

## **CHANGES IN EUROPEAN EDUCATION FROM A SCANDINAVIAN PERSPECTIVE**

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### **I. INTRODUCTION**

Thank you very much for inviting me to speak at your conference. I will talk to you from a researchers point of view where I focus on relations between education and society. I will not try to sell any ideas but one: there is a need for engaged and critical empirical research more than ever, having as a target the citizens rather than the ministries or the school leaders or teacher education departments. Thus, there is a need for research informing the public discourse about changes in education —for good or bad— depending on what criteria you use.

As a Scandinavian educational researcher you are expected to perform two quite different tasks: You are assumed to produce scientific knowledge about education *and* to be part of a new and better education system. I guess that the tasks are similar in Spain. However, there are problems to carry out these tasks. First, for the very simple reason that it is a problematic thing to produce knowledge about education with its complex organisation and processes in combination with the rhetoric on education that often is very one-sided. And second, to guide the construction of teaching and educational systems by means of scientific findings and conclusions *only* is an impossible thing to do, since basic in education are ideological stances and political interests. Of course, we can choose «the right side», but then we are doing an other thing that in the long run can be very problematic. Actually, I think that we can be most useful as educational researchers when we do not try to serve somebody — when we instead try to take an autonomous position relative to different political forces and current ideologies. That is *not* to avoid controversies about education and teaching. On the contrary — and I hope that this speech will underline this.

I will use a Scandinavian point of departure — to some extent informed by ongoing international studies. What I will try to do is to tell you about the trajectories of education in the Swedish welfare state on one side and on educational research on the other side. As far as I know you are under your way to construct a welfare state education system — correct me if I am wrong. If my point of departure is misleading is up to you to decide! In more specific terms I will put forwards a few studies where I am trying to capture recent changes in the conditions for education and teaching. Here, I will focus on recent empirical studies<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. ON THE CHANGING SCANDINAVIAN WELFARE STATE

Sweden can be regarded as a prototype of a welfare state with a combination of two ideas: to be inclusive and to be centralised. This combination is clearly spelled out in the symbol «*folkhemmet*» — «the home for all people» coined by the former prime minister Per-Albin Hansson. It was a home for all citizens helping each other.

The idea of «*folkhemmet*» was founded by a social pact in the 1930s between the employers' organisation and the trade unions. There was an agreement of peace between these organisations, where the employers should continue to have the power over the private sector while the workers organisations got control over the public sector. The employers could continue to control the economy and the enterprises while the workers got control over the political decision-making bodies. This social pact dominated the Swedish political life after the second world war.

The welfare state was built on political decisions made in consensus and with standardised solutions to social problems. There was high confidence in science as a tool for modernising society and in large reforms to make progress. This type of welfare state reached its peak in the middle of the seventies. At this point in time, there were increasing demands on decentralisation of decisions and for more direct influence of the users of the welfare state services, however. The criticism increased and a state commission initiated by a socialist government «On power and democracy» presented results that criticised the centralised welfare state for being too insensitive for the citizens wishes and priorities (SOU 1990:42). Such conclusions had a large impact on the public discourse and a few years later marketization in the public sector and privatisation of public services became important tools in the modernisation of the welfare state. We are now living in a late modern welfare state stressing efficiency rather than democracy. However, this is no a monolithic tendency, since the political polarisation has increased.

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1 Studies presented here were carried out with the support of the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and the Social Sciences, the Swedish National Agency for Education, and the EU/TSER 4th framework. I would like to thank my friends and colleagues for their help and support in these studies, especially Ingrid Carlgren, Lisbeth Lundahl, Miguel Pereyra, Tom Popkewitz, Héctor Pérez Prieto, Fritjof Sahlström and Peter Sohlberg.

## 2.1. Changes in education

In the people's home old inequities should be abandoned and a new and more fair society should be created. Education got an important task here — as a spearhead towards the future — as our former education minister and late prime minister Olof Palme expressed it. The former school was divided in two organisationally different school form that were integrated in the new comprehensive school based on progressivistic ideas (with John Dewey as a portal figure) aiming to foster democratic citizens that could resist and fight totalitarian ideologies (with the second world war fresh in memory). What happened then to the educational system?

The comprehensive school — which was implemented in 1962 — lasted from the age of seven to sixteen and was characterised by little or no formal tracking and streaming. It replaced the earlier two schools. A basic idea was social integration. Children from different social classes should meet and work together and create a community for the future. Almost all children in a cohort are students in the compulsory comprehensive school — from the age of six or seven to the age of sixteen.

Next was the reformation of the upper secondary school . the former vocational schools for e g tailors, metal workers or engineers should be integrated with the university preparing schools. This was implemented in 1971. Later on, the university preparing programmes in the integrated upper secondary school and the vocational programmes lasted for the same time and they should all open up for higher education. Now around 96 percent of a cohort are students in this *gymnasium*. Adult education was reformed as well. The former worker's organisation for education expanded with study courses and municipal adult education was constructed in order to get a learning society with no dead end street<sup>2</sup>.

To this picture must be added that the universities expanded as well, by incorporating vocational study programmes for e g teachers and nurses and by accepting more students.

In sum we can talk about an increasing expansion of schooling during the last five decades. This expansion was combined with an increasing integration where different kinds of schools were put together in the comprehensive school and the integrated upper secondary school.

Perhaps we almost did it in Sweden, perhaps we came close to a school for all people. But to some extent it was only a matter of superficial changes. There are at least three arguments for such a statement. First, little was done with the content in the comprehensive school. Instead the programmes of the former elite school preparing for further education was implemented in the comprehensive school. We so to say reproduced education for the few to education for all. Second, the idea to deal with intentions to created individualised instruction as well as community shaping work in the integrated school class. These ideas just disappeared and potential innovations

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2 When I write about the construction and expansion of the welfare education system I realise that my language contains a lot of the rhetoric of the welfare state. Perhaps it is a memory of the past, perhaps is it a tool for the future.

were implemented to a very little extent. In sum the reformed school did not become a reality — it remained a dream! Thus, it was not surprising — and this is my third argument — that working class children often got problems in a school that was not for them and that it mostly was middle class children that used the possibilities that the expanded school gave for making an academic career.

Actually, in the public discourse in Sweden the education sector was regarded as a prototype for reform failure — political decision did not turn into an educational reality. A comprehensive school organisation was created, but not comprehensive teaching and learning.

From the late seventies and onwards the criticism of the reformed education increased. We got four clusters of critique:

The first cluster of critique was radical, stating that the reforms were not thorough enough. The lack of progress was put forwards and demands of more radical reforms were stated — for instance concerning content and teaching. Or perhaps that lack of progress was a result of an unequal social context which resisted progress.

The second cluster dealt with financial aspects. It was argued that we did get too little outcomes of our investments. Compared to other countries we got too little for the resources put in.

A third cluster dealt with differences among students, stating that we could not have an integrated system where «rapid and slow learners» were mixed or where ambitious students had to interact with students with low interest in education.

And the fourth cluster dealt with deficiencies of a centralised school system, where local opportunities were not used in an efficient way or simply wasted and where initiatives from teachers and schools were disregarded.

Given the fact that the Swedish economy deteriorated and the political colour became bluer during the 1980s the radical voices lost in strength and the voices dealing with financial issues and governance grew stronger. Changes in governance was put on the agenda as well as financial cuts. Looking in the rear mirror I would like to stress the following changes:

- The meaning of education changed from being regarded as a public good to a private good. The idea that education could be a means to make a more fair society with educated and critical citizens more or less disappeared. Instead, education became regarded as a tool for the individuals to make a career and earn money.
- Education turned — at least on the surface — from a political project to a professional project. Given the national goals it was the task of the school professionals, the teachers and especially the school leaders to develop the more autonomous schools in a deregulated education system.
- The relations between the citizens and education changed. Instead of governing education by means of public discourses and elections of politicians, the citizens became consumers of education and their consumption preferences were assumed to govern education in a more efficient way compared to the obsolete democratic institutions.

- The financial situation was changed in two ways. Decisions of resources were deregulated and decentralised and a voucher system was introduced. And tough financial cuts were introduced, especially on special or inclusive education. Thus, in a world of decreasing resources responsibilities are relocated.

Actually, to me it looks like a systematic change in the meaning of education in the welfare state.

## 2.2. Educational research in retrospect from a personal point of view

In Sweden as well as in a few other countries (such as Switzerland, Finland and Norway) «pedagogy» is a discipline in its own right, which is located in the university. Pedagogy (as in the German term «Pädagogik» emanated from philosophy at the beginning of this century. Psychology developed as a discipline inside pedagogy and became an independent discipline in 1948. Pedagogy is a monolithic discipline — there are specialities but no subdivisions. Perhaps we will create a clinical division focussing on «hands on» knowledge which we might call «pedagogical work» where the knowledge interest among teachers is in focus.

When I almost 30 years ago started as a PhD student in education (or pedagogy) two tasks were recognised in education research — to describe and analyse educational phenomena and to create and/or evaluate measures or programmes that could improve education and schooling<sup>3</sup>. What was considered as valuable knowledge was based on the working of educational systems and reforms and what was considered as improvements were related to such ideas as equity and efficiency. At that time educational research was related to the making of a fair and efficient welfare state. The hope was that education as a science could be an outsider — an external force or power — in the making of a welfare education system. Looking in the rear view mirror it is easy to state that the perspectives on educational research and education reform in a way was blurred. Educational research was in a way instrumental to make reforms work. A common inspiration was educational psychology in terms of learning and development (from B. F. Skinner to Jean Piaget) as well as intellectual and personality development (remember E. H. Erikson). Education and teaching was about the application of psychological theories in educational settings. Given this one might summarise educational research from this perspective as a *technological* one. It was about constructing and running an educational and instructional system with higher but unproblematic qualities. However, repeated measurements, e.g. in terms of students origin and destiny showed these efforts to be constrained and even hindered by traditional education and that innovations were hard to implement.

Later, in the early seventies the ambitions became less melioristic and more critical. We developed a critique of underlying assumptions of educational reform in capitalist societies. Different educational research traditions developed based on works in so called classical social theories such as those of Durkheim, Marx and Weber. A basic

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3 This presentation is inspired by the work of Ernest House (1972) concerning perspectives on innovation in education.

idea was that education as well as educational reforms were informed by social structures and power relations in conflict with each other. That this *political* perspective in a way dominated was not a surprise, given the fact that we lived in a highly politicised époque. Actually, the idea of education became a problematic one, since it was assumed to reproduce or reiterate a society that was based on unfair relations in terms of social class, gender or culture. Here we find theories of reproduction as pointed out by Pierre Bourdieu (1977), as well as resistance as dealt with by Paul Willis (1977), where the latter was linked (e.g. by Henry Giroux, 1983) to «the pedagogy of the oppressed» by Pablo Freire.

However, the reproduction theories were criticised for their inability to deal with notions of agency — giving no directions on how to deal with the Monday morning we had to live with — and with little understanding of the local contexts and the cultures of teaching. I worked myself a lot with these issues in relation to capture teachers' work as intentional and organised activities. At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s we worked with interviews with teachers in order to clarify their different codes to deal with their work in different local contexts. Around the same time the International Study Association of Teachers' Thinking was founded. Another way to underline the cultural aspects in education is to consider implications of specific contexts in pedagogical action. For instance Ulf Lundgren and Bo Lindensjö (1987) rejected the idea of a linear relation between political decision making and the implications of these decisions in teaching. They stated that the context where political decisions are made is quite different from the contexts of their formulation.

The tradition I started to work within can be regarded as an approach towards a cultural understanding of teaching and education. In Sweden many researchers turned towards phenomenographic and ethnographic studies of teaching and education in order to capture teachers' and students' perspectives, strategies and interactions — often from a symbolic interactionist point of view (inspired by GH Mead and others) looking at the works by e.g. Peter Woods (1983). The importance of language and other cultural tools for the understanding of teaching and learning was recognised (turning to the linguistic turn and the later Wittgenstein) as well as practical reason and tacit knowledge (M. Polanyi). This can be regarded as an understanding of education and teaching from a *cultural* perspective where many of us stand today — often in combination with a political one, in the sense that contradictions between cultures are in focus.

These changes in perspectives from a technological to a political and cultural one was in different ways informed by different discourses in society. However, what has happened since the late 1980s and the 1990s is the return of a dominating technological perspective on education within the political and administrative realm. There is a lack of public memory concerning the problems with educational technology and goal steering. There is less talk about education and more about reproduction of knowledge measured by tests. Today, there is actually little of a discourse on education and a social project and more of a discourse viewing education as instrumental to the interests of the large enterprises and the need to compete with Asian economies.

### 2.3. A last word on trajectories

I have presented some outlines in the trajectories of education in Sweden as well as about educational research. For the first trajectory one might conclude that *economy won and education lost*, so far. In an increased economism and market oriented society education is loosing terrain to training for the markets. About the latter trajectory a temporary conclusion might be that educational research lost terrain in the shifts in societal and political hegemony. But on the other hand the services of educational researchers are much wanted today, as evaluators, as consultants and so on. We grow — but mostly those sides which are consistent with a technological perspective.

Given these trajectories, it seem to be a necessary task for educational research to know more about recent changes in education as well as the preconditions of these changes. In order to get this picture — or an understanding of «new rules for education» there is a need for in depth studies of education as well as international cooperation. In this talk I would like to share with you part of the picture we have got so far.

## 3. RESTRUCTURING EDUCATION AND SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

A broad concept to capture recent changes in education is the concept «restructuring». Here, I will use that concept in order to focus on notions of changes in governance, in teachers' work and in classroom interaction. But first a few words about the term:

«Educationrestructuring... A recurrent theme in discourses on education change is «restructuring of education. Over the years we have debated different notions of restructuring and its implications in different contexts, see for instance Andy Hargreaves' work on teachers in changing times (1994). Education restructuring has many meanings, see e.g. Headley Beare & William Lowe Boyd (1993). Linda Darling-Hammond and Marcella Bullmaster (1997, p. 1073) summarise the restructuring movement in the following way:

Like current restructuring initiatives in business, efforts to restructure schools are seeking to reduce long hierarchies, push decision making closer to the school and classroom, and reshape roles for teachers so that they can be more fully accountable for students.

They present different approaches to restructuring initiatives assumed to «opening up schools to greater client input and participation in decision making» as a result of public frustration with the regulation of public schools.

### 3.1. Restructuring as a societal phenomenon

Restructuring is not only occurring in schools and in state apparatuses. There are general tendencies of restructuring in the public as well as in the private sector over the world. According to Papagiannis et al (1992) restructuring emerged as a means for



large private enterprises to deal with increasing international competition. In order to become more competitive a number of enterprises have flattened hierarchies and changed patterns of power and control (Hill, 1998). How does this look like in different positions in society?

Education restructuring can be considered as part and parcel of transitions to late modernity — depending on social changes and producing practices and values that in turn reinforce changes in society. By this we do not mean that education is floating in the spirit of time, at least not if we are aware of changing forces and tendencies in our societies<sup>4</sup>. This piece of work is assuming the contrary — if we are aware of boundaries and potentials in our time we (and now we do not only mean the authors of this text) might act upon or counteract current tendencies.

The Swedish model of a welfare state was based on centralised decisions and standardised solutions to social problems, as previously mentioned. Educational reforms and education governance were constructed on the basis of such a welfare state model. This model reached its peak in the 1970s and was — at least to some extent — deconstructed in the early 1990s by means of decentralisation, deregulation, privatisation and by attempts to create education markets. This was a result of ideological changes as well as a changing economic situation and increased internationalisation. Stated shortly; education restructuring in the Scandinavian welfare states is closely related to transitions in the welfare states themselves<sup>5</sup>. By means of restructuring we are expected to obtain schools that are more sensitive to the mandator's goals and demands of results as well as an increased empowerment of parents and students, e.g. by opportunities to choose between schools or study programmes or as actors in school boards or school class boards.

### **3.2. Text analysis on education restructuring in different national contexts**

In order to understand and capture different aspects of education restructuring a group of scholars in education (including myself) started to investigate changes in governance of education and implications of that for social integration and exclusion in nine countries: Australia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the UK.

This work is in progress and so far we have presented a study on national cases (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 1999), a conceptual review of research (Popkewitz, Lindblad, and Strandberg, 1999). Right now we are dealing with text analyses of policy documents in different national contexts. I think a few words on this could be of interest here, since it in a way deals with different discourses on educational change in Europe.

The purpose of our study is to capture discourses on educational restructuring in terms of theoretical questions on:

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4 Educational research is part of transitions to late modernity, if it contributes to an increased reflexivity in society (cf. Giddens, 1991 on reflexivity) It is our hope that our work is part of such a reflexivity.

5 For a comparative study where the Scandinavian type of welfare state is contrasted to other categories, see Esping-Andersen (1997).



- the narratives that legitimate recent changes in stories about progress and denials as well as arguments for educational change
- how the texts construct the subjects, such as students and teachers, and their characteristics, and
- how relations between education governance and social integration and exclusion are related to each other and dealt with.

A careful selection of policy documents was carried out. These documents were analysed in order to get answers on theoretical questions on current discourses presented above.

### *Preliminary findings*

The results of these texts are presented in Lindblad and Popkewitz (1999, manus). Here I will outline some main conclusions:

- National discourses on education governance are part of an international movement on education governance in the way that similar narratives and constructions of subjects are presented in different national and regional contexts.

However, there are differences in discourses as well. First, it can be mentioned that in some cases such as Spain and Germany there were problems to find texts that can be assumed to cover these cases, due to their federal construction. In Spain we used texts of law and in Germany we used texts from political parties. Second, there were differences in the timing of discourses. The Nordic cases had a more or less post welfare discourse, while in Greece and Portugal we find a strong contradiction between economic modernisation and democratic legitimisation of educational change.

The different discourses can be presented as follows:

There is a need to increase the efficiency of education in order to modernise the society and in order to increase the capacity of the economy to participate in the international competition and concurrence in order to survive as a trustworthy economy or as a welfare state.

Transitions from a rule-governed to a goal- and result-governed education system is a necessary measure in order to achieve this.

- There is a transition in dealing with students — from the making of citizens in a democracy to consumers on markets. Students are conceived of as active participants creating their own success by means of rational choices and social competencies. Teachers are regarded as professionals in autonomous or self-managing schools.
- There are lots of silences in the texts. Nothing is said about how to change teachers or those who resist changes. An nothing is said about students who for different reasons do not fit into the activist and rationalist pattern produced in the texts.

### 3.3. International comparisons

John Meyer (1997) and others have learnt us to consider schooling as an international phenomenon that shows similar patterns of development in different national contexts. However, during later years we have noted that international organisations have become a new kind of education actors. Thus, often in an implicit way we learn from these organisations what is good and not so good in our educational systems. I will here deal with resources and the way education is organised.

#### *Resources for education*

Important to understand education systems is to be informed about financial aspects. The OECD presents in 'Education at a Glance' a variety of indicators on education where different countries are compared. Here we use the 1998 edition. The ambition of Education at a Glance is:

To inform the process of policy formation and to reinforce the public accountability of education systems, the OECD continuously seeks to develop indicators that can provide insight into the comparative functioning of education systems — focusing on the humans and financial resources invested in education and on returns to these investments. (p. 5)

Here I will use this as a source to compare different national cases such as Spain and Sweden. In table 1 we find that we in Sweden put relatively much financial emphasis on education compared to many other national cases — 6,6 percent of GDP compared to e g 4,8 percent in Spain. We find as well that we have a low share of private sources for education compared to Spain and Germany, and I would guess the UK as well. In Sweden we spend the double amount of dollars per student at the primary level and almost three times as much on the tertiary level.

TABLE 1  
*FINANCIAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES INVESTED IN EDUCATION*

National cases	Public expenditure for educational institutions as a percentage of GDP	Percentage of expenditure on educational institutions from private sources	Annual expenditure per student in equivalent US dollars		
			Primary level	Secondary level	Tertiary level
Australia	4.5	18	3.121	4.899	10.590
Germany	4.5	22	3.361	6.254	8.897
Spain	4.8	16	2.628	3.455	4.944
Sweden	6.6	2	5.189	5.643	13.168
United Kingdom	4.6	M	3.328	4.246	7.725

Source: OECD, *Education at a Glance*. OECD Indicators 1998, Table B1.1, B3.1, B4.1. M = missing data.

Let me ask a very simple question in relation to this issue: is it a good or a bad thing that we in Sweden spend a lot of money on education? I will answer it equally simple: before the idea of education restructuring it was mainly considered as a good thing. From a restructuring point of view it is argued that it depends on the outcomes. If the outcomes are similar, the less education costs the better it is! From this point of view the international test results such as the TIMSS are vital. In order to be considered as legitimate an education system has to produce good test scores. We have got notions of performativity to a high extent in a restructured system.

#### *Decision-making in educational systems*

In the OECD — Education at a Glance — there are ambitions to describe the ways different decisions are made. It is stated:

Placing more decision-making authority at lower levels of the educational system has been the key aim in the restructuring and systemic reform in many countries since the early 1980s... The motives for changes in patterns of centralisation are manifold and they vary from country to country. The most common ones are increased efficiency and improved financial control, a reduction of bureaucracy, increased responsiveness to local communities, creative management of human resources, improving the potential for innovation and create conditions that provide more incentives for improving the quality of schooling. p. 292.

In table 2 I present an overview of decision-making levels in relation to percentages of decisions taken in 1998. We find here a distinct pattern where Sweden and the UK are the most decentralised cases giving schools more autonomy compared to the other national cases. Germany and Spain have a federal structure with a lot of decisions taken at a «federal state level» with some autonomy for the schools. And Greece and Portugal are highly centralised with a large amount of the decisions taken at the central level.

TABLE 2  
PERCENTAGE OF DECISIONS TAKEN AT EACH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT IN  
PUBLIC LOWER SECONDARY EDUCATION. 1998

	Central	State	Regional	Local	School
Germany	4	28	15	16	37
Greece	56		22		23
Portugal	69		7		24
Spain	3	46	10		41
Sweden	13			22	66
UK-England	20			18	62

Source: E a G Table E5.1, p. 299.

However, these findings are based on highly abstract facts combining different aspects and percentages of decisions making at each level. Thus, these facts says nothing about the importance of decisions taken, not do they grasp the very complex processes of decision-making as presented within later organisation theory work. But, on the other hand, considering the importance of texts such as *Education at a Glance* they construct the national governance systems in specific and precise ways related to discourses on education restructuring.

To end: If restructuring is considered as an ideal, as pronounced by the OECD, then Sweden and the UK are more well-adjusted. And I would guess that Spain will be focus for measures dealing with further decentralisation and an increased school autonomy. Let us see what the future will bring to you in this respect.

### 3.4. Social changes, education restructuring and teachers' work

What are the implications of education restructuring for teachers' work? In Sweden, at least, teachers are assumed to grow into a more professionalised and professional corps according to central authorities in a decentralised education system, in a way that is rather close to Darling-Hammond's and Bullmaster's point made above. Schools and teachers are assumed to be more sensitive to needs and demands among parents and students, as consumers or users (depending on political position), and the quality of schooling and teachers' work will improve. But how does this look like in practice? In order to answer such a question we need empirical studies that go beyond the theories and rhetoric of educational reforms.

The story of education restructuring is complex and filled with contradictions, at least in Sweden. From empirical studies more critical patterns emerge. In a study on lower and upper secondary school teachers Lindblad (1997) found a *Afalling down@* syndrome among many teachers — mostly among teachers in the *gymnasium*. Large groups perceived that their work had got lower social status and their expertise was devaluated. This was often combined with a conceived combination of larger accountability and higher autonomy. Kajsa Falkner (1997) stated that education restructuring in its rhetoric in Sweden stressed responsibility, participation in decision making and increased influence for teachers. Based on interviews with school teachers she found that such changes were related to patterns of distrust and proletarianisation rather than professionalisation. This she linked to changing hierarchical relations in schools as work places, where teachers' positions to some extent became more subordinate to school leaders. These and other studies show dark sides of education restructuring in teachers' work.

Education restructuring is often linked to ambitions to turn teachers into professionals, like e.g. lawyers or physicians. If we consider ambitions to establish a professionalisation project trying to achieve control over knowledge base, ethics etc., as well as over work conditions (Sarfatti Larsen, 1977; Carlgren & Lindblad, 1992; Englund, 1997), we ask ourselves how this looks like in reality, in societies with restructuring educational systems. Do we witness an increased professionalisation among teachers? This would manifest itself in different ways; in terms of autonomy

and authority of work, as well as in incomes and prestige. Or are there changes in the opposite direction, leading to a proletarianisation of teachers in terms of lowered incomes, intensified work and a less distinguished position?

In order to answer such questions there is a need for empirical research of qualitative as well as quantitative character. I want to present some preliminary findings.

Peter Sohlberg and I did an analysis on teachers' positions and orientations (Lindblad & Sohlberg, 1999). We compared surveys carried out in 1980 and 1995 in Sweden and Norway with in sum 5 526 individuals in the labour market. In figure 1 I have presented changes in the percentage of individuals in working class and middle class positions.

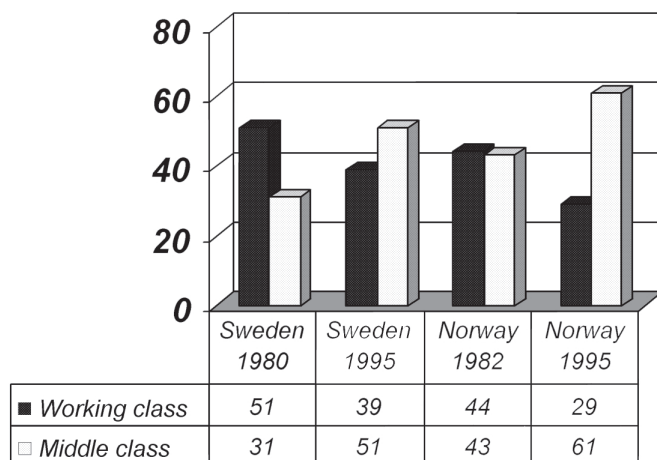


Figure 1

*Relative frequencies of working and middle classes in the labour force 1980 and 1995 in Norway and Sweden. Percent.*

Here, I would like to outline three main findings:

- First, the position of teachers has changed as a result of societal changes. The working class has become a minority and the middle classes a majority. There are increased demands on higher education as well as autonomous work.
- Second, teachers' have become more autonomous as well as accountable for the outcomes of their work, while their specific competencies have been devaluated. Thus, it is no surprise that their workload has increased and that burn-out is increasing in this profession.
- Third, relative to individuals in other occupations teachers have become a politically more radical group that are trying to resist privatisation of education and the deconstruction of the public sector.

These findings are understood as a consequence of changes in the context of education in Scandinavian welfare states. From a research point of view they underline the need to analyse education from a historical and societal point of view and to do

cross-professional studies, where teachers' perspectives and strategies are compared with other groups in society.

I do not have enough of an understanding of structural changes in Spain, but if we have captured international tendencies in the Scandinavian cases it seems to be a reasonable issue to expect similar tendencies in Spain as well: a life more common among teachers. What are your thoughts here?

### 3.5. Classroom interaction in change

Teaching has been in the focus of numerous studies. One predominant way has been to study relations between input and output, where input has been resources or teacher characteristics or variations in regulations of teaching and output results in terms of test scores. An other predominant way has been to understand the teaching process — the actors and their perspectives and strategies. A third way — where I place myself in this study — has been to observe teaching by means of different devices such as video- and audio-recording in order to capture patterns of interaction.

Such interaction studies look for patterns of communication from different points of view. We have here socio-linguistic as well as (micro)ethnographic studies. Findings from these studies have shown that teaching is based on specific sequences, mostly based on teachers' questions, students' responses to these questions, and teachers' evaluations of these responses (so called IRE-sequences, see Mehan, 1975). Other studies have noted teachers' predominant talk (Hoetker & Ahlbrand, 1967) in relation to gender, ethnicity and social origin (Cazden, 1988). Of considerable interest are findings concerning cultural tools necessary for communication (Heath, 1983).

The teaching process has been studied in order analyse prerequisites and implications of educational reform. From this top-down view common questions has been if this process has the intended conditions and characteristics and if the intended outcomes are achieved. In one sense the questions of interest here are determined by the rhetoric of reform. Findings has often been that the process did not have the intended characteristics and the outcomes were not the one intended. A general conclusion is that the teaching process is almost unchangeable and educational reforms are hard to implement. In other words the results are consequences of the questions asked and the categories used in order to construct these questions.

Questions focussing on the interaction as such produce similar findings. We have learned that teacher talk two thirds of the time and students one third - irrespective of historical circumstances. We have found that male students talk two thirds of students' time and female students one third. Turn taking is related to socio-linguistic competence, which in turn is related to social origin and gender. Again we find patterns of stability rather than change.

Here we find a comparative problem. Often we find little sense for changes over time. There are at least two reasons for this: First, interaction is in theory often regarded as an autonomous phenomenon independent of social and historical context. Second, in research practice it is often highly problematic to study changes of complex interaction patterns over time.

One exception is the work of Basil Bernstein (e.g. 1975, 1996). Bernstein deals with issues of power and knowledge in a way that strives to integrate different layers in a 'micro-macro dimension'. His theory on framing and classification and curriculum codes is a well known example of a way to conceptualise changes and alternatives in pedagogical discourses. Just a few words about the concepts here.

Classification refers to relations between categories. The concept attempts to measure the degree of insulation between different discourses, specialisation, academic disciplines etc. Framing refers to control of communication in pedagogical discourses, that is selection of what to, in what pace and sequence as well as criteria for performances. In Sweden, as in the UK, there has been strong education policy ambitions to change the curriculum code, to weaken classification as well as framing — to go from a collection code to an integrated code.

In order to capture classroom interaction and students' micro-political strategies Anders Garpelin, Fritjof Sahlström and I followed two school-classes during their three years in the lower secondary school (the last years in the comprehensive school). We did fieldwork by means of interviews, observations and video- and audio-recordings which we used for different purposes (Garpelin, Lindblad & Sahlström, 1995; Lindblad & Sahlström, 1998, 1999; Sahlström, 1998, 1999). We compared our data with material from a similar research project carried out in 1973 — more than thirty years earlier in order to capture changes in classroom interaction as well as framing and classification<sup>6</sup>.

### *Findings:*

Considering classification in terms of subject isolation or integration it can be stated that in 1973 as well as 1995 the classification is similarly strong. Teaching is based on specific subjects isolated to each other by means of pauses and shifts of teachers. The time schedules look about the same and the students make distinctions of teaching in terms of subjects.

Comparisons of framing are based on observations of classroom interaction. In short, preliminary analyses showed the following pattern: Lessons recorded in 1973 are based on teachers teaching the whole class as a contrast to lessons recorded in 1993-95 that to a large extent is based on students working together in small groups or as individuals. The teacher directed parts of lessons are to a large extent based on IRE-sequences, but in the recordings from the nineties such sequences are mixed with other sequences not possible to analyse in such a way.

To be more specific: An example of differences between classroom interaction in the two studies concerns lessons about blood circulation. The two lessons from 1973 are totally based on whole class instruction. The first lesson begins with an interrogation, followed by a repetition about the heart, based on the teacher writing on the blackboard. The rest of the lesson is carried out by whole class teaching containing different aspects of blood circulation. The second lesson from 1973 starts with the teacher delivering results from a test. After that the teacher asks questions about blood

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6 See appendix 2 for a description of materials etc.



circulation. The students contribute by a collective placing of things on a phlanellograph. The lesson is ended by the teacher talking about hormone-producing glands. ... The lesson from 1995 start with the teacher giving notebooks to students who lack such issues. After that, the teacher introduce the subject of today — the blood circulation — and goes through that subject and the experiment that the students will perform. After less than half an hour, the students start working and make blood tests on each other. Half an hour later the students work with the experiment is finished, and the lesson ends with a teacher-directed compilation of results. (a a, p. 12f)

### *Interaction pattern*

The 1973 observations show a pattern of classroom interaction that is traditional, and fit well with the «persistence of recitation» presented in a number of studies. The 1995 pattern is different in many ways — in organisation of school work, in interaction and in content. It is summarised in table 3.

TABLE 3  
COMPARISONS OF TEACHING IN GRADE 8 IN THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL  
1973 AND 1995

Aspects	1973	1995
<b>Organisation</b>	Lesson organised around teacher in front of whole class	Short introduction by teacher then Students work individually or in groups
<b>Interaction</b>	Teacher tells or Teacher ask — Student respond - Teacher evaluate	Short teacher instruction in combination with walking around and helping. Considerable student-student interaction

In relation to Bernstein's concept of framing it can be argued that framing is weaker in 1995 compared to 1973, since classroom interaction is not that dominated by the teachers. The students work to a much larger extent individually or in groups. The 1995 students control to a higher degree the pacing and sequencing of their work compared to lessons in 1973. But they do not control the selection of communication and the criteria for evaluation. Thus, framing is only weakened in some aspects.

Considering the fact that students in this new mode of framing do neither control what should be done, nor the criteria for evaluation we would like to regard the weakened framing in 1995 as weakening of *procedural frames*. The students control sequence and pace but not selection of communication and criteria of evaluation. In the recordings from 1995 we for instance find that the textbook — or rather the teaching-learning material — to a very high extent determine not only what to do but also how to do it, the exact words for a formulation of a response to issues raised in the

textbook. What students are expected to do — in their own pace and in the sequence they prefer — are to reproduce the words in the textbook, or fill in the proper words in their work books.

That is, if they have understood what is to be done in the same way as the teacher and the instructions have. In this respect, there is a large potential for different understandings, and, from the teacher's point of view, misunderstandings of the instructions.

Here I will more in detail relate to a study that Fritjof Sahlström and I have presented:

We elaborated analyses of classroom interaction more in detail using one illustrative example of the way the students rely on written instructions is a sequence from a science lesson where the students are to study magnetic fields using iron filings. In this lesson, we (Sahlström & Lindblad, 1998) analysed the interactions of two different students, the high-achieving upper middle class Inger, and the low achieving working class Hannele.

Beginning with Inger. She and her two desk partners immediately begin their work after the teacher has introduced the experiment. They follow written instructions, and do as the book says. They are not sure whether they have to draw the pattern of the fields or not, but Inger finds the instructions in the book and talk it over with her desk partners:

Erika: We have to draw it.

Inger: What?

Erika: We have to draw it, it's true!

Inger: Ooh yes [reading aloud] «draw the patterns in your work book».

They draw the pattern in the work-book, and then begin to play, trying to get nice patterns on the paper upon which the iron filings sit. In a while, the teacher comes up to the girls and tells them how they should draw. It turns out that in spite of following the written instructions, the girls have drawn «the wrong» things (which is, instead of drawing how the iron filings form a horizontal pattern on the paper, they have drawn how the magnet makes the filings «stand up» on the paper):

Jessica: I was going to draw how it stands up.

Teacher: No, you can forget what it looks like on top, draw what it looks, draw the patterns around it.

In parallel to, and after they have finished and have answers to all the questions in the work-book, the girls participate in an animated discussion about which ice-hockey team is the best:

Inger: This has become de-magnetised in some way.

Christian: Djurgården [a Swedish ice-hockey team] is the best.

Erika: Yes, did you see Leksand [another team] versus Djurgården?

Hanna: Who won?

Erika: One-all.

Inger: Go Leksand!

Christian: One win, how many games, ten games?

Inger: Go Leksand, go Leksand!

This sequence serves to illustrate the way written instructions are relied upon as framing device by the students - in this case to such an extent that they end up doing something which, from the perspective of understanding magnetic fields, expresses a very limited understanding of the purpose of the experiment. It also illustrates how the instructions pose the frame for the experiment, with a specified number of questions and tasks, and when these are finished, the remaining time can be used for engaging other activities, such as playing around or talking about ice-hockey. In a way, it is the strongly framed character of the instructions that provides the occasion for involving in non-task activities without violating classroom rules. This, of course, is the case only if the instructions have been transparent enough to be used.

For Hannele and her desk partner, this does not seem to be the case, and their experiences of the experiment are in many ways different. They have a hard time getting started, and for a long time they do not realise that one of the essential parts of the experiment, the iron filings, are missing. They fetch these, only to realise also other things are missing. The teacher brings these, and recaps the experiment for the girls. The girls finally begin their work. Having worked for five minutes, they begin to clean up after the experiment, and check the questions in the workbook. A few minutes later Cecilia notes that they have not done the whole experiment, and asks Hannele to begin doing it. She refuses.

Cecilia: We must do this, magnet and... hello, could you get?

Hannele: Let's not care...

Cecilia: We must do it, check, magnet and...

Hannele: Let's not do it now, please?

Quickly hereafter the teacher turns up and asks about the first experiment. The girls show their drawings, and the teacher asks about the second part of the experiment. «We did not know we were to do that...» the girls mumble. The teacher tells them to do it straight away, then turns around and tells the whole class to finish the experiment and clean up.

Hannele's and Cecilia's interaction also shows an orientation to written instructions as crucial for performing the experiment. In contrast to Inger and her friends, however, Cecilia and Hannele seem to have a hard time compiling the needed materials, and they only finish one third of the experiment. Here too, the work-book is used explicitly as a framing device for what is to be done, but where Inger and her friends used this device as a resource for knowing when they were done, Hannele and Cecilia is using it as a resource for telling them that they are not done.

Without developing the analysis too far, two things in relation to framing and this kind of common small group work should be pointed out: a) written instructions are in this and other lessons explicitly oriented to as literal and complete instructions of what is to be done. The doing of tasks relies upon understanding the instructions — not, as the case of Inger's drawing shows, the understanding of the task and its theory. b) these written instructions are not understood in the same way by all students, and seem to be accessible in different ways for different students. This is clearly shown in the way Hannele and Inger do this experiment in different fashion.

The example shows that the «new» classroom interaction pattern (it is not new, but what is new is that it is quantitatively dominating) gives room for a variety of

communication patterns or discourses at the same time in the same classroom. Given tasks and time available the students can work in different ways. However, there are more or less productive ways — from the institutions point of view — to do it, something which will turn up in the teacher-directed parts of the class-room discourse or in test results and grades.

Thus, there are great differences among students in the ways they deal with the weakened frames in teaching. Such differences are mostly underestimated in the political discourses on education. However, studies on Swedish schools concerning their roles, relations and activities (based on Urie Bronfenbrenner's theories on the ecology of human development, e.g. 1979) show that students cluster themselves in distinct and different groups — around ten percent of the students are really unhappy about schooling and they see and more than twenty percent are highly critical to what the school can offer them (Andersson, 1995; Lindblad, 1995). Besides that, the differences between schools in such respect are distinct.

In this study two sets of recordings from classroom research carried out in the 1970s and the 1990s were compared. These studies differ in theoretical background as well as in research techniques — something worth to be considered more in detail elsewhere. But they have the same focus — to capture classroom interaction. Based on the work of Basil Bernstein (1975, 1996) it was concluded that there are similarities in classification and differences in framing. What we can call *procedural framing* that is pace and sequencing is weaker in observations done in the 1990s compared to the 1970s in the sense that students have more control over these aspects. But they have little or no control over the selection of communication or criteria for evaluation of work. This study is now supported by other studies, such as one dealing with students own planning and independent work as presented by Eva Österlind (1998), and one by Inger Erikson (1999) dealing with teachers' conceptions of what is pedagogical in their work, where partner-like relations with students are of considerable importance. Here, students and teacher tries to work together under more equal relations compared to a more hierarchical relation that previously dominated the Swedish school.

In combination with large differences among students regarding their roles, relations, and activities in school and the distinct differences between schools such changes in curriculum codes can be regarded as new ways to achieve differentiation and inclusion/exclusion among students.

#### 4. LESSONS LEARNT SO FAR

In the previous sections I presented studies that in different ways dealt with recent changes in European, Scandinavian and Swedish education from a societal point of view. My simple idea was to have a closer look on such changes in order to get a more different picture of these changes based on the assumptions that there is no best system and that every education system have a darker side. What can we learn from this?

#### 4.1. The remaking of education

A first self-evident point to state is that we are witnessing new ways to change education by means of governance rather than curricular or organisational changes decided by political institutions. To me, this remaking of education *is* a political measure where decisions are delegated to the professionals and the consumers or users to exploit the changed system in new ways. In a way we are dealing with a new kind of education politics where the political thing is to create an arena for decision-making. A very visible case is the UK making of education markets that create new policies in practice by means of parents' choices that are informed by social and cultural positions and biases.

Actually, such remaking is occurring in different sectors of society. In the public as well as the private sector, dealing with welfare institutions and economies. The modern project dealt with democratisation as well as rationalisation of organisation and cultures. When parliamentary democracy is implemented another face of modernity seems to show up, dealing with efficiency and performativity in ways that at least to some extent deconstruct institutions in the welfare state such as education. At least in Sweden I would state that education lost and economy won.

#### 4.2. The new teachers

Education restructuring put forwards demands on flexible and professional teachers that can develop their school in new ways. What we witness here is a professionalization project that is a paradox: professionalization is a social project that is started within a group in order to obtain a better social position and in order to exclude those outside this group from a specific task. Within medicine and law we find prototypes for successful professionalization projects. But when we deal with teachers, at least in Sweden, this professionalization comes from above, from the state. Looking empirically on teachers' work we find a pattern of increased accountability and autonomy in a situation where there are financial cuts and where teachers conceive that their specific expertise is devaluated. Based on this I think it is of importance to have a closer look on teachers' working conditions and position as well as the meaning of being a teacher nowadays.

The study on changes in teachers' positions and orientations in the social structure in 1995 compared to the early 1980s showed that recent social changes in terms of work organisation as well as authority and skills leads to «a life more common» for teachers. The teachers in our study seem to have more autonomy and more accountability in restructured schools. From these findings a reasonable conclusion would be that restructuring in school and society implies an devaluation *and* an intensification of teachers' work.

#### 4.3. The new students and new classroom practices

Our studies point out that there are new demands on students. They should be active, rational actors that in a flexible way deal with new demands. This pattern is

inconsistent with current variation in students roles, relations and activities at least in the Swedish school, but it is in a way consistent with changes in classroom practices. A number recent studies in Swedish schools and classrooms show that we are creating new conditions of classroom interaction based on students activities and interactivities and less on teachers' talk and control. What we are doing is creating demands of students that on a superficial level fits well with texts on education restructuring but what in practice imply different responses among students that will lead to self-selection and self-exclusion that they so to say perform by themselves compared to earlier teaching where the teachers in a more direct way dealt with differentiation and selection of students. So far, we would like to put forwards the following issues:

First, the interpretations of tasks and basic relations in the classroom process need to be further analysed. Given the fact that classroom interaction can be worked out differently by different students (e g in terms of habitus) and the social consequences of this need to be dealt with in detail. A preliminary conclusion is that the new pattern is very well suited to a comprehensive school with no tracking and streaming. The problem to individualise the learning process is handed over to the students. Their way of dealing with this — with given task and given social basis for work — is something *they* are responsible for to a much larger extent compared to teaching in the 1970s. We got processes of inclusion and exclusion as well as social differentiation in a different — but probably effective — ways which are more acceptable for all partners and which also produce less overt resistance among students.

Second, what we find here might be regarded as a (socialisation into) new relations between governance and schooling. Within given frames students take their own responsibility to perform what they consider to be reasonable and appropriate work and where they at the same time learn to govern themselves in order to carry out their work. The concept of governmentality is used by Foucault (1980) as the intersection of techniques of dominance and techniques of self. The point of using this concept is to problematize such issues as choice and free will in horizontal strategies. We can here refer to Nicolas Rose (1994):

Although strategies of welfare sought to govern *through society*, «advanced» liberal strategies of rule ask whether it is possible to govern without governing *society*, that is to say, to govern through the regulated and accountable choices of autonomous agents — citizens, consumers, parents, employees, managers, investors — and to govern through intensifying and acting upon their allegiance to particular communities. (A a, p. 61)

A certain but limited autonomy among students can be regarded as a pre-requisite for the production of such governmentality where you train to govern yourself by different techniques and where your autonomous work is evaluated by means of criteria out of your control. With a risk of being too functionalistic we can conceive of the new classroom interaction pattern as part of the production of a *project worker* fit for presenting her — or himself in the organisations of late modernity on different levels and sectors.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this speech I have presented an outline of empirical studies dealing with education restructuring in different ways. It was my ambition to obtain a more realistic and developed picture of recent changes. Given the fact that the outline is a rough one and some parts in the picture is missing I would like to present the following questions for a discussion:

1. Is education restructuring based on ideas on how to improve education? Or is it a way to improve the control over education?
2. Is control of education outcomes by means of test scores a good way to find out results of schooling? Or is it a misleading way that will not capture important qualities in education?
3. Will competition between schools on an education market improve the quality of their work? Or will some improve and other decrease their quality? Or will marketisation and choice lead to a shift in the meaning of education?
4. Does restructured education demand or imply more professional teachers? Or will it lead to a proletarianisation of teachers and increased hierarchies inside schools?
5. Will restructured education imply better schooling for all students? Or will some benefit from such changes while others lose possibilities to become well educated? What are the implications if we make distinctions in terms of gender, ethnicity and social origin?

These are not easy questions to answer. From the studies I have used in my presentation here my general attitude would be sceptical to the qualities of education restructuring. To me education restructuring has implications for schooling and teaching, and we need to know and discuss these implications in different contexts. What I have underlined is the need for empirical studies that highlight such implications.

However, as you can see in the questions stated the concept of education is of importance. Thus, in order to capture the meaning of education restructuring we need to analyse and discuss the meanings of education: what is the idea of an educated person or group? What is the meaning of good education? And what are our thoughts on how to get a good education?

Thank you for listening!

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### Appendix 1: On the study of social change and teacher's work:

In this study we used as a theoretical tool a model for analysis of social classes and layers in relation to power and control over assets and employees based on the works of Eric Olin Wright (1985; 1997). This framework was constructed in order to capture variations over time and place in modern societies and to deal with implications of class locations for the occupational lives of individuals. Furthermore, it was constructed in order to deal with the >problem of the middle layers= in social analysis, which is very suitable to our focus on teachers. A special focus is on questions of authority, sanctions, and expertise needed for work. In line with other recent theories on social classes, the rationale behind the model is to investigate to what extent the differentiation of power and control within current mode(s) of production has changed the nature of the class structure.

Wright's original class model is based on three sources of power and control in the work situation: (1) *ownership of capital*, (2) *control over physical capital*, i.e. control of the physical means of production, (3) *control over labour*, i.e. control, supervision, and discipline within the labour process. From this assertion, it is possible to identify three social classes. The *working class* lacks control over these three assets, while the *bourgeoisie* (capital owners) exerts control over all of them. A third class is the *petty bourgeoisie*, with the ability to control capital but not the work of others - with minor exceptions. These main positions are supplemented, however, by strata that have double and *contradictory class locations*: between the working class and the bourgeoisie we have locations of managers and supervisors who have no control over capital but control the work process; between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie we have small employers, who have few employees but nevertheless also take part in the work process, and between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie we have the semi-autonomous employees, who have a considerable control over their own work but not over that of others. Such contradictory locations are of crucial importance if we want to understand social changes in a longer time perspective.

Within this model, teachers are to be found typically in the category of semi-autonomous employees. In some cases, however, where teachers hold managerial or supervisory positions, they are to be classified as such. Here, however, we are mostly dealing with «ordinary» teachers. They share some characteristics with workers (such as the fact that they are employed) and some with the petty bourgeoisie (e.g., self-direction in their work).

In such a contradictory position teachers might move in one direction or another, depending on the circumstances, and they might split and seek alliances, depending on conjunctures. Their situation might also change depending on external factors such as the relative strength and frequency among other categories in the model. Internal factors such as the ways their work is organised and governed and teachers= control over their work and so on is another aspect of teachers= position and conditions for work. In this study we will deal with external as well as internal aspects.

Some important structural factors that constitute the context for understanding teachers are, to be brief, their semi-autonomous position within the class-structure;

their localisation in the public sphere; their function as mediators of factual knowledge and normative orientations in a society where dominating discourses strongly emphasizes factual knowledge as the most important aspect productive factor. Due to the changes in opinion we have registered over time these structural factors can not be seen as static causal factors.

We underlined the need to make cross-professional studies in order to capture aspects of teachers' work and lives. The current study is based on a analysis of data collected in Sweden in 1980 and 1995 and in Norway in 1982 and 1995. The first data collections were carried out when the welfare state model was still in its peak in Norway and Sweden. In 1995 this model had been replaced by a more deregulated state with new ways to govern education for some five years, after a period of restructuring. Thus, the actual period seems to fit rather well with changes in society and education. The two cases of Sweden and Norway is of interest, since they are quite similar as welfare states but with somewhat different ways to deal with issues of centralisation and with education matters.

Data were collected by means of surveys in combination with telephone interviews directed to independent random samples of all individuals at the age of 16-65 years old. Around 68 percent of individuals in the samples answered the surveys. The surveys took one-two hours to respond to. The total numbers of individuals responding to this study were as follows:

Sweden	1980:	Total 1074	Teachers 65
	1995:	Total 1175	Teachers 88
Norway	1982:	Total 1681b	Teachers 108
	1995:	Total 1296	Teachers 124

It should be emphasised that our material is based on people participating in the work force which means that our picture of the social structure in general is somewhat restricted. We are merely mapping the occupational structure. This is not however a major drawback since the unemployment in Sweden and Norway has been relatively low under the major part of the studied period. 1990 it was 1,8% in Sweden and then rose to 9,2% 1995, which is quite an exceptional level by Swedish standards. In Norway the unemployment was highest 1990 (5,3%) and then decreased somewhat in 1995. A conclusion that can be made in this context is that high unemployment not yet seems to be firmly institutionalised as a structural feature in Sweden and Norway. Considering the very high unemployment figures for the younger generation not yet established on the labour market this conclusion can however be problematic in future.

In order to capture teachers' locations and to compare them with different social layers we use the design for social class analysis developed by Eric Olin Wright (1978, 1997). This is based on individuals concrete work situation and experiences of such matters as authority and control in various ways. We are here dealing with *autonomy* in relation to planning and performance of work and *authority* in relation to tasks, policy and organisation. We also deal with levels of *expertise* in relation to different social categories. In more detail, see short presentations of instrument in appendix 1a.

Considering teachers relative strength as a professional corps, we consider issues of *union organisation* and *political organisation* as well as incomes relative to other

layers. These are rather abstract notions of strength, but they have the value of being comparable over layers and time.

In order to measure teachers' orientations in society we look at their responses to statements of economic and political nature which they can agree or disagree to in higher or lower extent. This we compare to patterns obtained for other social groups and layers in order to find out similarities and differences.

To end: the reader must remember the small numbers in the category of teachers. This restricts the possibility to do more elaborated analyses and to obtain Aharð's findings.

The relative frequencies of different social categories in Sweden and Norway over years. Percent. Middle class positions grey-shaded.

Social Category	Sweden		Norway	
	1980	1995	1982	1995
Bourgeoisie	1	1	1	1
Small employers	5	2	3	4
Petty bourgeoisie	5	6	10	6
Managers	2	4	4	4
Advisor-managers	9	13	9	18
Supervisors	10	9	13	11
Semi-autonomous employees	17	26	16	27
Working class	51	39	44	29
Total percent	100	100	100	100
Total number	1 074	1 175	1 681	1 296

The middle class positions (managers, advisor managers, supervisors and semi-autonomous employees) have in sum significantly increased their relative share - from 38 to 51 percent in Sweden and from 43 to 61 percent in Norway. However, there are striking differences even between these positions. In table 2 we can see that more precisely within these layers, the semi-autonomous workers are those who have increased most - from 17 to 26 percent in Sweden and from 16 to 27 percent in Norway. As a general trend this can be interpreted as higher demands on qualifications of the workforce, also suggesting a more accentuated importance of the educational system.

## Appendix 2: Material for comparisons of teaching:

The 1973 material is based on ten lessons in two school classes in the same part of a medium sized Swedish community . It consists of classroom recordings in grade 8 in the comprehensive school made by Gustave Callewaert and Bengt-Arne Nilsson (1975 and 1980). Their study was carried out in the light of theories of education and social and cultural reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1972; Althusser, 1971) with a strong tendency towards structuralistic determinism.

The 1993-1995 lessons are in sum 61 recorded lessons. This study was carried out as a critical response to structuralistic determinism of studies in education (Lindblad, 1992). Instead, constitutive or constructionist perspectives became more underlined (Lindblad & Sahlström, 1998) with a focus on students and their interaction (Garpelin, 1997; Sahlström & Lindblad, 1998). In table 1 an overview of the studies are presented.

In the table we find that the empirical material is limited. Classroom interaction from 1973 is represented by 10 lessons. The situation is better concerning interaction from the 1990ies. However, if we consider these as cultural pieces of classroom interaction from two different periods we can at least compare these pieces and than discuss the possibilities to make conclusions from the results of our comparisons.

Aspects	1973	1993-95
School level	Grade 8; 15 years	Grade 7-9; 13-16 years
<i>Students</i> females males	54 (29+25) 22 32	61 (30+31)
Lessons	10	61
<i>Subjects</i> French English Social sciences Science Mathematics	2 - 4 2 2	- 6 27 20 8
Recordings	Audio-recording 2 channels Field notes by two observers	Audio-recording 4 channels Video-recordings Field notes by two observers