived these transformations as a new period in world history, characterized by the stabilization of capitalism as an organizational system, and the democracy as the way for political governance (Fukuyama, 1992), at which different societies would progressively adhere through successive waves of expansion (Huntington, 1991). Likewise, it has been assumed that this new historical period would be accompanied by increasing levels of consensus between nations, prolonged periods of social peace and increasing levels of agreement among people; all of this mainly generated by higher levels of material progress, the strengthen of the organizational abilities of nations, the role and power of supra-national coordination agencies (like United Nations, World Bank or the International Monetary Fund), and the democratic stabilization of societies.

Historical progress, however, has been quite different. On the one hand, globalization and capitalism's way of development during the last few decades have generated a spectacular increase (and potentially explosive) of social and economic inequities at an international scale and also within each country (Atkinson & Piketty, 2014), producing new dynamic conflicts and risks for the lives of human beings. On the other hand, nations' historical paths have not been linear or progressive in its adoption of capitalism and democracy, which has been embodied in diverse and plural trajectories to modernity (Wagner, 2010) which varies greatly from what Fukuyama and colleagues expected. At last, international institutions have not played a decisive role in the construction of sustainable peaceful scenarios due to lack of legitimacy and the necessary tools to solve disagreements between countries, issues between nations or even punish war crimes (Hobsbawn, 2008).

Because of this, is not surprising that during the last decades an increase of social conflicts and strains have been observed in countries, both internally and between them (Dollar, Easterly & Gatti, 2000). Therefore, and contrary to the common thought, armed conflicts are today more frequent and bloodier than 40 or 50 years ago (Erikson, Wallenstein & Sollenberg, 2001), involving all continents and a plurality of actors, both in democratic

and authoritarian countries. Likewise, internal conflict to State-Nations have multiplied in terms of their dimensions, intensity and topics, becoming ethnic, political and religious conflicts especially relevant during the last few years (Dodson, 2011), which have concentrated especially in countries with high income levels, Latin America and the Caribbean (Ortiz, Burke, Berrada & Cortés, 2013). As exposed by English historian Eric Hobsbawm, we're in a period of time where "*the increase of general violence is part of a process of reversal to barbarism which has progressively strengthened in the world*" (2008, p. 136) and not a stage of socio-political stability.

In this context, the present paper focuses in the understanding of a specific kind of conflict: the educational conflicts. The starting point of this study are the notions of *field* and *habitus* of Bourdieu (1986, 1998), in order to analyze the logics, specificity and characteristics of struggles that generate in the education sphere (or field). This field is understood as the arena of social fights of different individuals and collectives, by the domination of institutionalized cultural capital, knowledge, and certification, which developed in institutions of the school field as well as in the whole educational system. In this way, the study proposes an approach to educational conflict, understood as an specific kind of dispute, with certain dynamics, actors and processes relatively independent, but which impact has an expansive power that reaches beyond the school and educational subsystem, generating effects in the structure and reproduction of the social system (Bernstein, 2003; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979; Metzarus, 1995).

Thus, this work seeks to develop a conceptual analysis of social conflict in the educational field, aiming to propose an analytical scheme to its understanding in modern societies. For this, the article is organized in four sections, additional to this introduction. The second section is a review and analysis of the main social conflict theories, in order to establish an own notion of conflict, emphasizing the idea of conflict as an historical, procedural, and conditioned structural process. Considering this, third section delves on the relation between conflicts and educational field, attempting to account for specific traits and particular actions individuals develop in this scene, as well as the main studies made in this field. Fourth section proposes a model for the understanding of educational conflict in the contemporary world, highlighting relevant elements both from the structure of the educational field as well as subjects' actions, developing a typological

scheme for the understanding of these conflicts. At last, fifth section ponders on the exposed, generating the final thoughts on the topic.

Social Conflicts: Some Explanations from Social Theory

A relevant issue in social theory -though variable over decades in terms of its intensity, focus, level and approaches- has been the analysis of conflicts produced in societies (Wieviorka, 2013). Most likely it was Marx who initiated a stream of thought in regards to this, by taking the notion of social conflict as an explanatory axis of the historical development of societies. Using the Hegel's notions of opposition and dialectics, Marx (1983) conceived conflict as an unavoidable strain produced between "*productive forces which come into dispute with social relations of production*" (p.4). Thus, conflict is the logical consequence of the dialectic dispute over the socioeconomic control of society, reflected in the struggle between dominant and dominated. In this framework, the famous phrase found in the Communist Manifesto must be understood: "*The history of all existing society is the history of class struggles*" (Marx, 2012, p. 45). In this manner, for Marx, conflict has a central role in history, as it is a phenomenon that directs the forces of social life (Wieviorka, 2013).

With a diversity of arguments, classic thinkers such as Elias and Durkheim also gave significance to the issue of social conflict, seeing it as a relevant trait of modern emergent societies. However, differing from Marx, these authors thought conflict not as a liberating or creating element, but as a social problem meant to be resolved¹. In Elias's case, conflict relates to violence, both phenomena understood as manifestations of uncivilized reminiscence of traditional subjects and societies (Elias, 1978). Because of this, for Elias, modern society has lower levels of conflict than previous periods, produced by self-control processes exerted upon the civilizing course and by the institutionalization of regulated spaces in modern society which channel violent expressions, like sports² (Elias & Dunning, 2008). In Durkheim's case, conflicts between subjects can be understood as processes of adjustment of societies, from mechanisms based on organic solidarity to processes developed from the logic of mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 2014). Therefore, conflict is a typical element of the mismatch or decoupling between social organizational structures and the ways subjects process these

structures.

This idea of conflict as a controllable and likely-to-be-solved process will also be at the base of the analysis developed during the XX century. One of the most brilliant exponents of this view was Talcott Parsons. From his perspective, social conflicts can be understood as a restricted, limited and decreasingly relevant process in developed societies, especially given the normative importance that roles and functions hold in the production of social order (Parsons, 1991). As a reaction to this conception, in part, the called “theories of conflict” (Joas & Knobl, 2010) of which major exponents were Ralph Dahrendorf and Lewis Coser, look to combine the functionalist analysis with elements from Marxism, conceiving conflict as a consubstantial element, necessary for the functioning of societies or, as the own Dahrendorf (1968) would say, “*as a creating and driving energy of any change*” (p. 205)³.

In the same line, contemporary thinkers such as Niklas Luhmann, for whom conflicts are processes showing the opacity of our systems, and that allow to determine what is fair for the whole society (Martucelli, 2014; Luhmann, 2007), as well as texts influenced by confucianism and current Chinese sociology (Wieviorka, 2013). In spite of their differences, these views share two analytical traits: first, they tend to conceive conflicts as structural phenomena of societies, going beyond demands and perceptions of subjects involved, and secondly, they tend to give importance to the stabilizing function of conflicts over their transforming capacity (Mile, 2013; Alfaro & Cruz, 2010).

Unlike these views, from the mid-nineteen century a series of theories have looked to give importance to the role of subjects in the production of conflicts, of which three visions have especially stand out. First, and from theories of rational choice and negotiation, some authors (Rapopport, 1960; Mack & Snyder, 1984) have searched to understand social conflicts as a set of strategically executed actions by subjects in the seek for a common goal. In this line, the so called “resource mobilization theory” (Earl, Soule & McCarthy, 2003; McCarthy & Zald, 2001) have emphasized resources (organizational, political, human) that actors owned to successfully develop conflicts, expanding the analysis from individual perspective towards a collective conception of action. This way, mechanisms of organizational structure become central variables to determine the level of conflict and its

results. At last, some researchers have analyzed conflict production from a hermeneutical perspective, proposing that the central issue of conflict is not present in social reality phenomena, but on the deep life experiences and in the dissatisfaction this processes would generate in modern societies (Paredes, 2009; Honneth, 1995) or in the relationship between actors (Simmel, 1903). In spite of their relevance, all of these perspectives focus on understanding the meaning actors bestow upon conflicts, but at the same time neglect the context in which these develop, emphasizing subjects' reasons or logic, actors' strategies or mechanisms of conflict organization as central bearings of their understanding.

An alternative theoretical proposal in regards both to a structural view of conflict as well as an approach privileging social action, is the one developed by Pierre Bourdieu through the use of *field* and *habitus* concepts as key elements in the study of social reality. On one hand, the utilization of the notion of *field* (Bourdieu, 1986) allows us to understand conflict-and any other social process- as a phenomenon that develops in a certain space of power relations or, as the own author claims, as a particular struggle space (Bourdieu, 1998), which is structured and that defines the frame from which subjects trace their dispute strategies (Martucelli, 2014, p. 112). Complementary, the notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1998) by emphasizing the structuring structures nature of social action, allows us to understand conflict as actions by actors which, to a greater or lesser extent, are determined by their social reality and are therefore not completely rational, but not totally unconscious either. The use of these elements allows the construction of a notion of conflict containing explicitly the idea that structure⁴ determines the action, but is not determined by it, highlighting the importance to subjects' action while limiting it both spatially and socially.

Likewise, these notions allow us to reconstruct the concept of social conflict, specifically through three analytical elements. First, the possibility of understanding conflict not as a specific social moment, but as a historical process. This entails to understand conflict as particular phenomena, with logics, characteristics and developing ways that are not necessarily identical to the processes that precede these conflicts and, because of this, are not exclusively depleted at the goal that originated them, granting importance to the historical meaning of these phenomena. Along with this, the notions of *field* and *habitus* allow us to frame conflict as relational processes

established from certain social positions and conditions. From this perspective, conflict is always a social relation between actors whom are strongly determined by the structure in which they are found, recognizing the dual character of conflict production. Finally, the notion of *field* and *habitus* allows us to understand modern society as a permanent social differentiation process (Martucelli, 2014), which entails the comprehension of educational conflict not as mere replicas of social conflicts in a particular area of reality, but as social universes with logics, laws and dynamics of relative autonomy (Bourdieu, 1986) with historically determined influences in other fields.

Conflicts in the Educational Field. An Approximation to the Contemporary Conceptual Development of the Phenomenon

The outlined theoretical approach of social conflict necessarily led us to define and limit the notion of educational field. Following Bourdieu, the educational field can be understood as a particular social space of contemporary societies where knowledge dispositions and educational certifying processes are at stake. In this line, conflicts in the educational field are a particular kind of conflict, in which actors are introduced in specific structures that incorporates discourses, actions, reactions, positions and dispositions of actors and that is organized around the production and reproduction of institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1998).

This field is not, however, a homogeneous, autonomous or unified space. Like many researchers remark (Corvalán, 2012; Sandoval, 2002; Mendes, Catani & Pereira, 2005), the educational field is a complex net of relations, actors and institutions that historically interact in diverse ways, in different societies to organize a space of struggle for institutionalized cultural capital, but in the process, it actually produces and reproduces existing social positions and relations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, 1979). This way, while educational field possesses relative autonomy and is organized around certain codes, signs and capitals, its effects are unfolded in the whole process of social reproduction and is one of the main elements for the capitalist system functioning⁵.

Now, literature regarding conflicts in the educational field has generally developed from three perspectives. On the one hand, having theories and

conceptions of social movements and new social movements as background (Castells, 2003, 2012), a productive literature has been produced, which analyzes the way that different educational actors- with a special emphasis on teachers, secondary students and postsecondary students- are confronted with different governments and societies (Gill & De Fronzo, 2009) to achieve transformations in the educational field. Generally, these perspectives analyze educational conflicts as autonomous actions of political processes (Holloway, 2010) and tend to conceive these actions as a response determined primarily by the position and dispositions of subjects inside the field, without considering relations with other social fields in the production of conflicts.

On the other hand, starting from organizational analyses of modern states, a series of studies have focused on understanding the production dynamics of educational policy, analyzing the conflictive effect these have on the social actors involved (Torres, 1989; Carnoy & Levin, 1985). From this view, educational conflicts develop in the configuration of social institutions, so educational field is understood as a specific subset of the social system. As explained by Bowles and Gintis in their recognized book *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1968), educational space can be understood as a refractory place to which governments direct social conflicts, as a way to transfer political conflicts towards educational field, and thus keeping existing social structures intact. This way, from these perspectives educational conflicts are not explained by actions of actors in the field, but by the very same organizational way of this space, which is determined politically and ideologically (that is, externally to the codes of the field) and is generally limited to the institutional structures of the educational system, neglecting the importance of educational organizations' dynamics in the production of conflict.

At last, diverse researches have explored educational conflicts from the understanding of school as the social space where the center of the field's analysis is located. This way, it is recognized that the particularities of class and school's composition have a relevant effect in the production of educational conflicts (Davis, 2004; Mosselson, 2013). Because of this, school can be understood as a disciplinarian and control space (Foucault, 1995), or as a place where class, gender or sexual identity become relevant aspects in the production of conflicts inside the educational space (Novelli &

Lopes, 2008; Paulson & Rappleye, 2007; Davis, 2004). In brief, these perspectives roughly understand school as a mirror of social relations produced in the whole society and, therefore, the configuration of the educational field develops preferably in this space. Contrary to previous views, these studies oust the importance of educational institutions in conflict production, because they believe that conflictive processes are produced in the space of educational organizations.

Towards a Model of Understanding of Contemporary Conflicts in the Educational Field

In order to study and incorporate the multiplicity of views and interpretations previously described in a general analytical model of conflicts in the educational field, we'll use as a key for interpretation Weber's notion of ideal types. This way, we'll look to order and characterize different types of conflicts that can happen in this field, from the generation of relevant theoretical distinctions of the studying phenomenon.

Specifically, we distinguish two big differentiating aspects of conflicts in the educational field: conflict scale and conflict tool. On the one hand, conflict scale (Revel, 2005) is understood as a special dimension from which conflicts unfolds in the field⁶, that is, the level where actors structure the struggles that define the conflict process. In regard to this, we'll distinguish two levels of conflict development: first, the level of school organizations, which incorporate relations and processes developing inside the schools and classrooms; and second, school system level, characterized by institutions and policies of the educational field.

On the other hand, conflict's tool is defined as the mean or way of dispute that actors use inside the field in the conflict process. In other words, the tool designates the preferably used code by actors in the conflict process. This allows us to distinguish between conflicts: first, we call internalists conflicts, where actors use tools that are proper to the field, and thus, conflict's code is constructed from a dispute for the institutionalized cultural capital and knowledge; and second, externalists conflicts, which privilege the use of tools that are different from the codes proper to the field, and where conflict's code is primarily developed through political, social, artistic or other kind.

The level and tools distinctions of conflict in the educational field allow us to elaborate an analytical model of double entrance, presented in Figure 1. In the horizontal axis the distinction between levels is presented, while the differentiation of tools is structured in the vertical axis. The combination of these elements produces 4 ideal types of educational conflicts, conceptualized- as a way of rupturing with common language (Bourdieu, Chamboredon & Passeron, 1991)- as following: (1) Conflicts of functioning; (2) Conflicts of meaning; (3) Conflicts of position and; (4) Conflicts of power. Each of the conflicts possesses its own dynamics, as well as particular confrontation strategies.

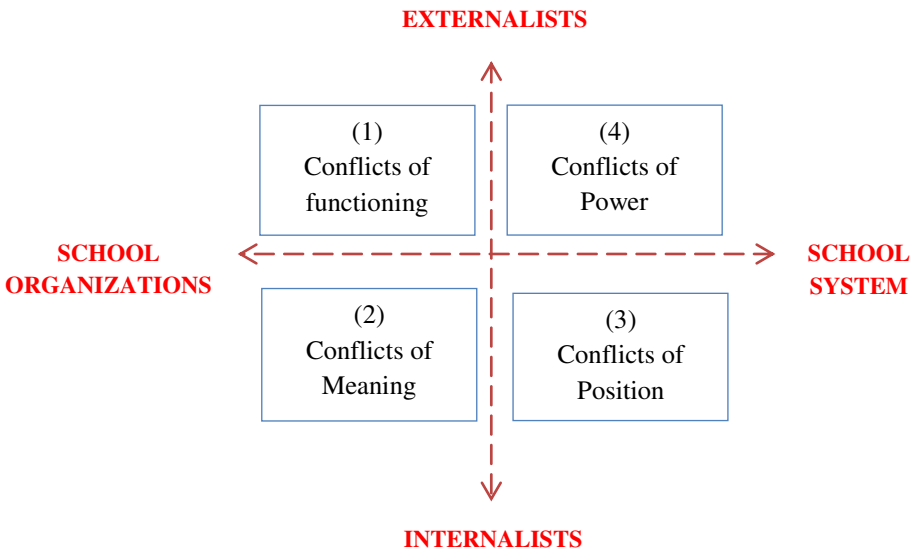


Figure 1. Analytical model for the understanding of conflicts in the educational field

Obviously, the distinction between each type of conflict is more analytical than empirical. It is also possible that some conflicts transiting from one type to another, depending on the social and political context, the strategies of the actors, the existing institutions, among other factors. However, it is possible to perform a characterization of the main elements of each ideal type.

(1) Conflicts of functioning: These conflicts develop at school level and

generally use political or economic codes in its progress more than dispute tools related to knowledge or cultural capital. Therefore, these conflicts fundamentally produce starting from the struggle of actors in the educational field (teachers, students, parents, school principals and owners, etc.) over the distribution of existing roles, functions, resources, conditions or benefits in the field. This implies that the logic of development of these conflicts is focused primarily on the struggle for the re-positioning of the actors inside the field, where the ultimate goal is to change the functioning of such in the short or medium term. Thus, the question for the ways and actions of functional organization (in the Parsonian sense) of educational systems and organizations is fundamental in this kind of conflict, being efficiency, and specially effectiveness and quality of the system the main axis of discussion in these processes. Therefore, teachers' struggles to change their work conditions or conflicts produced by the principals to change the allocation of funds for the development of school policies could be an example of this kind of conflicts.

(2) Conflicts of meaning: Like functioning conflicts, these phenomena also develop at school organization level rather than at educational system, but in this case struggling tools used by actors are typical of the field. This entails that these conflicts are produced because of the need or possibility of generating changes in the meaning that society gives to education. Thus, struggles in this kind of conflict are centered in the role of school in society, the meaning of schooling and/or the horizon of teaching, conceiving itself as disputes looking to re-define patterns or paradigms from which the meaning of educational field in social systems is produced and re-produced. In other words, the goal of these conflicts is to change the code of the field through a transformation of the logics and meaning of school organizations or, as Sharp pointed out paraphrasing Bernstein, through a questioning of the processes of micro-transmission of school's logic (Sharp, 1988). Prototypical examples of these conflicts are struggles developed by critical pedagogy, as well as disputes of the meaning of education generated by informal education movements, even quarrels over the pedagogical orientation that schools' should follow.

(3) Conflicts of position: Unlike the previous conflicts, the level of development of these conflicts is not in the classroom, school or any school organization, but in the educational system level. Thus, position conflicts

have as a primary goal to change institutions or the configuration of positions of actors in the educational field, seeking to transform the abilities of development of the actors inside the field. This way, these conflicts have their focus on the dispute for the re-configuration of positions of different actors occupying the field, using for this purpose the same codes (titles, certifications or knowledge) acquired in the educational space. Following Brunner & Flisfich (2014), this process could be visualized as a struggle for the deepening of social closure strategies dominating actor use in the educational field. Frequently, these conflicts confront actors such as students, teachers or intellectuals with field institutions, like the state, civil organizations, colleges or think-tanks. In these conflicts, the fundamental plea is for equity, more than efficiency or meaning of the educational field.

(4) Conflicts of power: Like conflicts of position, power ones are produced at the educational system level but, unlike those, these use primarily political and economic codes external to the field during the development of their struggles. Therefore, generally these conflicts look for institutional changes in the field, by articulating themselves with transformation projects in other spaces of society. In this manner, by visualizing them as social and educational conflicts, these disputes can be understood as processes that search to change school actors, institutions and organizations' distribution of power, through a transformation either of dimensions, rules or structures that define the educational field, and which reflect the principles of social control of societies (Bernstein, 2003). In this sense, we'll understand power as the accumulation of different capitals that actors seek to accumulate in order to beget the transformation of the social system (Bourdieu, 1986).

Conclusion. Elements to be Considered for the Study of Conflict in Contemporary Societies.

The previously outlined model can be considered a useful guide to the understanding and analyses of conflict in contemporary societies, because it allows the understanding of this processes as a specific way of dispute production centered on the struggle for institutionalized cultural capital, which possess specificities and differentiated goals in its interior, according to the level of developments and the tools used. Also, this conceptual

scheme allows understanding the different logics and mechanisms of production and reproduction of educational conflicts, considering both structural factors such as the actions performed by subjects in the field.

However, it's clear that the generation of this model creates a series of problems and new questions for social research for educational research, social analysis and conflict studies. Three challenges specially stand out; both in terms of theoretical and empirical research in develop and not develop countries.

First, it's clearly necessary to contrast the proposed theoretical model with actual educational conflicts developed in the last decades. This exercise would permit to know the distance between ideal types proposed and social reality, revealing the junctures, overlays and historical change this process could have in the educational struggle of the last few decades. More than weakening the model, this contrasting exercise will allow generating shades and specifying concepts for the better understanding of the configuration and development of conflicts that generate in the educational field, accounting historical ways and guidelines of conflict adoption in different contemporary societies.

Next, it's necessary to deepen on the relation between educational field and conflict, and the societal context in which this processes produce. As mentioned, the own construction of educational field is a historical process, which would evidently be influenced by political courses, development models, culture, social institutions and other factors, which, to a greater or lesser extent, will influence the shape that the educational field will acquire and that, in some extent, will determine the way and development of conflicts. Thus, to deepen the knowledge and definition of the environment in which educational fields are set, this is a main task to inquire in the understanding of conflicts in this sphere.

At last, the presented model of understanding does not delve on the effects of conflicts in the molding, structuring and development of the educational field. As we pointed out in previous sections, a central question of social theory of conflicts is if these are understood as transforming processes of social structure or if, on the contrary, they are a way of preserving existing relationships. To analyze these tensions in the case of educational conflicts appears to be a great challenge, since it will allow studying the potentialities and effects of each particular phenomenon, but

also of each typology, over the organization, production and re-production of social reality.

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Notes

¹ Another classic thinker of modern social theory is Max Weber. From our perspective, Weber takes an intermediate position between Marx and Elias. For Weber, conflict is fundamentally a struggle of subjects for power, economic goods and social prestige, and where the State exercises a central role as the monopoly of violence, therefore constituting itself into the great coercive entity of modern societies' conflicts. This does not imply, however, that the State solves conflicts, but actually that it distinguishes and rationalizes them (Weber, 2009). This way, Weber's thought grants conflict a significant power, relevant in modern societies -differing from Elias and Durkheim- but, in contrast to Marx, does not grant it a liberating character.

² In the ethnographical tale of Louis Wacquant developed in "*Body and Soul: Ethnographic Notebooks of An Apprentice Boxer*" (2004), which tells about boxing life in USA at the end of the 80's decade, interesting and very similar thoughts to the analyses developed by Elias can be observed.

³ Following the perspective developed by Dahrendorf and Coser, American sociologist Randall Collins worked out a theory delivering a central role in the production of social conflicts to educational credentials. For Collins, academic credentials have become a kind of brand or seal in contemporary societies, that different social groups look to monopolize, therefore being a central mechanism of stratification of societies, and because of it, in the pre-eminent source of conflict in those (Collins, 1971).

⁴ Following Bourdieu, we understand "structure" as the objective and independent elements capable of constraining actors' practices, which are constructed from the same existing social structures and from the social dispositions actors hold on their social reality. This entails to move away from the notions developed by French structuralism (Levi-Strauss, De Saussure) upon structure, and adopting an epistemological perspective the authors named "structuralism constructivism" (Bourdieu, 2004).

⁵ Diverse sociological theories have highlighted the central role of the educational field in society configuration. For Durkheim, educational institutions are the moral backup of contemporary organic society while for Parsons the school system is the privileged space for socialization of individuals' roles (Martucelli, 2014). Likewise, for human capital theories, education and its systems are strongly related to development and economic growth (Becker, 1962).

⁶ A question highlighted by Martucelli (2013) is if differences of level exist in social reality or are just constructed by the differentiated views that researchers attribute to the field. Without trying to solve this inquiry, we'll say that, given the heterogeneity and dimension of the educational field, as for its pyramidal construction (including different institutional, organizational and [social] relational processes) it doesn't seem risky to propose the existence of different levels inside each field.

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