### NORDISK BARNEHAGEFORSKNING 2010

Nordisk Børnehaveforskning Norrænar Leikskólarannsóknir Nordic Early Childhood Education Research Pohjoismainen Varhaiskasvatustutkimus Nordisk Förskoleforskning www.nordiskbarnehageforskning.no

ISSN 1890-9167

VOL 3 NR 3 SID 105-114

# Pedagogical integration and regionalisation

Jan Gustafsson Department of Education, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Abstract: The purpose of this research is concerned with the intentions of pedagogical integration and the notion of an expanded concept of teaching as described in the National School Curriculum of Sweden. In the analysis a theoretical synthesis comprising critical discourse analysis and sociological theories of institutional identities and processes is used through a policy ethnography approach. Purpose has been focus on the relationship between the formal, written curriculum and specific, local, classroom practices. The analysis shows that the Pedagogical dimensions of integration were transformed toward economic interests and control at the local political level. Education work is distinctly regionalising into two so-called safety zones, and a hybrid zone. Four different pedagogical identities are also identified in the analysis. The analysis thus suggests that the creation of safety zones restricts education work to pre-existing patterns. Only the hybrid zone is presently carrying a potential to significantly renew education and encourage and social change.

*Keywords:* Pedagogical integration; Pre-school class; Ethnography; Regionalisation *E-mail*: jan.gustafsson@ped.gu.se

Received May 2010, Sent to reviewers May 2010, Accepted November 2010, Published 10 December 2010

Pedagogical integration between the formal school and pre-school has been discussed in Sweden since the beginning of the 1940ies. However, it was first during the 1990ies that these discussions gained impetuously. This was first through the introduction of a flexible school start (Government Proposition 1990/ 1991: 115) and second by a new curriculum proposal (Ministry of Education, 1998). The aim of the integration reform was to change a traditional schooling and develop a new and expanded teaching as a part of a life long learning. This was expressed by the curriculum proposal (Ministry of Education, 1998). My purpose of the present research has been to investigate pedagogical integration in relation to the National School Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1998) with special regard to the notion of expanded teaching expressed there. Through a policy ethnographic case study at Ravenhill School, I have focus on activities of the teaching team Ash. In the first part of the article I describe the background, purpose and theoretical, analytical and methodological points of depar-

ture. In the second part the empirical findings are described. Her I briefly discussed a main structuring interest concerning the relationship between social reproduction and social change in relation to education reform.

#### BACKGROUND

Different forms of pedagogical integration and cooperation between the lower grades of the compulsory comprehensive school and the preschool have been discussed in Sweden since the beginning of the 1940ies. In this process the BOSK- Commission (SOU, 1997:21) played a key role in the development of the idea of pedagogical integration. This Commission was appointed by the Government with the aim of arriving at a common curriculum for the compulsory comprehensive school, the pre-school and the recreation and leisure centre. The deliberations of the Commission led to a new National School Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1998) and the idea of establishing a preschool class as an officious school form (Government Proposition 1997/1998, s. 94). This was a strategy to concretely and organizationally support the development of integration between the school and pre-school activities by providing a common site. A short analysis show that different policy texts from 1940 to 2006 motivated and represented the notion of integration and how this representation has changed. The changed has gone since one emphasizing developmental psychology and a collected curriculum code to one emphasizing integration and life long learning. The analysis shows and describes four discursive periods against pedagogical integration. The first of these is from 1940 to 1969 and is dominated by developmental psychology. The second period is from 1970 to 1990. During this period developmental psychology is challenged by pedagogical discourse emphasizing the need for pedagogical coherency between pre-school and school. The third period stretches from 1990 to 1995 and can be described as a period of transition. A period emphasising common goals and pedagogical coherence on the one hand to the concrete integration of activities on the other. It was within this period that the idea of a new school based on the ideal of life long learning was developed. The fourth period runs from 1995 to 2006<sup>1</sup>. It marks the further extension of discourses of integration from the subsequent period.

#### Purpose of the research

In the National School Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1998) the intention of pedagogical integration between the school and pre-school is expressed. The aim for this pedagogical integration reform is to creating conditions for life long learning. The purpose of the research is concerned with the intentions of pedagogical integration and the notion of an expanded concept of teaching as described in National School Curriculum. The main focus has been on how different actors in the local arena consume, produce, interpret, negotiate and implement the National School Curriculum in their everyday local practices. The research has thus had a main analytical interest for the pedagogical integration between the formal compulsory school and pre school class. My interest behind this integration reform can be expressed as being an aim to relate policy as text (National School Curriculum) and policy as social practice to one another. The aim is to highlight social reproduction and social change in relation to reform intentions regarding pedagogical integration and an expanded concept of teaching.

### Policy ethnography and analysis

The present research has been carried out as a multi-layered analysis to describe and analyzing policy processes. Ball and Bowe (1989) have termed this kind of analysis as a policy ethnography. They described its distinctive purpose as being to focus on the relationship between the formal, written curriculum and specific, local, classroom practices. The goal here is to develop a link between detailed ethnographic descriptions of the social and discursive practices taking place within institutional practice and analyses of the broader education system.

Using policy ethnography has had several concrete implications for the research. It has meant that I have participated in the interactions and day to day practices at different levels of the education system, particularly at the local level. In this policy ethnography I have work with the help of discourse analysis, interviews, field conversations and ethnographic observation. This has meant that, as Ball (1994, 2008) suggests, the investigation has at times been unruly, difficult to predict and analytically complex. However, in the case of complex processes of policy formation, I believe that to take one single and simple analytical point of departure would be doomed to analytical failure. This failure would induce a thorough mismatch between the complexity of what was being observed and the simplicity of its analytical representation. <sup>2</sup>

A theoretical synthesis comprising critical discourse analysis (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2003, 2009; Wodak, 2009) and a combination of sociological and socialpsychological theories of institutional identities and processes from Bernstein (2009), Giddens (1984) and Stones (2005) has been used in the research. This synthesis has been necessary to analyse both the discursive and the non-discursive moments within the social practices of the investigated institutions. Critical discourse analysis has been used to analyse political texts and written and spoken texts of other kinds as well as the discursive dimensions of social practices. The sociological and social-psychological concepts and theories have been used to analyse the non-discursive moments of the same social practices. The analysis of the local education can in this way be described as a synthesis. The local education system is described and analysed in

relation to different levels and the different arenas. I have an interest of how local actors try to construe meaningful conceptualisations of the intentions of the National Curriculum and other political texts of their acquaintance and how concrete pedagogical practices are constituted.

#### THREE LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

My theoretical synthesis policy processes are conceptualized as communicative events that take place in three levels. With the help of Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), Fairclough, (2003, 2009), Wodak (2009) and Ball (1994, 2008) policy is defined as text, discursive practice and social practice. These three concepts have been of central importance in the definition of policy, the production of data and the processes of analysis. However, it has to be noted that the difference between these concepts is quite significant, even though as Ball suggests policy is not one or the other of them but rather comprises all three. In his view the concepts of text, discursive practice and social practice are implicit in each other and the discursive practice can be discerned as a mediating level. This has also been my point of departure. The three concepts have been more concretely applied in the following way:

Policy as text has been used to refer to the written national and state documents and local policy documents. The documents came from the municipal council, the city district education office, the school and the teaching team. Central concepts at this level of analysis are those of inter-textuality, inter-discursivity, the discursive order, ambivalence and hegemony.

Policy as discursive practice is related to the production and consumption processes that are tied to policy as text. Concerning discursive practices the research has focussed on how policy texts are produced and consumed within the local education system by teachers, recreation and leisure educators and pre-school teachers. Subject position, identity and meaning making are important concepts at this analytic level.

Policy as a social practice is premised on the notion that communicative events are a social practice and that the relationship between texts and social practices is mediated by discursive practice. Chouliarki & Fairclough (1999) and Harvey (1996) have suggested that social practices<sup>3</sup> comprise both discursive and non-discursive moments and that these are dialectically re-

lated to each other. It is also important to note that each moment internalises the other moments without being reduced to them. Because of this my interest can be described as being for Ravenhill School's social relations and identities, rules, regulations and power relations. Another important aspect of the level of social practices is the social material aspect of time and space. Time and space provide both limits and possibilities for educators to work according to their interpretations of curriculum intentions.

### Data production and analysis

In my data production local and central policy text has played an important role. Data has also been produced by ethnographic observations (Hammersley & Atkinson 2005) in classroom, corridors and teachers' staff room. I have also made interviews with the local municipal manager, the local personal manager, the local finance director, headmasters, teachers, preschool teacher and recreation and leisure educators. The data has been summarized and analyzed through meaning concentration (Kvale 1997). In this process the concepts of pedagogical integration and expanded teaching are the key concepts in the investigation. The concept of extended teaching has a central position in the analysis and is examined in relation to pedagogical integration. This is because the concept of pedagogical integration advanced within the curriculum depends on the development of a broadened concept of teaching. The broadened concept (of teaching) has an effort to change the emphasis in teaching. From a traditional transmission model to one characterised by a holistic view of learning that emphasises active participation in knowledge production rather than passive reception. However, the broadened concept of teaching developed and expressed in the curriculum also has a somewhat eclectic theoretical foundation comprising socio-culturalist, cultivationist (bildung), progressivist and social constructivist elements. It can thus be described as a hybrid concept that is open to different interpretations.

In concrete terms, by being a policy ethnographic study, the investigation behind the research has been carried out as a case study of pedagogical integration and expanded teaching at one particular school. This school has been called Ravenhill School from the Moe Valley School District in Greater Göteborg. Moe Valley is one of 21 city districts in Göteborg communi-

ty. Both Ravenhill and Moe Valley are pseudonyms. This is in keeping with ethnographic tradition. Ravenhill School comprised formal compulsory school classes, pre-school classes and a recreation and leisure centre. Activities within formal school classes and the pre-school class have been researched in detail in the present investigation whilst those of the recreation and leisure centre have not. The activities in one teaching team, Ash, have been focussed on in particular. These activities mainly involved three teachers, three recreation and leisure educators, one pre-school-teacher and 75 children (between 6 and 12 year) and indirectly their parents or guardians.

My ethnographic findings are presented in four parts. In the first part I focus on local policy texts from Göteborg community and Mae Valley city district with an aim to describe the process of pedagogical and economical restructuring. In the second part: Educational discourses, intertexuality and retraditionalisation, I show through a discourse analysis how the discursive practices of the school are structured by two educational discourses. Within Child centred pedagogy, thematic work and discursive struggle I describe the discursive struggle in the teaching team Ash around child centred pedagogy and thematic work. In Pedagogical identities and regionalisation as will be the fourth part I analysis the social practice of the teaching team Ash. I complete the article with a discussion of my findings and with a special interest against social reproduction and social change.

# Pedagogical restructuring and economic interests

In the beginning of the 1990's an extensive reform of the administrative and political organisation of Greater Göteborg was conducted in a city district reform. This reform was initiated by the Municipal Council to improve political control and economical expediency and to encourage integration and decentralisation in decisionmaking. Through this reform Göteborg was administratively and politically divided into 21 new city districts. A more horizontal organisation was aimed for, with a shorter decision making channels and enhanced flexibility. This was in tune with developments of New Public Management (Almqvist, 2006) and what were taken to be new demands. Through the reform Göteborg's Municipal Council came to regard the 21 City Districts as local, independent authorities

with responsibility for development, amongst other things, their own School Development Plan. The central position of political power in the City of Districts is held by the chairperson of the District Council (*Stadsdelschef*). He has responsibility for the organisation and implementation of political and economic administration, including the school leadership, education financing and aims realisation.

Within Moe Valley the organisation of the political administration of education took on a particular form and became very much fashioned after an economic model and a form of organisational integration between school and pre-school. These thoughts were expressed by the Local municipality manager and personal manager:

- In the new organization we work with the different solution of organizational and economic integration. About the school and preschools there has been much of the different solution of integration (interview, Sven Holm, Local municipality manager).
- We work hard on different economic savings. In that work integration become a key issue. All manager of a middle level has to work with different models of integration (interview, Lisa Strand, personal manager).

At the same time Moe Valley tries to create an integrated and horizontal, decentralised organisation for education and pare-school with a significantly reduced number of management levels and middle managers. Characteristic for Moe Valley was also the development of independent teaching teams comprising recreation and leisure educators, pre-school teachers and school teachers. This organisation has some resemblance to the thoughts of knowledge base economy. These thoughts and ideas are described by Jessop, Fairclough and Wodak (2008) plus Peters, Marginson, and Murphy (2009) that are expressed as structured towards the development of decision making expediency and organisational flexibility.

Moe Valley is administratively divided into a number of sub-districts. Each of these comprises integrated educare units that are formed by schools, pre-schools and other child day-care facilities. During the period of the investigation these integrated units were economically steered through a resource distribution model (RDM)

that determined which resources were made available when to which units. The finance director Ulf Lindell in Moe Valley expressed his thoughts about the resource distribution model:

- ... its only the resource distribution model who works as a steering model. You must do what you are told to do, what is planned to do. If you do not do that you must take the economic consequence next year (Ulf Lindell, finance director).

This RDM was locally termed as a machine of raw pedagogy by educators, pre-school teachers and the recreation and leisure educators providers in the district. They experienced it as excessively determining the level and character of the services that were offered.

This feeling was complemented in the investigation by data relating to the domination of economic steering in Moe Valley and the absence some pedagogical discourse within curriculum decision-making amongst political leaders there. In Moe Valley pedagogical deliberations were excluded from the political decision making. The integration discourse was some hybrid discourse. Dominated by an organisational and an economic discourse respectively an neo-liberal<sup>4</sup>, and post-Fordist<sup>5</sup> discourse the neo-liberal elements emphasised individual autonomy, selfdetermination and economic control. Post-Fordist discourse emphasised flexibility, a decentralised organisation, reductions in management and the development of self-monitoring working group. The goals determined central aims and the local realisation of aims was determined

through locally negotiated forms of practice. In this combination of elements the discourse of restructuring is a mirror of central reforms directed toward changing forms of steering in schools and improving the efficiency of the education system. However, it has to be emphasised that the discourse did not take up issues of content and the aims of education. The pedagogical dimensions of integration and restructuring were transformed toward economic interests and control at the local political level.

## EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSES, INTERTEXUALITY AND RETRADITIONALISATION

The discourse analysis show two educational discourses that structure the pedagogical activities at Ravenhill School are described in particular. I have termed these discourses as the collected and integration discourses (Bernstein, 2009) respectively. The collected discourse is characterised by references to the value of strong classification and framing in the curriculum and in education work, whilst the integrated discourse is characterised by references to the value and need of weak classification and framing (Bernstein, 2009). These two discourses reflect distinctive perspectives in education that are related to the ways in which the different actors view the curriculum, subject specialisation, team teaching, knowledge and forms of work. The discourses however exist relatively independently of the curriculum and can also be described as two distinctive historical constructions. See table 1.

Table 1. Collected and Integrated discourse

	Collected discourse	Integrated discourse
Keyword	Keep apart;	Be connected with;
	Professional identity,	Professional identity,
	Knowledge,	Knowledge,
	Time,	Time,
	Subject matter and pupils,	Subject matter and pupils.
Knowledge	Official school knowledge	Everyday knowledge, social life
Child as	Knowledge and culture "creator"	Nature
Classification	Strong	Weak
Frame	Strong Weak	

At Ravenhill School the schoolteachers were the main bearers of the collected discourse whilst the integrated discourse was more often borne up by the pre-school teachers and the recreation and leisure educators. One of the teaching teams at Ravenhill, Star, only comprised schoolteachers. In this teaching team there was a relative consensus regarding the value of the collected discourse, whilst within Ash, a temporary compromise existed that allowed the two discourses to coexist. Regarding the Head teacher at Ravenhill, he adhered to three discourses at different times: an integrated discourse, a collected discourse, and the hybrid discourse of restructuring.

The discourses operate within the day-to-day life of the education community at Ravenhill and in Ash in particular, within the teaching teams concerning the development of local subject plans. These were shown to be formed, mainly with the help of older plans, course textbooks and the experience of the educators involved. In this way the local subject plans were thus restricted by experience and intertextuality rather than formed through reflection over curriculum aims. One further issue, which emerged in the analysis, was that teachers emphasise the aims of the various course syllabi whilst preschool teachers and recreation and leisure educators emphasise methods rather than aims. In short we could state that work with the local subject plans is characterised by conservation and retraditionalisation and that the subject plans replace the local school plan in the governing of day-to-day work.

# CHILD CENTRED PEDAGOGY, THEMATIC WORK AND DISCURSIVE STRUGGLE

The teaching team Ash developed local aims for its education practices in relation to the concepts of theme and time. In more concrete terms the research describes how a consensus developed at Ash around local aims and a child centred pedagogy. However, it also shows that this consensus was somewhat shallow. The agreement between different parties did not penetrate beyond surface details because issues such as basic education aims and the value foundations of education were not discussed. In fact consensus is maintained within the team through an avoidance strategy where arguments about value loaded issues in relation to education aims and the formations of practice are avoided. Some of

the educators from the team has expressed that they would value these deeper kinds of argument and debate.

About the collected and integration discourses mentioned earlier, two clearly distinctive definitions of theme have been identified in the analysis. The schoolteachers tend to bear up a definition that maintains the value of individual subjects and that suggests that themes should correspond to the subject knowledge of areas like civics and social science. Pre-school teachers and recreation and leisure educators tend to define theme with integration between subjects. Two distinctive discursive strategies have also been identified in the analysis, corresponding to the struggle over definitional rights between the purveyors of the two discourses. The school teachers have used a strategy where they try to bypass the need for an agreement over the idea of theme by developing long-term plans in subject areas that pre-structure thematic work.

- I want a pedagogical plan for year. Whit out a plan I do not now what we will do in the classroom. In ordinary cases we usually look back and se what we have do in the subject (Stina, teacher).

Pre-school teachers and recreation and leisure educators have tried to encourage conversations to develop in which to discuss and define the concept of theme.

- We must ask our self how we think about knowledge and learning and our definition of theme (observation, Maud, recreation and leisure educator).

As concerning the concept of theme, a discursive struggle exists regarding ways of conceiving and relating to the issue of time. This conflict concerns time for planning and reflection (so called independent or development time: in Swedish *förtroendetid*), which is considered to be unfairly distributed by pre-school teachers and recreation and leisure educators.

Discussions about time within the teaching team are orchestrated from three distinctive discursive positions within the discursive order of Ravenhill. Pre-school teachers and recreation and leisure educators argue from a foundation in an integration discourse. They want a new system for the regulation time that treats the

teaching team as a unit and distributes time-resources equally between team members.

- ... we have asked (recreation and leisure educators and pre-school-teachers) for more time for pedagogical planning. We need more time for reflection, planning observation and evaluation. Today we do not have this time. Instead we must work overtime if we want to do all necessary things (Olle, recreation and leisure educator).

Pre-school teachers and recreation and leisure educators feel that teachers have time for planning and reflection but that they do not. They also feel that their own work has been intensified through integration and that this has led to increased tiredness and stress. About this work situation the teachers refuse to help the preschool teachers and recreation and leisure educators and work inside the pre-school class and recreation and leisure centres. The teachers want to maintain the current regulation of time and the current distribution of resources about time. The solutions for the teachers are instead a union contract for regulation of working hours:

- We cannot solve that problem without more time and money. Perhaps we can help them but we need a new union contract for working hours (Stina, teacher).

With a union contract for regulation of working hours there is a possibility of employing one more pre-school teacher. This would help the teaching team Ash to solve the time problem. Teachers depart from a collected discourse (Bernstein, 2009) position. From that position they mean that the team members from schools, pre-schools and recreation and leisure centres should be administratively acted towards as separate and as belonging to separate organisations. This will include different needs concerning the allocation of planning time and time for reflection; as at present. The Head-teacher argued from a position rooted within a restructuring discourse stressing the need to minimise the regulation of time in favour of a more flexible use of time.

- As a teacher you must find a solution. It's important what you do and how you spread the expenditure and recourses. The professions have changed a great deal. The question

is how we manage that. Time for planning and reflection is not a contract issue. You must need it in practice (Rolf, Head-teacher).

The Head-teachers perspective corresponds with a discourse of New public management (Almqvist, 2006) with a focus on decentralization and flexibility. In this position the deregulation of time is stressed and educators are given the possibility of regulating the use of time within teaching teams.

### PEDAGOGICAL IDENTITIES AND REGIONALISATION

Four different pedagogical identities are identified in the analysis concerning the concrete education work in Ash. These are termed the transmitter (förmedlaren), the helper (hjälparen), the role model (förebilden) and the controller (övervakaren). The constitution of the positions of the controller and transmitter is resonant with the discursive position of the collected discourse and its elements of a strong classification and framing. The constitution of the positions of helper and role model is resonant with the discursive position of the integrated discourse and its elements of a weak classification and framing. These four pedagogical identities and their concomitant forms of practice thus present a picture of education work in Ash as distinctly hybridised or mixed. There is no new construction of identity or practice! Rather, education has a reproductive character and the extended and broadened concept of teaching is compro-

The education work at Ash is distinctly regionalized into two so-called safety zones<sup>6</sup>, an hybrid<sup>7</sup> zone and a marginalized<sup>8</sup> zone. The teacher's safety zone corresponds (epistemologically and physically) to the subjects of mathematics, Swedish, English and pupil research whilst the pre-school teacher and the recreation and leisure educator safety zones are the preschool class. The hybrid zone consist of thematic work involving both teachers and Pre-school teachers and recreation and leisure educators. The collected discourse contributes to the structuring of the teachers' safety zone whilst the integrated discourse works resonantly in the preschool teacher and recreation and leisure educator safety zone. The hybrid zone is structured with the help of a discursive mix where the integration and collected discourses operates in parallel. In these social practice teachers, pre-school teachers, recreation and leisure educators work together against a jointly aim. This articulation will also open up for a potential space for change and a new pedagogical order. The educa-

tion work in Ash is structured by different rationalities (Ve, 1999), patterns of teaching and pedagogical identities. These patterns create three pedagogical zones and are described in table 2.

Table 2. Zones, rationalities, discourse and pedagogical identity

School safety zone	Pre-school safety zone	Hybrid zone
Mathematics, Swedish, English and pupil research	Pre-school class	Thematic work
Teachers	Pre-school teachers, recreation and leisure educators	A social practice where teachers, pre-school teachers, recreation and leisure educators work together toward a joint aim
Technical	Care	Technical/Care
Collected	Integration	Hybrid mix
The transmitter	The helper The role model The controller	The transmitter The helper The role model The controller
	Mathematics, Swedish, English and pupil research Teachers Technical Collected	Mathematics, Swedish, English and pupil research  Teachers  Pre-school teachers, recreation and leisure educators  Technical  Care  Collected  Integration  The transmitter   The helper   The role model

Regarding art, music, data and digital media the teachers at Ash have given up this part of the curriculum to the pre-school teachers and recreation and leisure educators. Only pre-school teachers and recreation and leisure educators work in this fourth and marginalized zone. The pre-school teachers expressed her thoughts about the work with data and digital media:

- I do not want to work with data any more. I am tired about that. It's not amusing any more. Computers must be integrated in the classroom and be a natural part of pupils work. Not as today. I am feeling like a chaotic and traditional teacher. It's Stina who has planned the lesson for me (Petra, pre-school teacher).

In this practice the pre-school teacher and recreation and leisure educators filed marginalized and they do not work in line with their professional identity.

The analysis thus suggests that the creation of safety zones and a marginalized zone restricts education work to pre-existing patterns. It is only the hybrid zone whom presently carrying a potential to significantly renew education and encourage and social change.

# DISCUSSION: SOCIAL REPRODUCTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The research has an expressed interest in the relationships between social reproduction and social change in education. Through it the intentions of the curriculum in relation to integration and expanded teaching have been shown to be difficult for educators to implement in actual classroom practices. The analysis an also show that social reproduction has mainly taken precedence over social change. This idea has been asserted principally because conventionally articulated discourses have dominated the discursive order and discursive practices of the local arena. Because of that the education work has been predominantly organised around an economic model, without recourse to the intentions of National School Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1998). However, on closer examination a more varied picture emerges through the richness of the empirical details of the ethnography. In this picture local practices can be characterised with both reproduction and change and aspects of time, space and the embodiment of practice are shown to be significantly important to the outcomes of reform. The implementation of a curriculum is a complex process. Within it the curriculum itself is not only locally interpreted and applied but is also locally negotiated and transformed.

However, despite the above pointers, in the present case the primacy of economic steering has still been clear to see. A neo-liberal rationality has dominated from the political level. This rationality speaks in a number of ways in the different dimensions of practice. The present case budget control and the appropriation of raw pedagogy through an RDM have still set profoundly limiting frames on everyday availabilities, activities, possibilities and predisposition's to act. These findings are interesting in relation to the new teacher education program (prop. 2009/10, s. 89). In this policy text the thoughts of neo-liberal rationality is strong. The message is as follows: to create a border between pre-school, recreation and leisure centre and formal school. It's a reform of social reproduction and retraditionalisation. How these new thoughts will be implemented in local schools and fit with the institutional practice will be interesting to follow in the future. Agents have thus been the makers of their own identities, meanings, understandings, activities and histories. As often is the case, these processes have developed under historical and material conditions that are not directly under the control of agents and that may not necessarily be shaped in their own interests. The active agency is in other words a situational condition and a contingent issue to be struggled over, not a universal, historically and materially independent fact of life for all humankind.

#### **NOTES**

- 1. An interesting notice about pedagogical integration will be expressed by the new teacher education (prop. 2009/10:89). In this policy new document the ideology of integration is weak. The new teacher education program talks instead of borders between preschool and school. This reform sounds like an echo from the 1980ies The document expressed an institutional separation between pre-school and school.
- 2. A complex processes of policy formation with negotiation, re-construction and transformation in local curriculum development work.
- 3. Six dimensions of social practice: They are a) discourse and discursive practice, b) social relations and social interaction, c) power, d) material activities, e) beliefs/values/desires, and f) institutional routines and rituals.
- 4. Neo-liberal, see Olssen, Codd and O'Neill (2004); Olssen and Peters (2005).
- 5. Post-Ford, see Harvey (2009) and Menter (1997).
  - 6. Safety zones, see Goffman (1998, 2007).
  - 7. Hybrid, see Barker (2000).
- 8. Marginalisation, see Stonequist (1937), Svedberg, (1995) and Trondman (1994).

#### REFERENCES

Almqvist, R. (2006). *New public management*. Malmö: Liber.

Barker, C. (2000). *Cultural studies: Theory and practice*. London: Sage.

Ball, S. J. (1994). Education reform: A critical and post-structural approach. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Ball, S. J. (2008). *The education debate*. Bristol: Policy press.

Ball, S. J., & Bowe, R. (1989). When the garment gapes: Policy and ethnography as practices. Paper presented at the Ethnography and education conferance, St. Hildas College, Oxford, Sept 9–11.

Bernstein, B. (2009). Class, codes and control, Vol. 4: The structuring of pedagogic discourse. London: Routledge.

Chouliarki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse* in the late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis. Edinburgh: University Press.

Ministry of Education. (1998). Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet, förskoleklassen och fritids-

- hemmet: Lpo 98 anpassad till att också omfatta förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet. Stockholm: Fritzes.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research. New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2009). Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research. In M. Meyer & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2 ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Goffman, E. (2007). Totala institutioner: Fyra essäer om anstaltslivets social villkor. Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren.
- Goffman, E. (1998). *Jaget och maskerna*: En studie i vardagslivets dramatik. Stockholm: Prisma.
- Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: principles in practice* (2. ed.). London: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (2009). Den globala kapitalismens rum: på väg mot en teori om ojämn geografisk utveckling. Hägersten: Tankekraft.
- Jessop, B,. Fairclough, N,. & Wodak, R. (2008). Education and the knowledge-based economy in Europe. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Menter, I. (1997). Work and identity in primary school: A post-fordist analys. Buckingham: Open University.
- Olssen, M., Codd, J., & O'Neill, A.-M. (2004). Education policy: Globalization, citizenship & democracy. London: Sage.
- Olssen, M., & Peters, M, A. (2005). Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: From the free market to knowledge capitalism. *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(3), 313–345.

- Peters, M. A., Marginson, S., & Murphy, P. (2009). Creativity and the global knowledge economy. New York: Peter Lang.
- Prop. 1990/1991:115. Regeringens proposition om vissa skollagsfrågor m.m. (Flexibel skolstart).
- Prop. 1997/1998:94. Regeringens proposition om en anpassad läroplan för det obligatoriska läroväsendet, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet.
- Prop. 2009/10:89. Regeringens proposition om en ny lärarutbildning: Bäst i klassen.
- Regeringens skrivelse. (1996/1997:112): Utvecklingsplan för förskola, skola och vuxenutbildning: Kvalitet och likvärdighet.
- Sadovnik, A. R. (2001). Basil Bernstein. *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*. 31,(4), 687–703.
- SOU 1997:21. *Växa i lärande: Förslag till läroplan för barn och unga 6–16 år*. Delbetänkande av Barnomsorg och skolakommittén. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.
- Stones, R. (2005). *Structuration theory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stoneqvist, E. (1937). *The marginal man: A study in personality and cultural conflict*. New York: Charles Scribner.
- Svedberg, L. (1995). *Marginalitet: Ett socialt dilemma*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Trondman, M. (1994). Bilden av en klassresa: Sexton arbetarklassbarn på väg till och i högskola. Stockholm: Carlssons.
- Ve, H. (1999). Rationalitet og identitet og andra texter. Bergen: Pax
- Wodak, R. (2009). What CDA is about: A summary of its history, important concept and its developments. M. Meyer & R. Wodak (Eds.), (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. (2 ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.