

Teachers' Work in Times of Restructuring

Teachers' Work in Times of Restructuring

On Contextual Influences for Collegiality and
Professionalism

Katarina Samuelsson



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Abstract

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The research in this thesis is situated in the intersection of teachers' work and contexts of education. It departs from an interest in contextual influences on teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring. It is to be understood as a criticism of a widespread focus, sometimes met in research and in policy, on teachers as individuals and a simplification of teachers' work. It also departs from a questioning of representations: who has the right to problematize teachers' work and on what basis?

I explore how teachers deal as agents with changes in governance in an era of educational restructuring in order to gain knowledge about influences on teachers' work and professionalism. More specifically, the analyses show how teachers' work is enabled or constrained by external models of governance. The thesis consists of three sub-studies, involving responses to governance, in terms of organizational structures and expectations in different contexts of education. Theory of institutional logics provides me with a contextually sensitive profession theory that deals with influences on governing work. The intention is that by studying teacher responses to educational governance in different contexts of education through theories of institutional logics the emergent characteristics of teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring can be identified and commented on. I align with research on contemporary education policy and the teaching profession and explore influences on teachers' work under restructuring with contradictory professional expectations.

Thus, in the three articles, the focus is not on the governing or educational system as such but on contextual influences on responses to organizational

structures and expectations. There is rather a broad conceptual framing of governing in regard to educational restructuring in terms of marketization, privatization, governing by results and new public management.

FÖRORD/ PREFACE

Jag har aldrig sett på mig själv som särskilt uthållig. Har varit dålig på att ta ut mig och har hellre gett upp när saker har tyckts för svåra. Därför står jag nu undrande inför det faktum att jag, parallellt med mitt lärararbete, trots flera livsavgörande händelser från största glädje till största sorg, faktiskt har skrivit en avhandling. Är jag kanske uthållig i alla fall? Jag ändrar så smått min bild av mig själv och börjar se på mig lite som en arbetshäst. Läser på wikipedia ”De vanligaste arbetshästarna är oftast större och tyngre kallblodshästar som både har styrka och ett lätthanterligt humör, samtidigt som de kan leva på lite foder.” Jag inser att det här stämmer ju bra på mig. Är visserligen inte särskilt fysiskt stark, men jag har ett ganska lätthanterligt humör och jag klarar mig förvånansvärt länge på varma koppen. Hur som helst, jag kan nu, med lika delar stolthet, tacksamhet och ödmjukhet, se att den här delen av arbetet är över, grönbetet närmar sig. Men det här har jag inte gjort själv. Det är många som har möjliggjort detta och som jag härmed vill tacka.

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Eklanda, 25 mars, 2019

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PART ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

In traditional settings the teacher occupied a privileged position not only in the classroom, but also in the wider community. The teacher was often the most educationally qualified adult person in the school community, and the teachers' activities were rarely questioned (Lortie, 1975). If students did not do well, it was their fault, and poor performance or failure was seen as a fair assessment of the abilities of the student. The school principals, although in positions of authority, nevertheless gave unquestioned support to their teachers. Student performance was often idiosyncratic to individual schools, and there was an assumption that the assessment of students across schools was more or less equal, and that students who did well in one school would do well in any other school (Saha and Dworkin, 2009:2).

In the introduction to Springer's *International Handbook of Research on Teachers and Teaching*, Saha and Dworkin (2009:2) state what many teachers in schools know; times have changed and so has teachers' work. I have personally experienced an altered work situation through 20 years as a teacher in Swedish lower- and upper-secondary schools. A transformation in governance and organizational structures and expectations began before I started teaching, for instance through ideas of vouchers and freedom to choose among schools, but the changes have continued. During my work life, I have experienced the implementation of a new curriculum and syllabus, I have witnessed an increased focus on student results and comparisons in, as well as between, schools and nations. My colleagues and I have competed for individual salaries and career opportunities, but at the same time we have been encouraged to work together in teams. New terminologies have found their way into schools; for instance, I vividly remember a staff meeting at one of my schools in the early 2000s where we discussed whether or not our students and parents were also our customers.

Meanwhile, Swedish school results have declined in large-scale assessments such as PISA¹, for which teachers have often been blamed in the media (see e.g. Swedish television, 2014). Swedish teachers, in new ways, were held accountable for many things – ranging from students' results to students' well-being. Thus, teachers' work has been in focus for various reasons and from

¹ Programme for International Student Assessment carried out by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

politicians', parents' and the media's different opinions. Many teachers have left their jobs or planned to do so (Skolvärlden, 2018).

In order to increase teachers' status and the interest in teachers' work, the Swedish Parliament introduced diplomas for certification as well as career opportunities for teachers, such as Lead Teachers (Skolvärlden, 2014) and professional doctoral schools.² Many of my work experiences can be related to dealing with improving teachers' work through various models of governance. Although I did not know the word for it at the time, my work was subject to restructuring.

Restructuring was supposed to improve the educational system, but despite this, I experienced a focus on teachers as being either good or bad and regarded as decontextualized individuals in the media and policy. One example of this is the McKinsey company, which stated that the most important thing for educational systems is to recruit the "best teachers" (see e.g. McKinsey, 2007; Mourshed, Chijioke, & Barber, 2010).

I expect that this kind of discourse does something with teachers' work, aligning with the words of Foss Lindblad and Lindblad (2009:758) "when utterances like this come out in the plural, their performative character becomes strong, and they can be expected to be part of a collective construction of new kinds of beings". They in turn refer to Hacking (2002:48) who states, "categories of people come into existence at the same time as kinds of people come into being to fit those categories, and there is always a two-way interaction". As such, focusing on individual decontextualized teachers was important for everyday understandings of teachers' work. However, over the years, I have started questioning this focus, and I have become interested instead in variations in influences on teachers' work. I wonder: how does context influence the work of teachers, new ones as well as those already in the profession? Do teachers have similar preconditions for work? Most likely, restructuring impacts the preconditions of teachers' work, as does the variation in how teachers respond to it.

I also believe, in line with Bacchi (2009:xi), that "(...) the ways in which issues are problematized – how they are thought about as 'problems' – are central to governing processes". As such, this problematization, which often reduces complexity, has bearing on understandings of teachers' work, in Bacchi's

² An example of this is the CUL doctoral school – Centre for Educational Science and Teacher Research (Centrum för utbildningsvetenskap och lärarforskning) – to which I belong.

words a problem representation. Thus, here, we see a problem representation to which I do not subscribe.

Thus, though the governance of and the preconditions for teachers' work have changed, the media or international policy-makers have made individual teachers a target, which I want to problematize. I believe that different preconditions have consequences for teachers' work and its outcome. Therefore, in this thesis situated in the intersection of teachers' work and the societal and political contexts of education, I explore the consequences of contextual differences in teachers' work.

According to T. Carvalho and Correia (2018:1), "Social, political and economic transformations in contemporary society create instabilities, ambiguities, and uncertainties that bring significant challenges to professionals, professional groups, professionalization processes, and professionalism." I want to explore some of these challenges, here regarded as contextual influences and their importance for teachers' work and professionalism. I agree with Lindgren, Carlbaum, Hult and Segerholm (2018:372) that "responses to complexity might play out differently", as they claimed when exploring how policy regarding counteracting bullying and degrading treatment in schools was enacted on a local level. One way to understand contextual differences in teachers' work analytically is through theories of institutional logics.

I turn to a profession theory, a theory of institutional logics as presented by Elliot Freidson (2001). Theories on institutional logics can guide research questions on micro as well as macro levels of analysis, and they are context sensitive. They are useful for the analysis of work and work life because they provide the frames in which the individual acts. Within these frames, some things and structures become invisible; others become possible – the idea is that the logics set the limits for what is possible to see and act upon. In accordance with Freidson (2001), I use the ideal types of the logic of the *market*, the logic of *professionalism* and the logic of *bureaucracy*.

Point of departure

I want to explore contextual influences on teachers' work and professionalism, in relation to how teachers deal with, or are given the possibility of dealing with different governance, in terms of organizational structures and expectations. Thus, I assume that teachers have agency, but also that their work is significantly

framed by contexts, politically, socially and culturally, and this affects their possible modes of acting (see, e.g. Lundgren, 1984, Bernstein, 1996/2000; Broady & Lindblad, 1999; Goodson, 2003). Context is often conceived of as a background for teachers' work, but here I also regard it as a part of preconditions for teachers' actions. In accordance with Lindblad and Sahlström (1999), I assume that actions in one context have implications for actions in another (Lindblad & Sahlström, 1999). I thereby regard context as a synthesis of both background and preconditions for actions. Departing from Cole (1996) and Nilsson (2005:45), I therefore analytically understand contexts as symbolizing the conditions that is at hand. I thereby use context as a way to understand teachers' work and preconditions for it and thus it is regarded as a premise for action, enabling as well as constraining teachers' work. According to Lindblad and Sahlström (1999:76), what is conceived of as frames for teaching is also a consequence of what is constructed as frames by the actors, hence I also make context in this study. Here, I apply this to teachers' work embedded in institutional logics. Thus in this thesis, initially, contexts of education as a concept departs from Lundgren's (1983) context of formulation and realisation, but is thereafter also used to understand organizational structures and expectations as embedded in institutional logics in accordance with Freidson (2001).

In alignment with Freidson (2001:180) I regard work as "the practice of knowledge and skill, and the social, economic, and cultural circumstances surrounding its practice". Teachers' work is subject to governance from national policy and, as of the mid-20th century, also from international actors in different contexts of education (Green, Mundy, Lingard & Verger, 2016:1). Governance is here understood in accordance with Lindblad and Popkewitz (1999:1) and "refers to the distribution and production of social (public) goods (...) through sets of institutions, networks, representations and actors, drawn from within but also beyond government". This implies that here governance is regarded as comprising not only national policy, but also the impact of other kinds of actors who influence teachers' work. I have rather a broad conceptual framing of governance including educational restructuring in terms of marketization, privatization, and governing by results as well as new public management (NPM), from actors within as well as outside governments. The development and consequences of such restructuring have been the subject of a large number of studies (for Sweden see e.g. Lindblad and Wallin, 1993 or Lindblad and L. Lundahl, 2015, for international analyses, see e.g. Goodson & Lindblad, 2011). Given my special interest in teachers' work and professionalism, such a broad

1.INTRODUCTION

framing of education governing must be regarded as appropriate, as I focus on contextual influences of governing and teachers' responses to it and not on the governing or the educational system as such.

Aligning with Lindensjö and Lundgren (2000:27), I believe that the governance of schools, and hence teachers' work, is both dependent on and independent from the surrounding society. Consequently, in accordance with these authors and for instance Richardson (2010:142), I regard schools as both a result of societal conditions and as an agent in change. I also depart from an idea that, broadly speaking, there are different institutional orders, all of which carry different ideals for governing and organizing work.

I thus believe that educational restructuring has implications for teachers' work. Goodson and Lindblad (2011:2), present three research positions on educational restructuring. The first is restructuring as innovation and adaption, where the idea is that restructuring is a model for rational planning. The second position is not regarded a model, but rather a consequence of societal transformations; here the idea is that restructuring leads to dissolution. In the third position restructuring is regarded as de-coupling (in accordance with for instance Weick, 1976) which allows "continuity in the daily work of schools" (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011:3). Here, I align with the third position that restructuring is regarded as de-coupling (Weick, 1976; Goodson & Lindblad, 2011).

In relation to the teaching profession it has been questioned whether restructuring has entailed professionalization or de-professionalization of teachers. According to Goodson and Lindblad (2011), research on teachers in educational restructuring also takes different positions: first, a professionalization position, where teachers gain professional autonomy; second, a de-professionalization position, where teachers lose professional autonomy; and third, a professional reconfiguration, which makes it possible to identify the "teaching profession in relation to changing ways of governing education" in new ways (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011:3). In the words of Goodson and Lindblad (2011:3)

The point is that restructuring implies differences in institutional working and institutional relations (see e.g. Sachs, 2001, Fournier, 1999) as well as boundary work (Gieryn, 1983). Given this, it should be expected that the structure of professional characteristics are changing as well.

Whitty (2000), who focuses the relation between the state and the professions, maintains that these different positions are competing. Englund and Dyrdal

Solbrekke (2015:172) distinguish between professionalism and professionalization, where, somewhat simplified, professionalism refers to the quality of teaching and professionalization refers to autonomy. Mausethagen and Smeby (2016) describe professionalism “from above and from within” and claim that “new policy expectations can be experienced as dilemmas rather than as fundamental shifts in work and professionalism” (Mausethagen and Smeby, 2016:330).

Therefore, a need exists for more insight into how far new governing modes ‘travel’ into classrooms so as to address how the teaching profession deals with such contradictory professional expectations (Mausethagen & Smeby, 2016:329).

In this work I try to bring more insight into this issue. Whitty (2000:282) calls the attempt to achieve professional status professionalism, or the “professional project”. Whitty (2000:284) further distinguishes professionalism as “the ‘content’ of teacher professionalism” which was first introduced by Hoyle (1974:14) as

(...) a crude distinction can be made between the service interest and the self-interest components of the concept of a profession by using the term *professionalism* to refer to those strategies and the rhetorics employed by members of an occupation in seeking to improve status, salary and conditions and the term *professionality* to refer to the knowledge, skills and procedures employed by teachers in the process of teaching.

Following Goodson and Lindblad’s (2011) third position of restructuring as decoupling, Hoyle’s (1974) definition of professionalism as teachers’ skills and procedures that they use and Mausethagen and Smeby’s (2016) idea of contradictory professional expectations, my second assumption is that consequences of educational restructuring for teachers’ work and professionalism differ in different contexts of education. This, in turn, likely constrains and enables teachers’ work and professionalism in different ways. With this positioning I consider this study what Adamson (2012:642) calls a “cross-cultural study, due to its interest in the relationship between culture and the policies, practices, beliefs and values”.

Finally, I would also like to comment on the fact that in this thesis influences on Swedish teachers’ work and professionalism are explored without making distinctions between teachers in different school forms. This is ironic, in a sense, as I devote this text to the importance of context. Even so, this is my choice, based on the fact that the McKinsey and the OECD give general advice, which

I criticize, but I am interested in playing their game. I am aware that there are educational, historical and other differences between teachers in different school forms – compulsory or voluntary, with different regulations and traditions – all of this is acknowledged, but nevertheless ignored here. I argue that, however important, it is not of significance for my point of highlighting influences on responses to organizational structures and expectations in different educational contexts. Rather analyses in different contexts may indeed strengthen my case.

Since I deal with the intersection of teachers' work and governance, I regard this thesis as dealing with a curriculum theory problem for the 21st century, which will now be commented on further.

Teachers' work as a curriculum-theory problem

Curriculum is sometimes used almost synonymously with a syllabus, but curriculum theory is something different. Curriculum theory is conceived of as analyses of how education is organized and governed. It can be regarded from different perspectives: for instance historical, in relation to school reforms and education policy, or in relation to the teaching profession. Here, the curriculum-theory focus will be in the intersection of teachers' work, governance and context.

Internationally, curriculum theory has a long and influential history; according to Lundgren (2012:46), Herbart (1776-1841) laid the foundation for it. Curriculum theory has been important for Swedish and international educational research. Popkewitz (1997) emphasizes that Swedish curriculum theory has often studied the relationship between 'state policy' and 'the core of the school' (e.g. in classroom practice or professional education) and claims that these analyses illustrate an interaction between the school and external conditions and not only that the school is responding to external events (Popkewitz, 1997:61).

Lundgren (1983),³ described different contexts of education which originally departed from the representation problem, "as a domain for thinking and for the construction of specific social realities when social production and reproduction are separated from each other" (Lundgren 1991:14). Thereafter, according to Lundgren (1983), there is a separation of the context of reproduction into the context of formulation and the context of realisation. The idea is that

³ *Arenor* in Swedish

in the former, policy decisions are made that are then implemented in the latter (Lundgren, 2012: 55). In between there is often translation work, that is, what has been decided or suggested in a context of formulation may turn out in various ways in different contexts of realisation. My study highly aligns with Lundgren's (1983) distinction between the context of formulation and the context of realisation, and in this thesis this is explored through teacher responses to organizational structures and expectations in different contexts. However, I adapt Lundgren's (1983) context of formulation and realisation in the singular, to the beginning of the 2000s by acknowledging that there are currently contexts of both formulation and realisation in the plural, and that the translation work is more prominent and distinguishing than ever. This point of departure contextualizes my study in Swedish as well as in international curriculum theory.

Aim and research questions

The general aim of this thesis is to describe, analyse and discuss teachers' work and professionalism as a matter of institutional logics in an era of educational restructuring. I will explore teachers' responses, and possible responses, to governance understood as organizational structures and expectations. Thereby my ambition is to contribute to understandings of contextual influences for teachers' work in times of restructuring and research on contradictory professional expectations (Mausethagen & Smeby, 2016), teacher professionalism (Hoyle, 1974; Whitty, 2000) and teachers' work under restructuring (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011).

Inspired by the above-mentioned research studies as well as Freidson (2001) and Lundgren (1983), this study explores the variation of institutional logics embedding teachers' work in different contexts of education.

Restructuring ideas on governance have travelled the world with the intention of addressing educational inefficiency and improving education and teacher professionalism. However, time has shown that results of this are not always those intended. Meanwhile, education has become an issue not only of national-policy importance but also of interest to international actors. Supranational consultant firms and other new kinds of actors have confidently contributed to the picture of "what works" in education (as questioned by e.g. Biesta, 2007 or Coffield, 2012), but the advice given has most often not considered variations in contexts. However, others, myself included, would say that structures influence people's actions (see e.g. Hodkinson, Biesta and James',

2007:418) and that there is therefore a need to problematize the widespread understandings of teachers' work as similar in different contexts – described as decontextualized.

By changing the focus from teachers as decontextualized individuals, I question the simplification of teachers' work that is sometimes encountered in policy. Instead, I want to explore influences on teachers' work in different contexts through institutional logics, as introduced earlier. I pose three research questions:

In an era of educational restructuring:

- How do institutional logics matter as contextual influences for teacher responses to organizational structures and expectations?
- How do institutional logics matter as contextual consequences of educational restructuring?
- What contextual influences could be important for enabling teacher professionalism?

In order to follow the line of thought in highlighting contextual influences for teachers' responses to governance understood as organizational structures and expectations, I vary the contexts in different inquiries. First, I compare teachers' responses to organizational structures and expectations in a national setting – using Finland and Sweden as cases. Second, I analyse the meanings of collegiality in international academic-research literature. I am aware of the fact that it is not policy but knowledge constructed in the research community, but I nonetheless think it has bearing on influences on teachers' work. Third, I analyse teacher responses to organizational structures and expectations in terms of teacher teams in neighbouring schools with different market positions in a specific community.

I assume that educational restructuring has consequences for teachers' work and professionalism in different ways, perhaps not always the ones that were planned, intended and expected. The intended causal way is illustrated in Figure 1, somewhat simplified.

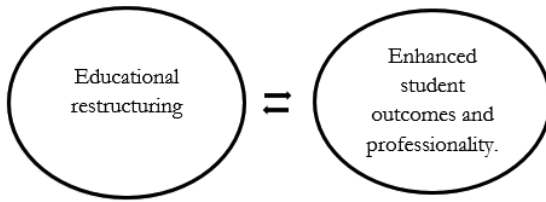


Figure 1. Model of restructuring and some intended benefits.

Figure 2 illustrates the relations this thesis explores. The relations are not considered as causal, yet to have bearing on contextualized teacher responses and professionalism. Educational restructuring is here assumed to travel to and from different contexts of education, which in turn are conceived of as being embedded in different institutional logics.

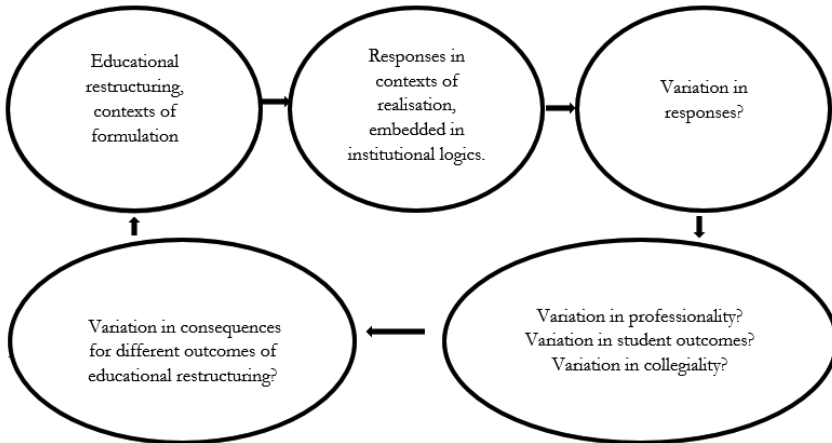


Figure 2. The ideas explored in this thesis.

In contexts of formulation, preconditions are set, and in contexts of realisation, teachers, as agents, perceive, act and respond to these ideas of governance. I assume that contexts of formulation and realisation matter for teachers' various responses and consequently believe that conditions for outcomes in terms of professionalism are likely to differ in various contexts of realisation. These responses, in turn, possibly explain consequences of educational restructuring, see Figure 2. I therefore explore how teachers respond to organizational structures and expectations of restructuring in different contexts of education.

Significance of the study

To analyse and discuss teachers' work and professionalism and its contextual influences through institutional logics is of significance for understandings of teachers' work as an interplay between changes in governance and the working of institutional logics. More specifically, the study contributes to research on teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring by highlighting contextual variations in influences on teachers' work. This is done by analysing the workings of institutional logics as framing teachers' work in different contexts of education (Lundgren, 1983). Through the analyses and discussion, different understandings of the relation of governance and consequences for teachers' work and professionalism are commented on. Teachers' work is analysed in relation to governance and contexts, since this has consequences for the understanding of the variation of teachers' work and working conditions (Parding & Berg-Jansson, 2016), which in turn is of importance in order to meet a decontextualized focus on teachers' as individuals. Sahlin and Waks (2008) claim that the governance of schools is made up of "a complicated interaction of different actors, initiatives, interests and ideas" (my translation), and therefore they argue for the need for new studies with descriptions of what happens and with what effects (Sahlin & Waks, 2008:72). I also agree with Thornton and Ocasio (2008), who state: "We need to better understand how macro-level states at one point in time influence individuals' orientations to their actions, preferences, beliefs; how these orientations to action influence how individuals act; and how the actions of individuals constitute the macro-level outcomes that we seek to explain" (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008:120). New clarifications and possible navigations seem to be of importance.

Second, the study contributes to everyday understandings of policy and teachers' work as an interplay between changes in governance and the working of institutional logics. It will lead the focus away from individual teachers into influences framing their collective work.

My work will thus contribute to the scholarly knowledge of research on teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring through analysing how the teaching profession deals with contradictory professional expectations (Mausethagen and Smeby, 2016), and also to the knowledge of the interplay between policy and teachers' work (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Sahlin & Waks,

2008; Parding & Berg-Jansson, 2016). Theories of institutional logics in accordance with Freidson (2001) and contextualized influences on responses seem to offer a fruitful way to do this.

Limitations

This study is limited in that I will not be analysing changes in teachers' contexts of education as in how they respond to students and their families, or in the changing position of teachers (see here Müller, Hernandez, Creus, Muntadas, Larrain, & Giro et al., 2007:3). I will not deal with teachers' classroom work under restructuring as done by for instance Louis and Marks (1998), nor will I deal with teacher or principal leadership under restructuring (Little, 1995; Leithwood, 1994 or Finnigan 2010), restructuring in a historical perspective (Tyack, 1990) or restructuring as policy (Ball, 1997).

Overview of the thesis

The thesis is designed into two parts. It employs findings from three separate but interrelated sub-studies in order to describe, analyse and discuss contextual influences on teachers' work and professionalism as a matter of institutional logics in an era of restructuring by exploring the intersection of teachers' everyday experiences of organizational change and concurrent policies (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011). This first part consists of a presentation of the research background, an account of the theory and methods used, a summary and discussion of findings; the second part consists of the three articles, see Figure 3.

1.INTRODUCTION

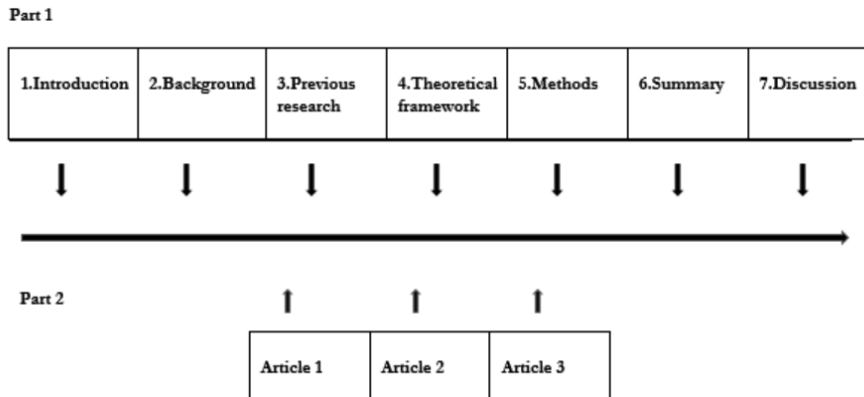


Figure 3. Overview of the thesis

The first of the two parts is divided into 7 chapters, outlined as follows. Chapter 1 provides an introduction, including the aim, research questions and an overview of the thesis. Chapter 2 presents the background of the thesis. Chapter 3 gives a picture of previous research of the field. Chapter 4 contains a theoretical and conceptual framework, and Chapter 5 presents and discusses methods. In Chapter 6 there is a summary of the sub-studies and in Chapter 7 the findings are synthesized and discussed. Here, I also bring together my findings and their consequences for research and the understanding of teachers' work. Finally, I present a Swedish summary.

The second part consists of the three articles: Samuelsson and Lindblad (2015); Samuelsson (2018) and Samuelsson (submitted). The articles included are informed by the research questions of the thesis and are tied together by an interest in institutional logics as contextual variation influencing teachers' work and professionalism in times of restructuring. The sub-studies operate with different teacher groups and different contexts of education, which is further discussed and problematized in Chapter 1 and Chapter 5. Taken together, the findings from the three articles contribute to the final discussion on institutional logics and teacher professionalism under restructuring.

The empirical material in the three articles of this thesis is based on:

- a reanalysis of a database of a European research project on professional knowledge at work (Sohlberg, Czaplicka, & Lindblad (2008)

- an analysis of educational research literature on collegiality
- a web-based survey on teachers' responses to organizational structures and expectations in a local educational area.

The quantitative data in article one and article three are used for identifying responses that are qualitatively different.

The articles are listed below, summarized in part 1 and enclosed in full text in part 2.

1. Samuelsson, K. & Lindblad, S. (2015). School management, cultures of teaching and student outcomes: Comparing the cases of Finland and Sweden. *Teaching and Teacher Education*. 49(2015). 168-177.
2. Samuelsson, K. (2018). Teacher collegiality in context of institutional logics: A conceptual research review. *Professions and Professionalism*. 8(3).
3. Samuelsson, K. (submitted). Teachers, teacher teams and collegiality: Illuminating varieties of policy influences in local contexts.

Rationales for the thesis

In this thesis in Pedagogical Work⁴, written within CUL, the Graduate School in Educational Science at the University of Gothenburg, I explore how teachers, with their agency, respond to structuring organizational structures and expectations in different contexts of education. My teacher certificate is for upper-secondary schools, and during my doctoral studies, I have worked part-time at a lower-secondary school as a teacher and with school administration, which affects my personal rationale for this thesis.

Pedagogical Work is supposed to produce knowledge of importance for teaching and teacher education (Vinterek, 2014), which affects the scientific rationale for this thesis. This thesis adds to scientific knowledge of Pedagogical Work from a societal, contextual perspective, and not from a didactic classroom perspective. More specifically, I regard this thesis as dealing with a curriculum-theory problem conceived of as a context-dependent teacher profession which is dealing with institutional logics and contradictory professional expectations under restructuring in the beginning of the 2000s. According to Englund and Dyrdal Solbrekke (2015:183) it is central for students of education to have

⁴ Pedagogiskt arbete

knowledge of the logics influencing teachers' work, and as such this thesis contributes to the provision of a scientific foundation for teacher education.

Acknowledgements

The first and third articles in the current study were carried out in the research project titled School Results and Lived Curricula in Contemporary Society, supported by The Swedish Research Council, but the main financier of this project has been my employer along the way, the city of Gothenburg. I also thank and acknowledge *Kungliga och Hvitfeldtska stiftelsen* for the grant which made it possible to finish this thesis.

2. BACKGROUND

The symbiosis of the professional groups and the state (Government) works its way down to street level, to the local workplace. Changes at the governmental level are mediated to the local organizations not only via the government, but also via the professional groups themselves through government-regulated education and research (Aili and Nilsson, 2007:8).

The changes in governance I have experienced are well described in research and sometimes regarded to be mediated to the local organizations via professional groups (Aili and Nilsson, 2007:8). I claim that even though many teachers ‘just want to teach’, Swedish teachers’ work is multifaceted. They build relations to students, whom they assess by grades; they are officials and actors in organizations governed by policy, politics and politicians, run by public finances. They are part of societal and political contexts of education, where governance, which has changed in modern times, is always present and has an impact on their work. I will account for a brief history of models of governance of education – from centralization to restructuring – as it is of importance for the influences on teachers’ work and professionalism. I will also account for how such ideas travel worldwide.

Governance of teachers’ work

Governance has several definitions. Traditionally, according to Fredriksson (2010:15), it takes two positions in relation to teachers’ work: either impossible to govern (e.g. Weick, 1976; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Lipsky, 1980) or too much determined by politics (e.g. Dahllöf, 1971). In this thesis, as mentioned earlier, governance as such is not in focus.

Hodkinson et al. (2007:418) claim that “people are subject to structures even as they take agentic actions” supporting the idea that contexts will enable or constrain actions in teachers’ work. Other researchers, such as Parding, Abrahamson & Berg-Jansson (2012:294), state that contradictory trends visible in governance have consequences for teachers’ work and working conditions. In accordance with for instance Lindensjö and Lundgren (2000), I consider governance of schools as institutions to be problematical (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000: 13). Teachers act, always with their students in mind, and do not perform

what they were told to do like robots; in the words of Green et al. (2016:7): “most scholars reject a linear understanding of policy processes as moving in unidirectional fashion from discourse, text, to implementation or enactment”. Teachers’ work can thus be regarded as de-coupled from governance in terms of causalities (Weick, 1976). Lundgren (1983, 2012) contends that translation work is always present between contexts for policy decisions and contexts for acting. In accordance with this and with for instance Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000:8), I thus regard teachers as agents within schools who translate policy decisions in different contexts of education.

A brief history of models of governance

Even though teachers are regarded as having agency, I assume that governance has bearing on their work life; it sets the frames within which teachers’ act. As such, the variation of governance over time is of importance for the background of this thesis. Lindblad (2018) gives a picture of the development of different models of governance. He identifies four overlapping periods of governing models of schooling in Sweden since the Second World War. These periods are not exact; for instance L. Lundahl (2002) gives a similar, yet slightly different picture. Nevertheless, here I turn to Lindblad’s periods of governing, where the changes can be compared to a pendulum, where each period in turn reacts to the previous period.

- a centralizing reformation period: 1950 – 1980
- a decentralizing realisation period: 1980 – 1990
- a deregulating restructuration period: 1990 – 2000, which, from the beginning of the 2000s was complemented by:
- a period with governing by results: 2000-

As can be seen, the periods become shorter and shorter with time, pointing to a faster pace of reform. Yet, the fourth period is again quite long. Many things are happening here, but they are related and have similar directions, often of international origin. My thesis is situated in this fourth period.

Centralised educational system

In the first (and longest) of these periods, 1950-1980, the public sector was governed in accordance with bureaucratic rules, characterised by expectations

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of transparency, stability and standardization, but also with ingredients from a strong profession, characterised by for instance autonomy and decision-making. The educational system was highly centralised (Richardson, 2010:159) and after several reforms, which mainly concerned the organization and structure of the school system (L. Lundahl 2002:625) such as the comprehensive school in 1962, upper-secondary school in 1964, adult education reform in 1967 and an integrated upper-secondary school in 1968, which did not start until 1971, (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000:66), the educational system was seen as completed (Richardson: 2010:142).

However, as Richardson claims, these reforms were heavily criticized, and instead this became the beginning of an era of political disunity and ensuing changes. According to L. Lundahl (2002), the reforms of 1962 (compulsory school) and 1970 (upper-secondary school) had as their aim to “break up the old divided school system with its early sorting of children for different future tasks along gender, class and geographical lines, and replace it with a school for all children. Strong State governing and control were regarded as essential to secure such an outcome” (L. Lundahl, 2002:687).

It is worth mentioning that since the advent of the comprehensive school in 1962, new curricula have been implemented in 1970/1980⁵, 1994 and 2011. According to Richardson (2010:153) all the early educational reforms followed the same pattern, with long preparations and a diversity of expertise, including researchers and projects where the ideas were tried out and implemented.

Market influences

Reactions to this came in period two and onwards, 1980-1990, where the focus on bureaucratic and professional principles was challenged by influences from market principles. In this period educational reforms and changes appeared faster, stemming from smaller groups or one-man commissions (Richardson, 2010:153). The curriculum of 1980 gave local schools the possibility of adapting their organization in order to reach the overarching goals. Principals' mandates were strengthened, and teachers were granted more freedom to choose materials in order to reach the set goals (Lindensjö & Lundgren: 2000:83). According to L. Lundahl (2002), there was political agreement about many of these ideas, even though the socialist and non-socialist parties used different arguments.

⁵ In 1970 for upper secondary schools and in 1980 for compulsory schools

The Social Democrats focused on the lack of means to reduce social differences, while a neo-liberal criticism of inefficiency in schools was initiated (L. Lundahl, 2002:625).

Deregulating restructuring

The previously highly centralised educational system was decentralised in several steps and instead governed by goals. Moreover, Swedish local municipalities were to be responsible for education, school staff and the distribution of finances.⁶ From being a state school, governed by rules, schools were now to be governed in municipalities by goals and results. The Swedish National Agency for Education provided schools with steering documents and national tests. However, the municipalities were, according to Oscarson and Apelgren (2011:3) “charged with the allocation of resources and organization of education in a way that enables students to achieve the national goals” (Oscarson & Apelgren 2011:3).

In 1991, the state introduced the Swedish National Agency for Education instead of the old *Skolöverstyrelsen*,⁷ which was founded in 1919 and its *Länsskolnämnder*⁸ which had existed since 1958. In 1992 the government introduced free choice of schools, including vouchers, which implied that independent and municipal schools were to be tax-funded and regarded equally. The idea was to gain efficiency, to increase teacher professionalism, to individualise more and to strengthen the pupil's freedom of choice. Even though the rules for this have changed, the system of free school choice financed with vouchers has persisted. Since then there has been an immense increase in the number of independent schools, in particular in the major cities, which has led to competition for pupils, with all schools competing with each other in what can be called a quasi-market (L. Lundahl, 2002). Earlier, pupils most often attended the school closest to home, but now students and parents have the opportunity to make more of an active choice, and if they are not happy with their school, it is not unusual for them to change. With a free school choice, students (and their parents) are more mobile than earlier, which has also resulted in competition for students and a change in the balance of power between schools and their users. The free choice has meant that schools profile themselves in a new way in order

⁶ A municipal school is a publicly organized school. All Swedish schools are publicly funded.

⁷ A central authority for the school system in Sweden.

⁸ A former state authority in each county for supervision of the school system.

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to attract new students and keep the ones they have. According to Lundström and Rönnerberg (2015:148) schools experience competition differently in relation to their own success in attracting students, where attractive schools experience less competition than vulnerable schools.

New students, new actors, new ideas

In the last of these periods, 2000 to the present day, almost all students attend upper-secondary schools. Carlgren and Marton (2007:78) comment on “a new kind of pupils” appearing in elementary schools in the 1980s which made teachers change their teaching repertoire. The same thing happened later in upper-secondary schools. Meanwhile, there was an increasing focus of results also in governance. These are visible for instance in a new kind of actors gaining influence over national policy and reforms, such as the supranational financial organization the OECD or international consultant firms such as the McKinsey (Lindblad, Pettersson & Popkewitz, 2018:15). The influence is for instance based on the OECD’s large-scale assessments PISA and the widely spread interpretations of its results.

In the 2000s new Agencies for education were also founded. Both the Authority for school development (2003-2008)⁹; the Swedish Schools Inspectorate – founded in 2008¹⁰; and The Swedish National Agency for Special Needs Education and Schools – founded in 2008,¹¹ were introduced.

Restructuring as travelling models of governance

As mentioned above, teachers’ work in the western world was traditionally subject to bureaucratic national governance including regulations and standardizations or to some extent a professional governance with ingredients of autonomy. However, in the 1990s the public sector in many western countries, inspired by the private sector, underwent similar changes including a notion that efficiency and international competitiveness would increase, often called New

⁹ *Myndigheten för skolutveckling*, which turned to actors in preschool activities, school and adult education.

¹⁰ *Skolinspektionen*, with responsibility for scrutinizing schools, investigating complaints about mistreatments at schools and assessing applications to run independent schools.

¹¹ *Specialpedagogiska skolmyndigheten* with responsibility for supporting schools and ensuring that pupils and students “regardless of functional ability have adequate conditions to fulfil their educational goals” (SPSM, 2018).

Public Management – NPM (Christensen & Lægheid, 2007; Wiborg, 2013, Hudson, 2007). According to Aili and Nilsson (2007:8) here “a guiding principle is that social progress can be achieved by enhanced productivity” and even though, as Caspersen (2007) notes, the term NPM takes on different meanings, NPM has turned into a highly influential principle in different societal sectors.

In institutional theory these kinds of ideas are often referred to as ‘master ideas’, vague notions that are difficult to argue against but give legitimacy (Czarniawska, & Joerges, 1996; Ericsson-Zetterquist, 2009). Thereafter these different ideas and management strategies travel worldwide (Czarniawska-Joerges, & Sevón, 2005) as a – or even *the* - truth, in accordance with Prime Minister Thatcher’s slogan “there is no alternative” (TINA). NPM is one example of a travelling idea; other examples are the focus of the results in PISA, TALIS, or the importance of the individual teacher, or the assumption that a successful school is considered to be synonymous with a competent teacher (OECD, 2013; Mourshed et al., 2010).

Power (2000) calls these travelling changes of governing of the public sector “restructuring”, and according to him it was driven by “closely related political demands on behalf of citizens, taxpayers, patients, pupils and other for greater accountability and transparency of service providing organizations” (Power, 2000:113). Hence, a political project in the name of the citizens with a clear shift in governance and accountability was introduced.

Goodson & Lindblad (2011) state that restructuring has become a “world-wide movement” with a “transformation in patterns of governance, deregulation, marketization, consumerism and the introduction of management principles derived from the world of business” (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011:1). According to Nilsson Lindström and Beach (2015), decentralization and marketization bring about “significant changes in relation to education policy and the management and organisation of teachers’ work” (Nilsson Lindström & Beach, 2015:241).

Even though restructuring is visible in most parts of the Western world, it does not mean the same things everywhere. However, Bayer, Brinkjær, Plauborg and Rolls (2009) highlight that there are certain similarities common to most nations, such as

stronger ties between education and economy; greater focus on the skills and competences which young people are equipped with when leaving school, especially in relation to the perceived needs of the labour market; a greater degree of political interference in curriculum goals and processes; a growing

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focus on evaluation; and parents and pupils regarded as educational consumers (Bayer et al., 2009:3).

In the Nordic countries restructuring in education has been rather similar, although with “distinct and specific national patterns and outfits” (Carlgren & Klette, 2008:121, also see e.g. Wiborg, 2013, Antikainen, 2006 ; Aili & Nilsson, 2007 or for instance Goodson and Norrie, 2005). According to Johannesson, Lindblad, and Simola (2002) some researchers even talk about a “policy epidemic” influenced by a neo-liberalist discourse (Johannesson et al., 2002:326). Restructuring is then, according to Johannesson et al. (2002), seen as an inevitable change in order to make systems better through a change in the governing from leaning on “bureaucratic” and “professional” principles to leaning on more “market principles”. However, according to Blomgren and Waks (2015) in contemporary Swedish schools there is more market, more professionalism and more bureaucracy – simple more of everything - in what Blomgren and Waks (2015) call an “institutional crowdedness”. Since different management principles are introduced and at play simultaneously, teachers meet this institutional crowdedness in their daily work. According to Blomgren and Waks (2015) this can explain why results from different reforms come into play differently and do not always yield the expected outcome. Also, Parding, Abrahamson & Berg-Jansson (2012:294) claim that these contradictory trends have consequences for teachers’ work, identity and working conditions.

Restructuring travelling through new and global actors

Part of the parcel of new public management is accountability. Teachers have always been accountable; but while they previously were accountable mainly to their profession, their colleagues, pupils, or their schools, with the introduction of NPM, a shift was seen towards teachers becoming accountable to someone or something else – for instance:

government bodies who may or may not have had experience or membership in the teaching profession. The authority of these outside monitoring bodies lies in the fact that they control the financing of education, and therefore they control the jobs and careers of the teachers themselves (Saha & Dworkin, 2009:4).

Teaching is nowadays viewed globally, and ideas of educational practices emerge and are borrowed from other nations and actors (Paine, Blömeke and

Aydarova, 2016:721). A recent example of global influence over governance of education is what Lindblad and L. Lundahl (2015) call “politics of expertise”, where international consultant firms or supranational organizations and their large-scale assessment programmes gain large influence on national policy. According to Adamson (2012)

The formation of larger international economic groups, geo-political shifts, the relative ease of international transportation, the development of information technology and other factors have resulted in comparative education research often being used by policymakers eager to find innovative solutions form elsewhere for domestic problems. (Adamson, 2012:641).

An example of travelling ideas stem from the PISA tests and their outcomes. Every three years since 1997, 15-year-olds from over 70 countries take the PISA test with a focus on reading, mathematics or science (OECD, 2013). The results are open to anyone and usually media and politicians follow the results closely. I regard this as similar to what Neave (1988) call “the evaluative state”, where output matters more than processes (Whitty, 2000:284). In the beginning of the 2000s PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS¹² became familiar words also to Swedish news consumers; the message was that Swedish schools have never been in such poor condition: run at a high cost but still with very poor results (Lindblad, 2011). The PISA tests became an important carrier of results, and according to L.M. Carvalho (2012:173) “the acronym seems to pervade educational knowledge and policy contexts”. The headlines were dark, not only in Swedish media, but in many Western countries (Ringarp, & Rothland, 2010).

Despite the fact that student results were thought to benefit from restructuring, between 2000 and 2012 the restructured Swedish schools had the steepest decline in outcomes of all the participating countries (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2016). Answers to this discrepancy were sought everywhere, with Finland being seen as a role-model to education, since their students performed in top. See Table 1 for a comparison of the Finland's and Sweden's PISA results, 2003–2015.

¹² TIMSS: Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study and PIRLS: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study, both performed by IEA: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

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TABLE 1. Finnish and Swedish results in PISA 2003-2015.

Ranking positions in relation to other OECD countries.

Test	Finland's positions	Sweden's positions
Mathematical literacy		
2003	1 st	14 th
2006	1 st	15 th
2009	2 nd	20 th
2012	6 th	28 th
2015	8 th	17 th
Reading literacy		
2003	1 st	7 th
2006	2 nd	9 th
2009	2 nd	15 th
2012	3 rd	27 th
2015	2 nd	14 th
Scientific literacy		
2003	1 st	12 th
2006	1 st	16 th
2009	1 st	23 rd
2012	2 nd	27 th
2015	3 rd	22 nd
Problem solving		
2003	2 nd	14 th

(Swedish National Agency for Education 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2015). Revised from Samuelsson & Lindblad (2015).

The well-known PISA tests have been criticized for different reasons (Uljens, 2005; Coffield, 2012; Simola, 2005). Yet, according to Adamson (2012:641) “the emphasis on research output as a measure of performance has spread around the world”. Lindblad, Pettersson and Popkewitz (2018:1) claim that numbers, which appear to be neutral, instead are “socially produced and learned, and the techniques to translate the one to the other (the symbol to its representation), such as statistics, are built on specific systems of reasoning.”

Although the discussions have differed across countries, “the results of the studies have been the catalyst for school policy discussions”, according to Ringarp and Rothland (2010:423). They also highlight that there have been differences in the debate in different countries, where in Sweden “the debate has dealt primarily with the teaching profession and the quality of teacher education”, in Germany the country’s educational system has been debated, and in Finland it has been discussed whether the PISA results were too good (Ringarp & Rothland, 2010:423). In accordance with the Swedish rhetoric, for instance,

the influential McKinsey claims that teachers' work plays a crucial role for the success of an educational system. According to them three things matter most:

- Getting the right people to become teachers;
- Developing them into effective instructors; and
- Ensuring the system is available to deliver the best possible instruction for every child (McKinsey, 2007)

Another important influencer on national policy is the Teaching and Learning International survey – TALIS – where teachers and school leaders are asked about working conditions and learning environments (OECD, 2018). These results are not as well known in the media as the PISA tests. Still, the survey has only been performed three times, 2008, 2013 and 2018 (results to be presented in 2019).¹³ It is still rather unfamiliar, but it seems likely that we will hear more about the TALIS test in the years to come. The Swedish National Agency for Education also highlights the results on their web-site (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018a).

In addition to PISA and TALIS, yearly since 2011, the OECD and Education International (EI), together with a hosting country, have arranged “International Summit on the Teaching Profession” (ISTP). In these summits invited governments and teacher organizations from “a number of high-performing and rapidly improving school systems, as certified by recent results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)” participate (International Summit on the Teaching Profession, 2016). Every summit has a main theme which the conference addresses; so far, the themes have for instance concerned “teacher quality, teachers’ professional learning and growth, and Excellence, Equity and Inclusiveness – High quality teaching for all”, thus it seems the focus is on teachers, and not contextual preconditions. On the summit’s websites they highlight the great impact the summits have on teacher policy (International Summit on the Teaching Profession, 2016, also see Robertson, 2016 for a description and problematization of this).

At the first summit, in 2011, based on the PISA results of 2009, education ministers, national union leaders and accomplished teachers from 26 countries participated.¹⁴ After each summit a final report is published. According to the

¹³ A Google search yielded 5 210 000 hits for OECD PISA (Google, 2019a) and 256000 for OECD TALIS (Google, 2019b)

¹⁴ The United States, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, People's Republic of China, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Republic of

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website: “The summit has quickly emerged as one of the most important forums in the world for dialogue on education transformation” (International Summit on the Teaching Profession, 2015). Regarding TALIS, Robertson (2016) referring to Basil Bernstein, states that though it may look innocent, “category making, and the materialization of new practices and identities is *always* political in that it is about power (Robertson, 2016:281).

A final example of an actor wanting to improve national policy is the World Bank Group and their Systems Assessment and Benchmarking Education for Results - SABER (Robertson, 2012:585).

Adamson (2012) writes that “this trend has engendered considerable debate around the degree to which transfer from one national context to another can take place without sensitive adaptation to ensure that the policy or practice in question is actually suited to the cultural contexts to which it is being transferred” (Adamson, 2012:647). What we can understand and learn from an increased international understanding is an old issue (Lindblad & Pettersson, 2018), yet more topical than ever.

Conclusions from the background

As accounted for in this brief outline, teachers’ work has been and is set in rather different models of governance with different prerequisites and expectations. These ideas are contrasting or even conflicting, and the shift, which has travelled in the Western world, has been towards more influence from the market and less from professionalism and bureaucracy. Yet supranational influential actors focus on individual teachers and give similar decontextualized advice to different nations. I align with T. Carvalho and Correia (2018:1), who state that nowadays we need to think about work and professions in relation to the current global context with a market expansion. The states’ roles are changing, as is professional work. T. Carvalho and Correia continue by stating that this affects how individuals perceive and act as professionals (2018:1). Goodson and Lindblad (2011), observe that the teaching profession has reconfigured itself under restructuring, and Mausethagen and Smeby discuss contradictory professional expectations.

To me this outline calls for a context-sensitive study on how teachers handle governance in times of restructuring. Of particular importance are societal and

Korea, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Singapore, Slovenia, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

contextual influences on teachers' work in times of many global actors wanting to influence education. I also want to contribute to a contextual-sensitive problematization of influences for teachers' work. With this point of departure and background I regard this thesis as exploring a curriculum-theory problem of professional actions in times of restructuring. I do this by studying influences on teachers' work and professionalism in different contexts of formulation and realisation (Lundgren, 1983). This is conceptualised through institutional logics in accordance with Freidson (2001).

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In the background I have accounted for how governance and restructuring in terms of marketization, privatization, governing by results and NPM were introduced. In this chapter I will account for different intended benefits of educational restructuring, such as research on teachers' professionalism, collegiality and enhanced student results. I will also comment on contextual aspects of teachers' work. Finally, I will account for research on teacher experiences from restructuring and summarize this review. Thus, this overview of previous research outlines governance in relation to some of the intended benefits of educational restructuring in relation to teachers' work, in order to get a picture of "the state of the art" and identify "gaps" (Gough, Oliver, & Thomas, 2013:5) of contextual influences for teachers' collegiality and professionalism in restructuring times.

I have used mainly educational research literature based on academic search engines such as ERIC and JSTORE, or Google scholar. However, as a result of snowballing, other fields and texts also appear. The literature outline is based on Swedish, Nordic and international research. To set the stage and provide a general argument for the timely research of this thesis, the research overview starts with a brief description on the development of teacher research in general since the beginning of the restructuring movement in the 1990s, with some historical perspectives.

A brief overview of teacher research

In 1997 Biddle, Good & Goodson (1997) noted that teacher research had mainly dealt with two classic views: 1) "political rhetoric about what might be education and how to reform it" and 2) "the realities that are faced by teachers who must contend with what actually transpires in classrooms, schools, and school systems" (Biddle et al., 1997:2). In a way, this thesis could be regarded as a combination of the two classic views.

Yet times change, and by 1997, to these "classic" views, however, research on for instance traditional tasks of schooling, the risk of reproducing social-class differences, expectations held for teachers, professional careers and lives

of teachers, observationally based research on classroom teaching, and demographic characteristics of teachers had been added (Biddle et al., 1997). In 2009, Saha and Dworkin claimed that the field is large and changing and that continued research on teachers and their teacher behaviour is needed. Furthermore the “conditions of teachers and teaching have become common across national boundaries so that uniformity rather than diversity dominates the practices which contribute to the accountability movements which have had such a striking impact” (Saha & Dworkin, 2009:21). Aligning with Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) and Czarniawska-Joerges, and Sevón 2005, these ideas can be regarded as ‘master ideas’ or travelling ideas of governance.

An even more contemporary outlook came from a Google scholar search (2019)¹⁵. According to this search, teacher research has widened even more, and nowadays seems to deal with for instance teacher cultures, education policy, control, power and accountability, professional communities, professional development, restructuring, gender or policy etc.

When dividing the Google scholar search by decade, some trends became visible, such as that professional communities, teacher teams and professional development is highly visible in the 1990s. In the early 2000s power and accountability and the globalizing economy is more highlighted (Google scholar, 2019). The most recent ‘trends’ according to this search¹⁶ focus for instance: crisis, school reform and teacher work culture (Carlson, 2017), teachers as a class, the state and globalisation (Robertson, 2017), ‘star teachers’ (Haberman, Gillette & Hill, 2017), professionalism and proletarianization (Densmore, 2018).

Contextual influences for teacher’ work and professionalism have been studied with a focus on for instance identity (Lasky, 2005; Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000; Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop, 2004; Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, P, 2006); as professional communities in restructuring schools (Louis, Marks & Kruse, 1996); in relation to tacit knowledge (Eraut, 2000); professionalism and relational practices (Frelin, 2010); or in relation to morale (Evans, 1997). See for instance Apelgren (2001) for a review of studies on professional development and change.

¹⁵ Using the key words ‘teachers’ work’. First, I tried with the key words ‘teacher research’ (to follow Biddle et al., 1997), but then I ended up in research on teachers as researchers. I therefore changed to teachers’ work.

¹⁶ Manually limiting to the most frequently cited research 2015–2019.

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Institutional logics have been studied in relation to contested discourses and tensions between, for instance, policy and union (Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012), leadership (Rigby, 2014) or kindergarten (Russell, 2011).

The globalization of educational policy has also been studied thoroughly, as presented in Mundy et al. (2016). That particular handbook primarily addresses “why, how, and to what extent national governments have been induced to allow the globalization of policy in an area widely regarded as a national preserve” (Green et al., 2016:8), that is, in a way that this thesis takes up when this is already the case; hence the approach is somewhat different than the one in this thesis.

However, exploring contextual influences for teachers’ work, collegiality and professionalism in restructuring times is a way of combining several of these approaches that is not that common. In line with this introductory review of teacher research in general and the lack of research on contextual influences for teachers’ work, I argue that this thesis is highly topical, adding to our knowledge of teachers’ work under restructuring in terms of international aspects (Saha & Dworkin, 2009); and globalisation and professionalism (Google scholar, 2019) using a context-sensitive approach. Thus, a combination of these fields seems appropriate and timely. From this outlook, I will now turn to some intended benefits of restructuring. Thereafter, these will be empirically explored, categorized and discussed in the three sub-studies as contextualized consequences of restructuring of teachers’ work.

Professionalism and collegiality as intended benefits of restructuring

An intended benefit of the restructuring of the educational system is increased efficiency, but apart from this, different actors present different intended benefits, including enhanced student results (Christensen & Lægheid, 2007) or reducing social differences (L. Lundahl, 2002). An overarching idea among its proponents is that NPM will lead to “variation as well as innovation producing a better school system” (Lindblad, 2011:68).

Here, I will account for some of the beneficial ideas expected to follow restructuring that are of particular importance for this thesis, namely increased professionalism and collegiality, which are interesting, since, on the one hand, they are considered to be promoted by NPM (Jacobsen & Buch, 2016) and, on the other hand, are thought to be threatened by it (Evetts, 2009:248; Dovemark

& Holm, 2017), and are thus of importance to my interest in contradictory professional expectations (Mausethagen & Smeby, 2016). Another expected outcome of restructuring is enhanced student results. Therefore, I finally present the increased interest in and focus on student results, highlighting the impact of the PISA tests introduced above.

Enhanced professionalism

One of the ideas with the restructuring of the educational system was to enhance teacher professionalism (questioned by e.g. Falkner, 1997). I will introduce my understanding of professionalism through general ideas from some strands of research on professions.

In academic research, professions, professionalism and professionalism are analytical concepts, albeit often-disputed ones. In everyday language, the terms are strongly emotive, associated with status and therefore desirable to many groups, or with Fournier's words: "who wants to be unprofessional?" (Fournier 1999:294). There have been different strands of research; according to Lindblad (2009:212) this has given the field "a lack of internal consistency and stability". Here, I will highlight some of these strands of research on professions, professionalism and professionalism and also their relation to and importance for restructuring. I do this in order to align and demarcate the thesis from other research on professions.

This text will briefly touch on the historical description or categorization of professions but will mainly depart from an idea of professionalism as an ideal type for steering and controlling work. Evans (2008) claims that the concepts have been renovated, and in line with her, "(Where) I take up the story is post-'renovation'" (Evans, 2008:21).

Demarcating teachers – early research on professions

Historically, research on professions focused the classic professions¹⁷ and their characteristics, but this has changed over time (Whitty, 2000:281). According to Svensson and Evetts (2010) sociological research has always been dominant, even though sociologists have strong affinities to other disciplines such as philosophy, history, education, political science, sociology of knowledge, sociology of education, sociology of organizations, sociology of work and sociology of occupation (Svensson & Evetts, 2010:9).

¹⁷ i.e. not teachers

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Early research on professions described the professions' traits and their function in societies (Parsons, 1939) or differences among occupational groups (see e.g. Broman, 1995; Foss Lindblad & Lindblad, 2009). In this kind of listing and categorization, teachers were often conceived of as semi-professions (Etzioni, 1969). However, these often-altruistic traits of professions were heavily questioned (Foss Lindblad & Lindblad, 2009). According to Molander, Terum and Smeby (2008), the concept you use is not only a concept, but through its definition you also position yourself in the world and the way you see it. Therefore, the concepts of profession are both including and excluding. One example of this is that historically classic female occupations were excluded when definitions of professions were discussed (Evetts, 2006:519). Foss Lindblad and Lindblad (2009:7) note that "it goes without saying that the professional was a male with a masculine ethos" (Foss Lindblad & Lindblad, 2009:7). I will not go further into this strand of research in this thesis, yet I will note that the dispute about excluding and including professions is still underway, though of lesser importance or interest to this thesis.

Including teachers – later research on professions

As early as 1983, Freidson (1983:33) stated that a profession is "an empirical entity about which there is little ground for generalising". The 'trait approach' was followed and replaced by more discourses on professions and professionalism that describe changes in work life (Evetts, 2006:516); professions' knowledge claims (Leicht & Fennell, 2008), or professionalization processes where "attempts to improve this status and standing of teaching" (Hargreaves, 2000:152). According to Whitty (2000:282) this was often called 'the professional project', and it has variously been regarded as successful or unsuccessful. Other strands of research have focused professions in organizations, professional behaviour, how to contract professional employees, professional coding and professions' knowledge and power (see e.g. Foss Lindblad & Lindblad, 2009). Fournier (1999) states that professionalism has become an attractive way to control new kinds of organizations and occupations, as opposed to the 'classic' ones. For instance, commercial companies require "professional conduct" from their retailers. Fournier says that "(...) being a professional is not merely about absorbing a body of scientific knowledge but is also about conducting and constituting oneself in an appropriate manner (...)" (Fournier, 1999: 287).

Evetts (2009) distinguishes between two kinds of professionalism. One is used by managers and includes control, hierarchy, standardized work procedures and relies on external accountability, called organizational professionalism (Evetts, 2009:248). The other kind, occupational professionalism, is manifested by trust, collegial authority where practitioners have authority due to their education and professional codes (Evetts, 2009:248).

In Sweden there has been a political goal in professionalizing teachers (Falkner, 1997). Several educational reforms have aimed at strengthening teacher autonomy and the teaching profession, but for instance Falkner (1997) claims that this professionalizing talk can also be seen as an imposed tool for restructuring the educational system. In other words, teachers would help to implement this restructuring, even though they, as Parding and Berg-Jansson (2016) claim, “first and foremost choose their profession – to become teachers – rather than a specific employment setting, they tend to identify more strongly with the logic of the profession” (Parding & Berg-Jansson, 2016:1) than the organization, for instance. Earlier, Parding (2010) drawing on Evetts’ (2009) studies also highlighted Swedish teachers as being oriented towards occupational professionalism, whereas the management was oriented towards organizational professionalism.

Mausethagen and Smeby (2016) explored changes in teacher professionalism following contemporary education-policy developments and suggests that the ‘one-dimensional view’ centring on dichotomies should be replaced:

Moreover, we argue that it is perhaps time for the somewhat one-dimensional view on changes in professionalism centring on dichotomies, such as occupational and organizational professionalism and professionalization from above and from within, to be replaced by more multi-dimensional perspectives that focus on tensions and dilemmas rather than dichotomies. This also implies that a range of contextual factors exists that should be taken into account when changes in teacher professionalism – for example, different curricula traditions and views on teacher education – are investigated (Mausethagen & Smeby, 2016:339).

Thus contextual factors seem of importance to teacher professionalism.

Professionalism has also been regarded as a way of organizing and controlling work, which for instance Freidson (2001) explores through theories on institutional logics and the logic of the market, the logic of professionalism and the logic of bureaucracy, which will be further commented on in Chapter 4.

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Professionalism usually derives from Hoyle's distinction in 1974, though with different variations. One of them being van Veen, Slegers, Bergen, Klaassen (2000:177) who highlight the many actors that are involved in the construction of teacher professionalism:

In the case of teachers, many actors are involved in the construction of their professionalism, like teachers themselves, politicians, policy makers, educational experts, parents, and different pressure groups. In sum, we consider professionalism of teachers as a concept referring to the social constellation of interpretations of how teachers should work in terms of what they should master, what they should do and aim for. Professionalism as a socially defined and socially constructed concept implies also that views on professionalism are products of a certain time, therefore these views change in time, and the definitions and interpretations are characteristic of a certain time.

They thus highlight the various actors of importance for the construction of teacher professionalism, as well as its dependency on context, which also is of importance to this thesis.

Another common definition is Hoyle's distinction between restricted and extended professionalism (Hoyle, 1974). It differs in regard to the teachers' primary focus, either on her or his own teaching activities or on a wider scope than the classroom of teaching interest (van Veen et al., 2000:179). However, this is of minor importance to this thesis, where other distinctions are made.

Gieryn (1983) used the concept of boundary work to highlight how some disciplines in academia used boundary work in order to distance themselves from, or relate to, the 'desired' direction (Gieryn 1983: 781). In the beginning of the 2000s, Foss Lindblad & Lindblad (2009) discussed professionalizing talk about teachers in terms of the "boundary work" or the boundaries that have been produced. Boundary work should then be understood as the political boundaries that are established, from different stakeholders in order to promote or prevent teacher professionalizing processes. Foss Lindblad & Lindblad (2009) claim that the talk of "professionalizing" teachers is rather new, which they maintain is linked to a restructured school system where former borders between "teachers' work, science, and policy tend to erode" (Foss Lindblad & Lindblad, 2009: 17).

As seen above, often, professionalization claims do not come from the practitioners themselves, but rather from other instances (Evetts, 2006: 523, Lindblad, 1997). However, some researchers, for instance McLaughlin and Talbert (2006), claim that teacher professionalism is a result of teachers cooperating

around their students and work, developed in strong learning communities that are also learning communities for teachers. Professional communities have often been regarded in international research as an important factor for the professional development of teachers, to increase teacher professionalism and for the creation of a more egalitarian school (Lomos, Hofman and Bosker, 2011; Talbert & McLauhlin, 1994, 1996, 2002; Stoll, Bolam, McMahon, Wallace & Thomas, 2006). Here, the notion of community is central; it is not about the individual's learning, but about the collective learning (Stoll et al., 2006:225). These communities may be operating on different levels, that is, at department levels as well as school-wide (Stoll et al., 2006:226), which also aligns with this thesis and its questioning of an overly narrow focus on teachers as individuals.

Enhanced collaboration and collegiality

Notions of collegiality are part of professionalism and an aim as well as a means for restructuring. Here I give an account of some of those notions, in order to unveil the multiple meanings of the concept. Collegiality and collaboration have sometimes been used interchangeably, which is sometimes problematized (Lomos et al., 2011:123).

Modern research on teacher collegiality is generally regarded to start in the 1970s with Lortie's *Schoolteacher* (1975/2002). There Lortie claimed, for instance, that teachers' work lacked internal consistency and a common language, and that teachers worked individually as in 'egg crates'. Lortie has been influential, but also heavily criticized, and can be seen as a starting point for a still-ongoing discussion about collaboration and individualism in teachers' work – a discussion that leads in different directions. In general, collegiality means 'unity' (Svensson, 2011:304); however, in research as well as in policy, it is assigned various meanings (Vangrieken, Dochy, Raes & Kyndt, 2015). Vangrieken et al. (2015) show various definitions and usages of collegiality in a systematic overview of literature on teacher collaboration. They state that since different terms are used interchangeably, "it can be questioned whether the terms refer to the same or different forms of teacher collaboration, making it difficult to draw warranted conclusions from current literature" (Vangrieken et al., 2015:35). Kelchermans (2006) states that both the different values of collegiality and the belief in their benefits need to be differentiated (Kelchermans, 2006:226).

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Kelchermans (2006:221) defines collegiality as referring to “the quality of the relationships among staff members in a school”. Often collegiality is regarded as a solution to most problems in schools, but Hargreaves (1994) discusses a problem with contrived collegiality, which is understood as leading to inefficiency and a lack of flexibility. Instead of promoting professional development, contrived collegiality seems to hinder teachers in their development (Hargreaves, 1994:222).

Little and McLaughlin (1993:3) write that individualism as described by Lortie (1975/2002) can also be regarded as a kind of collegiality where you agree to leave your colleagues alone. This kind of “individual collegiality” has often been conceived of as negative for the development of the teaching profession, whose relations according to Evetts (2009) are “collegial, cooperative and mutually supportive” (Evetts, 2009:253). However, Hargreaves (1994:175) problematizes the negative notion of individualism and shows that there can be good reasons for individualism, such as teacher autonomy. Later, Hargreaves and Fullan (2012:11) distinguish between individualism, regarded as negative and individuality, regarded as positive:

as we seek to eliminate individualism (habital or enforced patterns of working alone), we should not eradicate individuality (voicing of disagreement, opportunity for solitude, and outright quirkiness) along with it. Eliminating individualism should not be about making everyone the same and plunging them into groupthink. As well as being worthwhile in its own right, individuality generates creative disagreement and risk, which are sources of dynamic group learning and improvement. (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012:111).

As an answer to teacher individualism – in the literature of the early 1980s there was a “growing belief in the benefits of collaboration and collegiality” (Kelchermans, 2006:223). From here, ideas of more “cooperative collegiality” was developed by Little in the 1980s, which thereafter developed into research on professional communities in different forms (Kelchermans, 2006:222). Collegiality is thus used in research on areas such as professional development (Clement and Vandenberghe, 2000), teacher socialisation (Kardos, Johnson, Peske, Kauffman, Liu, 2001), or higher education and teacher educators (e.g. Hadar & Brody, 2010). Collegiality is categorised by Bennett, Woods, Wise, & Newton (2007) into collegiality as structure or as action and practice (Bennett et al., 2007). Vangrieken et al. (2015) state that teacher collaboration is positive on several levels; but also highlight a problem with a loss of individual auton-

omy, independence and contrived collegiality (Vangrieken, 2015:36, see Hargreaves, 1994). Mausethagen (2013) understands collegiality as collegial relations consisting of communication and interaction. Thus, collegiality and collaboration can be regarded as a way out of isolation (Kelchermans, 2006).

Hargreaves (1994) claims that cooperation and collegiality are important when reforms are being implemented. He calls them political factors for restructuring schools from the outside and developing them from the inside (Hargreaves, 1994:198). This is also seen in influential supranational organizations' and consultant firms' "politics of expertise" (Lindblad & L. Lundahl, 2015), often with recommendations on collaborative practices, but without explanations on what is actually meant (see e.g. Schleicher, 2015). In Kelchermans' (2006) words, "its contents and agendas can differ significantly" (Kelchermans, 2006:227). Here collegiality can be seen as a form of governance,¹⁸ that is, how something is governed in terms of allocation of resources, decision-making etc, particularly in knowledge-intensive workplaces (Sahlin & Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2016:18).

Talbert and McLaughlin (1994:124) note that in decentralized educational systems there are big differences between schools in the education they provide, but also between classrooms in one school. They also claim that "colleagues are potentially important sources of work norms and sanctions when official or internalized standards for practice are weak or inconsistent" (Talbert & McLaughlin 1994:24).

Sweden was early in trying to create collaborative practices in teachers' work through the introduction of teacher teams already in the 1970s. These teams were either centred on the students that teachers taught or on the subject that teachers taught. They often included scheduled formalised meetings and shared offices and were introduced in order to meet individualism in teachers' work and to increase collaboration, hence "collaboration was institutionalized" (L. Lundahl & Kallós, 2016:364). Even today teacher teams are more common in Swedish schools than in other countries (Swedish National Agency for Education 2014a). An argument for increasing collaborative practices was that teachers would increase their professionalism through learning from each other as opposed to an organization where ideas would come from above (Olin, 2009). In this sense an idea was that it would also contribute to school improvement

¹⁸ In Swedish, styrform, my translation.

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(Liljenberg, 2015:46). Langelotz (2014:13) notes that, in the literature, collegiality, in terms of co-operation with colleagues, parents and pupils, has been regarded an important aspect of teachers' skills. Even so, much research has shown that despite the fact that schools organize their teachers in teams, teachers do not function as professional learning communities, but rather as a resource for discussing day-to-day practical issues (see for instance Berg, Andersson, Bostedt, Novak, Perselli, Sundh, & Wede, 2013). Olin (2009:45) concludes that it seems that teacher teams can be questioned in relation to the aim of the organization to support the teachers in their work. It rather turns out like Hargreaves' contrived collegiality (Hargreaves, 1994).

Enhanced student results

Yet another intended benefit from educational restructuring is improved student results. Assessment as such is not new; in all educational systems, in all times, teachers have assessed and evaluated their students in different ways. C. Lundahl (2010) notes that the first known assessments were in China 2000–3000 years ago, and since then they have had several different purposes, such as selection, learning and control (C. Lundahl, 2010:256). According to C. Lundahl, (2010), assessment can be seen from different perspectives, for instance from a societal perspective, a psychological perspective or from a pedagogical perspective (C. Lundahl, 2010:256). Depending on which perspective is used, different stories will be told.

In Swedish late-modern decentralized schools, assessment has been given a new role. According to for instance C. Lundahl, (2010) or Lindblad (2011), nowadays individuals are not to be selected or sorted out, but should instead be given the knowledge to be able to make well-informed choices. C. Lundahl argues that when goals rather than rules are to govern teachers and students, as in educational restructuring, there is a new need for assessments and evaluations (C. Lundahl, 2010:286). Assessments and evaluations have become part of the teaching and governance of schools. Evaluations are often seen from a rational point of view, and in accordance with this, results from evaluations are often regarded as being used in order to improve practice (Ellström, 2009). Through this, schools are governed from behind, by results instead of procedures, which is an important aspect of restructuring. In this setting we find PISA and the declining Swedish results.

There is a great interest in student results in different national settings, and the common argument is that the results in Swedish schools need to be improved (for a discussion of this see e.g. Harling, Jodal, Lindblad, Runesdotter & Wärvik, 2015:195). The Swedish National Agency for Education provides open statistics in their databases SALSA (The Swedish National Agency for Education's Work Tool for Local Union Analyses) and SIRIS (The Swedish National Agency for Education's Internet-based Performance and Quality Information System) (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018b). The intention of these systems is not to rank schools, but that is what happens. Parents can look at the schools' merit values and decide whether the school is suitable for them. There are other, similar ranking lists in the media. The Teachers' Association (Läraryrket) annually presents its list of the best school municipality of the year (Läraryrket, 2018). Here, the focus is on the important role of municipalities as being responsible for local schools.

When schools compete for students and their vouchers, and students and their parents become 'clients', the focus on school results and league tables become legitimate and important as sources of information.

Teachers' experiences of restructuring

Teachers' experiences of restructuring were explored in the European research project 'Professional Knowledge under Restructuring' – Prof Know (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011, Sohlberg et al., 2008). It aimed at understanding teachers' (in primary schools in seven countries: the UK, Greece, Finland, Spain, Sweden, Portugal and Ireland) knowledge and personal experiences of work life in a restructured Europe from the 1970s onwards. The project had a "bottom-up" perspective and a shared idea of "a basic duality of espoused, formal, theoretical, explicit knowledge, vs. a tacit, personal knowing in doing" (Müller et al., 2007:25). Three similar themes were found for the teachers in the seven participating countries: 1) teachers face a more heterogeneous student population, 2) teachers regard students as more rebellious, and 3) teachers face a loss of prestige and respect for their profession (Müller et al., 2007:3). Teachers from the seven countries reported very differently on their working conditions, but they all had an increase in "terms of documentation and paper work" (Müller et al.,

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2007:3).¹⁹ The teachers in the Prof Know study agreed that the need for documentation had increased, though for various reasons (Müller et al., 2007:20).

Even though teacher teams are very common in Sweden, the most developed form of cooperation between colleagues was found in Ireland. However, collaboration is often dependent on personal relations among colleagues. Experiences from this kind of collaboration were not necessarily shared to the rest of the school. Furthermore, Hargreaves (1994) highlights that decisions, that previously were made in one central arena, are now processed and decided locally in almost 300 local arenas.

In Swedish policy, travelling ideas are visible, both in management and in rhetoric. Reforms such as including career opportunities for teachers and teacher licences were seen as a way of strengthening the teaching profession, thus a focus on the teacher as an individual in order to strengthen the collective also in a national setting (Skolvärlden, 2014). In parallel with this focus on the individual teacher there is a stated international expectation of teacher cooperation (Schleicher, 2015), which might seem but does not have to be contradictory, depending on what assumptions they are based on.

When education and the public sector is to be run in the same way as the private sector, ideas that previously did not exist in this area are added. Teachers nowadays face competition, for example, both between and within schools (Lundahl, L., Arreman, Holm, & Lundström, 2014). This competition constrains the daily work through new tasks such as school fairs (see e.g. Harling, 2017) and advertising, but also creates a new relation to parents and students – the ‘customers’ of the schools. These ‘customers’ vote with their feet and are not afraid to use their new power. An idea underpinning this was that poor schools would step up, but an additional result is that schools almost become hostages to the ‘clients’.

Blomgren and Waks (2015) discuss recent Swedish reforms of teachers’ work. It has often been understood that usually one institutional logic at a time is dominant, but in contemporary Sweden there seems to be more of everything (Blomgren and Waks, 2015). For instance, Blomgren and Waks (2015) discuss that reforms that have their origin the logic of bureaucracy (such as the introduction of the Swedish Schools Inspectorate) are introduced at the same time as reforms with an origin in the logic of the market (free choice of schools) or

¹⁹ This data is further explored and reanalysed in the first article in this thesis (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015).

the logic of professionalism (a decentralized curricula). Influence from all logics exists in parallel (Blomgren & Waks, 2015).

Lundström and Parding (2011:6) find “clashing logics” in teachers’ work, particularly between the logic of the profession and the logic of the market in their study on Swedish upper-secondary teachers’ experiences of school choice. They reason that since most teachers identify with the logic of professionalism and here encounter the logic of the market, they face clashing logics, and teachers’ identities can thus be seen as challenged and challenging (Lundström & Parding, 2011). Mausethagen and Granlund (2012) discuss contested discourses and tensions between policy and teachers’ union.

Parding and Berg-Jansson (2016) presents two strands of research with regards to conditions for professional work as a victimizing approach where teachers meet with pressure over performance and accountability or a shift towards viewing professionals as active agents (Parding & Berg-Jansson, 2016:5). This thesis relies more on the latter of these strands.

Conclusions from the literature review

Some findings from the contemporary searches highlight that crossed national boundaries for teaching and uniformity in preconditions for teachers’ work (Saha and Dworkin, 2009) in addition to a focus on market competition, and politics at work, make this thesis highly topical.

As seen in this overview, apart from being disputed, the various meanings of profession, professional, professionalism, professionality or collegiality imply different things and have different connotations. Teachers and schools are expected to follow policy and its recommendations, but what are teachers to respond to when policy advice consists of boundary objects with different connotations? Most of the research referred to above takes a general stance. But what connotations do these boundary objects have in different contexts of education in the light of institutional logics, and how do teachers and schools respond to and act on that? What characterizes teachers’ work and professionality in new work contexts of formulation and realisation? What professionality is made possible? This is of particular importance since they are concepts used not only in research, but also in educational policy. When, in a way, contradictory ideas are recommended, they also become of interest to analyse with respect to how teachers deal with it.

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With restructuring, in terms of marketization, decentralization, governance by results and competition, teachers' working conditions have changed. Often teachers have become symbols for a school in crisis, not least in the media or from supranational organizations or consulting firms. Since nowadays they have a great impact on policy and its rhetoric, they become important for the governing of education and as such of important to analyse (see, e.g. Adamson, 2012; Coffield, 2012; Grek, 2009). Hargreaves (1994) argues that when decisions are processed and decided locally in many arenas, the responses to these decisions will likely differ in different contexts. Here, contexts like these, and influences on them, are explored.

In different contexts of education, national, international and local, teachers and schools respond to governance and recommendations of, for instance, collaborative practices, individualism, marketization or governance by results and competition. How do influences in terms of different institutional logics matter for responses to governance and travelling ideas of policy in various contexts of education?

For this thesis, I regard it fruitful to use profession theories – not in order to define professions or demarcate them from something else, but in order to analyse how teachers' respond to governance of their work in times of restructuring in line with for instance Freidson (2001) and Evetts (2006, 2009). Finally, and the main question is: how do contextual influences for teachers' work and professionalism differ as a matter of institutional logics in an era of educational restructuring? Can contexts of formulation and realisation in different institutional logics provide a piece to the jigsaw puzzle of the problematic of contradictory professional expectations in teachers' work? In order to analyse this, I turn to theories of institutional logics, and especially the work of Freidson (2001) as presented in the next chapter.

4. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Contextualized influences for teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring can be studied with a variety of different methods and frameworks. In this thesis, I have chosen to conceive of it as a curriculum-theory problem since it problematizes how teachers' work and professionalism is enabled or constrained by external models of governance, and how teachers respond to and are given the possibility of acting on that. As presented earlier, I depart from Lundgren's contexts of formulation and realisation and adapt them to the 21st century by acknowledging that there are several contexts of formulation as well as realisation. I explore teachers' agency in different contexts through profession theories on institutional logics in accordance with Freidson (2001), since I want a profession theory that is context sensitive and possible to use on micro as well as on macro levels. Here, the institutional logics at play are those of the market, bureaucracy and professionalism. Before accounting for them, however, I will give a brief account of precursors of theories of institutional logics – institutional analysis, institutional theory and its Scandinavian development.

Institution, institutional theory and its development

The concept of an 'institution' has no common definition, apart from being used on different institutions in terms of for instance schools or hospitals (Smeplass, 2018), but in research it is usually said to grow when people construct their social procedures. It has been applied to different things: handshakes, marriage, schools, socialism, religion and universities (Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2009:8), particularly in sociology. Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin and Suddaby (2008) define institutions as

more-or-less taken-for-granted repetitive social behaviour that is underpinned by normative systems and cognitive understandings that give meaning to social exchange and thus enable self-reproducing social order (Greenwood et al., 2008:4-5).

Institutions can thus be understood as reproducing values and thoughts, and the term is often used for the studying of professions. Leicht & Fennell (2008) claim that “the study of professions and professional work is intimately tied to institutionalism and institutional theory” (Leicht & Fennell (2008:445).

From the end of the 20th century, institutional theory grew within organization theory from subjects such as sociology, economics and political science (Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2009:7). Eriksson-Zetterquist (2009) thereafter sorts the development of institutional theory into early institutional theory, neo-institutional theory and Scandinavian institutional theory. According to DiMaggio and Powell (1991) both the old and the new approach of institutional theory questioned rational-actor models of organization which earlier had dominated (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991:12).

According to Czarniawska (2008:779) institutional theory can be seen as a framework and not a theory at all, and that the strength of it “lies in the tolerance of its propagandists”. Hence, it seems flexible. It is used for studying how organizations are affected by (and affect) their surroundings and how they will follow rules, formal as well as informal, rather than being rational (Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2009:5).

Common concepts in institutional theory are for instance organizational fields and isomorphism. An organizational field is defined in relation to the field of interest, that is, it varies depending on the study, and it suggests that organizations influence each other even though they may not have direct contact. Isomorphism explains how organizations become more and more similar (Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2009: 73), which to some extent is applicable to the travelling ideas of governance. Or in the words of Burch (2007:196): “institutional perspectives highlight the importance of non-governmental actors in shaping the roles and ideologies of educators and policymakers” (Burch 2007:196).

Two central pieces of work in neo-institutional theory, Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and their variants of isomorphism and legitimacy theories, laid the foundation for theories of institutional logics, although, after criticism of deficiencies, they were further developed (Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2009:88; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012:47).

The term institutional logic was according to Thornton & Ocasio (2008) introduced by Alford and Friedland (1985) “to describe the contradictory practices and beliefs inherent in the institutions of modern western societies” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008:100). Alford & Friedland (1985) identified the capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christianity to

each be guided by a distinct institutional logic. These logics have thereafter been revised and reread by other researchers, in different areas, which I will comment on now.

An institutional logics perspective

Theories of institutional logics have been used in many different settings, such as higher-education publishing, health-care organizations, consumer research, architects and many more (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008:99). Thornton and Ocasio (2009) call it a ‘buzzword’, which they claim is over used and as a result “(...) their meanings often get distorted and overextended and they burn out of existence” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008:99). It thus seems of importance to define the usage of this ‘buzzword’.

As mentioned, neo-institutional theory was criticized for lacking a theory of agency. In an institutional logics perspective, this was dealt with, with the goal of examining the relation of individuals’ actions and their embeddedness in different institutional orders with their view of rationality (Thornton et al., 2012:9). Or in the words of Thornton and Ocasio (2008)

the core assumption of the institutional logics approach is that the interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organizations are embedded within prevailing institutional logics. Decisions and outcomes are a result of the interplay between individual agency and institutional structure (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008:103).

In this sense the institutional logics perspective as an analytic framework for institutional analysis distinguishes itself from neo-institutional theory, and, according to Thornton et al. (2012:1), it even transforms institutional theory.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to define. In 2008 Thornton and Ocasio defined it as

the socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences (Thornton et al., 2012:2).

Reay and Hinings (2005:352) further note that institutional logics can show how meaning-making systems and associate practices guide a field. Accordingly, a common question is how organizations respond to different institutional

forces. An institutional logics perspective can guide research questions on micro as well as macro levels of analysis and “incorporates theoretical mechanisms that explain the partial autonomy of actors from social structure” (Thornton et al., 2012:7).

According to Thornton et al. (2012) an institutional logics perspective is based on four metatheoretical assumptions:

- the duality of agency and structure;
- that institutions are seen as material and symbolic;
- that institutions are seen as historically contingent and
- that there are institutions at multiple levels of analysis (Thornton et al., 2012:6).

That is, in an institutional logics perspective, ideas are conceived of as both symbolic and concrete, depending on their contemporary and historic surroundings, where participants are seen as having agency. Furthermore, according to Thornton and Ocasio (2008:100) institutional logics:

- shape rational, mindful behaviour,
- actors shape and change institutional logics. (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008:100)

They continue by stating that the institutional logics approach provides a bridge between the macro and micro process approaches (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008:100).

The idea, as originally presented by Friedland and Alford (1991), is that the core institutions of society each has a central logic that both constrain and enable action (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), which is of importance for this thesis. Overall the institutional logic approach “incorporates a broad meta-theory on how institutions, through their underlying logics of action, shape heterogeneity, stability and change in individuals and organizations (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008:103). It highlights ways in which social relationships are linked to organizations broader environment (Coburn, 2001:4), and it also influences teachers’ classroom practices (Coburn, 2001:8).

Institutional logics according to Freidson (2001)

Freidson (2001) regards institutional logics as a way of steering and organizing work or, as a fixed model to compare and use as analytic tools (Freidson 2001:4). He identifies ‘professionalism’ as the third ideal type alongside Adam Smith’s ‘free market’ and Max Weber’s ‘bureaucracy’ as the three logics. They are regarded as ideal types, that is, they do not exist in their pure form (Freidson, 2001:2)²⁰. Rather, Freidson claims that “reality is and should be a mix of all three logics, the policy issue being the precise composition of that mix” (Freidson, 2001:181). According to Freidson each logic has “systematic consequences for the organization of labor markets” in terms of work conditions, control and goals (Freidson, 2001:83). Consequently, faith in different ideal types based on different assumptions are of importance for policy choices (Freidson, 2001:2). As such these ideal types seem to be of importance for the steering and organizing of teachers’ work, which to a high extent is dependent on policy choices.

As mentioned above, the logic of bureaucracy and the logic of the market are well known. However, Freidson (2001) introduces the “third logic” – the logic of professionalism. In short, Freidson’s logic of professionalism refers to the institutional circumstances in which the members of occupations, rather than consumers or managers, control work (Freidson, 2001:180). ‘Market’ refers to those circumstances in which consumers control the work, and ‘bureaucracy’ to those in which managers are in control” (Freidson, 2001:12). See Table 2 for a brief characterisation of the respective institutional logic as frames of reference conditioning actors’ choices.

²⁰ Ideal types are further developed later in section 4

TABLE 2. Characteristic features of institutional logics.

Institutional logic	Characteristic features
The logic of the market	Competition and customers in focus. This logic assumes that there are sellers and buyers who know the value of the goods on the market. In order for the customers to make well-informed choices much information is required and provided. The idea is that competitive prices and acceptable quality will follow.
The logic of bureaucracy	Common in the public sector and includes a focus on transparency, stability, hierarchical structures, rules and formal procedures. A high degree of standardization will follow.
The logic of professionalism	In this logic, the assumption is that the workers themselves rule their work. High degree of autonomy due to their long education and training. Thus, the workers' competence and experience as the base for decisions. A boundary towards other groups is common.

Based on, Freidson, 2001; Blomgren & Waks, 2015. Revised from Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015).

These logics include both material, symbolical parts, concrete structures as well as ideas (Blomgren & Waks, 2015). The idea is that people, although they are agents, are embedded in different logics that form our possible ways of acting and thinking, and also our professional identity (Blomgren & Waks, 2015:25), which is in line with the contextual influences of teachers' work, collegiality and professionalism and as such presents a suitable framework for this thesis.

5. METHODS

In this chapter, I present and discuss choices of methods used in the three empirical studies that form the base for this thesis. Finally, I comment on research ethics.

Design, material and production of data

Departing from the overall research problematic of how teachers' deal with contradictory expectations in contexts of education and how institutional logics matter as influences for teachers' work and professionalism in restructuring times, three studies were designed (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015; Samuelsson, 2018; Samuelsson, submitted). Using the theory of institutional logics I wanted to develop a conceptual reasoning of contextual influences for teachers' work and professionalism. The concepts were thereafter further explored in relation to the empirical material.

The three sub-studies consist of a re-analysis of a larger survey, an analysis of educational research literature and a smaller original web-survey, see Table 3 below, and are tied together by the thesis's research questions and theories of institutional logics. The concepts used vary across the articles, but what they have in common is the ideal types in accordance with Freidson (2001).

TABLE 3. Concepts and methods in the three sub-studies

Article	Concepts	Methods
Samuelsson, K., & Lindblad, S. (2015). School management, cultures of teaching and student outcomes: Comparing the cases of Finland and Sweden. <i>Teaching and Teacher Education, (49)</i>, 168-177.	Teacher cultures. Ideal types: the logics of the market and professionalism.	Comparative re-analysis of a large survey. n=1548. Explorative factor analysis, index, cross-tabulations.
Samuelsson, K. (2018) Teacher collegiality in context of institutional logics: A conceptual research review. <i>Professions and Professionalism. 8</i>(3).	Boundary object Occupational and organizational professionalism. Ideal types: the logics of the market, professionalism and bureaucracy.	Conceptual research literature review. Strict transparent schedule. Analysis schedule based on characteristics of Institutional logics. Interpretative.
Samuelsson, K. (submitted). Teachers, teacher teams and collegiality: Illuminating varieties of policy influences in local contexts	Ideal types: the logics of the market, professionalism and bureaucracy. Professional communities (Lomos et al., 2011)	Web survey. n=82. Comparative case study Explorative factor analysis, index, cross-tabulations. Categorizations.

The general research approach is conceived of as explorative, based on theoretical concerns and conceptual explorations in relation to empirical material. The quantitative data from the surveys was used for identifying responses that were qualitatively different.

In accordance with Lindblad and Sohlberg (2003:66) I have studied teachers as groups and thus chosen distance at the expense of detail, arguing that however important a teacher is, focusing on decontextualized individual teachers seems simplistic or in Hargreaves and Fullan's (2012) words "teaching like a pro is a collective and transparent responsibility" (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012:xiv).

The sub-studies of the thesis have different designs and production of data, yet, the overall research questions and the use of similar frameworks give the thesis a frame and stability.

In educational research, it is often acknowledged that education is hard to govern and that political decisions are not always visible in teachers' work; they

are said to be loosely coupled (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Lindblad, Nilsson & Lindblad, 2018, Fredriksson, 2010). I agree, but even so, I assume that governance has consequences for teachers' work and the conditions for it.

I align with Kvale (2009) and postmodern thinking where there is no faith in knowledge as a mirror of reality, the local context is important, and knowledge has to do with the perspective and values of the researcher (Kvale 2009:69). With my choice of methods in the three articles, highlighted in Table 3 and described here, I describe, analyse and discuss how teachers express how they respond to organizational structures and expectations in different contexts of education.

The methods, problems and their solutions are accounted for in respective articles, but in this section as well, where a broader discussion is included. I will start by presenting the different designs, selection and production of data in the three articles and thereafter discuss them separately. First, however, some words on different contexts, comparative concerns and the conceptual framework for analysis for the three articles.

Different contexts and units of analysis

The studies explore different contextual influences for teachers' work and professionalism, and in accordance with this, the units of analysis vary. In articles one and three, contexts of realisation in terms of teacher responses to organizational structures and expectations for teachers' work are analysed, and in article two educational research literature is analysed.

Furthermore, contexts of realisation differ – in article one, teachers responding to the survey belong to compulsory as well as upper-secondary Finnish and Swedish schools, and in the third article teachers belong to three neighbouring Swedish upper-secondary schools. As mentioned, teachers in the sub-studies work in different nations, schools and school forms. With this set-up, I intend to explore the contextualized variation present in teachers' work, assuming that there is no such thing as “teachers” or “teachers' work” in a general sense, which is sometimes neglected in both contexts of formulation and realisation.

Comparative concerns

The first, Samuelsson & Lindblad (2015), and the third studies, Samuelsson (submitted), have comparative concerns. In Samuelsson and Lindblad (2015),

the comparative concern was to identify similarities and differences between cultures of teaching in two countries in seemingly similar educational systems, yet with different student outcomes, inspired by Steiner-Khamsi (2013). In the third article, Samuelsson (submitted), the comparative concern was how different neighbouring schools within a local educational area respond to teacher teams and construct categories of collegiality. Classic comparative education, according to Adamson (2012:642) deals with “country- or systems-based comparisons, usually in the form of a two-location study.” Yet, Crossley and Vulliamy (1984) state that “detailed research at the school level is a valid and worthwhile focus for comparativists”, since what goes on within schools is not clearly understood and therefore needs attention (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984:197). Even so, policy is more focused and the relationship to “the realities of schooling” is rarer (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984:197). In the third article I attempt to highlight these relationships.

According to Adamson (2012) there is a range of papers, adding to a wide scope of comparative education, such as systems, policies, times, cultures, curricula, ways of teaching etc., and he concludes that comparative education research is useful when it can add an extra dimension to the study. Furthermore, it is important that cases are similar enough to make comparisons meaningful (Adamson, 2012:647). Therefore, in the first article we compared countries with similar reform movements since the Second World War and similar structures and policies (Johannesson et al., 2002), and in the third I keep the organizers of education constant and compare three municipal schools in the same organization.

Conceptual framework for analysis

I also chose to keep the conceptual framework used for analysis constant in the three articles, although I added slightly different concepts. They will now be accounted for here. All three studies are based on ideal types departing from Freidson (2001).

Ideal types

Ideal types are an abstract construction, that is, they do not exist in their pure form, but are used for analysis and comparison. The ideal types of the market, professionalism and bureaucracy, in accordance with Freidson (2001), are used

5. METHODS

as tools for analysis in all three articles. In the words of Thornton and Ocasio (2008), ideal types

(...) do not precisely conform to reality because of deliberate simplification to afford comparative analysis and multidimensional classification of phenomena not restricted by the events of the selected cases. Ideal types assign a hypothetical meaning that can be used as a yardstick to compare and contrast hypothesized and actual meaning and behaviour (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008:110).

In everyday life there is always a mix, but here, ideal types are regarded as an analytic tool, to which different constructs can be compared (Weber, 1977; Molander et al., 2008). Further, they are used as a lens through which I analyse and understand influences for teacher responses, but as such they limit what is possible for me to find.

An advantage of using ideal types is that they have systematically helped the categorisation before the analysis. In my opinion, the ideal types used for analysis are reliable. I initially use them as a tool for analysis, and then I further develop them into results in article two. Freidson (2001), states that “the ideal type is a method of conceptualization that can both organize the abstract theoretical issues which concern scholars and highlight the practical issues confronting social policy” (Freidson, 2001:2); in other words, both aspects serve the aims of this thesis. In the articles I use the ideal types as a fixed model of comparison towards teachers’ work in different contexts, but I also highlight practical issues confronting policy and teachers’ work.

Teacher cultures

Teacher cultures, or cultures of teaching, used synonymously in article one refers to Hargreaves (1994) and includes teacher convictions, values and ways of acting (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015).

Boundary object

In the second and third articles, I use the concept of ‘boundary object’. According to Star and Griesemer (1989) it is typical of boundary objects that they are:

plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use, and become strongly structured in individual site use. These objects may be abstract or concrete. They

have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation (Star & Griesemer, 1989:393).

Collegiality, professionalism and restructuring all fit in this description, since they have different meanings, move freely, and change or translate in different contexts.

Professional communities

In article three, emanating varieties of collegiality are studied, based on, and with reference to, Lomos et al.'s (2011) (simplified) definition of professional communities:

teachers form part of a professional community when they *share a common view on the school's mission, mutually reflect on instructional practices, cooperate, engage in reflective dialogue, and provide one another with feedback on teaching activities, all with a focus on student learning* (Lomos et al., 2011:122, italics in original).

The items, translated into Swedish by me and thereafter used in the survey, as enclosed in article three, and conceptually presented in Figure 3, were deprivatized practice, reflective dialogue, collective responsibility and focus on student achievement:

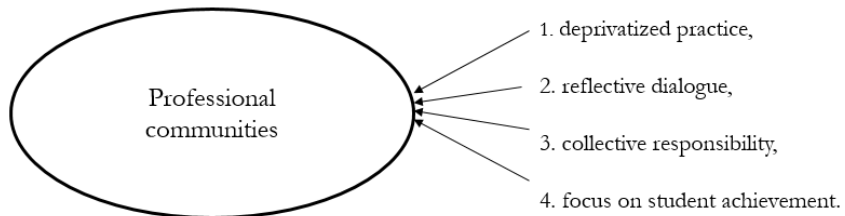


Figure 4. Construct of professional communities
(Based on Lomos et al., 2011)

These items forming professional communities were thereafter deconstructed into three varieties of professional collegiality based on institutional logics (Freidson, 2001) and my constructs from article two (Samuelsson, 2018), as described there and in article three (Samuelsson submitted).

The methods of the articles included

The specific methods used in the three articles will now be briefly accounted for. Thereafter I will discuss a selected aspect not primarily dealt with in the original articles.

Methods, article one – reanalysis

The first article, Samuelsson and Lindblad (2015) focused on national cases' embeddedness in institutional logics, compared to student results as measured by PISA. It was based on re-analysed quantitative data from a big European research project (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011). The original sample was based on a survey with a high number of variables. From this, we theoretically identified those of interest for the institutional logics of professionalism and the market (Freidson, 2001) and thereafter used an explorative factor analysis in order to see how they connected to each other. These items were thereafter made into indexes.

The index for the logic of the market consisted of six items about institutional competition, the requirement of written documentation and evaluation of work.

For the logic of professionalism, we focused on the inner features of professionalism (as in participating in organizational decision-making, colleagues as sources of knowledge, one's own conception of how work should be done) as well as on the outer features of professions (as in the length of teachers' education). Also, here we first identified them theoretically and then followed up with an explorative factor analysis. Thereafter we performed a reliability analysis. The logic of bureaucracy was briefly commented on as being similar between the national cases, which could also be expected due to their similar educational reform movements since the Second World War (Johannesson et al., 2002), but thereafter the concept was not used in the analysis.

After the theoretical phase was confirmed through the explorative factor analyses, we created indexes, which we used for cross tabulations of respective institutional logic as the independent variable and the respective national case as dependent variables in SPSS. We used a mean instead of a sum, which gave us a more reliable index. From here we compared and discussed the results to the countries' respective ranking position as seen in large-scale assessments, such as PISA where Finland was highly ranked and Sweden lost positions. The results were statistically significant.

In this article we departed from a critique of international actors giving easy answers to difficult questions. Thereafter we performed a study, similar to the ones we have criticized, offering an alternative understanding. In line with this, we even created yes/no questions for us to answer. Yet, a major difference between the studies is that we do not claim generalizability, which they do. Instead, we argue that we provide an alternative understanding and thus contribute to the problematization and discussion of contextual influences on teachers' work from another perspective and in this way contribute to understandings of teachers' work under restructuring. Our results from the reanalysis were stabilised by using the project's original interview data, which also showed that our analysis was reasonable and illuminated factors of importance for teachers' work and professionalism and as such also constituted an argument for re-analysing data.

Methods, article two – conceptual review

In the second article of the thesis – Samuelsson (2018), I analysed collegiality as a boundary object (Star & Griesmer, 1989) through seminal research texts and aimed at understanding collegiality in different institutional logics (Freidson, 2001). The approach was explorative and interpretative and dealt with a systematic conceptual analysis of collegiality in educational research publications.

A contribution to our knowledge of search engines was an additional result of this article. I decided early on to use the 1970s as the “ground zero” for the idea of collegiality, since one of the first modern pieces on teachers' work was published in that year: Lortie's *Schoolteacher* (1975/2002). *Schoolteacher* is widely cited²¹ and has had a huge impact on educational thinkers worldwide. I also decided to use international, well-renowned research platforms for peer-reviewed literature, such as Web of Science, Scopus, Eric and JSTOR. I also tried Google Scholar, where peer-reviewed articles co-exist with books and texts whose the quality and origin differ. I tried one search engine at a time, and even though this search was explorative; I did not expect the different databases to differ to a large extent. The same steps were followed in each database.

However, with the criteria the databases turned out to differ a great deal in numbers and in articles. JSTOR had 865 hits for Lortie, but when I included all of the keywords only four remained, three of them 1980–1989. In Scopus Lortie

²¹ 12136 citations, Google Scholar, December 3, 2015

yielded 52 hits, and with all keywords three remained, two after the second step (including peer-reviewed articles only). That one of the most cited pieces of work in educational science is not more visible was a bit surprising. A reason for this is that the indexing of books is a more recent service (e.g. web of science with books from 2012) and much literature was not visible. The scientific databases were thereafter compared to Google Scholar, where the function “advanced search” was used. Lortie as the first keyword generated 37,300 hits. The number of hits including all keywords was 2,020, compared to the above two and four.

It was striking that the search gave different outcomes, in numbers as well as in actual articles. It was also striking that “expected” texts did not turn up. My conclusion from this search was thus that performing a literature search in databases is not necessarily the obvious way to find seminal educational research, at least not when searching for a book. I set out to deal with this aiming at as transparent a way as possible, and an unusual – or inventive – method was used for choosing literature. That the search engines yielded such different results could have been dealt with in different ways; here I decided to start my quest in well-renowned journals, using the most cited articles. Choosing one of the search engines would have been a similar way of doing the search, possibly with a different result of articles included. Yet, the main point is to show how collegiality as a boundary object moves, which is of importance for influences on teachers’ understandings of policy recommendations, which this article also could illustrate.

Finding literature in a transparent and rigorous way was harder than expected. An insight for me, though a bit surprising, was that in order to study a field, it is necessary to somewhat know the field in advance. Search engines are helpful, but a manual evaluation is needed. Thus, an additional result was to show the idiosyncrasy of scientific databases and provide a way to deal with it.

Methods, article three – comparative case study

In article three – Samuelsson (submitted) – I explored teacher responses to organizational structures and expectations in neighbouring municipal schools. This was an empirical study lightly inspired by a conceptual comparatively oriented case method (Ragin, 1987) and grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which here is regarded as “travelling” between theory and empirical material. My preliminary assumption (based on theory of institutional logics) is subjected

to a systematic examination of the case in question (Esaïasson, Giljam, Oscarsson & Wängnerud, 2010:125). It departed from and used the findings of articles one and two (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015; Samuelsson, 2018). As a comparative-oriented case study, it had a “rough idea of the concepts, variables and cases that are likely to be relevant” (Ragin & Rubinson, 2009:16). This study analysed how teachers in a local educational area in different ways responded to teacher teams, and their responses were categorized as varieties of collegiality. The responses and categorizations were compared to the schools' tradition and position in a school market. This particular case study can be defined as what Stake, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) calls an instrumental case study, that is, I studied this case in order to gain insight into an issue. This particular issue is variations in teachers' responses to organizational structures and expectations and constructions of collegiality in a local educational area in order to explore contextual influences on teachers' work and professionalism in times of restructuring.

The study was based on a cross-sectional web-survey, distributed in September 2012 and May 2013 to about 500 teachers at eight upper-secondary schools in a major Swedish city. Even though the study was part of a larger research project and even though it was well introduced, it turned out to be hard to get busy teachers to respond to the survey. A reason for this could be the time of the year, end of and beginning of a school year, respectively; another could be the increased workload teachers experience (De Rijdt, Tiquet, Dochy, Devolder, 2006). After three reminders, I had answers from teachers working in twelve schools. Since the participants were more frequent in three schools, I decided to use their responses – 82 teachers – and use schools as units of analysis in a comparative case study. This was my first step in trying to deal with a low response rate in a reasonable way. Cook, Heath and Thomson (2000) acknowledge that it is not unusual for web-based surveys to have low response rates. In accordance with Cook et al., 2000:821, I explored the representativeness of those who participated in order to understand the sample. I compared these schools to local official statistics available about distribution by gender and educational level (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2014b). In two of the three schools, the teachers were representative (see article three). In the third school the sample included a higher share of female teachers and a higher share of employees with a teacher education than in the official statistics. For comparison, and for future development, I nevertheless kept it in the study.

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I used the concept of professional communities to identify variation in teacher collegiality in accordance with Lomos et al. (2011) and Samuelsson (2018). This variation was thereafter related to the traditions of the schools, but also to the influence from the market, as identified in study one and in other studies (such as Lundahl et al., 2014). Here explorative factor analysis and cross tabulations (similar to those in article one) were used. The survey had several items for each question in order to deal with reliability and validity (Lander 2003:8).

The three schools, in the article called the ABC schools – the Albatross school, the Blackbird school and the Crane school – are all municipal schools, and belong to the same organization in a local educational area in a Swedish city. The oldest, the Albatross school, is located in a traditional building in the city centre, and its students have high grades upon entering the school. It is the neighbour of the Blackbird school, which has a more modern building and whose students do not have as high grades as the Albatross students. The Crane school is situated in the outskirts; it is the newest school, and its students have the lowest entrance grades. The three schools belong to the same organization, yet they differ in terms of tradition, history and students and thus seem suitable to compare for my purposes.

Many educational researchers have experienced the difficulty of getting access to schools in order to perform research. This seems to be quite common in ethnographic research, where few people are studied and very closely. Most often this is mentioned in a few lines, but not further discussed; exceptions from this are for instance Troman (1996) and Hammersley (1984). Troman writes about several well-known reasons for having difficulty reaching schools for research, some of them being teachers' workload, the feeling of losing ownership of their work, their mistrust of educational researchers, and a culture of "walls of privatism" (Troman, 1996). Hammersley (1984) reflected on the "ambivalent attitude towards research and researchers." (Hammersley, 1984:49). Troman (1996) and Hammersley (1984) comment on this in a different country and a different time, yet this is an important issue also in contemporary Sweden. From my experiences, these kind of opinions could also be relevant in a Swedish context, yet perhaps in a more mutual way. Is educational research of relevance to practitioners? This is important, not least in relation to Swedish law, where it is stated that teachers' work should be based on a scientific ground

(SFS, 2010:800). The creation of good relations and mutual understandings between research and representatives of schools seems an important issue for the future.

Ethical considerations

In this study the Swedish Research Council's (2017) regulations for humanistic and social science research – *Good Research Practice* – have been followed. This means that the thesis's expected added value to research knowledge has been placed in relation to the negative consequences for the participants.

Two of the three sub-studies in this thesis dealt with already published materials, a large database and published articles. The database was used for an article co-authored with the scientific leader of the project owning the database. In this re-analysis, all data was 'washed', that is, I did not access the personal background information of the informants, only their age and gender and national belonging. Thus, I only saw the participants as informants on how different institutional logics informed their work life. The participants knew that the information given in the surveys might be used for further analysis.

The second study is an analysis of already-published research articles. I used these articles and reread them from the perspective of institutional logics and the analysis, and conclusions are thus new and my own. I have explored 'travelling ideas' in policy, and here I consider these texts as 'travelling texts' in the hands of new interpreters and thus given new meanings and a life of their own.

The third study consists of a new web-based survey study. Before the survey was sent out to the informants, approval was sought from the ethical review board in accordance with VRFS 2012:1²². The Gothenburg board²³ found that the study was not subject to an Ethical Review Act, but advice was given in order to improve the information to the survey's participants, which was accounted for. The informants in my survey have been anonymous, and they were informed in advance about the study and the fact that they could choose not to participate. Surveys and notes were encoded and kept secure. The participating schools were invited to open nights for further education at the University. I also discussed the survey with the teacher unions in order to get approval of the study. Finally, I decided to use the answers I received, even though I had to deal with them in a different way than planned. This was also one of my ethical

²² <http://www.epn.se>

²³ February 13, 2012

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considerations, since I wanted to acknowledge the time and effort the informants put into the survey.

There can be ethical problems in having different roles and daily switches between them. I have been both a doctoral student at the CUL doctoral school and employed in a lower-secondary school, and thus this question is always looming. Is it possible to study your own arena, and what risks and possibilities are there in this? The question of distance/closeness is central. As a researcher you are the observer, as a teacher you are expected to act. This can be a dilemma, which several people with double roles testify to (Meeuwisse & Swärd, 2003; Birch, Miller, Mauthner, & Jessop, 2002). Another difficulty of being a person with double roles is that there can be problems with your loyalty. There is a risk that with preconditions you tend to 'understand', when you in reality understand from your own experiences and prejudices (Birch et al., 2002). The questions that the thesis depart from are probably much understood in relation to my own teaching experiences, my 'loyalty'. Even so, the theory, the data produced and analysed and the anonymous reviewers of the texts in combination with time, I argue, have made it easier for me to maintain a distance between the two roles.

6. SUMMARY OF THE STUDIES

In this section I present a short summary of the sub-studies, focusing on the aims, the main findings and contributions to the thesis's main theme. The complete articles are found in the second part of the thesis. I chose to study contextual influences for teachers' work and professionalism in three divergent contexts and with different methods in order to present a variation as presented in the previous chapter.

Summary, Samuelsson & Lindblad (2015)

The first article (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015) described, analysed and discussed cultures of teaching and management strategies in national cases in relation to student outcomes. Through this comparative study we aimed at understanding why seemingly similar educational systems as in the Nordic welfare states produced different outcomes as measured by the PISA tests. We questioned the sometimes-simplistic conclusions focusing on individual teachers travelling in policy through for instance big consulting firms (Mourshed et al., 2010, also see Robertson, 2012 or Coffield, 2012 for a criticism of this). Instead, we wanted to explore preconditions for teachers' work through the institutional logics they were embedded in and therefore compared the national cultures of teaching's embracing of the logic of professionalism and their embracing of the logic of the market and thereby analysing national differences and similarities. Since the national cases did not differ much in the logic of bureaucracy, it was only briefly commented on. However, the significant difference between the different cultures of teaching's embracing of professionalism and the market were elaborated on more.

Finnish cultures of teaching more than their Swedish counterparts embraced the professional logic, while Swedish cultures of teaching, more than the Finnish ones, embraced the market logic. These findings were discussed in relation to the countries' results in PISA tests where Finland excelled and Sweden performed worse than expected. It was also discussed in relation to the rhetoric of market principles being a solution to educational excellence (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015:175). This article contributes to the fuller picture by highlighting

differences in contextual influences for teachers' work and professionalism through national cases. The preconditions for Finnish and Swedish teachers differ substantially regarding organizational structures and expectations. The logic of the market does not relate to good student outcomes, whereas the logic of professionalism does. This is discussed later and illustrated in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Main findings and contribution, article one.

Main findings, article 1	<p>Finnish and Swedish national cases differ in their embeddedness in institutional logics. This relates to the national cases' school results as measured by PISA. Finnish cultures of teaching, with higher results in PISA, are more embedded in the logic of professionalism. Swedish cultures of teaching, with lower results, are more embedded in the logic of the market.</p>
Contribution to the aim of this thesis, article 1	<p>The main findings are: first, embeddedness in institutional logics relates to student outcomes nationally and is argued to be of importance for preconditions for teachers' work and professional actions. Second even market efficiency has its cost.</p>
Contribution to the aim of this thesis, article 1	<p>The article explores and highlight how different contexts matter for the way teachers experience their possible actions in work. Contexts of education are to different extents embraced by diverging institutional logics. Here, national comparisons highlight that different embeddedness yields different perceived conditions for actions.</p>
Contribution to the aim of this thesis, article 1	<p>Here, the market logic seems to constrain teachers' independent actions, and Swedish teachers to a higher extent 'do as they are told'. The logic of professionalism seems to enable teachers' actions such as Finnish teachers' feeling of decisiveness.</p>
Contribution to the aim of this thesis, article 1	<p>The teachers' dictums of possible actions in their work, as understood from their responses, differ in different national contexts of realisation, embedded in different institutional logics. This is of significance in relation to the idea that it is important to recruit the right people to become teachers. Even though recruiting good people into teaching is an important aspect, contexts of realisations embedded in institutional logics also constrain and enable conditions for teachers' possible actions.</p>

As highlighted, the contextual influences for teachers' work and professionalism differ a great deal between these national cases. Furthermore, in open answers, we saw that Finnish teachers, more than Swedish teachers, expressed that they

were decisive and self-confident, whereas Swedish teachers expressed that they were more dependent on their surrounding context.

Summary, Samuelsson (2018)

The second article (Samuelsson, 2018) continued exploring contextual influences as conditions for teachers' work. I used the example of collegiality, which is part of professionalism and is often regarded, as is NPM, as a key to success for improving teachers' work and student results and is used in different social worlds. Here I analyse how collegiality, as a boundary object is assigned different meanings through different institutional logics. The underlying assumptions of a boundary object like collegiality are important to analyse in order for teachers and others to understand prerequisites for collegial work. Through analysing the educational research literature, I highlighted how collegiality translates or changes under different institutional logics; however, still it is often used as if it had only one meaning in policy.

From my re-reading of the seminal texts, three ideal types of collegiality were suggested: market collegiality understood as imposed from 'the outside' for efficiency and for the market's requirements, professional collegiality understood as from 'within' based on professional judgements and the participants' needs, and finally bureaucratic collegiality, understood as imposed from 'above' for the school's best, see Table 5.

TABLE 5. Main findings and contribution, article two

<p>Main findings, article 2</p>	<p>Collegiality is explored in educational research literature, since different, often concealed, or at least not explicit, meanings of collegiality are used in different social worlds, which matters for teachers' possible responses to it. Collegiality is analysed, and three ideal types are proposed. Here market collegiality, professional collegiality and bureaucratic collegiality are presented side by side departing from different, yet explicit assumptions, yielding different, yet explicit assumptions of collegiality.</p> <p>Departing from these suggestions it seems difficult for teachers to understand and 'enact' collegiality in one way– it simply depends on what kind of collegiality is assumed. Collegiality will likely translate differently in different contexts, which in turn, is of importance for preconditions for possible responses to it.</p>
<p>Contribution to the aim of this thesis, article 2.</p>	<p>Preconditions for teachers' possible response to governance are explored through the example of a boundary object in the educational research literature. The example of collegiality is used, since it is widespread, popular, recommended and frequent in different social worlds. It is also part of professionalism as an intended benefit of restructuring.</p>

I suggest that collegiality as a boundary object is assigned different meanings when embedded in different institutional logics. Given these different meanings, I argue that institutional logics matter also for the preconditions for teachers' work (including policy), which can increase our understanding of why recommendations are difficult to interpret and understand and hence why consequences of these recommendations differ in contexts of realisation. Here it also seems of importance to comment on decontextualized general pieces of advice as presented by for instance large international consultant firms. In accordance with the findings, such recommendations do not seem fully valid.

Summary, Samuelsson (submitted)

The third article (Samuelsson, submitted) – departed from the findings of article one and two, assuming that Swedish teachers are embedded in a market logic, though here contextual varieties in a local educational area are explored.

6. SUMMARY OF THE STUDIES

The article set out to explore varieties of collegiality arising in teachers' work in different contexts of realisation (Lundgren, 1983). This was done by analysing teachers' responses to organizational structures and expectations of teacher teams. The findings highlighted that teachers respond differently in the neighbouring schools that are compared. Although all schools are organized similarly in teams, teachers use them in slightly different ways – ranging from teaching cooperation to administration. These variations were thereafter discussed in relation to the schools' positions in the local school market and discussed in relation to professionalism, see Table 6.

TABLE 6. Main findings and contribution, article three.

Main findings, article 3	Responses to organizational structures of teacher teams and emanating varieties of collegiality are explored in neighbouring schools in a local educational area. The responses and constructions differ between the neighbouring schools, which is discussed in relation to the schools' tradition and current position in a school market. Here, the school most exposed to the market, follows the management principles of teacher teams. The school that least experiences the logic of the market treats the organizational structures and expectations in an inventive way. They show confidence similar to that of the Finnish teachers of article one. Collegiality is discussed as being translated and constructed locally in relation to different preconditions at the school.
Contribution to the aim of this thesis, article 3.	Teacher responses to organizational structures in terms of organizational structures and expectations in a local educational area seem to be related to the schools' relation to the local market. Teacher responses in schools embedded in a market logic are categorized as expressing more resignation to the work, appearing to do as they are told and being easier to govern. Teacher responses in schools less embedded in a market logic are categorized as expressing more empowerment and in an inventive way choose how to meet structuring organizational structures and expectations. Even within similar contexts of realisation embeddedness in institutional logics differ, which, in accordance with this I argue, matters for professional actions and professionalism even in a local educational area.

The main findings in Samuelsson (submitted), imply that teacher teams are responded to differently in the three schools, and collegiality and professionalism are thereafter argued to be locally constructed in relation to what the school

and contexts of realisation and the institutional logics at work seem to enable and demand.

The three articles contribute to the aim of the thesis of exploring important contextual influences for teachers' work and professionalism as a matter of institutional logics in times of restructuring from different positions. The first and the third studies explore influences in different contexts of realisation, whereas the second explores academic research literature. Yet, all three of them highlight that contextual influences for teachers' work vary in different contexts and with respect to their embeddedness in different institutional logics. How this matters for teacher professionalism and educational restructuring will be discussed in the next section.

7. DISCUSSION

Departing from the aim of describing, analysing and discussing important contextual influences for teachers' work and professionalism as a matter of institutional logics in an era of educational restructuring, the findings of the sub-studies of the thesis are discussed in three themes:

- Contextual responses to organizational structures and expectations and teacher professionalism;
- Institutional logics, contexts of education and their consequences for educational restructuring; and
- Institutional logics as important prerequisites for teacher professionalism

These themes are based on the research questions introduced initially. I will start by discussing responses to organizational structures and teacher professionalism.

Contextual responses to organizational structures and expectations

The findings of the three articles have illuminated and problematized how frames and points of departure for governance, in terms of organizational structures and expectations, influence teachers' work. Yet, these prerequisites are seldom explicitly stated and therefore not always visible, acknowledged, known to teachers themselves or compatible, and are sometimes even contradictory. In Swedish teachers' work at least the three institutional logics explored in this study exist side by side, to different degrees in different contexts. The three sub-studies thus confirm an 'institutional crowdedness' as discussed by Blomgren and Waks (2015).

Swedish teachers in general are embedded in the dominating market logic, similar to for instance what Lundahl, L. (2011); or Lundahl, L. et al. (2014) conclude, but within this logic there are variations. Even though the market is a dominant logic in the Swedish national case (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015),

in local cases in different contexts of realisation (Samuelsson, submitted), Swedish teachers' experiences of the embeddedness in the market vary. Teachers in popular schools express that they experience the market less than teachers in less popular schools, which is in line with for instance Lundström and Rönnerberg (2015). As such, different institutional logics seem to create different frames within which teachers act and respond to organizational structures even within a single local educational area.

Since institutional logics consist of symbolic as well as material practices, they are not always easy to recognize, but simply become part of the preconditions for work. This suggests that teachers and schools adapt to the logics at hand, which in turn changes the contextual influences for work and hence enables several possible responses.

In the articles I have highlighted how teachers can and do use embeddedness and contexts of realisation for different responses. Teachers are not regarded as victims, but use the different possibilities given (see Parding & Berg-Jansson, 2016). This kind of insight makes it difficult to recommend governance and structuring factors of teachers' work in terms of an abstract directive – teachers experience different kinds of governance in different contexts, nationally, internationally and locally. All of which produces varying experienced leeway to act upon, and consequently changes the preconditions for teachers' work. Hence, teacher's work will appear in many different shapes and seems hard to govern without taking contexts through for example institutional logics into consideration. These contexts and logics guide teachers' responses, work and professionalism. In different contexts, embedded in different institutional logics, teachers' responses to organizational structures as illustrated in Samuelsson & Lindblad (2015) and Samuelsson (2018) vary from being adaptive to independent or dependent. Here, there are a number of possible relations. The crosses (x) are here to be regarded as the dominant relations, based on the empirical findings. They are regarded as dominating, though not causal, patterns. The relation in which responses are further developed is graphically presented below in Table 7.

7. DISCUSSION

TABLE 7. Institutional logics and teacher responses.

	Adaptive re- sponses	Independent re- sponses	Dependent re- sponses
Logic of the Market	x		
Logic of Profes- sionalism		x	
Logic of Bureau- cracy			x

Adaptive responses

In the logic of the market a pattern emerges in the three studies, where the balance of power between teachers and recipients of education seem challenged. Teachers' mandates are far from the traditional rarely questioned teacher as presented by Saha and Dworkin (2009:2). For instance, the threat of students leaving the school midterm make teachers and schools act in a way that is in contrast to their professional conviction, but in line with the market's conviction (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015, Lundström & Parding, 2011). This is visible in both the national cases and in the local area where the school that is most exposed to competition has higher professional collegiality in terms of cooperation, but from what it seems to be a threatened and challenged position. The market seems to expose teachers to an outer threat where teachers risk losing even more students, perhaps even their jobs (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015; Samuelsson, submitted).

In this study, in a market-oriented context of realisation, teachers show more resignation towards their work, and several express that no one listens. Teachers express that they act in order to satisfy their 'customers', even though they do not necessarily believe in the actions. Teachers seem to respond in accordance with what they experience that the contexts seem to demand, not necessarily in line with common professional teacher convictions. Hence, they adapt to an organizational professionalism with for instance standardized work procedures in accordance with Evetts (2009) even though teachers in general, as Parding (2010) notes, would rather orient themselves towards an occupational professionalism. In the logic of the market teacher responses seem more constrained,

more like victims of circumstances with much to lose, rather than being able to influence their work. Here, it is visible in market-like contexts, and teachers' work turns out in ways they did not expect when becoming teachers. Conditions for teachers' work clash with their ambitions in a way similar to what is discussed by Lundström and Parding (2011). As such, teachers seem easier to govern. This, in turn, might be understood as a kind of work that is adaptive, exposed, constrained and challenged, which I categorize as a subdued professionalism.

Inventive responses

Embedded in the logic of professionalism another pattern of responses appears. Here teachers have, or are enabled to use, a stronger mandate to rule their own work. This is visible in several contexts of education (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015; Samuelsson, 2018; Samuelsson submitted). Here the logic enables teachers to work self-confidently and act in accordance with their teaching convictions (Parding & Berg-Jansson, 2016). Where teachers are embedded in the logic of professionalism, they are categorized as having independent professionalism, since here they express more autonomy and more often take part in school decisions (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015). Furthermore, or perhaps thanks to this, they seem to be in charge and express more empowerment towards their work. They use teacher teams in a way that suits them, self-confidently (Samuelsson submitted). Here teachers are involved in decisions of importance for themselves and their work and act in accordance with professional logics (Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015; Samuelsson, 2018). They are more content with their work, and their students perform better. Independent professionalism seems to enable a more active part in schooling for teachers, they appear self-confident and inventive and in charge of their situation. This resembles professionalism in its pure sense, which often is regarded as desirable.

Dependent responses

The logic of bureaucracy is the least explored logic in this thesis. Nevertheless, it is always present. It is present in public documents and standards surrounding teachers work. Here it seems to give certain preconditions for teachers' work, but the presence of the logic of the market seem to inform how it actually turns out in relation to professionalism. Sometimes it enables a certain kind of professionalism, sometimes it constrains the same category. This resembles Little's

7. DISCUSSION

(1982) conclusion that different contexts of education may enable or constrain professionalism. Here professionalism is categorized as being dependent and in relation to the presence of the logic of the market.

Aili and Nilsson's (2007:8) idea of professional groups as mediating government regulations, here explored in different contexts, have thus been confirmed in this thesis. Different institutional logics dominate in different contexts of education, as do their consequences for preconditions for teacher professionalism. On a general level, diverging embeddedness in institutional logics seems to demand different responses and thereby enables different kinds of professionalism. Contexts of education and institutional logics thus give premises for understandings of teachers' work, collegiality and professionalism through complexity, leaving easy causal explanations behind. As such, it is of importance for understandings of governance of teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring. It also illuminates professionalism as a boundary object – with different assigned meanings in different contexts. Then another question that needs to be discussed is highlighted: what kind of professionalism is desired, by whom and why?

However, advice travelling worldwide in policy from for instance the McKinsey and the OECD take no notice of such contextual differences. To recognize them, and that there might be a discrepancy between the preconditions not only between but also within contexts of education, is of importance for understandings of the complexity of conditions for teachers' work. This is a complexity, of course, that teachers have to respond to in their daily life, and I argue that this knowledge makes the argument of recruiting the "right" people to become teachers as the solution to educational problems (see e.g. McKinsey, 2007 or Mourshed et al., 2010) shallow. I agree that teachers are important. However, contextual preconditions for a teacher's work matter for her or his possible choices and responses, as all three of the articles in this study have illuminated. Through the examples in this thesis, I have highlighted how context matters for teachers' work and responses and that teachers and schools act in accordance with the preconditions of the institutional logics in the contexts of realisation, which in turn seem to yield different professionalism. This is similar to, but also in contrast to Parding's (2010) finding that Swedish teachers are more oriented towards an occupational professionalism, whereas management is oriented towards an organizational professionalism; in this study both orientations appear, but they are context-dependent. As such it is more in line with

Mausethagen and Smeby's (2016:44) suggestion of using more "multi-dimensional perspectives that focus on tensions and dilemmas rather than dichotomies". I agree with this and maintain that the results of this thesis support their argument.

Institutional logics and consequences for educational restructuring

Even though I make no distinction in this thesis between teachers from different school forms, which was discussed previously, the findings suggest that it is difficult to talk about 'teachers' work' as if there was one such thing, since influences on teachers' work and responses differ even between neighbouring municipal schools in a single local educational area, for instance. This thesis illustrates different contextual influences for teachers' work, or even completely different work. This is of interest in relation to different global experts, who claim to know how to improve schooling not only in one organization, one local educational area or one country, but worldwide. It also confirms that policy makers, teachers and student teachers need to be educated in institutional logics (Englund & Dyrdal Solbrekke, 2015).

This finding is regarded as the antipode to a focus on individual decontextualized teachers. It also highlights the fact that also problematizations of schooling are context-dependent – who defines problems of schooling, and how (Bacchi, 2009)? I argue that problems of schooling are defined within their specific frames and should not be conceived of as a truth or taken for granted; thus, here, too, institutional logics and contexts of formulation and realisation are central.

Returning to the example of McKinsey' suggestion of recruiting the right persons, I claim that preconditions for teachers' work are also crucial. Therefore, policy recommendations need to be clear, explicit, contextualized and problematized. It seems difficult to give general advice worldwide, when conditions differ even between neighbouring schools in a local educational area.

Following this, educational restructuring might have different consequences in different contexts. This might be understood as an answer to why the intended benefits of restructuring as described in the literature section do not always follow the intended pattern.

Departing from the traditions of teachers as being de-coupled from governance (Weick, 1976), here it seems that teachers are possible to govern, but the

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responses to governance will probably differ in relation to contexts. Teachers most embedded in the market seem easier to use for governance, whereas teachers most embedded in the logic of professionalism put up more resistance and act more independently and self-confidently.

Is it possible, then, for teachers, as agents, to change the institutional logics they are embedded in? “How can actors change institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institution they wish to change” (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008:114). This question is of particular relevance to the question of how institutional logics can add to an understanding of teachers’ responding to and acting on restructuring. Through the articles and the thesis, I have claimed that schools’ and teachers’ contextual embeddedness enable or constrain their possible actions, and I claim that this embeddedness can explain the prerequisites for understanding and performing schooling and thus help in understanding the different outcomes of educational restructuring reforms. I have also suggested that teachers in the logic of the market seem easier to govern than teachers in the logic of professionalism, who handle governance more independently. Thus, the more market-like the contexts, the less able teachers are to change the institution, and the more professional-like the contexts, the more able teachers are to change the institution. The relation is the opposite when it comes to policy to change the institution. Also, different tracks of schooling and working conditions are produced here. In several ways, it seems hard or even naive to talk about decontextualized representations of teachers or a decontextualized representation of teachers’ work. If conditions for teachers’ work differ even within a local educational area, perhaps the decontextualized representations simply do no good?

It follows that teachers and schools translate organizational structures and expectations in accordance with what the local context seems to demand. Therefore, it seems difficult to be able to recommend ideas of governance of teachers’ work from a globally, decontextualized position. It is a long way between input and output, with much contextual translation work in-between. Therefore, after having synthesized the findings of the articles, I suggest a configured model of governance and consequences of restructuring. It proposes that responses to organizational structures and expectations depart from and emerge contextually, and hence take different positions. The responses vary from adaptive, to inventive or dependent. These responses can in turn be un-

derstood as promoting different kinds of professionalism categorized as subdued, independent and dependent, briefly presented in the revised model in Figure 5.

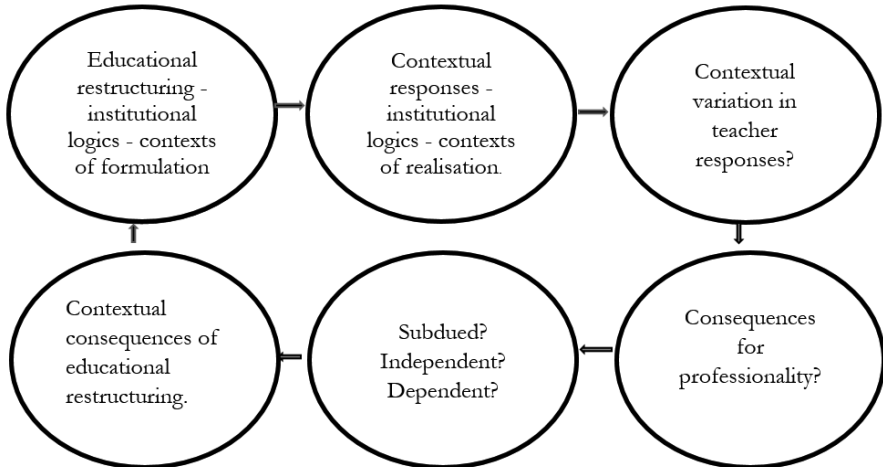


Figure 5: Revised model of restructuring and contextual responses

The figure attempts to conceptualize consequences of educational restructuring through contexts of formulation and realisation and suggests that the movement is circular, where educational restructuring differs as a consequence of differences in contextual prerequisites.

Important contextual prerequisites for teacher professionalism

Based on all of this, are there any ideal contextual prerequisites for teacher professionalism? How would I recommend governance be designed? I would not. I would rather say that it is dependent on what kind of collegiality and professionalism was wished for and desired. Teachers would have their view, national policy theirs and international actors their own. The important thing here is that there are alternatives.

In relation to educational restructuring, governance and general advice, the findings highlight that it is difficult for teachers to act in the expected way, when expectations are contradictory or not explicit. This is the case for instance when

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teachers are encouraged to work collaboratively (see e.g. Schleicher, 2015). Unless it is explicitly defined, teachers will respond to governance on the basis of their own perspective, understanding and professional need of it. Hence, clarity regarding the influence of context on governance of teachers' work and reasonable expectations from it seems paramount.

Returning to my initial questioning of teachers as too facile an explanation for and solution to improving school systems, I would argue that this thesis clearly illustrates that if it was that easy we would not have a problem at all. Rather, many aspects consociate, and even though the destination may be the same, the routes we take to get there differ.

Knowledge contribution

Table 8 presents the articles' contributions to research on teachers' work under restructuring and understanding of teachers' work. These are thereafter further described and discussed in relation to the thesis' relevance and contribution to societal and scientific knowledge. This illustrates the difficulty of offering overly extensive general advice, when different contexts of education yield different preconditions.

TABLE 8: Contribution to research and teachers' work.

<p>Article 1. Contribution to research on teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring:</p> <p>We provide a contextual understanding of the complexity of teachers' job and a questioning of a travelling focus on teachers as decontextualized individuals. We confirm the picture from previous research that market efficiency has its cost and that teachers need to be educated in handling institutional logics. Different contexts provide completely different conditions for teachers' work. As such it also illustrates the complexity of teachers' work and common contradictory expectations of it.</p>	<p>Contribution to understandings of teachers' work:</p> <p>We point to the difficulties of making too extensive causal decontextualized explanations and giving general advice based on the results of large-scale assessments. Easy solutions to difficult problems are questioned.</p>
<p>Article 2. Contribution to research on teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring:</p> <p>Three ideal types of collegiality are suggested. They contribute to the understandings of complexities of and different prerequisites for teachers' work. Local translation work, which in turn may yield different professional actions, seems necessary and highlighted.</p>	<p>Contribution to understandings of teachers' work:</p> <p>Through these findings it is suggested why teachers respond to collegial practices in different ways. An undefined concept can take on several different meanings and as such needs to be locally translated.</p>
<p>Article 3. Contribution to research on teachers' work and professionalism under restructuring:</p> <p>Even in neighbouring schools in a local educational area, responses to organizational structures and expectations differ in accordance with what the school seems to demand. Different kinds of professionalism are suggested. The complexity of conditions and contradictory expectations for teachers' work is highlighted.</p>	<p>Contribution to understandings of teachers' work:</p> <p>Contextual responses to organizational structures and expectations differ. How can this be understood in relation to national and international policy advice?</p>

Taken together, the findings highlight that, and how, institutional logics in contexts of formulation and realisation matter for teachers' work. This implies a complexity that is often left out of rhetoric in policy and the media, and it suggests understandings of why it is hard for teachers to act in accordance with ideals or advice. A societal, practical significance of this thesis, I would say, is thus its having discussed the complexity of teachers' work and why teachers in

a sometimes inventive, sometimes unwanted, way interpret their different given tasks. As seen here, preconditions for the tasks are not always easy to understand, and they are thus not easy to perform. A personal ambition has also been to question the simplification of teachers' work in the media and among policy-makers. Here I have seen teaching as a collective task and discussed the consequences of its embeddedness in particular contexts, suggesting that teachers' jobs turn out quite differently depending on how it is embedded in institutional logics in different contexts of realisation. Teachers and school managers have to deal with this in accordance with what they and the context seem to need and make possible.

I accounted for my scientific ambition with the thesis in Chapter one. In addition to this I argue that the relating of institutional logics in different contexts of education in this thesis is a contribution to comparative education studies in accordance with Steiner-Khamsi (2013). I have claimed that different kinds of teacher responses are enabled and constrained in different contexts, which thereby enable or constrain different outcomes, or what here is perceived of as different kinds of professionalism. This also adds to research on how the teaching profession deals with contradictory professional expectations (Mausethagen & Smeby, 2016:329). I have, in alignment with Richardson (2010), highlighted how teachers' work is both a result of societal conditions and an agent in this change and thus contributed to research on teachers' work under restructuring (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011). Finally, it is a contribution to research on Pedagogical Work, focusing on societal understandings of conditions for teachers' work, complementing the classroom-based research that is often found.

Critique of the study, strengths, limitations

All three studies are analysed through the lens of the ideal types of institutional logics (Freidson, 2001), adding different concepts as described earlier. To use different methods, chosen in accordance with the research questions, in the three sub-studies has proven fruitful, since it has illuminated the research problematics from slightly different perspectives. Using similar theory over the studies provided stability. It could be argued that depth is lost at the expense of breadth, but the research questions guided me in both directions.

Yet, it is a model that is based on given premises. It could be claimed that the answers were given even before the study was undertaken. On the other

hand, my intention was never to find easy answers, but rather to problematize the easy answers sometimes encountered in policy. Through this thesis I have reclaimed the issue of the formulating of problems of schooling. I have questioned some of the problematics presented and provided an alternative, contextualized understanding of the complexities of being a teacher. Teachers' work is multifaceted. Not only does teachers' work include building relations, teaching and assessing students, it is done under governance that is built on different, not explicit or clear assumptions, in different contexts of education. Preconditions, actions and outcomes for teachers' work vary even within the same organization.

In the two surveys I used explorative factor analyses and reliability analysis in terms of Cronbach's alpha together with my theoretical understandings. The survey was constructed through the concept of professional communities with additional questions following Lander (2003). All of these things are of importance for the internal validity of the study. Yet I do not claim generalizability or external validity (Shadish, Cook & Campbell, 2002), but argue that the internal validity and representation is good with reference to reliability tests and compared to local official statistics.

On the strengths of the study I would claim that by departing from a questioned decontextualized criticism of teachers' work and thereafter highlighting different preconditions for teachers' agency in different institutional logics and contexts of education, I reclaim the right of the problem representation (Bacchi, 2009), that is, how teachers and their work often is thought about as a problem. It is of course of importance to have the right to debate and criticize teachers' work from different positions, including supranational organizations or the media, which I initially questioned. However, I argue that it is of importance to be clear about the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments, as well as their performative character (Foss Lindblad & Lindblad, 2009). It is also of importance to remember Bacchi's (2012) argument that problems and representations of them also are there to legitimate political processes. Expectations differ in different contexts, and there is a need for awareness about this. Given this study, I consider a contextual understanding of teachers' work as important in such arguments. My point is that arguments that put teachers' work in context have a potential to provide more explanatory power compared to abstract, decontextualized statements. Teachers' work is a complex task, and it should be treated as such. Thus, this thesis highlights the question of who has the right to represent a problem. Easy answers to difficult problems may and should be

questioned. Following this, I have highlighted how important issues of contexts are for the understanding of the many varieties of and conditions for teachers' work.

Ideas for further research

The thesis' studies and line of reasoning have highlighted contextual differences in preconditions for teachers' responses to organizational structures and expectations and consequently contextual differences in their work and professionalism. It departed from a problem representation (Bacchi, 2009) that I did not subscribe to. This was understood as the ways in which teachers' work is problematized and how it is thought about as a 'problem'. According to Bacchi (2012) the way problems are represented and their subsequent solutions are there to legitimate political processes and suggestions for solutions. However, what is conceived of as a problem representation of teachers and their work also includes, in the contemporary Swedish debate, teacher education and teacher educators. Therefore, in order to improve our understandings of teachers' work it seems necessary to study preconditions also for other categories of educational professionals in terms of how institutional logics matter as contextual prerequisites.

Another conclusion is that decontextualized representations of teachers' work are hard not only to understand, but also to use as general advice on governance. Yet how this knowledge could be used for more contextually sensitive advice on governance of teachers' work is also a question for further research.

Finally, I have claimed that contextual responses to organizational structures and expectations have consequences for outcomes of educational restructuring. However, how this actually influences future policy ideas, and who successfully claims the right to formulate the problems is also a question for the future.

Concluding remarks

To me it has proven fruitful to study responses to governance through institutional logics in contexts of formulation and realisation, since it has given me a toolbox and a language to describe, analyse, discuss and problematize teachers' contextualized work. I suggest that this is of importance in order to better understand the multi-faceted work teachers perform and how both preconditions and consequences of the performances vary. Policy-makers, teachers and

teacher educators therefore need to deal with institutional logics and contexts of education and be aware of this relation.

Teachers' respond differently to organizational structures and expectations depending on the local contexts, they act professionally with students before them, not always thanks to governance, but sometimes even despite governance, their possible professionalism seem to differ in various contexts. Thus, knowledge of institutional logics and contexts of education can be used as a line of argument when discussing different prerequisites and models of governance. I put forward four important tentative conclusions.

1. Teachers are important, teachers' work is important but so are premises and preconditions for teachers' work.
2. Representations of decontextualized teachers' work are not only hard to understand, but also to govern by.
3. Therefore, it is important to develop thinking about contextual conditions for teachers' work and professionalism.
4. Bearing all this in mind, it is reasonable to consider alternative views of governance of education.

To have knowledge of the facts of how contexts of formulation and realisation differ in embeddedness in institutional logics and how this interferes in teachers' work and professionalism is an important aspect of being a policy-maker as well as a teacher and student teacher in contemporary society. The preconditions constrain or enable teachers to focus on different things, and thus their work and professionalism turn out differently. I thus call for a consciousness of how contexts of formulation and realisation, embedded in different institutional logics, affect teachers' work. This is of importance for policy-makers as well as teacher educators. It is time to rethink education governance in relation to teachers' work.

SVENSK SAMMANFATTNING

Den här avhandlingen handlar om kontextuella förutsättningar för lärares arbete i en tid när lärararbetet och villkoren för det kraftigt har förändrats. Jag har arbetat som lärare i svenska gymnasie- och högstadieskolor i 20 år och själv upplevt ett förändrat arbete både i termer av styrning av, och förutsättningar för, arbetet. Jag har erfarit hur skolan har blivit konkurrensutsatt, hur elever och föräldrar ibland kommit att betraktas som ”kunder”, och att synen på lärares arbete har förändrats både i media och i policy. Många lärare har funderat på, eller till och med lämnat skolan (Skolvärlden, 2018). För att höja statusen och behålla lärarna i utbildningsväsendet har olika åtgärder prövats. Sverige har fått en ny läroplan med nya kursplaner och allmänna råd från skolverket. Samtidigt har flera lönesatsningar genomförts och olika karriärtjänster har införts. Som illustration till detta har jag personligen exempelvis fått en lärarlegitimation, och möjlighet att gå en forskarskola för lärare. Mitt arbete har förändrats genom vad man kan benämna omstrukturering.

En idé i politik och i policy, var att genom omstrukturering skulle utbildning och lärares arbete effektiviseras och bli bättre, samtidigt som lärare skulle ges möjlighet att utveckla sitt professionella beteende. Policy ses då både som text, men också som en social konstruktion som på olika vis och genom olika aktörer påverkar samhället. Som en del av detta infördes fler marknadsmässiga styrprinciper i utbildningsområdet och från att ha varit mest styrd genom byråkrati och en stark profession, kom marknaden att få ett allt större inflytande (Blomgren & Waks, 2015). Denna typ av idé har varit vanlig inte bara inom skolväsendet utan i hela den offentliga sektorn i en stor del av västvärlden (Hudson, 2007). Flera av dessa förändringar hade trätt i kraft redan innan jag började arbeta som lärare, tex införandet av fria skolval med en skolpeng som följer eleven, men de har fortsatt. Talet om lärare, deras arbete och vad som behövs göras, har intensifierats, ofta med en underton att vi behöver en bättre lärarkår (se tex McKinsey, 2007). Dessutom har nya aktörer tagit plats i debatten. Från att skolans verksamhet har setts som en nationell angelägenhet, har skolpolitiska frågor blivit internationella. Flera storskaliga undersökningar med OECDs PISA i spetsen har fått stort genomslag i den allmänna debatten. När, som i det svenska

fallet, elevers resultat i PISA-undersökningar sjönk sågs lärare ofta som syndabockar i media och policy. Skolan och lärarna blev ett politiskt slagträ, utan någon särskild hänsyn tagen till variationer i eller förutsättningar för deras arbete. Jag började ifrågasätta det fokus på lärare som dekontextualiserade individer som mötte mig i media och policy. Istället kom jag att intressera mig för kontextuella förutsättningar för lärares arbete och professionalitet, vilket utforskas i den här avhandlingen. Bacchi (2009), förstår resonemang likt de ovan beskrivna som problemkonstruktioner som kan legitimera olika politiska processer och menar därför att de blir av vikt att analysera.

Ett sätt att studera kontextuella influenser eller förutsättningar för lärares arbete är genom professionsteoretiska analyser. Jag väljer här teorier om institutionella logiker (Freidson, 2001), vilket ger mig en kontextsensitiv professionsteori som passar för att utforska förutsättningar för lärares arbete i olika arenor för utbildning (Lundgren, 1983). Jag anpassar Lundgrens (1983) formuleringsarena, där policybeslut fattas, och realiseringsarena, där utbildning tar form, till 2000-talet genom att uppmärksamma att det finns flera arenor, både på formulerings- och realiseringsnivå. Det här kan därför förstås som en läroplansteoretisk studie för 2000-talet där jag kontextualiserar förutsättningar för lärares arbete genom att kombinera läroplansteori med professionsteori.

Min utgångspunkt är att jag vill utforska kontextuella influenser för lärares arbete i relation till hur lärare svarar mot eller ges förutsättningar att svara mot olika organisatoriska strukturer och förväntningar. Jag utgår från att lärare har möjlighet att agera, men, i likhet med exempelvis Hodkinson et al. (2007), att det ändå finns ramar som möjliggör såväl som begränsar deras handlingar. Jag utgår även från att det inte bara är nationella aktörer som är av vikt för lärares arbete och förutsättningar, utan att även flera internationella aktörer är viktiga. Vidare menar jag att styrning av lärares arbete är både beroende och oberoende av det omgivande samhället (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000). Jag utgår också från att det finns olika institutionella ordningar som influerar beteendet hos individer såväl som organisationer och därmed har betydelse för styrning och organisering av arbete.

Jag vill utforska hur lärare hanterar, och har möjlighet att, hantera olika, ibland motstridiga professionella förväntningar på sitt arbete (Mausethagen & Smeby, 2016). Jag analyserar detta på olika utbildningsarenor (Lundgren, 1983) genom institutionella logiker (Freidson, 2001) och diskuterar det slutligen i relation till professionalitet.

REFERENCES

Kontext förstås ofta som en bakgrund för lärares arbete, men här förstår jag det också som en del av förutsättningarna för lärares handlingar. I enlighet med Lindblad och Sahlström (1999) antar jag att handlingar i en kontext får konsekvenser för handlingar i en annan (Lindblad & Sahlström, 1999). Jag förstår kontext som en symbol för de villkor som står till buds (Cole, 1996; Nilsson, 2005), vilket därmed både möjliggör och begränsar lärares arbete.

Även om avhandlingen utgår från betydelsen av kontext, kommer jag här inte att göra skillnad på lärare i olika skolformer. Jag är medveten om att skolformer skiljer sig åt kulturellt, historiskt, i traditioner såväl som nutida regelverk, men vill driva tesen att lärares arbete är kontextbundet oavsett dessa olikheter och att det därför är svårt att generalisera och ge allmänna råd kring styrning av lärares arbete.

Jag utgår således från att svensk skola har omstrukturerats, liksom många offentliga verksamheter i västvärlden. Omstruktureringen kan sägas kännetecknas av en ”omvandling i styrprinciper, avreglering, och marknadsföring, med ett fokus på konsumenten och ett införande av styrprinciper från affärsvärlden” (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011:1, min översättning). Men det är förstås inte första gången skolsystemet förändrats. Lindblad (2018)) beskriver en utveckling av det svenska skolsystemet genom fyra perioder baserade på olika idéer:

- en centraliserad reformerande period: 1950 - 1980
- en decentraliserad utförandeperiod: 1980 – 1990
- en avreglerande omstruktureringsperiod: 1990 – 2000, till vilken från början av 2000-talet det också tillades:
- en period med resultatstyrning: 2000 –

Dessa perioder karakteriseras av att de kommer som en reaktion på den tidigare periodens idéer. Saker som har upplevts som problematiska under en tid, har alltså försökts hanteras under kommande tid. Över tid har styrningen gått från en centraliserad byråkratisk styrning till en avreglerad resultatstyrning med mycket inflytande från olika aktörer, inte minst inspirerat av marknadsmässiga idéer ofta kallat new public management (NPM) (se tex Lindblad & Wallin, 1993; Lindblad and L. Lundahl, 2015, eller Goodson & Lindblad, 2011).

Sådana idéer har bäring på lärares arbete, vilket exempelvis märks i internationella aktörer och deras generella råd kring hur utbildning ska utvecklas, ofta genom ett fokus på att förbättra lärares arbete. Jag vill problematisera detta och därför undersöka förutsättningar för lärares arbete och hur lärare hanterar dem

på olika arenor (Lundgren, 1983), vilket begreppsliggjorts genom teorier om institutionella logiker (Freidson, 2001).

Syftet med avhandlingen är att beskriva, analysera och diskutera lärares arbete och professionalitet som en fråga om institutionella logiker enligt ovan. Jag utforskar lärares responser, eller möjliga responser till organisatoriska strukturer och förväntningar på olika arenor för utbildning och ställer tre frågor:

I en tid av omstrukturering:

1. På vilket sätt spelar institutionella logiker roll för kontextuella förutsättningar för lärares responser på organisatoriska strukturer och förväntningar?
2. På vilket sätt spelar institutionella logiker roll för kontextuella konsekvenser av omstrukturering?
3. Vilka kontextuella förutsättningar kan vara viktiga för att möjliggöra lärarprofessionalitet?

I tre delstudier utforskar jag hur lärare svarar mot organisatoriska strukturer och förväntningar på olika utbildningsarenor. Studien är av vikt då den bidrar till kunskap om lärares arbete under omstrukturering (Goodson & Lindblad, 2011) och de ibland motstridiga förväntningar som finns på det (Mausethagen & Smeby, 2016). Studien bidrar även till ett resonemang om av vem och på vilka grunder problematisering av lärares arbete görs och kan göras (Bacchi, 2009).

Jag avgränsar studien till att behandla kontextuella förutsättningar och influenser för lärares arbete och professionalitet. Jag studerar alltså exempelvis inte policy eller styrning som sådan (Ball, 1997); hur lärares förhållande till elever och familjer har förändrats (Müller et al., 2007); ledarskap under omstrukturering (Little, 1995), eller omstrukturering ur ett historiskt perspektiv (Tyack, 1990).

Jag presenterar forskning som har behandlat de tänkta resultaten av omstrukturering: professionalitet, kollegialitet och elevers- och studenters skolresultat. Jag hänvisar även till studier om kontextuella influenser för lärares arbete och professionalitet. I genomgången påvisas att omstrukturering har inverkat på och förändrat lärares arbete internationellt såväl som i Sverige. Det har dock inte alltid genererat det tänkta utfallet med ökad effektivitet och professionalitet.

Litteraturgenomgången visar också på en mångtydighet i begrepp, vilket kan medföra en svårighet för lärare att ”göra rätt” i förhållande till generella råd och

rekommendationer, särskilt i nya slags arbetskontexter med nya villkor för styrning. Det är detta som avhandlingen avser belysa och problematisera.

Avhandlingens empiri analyseras genomgående med hjälp av teorier om institutionella logiker (Freidson, 2001). Freidson beskriver tre olika logiker som premisser för att styra arbete; byråkratins logik, marknadens logik och professionalismens logik. De ses som idealtyper och antas bygga på symboliska och materiella praktiker som alla bär sin egen logik. Marknaden förutsätter köpare och säljare, byråkratin förutsätter standardisering och hierakisering och professionalismens logik förutsätter att de yrkesverksamma, som kollektiv i termer av sin professionalitet, bestämmer över arbetet. Dessa idealtyper finns förstås inte i sin renodlade form, utan verkligheten består av en mix av dessa, dock har en tro på olika institutionella logiker bäring på policybeslut, som antas formas i olika logiker. Tanken är att människor, trots att de har möjlighet att agera, är inbäddade i olika logiker vilket i sin tur antas påverka deras upplevda handlingsutrymme (Hodkinson et al., 2007).

De tre ingående studierna har olika metoder, är tillkomna i lite olika perioder och finns på olika arenor. I den första och tredje artikeln använder jag liknande metoder med kvantitativa data för att göra kvalitativt olika analyser. De två studierna är komparativa, den ena jämför nationella fall och den andra jämför granskolor i en svensk kommun avseende hur de är inbäddade i institutionella logiker. I det nationella fallet var tanken att identifiera likheter och skillnader mellan två liknande utbildningssystem, med likartade reformer sedan andra världskriget. I det lokala fallet ville jag jämföra hur olika granskolor inom samma organisation svarar på organisatoriska strukturer i termer av arbetslagsarbete och hur olika slags kollegialitet därefter framträder relaterat till skolornas position på marknaden. Studie nummer två är en konceptuell analys av begreppet kollegialitet i utbildningsvetenskaplig forskningslitteratur utifrån Freidson (2001).

Gemensamt för de tre artiklarna är alltså Freidsons (2001) idealtyper. Idealtyper är renodlade tankekonstruktioner mot vilka empiri kan analyseras. De fungerar som en lins genom vilken jag förstår min empiri, vilken därmed ges vissa förutsättningar. Eftersom jag inte vill ge enkla svar, utan ifrågasätta andra enkla svar och bjuda alternativa förklaringar, tycker jag att det är ett bra val. Därutöver använder jag begreppen *boundary object* (Star & Griesemer, 1989), som kan sägas vara viktiga strukturerade i allmänhet, men blir starkt strukturerande i specifika fall. De kan få olika betydelse i olika sociala världar, i en slags översättning

(Star & Griesemer, 1989:393). Jag menar att både kollegialitet och professionalitet kan sägas vara boundary objects. Jag använder även Hargreaves (1994) teacher cultures, som inkluderar övertygelser, värderingar och sätt att agera. Slutligen använder jag begreppet professional communities, för att operationalisera olika slags kollegialitet (Lomos et al., 2011).

Jag har utgått från Vetenskapsrådets (2017) rekommendationer God forskningspraktik (Good Research Practice) och mitt arbete har blivit behandlat av etikprövningsnämnden vid Göteborgs universitet enligt VRFS 2012:1.

Den första artikeln, Samuelsson & Lindblad (2015) använder empiri från ett större europeiskt forskningsprojekt för att undersöka kontextuella förutsättningar för lärares arbete i ett nationellt perspektiv. Genom forskningsprojektet hade vi tillgång till 1548 finska och svenska lärares enkätsvar kring deras upplevelser av omstrukturering i arbetet. Vi utgick från det faktum att finska elever klarar sig bättre än svenska i PISA-undersökningarna och att finska lärare prisas medan svenska lärare får skulden för det svenska misslyckandet. Vi konstaterade att Finland och Sverige hade haft liknande reformer efter andra världskriget och fann därför de två fallen intressanta att jämföra. Vi ställde oss frågan om skillnaden i utfall kan ha något med kontextuella förutsättningar att göra och undersökte därefter finska och svenska lärares upplevelser av institutionella logiker. Baserat på vår teoretiska förståelse, kombinerat med explorativ faktoranalys och reliabilitetsanalys skapade vi index och korstabeller utifrån institutionella logiker. Dessa analyser visade att finska lärare mer än svenska upplevde professionalismens logik medan svenska lärare mer än de finska upplevde marknadens logik. Vi såg då att i relation till PISA tycks styrning genom professionalismens logik korrelera högre till goda resultat, medan styrning genom marknadens logik korrelerar till lägre resultat. Resultaten är statistiskt signifikanta och kan ses som ett svar till OECD och McKinsey att dekontextualiserade generaliseringar om lärares arbete inte är allmängiltiga och att även marknads-effektivitet har sitt pris.

Den andra artikeln (Samuelsson, 2018) tog sig an begreppet kollegialitet som ett boundary object (Star & Griesemer, 1989), genom en systematisk begreppslig forskningsöversikt. Även här använde jag institutionella logiker för att analysera olika förutsättningar för kollegialitet som begrepp. Jag påstod att det är viktigt att analysera kollegialitet eftersom det är ett begrepp som används i olika sociala världar men ofta utan en uttalad definition av vad avsikten är. Utifrån analyserna urskiljde jag tre varianter av kollegialitet med olika innebörd, professionell kollegialitet, marknadskollegialitet och byråkratisk kollegialitet och

menade att institutionella logiker alltså har betydelse även för förutsättningar för lärares arbete. Det är svårt för lärare att agera i enlighet med råd när råden är diffusa och inte tydligt uttalade. Jag menar också att den insikten kan addera en förklaring till att utfall av reformer inte alltid blir de tänkta, råden tolkas på många olika ställen av många olika grupper.

I artikel tre (Samuelsson, submitted), undersökte jag hur tre närliggande skolor i samma organisation, där lärarna sågs som informanter om skolans responser, svarar mot olika organisatoriska strukturer. I denna lokala jämförande fallstudie utforskade och utvecklade jag kontextuella kategorier av kollegialitet genom att analysera skolans responser på strukturerande organisatoriska strukturer i termer av arbetslag. Svaren kategoriserades som olika slags kollegialitet; professionell kollegialitet och byråkratisk kollegialitet i enlighet med Samuelsson (2018). Därefter relaterades olika kategorier av kollegialitet till skolans upplevelse av den lokala skolmarknaden. I studien framkom åter realiseringsarenans betydelse och svaren skiljde sig i enlighet med vad det lokala sammanhanget tycktes kräva. I skolan som var starkast utsatt för konkurrens var en professionell kollegialitet mer närvarande än i skolan med en säker ställning på skolmarknaden som i stället tycktes använda sin position till ett mer fritt förhållningssätt till organisatoriska strukturer. Detta diskuterades i relation till styrning av lärares arbete och professionalitet och vikten av en förståelse av det lokala sammanhanget i förhållande till generella råd.

Alla tre artiklarna bidrar till att utforska avhandlingens syfte att beskriva, analysera och diskutera lärares arbete och professionalitet som en fråga om institutionella logiker i en era av omstrukturering, men från lite olika håll. Gemensamt för de tre artiklarna, förutom den använda teorin, är att de sätter ljus på institutionella logikers inverkan på lärares arbete och de bidrar även till att illustrera inte bara att, men också hur de finns inbäddade i lärares arbete på olika arenor.

Jag diskuterar resultaten i tre teman i enlighet med de inledande forskningsfrågorna:

1. Institutionella logiker och utbildningsarenor som förutsättningar för lärares responser på organisatoriska strukturer och förväntningar

Hos svenska lärare existerar, åtminstone, de tre undersökta logikerna parallellt som förutsättningar för arbetet. Även om marknadslogiken tycks dominera på en nationell nivå, vilket är i linje med många andra studier (tex L. Lundahl,

2002), tydliggörs i den här studien att alla logiker samexisterar. Detta är i linje med exempelvis Blomgren och Waks (2015). Lärare i skolor som är populära upplever i mindre utsträckning inflytande från marknaden än lärare i mindre populära skolor i likhet med exempelvis Lundström och Rönnberg (2015). Därmed blir deras upplevda handlingsutrymme olika och de hanterar organisatoriska strukturer och förväntningar på olika sätt, vilket får konsekvenser för deras professionalitet. Utifrån detta föreslår jag tre typer av professionalitet som får olika utrymme på olika utbildningsarenor. Först, en kuvad professionalitet (subdued professionalism), vilken här främst framträder i marknadens logik. Den anpassar sig efter organisatoriska strukturer och förväntningar och följer dem relativt troget. En kuvad professionalitet, krockar generellt med lärares uppfattningar om varför de valde läraryrket, som diskuterats av bland annat Lundström och Parding (2011). Sedan, en oberoende professionalitet (independent professionalism), vilken här mest framträder i professionens logik. Den har kategoriserats som oberoende när lärare agerar självständigt och självsäkert. I en oberoende professionalitet tar lärare ofta aktiv del i beslut och har större chans att känna att de utvecklas professionellt. Slutligen, en beroende professionalitet (dependent professionalism), vilket i detta empiriska material främst framträder i byråkratins logik. I enlighet med tex Little (1982) tycks förutsättningar för professionell utveckling finnas, men hur den kommer att utvecklas tycks beroende av hur skolan upplever marknadens logik.

Eftersom lärarprofessionalitet tycks falla ut olika på olika utbildningsarenor, sett utifrån institutionella logiker tycks det viktigt för lärare, lärarstudenter, lärarutbildare, och policyaktörer att ha kännedom om dessa. De blir av vikt för förståelse av lärares arbete.

2. Institutionella logiker, arenor och konsekvenser för omstrukturering av utbildningsväsendet

Även om jag i den här texten inte gör någon skillnad mellan lärare i olika skolformer, tycks det svårt att tala om något så generellt som dekontextualiserade råd för lärares arbete. I samtliga empiriska exempel, i olika lärargrupper, varierar de kontextuella förutsättningarna. Det gäller även för skolor inom en och samma organisation i en kommun. Att variationen är så stor, är av vikt att veta i relation till globala experter, som ger generella råd till hur skolor ska förbättras, inte bara i en skolform, en organisation eller land, utan över hela världen. Institutionella logiker och utbildningsarenor kan då bistå med förklaringar varför

reformer inte alltid leder till de tänkta utfallen och därmed även problematisera alltför generella råd. Lärare översätter råd i relation till vad den enskilda skolan behöver det är alltså en lång väg mellan formuleringsarena och realiseringsarenor.

3. Viktiga kontextuella förutsättningar för lärarprofessionalitet

Finns det då några viktiga förutsättningar för lärarprofessionalitet? Ja och nej. Det tycks svårt att ge generella råd, eftersom de kontextuella förutsättningarna tycks skilja sig åt relativt mycket i lärares arbete. Det som det behövs mer av i en skola, behövs mindre av i en annan. Det tycks också som att professionen själv hanterar detta i relation till vad omgivningen och den lokala arenan behöver. Om inte generella råd från olika aktörer antingen definieras, alternativt mer explicit lämnas till professionen kommer skillnaden i utfall att fortsätta. Retoriken kring lärares arbete bör förändras.

Viktiga slutsatser av studien är att även om lärare är viktiga för utbildning, så är även de kontextuella förutsättningarna för deras arbete av mycket stor vikt. Dekontextualiserade lärares arbete är inte bara svårt att förstå, men också att styra. Därför är det viktigt att utveckla ett tänkande om kontextuella förutsättningar och influenser för lärares arbete. Det är alltså rimligt att överväga en alternativ syn på styrning av lärares arbete.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Letters to the schools, email May, 3 2012

Hej!

Mitt namn är Katarina Samuelsson och jag är en sk kommunal CUL-doktorand i det sk BOSS-projektet vid Göteborgs universitet i vilket er skola deltar (CUL står för Centrum för utbildningsvetenskap och lärarforskning - jag delar min tid mellan undervisning på Nya Påvelundsskolan och forskarutbildning på Göteborgs universitet).

I projektet har vi hittills besökt era elever och i viss mån er rektorsexpedition, nu har turen kommit till lärarna på gymnasiet (totalt ca 600 i vår studie) att besvara en enkät som handlar om vardagen i skolan ur ett lärarperspektiv.

Med anledning av detta undrar jag om jag kan få komma till era lärare för att informera om enkäten, samt dela ut samtyckesbrev till dem. Efter detta önskar jag skicka e-post direkt till de deltagande lärarna med en länk till enkäten. Enkäten är godkänd av etikprövningsnämnden i Göteborg, digital, handlar om lärares arbete kring samarbete, information och bedömning och tar ca 15 minuter att besvara. Den besvaras anonymt. Det går inte att spåra svar till individer och skolor hålls anonyma.

Lärarnas medverkan är självklart frivillig, men varje enskilt svar är viktigt för att vi ska kunna få ett så rikt och tillförlitligt material som möjligt. Frågorna har utarbetats utifrån tidigare studier, utförda i Sverige och USA och på så vis får vi möjlighet till en historisk och internationell jämförelse. Målet är få en nyanserad bild av gymnasielärares vardag i skolan idag med tidigare studier som referenspunkt. Studiens resultat blir en del av en kommande avhandling och vi kommer att kunna återkoppla resultatet till de deltagande (avidentifierade) skolorna. Genom att besvara enkätfrågorna kan lärarna sålunda låta sina erfarenheter komma till glädje och nytta både för nuvarande och framtida lärare.

Enkäten skickas ut till ca 600 gymnasielärare, som jobbar vid skolor som ingått i det sk BOSS-projektet. Alla svar behandlas konfidentiellt och svaren är helt anonyma när vi analyserar dem. Personliga inloggningsuppgifter är endast till för att vi ska kunna läsa av inkomna formulär och inte skicka ut påminnelser i onödan. Inga resultat som direkt eller indirekt kan tänkas peka ut en eller ett fåtal personer kommer heller att redovisas.

Så fungerar enkäten

Totalt består enkäten av 49 frågor, men beroende på hur man svarar kan man komma att "hoppa över" vissa frågor. I föreliggande webbenkät sker detta i de flesta fall automatiskt. Man navigerar sig framåt och bakåt i enkäten med hjälp av "nästa-knappen" och "föregående-knappen". När man fyllt i enkäten skickar man in den till oss genom att trycka på knappen "Skicka". Man kommer då att få en bekräftelse på att enkäten skickats in.

Undersökningen genomförs vid institutionen för pedagogik och specialpedagogik vid Göteborgs universitet.

Jag vore tacksam om jag kunde få komma till er skola och kort informera om min enkät under maj månad, helst en tisdag, torsdag eller fredag, men jag får anpassa mig. Informationen tar ca 15 minuter. Min förhoppning är sedan att lärarna besvarar enkäten före midsommar. Tror ni vid er skola att detta skulle vara möjligt?

Jag ringer er under kommande vecka så får vi prata mer och förhoppningsvis bestämma en tid.

Vänliga hälsningar

Katarina Samuelsson

Katarina.samuelsson@ped.gu.se

Letter number 2, May, 24 2012

Hej!

För en tid sedan skrev jag till er och bad om att få komma till er skola och prata med era lärare om ett forskningsprojekt som har pågått på er skola en tid. Jag inser att det var en mycket svår tid att få till stånd en kontakt, och jag gör nu ett nytt försök, med en förhoppning om att få komma till er nästa termin i stället.

LR, Göteborg har tittat på enkäten och samtyckt till att jag distribuerar den. Jag behöver dock förstås lärarnas och ert tillstånd också.

Om ni inte tycker att det är lämpligt att jag kommer till skolan, ber jag om hjälp att distribuera samtyckesbrevet, så skickar jag sedan epost med länk till enkäten. Synpunkter på enkäten från lärare vid utprovningar har varit att den har varit "lätt att besvara" och att den har "väckt frågor som vi på skolan borde tala om". Förhoppningsvis gäller det även hos er, så att lärarna känner att de direkt får något tillbaka. Denna enkät, tillsammans med kommande (frivilliga)

intervjuer kommer ligga till grund för min avhandling med den preliminära titeln ” Mind the gap! Professional cultures in relation to student progression after transitions to upper secondary school.” Materialet kommer fortlöpande presenteras (och granskas) på forskarkonferenser. Studien är praktiktäna och jag hoppas kunna bidra till vetenskaplig kunskap om läraryrkets profession, men också att den ska kännas angelägen för skolvärlden.

Jag återkommer i juni, med en förhoppning om att kunna boka ett besök i augusti.

Vänliga hälsningar

Katarina Samuelsson

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APPENDIX B

*Letter of consent**Göteborg, 2013-05-16***Information om ett forskningsprojekt vid din arbetsplats – Professionella kulturer och elevprogression, delstudie i BOSS-projektet vid Göteborgs Universitet.**

Förutsättningarna för arbetet i skolan förändras kontinuerligt. Skolan har bland annat gått från att vara regelstyrd till målstyrd, men också resultatstyrd. Den har blivit konkurrensutsatt och en del forskare talar om en marknadsisering av skolan. Innebörder och konsekvenser av detta ur elev- och lärarperspektiv är något vi studerar i forskningsprojektet BOSS (Bildningsgångar och skolresultat i det senmoderna samhället) i vilket 14 grund- och gymnasieskolor i Göteborg deltar. Hitills, har vi bitt era elever besvara enkäter, samt gjort observationer och intervjuer (etnografier) i ett mindre antal klasser. Vi har också samlat in och analyserat skolans dokumentation kring eleverna, t.ex. prov, betyg, åtgärdsprogram etc.

Nästa del i projektet är att genom en enkät till projektets samtliga gymnasie-lärare (ca 600) och intervjuer med några lärare i matematik och engelska (ca 8) undersöka hur lärares samarbetskulturer och informationshantering ser ut i en resultatstyrd skola. Syftet med undersökningen är att beskriva, analysera och diskutera lärares arbete i ett omstrukturerat skolväsende utifrån variationen i dessa aspekter. Ovanstående relateras sedan till marknadsfrågor om konkurrens och söktryck. Enkäten är anonym, digital och tar ca 15 minuter att besvara.

Förhoppningsvis ger enkäten dig som deltagande lärare tillfälle att stanna upp och fundera över din vardag i skolan. Datamaterialet kommer i vår behandling att skiljas från eventuella personuppgifter. I analysförfarandet kommer inga individers svar vara av intresse och i vår rapportering är varje individ och skola helt anonym. Detta innebär att ditt svar inte kommer gå att urskilja, inga namn eller uppgifter som kan identifiera dig kommer att finnas med. Intervju- och enkätmaterial kommer att hanteras med stor försiktighet och största sekretess. Datamaterialet kommer att sparas under 10 år för att möjliggöra granskning för andra forskare.

Din medverkan är frivillig och kan när som helst under studien avbrytas. Om du har några frågor, eller vill ta del av vårt resultat, är du välkommen att kontakta någon av nedanstående personer.

Sverker Lindblad
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Doktorand, ansvarig för lärarenkät
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Blankett om deltagande i enkätundersökningen
”Bildningsgångar och skolresultat i det senmoderna samhället”

Sätt ett kryss i en av rutorna här under:

- Ja, jag vill vara med i enkätundersökningen som handlar om lärares
samarbetskulturer och informationshantering

- Nej, jag vill inte vara med i denna undersökning.

.....
(Din egen underskrift)

Lappen kan skickas till:
Katarina Samuelsson
IPS, plan 3
Utbildningsvetenskapliga fakultetsnämnden
Box 300
SE 405 30 Göteborg

Tidigare utgåvor:

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