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Disciplining practices in schools and prisons

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Abstract: In focus here are processes of discipline in work groups in human service organisations. We will describe and analyse disciplining processes among teachers in schools and warders in prisons, two different service organisations, which both aim at influencing their "clients", and none of them especially prone at crossing boundaries. Here are, however, lots of ethical dilemmas. We argue that both teachers and warders are exposed to "double disciplining". Firstly, there are organisational disciplining forces, like governmental rules, professional norms, and trade/cultural traditions. The driving forces behind organisational disciplining are, on the one hand, rhetorical statements about idealized objectives and rules and, on the other hand, physical arrangements, both of which seek to maintain the legitimacy of organisational practices. Secondly, we are disciplined by ourselves. The driving forces of the self-disciplining processes in our material are a pragmatical wish for an untroubled working day and a wish to cope with the situations at work, where demands from colleagues and clients/customers play an important role.

In our analysis, we will apply the concepts of Foucault, when he describes the political anatomy of disciplinary practices. The contribution of this report is the analysis of disciplining processes within modern service organisations aimed at disciplining their clients/customers, and the highlighting of the dilemmas experienced in these processes. To develop consciousness about disciplining processes can promote reflection about dilemmas, which is of extreme importance in organisations where human encounters are the products of the business.

Keywords: disciplining (practises), schools, prisons, dilemmas, handling dilemmas, teachers, warders, time, visibility, space.

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1 Background and purpose

Organisations intended to influence and service human beings may often display dilemmas between the actual wishes of the staff and organisational objectives and rules. Human relations are always unique, while organisational products are generally assumed to be more or less standardised, it being inherent in organisational quality expectations that the customers should be able to know what they are buying, which implies some form of organisational standard. A special qualitative aspect to products manufactured within the framework of human relations is that the relationship is truly unique, each customer is treated on the basis on his/her own pre-conditions and wishes, and product development can occur under these conditions. Hence, a very clear paradox is present between organisational product requirements and the ability of the human beings involved to develop unique relationships.

Schools and prisons are two types of organisations, where the product is assumed to be “influenced people”, i.e., both are to make “good citizens” of the pupils and prisoners admitted. Another similarity is that both pupils and prisoners are coerced into the organisation: the former during the day and the latter around the clock, while in other respects the two organisations differ in many ways.

In the past year, Sandoff interviewed teachers and school managers in order to examine how the customer and market approach may affect the organisation of operations and the working situation of the teachers. For a year-and-a-half, Widell has been studying warders in the prison service in order to examine how categorisation and stereotyping develop and affect communications within heterogeneous groups. Discussions of these two studies have shown certain similarities. Here, we intend to examine our various materials with a common tool, an analysis of disciplinary practices on the basis of Foucault’s descriptions of the same.

The purpose of the report is thus to describe and analyse disciplinary practices among teachers in schools and warders in prisons and on this basis, to attempt to draw conclusions about the dilemmas faced by these personnel categories. The report opens with a brief description of what discipline involves and then passes on to the practical instances from schools and prison service. These comprise the framework of this work, as the intention is to describe and analyse disciplinary practices on the very basis of these practical instances. Each field is described and analysed in a separate chapter on the basis of a discipline perspective, and each chapter concludes with a section that clarifies identified disciplinary practices and the subsequent dilemmas. These then form the basis for the concluding chapter containing a joint discussion on discipline and the dilemmas at organisational and individual level and also how they are handled by different personnel categories.

2 Discipline

According to Foucault (1977) discipline is an effective means of controlling and being able to predict such matters as employee behaviour. The role of discipline is to ensure that many people do their job in a uniform manner and with identical results. This discipline is shown in the practices in which people are involved, and

it is thus relevant in organisational studies to start with the processes that people perform.

Discipline is present in three dimensions according to Foucault (1977) and Townley (1993) and our interpretation in a work organisation context may be as follows:

Space relates to the spatial and organisational aspects. One example is how the employees are grouped according to the organisational chart and where various persons are placed in the premises. The spatial aspect is disciplinary as it lays down who works with whom, on what tasks, which powers and areas of responsibility are included, and who is whose superior or subordinate. Disciplinary practices in space can be enclosure, partitioning and ranking.

Time relates to the temporal aspect. Examples of temporal discipline are when various tasks are to be performed and completed and the deadlines that must be observed. Furthermore, the temporal aspect is involved when various tasks are to be performed in relation to each other and the time allotted for a task. The segmentation of time and its division into regularities or irregularities, respectively, are assumed to govern disciplinary processes.

Visibility involves other people seeing what one does. The best known example is Bentham's panopticon, where complete supervision can be undertaken from a tower without those being supervised knowing when this is being done. The knowledge that this can be done at any time is considered however to be adequate. By make the actual performance of the task visible to others and allocating tasks among several people and demanding that they collaborate, supervision is incorporated into the work organisation. Foucault considers examination, confession and punishment as examples of processes where visibility has a disciplinary effect.

Here, we have examined accounts of their job, by employed teachers and warders, respectively, with the objective of highlighting disciplinary practices. Our question relates to how disciplinary practises are expressed and the dilemmas that follow. Using these accounts, we can provide examples of how employees prioritise and the reasons that they do so in the way they do. With the help of these accounts, we can also contribute examples of when the opposite, exercised freedom, is practised.

3 Disciplining practices in schools

3.1 *Empirical basis*

How discipline can be interpreted in the area of teachers' work will be described and analysed below on the basis of three areas, which are "working in teaching teams", "external assessment" and "pass marks awarded to all pupils" while they are judged to be of interest in terms of discipline. These areas have been extracted from the field material collected from the Swedish compulsory school market. The dimensions of space, time and visibility are found in the analysis of these three areas.

The information that underpins the description and analysis of the Swedish school market was collected during autumn 2000 and spring 2001. Interviews were held with nine head teachers at compulsory and upper secondary schools (four municipal and five private), thirteen teachers working in compulsory schools

(all with experience of both the municipal and private sectors), four union representatives, a municipal official dealing with schooling, an official at the National Board of Education and two people working for temporary staff agencies that cater to schools. The interviews were held at the respondents' workplaces and lasted between one and two hours. Notes were taken and the interviews were also taped and transcribed more or less verbatim. All have been promised confidentiality. Besides the interviews, other field-based studies of the school market were utilised (e.g., Blossing et al, 1999; Forsberg, 1995; Jacobson and Sahlin-Andersson, 1995; Wallin, 2000; Wallin et al, 2000). Furthermore, the quite vigorous debate about the school market in the Swedish media was monitored during the period allocated for the implementation of the study.

3.2 Work organisation in schools – working in teaching teams

Since the middle of the Nineties, it has been customary to organise teachers in teaching teams and the ideas behind this can be traced to a socio-technical tradition that acquired great popularity in manufacturing industry in the Sixties and Seventies (see Buchanan, 1979; Hackman and Oldham, 1980; Rubenowitz, 1994). The background to the introduction of teaching teams can be debated, but one interpretation, which is also common on the part of trade unionists, is that the teaching profession has traditionally been a solitary one, with few opportunities for collaboration with and support from one's colleagues. Once training is completed and a qualification obtained, the teacher is left alone with his/her knowledge and is expected to trust to professional norms.

The lack of cooperation is resolved through teaching teams although another interpretation is that they have been introduced to make financial savings, the latter being an important task for school organisations today according to employers and school managements. There is a belief that teaching teams, with a joint responsibility for certain duties, incur lower costs, especially staff-related ones. Such a view and arguments can also be recognised from other contexts such as the hotel industry, where companies at the end of 1980s were struggling with poor profitability and similar socio-technical ideas were introduced (Sandoff, 1995; 1998). A teacher with thirty years of experience describes the current situation in the following terms:

“We really have many more conferences and today there is much more common time, which is much longer; in general we work much more and have shorter holidays and longer weeks. So, quite simply, we spend much more time in school than we used to. Before, there used to be a great deal of individual time when you could plan by yourself. This is an enormous change that means that it's harder to be a teacher today. Well, I'm older now but I think so any way, as you see very many young kids who are also tired. So, it's not just us...It feels a little as if there's greater control. It becomes control as there are so many core hours when you have to be here and then it doesn't matter, as this becomes a form of control, anyway.” (Subject teacher, forms 1-6)

A further interpretation of the introduction of teaching teams relates to the wave of individualisation that swept the West during the 1990s (Du Gay and Salaman, 1992; Rose, 1995). Freedom of choice for the customer and the great emphasis it is given no longer characterise just private trade and commerce but also the public sector (Forssell, 1999; Forssell and Jansson, 2000). Resources must be mustered so that teachers not least can handle this new focus, and when

they are no longer able to rely solely on acquired experiences and professional norms, but must instead gain popularity in the competition that prevails on the market, concerted efforts are required. This interpretation agrees with the results of British studies where freedom of choice and competition on the school market has existed for some time (Gerwartz, 1997; Walsh, 1995). Jacobsson and Sahlin-Andersson (1995) advance a similar argument. They believe that schools' new status as autonomous organisations involves a need to change the internal work organisation. Instead of focusing on individual subjects, these are integrated into teaching teams, which play a key role in the school organisation.

Further evidence to support the interpretation that teachers need to obtain support from one another in order to handle their professional duties and everyday efforts, is found in the experience that they convey of an increasingly nurturing profession, and here is one teacher's account of his "new" role:

"Some years ago, I had a very difficult class; it just turned out that way. I had so many talks with parents and such things to prepare. The lessons came last sort of, and I had to prepare them between eleven and twelve at best. Of course, this was wrong, as my lessons are that thing I should actually be capable of managing. But you're not particularly creative when you've got tons to do first; you don't really have the energy. But that's not the way it should be." (Subject teacher, forms 3-9)

According to the teachers, there are shortcomings in today's society when it comes to satisfying children and young people's need for security and adult contacts. Consequently, it has become an important task for the teaching profession to provide social work, and internal cooperation is necessary to do this alongside the teaching mission.

3.2.1 Working in teaching teams considered as disciplinary practices

Space

The teachers are allocated to teaching teams of around five to ten people with joint responsibility for certain classes, subjects and duties at school. Certain teaching teams have appointed a formal leader but it is equally common for this function to alternate from time to time. The team has its own budget for teaching aids and in-service training but the major expenditure item for staff and associated matters such as salary assessment, staff appointments and progress discussions rests with the head teacher/school management. The latter also deals with the income side in terms of funds allocation and support resources. The allocation of certain teachers to form a teaching team is based primarily on physical proximity, i.e. those teachers whose work is assigned to a specific floor, corridor or the like, form a teaching team. In addition, account is taken of the subjects and forms that these teachers teach, with some consideration of age and gender with the object of achieving a somewhat balanced allocation.

Time

Every teaching team holds regular meetings, usually once a week, where work is planned and monitored. These meetings are outside the staff meetings and conferences that are open to the entire teaching staff at the school. In addition to these regular meetings, every term or in any case every six months, every teacher

in the team should engage in in-service training relevant to the team as a whole. The activity, in which each teacher will be engaged, is determined jointly by the team. Other time-related aspects to which the teaching team has to relate are the holding every term of progress discussions with all pupils and their parents. The pupils are divided within the team, where other teachers inform in advance the teacher who is to hold the progress discussion, as to the standing of the pupil within his/her subject. Outside scheduled teaching hours all teachers also have non-scheduled attendance, where they are to be accessible to both other team teachers and the pupils.

Visibility

Within the teaching team the teachers are involved in each other's teaching. One of the reasons for introducing teaching teams was to get away from the traditional solitary role of the teaching profession, which means an active search for points of contact between different subjects, classes and even forms, where two or more teachers jointly provide instruction. This means that teachers can no longer isolate themselves from their colleagues and decide completely individually as to where, when and how teaching will be done. This cooperation also extends to marking, which is done in consultations with other teachers of the subject.

3.2.2 Dilemmas related to working in teaching teams

The organisational division that the teachers are subjected to implies a discipline on the teaching team to which one belongs. It is no longer possible for teachers to cut themselves off and decide themselves how to exercise their profession, as was the case, while it is no longer up to the individual teacher to determine the structure and content of the job, and decisions are instead taken jointly within the teaching team to which one belongs. Hence, adaptability is important.

The individual teacher becomes subject to closer scrutiny, primarily by his/her colleagues, but also by the head teacher/school management, which acts as a cohesive force on the teaching teams. These are intended to make the teacher's job visible and accessible to everyone and not a matter for the individual teacher. It is to be done at jointly determined times and in accordance with joint guidelines, and not when it best suits the individual. For certain teachers and in certain contexts, a more evident communality may prove positive. The individual gains a partner with whom to discuss and (s)he no longer needs to feel alone in the face of difficult decisions. For example, hard-to-manage challenges when working with the pupils can be shared with others and turned into a joint concern with shared responsibility. Moreover, in-service training efforts on behalf of one team member can benefit the others through this know-how being spread and applied within the entire team. This is how two teachers described the importance of the group:

“You need all these detailed discussions with colleagues as a safety valve, which is very important, as without it this good cooperation would never work. Cooperation between teachers is the be-all and end-all, both to allowing the organisation and the operation to work, and for you to have the strength to cope. That's why you need the feedback you get from your colleagues.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

“So there are three classes of pupils with a certain number of teachers who teach them and nobody anywhere else and no other teachers enter these classrooms.” (Teacher, forms 4-9)

But, being allowed to exercise professional skills and not being forced to devote oneself to other tasks is therefore crucial to the feeling of professional pride:

“That you stop being a meals or break monitor and get proper breaks.” (Teacher, forms 1-6)

“...very much and not just as a carer but a nanny! And I don’t care for this aspect that I should need to be a nanny...But I always find teaching great fun. So I enjoy doing it and find it a trifle irritating that I have to play this maternal role on top of everything else.” (Teacher, forms 1-3)

“But there is certainly much care and social interaction. Absolutely, and that’s the hard part, actually. Somebody failing a test in English you can cope with, but it’s hard when somebody feels sad, depressed or anything else.” (Subject teacher, forms 7-9)

The fact that teachers devote a large part of their working time to social work and “new” duties at the expense of their educational efforts is, according to the quotations, the feeling of professional impoverishment. The last quotation also highlights that it is a great burden to fulfil the “new” duties of the social worker role.

3.3 *The work of schools – external assessment*

Another innovation in the school world is that the work undertaken is subject to continuous assessment by its customers, i.e., the pupils and their parents. A typical example of this is the effort to evaluate the performance of schools and other units in the Swedish municipality of Göteborg (Norén, 2001). For some years now, this municipality has been operating a system of performance measurements. Municipal working parties have established (and are still establishing) various measurement criteria by means of which the performance of individual schools can be measured. The results of these measurements are published on the municipal website. The attitude towards allowing the customers to influence operations differs from what is customary within professional operations such as schooling.

It is characteristic of professional operations that the professionals themselves hold a mandate to decide what the job should consist of, how it is to be done and determine when it has been well done. There is also a conception that there is no need for external assessment of the operation in which professionals engage. As early as 1978, Meyer and Rowan wrote that there was no need for examination, assessment or evaluation of the work performed by teachers in the classroom. According to them, there is a strong belief that professionals themselves, thanks to their training having given them the required legitimacy, have the ability to judge what is to be done and how. It is the prerogative of the teacher to determine what happens in the classroom and there is neither any need nor desire to turn this into a common concern, while the same reasoning is found in more recent institutional theory. According to Powell and DiMaggio (eds.) (1991) professional groups have an intrinsic striving towards establishing control over their own production processes and their right to determine one’s field becomes a collective task within a professional group. This delineation and

exclusive right likewise becomes a pre-requisite for the ability to maintain a professional status.

Brante's discussion (1989) of state professions points in the same direction, and according to him, these are characterised in that they apply government legislation with regard to the citizens. Another characteristic, also mentioned above, is their autonomous standing (Lundqvist, 1998). Norms have developed on the basis of the existing expertise and have become powerful without being questioned, within the delineated collective that the profession constitutes. Lundqvist, however, considers the question of changes within a public sector, where an entrepreneurial ideal is contrasted with that of a public official, expecting a calculating behaviour rather than compliance with norms elaborated within the profession and the office. Meyer's and Rowan's thesis from 1978, which has provided the basis for later institutional theory, appears incorrect in considering today's school or the thesis of Lundqvist. A clear example is that for a number of years, schools, both private and municipal, have been evaluated on the part of the municipality on the basis of questions put to the pupils and their parents. The responses become the subject of public examination when they are published and are considered by the management groups and teachers at the schools involved. This verdict thus forms the basis for the measures taken by a school management for the school's progress and also for its popularity in the minds of the public. According to both the teachers and head teachers, these figures play a significant role in the pupils' free choice of a school. This is how a teacher describes the roll of this assessment.

"It has a great effect on us. Everything positive is enormously encouraging after all and you have to do something about what doesn't work. So we devote seminars and in-service training to it every year. These questionnaires, and their results. And then we do our own studies at school of matters such as bullying, etc." (Teacher, forms 1-7)

Once a school has been chosen, the pupils and their parents are able to evaluate and influence the schooling through the progress discussions held with the teachers. Another forum for evaluating school operations is the inspection function performed by the National Board of Education and the municipality, respectively.

3.3.1 External assessment considered as disciplinary practices

Space

Every year the municipality takes the initiative in assessing its schools. There is a common questionnaire for all schools and pupils within the municipality that asks how the school is perceived by its customers. It is sent to the pupils' and parents' home and participation is voluntary. The results of the response are then published and usually result in public debate and comparisons between the schools. The results are compared with those from the previous year and with "competing" schools. Apart from the aforementioned anonymous assessment, class teachers maintain constant contact with their pupils and the latter's parents. Every six months a meeting is held for private discussions of the pupil's situation. It is customary that prior to this meeting every pupil and his parents are urged to review a number of questions. In the same way, a responsible teacher collate details of the pupils' performance from the other teachers involved, in order to

give the pupil an evaluation. Besides this afore-mentioned customer-based assessment, the National Board of Education examines all private schools while the municipality is responsible for the operations of municipal schools (even if ultimate responsibility rests with the Board). The latter is the inspection authority, which alongside the municipality, is appointed to be responsible for local compliance with all directives of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs and the Schools Act.

Time

The above-mentioned assessments are done continuously, which means that the teachers are forced to maintain a consistently high standard in the performance of their duties. This regularity encourages work characterised by constant qualitative improvement. It is not enough to rest on one's laurels after completing teacher training and feel secure in the belief that a qualification as an educator will provide adequate legitimacy on a competitive market. The acquisition and maintenance of legitimacy as a teacher requires an ability to interpret market requirements, which implies a constant search for new approaches, adapted to the needs of pupils, parents, schooling in its widest sense and society at large during the period in question.

Visibility

Pupils and parents gain a good insight into the work of the school thanks to various assessments. This insight also provides a means of influence, which is likewise the idea behind a more market-oriented school system. Internal conditions are evaluated and assessed when they are emphasised. If they are not to the observer's liking, this is immediately noticeable by an absence of purchasing, procurement or the like. One concrete example of the consequences of greater insight, is when a low number of pupils select a specific school when it receives poor marks in a municipal assessment. Another example of insight transformed into action is the feedback to teachers on the work that they do, from pupils and parents during the progress discussions. If continued consumer confidence is required, there is an expectation that measures will be taken on the basis on the comments received. A further example is the work of the National Board of Education and the municipality. Their inspections play an evaluating role as schools not approved can be banned from operating.

3.3.2 Dilemmas related to external assessment

Both pupils and parents have considerable opportunity for insight into the work of the school and it is not solely up to the teacher or the staff group to decide about operations. The idea is that operations should be market-oriented, with account taken of the demand from present and potential customers. Hence, undertaking school operations is just as much about the ability to judge what is commercially acceptable as the practical transformation of ideas into action. This involves an awareness of customers' wishes and making them feel involved in school operations. Hence, there has been a shift of emphasis. From having been a matter for the individual teacher, the teaching profession has now become a matter for all the school's interested parties. A teacher gave the following description of his professional role:

“Then, it’s also to some extent the case that the parents and pupils always provide some kind of assessment. Actually, it’s not just you doing the evaluating but instead you are evaluated every day as a teacher. All the time, constantly. This is so different from any other workplace. And, I guess, this is quite a strain for many people in the long run, being evaluated all the time from every direction. It’s like being a public figure.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

The qualification provided by a teacher-training course is insufficient. In today’s school world, legitimacy via professional know-how functions is merely the price of being allowed to act on the market at all. Subsequently, what is required is an ability to detect and adapt operations to customer needs. It is the customers and their demands that decide what is relevant and profitable schooling and not, as was formerly the case, the individual with the professional expertise. The decision lies instead in what the customer demands. Two teachers convey the following picture of the situation:

“Well, preferably parents that influence their children or are involved with them in the right way, who mind what they are doing but not how we teach. What I feel at this school is that they interfere with our profession instead of devoting more time to their kids.” (Teacher, forms 4-9)

“Uncertainty always arises when people who are not professional educators in any way, they may be politicians, the media, parents or others, interfere and have a mass of opinions on matters that educators and other professionals have already expressed an opinion on and plotted out a course for. And these people come along and decide something else and show no respect for those who have the knowledge. Instead they show that perhaps it isn’t so terribly meaningful to possess any knowledge about this. And it is such intimations that are so incredibly dangerous when you want to have a healthy school.” (Teacher, forms 3-7)

One evident consequence of all these types of evaluation is greater visibility. Information is disseminated and assessed, which allows comparisons to be made. In discussing with one of the teachers as to whether how she exercises her profession is the object of evaluation, she replied as follows:

“Exercising one’s profession, yes; after all, this is also examined in these questionnaires. And then it continues with the progress discussions, which is the idea. This is like a normal workplace, where things are done this way and the head teacher is the boss. The goals set with the pupils are measured by them in the classroom and followed up in progress discussions with them and their parents. So everything really is followed up.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

The active choice of a school expected of today’s pupils is based, in any case, largely on the information available from the assessments made. This leads in turn to the latter contributing to encouraging competition among schools, which may obviously be beneficial as it stimulates a forward striving but can also be perceived as negative, especially by those forced to take part. As in all public service, competition is a new phenomenon to which the actors are unaccustomed. The natural motive force for all public works has been everything other than competition and rivalry and has been that of protecting human beings and showing consideration towards one’s fellows (Stymne, 1991). Studies by Gewirtz (1997) and Walsh (1995) of the transformation of the British school market into a commercial operation with demand and supply as the governing mechanisms show that greater competition is viewed as a problem by the teachers. Insecurity and difficulty in striking a balance in their job, which is expected to encompass

both care and competition, are being described by an increasing number of members of this profession. One teacher described this balance in terms of self-examination:

“Much self-examination. You have to change many times over the years and re-assess your own values. Take up new positions, from different standpoints. And it’s important to be able to see how other people think and what their needs are, I believe.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

According to Gustafsson (1994) this outcome is not surprising. His thesis is that a market design often impairs the employees’ working conditions. The case is to be well-organised. Planning and subsequent follow-up in relation to the set objectives of the school, has become a central task in the teacher’s job.

“...we follow it up every week. Then we look back at what we have done, what we’re going to do and how we are to proceed and how it worked. You do this almost every day, so there’s a lot of follow-up. A lot of thinking about the day, the activities and after every day, you think it through, how it was, the pupils you met and how you handled various situations. You always think through it so it’s a constant process. A constant process, all the time.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

3.4 Schools’ objective – pass marks for all pupils

Both politicians and the curriculum state that it is the responsibility of the school to enable all pupils to continue their education after compulsory school, which means that they should leave the ninth form with pass marks in the core subjects. In practice, this means that the teacher and his/her teaching team have to ensure that every single pupil receives the necessary instruction adapted to his/her specific needs. This is how one teacher described the individual objectives that now govern teaching.

“Well, these are set together with the pupil, above all at the progress discussion and also during the term, when you see some pupils who may have difficulties in some field, or somebody who is very far ahead in some subject and may need somewhat different assignments or a little special training. So you have individual objectives too. And you follow them up, with both the pupil and the parents.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

The responsibility placed on the teachers has links to the tradition of responsibility described by Power (1997) in terms of accountability. At the same time, there is a striving to integrate pupils with special needs into the normal operations of the school. This has led to the disappearance of special-school classes for pupils with, for example, particular problems in reading or writing.

The idea that all pupils should receive pass marks from compulsory school can be compared with industrial quality control with its aspirations of zero-error production. It has links to what is termed Total Quality Management (TQM) (Jernberg, 1995). The objective is to establish an organisation that is free of mistakes, which, of course, makes great demands of those doing the job. The arguments in favour of creating an error-free organisation can be assumed to be that of minimising the risk of human error, maintaining the costs at a controlled and predictable level and obtaining satisfied customers in the very first contact with the company in question. There is a conviction, not least in personnel-intensive service operations that it is almost impossible to win back a dissatisfied customer (Grönroos, 1990; Normann, 1983/92; Whyte, 1948) and if it can be done

at all, this is associated with high costs. The idea of the need for satisfied customers has led to it being very common in many operations, especially service industries, that standards are used to control employee performance (Brunsson and Jacobsson (eds.), 1998; Gustavsson, 2000; Sandoff, 2000).

3.4.1 Pass marks for all pupils considered as disciplinary practices

Space

The politicians have made the teachers responsible for all pupils leaving the ninth form having pass marks in their core subjects. Furthermore, there is a clear objective that teaching is to be adapted to each pupil's needs, i.e., customer-adapted. The available means are however rather limited and it is up to the teachers and the staff group to which they belong, to find ways to realise this objective. The task is to get all pupils to leave compulsory school with a pass mark, with increasingly larger classes for financial reasons, and the fact that children and young people tend to need more and more adult support.

Time

The demand that all pupils achieve a pass level has a temporal restriction. The time allowed for the teachers to achieve this goal is ultimately restricted to the nine-year duration of compulsory school. During this period many subjects and tasks have to be prioritised and implemented. According to the teachers, they can see quite early on, which pupils will need extra support in order to pass in a specific subject. The difficulty is however that of freeing up resources within an assigned period, to give these pupils the help they need.

Visibility

The question of pass marks for all pupils leaving compulsory school has become a matter of public interest. It is not unusual that the performance of different schools is publicly debated and the objective of having all pupils pass is a measurable one. Measurable goals are undemanding as they simply allow an evaluation of the producer's performance. When the question of the ability of schools to "produce" a number of pupils with pass marks, gains prominence in the debate, room is created for an evaluation of the performance and goal compliance of a specific school. According to the teachers, a more or less conscious evaluation is thus made of the ability of the school, teaching team or teacher, to achieve the objective of pupil-adapted teaching.

3.4.2 Dilemmas related to pass marks for all pupils

It has become the teachers' responsibility to ensure that all compulsory school pupils have the opportunity for further studies, i.e., achieving the objective that all pupils receive pass marks from compulsory school. This fact is something that the teachers have to accept, even if it, as so many put it, is an impossibility with scarce economic resources, great insecurity among today's children and young people, and the closing of special-school classes, with the result that pupils with special needs attend normal classes. The teachers describe the conflict that this discipline leads to, in terms of impotence and an excessively heavy responsibility for the future of the children and young people without any realistic means of

being able to take suitable measures. This is how two teachers describe the challenge of providing social training:

“It is very evident today since there are demands for people to be very social or to be able to associate with others on the latter’s terms, and these demands were perhaps not raised to the same degree previously. That’s why they have become a major issue at school, that school should be able to deal with a part of social training, i.e., raising the children in groups. They should be able to function in a group, with other people, which isn’t all that simple.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

“School is to be compared to a company, with all kinds of wild comparisons and they just can’t be seen in the same light. I don’t believe that they understand the school’s circumstances. Firstly, it is attended by children, not adults, and they lack experience. Secondly, they come from vastly different social environments, which in itself is true of companies but there there’s the common factor that perhaps they have the same training or type of job, which isn’t so here. They all arrive from different backgrounds, carrying different things in their baggage and here they are then supposed to be coordinated in some way.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

Sometimes the teacher’s professional expertise says that a pupil needs more tuition from a teacher in order to achieve results but resources are lacking. In addition, should the teacher devote more time to the pupil in question, the others will be affected, as this time is limited. Here too, it is a matter of striking a well-considered balance:

“You have to draw clear boundaries as to the content of individualism and how it is manifested. And here you can sometimes miss the mark a little and think that everything can be allowed to drift as much as possible, which doesn’t work. On the contrary, there has to be something in common or a cohesion within the group.” (Teacher, forms 1-7)

“Yes, I think it’s very hard. It is. And yet in some way, I think you have to measure things in some way. Those who are really capable must have a chance to show this and have some form of acknowledgement. But this strikes at those who can’t keep up. And even more so nowadays, I think.” (Subject teacher, forms 7-9)

Sometimes professional expertise says that at the end of the period of study a pupil should not receive a pass mark in a certain subject as the necessary minimum knowledge is lacking, although the teacher knows that (s)he is blocking the latter’s chances of further education. Here is a teacher’s description of this problem, where it is worth noting also the latter’s comment on time restrictions in getting the pupils passed.

“Yes, so what happens when you leave the ninth form without pass in the core subjects is that you don’t get into upper secondary school. And in one way, it feels as if I accept responsibility, in one way I can think that it is an impossible idea that everyone should pass, exactly at the same time in the same age and the same month. Everybody has the same opportunity but not the same pre-conditions, which is hard on them. It’s clear that the vast majority will pass but there are always those who are unable, in any case at present, to reach pass level for various reasons. And this feels quite harsh, I think. That I know that if I don’t pass somebody in English, they won’t get into upper secondary school. Especially, if it’s a pupil who wants to, well, say it’s a pupil who wants to take a course in motor mechanics. Can I then think I should stop them because of their English? He may be a really good motor mechanic...if one should do as has been decided, that you have to have a certain quality, a certain level so that you can’t pass a pupil who does not reach the goals. Otherwise the marks do not mean anything. It’s terribly difficult.” (Subject teacher, forms 7-9)

The opinion among the teachers is that if they are to be at all able to provide any form of teaching and thus “produce” pupils with pass marks, they must first handle the human dimension in the contacts with their pupils and, equally importantly, have enough time to be able to fulfil their mission. Given the major social work aspects of the teaching profession at present, many teachers feel that they could use some form of training to allow them to feel that they have the preparedness to deal with social issues:

“I definitely believe that as a teacher, you need to have more knowledge of all these social aspects than we possess, much more. Even just to deal with those conversations where it feels like you’re acting as a psychologist but you would need to know a little more just for this.” (Subject teacher, forms 3-9)

“Sadly, the fact is, I mean, you could wish that there was somebody to take charge of the social aspects so we didn’t have to. But, you shouldn’t really say so as this involves your pupils and you like them, but you’re not any good at this because you’re not a professional.” (Teacher, forms 3-9)

Another dilemma relates to the objectives and measurements that are given priority. If the emphasis lies on the simple measurable goal of “pass marks”, then other efforts will naturally be overshadowed. Measurable goals are often easier to relate to and not least easier to measure. For example, it is easier to measure the number of pupils with pass marks than to attempt to determine the quality of the work done by the teacher. Since measurable goals in themselves are simple to measure they tend to gain attention at the expense of goals that are not so simple to measure. This may involve both the attention of the producers themselves, as there is a desire to show concrete results, in which case it is simplest to focus on measurable goals, and also that of the public, since measurable goals are easier to relate to in forming an opinion of what is good and less good, respectively. There is also the attention of the politicians, who want to encourage constant improvements and here competition and comparisons are a tried and tested trick. The dilemma thus involves the fact that human and thus immeasurable aspects are easily overlooked in the presence of measurable goals. One such field may constitute the teachers’ work situation and the pupils’ study situation – fields which to the greatest possible extent ought to be worthy of attention in both the internal and external debate. The earlier quotation, which showed that many people wish to make their voice heard when it comes to schooling, indicates that insecurity and ambiguity easily arise when a multitude of interested parties are involved. Such a situation encourages the use of concrete and measurable goals, rather than the bold step of confronting problems that are harder to resolve, and where the goals are not measurable.

3.5 *Conclusions from the school study*

The analysis of the teachers’ work situation from a disciplinary perspective reveals a number of dilemmas to which teachers have to relate. These refer to discipline in terms of space, time and visibility. As can be seen in the above analysis, these dimensions inter-penetrate, which also applies to the practical work of teaching teams, external assessment and pass marks for all. This indicates that teachers at Swedish compulsory schools have to handle a complex work situation where dilemmas are a natural consequence. A number of clearly evident dilemmas

are summarised below as a conclusion to the analysis and the situation to which teachers have to relate. The type of discipline primarily involved is also stated for each field.

Working in teaching teams largely involves *discipline in space*, i.e., adaptation in one's daily work to the wishes of other colleagues and the needs of the pupils for whose tuition one is responsible. This is a matter of striking a balance between one's own individual needs and the common needs of the collective, when it comes to both professional and social/private needs. This *adaptation dilemma* relates to the individual teacher having to strike a balance between asserting oneself in the competition with others, thinking about one's own development and obtaining good results in the continuous assessment that is taking place, and obtaining necessary support from other colleagues through suitable forms of co-operation, which is necessary in order to succeed at all in attaining the educational objectives, with an increasingly insecure pupil group. One has to adapt to the "new" profession, which duties are to be handled within the teaching team. Another dilemma relates to teachers' extended profession. In the light of the needs on the part of the pupils and the organisation of the job in the form of teaching teams, where broad rather than deep knowledge is a priority, there is a risk that the teaching profession will develop into that of a social worker and will include "everything" relating to the development of children and young people. The *impoverishment dilemma* easily becomes a reality when the content of the working day is not dominated by the professional core tasks, in this case, that of teaching.

The external assessment that is now a fact of life in Swedish compulsory schools, is intended to create *discipline through visibility*. The idea of assessment is that of a continuous examination of what happens in school, which should not be a matter merely for those who work there. Hence, teachers cannot rely only on their professional expertise in the exercise of their profession but must take just as much account of the demands of their customers, in this case, the pupils and their parents. To some extent, the teachers must also heed public opinion as schooling has become a public issue, which the public will be involved in evaluating. Hence, it is possible to speak of a *professional vocational dilemma*, which means that it is not necessarily professional expertise that decides the success or otherwise of the teacher, teaching team or school. It is equally important to adapt to the market and commit to the "right" things. When teachers can no longer rely on their professional expertise in, e.g., selecting forms of instruction, then there is a great risk that their professional pride will be eroded. The *dilemma of professional pride* easily becomes a reality when others besides professional experts, in this case educators, are involved in deciding what good job performance, in this instance teaching, involves.

The objective of pass marks for all pupils upon leaving compulsory school means that it is the teachers above all who must submit to *temporal discipline*. This objective has to be met within a given time frame that applies to all pupils, despite the fact that the resources are limited and that the pupils have different predispositions for learning. Such a situation easily leads to a number of dilemmas arising for the teachers who have to achieve this objective. The *stress dilemma* arises when the teachers have to succeed within a given time in arranging individually adapted tuition in order to get all pupils to attain the minimum level

of knowledge in the subject in question. Many teachers describe the timetable as strained and packed with tasks. Besides spending more time in school than in the past, partly in order to perform duties outside actual tuition, the teachers must often devote both time and energy to creating the pre-requisites for providing tuition. A large part of scheduled time has to be devoted to social activities in order to create a secure study situation for the pupils. Stress is easily created when many duties have to be performed in a limited time, in addition to which a *responsibility dilemma* may arise. This relates to both the objective of passing all pupils within the set period and to the teachers' professional code. The objective that all pupils should be able to go on to further studies after compulsory school places a great responsibility on the teachers, without them necessarily having the authority to claim the necessary resources. The budget is limited and neither the teachers nor their teaching teams can affect matters such as staff allocation, despite the fact that they are responsible. Given the prevailing resource situation, the teachers' professional code becomes the focus of their acceptance of responsibility. They must choose between either passing a pupil who in actual fact does not fulfil the minimum level of knowledge, which goes completely against their professional code, or limiting the pupil's future study opportunities by not passing them in the subject, which means taking their responsibility as professional practitioners.

4 Disciplinary practices in a prison

4.1 *Empirical basis*

This account of disciplinary practices in a prison is based on a longitudinal study at a block in a major Swedish prison, where both warders and inmates have so far been interviewed three times at approximate intervals of six months. Each interview has generally lasted around one hour, some times one-and-a-half or two. During the interview periods, observations were also made, i.e., the researcher followed life in the prison on the part of both the warders and the inmates. Both groups have been given different weeks in order to avoid confusing perspectives as far as possible. The point of departure for this report is the interviews with the warders but, of course, the other experiences from the prison block are also there in the background as well as sometimes also literature about the prison service.

4.2 *The three tasks of the prison service – the daily responsibility of the warders*

The prison service has three tasks: security, service and treatment, or according to the homepage of the National Prisons and Probation Administration:

“The prison service is to act so that convicted offenders are subject to influence and become the object of measures that enhance their chances of henceforth living a law-abiding and dignified life. Humane care, good treatment and active influence, while maintaining a high degree of security and respect for individual integrity and legal rights, are to characterise the prison service and guide its personnel.”

Responsibility for security is the most important feature and all other activities and responsible duties assume that is met. The warders themselves describe this

aspect of their professional role in terms such as “screw” or “guard/jailer”. This involves locking and unlocking, searches, being prepared for something to happen and circulating around the block when there is a feeling that something is about to happen. The best thing for a “screw” is when everything is quiet and “the prisoners are behaving themselves”. A “screw” willingly disregards minor infractions provided there is general quiet.

Security has two sides: firstly, the offender is to be kept completely away from society, i.e., within prison walls, which is the actual punishment imposed by society. The convicted individual is to be deprived of his freedom and those who may have been the victims of the crime and other non-criminal members of society are to be protected from the offender to a certain time to come. Hence, the task of the prison service is to ensure that the offender does not escape but remains in a prison.

Secondly, the warders are to ensure that neither the offenders nor the staff suffers any injury inside the prison. The staff is given a certain confidential training in security, defence and conflict management. In the first instance they are to protect themselves in the event of threats, and secondly other offenders, if any of the prisoners becomes violent.

“If three dangerous groups come here, then it’s about security. Then, you can’t have this contact role at the same time.” (Warder, September 2000)

It is not unusual for there to be some violence among the prisoners, one of the reasons for this being unpaid debts. A trade in drugs and other things among the prisoners is admittedly not permitted but occurs, since many prisoners are dependent on drugs and others would like to make them so. Staff numbers and prison routines are not enough to stop all illicit trade in the prisons. Not to be able to pay one’s debts within prison may lead to a beating for the purposes of intimidation. Leaving prison with unpaid debts often leads to recidivism as there is other a risk of being beaten or punished in a different way on the outside.

Another reason for violence in prisons is if the nature of the crime infringes the unwritten moral rules that apply among criminals on the block where the offender has been placed. To have assaulted or murdered women or children can lead to an assault and the transfer of the prisoner involved, as the others do not want such a person around them. An assaulted prisoner may either try to modify his behaviour internally, so that he is accepted by the others, or may request a transfer to a different block. Transfers between blocks and prisons are very common for both these reasons and due to the fact that it can be tiresome to serve long terms at the same place all the time, and also because the staff cannot manage to handle a certain prisoner. Violence also occurs if anybody takes an overdose of any drug and/or becomes disappointed at a negative response to a request for a visit, leave or the like. The duties associated with the aspect of security are searches, prisoner escorts and monitoring contacts.

Warders daily search cells “randomly” (as decided by responsible superiors). Every cell should have been searched at least once a month, and certain cells much more frequently. Searches can be done at night or during the day, when the prisoners are there, at school or in the workshop. After a search, the cell is to be left in the same state as it was before. The results of a search are to be reported in writing to both the prisoner and the head of the block.

The prisoners are free to move throughout the entire block, including a small exercise room adjacent to it. When they are to go to the school, workshop or gymnasium, they must be escorted through the underground corridors by at least two warders, who must stay with them while they are in the school or on workshop premises. If a prisoner is to go to the hospital block, dentist or visit other parts of the prison, two warders must also escort him. The prisoners have limited opportunity for contacts with the outside world in prison and each one has a small stock of telephone numbers that he can call unrestricted, which are to individuals not considered to be criminals. Otherwise, he must apply to be allowed to call and ask a warder for help with this. The objective is to prevent crimes from being planned from inside the prison. There are also rules for visits and leaves as to who may be received or visited, for how long and how often. The prison has a specially trained security squad that can intervene if conflicts arise that the staff of the block consider that they will be unable to handle by themselves, or if they do not wish to do so for various reasons.

The second task of the prison service is to provide a certain level of service to the prisoners so that they can live as normal a life as possible within the walls. Due to security requirements, a prisoner, for example, is not permitted free access to stores and cannot thus withdraw cleaning items, change electric bulbs or sort his own washing. All types of tools are also not allowed, of course, and all handling of potentially dangerous items means the warders must take them out and check them and sometimes do the entire job. Facilitating contacts with lawyers, social authorities (close to release) and others is also part of the “service” provided to the prisoners by the warders. These service duties are sometimes felt by the prisoners to be an infringement of their integrity and, by the warders as “babysitting”. The bulk of these services are derived from the possibility of maintaining service.

Some of the warders liken this aspect of their job to that of a hotel valet and others, to a children’s nurse. The hotel valet attends and makes sure that there are things on the block, a basic range of hygiene articles etc, makes sure that post reaches those it is intended for, etc. The hotel valet follows rules and maintains a neutral attitude towards the “guests”’ wishes. The children’s nurse also attend and helps with a lot of small things, accepts complaints, calms and comforts, but acts more independently in relation to rules and looks rather to what (s)he can do to solve the situation quickly and simply. As types that are very close to each other but differ in how they view the prisoner, either:

“Here, they’re have it just too good, like a hotel. They say that they are very well off here.” (Warder, August 2000)

“For me, it’s just like working at a day care nursery except my children are bigger,” (Warder, August 2000)

The prison service implies attempting to induce the prisoner to give up his criminal lifestyle and help him so that he will find it easier to live a non-criminal life after serving his sentence. This treatment is assumed to be given either through set routines, such as wakening, schooling and work, and regular meals, through talking to warders, i.e., the contact person allocated to each prisoner and with whom a plan is established as how the prison term is to be used, e.g., for

education, and by virtue of the fact that the time in prison should imply self-examination and lead to an insight that a non-criminal life is better. Only a few prisoners in Sweden receive the help of some kind of psychologist or some other form of help to deal with the crime(s) they have committed and all the potential underlying factors.

The warders themselves do not consider that they have much opportunity of providing the treatment that they consider that many prisoners would need in order to achieve the objectives of the prison service, but they believe that if they treat the prisoners fairly, then this may still have some effect. Most of the warders interviewed were of the opinion that the intended “treatment” could be provided if there were many more staff such that every prisoner could receive help in the form of conversations or a psychologist, where needed, and also education so as to have a realistic chance of employment after serving their sentence, as well as meaningful work for everyone. The warders term this aspect of their job “the human worker” and it is a role to which they aspire but they also consider that they do not really have the capacity for it.

“You have to establish trust and how do you do this? If somebody takes drugs although you’ve talked to them about this, then you have to go and say ‘Damn it! Have you done again now?’ And you have to have bags of patience.” (Warder, January 2001)

4.2.1 Prison service duties considered as disciplinary practices

Space

For the prisoners, their own cell is a room for solitude and for activities that should preferably be concealed. This is a private room and the only one where they really have their own things and own thoughts, the personal sphere in an institutional world where life is very collective. The block on which the cell is located becomes a sort of “family” with whom one eats one’s meals and associates during leisure time. The larger wing can be seen as close neighbours, whom one meets every day in different contacts, as comrades while taking a walk, as well as in connection with the drugs trade and other activities. The entire block plays sports together and there are many sorts of competitions, both in the athletics hall and in the form of card games and the like. The warders have their own staff corridor adjacent to the prisoners’ block. It is locked but the door is made of glass, as all corridors’ doors, and one can see the warders moving between the different rooms. These include offices for the prison service inspector, i.e., the head of the block, the client inspector and the coordinators. The nurse has a room on the block where she can receive the prisoners while she is there. The warders have a common contact person room where they can work on their reports and hold private conversations. The staff also has two changing rooms with clothes lockers, a shower and a toilet, a small kitchen, a TV and recreation room, an exercise room and a rest room. There is also a small storeroom.

When the warders work on the block, they sit in a kind of glass partition between the various blocks on the wing. Telephone calls can be taken here, camera surveillance monitors show what is happening in various parts of corridors, stairwells and underground corridors adjacent to the block and the prisoners can knock and ask for an aspirin or their post, etc. Those on duty here are also responsible for keeping constant track of the whereabouts of every

prisoner, i.e., who is home, at school or in the workshop, etc. The school is located in a different part of the prison and there are various kinds of classrooms, for both lessons with teachers and private studies. There is a computer room, a small kitchen area and a smoking area. There is also a separate room for the warders, with a cooking area, a computer connected to Internet and a photocopier. Thus, every task has its place in the prison, which for the warders is a workplace within the wider workplace of the “prison service”.

Time

There is one kind of time inside the prison. The warders work there during working hours and the prisoners are there full time as they serve their sentence. The prisoners count time as time served and time left to serve. The warders also live in the time outside the prison in the same manner as their access to space outside. They encounter prisoners who do not live in outside time but only in prison time, where regularities and the monotonous space contribute towards a monotonous time. The security operation is irregular since things are constantly happening in relations among people and, e.g., searches have to be done irregularly, as checks would be meaningless if performed regularly. The movement between the block and the other units within the prison takes place partially regularly, e.g., to school and work, walks in the courtyard, the gymnasium and partially irregularly, leave, dental appointments, etc. The service operation is regular in the form of serving meals, collecting and handing out washing but is irregular in respect of the majority of other situations. Treatment is highly irregular. A serious conversation with prisoners can suddenly take place while walking through an underground corridor or during a routine chat about a triviality. It is here that meetings between different time frames can occur. In general, warders aspire to help the prisoner maintain contact with the rhythms of time-space outside life in the prison.

Visibility

Visibility between warders and prisoners is part of the job. Those sitting in the glass partition can be seen all the time, above all by the prisoners. Those who escort prisoners there and back are sometimes noticed and sometimes not. The warders often walk off by themselves just before the prisoners leave, i.e., they do not walk in parallel but are already in place and allow the prisoners to make the trip themselves (in order not to be seen?). The prison service inspector can stay invisible to the prisoners if (s)he wants to, but is the person most visible to the prison management and a contact between the block and the upward hierarchy. Searches are generally made when the prisoner is not in his cell but can sometimes also take place at night. Searches make the warder visible to the prisoner as the latter then intrudes on his personal space, triggering a reaction from the prisoner according to what (s)he finds and the condition in which (s)he leaves this space.

Checks generally lead to meetings where the nature of the relations is established and trust is established or lost when it is made visible. The duties of the prisoner service are visible to the rest of society both through budgetary follow-ups and discussions of prison policy in general. The budget gives indications of the level of government expectations of the prison service. The

ability to keep to the budget is a criterion of the positive nature of budget-governed operations and there is no financial profitability to be measured. A profitable prison service, according to its aim, would more likely be one without recidivism. Neither the warders interviewed nor the prison governor demonstrated during the interviews any knowledge of the recidivism rate at the prison in question. The prison governor was aware of the national situation but how operations at her own prison might affect the prisoners did not even seem interesting.

A mass-media criterion as to whether the prison service is meeting its obligations, is the number of escapes and a prison should preferably not have any at all. This is a mishap in operations that is clearly evident to the public and many people outside the prison service may feel afraid if escaped prisoners can be assumed to be in the neighbourhood. The mass media can also affect prison policy or the public view of it, by interviewing warders or prisoners about prison conditions. Not having escapes in a long time and having managed to foil escape attempts are internal quality criteria for the operation.

4.2.2 Dilemmas related to the tasks of the prison service

Both security (as applying to drugs as well as weapons, mobile phones, etc) and treatment are areas when the warders feel a conflict between how they wish the situation to be, in accordance with the objectives of the prison service, and how they experience it to be. The shortage of resources is a factor that has been mentioned, as well as the priorities of the politicians. They do everything they get time for and get life on the block to pass fairly calmly. This is a good block, in relative terms, but much more could be done, with more staff and a different organisation. The primary dilemma that sometimes occurs among the warders, relates to the difference between the objectives of the prison service, their own desires for good penal treatment and the resources and opportunities actually available.

Many people believe that there should be a greater commitment, especially to children at risk, i.e., young kids who start to shoplift or experiment with drugs, in order to stop them from landing in prison at a later date. Today, many young people of twenty-five, whom the warders believe should not be there, are incarcerated in blocks with other criminals. They become trapped in a criminal way of life and are not given any chance of escaping. The long-term wings lack resources to give young criminals a chance to put crime behind them and an increasing number of such criminals have been sentenced to serve time at high-security facilities until their release. This means that they are not even granted the adjustment period that lower-security facilities provide and receive no help in preparing for life outside after their release.

A number of warders try to develop strategies to improve the organisation of the prison/block, while others attempt to obtain better training. Others become resigned but still remain or try to get away from the prison service. Those who remain, often find ways of their own to contribute to what they themselves consider to be a positive support for the prisoners, so that they can have a decent life behind the walls and be able to sample fair human conditions. They raise a barrier to insight and do what they consider correct within the frameworks, which they can stretch a little, when nobody is looking.

4.3 The prisoners' entire world – the warders' counterculture during work hours

The warders are at the prison during work hours and those who work days have different shift of between eight and twelve hours, work every third week-end and are free one or two days in the middle of the week. Special warders work nights and hardly meet the prisoners as they are then locked in their individual cells. The prisoners live in the prison around the clock for many years, from five upwards and their entire private life is spent within the prison walls, both work and school attendance. Between approx. 20:00 and 07:00 hours, every prisoner is locked in his room, his cell, and it is then and only then that he is alone. Some of the prisoners state that it is only then that they can relax totally. Otherwise you always have to be more or less on your guard, as you cannot trust anybody.

The nights are devoted to TV games, watching TV or videos, listening to music, reading, dreaming about life outside, girls, new and old crimes, fears for oneself and the others and for life after prison, and, of course, of sleep. There is an unwritten rule not to call for a warder even if you need to go to the toilet (the cells have a hand basin). Every block within the wing is like a corridor in a student dormitory with around a dozen rooms (cells), a combined cooking section with an eating area and a corner settee with a TV and newspapers. Lunch and dinner arrive ready cooked at each block and incidentally the same food is served in the staff canteen. The prisoners can cook their own food, if they shop at a kiosk located in an underground corridor that is open twice a week. They also have access to some basic foods such as bread, milk and cornflakes, so that they can prepare breakfast and small meals themselves. Those with the financial means often cook their own meals while others eat what is served.

The prisoners attend school three hours a day and work in a workshop or a carpentry shop three hours a day. A very small number of the prisoners do not go to school or work and one of them is in fact a pensioner. Another few follow external university courses full time. The prisoners evolve their own norms and habits that help them to survive their time in prison and contribute towards the daily life in the prison block functioning more or less acceptably. Among the prisoners there has been a rule since “the dawn of time” not to speak to “screws” and to keep oneself to oneself. It can be said that the warders have to represent society with regard to the prisoners and thus carry the can for the injustices and lack of confidence that the prisoners have experienced in their lives. A warder expressed the conditions for his contact with the prisoners for whom he is a contact person, as follows:

“There is a law which I must follow and that is that they are forced to speak to a warder. Only then can I talk to them, but they have their own law among them. And it is, well, they give each other signs. If you see something, you mustn't tell a warder or speak to one. Otherwise you get a beating. If you see a sharpened knife, you mustn't say anything to anybody. You wouldn't dare. It's their world and we can't get involved. On the other hand, they have to come to us to ask for a visit or something else and all such things have to go through us.” (Warder, January 2001)

When a warder has an errand on a block, it is customary for him/her to quickly hear the shout, “Screw on the corridor”. The small block is the prisoners' home during their term and when a warder comes there, (s)he does so as an uninvited

and unwelcome guest, although from her/his perspective, (s)he is just doing her/his job.

It is here that the “criminal world” and that of the “ordinary honest citizen” meet. In the former, you can never completely trust any other human being. Those committing a robbery or a similar crime together, have to trust each other, but such trust is mainly built on them having a hold over each other. Feeling trust for a warder is a kind of breach with their “own” culture, but in a number of cases, confidence can develop over time, up to a certain limit. There is a kind of “common honesty” in the warders’ own culture. They do a fair job for a hardly fair wage and they think that the job is interesting and eventful. Many are really happy with their job, with one another and with the prisoners. The job is sufficiently interesting for it to contribute to a functioning life, even if it means saving and scraping in order to make ends meet and they live “like most other people”.

It is this very view of finances where there is a vast gulf between warders and many of the prisoners. Many people turn to crime exactly because they want the “freedom” that a lot of money confers, being spontaneously able to travel anywhere at all and buy what they want right away. If they begin to steal what they want or the money to buy what they want at an early age, then they easily continue to do so and their expectations constantly rise. Some of them put the blame on their having grown up in a poor family, where they were unable to get what their friends had without stealing it. Others described their childhood as one where they grew accustomed to have all their material needs satisfied. When they later had to earn their own living, their earnings were never enough.

“I tried working for a living but I know it doesn’t work for me. I worked a week at a garage. It just didn’t work.” (Prisoner, September 2000)

“I’d like to try living in a family with a weekly household budget of a thousand crowns. I’ve never done that and I don’t how an ordinary family does it.” (Another prisoner, January 2001)

It is because of a desire for a lot of money at one’s disposal, that people rob banks or sell drugs and because they know that they can never have a chance of getting a job paying a salary that would meet their expectations. And they become accustomed to a life with money, even if it does not last that long, compared with the sentences which they serve.

Other prisoners live in worlds that more resemble that of the warders. They are found among the drug dealers and are those who in actual fact do not categorise themselves as “criminals” (nor are they viewed as such by most of the warders). However, they have taken the chance once or twice of getting hold of a little extra money to raise their living standards. Many of them live conventional family lives, often in other countries. They are poor and have tried to raise their own and their family’s financial situation a notch. Often, they have not planned to continue their criminal career and prefer to resume their old jobs and many of them do so after their sentence and possible deportation.

“I just want to make enough to buy me a little house and maybe start a small business, and to marry. You know, in (my hometown), its impossible for me to make a "juste" living, I could never make it.” (Prisoner, sentenced to deportation, April, 2001)

Hence, in prison different people meet in a kind of everyday world that may seem uniform, but given their fundamental adherence to radically diverse worlds, such meetings differ according to the different points of view, and conflicts arise both among and between individuals.

4.3.1 The meeting with the criminal culture considered as disciplinary practices for the warders

Space

The prison as a private space vis-à-vis the work place is a dimension of space, which provides differing fundamental points of view for the prisoners and warders, respectively. One pre-requisite for the privacy of the private space is personal freedom to arrange it as one wishes or to refrain from doing so and leave it as it is. A pre-condition for the common performance of certain duties at a workplace is, on the other hand, the fact that everything is ordered in a mutually agreed manner, that this order is open to all involved and different individuals can handle the same order. The various meaning structures of the prison space for prisoners and warders respectively, thus conflict with each other and this conflict is incorporated into the very concept of a prison. It is the duty of the warders to supervise in order to maintain a certain discipline among the prisoners and thus the warders discipline themselves so that they can manage to disrupt the integrity of the prisoners, when searches etc. have to be performed. In the encounters between one person and another, the warders can realize the infringement of integrity that a search implies. As a warder and a representative for the maintenance of order at the prison, the latter however must always attempt to ensure that no drugs, weapons or mobile phones come into the possession of the prisoners.

The criminals know about the warders of the various prisons, as roles and the warders at the different facilities differ in the reputation that they have among criminals. A convicted person can try to get to a prison and a wing that has a good reputation, i.e., where the warders are “human” and avoid one where they are “swine” (according to interviews with prisoners).

Another spatial dimension is the parts of the world outside the prison in which warders and prisoners, respectively, feel at home. In performing their duties, the warders represent society of all the rest of us in that the government has decided what is to be classified as a crime and how different crimes are to be punished. The warders live as ordinary people in many different individual ways outside the prison but do not feel themselves to be associated with “the criminal world”. Many but not all of the prisoners, feel most at ease in some kind of criminal world outside prison. A number are organised into gangs but most operate alone or at times with different partners. The pattern of thought in these various worlds or cultures, to which the prisoners and warders belong, also colours their relations inside prison. One expression of the manner in which the various spatial dimensions meet, is when the warders express anxiety about “loosing ground” to the prisoners. During a period of high sickness levels among the staff and the arrival of some new employees, the warders felt that the prisoners had begun to stretch the limits for the daily routines, so that it was harder to

maintain order in the block. Previously self-evident rules and routines began to be eroded and questioned when there was a wish to enforce them again. This is a matter of maintaining a kind of power balance, where security, service and treatment within the framework of what could be expected of the prison staff, can be ensured, while the prisoners at the same time are able to feel a sort of freedom to mould their daily life as they desire, within these confines.

It is a paradox for a detainee to be able to feel freedom but some space must be granted to every person if (s)he is to continue to be a human being. In a Foucault-inspired analysis of life in prison, a Danish ex-convict writes that it is those prisoners who offer resistance behind the walls who fare best when they come out. The docile ones, who reject their own integrity and merely “obey”, lose their independence and self-awareness, which leads to them forgetting how to handle ordinary life outside (Lauesen, 2000). The warders know this and have to relate to it and their pragmatic solution is to try to intrude on integrity while “showing respect”.

The prisoners have friends on the outside and will themselves get out at some date. Out there, where the majority of us live our entire lives, and warders and previous prisoners can meet on the street, in which case the differences or similarities become even clearer than inside the prison. Threats against warders do occur, even if they are very rare on the block in question. Most warders can identify with the situation of being a citizen far from the centre of power and in wanting somewhat greater economic resources for one’s daily life than is the case. By contrast, the warders do not belong to the criminal world in the manner in which many prisoners do. On the contrary. The majority of warders value their freedom more than the funds which, e.g., a bank robbery might provide. They have at least one relationship based on trust and are generally more inclined to trust others than not to do so but, on the other hand, their experience of the job teaches them never to completely trust a prisoner.

Time

Warders’ working hours and prisoners’ entire time matter and both groups live in the daily rhythm of regularities and irregularities, discussed in the previous section. The warders keep their distance by sticking to their working hours, i.e., coming and going on time and taking breaks at set times, while only exceptional crises can disrupt their planned working hours. The warders’ working hours form part of their life cycles of work, leisure, family and rest. Work is a part of their daily life and of their development as both professionals and human beings. For some of them, their job is that start of a career that is perhaps aimed at training within the prison service or police work. For others, being a warder is a paid employment like any other. For the warders, working in the prison is part of the totality of their lives. The warders’ working hours stand in contrast to the entire time of the prisoners, i.e., they live inside the prison around the clock, often for several years at a time. Both space and time are assigned so that work is to be performed in the workshop, learning in school, and cooking and association with comrades in their own kitchen or block. These institutional regularities however are subsumed in a wider temporal concept, namely, the term of their sentence. In the minds of many of the prisoners, this is not real life. It is life outside the walls that is “life”. And yet, such terms can be a major part of their lives:

“I have only been outside for a total of two years since I was thirteen.” (Prisoner, September 2000)

Some of the prisoners use their time in prison to learn something, either through the school classes offered, or by reading, reflecting and/or training other skills by themselves. These prisons also keep up, as far as is possible, with what is happening outside the walls. Their purpose in doing so is either to try to find their way back to a more or less honest life after release or prepare new crimes, but they use the time in order to be able to come out at a time that prevails then and avoid being released in the belief that time has stood still while they were inside. These prisoners can meet the warders in a more equal time and use their sentences as part of life.

Other prisoners merely allow time to pass. They live so intensively in the time that was when they were last out that they consider their time in prison as a kind of non-time. They wait for their release, and while they do so, they go to and from those activities that they are expected to perform, some times in any case, and they take drugs to feel somewhat calm or moderately high, or to succeed in forgetting how empty their lives are. These prisoners can meet the warders only as non-people, i.e., as roles. Since they themselves do not live in the time that is their sentence, they are not there as themselves, as people in own lives, and neither can they meet other people there, in a time that does not exist. The experience of time in these manners differs greatly. Time served, which is thus of no great consequence, contrasts with time as time lived, the time of life.

Visibility

In a prison it is obvious how many of the prisoners habitually cheat, conceal and conspire. Openness is a facade to conceal something quite different and the majority of criminals have learnt never to trust anybody else and hardly themselves and naturally they do not trust warders, seen as a role. The latter's response to this mistrust, which is generally on the part of the prisoners, is a constant attempt to give straightforward and clear replies; preferably “I don't know but I'll find out” than giving an incorrect answer and changing one's mind later. Some warders can be trusted and others cannot, in the opinion of the prisoners, and the warders themselves probably think along similar lines. The two groups work alongside each other and have to trust each other, and being able to do so is part of the basic concept of ordinary professionals. Then there are always people who can fail to truly understand and with whom cooperation may prove difficult, even if both parties do their best. Furthermore, warders must be able to rely on each other in conflict situations that can prove hazardous.

Warders trust each other in principle and try to work together so that they function towards the prisoners in a uniform fashion. They should be uniform, have the same rules and give the same replies. Visibility is to comprise a clear role, where the human being behind the role of warder does not need to be so remarkable. However, it should be clear to the prisoners that they can trust the warders and the latter strive to be so very open and clear that the prisoners should be able to certain as to what they represent. The reward for the warders comes when a prisoner show that he wants to talk about important things and also strives to achieve a subsequent non-criminal lifestyle.

The encounter between “the honest” and “the criminal” worlds also occurs at an institutional level, as was discussed above under the heading “Space”.

4.3.2 Dilemmas related to the meeting between cultures

The warders’ job involves monitoring people with a criminal behaviour and during the prison term, they are also to encourage “ordinary honest” behaviour. In order to be able to do so and also monitor, a certain respect and trust must develop between warders and prisoners. Nonetheless, the warders “know” that they can be deceived, that they are deceived and that is impossible and perhaps not even desirable to detect all illicit behaviour behind the walls.

The question arises whether it is not an impossible combination in one and the same professional role, to constantly distrust but still try to respect and trust. Many warders have to persuade themselves that “I am only doing my job” when they search cells or inspect items. It is felt to be a dilemma to forcibly enter a cell and move all the prisoner’s personal belongings around, yet it is also felt to be a necessity, as otherwise security will be jeopardised if they did not make sure to rapidly stop any firearms or drug abuse.

The warders are at the same time representatives of “honest society” when they impose controls and guard the prisoners. In the course of several years, they may get to know some of them and empathy may develop, perhaps also sympathy at times or antipathy. It is not easy to apply rules and act as a representative of a society, which they themselves do not completely wish to represent, with regard to individuals whom one may understand and/or when one sees that other rules might work better in individual cases. Nor is it easy to be completely fair and consistent in one’s respect for persons whom one considers as having behaved appallingly towards third parties.

There is a kind of expectation of compassion, empathy and also neutrality on the part of the warders. They are to talk to the prisoners and try to understand their background and situation, in order to help them move on, while respecting and treating them all equally, at the same time, so that the system is perceived as fair and clear by all the prisoners. The system that the warders represent is perceived simultaneously as having a humane ideology and an ambivalent practice.

4.4 *Conclusions from the prison study*

The task of the prison service is to remove criminals from society for a period and attempt to induce them to refrain from criminality in the future. Most warders consider that this is also their duty but there are a number of doubts as to the manner in which this task is organised. The warders can feel like both victims and perpetrators in their attempts to provide good penal treatment in accordance with set goals. Keeping criminals away from society is the task with which they consider they have the best success. During the period set by the sentence, the majority remain incarcerated. Escapes are rare and most criminals and warders likewise live a relatively secure life behind the walls. A prison is “the protected place of disciplinary uniformity”, as Foucault puts it, although he and many others, allude to the prisoners. For the employees whose workplace is a prison, this statement does not quite apply and the warders enjoy their work for the very reason that it is never monotonous.

“I never know in the morning when I get to work, what is going to happen during the day.” (Many of the warders have said exactly the same thing in the interviews)

However, the warders consider that, given current resources, they are unable to contribute to the majority of prisoners managing to live a non-criminal life after their release. Here, therefore, there is a similar dilemma as what we termed a *professional dilemma* in respect of the teachers. In the relatively new role of warder, which, as opposed to the old role of jailer, implies that they should be able to perform all the duties in the prison blocks, i.e., both guard and provide service and treatment, there are evident contradictions, on which we have touched. Guarding the prisoners was the role of the former “screws” and it is this role that is most familiar to the criminals. Even if they are now called warders, the “screw” is an institution in criminal culture, or more correctly, in prison culture, since it is a part of the role that is always maintained. To maintain the role of warder, for example, in the form of a contact person, which actually requires trust, can feel impossible. Undertaking a search implies an infringement of integrity, even if both parties at an analytical level may realise that this is a matter of an institutional security routine and this role breaches a relationship of trust. With real trust no search is necessary.

Being a “warder” is not a profession in the same way as being a teacher is. There is no special academic education and not even a certain vocational training. You become a warder because you need a job and by coincidence, or through friends and relations, you end up as part of the prison service, where you thus remain. Then you are gradually given short training courses that nonetheless contribute to the development of some kind of professional know-how. Being a warder is a job and through the various practices that it is developing, a professional know-how is also being established. Among the older members, this has been internalised so that they do not think about it but “just do the right thing”. Young members observe and learn by working alongside their seniors. It is noticeable that it may provide to handle situations involving the particular people that some of the prisoners are, and in such cases, there also develops an interest in learning more about what one sees of the capabilities of the more experienced.

Thus there develops, on an individual level, what can be termed the *professional pride dilemma* and which comprises the individual reflection of the organisational dilemma involving the *professional vocational dilemma*. The demand that one should be capable of everything but be trained only in security, very little in service, and almost nothing in terms of treatment, has the effect that the warders must rely on themselves as people. They have no common profession with its clear rules and professional codes, as were developed, for example, by the craft guilds or the academic teachers or lawyers. The warders therefore employ their own human nature when the norms and rules they obtain through their training prove inadequate. They leave their role behind them and enter into themselves as whole human beings, which implies the opposite of discipline, i.e., the use of the freedom which a whole human being can have if (s)he does not submit to an adaptation to organisational, professional or other established norms.

Prison, however, also contains the *stress dilemma*, followed by the *responsibility dilemma*. When time is scarce, which it is frequently perceived as being, it is a matter of maintaining institutionalised roles. Too few staff in relation

to the number of prisoners and all events and relations that the warders must handle, leads to stress in relation to the goal of having time for obligatory duties. Under stress security can be maintained only barely, there is no time for treatment and service is often neglected. Under stress the warders often but not always revert to the institutional role of a screw. Perceived stress however is not an objective context but is always founded on a frustrated evaluation.

5 Work in school and prison – a question of discipline and handling of dilemmas

In this study we have analysed two sets of field material from a discipline perspective. We have noted that the dimensions of space, time and visibility, applied to employees' accounts of their work situation, help to visualise the discipline that is expected in a work organisation context and in organised operations, all of which assume some kind of uniformity and structure. For the latter to succeed, a certain degree of discipline and acceptance is expected from individuals. This argument is recognised from many contexts, not least, Foucault (1977) himself and his discussion of docility.

Townley's discussion (1993) of HRM practices follows the same line. She argues that the dream of uniform principles and uniform compliance are the background to the major breakthrough for HRM in the business world. However, in order to get it to function without excessively extensive monitoring procedures, which are both costly and incompatible with our age, where concepts such as independence and individualism are greatly prized, discipline at an individual level is required. The fundamental thesis of Glimell (1997), who studied labour science in time and space, is that the entire development of society is towards refinement of "...our good ability to remain in position under controlled forms" (1997:27). It is interesting to note that in this context he mentions specifically schools and prisons as good examples of organisations that have succeed in creating a disciplinary structure where the employees to a major extent monitor themselves.

However, we believe that it is not merely schools and prisons that are so special in this respect. Those processes we have described and interpreted here is found in other operations, even if their concrete expressions differ somewhat. The material shows that even if discipline is a natural and perhaps inevitable phenomenon in organisational contexts, it is accompanied by a number of dilemmas for those who work in these operations. Items of interest are both what kinds of dilemmas are perceived, how these are handled and how "the opposite", i.e., "rejection of discipline" or "use of freedom" occur.

5.1 *Two kinds of dilemmas*

As is evident from sections 3.5 and 4.4, we have found dilemmas of a similar nature in both the fields. They are present at both organisational and individual levels and interact with each other. At the organisational level, there are dilemmas in getting individuals to adapt to the communality, to maintain the level of professional expertise of the operation and keep to set time frames for operational production. These dilemmas have a direct affect at an organisational level, in the

sense that the consequences will be palpable for the organisation and/or collectively, i.e., the groups of people and the organisation as a whole.

At the individual level, we have noted dilemmas that involve an impoverishment of work content, not being allowed to have a mandate to be a professional expert and also bearing responsibility for the future of the customers, i.e., pupils and prisoners. These dilemmas are palpable for the person responsible for doing the job. Our argument as to the dilemmas at organisational and individual levels and the link between them can be compared with Foucault's discussion (1977) of the two faces of power. One of them is turned towards the collective body with the objective of analysing, sorting and regulating collectively, and one is turned towards the individual body with the purpose of scrutinising its every detail. We interpret this dual exercise of power as intended to achieve discipline on two levels, which are mutually supporting. As mentioned above, this means that there is a link between the dilemmas that arise from the discipline.

Irrespective of whether dilemmas occur at an organisational or individual level, they may be hard to handle simply. As the purpose of discipline is to create order in a broad sense, there is reason to assume that when discipline is present, a dilemma is more fixed and stable. When self-discipline is really internalised, also the dilemmas will become an integrated part of the organisation, and they will no longer be perceived as problems. Those, which we have identified in this study, are linked to expected discipline, i.e., the individual disciplines him- or herself to meet prevailing conditions and structure as an expectation of this is built into the system. We have raised two questions during this odyssey, namely the question as to why human beings discipline themselves and that of how the disciplined human being handles dilemmas that arise from the discipline.

5.2 *Why discipline?*

To deal with the first question, we can examine the respective advantages and disadvantages of discipline for an individual.

The up-side of discipline can be said to involve gaining a feeling of peace of mind, predictability and control. That most people have a need to feel these emotions and feel a sense of community and belonging is no news. Describing this in terms of seeking satisfaction through self-discipline is by contrast not so common in everyday parlance, while Asiatic cultures often apply discipline training in religion, philosophy and sport.

The down-side of discipline is that it can be described instead as docility, devotion and negation of the will. In many instances we have been socially trained (through upbringing, training, etc.) to submit, listen to authorities, follow rules and not question. Human needs (e.g., peace of mind, predictability, control, community and belonging) and a developed ability to behave in a certain manner (e.g., submitting, listening to authorities, following rules and not questioning) create a basis for discipline. Moreover, the human needs and the social training can be assumed to reinforce the degree and strength of the discipline, i.e., how disciplined a person is or becomes. Should the latter possess a great need for peace of mind and is raised in the spirit of obedience as a virtue, then it is probable that (s)he will be rather easily disciplined. The converse applies to a person living under opposite circumstances.

The answer to our first question involves the fact that all organisational operations assume some degree of discipline and that it is the individuals who have to provide it. Should nobody renounce their own needs and always give priority to themselves over the collective, then this would demolish the basis for the organisational need for structure and uniformity. This means that for organisations, large or small, to be able to function, the individuals must be prepared to discipline themselves and the price that they pay is reduced freedom, while what they gain is some form of security in time, space and visibility.

5.3 *Handling the dilemmas*

Against the background of the employees' statements, which we have examined, we would like to take a further step in our interpretation of how human needs (for peace of mind etc.) and social training (in behaving in a certain way) exert influence. We are moving towards our second question which deals with handling the dilemmas and maintain that human needs and social training also affect how one handles the dilemmas, the basis for this interpretation being drawn from our material, where we have noted similar discipline in school and the prison service (see 3.5 and 4.4). Furthermore, we have noted similar dilemmas in these two fields and found that they exist at both organisational and individual levels. By contrast, what we have found that separates these fields is how the employees handle these dilemmas.

If we start with the teachers' group, then they show few signs of resistance or dissent expressed in action. Those areas that form a structure for the analysis, i.e., namely working in teaching teams, external evaluation and pass marks for all pupils, are innovations in the world of school. These ideas can be viewed as consequences of a focussing on the individual and a market approach (Du Gay and Salaman, 1992; Rose 1995) that has gained popularity, not least in the Swedish public sector in recent years (Jacobsson and Sahlin-Andersson, 1995). Freedom of customer choice and a major focus on the same no longer characterise only private trade and industry but also a public sector (Forssell, 1999; Forssell and Jansson, 2000). Given the fact that these areas are indeed "new" phenomena to which teachers as a group have to relate in their daily work, a certain resistance on their part could have been expected. In our view, one could have expected reactions in the form of active countermeasures as in many cases there is noticeable dissatisfaction (as the quotations in Chapter 3 show). The discussions in that chapter demonstrate that there are concrete dilemmas for the teachers, dilemmas that they experience and must handle in some way and relate to. Direct questions as how they stand on the problems they describe themselves as experiencing in their daily duties, elicit evasive answers. Among colleagues they complain a little but submit without fuss in the larger picture. Here is what a teachers says when asked for the reason for teaching teams being introduced at her school and the follow-up question as to how she viewed these ideas when they were mooted:

"Well, it's an order after all, that we must have them in some way." (Teacher, forms 4-6)

"Yeah, we old elementary school teachers thought that we always take responsibility for our job, so why do more? I mean, there's no point in doing so just because we supposed to. So I don't know, it was hard to see the point of it." (Teacher, forms 4-6)

This doubt did not result however in any action or dissent and she and her colleagues at the school adopted these ideas and began to apply teaching teams five years ago. Despite this, she is still sceptical:

“There’s not much point in teaching teams, when things are the way they are.” (Teacher, forms 4-6)

A discussion with another teacher on the duties to be including in a teaching position, a hot potato since the introduction of teaching teams and workplace hours, led to the following remarks:

“Well, it’s all very much unclear. Due in great part to oneself, and quite a lot to one’s one ambition and sense of duty, I would say and how conscientious you are about it. What you’re really supposed to do is a little vague and unspoken, but there are still some kind of expectations there that have not been clearly formulated.” (Subject teacher, forms 4-9)

The teacher replied as follows to the question as to how he experienced this situation:

“Yes, it’s frustrating, I must say. And I’m thinking it’s a little irritating as I feel that before, when you had complete control of your time, you were here anyway. The only positive thing I can come up with is that this can be good if there’s a teacher in the group who runs away from a great deal of work. But I still think that a head teacher should be able to have a word with him instead and tell him that his colleagues are working much harder than he is and that he has to be here to put this right. Instead of everyone being tied down. Well, I don’t really know, but you feel it when you have an hour between classes and you wonder whether you should pop down and do this errand or stay in your chair here.” (Subject teacher, forms 4-9)

When the situation was described as unsatisfactory, it was natural to ask why the teachers did not take any measures. The answer was concise:

“We’re really so timid.” (Subject teacher, forms 4-9)

Evidence that teachers handle the dilemmas via docility may have to do with traditions and norms evolved by the profession and it is well known that professional groups develop clear norms (Lundqvist, 1998; Powell and DiMaggio (eds.), 1991). An institutional framework is established for how to relate to various matters and around an expected behaviour. As regards the teaching profession, it is one whose roots go back a long way into the past and this group as in the case of other professional groups such as doctors and lawyers, can be assumed to build on and advance traditions, where tried professional skills are reproduced rather than questioned (Jacobsson and Sahlin-Andersson, 1995; Meyer and Rowan, 1978). The means that the interest, courage or readiness to offer criticism has not probably been or is a characteristic feature of employees within this corps. When changes occur, which was the case during the 1990s and applied to the whole of the Swedish educational system, it thus seems nature that the individual teacher is more inclined towards doing as good job as possible, given the prevailing innovations and conditions, rather than offering active resistance. This definitely seems probable if we consider the thesis of Meyer and Rowan (1978) on a static professional corps lacking a motivating force or need to change

or question. With such an interpretation the evasion attitude of the studied teachers does not seem particularly surprising either.

The conception of a proficient teacher is perhaps that of an “adult” individual with a great capacity for helping others but little emphasis on his- or herself. The dilemmas that teachers experience lead them to act on their own initiative and within themselves. Perhaps a researcher such as Stymne (1991) might describe this as a typical trap for women, as she has studied the professional care groups, where women predominate, and found such individuals to be in a risk zone. The dilemmas experienced in the practice of a profession are up to the individual to handle and resistance, individual or collective, feels remove. Impoverishment easily becomes a reality.

We have shown above that established traditions and norms within a professional corps and care-oriented profession can play a role in the manner in which dilemmas are handled, in any case the docility that we have noted in the teachers’ group. In the light of this thesis, it may not be so surprising either that this group appears to have become a risk profession. The image of a professional group with a high proportion of members on long-term sick leave or burned out is confirmed in many quarters. Swedish media have avidly ventilated this issue in recent years and experience from the British school market (Gewirtz, 1997; Walsh, 1995) conveys the same message. The picture becomes very clear in interviews with union representatives and head teachers, within the framework of this study:

“Now that everyone feels stressed most of the time, there are many people who feel that they are invisible and it’s much more common today for teachers to feel that they do not receive sufficient attention. This makes me feel seriously worried about this trend...it is serious, a problem that is out of control and a major one for society. Just a week ago, we were discussing in the teaching group what causes the most stress. The cutbacks and economy measures of recent years came high on the list, i.e., the funds, all the changes that teachers have had and the new wage agreement, many that have changes, e.g., individual wage assessment, working hours, job descriptions that many feel to be stressful, i.e., merely because it was listed, greater work load as we tightened the reins, new central tasks with regard to development discussions with pupils have been added, but otherwise we have stressed that teachers must take more responsibility for the pupils, their attendance and individual development. All this has packed every teacher’s job up to their teaching limit; they experience a greater work load with more duties, greater expectations from management and the rest of society, and read every day about whether school oughtn’t to take responsibility for this.”
(Head teacher of a compulsory school)

What we would like to say is that if this dissatisfaction is not manifested in action, i.e., an active attempt at resistance to the conditions felt to be problematic, then the ego seeks to sort out the dilemma. And most people would agree that such a challenge is not an easy one. When the changes, as quoted above, have now multiplied and become tangible and teachers as a group are not used to taking a stand and offering active resistance but seek instead to resolve matters through their own efforts, the result is personal mental suffering.

Prison service warders do not constitute a profession and learn their job through short recurring training courses and mostly from each other and their own work experiences. They have to depend on themselves as a human being to a very high degree and in that the prisoners stay at the prison around the clock for a length period, the warders meet them in some sense as whole people. They develop a sort of human professionalism, every one on his/her own terms, are

disciplined through organisational requirements, such as they are understood at block level.

The organisational requirement has effects on how warders manage to feel themselves as representatives of society and the prison service, and their uniform contributes towards this role. The warders, as a non-professional group, composed rather at random of people who happened to end up there, perhaps contribute to a conflicting feeling that like the prisoners that are far down on the social ladder without any great opportunity of influencing those in power.

Here there is a major difference between teachers and warders. The former choose their profession and train for a long time at their own cost in order to exercise it. It is probably easier for a teacher to feel like a representative of the school as a societal institution with regard to the pupils than it is for the warders to feel like a representative of the prison service with regard to the prisoners, yet both groups demonstrate an explicit meaning that they adapt to control from those in power.

By contrast, there is a partial difference as to how they adapt. To a greater extent than the teachers interviewed, the warders seem to take certain liberties and some of them “open an umbrella” in certain situations and act towards the prisoners and each other, as they consider correct on the basis of their own human reason and professional experiences. Since they lack a professional code, other than in situations that threaten security, they can depend on themselves to a greater extent than the teachers. The latter have a further layer of trained discipline to get through, namely the norms and rules of their profession.

In other cases, the warders as a group develop new strategies to organise the block in order to thereby implement one of what they consider to be their tasks and those of the prison service. They thus attack the structure for the purpose of being able to perform their duties and try from below to re-fashion the rules system so that it is better suited to the overarching goals of the prison service than the local rules system that was developed for different reasons.

5.4 Conclusions

We have conducted a discussion above around the interpretations of our collected material. In order to summarise this discussion and also our study in general, the following central conclusions are concretised.

- Foucault’s concept of discipline (1977) and its division into the aspects of space, time and visibility, helps to place the focus on how discipline is undertaken in an organisation. With the help of these concepts, our interview material from employees in schools and the prison service has been analysed and we have thus been able to provide examples of how discipline takes place in practice in these operations. Three areas of school practices were analysed, i.e., working in teaching teams, external assessment and pass marks for all. When it comes to working in teaching teams, the challenge for the teachers consists primarily in disciplining themselves in space and thus adapting to their colleagues in the teaching team. Discipline via external assessment primarily involves visualisation. Work at school should not be merely a matter for those who work there. Pass marks for all involves temporal discipline. Within a given time frame

(nine-year compulsory school) teachers are to ensure that this goal is reached. Two areas of prison practices were analysed, the duties and the meetings between cultures. The performance of duties primarily involves disciplining oneself in space but also visualisation. The entire security system is built on a visible spatial isolation and division. Meeting the criminal culture implies a temporal and spatial discipline through the distinction between working hours for the warders and the sentence for the prisoners, as well as the differences between the criminal world, which stretches far outside the prison walls and the honest, ordinary person, whom the warders can be considered as representing.

- The analysis of discipline has not only visualised it but also allowed the identification of a number of dilemmas arising from this disciplining. Discipline in space leads to both an adaptation and an impoverishment dilemma. Working in teaching teams means that the individual teacher must take account of and adapt to the collective of which (s)he is a part. The broad range of duties for which a teaching team is responsible also means that the professional core duties of the teachers, i.e., to educate, are impoverished. The warders must constantly adapt to the team because they cannot feel secure in their job without feeling each other's trust and support. Their adaptation dilemma involves adaptation to the criminal culture as far as they manage to perform their duties and this adaptation leads to interpretations and re-interpretations of their duties. Discipline through visibility leads to a professional vocational dilemma and a professional pride dilemma. The teacher cannot rely on success being decided by educational expertise given the fact that external assessment visualises and evaluates other factors, while, in addition, others than professional experts are invited to make this evaluation. The warder lacks a profession in the traditional sense and manages to use him- or herself as a whole human being in very many of his/her duties. Professional training can be mentioned only when speaking of the security routines. On the other hand, the warders experience the dilemma of generally lacking professional training in service and treatment and in that they have to manage all three tasks, their professional pride may suffer damage, but perhaps more in the form of missing professional know-how rather than the abandonment of something previously learned. To conclude, the temporal discipline leads to both a stress dilemma and a responsibility dilemma. Given the prevailing temporal and financial limitations, the teachers find it stressful to successfully offer individual tuition that allows everyone to pass. Moreover, a dilemma is experienced relating to, on the one hand, the pupil's future opportunities for continued studies (which assumes good marks in core subjects) and, on the other, regard for their profession as pass marks assume a minimum level of knowledge. In situations of temporal stress the warders have time only for security and thus feel that they must abandon responsibilities that in the longer term could have a positive effect on security, for example, by developing relations of trust with the prisoners on a real level.

- The dilemmas that we have identified are found at both organisational and individual levels and exert a mutual effect between them. Some form of uniformity and structure is required for an organisation to function and individuals are thus assumed to be able to renounce certain of their own desires for the good of the collective. However, alongside stability, an organisation needs dissent and diversity in order to develop. The individual human being has in turn a need for peace of mind, predictability and control, which the communality of a collective can supply, but (s)he also needs freedom of thought and action and here the membership of a collective can be perceived as a restriction. This discussion leads to the view that the tug-of-war between individual and collective is a natural but hard-to-handle phenomenon, which is also the mean of the concept of dilemma. In the case of the warders, the collective mainly involves the prison and the prison service, while for the teachers, it is more a matter of the immediate group of teachers with whom they must cooperate more intimately for every passing day.
- This study has focussed on the individual and in the final analysis, it is also individuals who have to handle the dilemmas that arise. Irrespective of how this is done, the purpose is to protect one's own ego from suffering. On the basis of our material, we have been able to provide examples of how dilemmas are handled and also show that they are handled in different ways. Their handling by the teachers can be described using Foucault's concept of docility. The problem is noted but no active measures are taken to attempt to change prevailing conditions. One reason for the teachers' docility can be traced to their professional affiliation and powerful professions often develop a framework with clear norms as to how one is expected to behave. When it applies to teachers as a group, whose daily efforts are directed to fostering and getting others to submit to a collective, it is probable that the norm of docility also marks their own behaviour. The handling of dilemmas by the warders also involves docility but not on the basis of professional norms but more as resignation in the face of a pragmatic view of the finances allocated to the prison service. The warders to a greater extent seem to relate to the rules based on their own reason and also take greater liberties both as individuals and a group, without need to take account of other norms than those applying to the maintenance of security. They, thus, change between their role as a "screw" and as themselves as human beings in their relationing during work hours.

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